

DEMOCRAT URGES BUSH TO BACK INDIA

# Annan spanner in UNSC hope

Press Trust of India

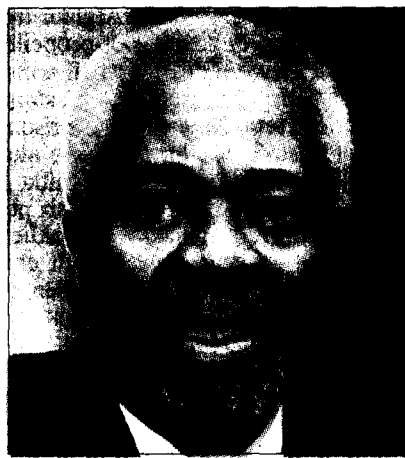
WASHINGTON, Dec. 17. — India's hope of finding a place on the world's power high table — the United Nations Security Council — has suffered a setback with UN Secretary General Mr Kofi Annan indicating that it would be difficult to meet the demand of the group of four countries for permanent membership of the Council with the right of veto.

"(While) I don't think anyone disagrees with the need for better representation in the Council... the question is which option are they going to adopt at the end of the day," Mr Annan said referring to the bid by India, Japan, Brazil and Germany to become permanent members of the UNSC.

He said it should be possible for the member nations to agree on one or the other options suggested by the High Level Panel for UN Reform. One option put forth by it is to have six new permanent members to the UNSC who will not have the right to veto. Another recommendation is that a new category of eight four-year renewable term seats and one new two-year non-permanent and non-renewable seat be created, divided among the major regional areas of the world. Neither option, however, concedes the demand of India and the other UNSC contenders for a right to veto.

"Obviously there are a group of countries determined to get permanent seats and are campaigning very much for that and there are others in the organisation which are determined to prevent them from getting permanent seats," he said.

The expansion of the Council is, however, opposed by some who say it will slow down decisions. But Mr Annan said it (expansion) is a trade-off. It's better to have a democratic and representative body even if it takes longer to reach deci-



**There are countries determined to get permanent seats... there are others determined to prevent them from getting those permanent (UNSC) seats**

sions. He said tomorrow's UN must have reformed and revitalised institutions. The Security Council must reflect the 21st Century world and not the world of 1945 as it is now.

Meanwhile, Democratic Congressman Mr Frank Pallone has urged US President George W. Bush to back India's candidature for a permanent seat in the UN Security Council with veto power, saying it was important for "maintenance of a secure world order". In a letter to Mr Bush, Mr Pallone, co-founder of India Caucus, has written that US support to New Delhi would send a "strong" and "favourable" message to India which is one of the world's largest democracies and which was also the first country to offer its services in the war on terrorism in Afghanistan.

18 DEC 2004

THE STATESMAN

# India's quest for UNSC seat loses steam

## Annans Endorses Big Five's Stand On Newcomers Not Getting Veto Power

By Chidanand Rajghatta/TNN

Washington: India's quest for a UN Security Council seat with a veto is losing steam amidst signs that the permanent five are closing ranks on the veto question.

UN secretary general Kofi Annan on Thursday joined the list of influential voices who agree the Council should be expanded, but are not inclined to give veto powers to new members. "I don't think anyone disagrees with the need for better representation in the Council. The question is which option are they going to adopt at the end of the day," Annan said in course of his day-long engagements in Washington during which he met secretary of state Colin Powell and secretary-designate Condoleezza Rice to discuss the issue among other things.

Annan was referring to the two

options proposed by a blue-ribbon UN panel, both of which speak for a UNSC expansion with a new second-tier of permanent or semi-permanent members, but without the veto that the five original permanent members have.

The secretary general seemed to suggest that aspirants such as India, Germany, Japan and Brazil had to choose between the two options. India has publicly rejected a Security Council seat without a veto.

Annan's statement came after both the US and China separately rejected the demands of the new as-

pirants for a veto. Powell has not only scoffed at the idea of a veto for new members, but has also declined to name any country the US wants in the expanded Council, at least of all India.

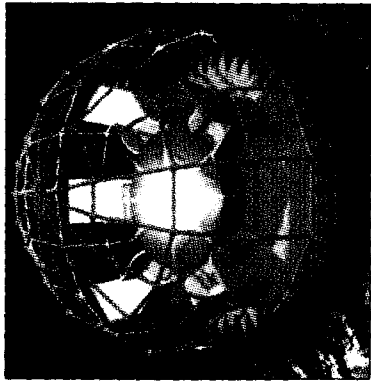
The US reluctance to back India publicly is now beginning to rankle some Indian diplomats, given the progression of ties over the past decade.

Powell seems particularly disinclined to back India, despite Washington openly endorsing Japan. "Until there is a judgment that the Security Council should be ex-

panded, we are not going to make any more statements about who should be eligible, who should be the members of the expanded Security Council," Powell said earlier this week. However, Howard Baker, the soon to leave US envoy to Tokyo, has gone as far as to suggest that Japan should enter the expanded UNSC with a veto.

While there is total silence from Washington about India's aspirations, it appears that New Delhi does not have the leverage and will to work the system here. At a most crucial moment in history, New Delhi seems to lack both the nerve and the clout to make its case.

The broad picture that is emerging from these statements suggests that the Permanent Five is gearing up to ensure the basic power architecture is retained even while meeting demands for expanding the council.



# Change at the U.N.

By Chinmaya R. Gharekhan

HD-10  
18/12

*Reform is necessary but should not be undertaken under threat from one or more states.*

**T**HE JUST-RELEASED report of the high level panel appointed by the U.N. Secretary-General in November 2003 contains over 100 recommendations, covering a wide spectrum of new areas, which if accepted would vastly expand the jurisdiction of the Security Council, making it the central institution in international relations. Public attention, in India and elsewhere, has understandably focussed on the proposals relating to the expansion of the Security Council but the report deals with several other important sectors, which deserve to be studied.

Many of the recommendations are merely exhortations. For example, the report urges states to recommit themselves to the goal of eradicating poverty, calls for the conclusion of the Doha development round of the WTO by 2006, for the allocation of more funds to deal with HIV/AIDS, for debt relief to poor countries, etc. Nevertheless, it is useful to have all these ideas reiterated in one place.

On Security Council expansion, there are two scenarios, both envisaging the creation of a new category of membership. Under one option, a new category of non-veto permanent members, six of them, would be created, to be distributed on the basis of two for Asia, two for Africa, one for Europe and one for Latin America.

The second option would create a new category of eight so-called 'semi-permanent' seats, to be divided equally among the four regions. These seats would be for a renewable four-year term. The panel recognises that the veto in today's world is anachronistic but accepts the reality that the present permanent members would never agree to give up their veto power. India, and others such as Brazil, Germany, and Japan, would naturally wish to have permanent membership on equal footing with the P-5, but this is simply not going to happen. Under the circumstances, India should throw its weight behind the option of non-veto permanent membership.

The panel was tasked to examine new threats and challenges and recommend measures to deal with them in a collective manner through the United Nations so as to make it once again relevant and effective. The report identifies six clusters of threats: economic and social threats, interstate conflict, internal conflict, WMD (weapons of mass destruction) proliferation, terrorism, and transna-

tional organised crime. The overall result, if these recommendations were to be implemented, would be to bring within the purview of the Security Council issues it is not really equipped to handle.

The P-5 could be expected to welcome these recommendations since it would even further increase their clout, but the developing countries would approach them with a degree of scepticism and caution. Even bodies such as the World Health Organisation and the WTO would come within the ambit of the Security Council.

The report devotes a lot of space and importance to the so-called 'responsibility to protect,' otherwise known as the 'right of humanitarian intervention.' The argument is that the international community must reserve for itself the right to intervene through the use of force if necessary in an internal situation in a country in case of massive violations of human rights or mass murders, as happened in Rwanda in 1994. But this proposition has run into considerable opposition from developing countries since they are concerned at the possibility of misuse of such a right by powerful countries. To meet this concern, the panel has proposed a set of five criteria to be fulfilled for the Security Council to exercise this right or responsibility. The fact, however, remains that the interpretation of these criteria will always be subjective, with the developing countries always at a disadvantage.

The Security Council is a political organ and not a judicial body and takes its decisions on political considerations. Furthermore, it is not really necessary to create a new doctrine of humanitarian intervention, which has given rise to needless controversy and divisions in the international community. The Security Council is perfectly capable, under its present mandate, to deal with the type of situations mentioned by the panel. The Council did respond to the catastrophe in Somalia. Even in the case of Rwanda, it was the powerful members of the Security Council that prevented the Council and the Secretary-General from responding effectively to the developing crisis. The report gives the misleading impression that the failure of the secre-

etary to provide timely information to the members of the Council was responsible for setting off the genocide.

On proliferation issues, the report is fairly comprehensive. Its emphasis, however, is on proliferation and not on disarmament. The need for the nuclear weapons states to implement their obligation under Article VI of the NPT is mentioned, but the preoccupation of the panel is clearly with preventing proliferation of the capability as well as of the dangerous materials among more states as well as non-state actors. It would have been desirable to at least maintain balance between the two sets of obligations, if not give more emphasis to the need for disarmament and the threat posed by existing nuclear and other WMD stockpiles. The report also calls on states to join the Proliferation Strategic Initiative.

At half a dozen places, the report mentions Palestine and Kashmir in the same sentence as the two issues without whose solution no amount of systemic changes will enable the U.N. to discharge its role under the Charter. In fact, the chairman of the panel, a former Prime Minister of Thailand, has mentioned Kashmir even in his letter of transmittal. It cannot be denied that Kashmir needs to be resolved and is a source of tension, but mentioning it so many times in the same bracket as Palestine might encourage Pakistan to exploit it at some time in the future.

Perhaps more objectionable from our point is the specific call to convert South Asia into a nuclear weapon free zone. On the other hand, the definition of terrorism as "any action designed to cause death or serious bodily harm to civilians or non-combatants, when the purpose of such act is to intimidate a population, or to compel a government or an international organisation to do or abstain from doing an act," is broad enough to cover all that is going on in Kashmir. The report specifically states that terrorism is never to be an acceptable tactic, even for the most defensible of causes.

The report contains a number of useful suggestions in the field of preventive diplomacy and mediation such as establishment of a facility for training of potential special repre-

sentatives and mediators. But the net effect of this and other similar recommendations will be an increase in the U.N. bureaucracy and expenditure. The panel has recommended the creation of one more post of Deputy Secretary-General to deal with issues of peace and security, in addition to the existing post whose incumbent handles questions of development. This would probably add to the symmetry, but the case for a second high-level post is not convincing.

Similarly, the panel has proposed the establishment of a Peace-building Commission, without adducing adequate justification for it. In any case, the wisdom of placing such a commission within the ambit of the Security Council is questionable since it would involve interaction with diverse agencies within the U.N. system such as the UNDP. Another recommendation is for the abolition of the Trusteeship Council. This has been considered many times in the past and should certainly be followed up. There are other proposals, such as amending Articles 53 and 107 of the Charter relating to enemy states and deleting Article 47 dealing with the Military Staff Committee, which are eminently sensible ideas.

The members of the panel would be the first to acknowledge that no amount of reform would produce the desired results without the genuine commitment of member-states to abide by their obligations under the Charter. The other side of the coin is that if the member-states were to observe all the principles and provisions of the Charter, there would be no need for reform. What is required is a change in the mindset of members.

Reform, nevertheless, is necessary and can at times be helpful in producing the desired change in mindset. At the same time, reform should not be undertaken under threat from one or more states. It has been said that if states are to avoid unilateral action, the U.N. must become relevant for them. This is a dangerous doctrine since it puts the onus of maintaining its relevance on the U.N. International law is clear. Force can be used only in two circumstances: self-defence under Article 51 or in pursuance of a specific authorisation from the Security Council. To the credit of the panel, it upholds this principle.

(The writer is a former Permanent Representative of India at the U.N.)

13 DEC 2004

THE HINDU

THURSDAY, DECEMBER 9, 2004

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REFORMING THE UNITED NATIONS  
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THE RECOMMENDATIONS OF the panel mandated to propose reforms for making the United Nations a more effective instrument of collective security might not satisfy either the countries that fret at restraints imposed by international norms or those that seek a greater role in global decision-making. However, the high-level Panel on Threats, Challenges and Change constituted by Secretary-General Kofi Annan in 2003 has submitted a comprehensive report that can form the basis for a vibrant debate. The report is significant because it addresses the doctrinal controversies and institutional shortcomings that have impaired efforts to resolve conflicts. Given the context in which the international community is trying to cope with the invasion of Iraq by the United States, the panel's emphatic rejection of the doctrine of preventive war is particularly welcome. While distinguishing a preventive war, where a state claims the right of self-defence against a non-imminent threat, from a pre-emptive war against a proximate threat, the panel observes that there will always be time to follow the U.N. route in cases that fall under the first category. It also evolves a doctrine to validate international intervention in the internal affairs of a country where state systems have collapsed or where genocide, ethnic cleansing or other gross abuses of human rights are perpetrated. According to this doctrine, the international community has a collective responsibility to intervene and protect victims when sovereign governments are either powerless or unwilling to act because such man-made catastrophes can be a threat to global peace and security.

The panel pertinently observes that threats today to the stability of the international order emanate from a wider variety of sources than the inter-state conflicts that the U.N. system was established primarily to resolve. The other sources of threat identified in the report are poverty, infectious disease, and environmental degradation; conflicts within countries; weapons of mass

destruction; terrorism; and transnational organised crime. While recognising that several mechanisms to deal with these threats have evolved outside the ambit of the U.N., the panel points to the need for more effective coordination among all agencies that take cognisance of particular problems. Several institutional reforms, including the establishment of an efficient information-gathering apparatus, are suggested. It is also recommended that the U.N. should proactively interact with regional organisations as well as civil society institutions within member countries. The panel tries to deflect criticism that its recommendations will cause more external interference in the internal affairs of individual countries by stressing that collective efforts should be oriented towards strengthening a state's capabilities. In this context, it is disappointing that the role played by capital market speculators, whose transnational operations often have a devastating impact on developing countries, is not discussed.

The report unequivocally declares that peace enforcement, peace-keeping and peace-building operations should not be undertaken without a U.N. mandate. Since operations of this nature are often carried out by regional formations or *ad hoc* alliances, the panel suggests ways by which relevant departments of the U.N. Secretariat can offer effective coordination. It recommends that States possessing the capability should keep readily available the military contingents and logistical capacity that can be swiftly deployed for these operations. Given this concept of a broad-based format for collective security, the panel's proposals for the reconfiguration of the Security Council might appear less iniquitous. Those countries that can be inducted into the second tier of permanent members without the veto power will have a major say in global security affairs if they play a role commensurate with their capabilities. For all that, the panel's arguments for retaining veto powers in the hands of a few fail to convince.

09 DEC 2004

THE HINDU

# Prez predicts global tilt in 5 years

## Hopes UN will grant permanent status

Majid Jahangir  
Srinagar, December 8

PRESIDENT APJ Abdul Kalam today expressed the hope that India would attain a permanent United Nations Security Council seat in the next five years.

"It's just a matter of time, as one billion people of the country have to be given representation in the UN", Kalam said while interacting with students of various schools at the auditorium of the 15 Corps in Badami Bagh Cantonment.

The President, on a day's visit to Jammu and Kashmir, said India had one of the best democratic set-ups in the world. "Our armed forces are fighting in different parts of the world to defend the peace. We're exporting knowledge to different countries and all this is enough for granting UN status to India", he said in reply to a question by Naveed Kalsoo, a Class X student from Burn Hall school. Naveed wanted to know why India was not being recognised as a world power like the five superpowers.

"I feel that, within a period of five years, India will be a member of the UNSC", Kalam told the audience, dominated by students from Army School, Burnhall and Kendriya Vidyalaya. The President fielded every question — ranging from his personal life to his Vision 2020 — that the young minds shot at him.

Kalam expressed the hope that J&K would become a prosperous state in 10 years. After the question-and-answer session, he asked the students to take an oath that "they will be honest towards themselves and society", which, he hoped, would help weed out corruption.



President APJ Abdul Kalam walks along a barbed-wire fence to meet jawans posted at Kargil on Wednesday. AFP

## Diplomats meet Annan on reforms

Press Trust of India  
United Nations, December 8

INDIA — ALONG with Japan, Germany and Brazil — has discussed with UN Secretary-General Kofi Annan the proposed reforms — including expansion of the Security Council — on the eve of his major address to the General Assembly on the report of the high-level panel.

Diplomats and officials said Indian Ambassador to the UN Nirupam Sen and his counterparts from the three countries presented their unified position on various issues and stressed the need to expand the 15-member council to reflect the current realities and make it more representative and credible.

However, details of yesterday's discussions, which lasted more than half an hour, were not available. They also stressed that it might not be possible for the membership to arrive at a consensus on all issues and, hence, a vote in the 191-member General Assembly might be necessary on some issues.

Diplomats said the issue of whether the new permanent members of the Security Council should have veto did not come up. The four ambassadors raised the possibility of voting by the General Assembly on some of the recommendations in the context of some states — including Pakistan — calling for consensus on the issue of expansion of the council, the sources said.

Pakistan opposes expansion in the permanent category, but an overwhelming majority favours increasing their number. Hence, it might be difficult to arrive at a consensus.

9/12  
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# I don't plan to resign: Annan

11-15 27-12 UN

**London:** UN secretary general Kofi Annan, under scanner for his son's alleged role in the controversial Iraqi oil-for-food programme, has said he is not considering to resign and people are attacking him as they believe the world body has not been helpful to them in recent times.

"I think resignation is comparatively easy. It is much more difficult to stay on and continue to do the job you are elected to do, and focus

on the important agenda of the organisation and the membership," he said in an interview to the Financial Times published on Monday.

New revelations concerning about payments to his son Kojo in the UN's supervision of Iraqi oil sales under Saddam Hussein's regime has sparked off a controversy with some US senators like Norm Coleman, who is leading a Congressional probe,

calling for his resignation.

"My hope had been once the independent investigative committee had been set up, we would all wait for them to do their work, and then draw our conclusions and make judgements. This

has not turned out to be the case for some who have been relentless in their attacks," the secretary general said.

On being asked why were people targeting him, Annan said, "There are those who believe that the organisation has not been helpful in recent times, he said, adding "there may be other reasons, and as secretary general, I'm the face of the organisation, so I'm the obvious target". When asked how it affected him personally, Annan said, "Obviously it's difficult for me as secretary general of the UN and as a father. But we need to continue with our work". PTI



07 DEC 2004

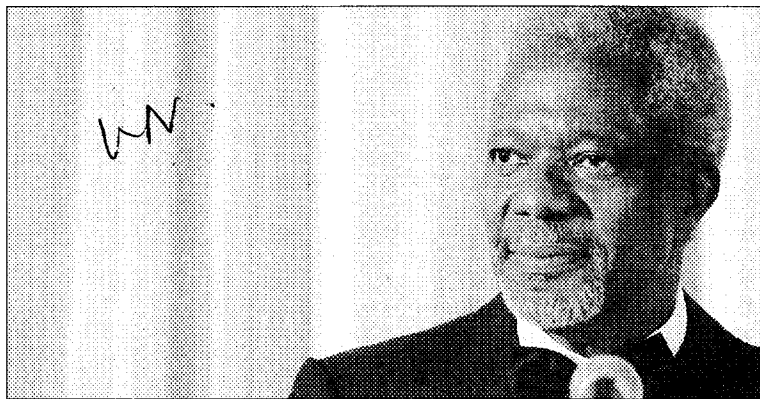
THE TIMES OF INDIA

*It will not be wise for India to reject non-veto permanent membership of the UNSC*

HT-6  
7/12

# Join the club

BY CHINMAYA R. GHAREKHAN



UNEQUAL MUSIC: UN Secretary General Kofi Annan

**A**FTER THE events of spring 2003 which culminated in the invasion of Iraq, the prestige and credibility of the United Nations dipped to an all-time low. Public opinion across the world was of disillusionment with the organisation, questions were asked about its relevance and even obituaries were written, or at least suggested, about the UN. In the circumstances, Secretary General Kofi Annan did what any head of a big institution or government would have done. He established a commission; only he called it a panel of experts. He did one more wise thing: he fixed their deadline at one year. The panel has just submitted its report. Annan will submit his own report on the panel's report in March next year.

The panel was tasked to examine global threats, analyse challenges and opportunities and recommend changes to ensure effective collective action to deal with them. One of the areas it was specifically asked to look into was the composition of the Security Council.

At the time the UN came into existence, the Security Council consisted of 11 members — five permanent and six non-permanent — to be elected for a non-renewable term of two years. In the late Sixties, the membership was expanded to 15 by adding four members to the non-permanent category. The initiative for this expansion came mainly from India. At that time, no one thought of disturbing the membership of the P-5 club, which made it a comparatively easy exercise.

At the beginning of the Nineties, the item on the composition of the Security Council was revived, again by India. This writer happened to be the permanent representative of India to the UN at the time. At first, we did not specify what type of expansion we were looking for; though we always had in mind to seek permanent membership for India. The item gradually attracted considerable support, and the General Assembly set up an open-ended working group to make recommendations on how to expand the council. When Germany and Japan woke up to the possibility of obtaining permanent membership for themselves, they became enthusiastic proponents of the idea. The working group met over many years, but could not agree on any of the proposals for want of consensus. There the matter would have rested but for Bush's decision to go to war against Iraq, the resultant blow to the rele-

vance of the UN and Annan's move to set up a high-level panel to make the composition of the council more representative. The membership of the UN today is 191.

The panel, too, has not managed to reach a consensus on the issue. Until June/July 2004, it had only one proposal under consideration, namely, to add a new category of so-called 'semi-permanent' members who would be elected for a renewable term of four years. When reports of this proposal leaked out, there was a howl of protests, particularly from countries which were aspirants for permanent membership, such as India, Brazil, Japan and Germany. Some members of the panel registered their own strong views on the matter. Consequently, the panel's report contains an alternative proposal for the expansion, namely to create a new category of as many as six permanent members without the right of veto. The plan to create non-veto permanent members along with three additional two-year term members is referred to as Model A in the report and the proposal to create eight 'semi-permanent' members, together with one additional member for the usual two-year, non-renewable term, is called Model B. In either scenario, the total membership would increase to 24. Incidentally, the number 24 appears to be arbitrarily arrived at, but this is the number which the Americans at one stage had informally indicated as the one they could consider.

Besides indicating the numbers, the panel has suggested specific criteria for membership in the Security Council, namely the financial, military and diplomatic contribution which States make to the UN. While financial and military contributions are quantifiable in terms of

the share in the UN's budget and the number of troops made available for peacekeeping operations, diplomatic contribution is less amenable to accurate measurement. For developed countries, the panel has an excellent criterion — they should have achieved or made substantial progress towards meeting the internationally agreed target of 0.7 per cent of their GDP for ODA. Only the Scandinavian countries would satisfy this criterion!

Under Model A, the six new non-veto permanent members would be distributed as follows among four regions of the world — two for Africa, two for Asia and the Pacific, one for Europe and one for the Americas. The three additional non-permanent seats would go on the basis of one each to Africa, Asia and the Pacific, and the Americas. Under Model B, the eight semi-permanent seats would be equally distributed among the four regions and the additional non-permanent seat would be given to Africa and one of the present two European non-permanent seats would go to Asia. It should be pointed out that Africa, the largest group with 53 countries, does not have a single permanent member at present.

Which of the two models is more attractive for India? Or, should India reject them both since neither comes up to our aspiration for permanent membership on the same footing as current permanent members with the right of veto? There should be no doubt whatsoever on one point. The General Assembly would simply never agree to make the existing unequal or undemocratic situation even more unequal and undemocratic. There is strong sentiment against the veto provision. Everyone knows that nothing can be done about the P-5's existing veto

power, since any amendment involving abolition or even dilution of the veto needs the concurrence of each of the veto powers. When it comes to adding one more veto power, there is near unanimity against it. It can be said that none of the P-5 wants their exclusive club to be expanded, whatever they might say in public or private.

We are thus left with having to choose between Model A and Model B. Of the two, Model A is obviously more attractive since it does away with the need to compete for membership every few years which can be a disastrous experience, as in 1996 when we suffered a humiliating defeat at the hands of Japan. There is every probability that India will get one of the two permanent seats from the quota for Asia and the Pacific, the other one going to Japan. Even this will not be easy, but it is doable. Model B is not at all attractive for India for the same reason that it will be embraced by most of the other UN members. Pakistan, for example, would lobby actively for Model B since it would provide it an opportunity to obtain diplomatic parity with India, after reaching strategic parity in 1998.

It would not be wise for India to reject Model A since the alternatives are worse. If the other recommendations of the panel are acted upon, they would greatly expand the jurisdiction of the Security Council. As an emerging global power, it would be imperative for India to be a part of the new power structure. Even as a non-veto member, India can be an effective player, especially if it works in the expanded council closely with other new members such as Brazil. India, of course, has the option of rejecting both the models or of even suggesting an additional one which would consist of adding only a few more non-permanent seats of the two-year, non-renewable type; but this is not mentioned here as a serious alternative.

India will now have to work hard to mobilise support firstly for Model A and secondly for her own claim to one of the two Asian seats. The difficulty with Model A lies in Africa which has at least three aspirants for the two seats — South Africa, Nigeria and Egypt. The solidarity among India, Japan, Brazil and Germany will be effective up to the stage of the decision on the model. Once the model is agreed upon — and this is not going to happen any time soon — each one will be for itself.

# U.N. panel questions legitimacy of Iraq war

By Sridhar Krishnaswami

WASHINGTON, DEC. 3. The 16-member high-level blue ribbon panel appointed by the United Nations Secretary-General, Kofi Annan, has challenged the Bush administration's right to use military force against an enemy that is not an imminent threat and has maintained that only the United Nations Security Council has the legal standing to authorise such a "preventive war".

The panel report has raised eyebrows in world capitals including in Washington D.C. where conservatives have started questioning some of the recommendations.

The panel led by the former Prime Minister of Thailand, Anand Panyarachun, has reflected on longstand-

ing unease in the international community over the manner in which the United States went to war in Iraq.

## Recommendations

The panel, which has put out 101 recommendations, noted that "there is little evident international acceptance of the idea of security being best preserved by a balance of power or by any single superpower." Further, it said any legitimate use of force must have the pre-determination of being the last resort and that the threat should be serious.

The major threats have also been identified as poverty, disease, terrorism, weapons of mass destruction and the disputes in West Asia and Kashmir.

04 DEC 2004

THE HINDU



# U.N. panel not for change in veto power

By Siddharth Varadarajan

**NEW DELHI, DEC. 1.** The high-level panel tasked by the United Nations Secretary General, Kofi Annan, to study global security threats and suggest institutional reforms has come up with a number of recommendations aimed at increasing the effectiveness of the world body. Among these are two proposals to expand the number of permanent members of the U.N. Security Council, without diluting or expanding the veto power of the five existing permanent members.

The panel, whose report will be formally unveiled in New York on December 2, is expected eventually to form the basis for a reform of the U.N. system, though many of its proposals are likely to excite debate, disagreement and even consternation around the world.

Among these are its proposals on expansion of the UNSC without veto, its definition of terrorism (as any action which harms civilians or non-combatants regardless of whether the aim is to fight foreign occupation), its recommendations on countering proliferation, which borrow liberally from the agenda unveiled earlier this year by the U.S. President, George W. Bush,

and its endorsement of the controversial doctrine of humanitarian intervention.

## Six more members

Under the first model for the Security Council's expansion, the panel proposes six more permanent members with two each drawn from Asia and Africa and one each from Europe and the Americas. There would be, in addition, 11 non-permanent members as well, taking the size of the Council to 24. Under the second model, the number of permanent members would be kept at five but there would be a new category of eight semi-permanent members with renewable four-year terms, with 11 non-permanent members making up the balance. No candidates are named anywhere in the report.

"We recommend that under any reform proposal, there should be no expansion of the veto," the panel report says. Though it recognises the veto "has an anachronistic character that is unsuitable for the institution in an increasingly democratic age," the panel members noted they see "no practical way of changing the existing members' veto powers."

The 16-member panel was

chaired by Anand Panyarachun of Thailand and had as its members, among others, Satish Nambiar (India), Qian Qichen (China), Yevgeny Primakov (Russia), Nafis Sadiq (Pakistan), Brent Scowcroft (U.S.), Amre Moussa (Egypt) and Robert Badinter (France).

## NPT clause

To cope with the danger of increasing proliferation, the panel suggests that all countries sign the Additional Protocol to the Nuclear Non-proliferation Treaty (NPT) allowing intrusive full-scope inspections by the International Atomic Energy Agency. It also suggests the "early conclusion on an arrangement ... which would enable the IAEA to act as a guarantor for the supply of fissile material to civilian nuclear users" and that countries in the interim stop building enrichment or reprocessing facilities. Finally, the panel's report says all states should be encouraged to join the U.S.-led Proliferation Security Initiative (PSI) for interdicting suspect shipping on the high seas.

On the use of force and the Bush doctrine of pre-emptive war, the panel tries to strike a middle path. It says Article 51 of the U.N. Charter (on self-defence) provides enough

legal cover for one state to attack another in the face of an "imminent" threat. But if the threat posed is anything less than imminent, states have an obligation to secure the Security Council's authorisation before they can use force. Asked how the U.S. invasion of Iraq would measure up against this yardstick, a senior U.N. official who worked closely with the panel told *The Hindu* the mandate given by Mr. Annan was not to look at specific countries and cases, or indeed the past, but to the future.

The problem of inter-state war was one of six baskets of threats the panel studied, the other five being wars within states and the danger of genocide, the problem of infectious diseases, the dangers posed by the possession and proliferation of weapons of mass destruction, international terrorism and transnational organised crime. Before detailing its specific recommendations, the report notes that "development" is the first line of defence.

The details of the report, a copy of which was provided to *The Hindu* ahead of the official release on condition of non-publication, have leaked out so substantially that the U.N. on Wednesday decided to withdraw its embargo.

02 DEC 2004

THE HINDU

# UN 'war' report out

United Nations, Dec. 1 (Reuters): A blue ribbon panel released today a landmark report on global threats that insisted the UN Security Council approve any "preventive" war, which was not the case when the US invaded Iraq.

UN secretary-general Kofi Annan had asked the panel of 16 veteran foreign ministers and diplomats from around the world, including former US national security adviser Brent Scowcroft, to spell out how the world body should reform itself and identify the main dangers to mankind in the 21st century.

The 95-page report gave 101 proposals to combat poverty, AIDS, social upheavals, the threat of nuclear proliferation, terrorism and organised crime. It criticised UN bodies, from the Security Council to the Human Rights Commission and proposed the world body offer buy-outs to its ageing staff.

The UN charter allows a

nation to respond immediately in self-defence to an actual or imminent attack.

But the report, spurred by the US-led invasion of Iraq last year that divided world leaders, said "preventive action" when a threat was not imminent needed Security Council consent. This was denied to the Bush administration before the war.

"If there are good arguments for preventive military action, with good evidence to support them, they should be put to the Security Council, which can authorise such action," the report said.

"For those impatient with such a response the answer must be that in a world full of perceived potential threats, the risk to the global order... is simply too great for the legality of unilateral preventive action," it added.

But the report also widens the definition of threats that could be a cause for military action by endorsing the con-

cept of protecting civilians from atrocities by their government.

And it recommends that the Security Council stop the spread of weapons of mass destruction, particularly nuclear proliferation, by taking "collective action" against any state that even threatens a nuclear attack.

## India damp squib

However, the report has turned out to be somewhat of a damp squib for India, because by denying new entrants the power of veto, the monopoly of the big five — US, Russia, China, France and Britain — remains intact, reports our special correspondent.

The expert group has put out two options for making the Security Council better representative of today's world. One is to expand the number of permanent seats or to have a new category of members for four year terms.

02 DEC 2004 THE TELEGRAPH

# UNSC seat won't give India veto power

## Agencies

UNHQ, December 1

EVEN IF India does bag permanent membership of the Security Council in a revamp of the United Nations, it is unlikely to get veto rights.

One of two plans for an overhaul of the world body, submitted by a high-level panel, provides for six new permanent members of the council but denies them veto power.

The international panel, set up last year by UN secretary-general Kofi Annan, submitted its recommendations on Tuesday on a host of issues, ranging from reforms in the world body to the definition of terrorism.

Unable to agree on whether to increase membership of the Security Council in both the permanent and non-permanent categories or only in the non-permanent category, the panel has given two options.

## Plan I

The first plan provides for increasing the number of permanent members by six — two each from Africa, Asia-Pacific, Europe and the two Americas — and of non-permanent members

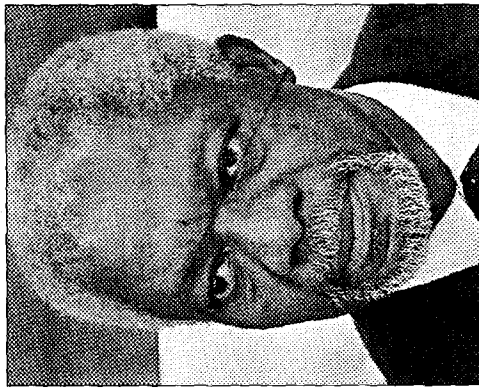
by three, to be divided among major regional areas. But, significantly, the new permanent members would not have veto power, unlike the current five permanent members: the US, the UK, France, Russia and China.

## Plan II

The second plan would not increase the number of permanent members but create a new category of "eight four-year renewable term" seats besides increasing the number of members in the non-permanent category by just one. Both plans increase the total number of the council's members from 15 to 24. At present, the non-permanent members have a two-year term but a country cannot get two successive terms. The second plan would allow the members in the new category to get any number of successive four-year terms. Like non-permanent members, they too would be elected by the General Assembly.

## Veto rationale

The rationale against granting veto power to the new permanent members in the first plan is that efforts



Kofi Annan Reforms path

should be made to restrict the use of veto even by the current permanent members rather than extending this privilege to new members.

To this end, the panel has recommended the introduction of a system of "indicative voting", which proposes that the council first take non-binding vote on controversial issues during which a veto cannot be cast.

In the second stage, it takes a binding vote in which a veto can be cast.

The rationale for introducing this system is that if an overwhelming majority supports or opposes a particular measure in the "indicative voting", it would put a strong moral pressure on the permanent members against casting veto.

## Membership criterion

The panel suggests that only those members should find place on the council who contribute most to the United Nations financially, militarily, diplomatically — especially in terms of contributions to the assessed budgets, participation in peacekeeping operations, contribution to voluntary activities of the UN in areas of security and development and diplomatic activities in support of the world body's objectives and mandates.

"Among the developed countries, achieving or making substantial progress towards the internationally agreed level of 0.7 per cent of GDP to ODA should be considered an important criterion of contribution," it said.

# India may get second class seat in UNSC

By Chidanand Rajghatta/TNN

**Washington:** India's aspiration for a seat in the United Nations Security Council is being dashed. New Delhi will, at best, get a second-tier or second-class seat in an expanded Security Council under new proposals to reform the international body.

A high-level panel that

new proposals envisage expanding this two-tier 15-member combo to a three-tier, 24-member body.

The first of the proposals envisage adding six new permanent members without veto power: two from Asia, two from Africa, one each from Europe and the Americas. It will also add three new non-permanent members for a two-year



## The security council makeover

A 16-member team has taken over a year to present two proposals for the UNSC's expansion from a two-tier 15-member combo to a three-tier, 24-member body

**Plan A (5+6+13):** Six new permanent members sans veto power. Two from Asia & Africa, one each from Europe and the Americas. Plus three new non-permanent members for a two-year term. India and Germany prefer this route

**Plan B (5+8+11):** Eight seats for new members, with 4-year terms subject to renewal. Two each from Africa, Asia, Europe and the Americas. Plus one non-permanent two-year seat. Italy is keen on this proposal

Italy and Pak keen on thwarting Germany and India's chances But Japan & India are the two Asian countries who will make the cut either way

**Downside:** Leery about new fronts and bloc rivalries, Washington would prefer to curb any expansion to the SC

will submit its report on Thursday on ways to retool the UN for the 21st century is recommending two routes to expand the UNSC. Under both proposals, India and other aspirants will be denied entry into the existing exclusive, veto-bearing five-member Security Council. Instead, they will be included in a separate tier of permanent or semi-permanent members without the veto.

The UN Security Council currently has five permanent SC members (US, Russia, China, France and UK) and ten rotating members with two-year terms. The

term to the 10-member body, bringing the overall SC strength to 24 seats (5+6+13).

A second proposal is for eight seats in a new class of members, who would serve for four years, subject to renewal. They would include 2 each from Africa, Asia, Europe and the Americas. In addition, the plan foresees adding one nonpermanent two-year seat for a total of 24 (5+8+11).

In either case, India is certain to be one of the two Asian countries to make the cut, along with Japan.

► US does not want any more veto-bearing member, Page 10

28 NOV 2004

# UN panel at odds on Security Council rejig proposals

S. Rajagopalan  
Washington, November 26

AS INDIA keeps up its bid for a permanent seat in the UN Security Council, a high-power panel appointed by Secretary-General Kofi Annan has come out with two conflicting proposals on restructuring the Council.

One proposal, according to a selective media leak, moots raising the number of permanent members from the present five to 11. But the other confines itself to raising the number of non-

permanent members from 10 to 19, without altering the present P-5 (permanent five) arrangement.

Portions of the panel's report made available to the *Los Angeles Times* say the two proposals are designed to make the Security Council more effective and representative. The 60-page report is expected to be released next week.

The only common feature in the two proposals put forth by the panel, headed by former Thailand Prime Minister Anand Panyara-

chun, is to expand the total number of seats in the Security Council to 24 — six each for Asia, Africa, Europe and the Americas.

At present, the council has five permanent members (the United States, Russia, China, Britain and France) and 10 non-permanent members, who serve two-year terms.

The panel's first proposal is to create six more permanent seats and three more non-permanent seats, thus taking the total to 24. The report, it is said, does not spec-

ify whether the new permanent members should have veto power.

In the second proposal, a three-tier system has been mooted — retaining permanent membership at the present five, having eight non-permanent seats for four-year renewable terms and the remaining 11 for two-year non-renewable terms.

India, Japan, Germany and Brazil are in contention for permanent berths as and when the world body decides to expand the Council.

47-13 28/11  
The four countries teamed up in New York in September to launch a joint bid for permanent seats. They have vowed to work together and support each other's candidature.

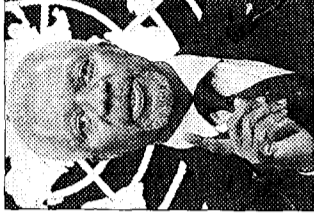
For adoption of any changes to the composition of the Security Council, approval by two-thirds of 191 UN members will be necessary. And the measure will have to be ratified by the legislatures of two-thirds of those governments, including all the five permanent council members.

Annan's panel of 15 eminent persons, who have finalised the report, includes an Indian representative — former Lt. General Satish Nambiar.

It has a Pakistani representative in Nafis Sadik, former executive director of the UN Population Fund.

Pakistan, which has been opposed to the idea of securing a permanent berth in the Council, is said to be lobbying for the second proposal that only raises the number of non-permanent members.

## TWO-PRONGED PLAN



Kofi Annan

A high-power panel appointed by Secretary-General Kofi Annan has come out with two conflicting proposals on restructuring the United Nations Security Council:

**Proposal 1:** Moots the idea of raising the number of permanent members from the present five to 11

**Proposal 2:** Raising the number of non-permanent members from 10 to 19, without altering the present P-5 arrangement

**HINDUSTAN TIMES**

29/11 **Salve to the UN** HF 6

**T**HE WAR in Iraq has brought to the fore the question of the future of the rule of law and the United Nations. As Secretary-General Kofi Annan pointed out some months ago, going by the UN charter, the war was "illegal". Fortunately, Mr Annan has not just been an arm-chair critic. He set up a blue-ribbon panel chaired by Anand Panyarachun, former Thai PM, which is now ready with a far-ranging report on the issue of collective security in the face of new global threats. The UN has been accused of being unable to act when needed, yet its provisions are violated by its own members, principally those on the use of force.

Details of the report have already been leaked and are doing the rounds of world capitals. The basic issue it confronts is the criteria for the legitimacy of the use of force. The UN charter permits wars of two kinds — for self-defence and those at the express orders of the UN Security Council. Needless to say, these provisions have been more ob-

served in its breach, and the US is not the only country that has transgressed them. Even while proposing new criteria for the legitimacy, the panel does not seem to have provided any room for the new US doctrine of preventive war, especially if the threat is not "imminent".

But at the heart of revitalising the UN is the need for a changed UN Security Council whose permanent members are still the victors of World War II. The Panyarachun panel appears to have veered around a proposal that could get the 'aspiring four' — India, Germany, Japan and Brazil — in, along with Egypt and South Africa. But the issue of a veto has been left untouched.

America's views will be critical to the proposals when they come up before the UNSC and UNGA, and the new Bush administration does not provide easy answers as to what these will be. But even the US knows that though it has taken Iraq apart, to put it back requires the world community which will only come forward under the auspices of the UN, howsoever flawed it may be.

29 NOV 2004

THE HINDUSTAN TIMES

...the Berlin presents the Film International Daimler award to Tom Hanks in ...

## UN 5/3 Annan faces no-trust vote 20/11

UNHQ, Nov. 19. — UN employees were readying to make a historic vote of no confidence against Mr Kofi Annan, whose tenure as Secretary-General has been tainted with scandals, sources told AFP today.

The UN staff union was set to approve a resolution withdrawing its support for the embattled UN Secretary-General and his management. The vote is was the first of its kind in the more than 50-year history of the UN.

Mr Annan has been in the line of fire

over a series of scandals including controversy about a UN aid programme that investigators say allowed Saddam Hussein to embezzle billions of dollars.

But staffers said the trigger for the no-confidence measure was an announcement this week that Mr Annan had pardoned the UN's top oversight official, who was facing allegations of favouritism and sexual harassment. The union had requested a formal probe into the behaviour of the official, Mr Dileep Nair, after em-

ployees accused him of harassing staff members and violating UN rules on the hiring and promotion of workers.

UN spokesman Mr Fred Eckhard announced on Tuesday that Mr Nair had been exonerated by Mr Annan "after a thorough review". But UN employees claimed that investigators had not questioned the staff union, which first raised the complaints in April. "This was a whitewash, pure and simple," Mr Guy Candusso, a member of the staff union, said. — AFP

# UN ready to get back to Iraq weapons scan

AGENCIES  
TOKYO, OCTOBER 13

UN INSPECTORS, barred from most of Iraq since last year's invasion, are ready to return to probe the disappearance of equipment that could be used in atomic weapons, the United Nations nuclear watchdog said on Wednesday.

"We are ready, subject to Security Council guidance and the prevailing security situation, to resume our Security Council mandated verification activities in Iraq," International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA) spokesman Mark Gwozdecky said.

The IAEA, which monitored Saddam Hussein's nuclear sites before last year's Iraq war, informed the UN Security Council this week that equipment

and materials that could be used to make atomic weapons have been disappearing from Iraq but neither Baghdad nor Washington had noticed.

The announcement came as Iraq urged international donors to live up to their promises on funding for reconstruction work on Wednesday even as the United Nations has granted the country its vote, saying it could not pay its dues due to reasons beyond its control.

Speaking at a two-day donors' meeting in Tokyo, Iraqi delegates also urged creditors to forgive Baghdad's debt of up to \$125 billion as the only way to relieve Iraq of its crushing financial burden.

The meeting brings together officials from roughly 55 organisations and countries, including some that opposed the US-led war in Iraq, to follow up last year's meeting in Madrid at which

## Two days on, militia frees US photographer in Baghdad

**NEW YORK/BERUT:** An American photographer abducted by unidentified gunmen in Baghdad was freed unharmed after a two-day ordeal, his photo agency said. Paul Taggart, 24, a freelancer represented by the World Picture News agency in New York, was taken captive on Sunday when a gang of gunmen stopped his car en route to Sadr City. He was released on Tuesday.

WPN president Stephen Claypole said it was unclear if the gang was criminal or political in nature.

Taggart had been on his way to a pre-arranged assignment on the Mehdi Army militia of radical Shiite cleric Moqtada Sadr, who had undertaken to ensure his safety. The militia had helped negotiate Taggart's release, Claypole said.



Meanwhile, Iraqi kidnappers have freed two Lebanese men who were taken hostage west of Baghdad in September, their company's lawyer said on Wednesday. —Reuters

donors pledged around \$14 billion. "Development and stability in Iraq cannot be driven forward through the barrels of guns," Deputy Prime Minister Barham Salih told the donors.

"Assistance and aid in the short term is

the key to destroying the causes of terrorism. It is also the only way we can build a sustainable, long-term future for our people," he added.

Among participants in the meeting are France, Germany and Russia, all of which opposed last year's US-led invasion and have criticised Washington's postwar handling of Iraq.

Salih later said many parts of Iraq are already secure enough to start reconstruction work. "We are not underestimating the security challenge, but at the same time the images of calamity and carnage that you see on TV do not reflect the reality of Iraq," he said.

Only a few hundred million dollars of the \$14 billion pledged at the Madrid meeting has been spent, mainly to buy school supplies and help train government workers abroad.



## 'Nuclear weapons material vanishing from Iraq' <sup>UN</sup>

<sup>18/10</sup>  
**UNITED NATIONS, OCT. 12.** Equipment and materials that could be used to make nuclear weapons are disappearing from Iraq but neither Baghdad nor Washington appears to have noticed, the U.N. nuclear watchdog agency has reported.

Satellite imagery shows that entire buildings in Iraq have been dismantled. They once housed high-precision equipment that could help a government or terror group make nuclear bombs, the International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA) said in a report to the U.N. Security Council yesterday.

Equipment and materials helpful in making bombs also have been removed from open storage areas in Iraq and disappeared without a trace, according to the satellite pictures, the IAEA Director-General, Mohamed El-Baradei, said.

While some military goods that disappeared from Iraq after the March 2003 U.S.-led invasion, including missile engines, later turned up in scrap yards in West Asia and Europe, none of the equipment or material known to the IAEA as potentially useful in making nuclear bombs has turned up yet, Mr. El-Baradei said.

<sup>HD-13</sup>  
The U.S. barred the return of U.N. weapons investigators after launching war on Iraq, preventing the IAEA from keeping tabs on high-tech equipment and materials, the IAEA report said.

Under anti-proliferation agreements, the U.S. occupation authorities who administered Iraq until June, and then the Iraqi interim Government that took power at the end of June, would have to inform the IAEA if they moved or exported any of that material or equipment. But no such reports have been received since the invasion, IAEA officials said.

The U.S. also has not publicly commented on earlier reports by U.N. inspectors disclosing the dismantling of a range of key weapons-making sites, raising the question of whether it was unable to monitor the sites.

In the absence of any U.S. or Iraqi accounting, Council diplomats said the satellite images could mean the gear had been moved to new sites inside Iraq or stolen. If stolen, it could end up in the hands of a government or terrorist group seeking nuclear weapons. "We simply don't know, although we are trying to get the information," said one council diplomat. — Reuters

THE HINDU

13 OCT 2004

# Home truths

57-8  
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Kofi Annan tells it like it is

**K**ofi Annan, the world's first diplomat, appears to be telling it like it is nowadays. First he called the invasion of Iraq illegal, which it was as it failed to get UN authorisation. Then, in his speech that opened this year's UN General Assembly session, he warned that the rule of law was in danger around the world. He didn't have only terrorists in mind. According to him, nations which proclaim the rule of law at home should practise it abroad, while those who insist on it abroad should enforce it at home — references to Western democracies and anti-Western dictatorships, respectively. He also called for fair globalisation, in a manner that better managed its economic and social fallout. Annan's unusually candid assessments reflect a degree of frustration at the manner in which the UN typically works. Take, for example, the millennium declaration of the UN, which sets specific poverty reduction targets for poor countries, with promises of aid from rich countries to meet the targets. The aid never transpires, and the targets remain mostly on paper. Meanwhile, rich countries trade mostly among themselves, while bludgeoning poor countries with agricultural subsidies and other protectionist barriers.

Some widely popular suggestions in relation to globalisation are a tax on financial transactions and on sale of heavy arms. The proceeds of this tax could be used, say, to alleviate world hunger and to help countries meet the millennium goals. Expectedly, the proposals have been shot down by Ann Veneman, the representative of the Bush administration who was present, on the grounds that such a tax was undemocratic and impossible to implement. What she means by "undemocratic" is that a global tax would require global institutions of governance to administer it. But the point is that there are several institutions of global governance already — the World Bank, the IMF, the World Trade Organisation, the UN itself. And none of them can be considered paragons of democracy. A framework for global governance is indispensable, as increasing transactions conducted across national boundaries mean there have to be rules governing them. The real issue is not the existence of global institutions, but how democratic and accountable they can be made. That is a nettle that will have to be grasped anyway, if the fair globalisation that Annan envisages is to come about.

India can't accept a formula that denies it permanent membership in the UN council

MF 6  
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# UNfair means

BY CHINMAYA R. GHAREKHAN

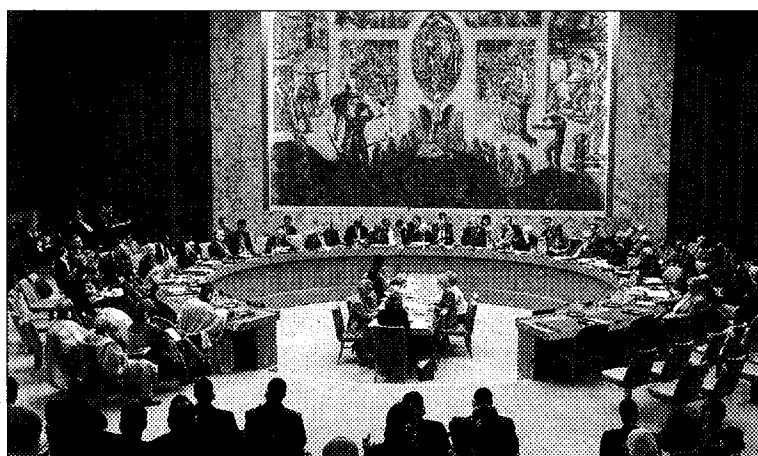
ACCORDING TO media reports, Prime Minister Manmohan Singh did not broach India's interest in acquiring the permanent membership of the Security Council in his meeting with President Bush in New York on September 22. It was the right thing to have done. Media reports also suggest that he conveyed to UN Secretary-General Kofi Annan India's rejection of the proposal to create a new category of semi-permanent members. This, too, was the right thing to do.

Ever since India took the lead in proposing an increase in the membership of the Security Council in the late Seventies and revived it in 1990, there has been any number of ideas on how to expand the council. It has always been understood that if the council were to accurately reflect the altered power equations in the world since the UN was founded in 1945, two things would have to happen: the number of members would have to be increased from 15 to at least 25 by adding to permanent and non-permanent categories; and there would have to be more adequate representation to the developing countries in the ranks of the permanent members.

Ideally, some of the existing permanent members would be deprived of their privileged position and replaced by others with more economic and potential military clout. One thought frequently mentioned is to replace the current European permanent members by a single European Union seat. However, this will not happen. None of the existing permanent members will give up their seats and who can blame them?

Will the permanent members ever be prepared to admit new members to what is the most exclusive political club in the world? The ranks of the five-member nuclear weapons club were first broken clandestinely by Israel many years ago and openly by India and Pakistan in 1998. But a new member can be added to the P-5 group only if all five agree. In other words, any one of the P-5 can veto a new member even if the other four are positively inclined.

Britain, France and Russia, at least on paper, support the idea of expanding the UN permanent membership. China and the US are perhaps equally reluctant to either support or oppose the proposal. It would



CLUB RULES APPLY: The UN Security Council in session

be too much to expect China to really want Japan to be made a permanent member, though China's position on the desirability of including more developing countries as permanent members has evolved in recent years. The US, on the contrary, is obliged to support the candidatures of Germany and Japan for political and financial reasons; its position towards countries such as India is that they must get themselves endorsed by their respective regional groups. This is a polite way of saying that the US is not enthusiastic about them. And like most things at the UN, the US holds the key to this question.

In the early Nineties, Germany and Japan attempted to secure permanent membership through what was known as the 'fast track'. The idea was that they would be made permanent members in the first stage; the candidatures of others would be taken up at a later unspecified date. Fortunately, nothing came of this proposal, thanks mainly to Italy, which was determined to block Germany's candidature.

Now that New Delhi has entered into firm reciprocal support agreements with Germany, Japan and Brazil, it makes diplomatic sense to let the other three countries raise this issue with the US. For Japan in particular, this is an extremely important issue. Japan is the largest provider of funds to the UN, if voluntary funds were to be included along with the share in the UN's regular budget. Knowing as we do the preoccupation of the Bush ad-

ministration with other pressing issues, including his own re-election bid, and since we have many other questions to take up with the Americans at the highest level, and aware as we are of its lukewarm attitude to the proposal for adding to the number of permanent members, it would not have been productive for Manmohan Singh to take up this matter with Bush.

In November 2003, Kofi Annan announced the setting up of a high level panel, comprising 16 eminent personalities, for the task of "examining the major threats and challenges the world faces in the broad field of peace and security, and make recommendations for the elements of a collective response". The panel is chaired by a former PM of Thailand and has experts from Australia, Brazil, China, Egypt, France, Ghana, India, Japan, Norway, Pakistan, Russia, Tanzania, Uruguay, Britain and the US. The panel is to submit its final report in December 2004; it will be formally discussed in the General Assembly's session in the fall of 2005. Expansion of the Security Council is the most important and most politically difficult subject that the panel has to make recommendations on.

According to *The Economist* a few weeks ago, "the panel of wise men and women" appeared near agreement on this most intractable issue and might have hit upon what the magazine described as "the winning formula". The report says that there is "overwhelming consensus" among the panel members on pro-

posals for an expanded 24-member council consisting of three tiers: the existing P-5; a second tier of 7-8 potentially semi-permanent members elected on a regional basis for a renewable term of four-five years (Brazil, Germany, India, Japan and South Africa may be in this group); and a third tier of rotating regional members elected, as at present, for a non-renewable two-year term.

*The Economist* quotes, with a great deal of enthusiasm, an unnamed observer as crowing that "the beauty of this formula is that every one wins... at least no one loses". That depends on the observer's point of view, of course.

The 'winning formula' is a variant of the Fulci proposal, named after a former ambassador of Italy to the UN, except that it is worse. Under the earlier proposal, the special category of members would be elected directly by the General Assembly whereas under the new formula, the new category members would first have to be nominated by their respective regional groups. In the Asian group, India would always have to struggle for endorsement of its claim.

Apart from that, India has put forward its candidature for a permanent seat, and cannot be enthused for some half-baked formula which has only one objective, namely, to deny permanent membership to India and others. Countries such as Pakistan, Indonesia, Argentina and others for their own reasons are very fond of this formula since, apart from torpedoing the candidatures of India and Brazil — they have no problem with Germany and Japan — it gives them the opportunity to claim equal status with their respective regional rivals. Nuclear weapons gave Pakistan strategic parity with India.

The 'winning formula' would give it political and diplomatic parity. It was appropriate for India to register its views with the Secretary-General at the highest level. Annan will no doubt reflect this and other inputs that he will receive from others when he submits the panel's report to the membership of the UN next year.

*The writer is a former Permanent Representative of India to the United Nations*

# India, Brazil, South Africa call for U.N. revamp

By Sridhar Krishnaswami

NEW YORK, SEPT. 24. The Foreign Ministers of India, Brazil and South Africa have stressed the need to revamp the United Nations.

"The General Assembly must be revitalised. The role of the ECOSOC must be strengthened. The Security Council must be expanded to reflect the realities of the international community in the 21st century," the IBSA Dialogue Forum said in a press release after a meeting on Thursday.

It said the Security Council must be "representative, legitimate and effective and its decisions should serve the interests of the global community."

The Group is looking forward to the release of the report of the 'High Level Panel on

Threats, Challenges and Change' and hoped that it would provide an important contribution to the ongoing discussions on the issue.

## Tackling terrorism

The Ministers repudiated terrorism in all its forms and manifestations and reiterated a firm commitment and solidarity to counter terrorism "by means of an effective and coordinated international cooperation, ensuring respect for the sovereignty of the states, the United Nations and international law."

They reiterated that primary focus should be on human development, fight against hunger and poverty and measures to provide a better quality of life; and committed themselves to work together for the success of the high level plenary meeting

of the General Assembly in 2005 which is due to undertake a comprehensive review of the progress in the implementation of the millennium declaration.

## Funding

The Ministers recalled the funding facility set up by India, Brazil and South Africa on the margins of the last General Assembly and "announced with satisfaction" the launching of the first project to be financed by the IBSA Fund in support of agriculture and livestock development of Guinea-Bissau.

They "emphasised the importance of generating greater awareness within the international community about the IBSA facility and its role in enhancing South-South cooperation."

THE HINDU

25 SEP 2004

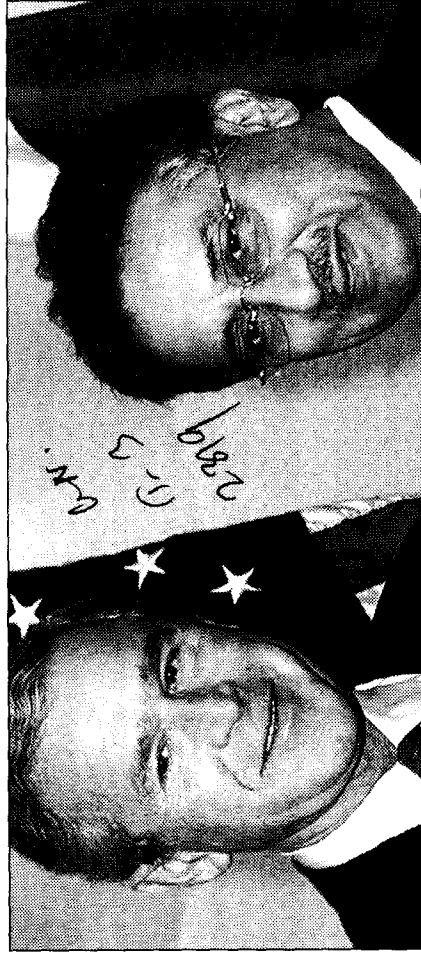
# Musharraf senses 'moment for peace'

United Nations, Sept. 22 (Reuters): Pakistani President Pervez Musharraf said today that this was the "moment for peace" with India and he would be bold and flexible in his first meeting with the new Indian Prime Minister this week.

In a speech to the UN General Assembly, Musharraf said talks between South Asia's nuclear-armed rivals were at a difficult stage, but "this is the moment for peace — we must not allow it to slip away."

He said the two sides were "entering the difficult stage of grappling with solutions to previously irreconcilable disputes" and that Pakistan hoped that India "shows the same sincerity, flexibility and boldness that Pakistan will demonstrate."

The much-anticipated meeting between Musharraf and Indian Prime Minister Manmohan Singh will take place on Friday in New York on the fringes of the annual



President George W. Bush with President Pervez Musharraf in New York. (AFP)

UN General Assembly. After sluggish progress in peace talks between the nuclear-armed foes in the past eight months, analysts hope the two leaders can inject some momentum into the process.

Before his UN speech, Musharraf met President George W. Bush for an hour at a New York hotel and the two men discussed efforts to find

Osama bin Laden and other al Qaeda leaders believed hiding along Pakistan's border with Afghanistan.

Since Bush declared he wanted bin Laden "dead or alive" after the September 11, 2001, attacks, the al Qaeda leader has eluded pursuers and some analysts believe he has a role in al Qaeda plans for another spectacular strike on

Musharraf told Bush that in a military offensive in the last few months, Pakistani forces had killed and captured a number of Taliban and al Qaeda operatives while suffering 190-200 casualties but top leaders were still at large.

Seizing bin Laden in the next six weeks would be a major coup for Bush ahead of

the November 2 election and it would help raise the standing of Musharraf, who came to power in a military coup, in Washington.

The US official said Bush, who values the general's support in the war against terrorism, did not raise the issue of Musharraf's decision to stay on as army chief, which raised concerns he was reneging on promises to pursue democracy. He has told US media shedding his uniform could undermine his authority at home in pressing the anti-terror war.

Pakistani officials have said Musharraf and Singh would review all aspects of the talks including the dispute over Kashmir.

## Sindh backing

An influential Pakistani provincial government today backed President Pervez Musharraf to stay on as army chief after he gave strong signals that he will break a promise to take off his uniform by year end.

## Tribals flee homes

Wana, Sept. 22 (Reuters): Thousands of Pakistanis have been forced to flee their homes due to clashes between Pakistani troops and al Qaeda fighters in the remote tribal region along the Afghan border, a legal forum said today.

Pakistani troops have deployed troops, helicopters and armoured vehicles in South Waziristan in the battle against al Qaeda and Taliban fighters. Al Qaeda leader Osama bin Laden is also believed to be possibly hiding out in the border region.

A paramilitary soldier was killed and a woman seriously wounded today in the latest clash after militants machine-gunned a paramilitary base in Kaniguram, about 40 km north of South Waziristan's main town of Wana.

The legal forum report said those forced to flee the fighting were living without any assistance in adjoining areas.

# NEW YORK AGENDA

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Focus Will Be On Middle East

By MARIANNA BELENKAYA

The ministerial week of the 59th UN General Assembly in New York will spotlight the Middle East. Three major functions are planned for the week. The first will be a sitting of the quartet of intermediaries in the Middle East settlement — Russia, the EU, the UN and the US. The second will be a session on Iraq, to be attended by G8 members, neighbouring countries and potential donors of Iraq. And the third function will be held within the Forum for the Future, which was initiated at the G8 summit in Sea Island, USA, in June 2004. One of its tasks will be to provide a foundation for dialogue and cooperation between the West and the countries of the Middle East and North Africa in the pursuit of political, economic and social reforms.

## Reforms

The three functions will be closely inter-related. Democracy and reforms in the Middle East are inconceivable without progress in Iraq and Palestine, but the reform of the political and economic system is part of plans for the settlement of regional conflicts.

The problems of the Middle East and North Africa worry the West, including Russia, above all because of the threat of terrorism coming from these regions. It is expected that reforms carried out simultaneously with the settlement of regional conflicts should lessen the danger of the proliferation of terrorism. But the trouble is not just that these conflicts cannot be settled now; the world cannot come to an agreement on the definition of terrorism in the region and the rest of the world.

According to Syrian Foreign Minister Farouk al-Sharaa, terrorists are those who attack civilian facilities, while resistance fighters strike at occupation targets, clearly meaning the situation in Palestine and Iraq. At least, this is a clear stand.

Accord has been reached in the Arab countries on the Iraqi issue after long debates. In par-

*The author is a political commentator associated with Ria Novosti*

ticular, the Iraqi government has abandoned the idea of denouncing the Shiite leader Muqtada al-Sadr as a criminal and is ready to give him a chance to take part in political process in Iraq. Baghdad has also accepted Russia's idea of an international conference on Iraq, to be attended also by representatives of Iraqi resistance. But the US and the UN have not yet expressed a desire to discuss details of pre-



paration for this conference. The parties wishing for a settlement in Iraq are expected to come to an agreement on this issue in New York.

The discussion of this subject will proceed against the background of statements made by UN Secretary General Kofi Annan, according to whom the invasion of Iraq by the US and its allies was an illegal act that contradicted the UN Charter.

## Reconstruction

The discussion of the reasons for the Iraqi war seemed to have ceded place to the task of post-war reconstruction of Iraq. However, Mr Annan deemed it necessary to recall the roots of the problem, probably because he wants the opinion of the UN, which the US and Britain disregarded when they decided to launch the war, to be taken into account during discussions of Iraq's subsequent development.

Moscow also drew the world's attention to the roots of the problem by suggesting that the issue of weapons of mass destruction in Iraq should be closed.

Annan's statement provoked displeasure in Washington and London, while the Russian idea has been passed over in silence. One can only guess what emotions will rule in New York.

The situation in the zone of the Arab-Israeli conflict looks even more complicated, or rather, hopeless. The Arabs have reached an accord on the situation in Iraq and Palestine alike, believing that Palestinians' ter-

rorist attacks against Israelis are acts of resistance, while the military actions of Israel in the Palestinian territories are state terrorism. For their part, the Israelis have called on the international community to recognise their right to use military force in reply to terrorist attacks and as a preemptive action in the international war on terror.

Russia's stand was put forth in the statement of Foreign Minister Sergei Lavrov, who told Vremya Novostei after his tour of the Middle East in early September: "The terrorists who explode disco clubs and bus stops in Israel, who blew up the school in Beslan and stage terrorist attacks in Europe, Africa, America and Asia have nothing in common with the goals of the people of these continents with respect to conflicts there. These conflicts can be settled at the negotiating table with the help of international law".

In other words, the struggle against terrorism and the settlement of regional conflicts should proceed in parallel. There will surely be many debates on this

issue in New York, especially as regards the Palestinian-Israeli segment.

Shortly before the session of the quartet, the Israeli media, in particular the newspaper Yediot Ahranot, made public the statements by Prime Minister Ariel Sharon to the effect that the Israelis are not following and do not intend to follow the roadmap plan elaborated by the quartet in spring 2003. But the co-sponsors of the Middle East settlement disregarded these statements or at least pretended that they did. A White House spokesman said that Sharon's words could be misinterpreted, and Moscow thinks the same.

## Roadmap plan

According to diplomatic sources, Israel has not officially rejected the roadmap plan, which is the only document signed by both parties to the conflict that says that the peace process should lead to the creation of a Palestinian state. And then, the conflicting sides and the intermediaries have no other settlement plan. On the other hand, however good the plan may be, the Israelis and Palestinians are not complying with it, as Sharon has admitted. But it was not news to diplomats.

The terrorist attacks against Israelis and the use of the Israeli army in the Palestinian territories apparently cannot encourage the sides to sit down at the negotiating table. Talks and concessions are also impossible in view of the internal political situation in Israel and Palestine. The situation is nearly hopeless and the meeting of the quartet in New York will hardly improve it. But the intermediaries have to try to keep the conflicting sides from steps that would bury the hope for peace in the region. At least we have the hope, and the main thing now is not to search for new ways of settlement but to maintain the common stand of the intermediaries.

It would be good if the world community also came to an agreement on the situation in Iraq and on other issues. Such a common stand will be the main issue on the agenda in New York.

# Defiant Iran terms UN nuke freeze call 'illegal'

Associated Press  
Tehran, September 19

IRAN ON Sunday denounced as "illegal" demands from the UN atomic watchdog agency that it freeze all work on uranium enrichment — technology that can be used for nuclear weapons.

Hasan Rowhani, Iran's top nuclear negotiator, also said his country would limit its cooperation with the International Atomic Energy Agency if the watchdog refers Iran to the UN Security Council for possible sanctions. Rowhani spoke a day after the agency's governing board demanded Iran freeze all work on uranium enrichment and said it would judge Tehran's compliance in two months.

"This demand is not legal and does not put any obligation on Iran. The IAEA board of governors has no right to make such a suspension obligatory for any country," he said.

The Iranian official said his country would nonetheless continue with its voluntary suspension of what he described as "actual enrichment" — the injection of uranium gas into centrifuges. But he indicated that related activities, such as production, assembly and testing of centrifuges, were likely to continue. "We are committed to the suspension of actual enrichment but we have no decision to expand the suspension," he said.

Iran is not prohibited from enrichment under its obligations to the Nuclear Nonproliferation Treaty. But it has for months faced international pressure to

## IAEA inspectors in Seoul

INSPECTORS FROM the UN nuclear watchdog arrived in Seoul on Sunday to conduct a second inspection of South Korea's nuclear experiments, a day after the South said it had no plans to develop nuclear weapons. The five-member delegation is to scrutinize the main nuclear laboratory in the central city of Taejeon on Monday and to take a second look at 294 pounds of natural uranium metal, Yonhap news agency said.

Reuters, Seoul

suspend such activities as a good-faith gesture.

The US insists the 35-member board must refer Iran to the Security Council when it meets again on November 25 if Tehran doesn't comply. Iran rejects U.S. accusations it wants nuclear weapons, saying its activities are only in pursuit of energy. "There is no justification to refer Iran's nuclear dossier to the Security Council," Rowhani said. "If one day they refer Iran's nuclear dossier to the UN Security Council, that day Iran will stop implementing the additional protocol and will limit its cooperation with the IAEA ..."

Iran has agreed to unfettered inspections of its nuclear facilities under an addition to the Nuclear Non-



Iran's chief nuclear negotiator Hassan Rohani at a news conference in Tehran on Sunday. (Right) Supreme leader Ayatollah Khamenei inspects a military show by the Revolutionary Guard in the Western Province on Saturday.



REUTERS/AP

raw uranium into uranium hexafluoride — the gas that when spun in centrifuges turns into enriched uranium.

It also said the board "strongly urges" Iran to meet all demands by the agency in its investigation of the country's nearly two decades of clandestine nuclear activity,

including unrestricted access to sites, information and personnel that can shed light on still-unanswered questions on whether Tehran was interested in the atom for nuclear weapons.

It called on the IAEA head Mohamed ElBaradei to provide a review of the findings

## House says no to tougher N-checks

Agence France-Presse  
Tehran, September 19

IRAN'S CONSERVATIVE-controlled Parliament said it would not ratify a treaty allowing tougher UN nuclear inspections after the International Atomic Energy Agency passed a tough resolution against the Islamic republic.

"The continued defiance of principles by the IAEA's board of governors leaves no room for us to ratify the additional protocol, and will lead us to question what is the point for the nation to leave its doors open for IAEA inspectors," said the statement read out in Parliament.

Iran signed the additional protocol to the nuclear Nonproliferation Treaty (NPT) in December last year, but parliament had yet to ratify it. The text obliges Iran to accept tougher IAEA inspections, including short-notice visits to even undeclared facilities.

The resolution passed on Saturday by the IAEA's board again "strongly urges" the Iranian Parliament to ratify the text.

But deputies in the Majlis responded by calling on the government to press on with fuel cycle work.

"We the deputies urge the government to seriously fo-

low up with the completion of the fuel cycle programme for nuclear plants and pay no heed to resolutions," said the statement, carried live on state radio. "We strongly reject the illegal clauses in this resolution and the inappropriate response of the board of governors to the good intentions of the Islamic republic," it said.

Fuel cycle work is permitted under the NPT, but Iran has been under pressure to suspend and even halt such work because of its dual-use nature. The process of enriching uranium can be carried out to produce fuel for a nuclear reactor or the core of a nuclear bomb.

The Islamic regime insists its nuclear programme is strictly aimed at generating electricity. In separate comments carried by Iranian media, a string of MPs lined up to condemn the latest resolution. "We will ask the government to resume uranium enrichment. The parliament has rejected the board of governors' resolution and cannot be bullied," a senior MP, Ahmad Tavakoli, was quoted as saying by the state news agency IRNA.

"Peaceful nuclear technology is the right of Iranian nation and we will not give it up," said Parliament speaker Gholam Ali Hadad-Adel.

2 SEP 2006

# Iran takes on UN

Tehran, Sept. 19 (Reuters): Iran today rejected a UN resolution calling on it to freeze uranium enrichment activities and threatened to stop snap checks of its atomic facilities if its case were sent to the UN Security Council.

It said that if the Security Council went as far as punishing Tehran with sanctions, Iran might follow North Korea and pull out of the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty altogether.

Washington says Iran plans to use enriched uranium to make nuclear weapons, but Tehran says its nuclear pro-

gramme is dedicated solely to generating electricity.

The UN International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA), the UN nuclear watchdog, unanimously adopted a resolution yesterday calling on Iran to suspend all uranium enrichment-related activities.

"Iran will not accept any obligation regarding the suspension of uranium enrichment," chief nuclear negotiator Hassan Rohani told a news conference today. "No international body can force Iran to do so."

His words chimed with the

view of the Iranian parliament, which urged the government to ignore the resolution.

Although the IAEA board termed the suspension a "necessary" confidence-building measure, it observed that suspensions would be "voluntary decisions" by Iran and not obligations, enabling Tehran to tell Iranians it was not acting under UN pressure.

Rohani said Iran would stop allowing UN inspectors to make short-notice visits to its atomic facilities if its dossier were sent to the UN Security Council for possible sanctions.

THE TELEGRAPH 20 SEP 2004



# Iraq war is illegal, says Annan

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**UNITED NATIONS, SEPT. 16.** Nearly 18 months after the U.S.-led war against Iraq to overthrow Saddam Hussein, the U.N. Secretary-General, Kofi Annan, has termed the invasion as "illegal" that contravened the world body's charter.

With a spurt in violence in Iraq against U.S.-led forces and civilians supporting the interim administration, Mr. Annan also feared that "credible" elections in the war-ravaged country as planned in January were unlikely to take place, given the present security scenario.

In an interview to *BBC* world service on Wednesday, he said the decision to take action in Iraq should have been made by the U.N. Security Council, not unilaterally by any country. "I am one of those who believe that there should have been a second resolution."

## Allies reject charge

Britain, Australia and a former U.S. official, stung by criticism by Mr. Annan, insisted today that their countries' military action in Iraq was legal.

The Australian Prime Minister, John Howard, on the campaign trail ahead of an October 9 election, said, "The legal ad-

vice that we had, and I tabled it at the time, was that the action was entirely valid in international law terms".

Mr. Howard's view was echoed by the British Prime Minister, Tony Blair's office, which said the British Government's top lawyer — Attorney-General Lord Goldsmith — had reached the same conclusion before the invasion was launched in March last year. There was no official response from Washington, but Randy Scheunemann, a former adviser

to the U.S. Defence Secretary, Donald Rumsfeld, said Mr. Annan had no right to question the legal judgment of U.N. member states.

## Three kidnapped

Meanwhile in Iraq, gunmen abducted two Americans and a Briton today in an attack on a house in a Baghdad neighbourhood where many embassies are based, the Interior Ministry said. It was the latest in a wave of kidnappings of foreigners in Iraq.— PTI/AP/Reuters

## 'Release prisoner records'

By Sridhar Krishnaswami

**WASHINGTON, SEPT. 16.** A Federal judge sitting in New York has ordered the Bush administration to release records related to the treatment of prisoners in Iraq, giving Washington 30 days to comply with the order.

Judge Alvin Hallerstein criticised officials for moving at a "glacial pace" in responding to the nearly one-year-old Freedom of Information Act requests from civil rights

organisations including the American Civil Liberties Union. "If the documents are more of an embarrassment than a secret, the public should know of our Government's treatment of individuals captured and held abroad. We are a nation that strives to value the dignity of all humanity," Mr. Hallerstein wrote. The judge also made the point that the Federal Government's merely raising of national security concerns did not justify "unlimited delay".

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9/9

## U.N. appeal to Sudan

**UNITED NATIONS, SEPT. 3.** The U.N. envoy to Sudan urged the Government to accept an international monitoring force with more than 3,000 troops to help prevent escalating militia attacks in the violence-wracked Darfur region.

Jan Pronk has said "the situation in Sudan is critical" and the Government "has to be blamed" for failing to stop militia attacks outside designated areas where thousands of Sudanese fleeing the violence have gathered.

At a Security Council briefing, he elaborated on the Secretary-General, Kofi Annan's call on Wednesday for an expanded international force in Darfur and

urged the Sudanese Government "to seek, request and accept assistance from the international community" if it is unable to protect its own citizens.

Afterward, Mr. Pronk told re-

porters, "That is not a question. That is diplomatic language for 'you have to do that.'"

The African Union has about 80 military observers in Darfur, protected by just over 300 soldiers. — AP

## Sudan accepts UN resolution 'with regret'

ADDIS ABABA, July 31. -- Sudan today accepted the UN Security Council resolution on its troubled Darfur region "with regret"; its ambassador to African Union Mr Osman Elsayed Fad Elsayed said. "Unlike Israel, which dumps UN resolutions, we are going to implement the resolution," Mr Elsayed, who is also Sudan's envoy to Ethiopia, said. The AU is based in the Ethiopian capital.

The UN Security Council gave Sudan 30 days yesterday to rein in pro-government Arab militias known as the Janjaweed, who are blamed for atrocities in Darfur where thousands of people risk starvation, or to face international action. — AFP

# No ban on UN envoy: Palestine

Press Trust of India

UNHQ, July 15. — Palestinian authorities today said no decision has been made to ban the UN Middle-East representative from entering Palestinian territories, a day after it said the world body's envoy was not welcome in its areas.

The statements made by Palestinian authorities regarding banning the UN envoy Mr Terje Roed-Larsen from entering Palestinian areas were out of anger, Mr Nasser al-Kidwa, the Palestinian representative at the United Nations, said.

"We are not kicking out anybody. No decision was taken whatsoever on this matter," he told reporters. Briefing the Security Council on Tuesday, envoy Mr Terje Roed-Larsen has said Mr Arafat was not carrying out security reforms necessary for the Middle East peace process.

The International Quartet, comprising the United States of America, European Union, Russia and the United Nations, consider security reforms to rein in Palestinian suicide bombers as the first key step in the process.

In his sharpest ever criticism of the Palestinian Authority, he said the Palestinian authority is on the verge of collapse and spoke about deteriorating law and order and credibility of the Authority in the international community.

Mr Roed-Larsen drew immediate criticism from the Palestinians and Arabs and Nabil Abu Rdianah, a top aide of Mr Arafat reportedly said his entry into the areas controlled by the Authority is banned. Even as Arabs were attacking Mr Roed-Larsen, United Nations Secretary-general Mr Kofi Annan defended and express full confidence in him.

**Sanctions on Israel:** Signalling a crisis in bilateral ties, New Zealand today slapped diplomatic sanctions on Israel shortly after its High Court sentenced two suspected Mossad agents to six months in prison.

Launching a verbal attack on Israel, New Zealand Prime Minister Ms Helen Clark, while imposing diplomatic sanctions said, "there were very strong reasons to believe" that the two Israelis — Uriel Zosha Kelman, 31, and Elisha Cara, 50 — "were acting on behalf of Israel's intelligence services." Ms Clarke said her country was suspending high-level visits to and from Israel, requiring a visa application from any Israeli visiting New Zealand in an official government capacity, and delaying approval for appointment of the new Israeli ambassador to New Zealand, media reports here said.

New Zealand was not interested in having Israeli President Mr Moshe Katsav, visit the country in August as part of his scheduled trip to Australia, and the passport case has "seriously strained"

New Zealand's relationship with Israel, she said. "New Zealand condemns without reservation these actions by agencies of the Israel government," the Prime Minister said adding Israel was asked for an explanation and an apology three months ago, but has not provided either.

"The Israeli agents attempted to demean the integrity of the New Zealand passport system and could have created considerable difficulties for New Zealanders presenting their passports overseas in future," Ms Clark said.

Israeli foreign minister Mr Silvan Shalom in response said that Israel would work to restore diplomatic relations with New Zealand.

# Reinventing UNCTAD's role

By S.P. Shukla

✓ H0-10 2/16

**T**HE UNITED Nations Conference on Trade and Development, which has just wound up its 11th conference in Sao Paulo, Brazil, has completed four decades of its existence. It has undergone a metamorphosis since the 1990s and old UNCTAD veterans may find it difficult to recognise what remains.

When UNCTAD came into existence it responded to a conjuncture in history that was unique. It stood at the mid-point of the "Short Twentieth Century", which had already gone through the trauma of the two imperialist-capitalist wars and the Great Depression in between. It had also witnessed the birth of two revolutions that had fundamentally challenged and altered the course of the capitalist expansion of the preceding century. The new conjuncture has been variously described as "the golden age of capitalism" or "the taming of capitalism" or "the compromise that was forced on the capitalist order by the emergence of an alternative system engendered by the two revolutions" or "the age of decolonisation and the emergence of a whole new world of nation-states across the two continents."

One thing was clear. The conjuncture generated a hope (and perhaps, carried within itself a possibility) of harnessing the global economic processes towards a new world order, the very anti-thesis of the preceding century.

UNCTAD neatly articulated this hope. It reflected, more than any other post-Second World War multilateral institution, the new collocation of forces that had emerged.

In the colonial era, trade was the instrument of exploitation. In UNCTAD's charter, trade was looked upon as the very means of "development" of the victims of colonialism and neo-colonialism. It recognised the crucial role of the new regimes brought about by the two revolutions. It recognised the need for, and the strength of, collective bargaining for re-ordering international economic relations. Witness the novel structure and methods of business that it introduced.

The nation-states were categorised neatly into four "Groups". Group-77 represented the developing countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America; in other words, the constituents of the erstwhile colonial world and the victims of neo-colonialism. Group "B" constituted the developed world, comprising the leading capitalist countries of the 20th century, the erstwhile colonial and imperial masters, and also the latecomers into the world of the rich such as Japan, Norway, and Switzerland. Group "D" consisted of the home of the Socialist Revolution of the century and its periphery. Lastly there was the product of the second Socialist Revolution, China, by itself constituting the fourth Group.

The contradictions inherent in the

## *Will UNCTAD articulate the urge for a new world of peace, equity and economic security?*

conjuncture were not sought to be wished away in false rhetoric of "a harmonious free world"; rather they were explicitly recognised. The dialectical potential for transformation was also recognised. So, the negotiations were carried on between the Groups, the constituents having arrived at a common group position first. This technique was premised on the recognition of the patent conflict of interest between G-77 and Group B. Equally, the historical contribution of the Socialist countries in providing a concrete alternative to the capitalist order, in catalysing the unwinding of colonialism and in wresting a major accommodation in favour of the working classes everywhere, was recognised. These countries were playing a strategic role. They were strengthening developing countries' national strategies of development. They were also playing a balancing and supportive role to G-77 in the negotiations for transformation of the world order.

Neither the structure of UNCTAD nor its negotiating methodology was a product of the fanciful imagination of international bureaucrats or the wishful thinking of naive reformers. Both the elements only reflected the historical conjuncture then prevailing. Furthermore, they sought to capture the possibility, howsoever slight, of harnessing the global economic processes — the most potent one of trade — for the transformation of international economic relations.

It goes to the credit of UNCTAD of the 1960-70s that it attempted to perceive and reflect the historical conjuncture, with its inherent contradictions and possibilities, as closely as possible. It tried honestly to realise the hope, if not the possibility, of transformation. This can hardly be said of other multilateral institutions of the post-Second World War era.

It is not necessary here to go through the various UNCTAD initiatives of the 1960-70s or the reverse process to foil those initiatives and worse that followed in the 1980-90s. The net result is before us today: an UNCTAD that is not even a faint shadow of what it was in the 1960-70s.

The present conjuncture is vastly different from the one prevailing in the 1960s. The space available to national development strategies has been substantially narrowed down, if not eliminated altogether. The scope for pursuing expansionary macro-economic policies at the national level has been circumscribed severely as a result of the ascendancy of global finance capital. The capitalist world order is passing through a long drawn recessionary phase. The countervailing force of the Socialist countries is no longer there. The global

capital in crisis is becoming more and more predatory. The latest events have shown the re-emergence of its militarist tendencies. The developing world is under tremendous pressure to "integrate" with the capitalist world; that is to say, provide further scope for the aggrandisement of global capital. UNCTAD of the late 1980s and the 1990s virtually converted itself into a minor research organisation supportive of the onslaught of global capital.

This plight of UNCTAD has produced two reactions, one more cautious than the other. First, it is argued that the best UNCTAD can now do is to provide some "correcting" inputs to developing countries — strengthening their capabilities for negotiations in forums such as the World Trade Organisation, and generally bring out a cautious critique of happenings in trade and development without hurting the sensibilities of global capital or challenging its main thesis. It is virtually a counsel of defeatism, if not crass collaborationism.

The other reaction is inspired by the unique historical role of UNCTAD in the first two decades of its existence. In this view, UNCTAD should recapture its glory by renewing its championship of developing countries. It should enter the trade negotiations through the backdoor, that is to say by influencing the position of developing countries, put forward the thesis of "special and differential treatment" in their favour, and generally help developing countries integrate on less unequal terms.

There is no fundamental difference of approach in the two in that both accept the destiny of "integration" with the capitalist order. In other words, they lack in historicity. For them it is, in a sense, the end of history already. No wonder that these tendencies are blind to the contradictions building up within the system and to the possibilities of transformation nurtured within the contradictions. The second tendency poses to be radical in talking about recapturing lost glory. But it is as un-historical as the first because recalling past glory is not historicity. It amounts to romanticism. The first tendency, on the other hand, amounts to unashamed collaborationism.

The merit of the UNCTAD of the first two decades of its existence was that it had a sense of history, that it perceived the inherent contradictions. Above all, it sought to facilitate the praxis through its analyses and negotiating initiatives. (Never mind that, in retrospect, the endeavour appears too weak or too optimistic). If we wish to reinvent the role for UNCTAD in the present times, we must

relate its structure, its functioning and its objectives to history as it is being made in our times. That will mean analysing the present phase in the evolution of global capitalism-imperialism. It will require an objective assessment of the emerging contradictions. Above all, it will call for a creative insight to locate and nurture the seeds of change.

The major contradiction of our times is that global capital requires a global state to secure its onslaught. Such a possibility is nowhere in sight. Hence the desperate attempts by global capital. They range from seeking to convert WTO into an instrument of global governance to the military adventures in Afghanistan and Iraq.

Within the folds of this major contradiction are developing a series of other contradictions. The discontent with the onslaught of global capital is not confined to the Third World of the poor. It has a growing following in the metropolitan countries. The contradiction in this sense is far more universal than it was in the 1960-70s. In the Third World, it is showing signs of accumulating explosive potential. The indefatigable resistance being put forward by the Iraqis and the political churning going on in the Middle East are eloquent examples.

The threat posed by the WTO regime on agriculture to the very survival of the three billion-strong peasantry of the developing world has a no less explosive potential. The ascendancy of global capital and the acute vulnerability to which it has exposed national financial systems, particularly of the developing world, provides another such contradiction.

The contradictions nurture the possibilities of challenge and change. If the emerging contradictions are distinct from those of the earlier era, so are the terrains of conflicts. While the main battleground, particularly in the developing world, will still be at the level of the nation-state, the multilateral organisations, used and abused by global capital, are emerging as a very important arena to resist the general onslaught of global capital. A new possibility is also unfolding. The resistance to global capital is developing universally at the people's level. Notwithstanding differing assessments of the World Social Forum, its emergence points to this.

Will UNCTAD demonstrate a sense of history in the making and model its structure and activities to closely reflect the conjuncture it finds itself in today? Will it locate new terrains for the struggle for a new world order and articulate the urge for a new world of peace, equity and economic security? For a new world democratic order?

This will cast upon UNCTAD a new historic role, that of exploring and analysing the emerging contradictions and facilitating a praxis for transformation.

(The writer is a former Union Finance Secretary.)

# Annan hails 'fair' resolution

UN  
S.P. 3  
10/6  
Press Trust of India

UNHQ, June 9. — Describing the UN resolution on Iraq as "equitable and fair", Secretary-General Mr Kofi Annan has said he will soon name a special representative who would spearhead the world body's future role in the war-ravaged country.

Welcoming the the UN Security Council's unanimous adoption of the resolution as "a genuine expression of the will of the international community," Mr Annan pledged that the UN would play its part in the next phase of the Iraq's transition from war and occupation. "I think they've come up with a resolution which is equitable and fair, and I think all sides should be able to work with it," he told reporters after the voting. "I think the resolution is complete."

Mr Annan said the UN is having talks with several countries that are likely to contribute troops or resources to the multinational forces in Iraq to determine what kind of security UN staff will require when they return to Iraq.

Stressing that he wanted an environment that gives UN staff "reasonable mobility and flexibility" to do their work, he said: "We are not asking for 100 per cent security or guarantee. We operate in the real world and we know there are risks, but there are certain limits that we have to impose on ourselves."

In a resolution adopted yesterday, the Security Council asked the UN to play a leading role in helping Iraq organise elections for transitional government and promote national dialogue on drafting of a new Iraqi Constitution.



PRESENT TENSE, FUTURE... An Iraqi girl watches her brother standing near a trailer-truck engulfed in flames and smoke following an attack on a US convoy in the north-western Baghdad neighborhood of Al-Khadra on Wednesday. — AFP

## India cautious on Iraq troops

NEW DELHI, June 9.— India today welcomed the unanimous adoption of the resolution on Iraq by the UNSC, but said the question of sending Indian troops to the war-ravaged nation would arise only if there was a request, at a future date, from the UN or a sovereign government in Baghdad.

"The role of the UN has also been unanimously accepted and we expect that the UN will play a central role in the developing situation in Iraq," the foreign ministry spokesman said.

India saw the endorsement of the interim government of Iraq as the first step towards the transparent transfer of full sovereignty to the Iraqis. "We reiterate our commitment to assist Iraq in the arduous task of political and economic reconstruction," the spokesman said, but the question of sending troops to Iraq would "arise only when there is a request from the UN itself or a sovereign Iraqi government." — SNS

# UN Envoys support for Iraq resolution

SF-2 9/6 Car bomb blasts kill 15

Associated Press

UNHQ, June 8. — Key Security Council members predicted a unanimous vote today in favour of a UN resolution outlining the powers of the new Iraqi government and its relationship with the US-led multinational force that will remain in the country to help ensure security.

After weeks of negotiations and a last-minute compromise by the USA and Britain on the major demand by France and Germany, the council scheduled a meeting late this afternoon to vote on the final draft.

"It will be a unanimous vote," France's UN ambassador Mr Jean-

## Bush confident

SEA ISLAND (Georgia), June 8. — President Bush predicted a unanimous UN Security Council vote on a resolution dealing with post-occupation Iraq, calling it a "catalyst for change" in the region and a welcome kickoff for an eight-power economic summit. "There were some that said we would never get it... if things go well, it will be a unanimous vote." — AP

Marc de La Sabliere said today. French foreign minister Mr Michel Barnier said many French ideas were incorporated in the text though, Paris would have liked a clearer definition of the relationship between the new Iraqi government and the

US-led force.

German foreign minister Mr Joschka Fischer also promised his country's vote. "I hope that now there will finally be a stabilisation of the security situation in Iraq," Germany's UN ambassador Mr Gunter Pleuger said he hoped the resolution would be adopted by consensus.

Many other council members that had problems with the early drafts of the resolution also announced their support including China, which had proposed major changes, and Algeria, the council's only Arab member which argued for greater Iraqi control over its own military and over major operations by the multinational force.

Associated Press

BAGHDAD, June 8. — Two car bombs today exploded in separate cities, killing at least 14 Iraqis and one US soldier. Dozens were wounded, including 10 American soldiers.

A US Marine was killed in action west of Baghdad. Elsewhere, six coalition soldiers — two Poles, three Slovaks and a Latvian — were killed in an explosion while defusing mines south of Baghdad, authorities said. The explosion occurred in Suwayrah, 40 km south of Baghdad. The Slovaks and the Latvians were the first deaths from either of the two countries in Iraq, Polish officials said in Warsaw.

One of the car bombs blew up as a convoy of provincial council members passed by in the northern city of Mosul. The council members es-

caped injury but the Mosul deputy police chief was hurt but not seriously, officials said. Nine people died and about 25 were injured, the US military said. In the other attack, a suicide attacker detonated a car bomb during rush hour outside the American forward operating base War Horse in Baqouba.

## Foreign hostages freed

Coalition forces freed three Italian and a Polish hostage in a military operation south of Baghdad today, the top US general in Iraq said.

Lt. Gen. Ricardo Sanchez said all the hostages were freed "in a rescue operation" from the same location and that there were suspects "involved in the kidnapping" who were detained. There was no reported exchange of fire in rescuing the three Italian hostages and a Pole.

W  
14 June 2001  
New York Times

Bush confident on Iraq resolution

# Allies present revised draft

AGENCIES

UNHQ, June 5. — The USA and Britain revised their draft resolution on Iraq, which outlines the 30 June handover of power in Baghdad, to give authority to the Iraqi interim government to send the American-led multinational forces home in an apparent effort to ensure its early adoption.

In Rome, President Bush today expressed confidence that plans for the handover of power in Iraq would receive Security Council blessing as a US soldier was among at least six people killed in persistent violence shaking the country. "I am sure that we will get one soon," Mr Bush told reporters in Rome after talks with President Silvio Berlusconi in reference to a UN resolution on the planned transfer of power.

He later travelled on to France where he was to hold talks with President Jacques Chirac to rally support for the text of the

## BETRAYER'S BROTHER KILLED

MOSUL, June 5. — A brother of the man who led US forces to Saddam Hussein's feared sons, leading to their deaths in a gunbattle last July, was shot dead early today, police said. "Salah al-Zaidan was killed when unknown gunmen fired on his car," a policeman said. Uday and Qusay Hussein were killed in a battle with US troops in Mosul on 22 July last year. At the time, neighbours said Nawaf al-Zaidan, the tribal chief who owned the mansion where Uday and Qusay died, was in US protective custody.

**'War crimes':** The UN High Commissioner for Human Rights said has warned some of the abuses of prisoners at the Abu Gharib prison by American soldiers might qualify as war crimes. — **AFP & PTI**

new resolution, which USA and its allies hope will be passed next week.

The earlier version had also given an option to the transitional government to send the American-led multinational forces home. The termination of the mandate would still require a UN Security Council resolution but the language now introduced says it "will terminate" the mandate if interim government demands that. The

transitional government's main purpose would be to draw up a Constitution.

The amended resolution was introduced yesterday shortly before the Council members left for a weekened retreat.

In another development, the US military declared today it had defeated the outlawed militia of flamboyant Shi'ite cleric Muqtada al-Sadr across central Iraq and denied that there was any truce with the radical preacher.



# Security Council & non-proliferation

By Abdalmahmood Abdalhaleem Mohammad

*The Security Council Resolution 1540 targets non-state actors while neglecting the threat to international peace and security created by proliferation by states.*

10-12  
26/5

**T**HE SHOCKING images of abuses against Iraqi prisoners have over-shadowed an important debate over a recently adopted Resolution by the United Nations Security Council on non-proliferation of weapons of mass destruction, and the risk that non-state actors may acquire, develop, traffic in or use nuclear, chemical and biological weapons and their means of delivery. For many, especially developing countries, the Resolution withdraws, rather than deposits, and raises questions more than providing answers, in particular, regarding the Resolution's possible legal, political and technical implications.

In its recent Resolution, bearing the number 1540 (2004), the 15-member body approved what is thought to be a binding text criminalising the acquisition of weapons of mass destruction by such private parties as terrorists and black marketers. Following passing references in the preamble of the Resolution to various disarmament concepts and commitments in a desperate attempt to make the size of the Resolution an all-fitting one, the Council called on all states to "adopt and enforce appropriate effective laws which prohibit any non-state actor to manufacture, acquire, possess, develop, transport, transfer or use nuclear, chemical or biological weapons and their means of delivery, in particular for terrorist purposes, as well as attempts to engage in any of the foregoing activities, participate in them as an accomplice, assist or finance them."

The Resolution further calls on all states to take and enforce effective measures to establish domestic control to prevent the proliferation of WMDs and the means of delivery, including by establishing appropriate controls over related materials. To that end, states are also demanded to "develop and maintain appropriate effective measures to account for and secure such items in production, use, storage or transport," and "develop and maintain appropriate effective physical protection measures" and also maintain "appropriate effective border control and law enforcement efforts to detect, deter, prevent and combat" the illicit trafficking in such items.

The Council decided that all states shall "establish, develop, review and maintain appropriate effective national export and trans-shipment controls over such items, including appropriate laws and regulations to control export, transit, trans-shipment and re-export and controls on providing funds and services related to such export and trans-shipment such as financing, and transporting that would contribute to proliferation, as well as establishing end-user

controls; and establishing and enforcing appropriate criminal or civil penalties for violations of such export control laws and regulations." According to the Resolution, a committee comprising all members of the Security Council will be established to monitor for the next two years the implementation of the Resolution while all states are further urged to present reports on their efforts to execute the provisions of the Resolution within six months.

Indeed, there is no controversy over the relevance of keeping WMDs out of terrorists hands. The attack on the Tokyo metro, even the spread of natural diseases such as SARS, not to mention the reported stories of "dirty," let alone "clean," bombs are all stimulants for international cooperation, and a continuous reminder of what a biological or chemical attack might look like. There is also no controversy over the imperative of filling the gap in international law on such issues not covered by existing treaty regimes.

However, the apprehensions expressed by many countries left serious doubts over any possible contribution Resolution 1540 could make to the question of non-proliferation, considering not only the poor track record of the Security Council itself since its adoption in 1992 at the level of Heads of State and Government of a presidential statement on arms control and disarmament, in which all member-states pledged to prevent proliferation in all its aspects of all weapons of mass destruction, but also the uncertainties surrounding the Council's repeated recourse to shortcuts to evolve an international consensus replacing existing treaty regimes for issues that should best be addressed through current international instruments.

There is a strong impression that by arrogating to itself wider powers of legislation, the Council departs from its Charter-based mandate, which is essentially the maintenance of international peace and security. And by increasingly assuming a law-making function, the Council risks interfering with the mandate of other multilateral organisations established by treaty as well as the risk of undermining the stability of the international legal framework. Excessive recourse to Chapter VII may signal coercion rather than cooperation, and may open the door for punitive actions not nec-

essarily agreed upon by the entire membership of the Council.

Like previous efforts, the Security Council anchored its Resolution within the global-fight-against-terrorism framework in order to ensure the absence of any dissenting voice. In so doing, there are various contradictions that need to be reconciled. Whereas the Council's Resolutions, especially under Chapter VII, are legally binding on all states, ways and means to cater to the interests of other powers who are not party to certain non-proliferation arrangements as recognised by Resolution 1540 are yet to be drawn out. Another deficiency is that while the Council seeks global adherence to its resolutions, its very unrepresentative nature and the enjoyment of veto powers by its key nuclear actors make it an inappropriate body to be fairly entrusted with the authority for oversight over non-proliferation and nuclear disarmament.

In 2000, during the Sixth Review Conference of the Treaty on Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons, the five nuclear-weapon powers unequivocally committed themselves to eliminating their nuclear stockpiles. Yet while the threat of nuclear weapons is on the rise, the imperative of ensuring a fair, rational and non-discriminatory non-proliferation is the only way to ensuring realisation of the objectives set forth in Resolution 1540. The fact that there has never been sufficient will to back the workings of existing multilateral disarmament and non-proliferation regimes, indeed a retreat from some of the commitments made, explains why any new attempt to establish a mechanism in the Security Council in isolation from the Biological Weapons Convention, Chemical Weapons Convention and the safeguards regime of IAEA will not be successful.

It is interesting to note that Resolution 1540 targets non-state actors while neglecting the threat to international peace and security created by proliferation by states. And while targeting proliferation by non-state actors, the Resolution seeks to impose more obligations on member-states. The Resolution is based in this context on prevention anchored on punitive measures but not on the elimination of WMDs through a transparent and verifiable process of disarmament. After all, it is the Security Council itself that has recently blocked the adoption of a long-awaited draft on transforming the Middle

East as a zone free of all weapons of mass destruction, thus losing an opportunity to incorporate the WMDs Free Zones concept within a global search strategy for their elimination.

The Resolution is further riddled with definitional problems and lack of precision in many aspects and measures outlined in the text. The definition of "non-state actor" which is taken in the text to mean "individual or entity, not acting under the lawful authority of any state in conducting activities which come within the scope of this solution" may not be an exhaustive one. There are also grounds for differing interpretation in such new areas in which established definitions are yet to be worked out. While the Resolution calls on all states to work with and inform industry and the public regarding their obligations, the dual use nature of materials involved may cause unnecessary negative implications on the activities of laboratories and research centres.

The lessons drawn from the Iraqi experience is that political judgments will always supersede technical considerations. And while the text remains ambiguous regarding enforcement measures against non-compliance, the adoption of the Resolution under Chapter VII may be taken as a justification for unilateral use of force, using such language in the text calling on "all states" (and not the U.N. or the combined membership of the Security Council) to "take cooperative action to prevent illicit trafficking in nuclear, chemical or biological weapons, their means of delivery, and related materials," "in accordance with their national legal authorities and legislation" and "consistent with international law," to "counter that threat." As this may form the basis for the oft-referred "coalition of the willing" outside the U.N. framework, such ambiguity may be used to jeopardise innocent passage of ships through territorial waters and violate the rights enshrined in the maritime law and aviation conventions.

The mechanism established by the Security Council to monitor the implementation of the Resolution leaves a lot to be desired. The restricted nature of the Committee as opposed to an open-ended one, and the resistance not to assign its tasks to the U.N. Secretariat raise many questions about the efficacy and direction of the current initiative. Perhaps many would repeat the question raised by the representative of India during the debate, "who will monitor the monitors?"

(The writer is the Ambassador of Sudan to India and former member of the U.N./OAU Expert Group on the De-nuclearization of Africa.)

# Expanding the Security Council

By R. Kannan

UN 10-10-2005

***Elections, although divisive in the short term, are the fairest, most equitable, credible, transparent and democratic way of strengthening the U.N. Security Council.***

THE UNITED Nations Secretary-General, Kofi Annan, advocates that the Security Council become "broadly representative of the international community as a whole as well as the geopolitical realities of the contemporary world." But member-states are unable to agree on the size, composition or membership category of a new revitalised Council.

The 113-member Non-Aligned Movement, a strong advocate of an expanded Council, has, ironically, cautioned that expansion should be arrived at through consensus and not rushed. The Russians and the Chinese support this. Consensus is impractical though — imagine Pakistan and India reaching agreement on the latter's aspirations for a permanent seat. Expansion of the Security Council can only be achieved by elections, especially for the permanent category of seats. Although divisive in the short term, this is the fairest, most equitable, credible, transparent and democratic way of strengthening the Council.

In 1997, Malaysia's Ismail Razali, as head of the General Assembly's Working Group on Council Reform proposed elections as a *modus vivendi*. However, the idea was cold-shouldered since apparently no aspiring country was ready to put its aspirations at the mercy of the uncertainties of an election. In any case, the idea held the potential for division — too paradoxical for an exercise that was meant to strengthen the organisation. But is there another way?

The Razali Working Group proposed a 24-member Council — adding four non-permanent and five permanent members to the current Council of 15. The non-permanent four would come from Africa, Asia, Eastern Europe, and Latin America and the Caribbean, while the new permanent members would comprise one each from Africa, Asia, Latin America and the Caribbean, and two from the industrialised states. The new permanent members were not to have veto rights.

Six years later, there has still been no movement on the issue. In his address to the General Assembly last September, Mr. Annan warned: "[I]n the eyes of your peoples the difficulty of reaching agreement does not excuse your failure to do so. If you want the Council's decisions to command greater respect, particularly in the developing world, you need to address the issue of its composition with greater urgency."

The original Security Council was 11-strong, made up of the permanent five plus six non-permanent members serving two-year terms. It reflected a United Nations founded

with 51 members in 1945. In 1965, in response to a combination of decolonisation and a jump in membership to 113 members, the Council took on four more members in the non-permanent category to reach its current strength of 15 members. Since then, the 10 non-permanent seats have been distributed as follows: three to Africa, two each to Asia, Latin America and Western Europe and one to Eastern Europe. In the 39 years that have elapsed since, membership of the U.N. has grown to 191 states. The Security Council's strength has however remained static.

Member-states consider a permanent seat to be an acknowledgment of having arrived on the world stage. It signifies status and ability to shoulder responsibility in maintaining international peace and security. Mr. Razali had proposed five additional permanent members — two from the industrialised states and one each from Asia, Africa, Latin America and the Caribbean. Today there appear to be more than five claimants for inclusion: Japan, Germany, Brazil, India, Indonesia, South Africa, Egypt, and Nigeria are those most often mentioned.

Which among South Africa, Egypt and Nigeria will represent the African continent? The Africans themselves propose a rotational system to resolve this dilemma but would also like two of the new permanent places. It is generally accepted that Japan would acquire one of the two designated seats for industrialised states. So that leaves India and Indonesia to contend for the one remaining seat. India claims to have British, French and Russian support.

Last June, the then Deputy Prime Minister, L.K. Advani, said that the United States President, George W. Bush, had told him, "I feel that India should get a permanent seat." Yet the U.S. has remained silent on India's bid till now. It is important to remember that Pakistan considers any expansion of the permanent seats as only expanding "inequality." India's chances have also to be measured against Australia's advocacy of Indonesia's candidacy as the most populous Muslim nation. The situation regarding the Latin America and Caribbean slate is less clear, although, compared to India, Brazil takes a low-key approach to its candidacy.

Least problematic is the question of the two industrialised states. The

U.S. identified Japan and Germany for these slots during the Clinton administration. Britain and France also support their inclusion. Japan and Germany's economic might and their contribution to the U.N. budget (roughly 20 per cent and 10 per cent respectively) are weighted in their favour although critics have argued that potential candidates should not be judged solely by financial considerations. (The Italians, opposed to expansion in the permanent category, suggest expanding the non-permanent category by creating 10 two-year rotating terms to be pooled among 30 countries).

In the short term, the only credible, if potentially divisive, way to achieve an expansion is for aspirants to seek their colleagues' support, if not trust. Since the Council acts on behalf of all U.N. members, it is vital that the Council members are there as a result of trust placed in them by the General Assembly members.

Would expansion be any easier if criteria were set up for aspirants, as Singapore once proposed? Many believe that a nation's willingness and ability to contribute to peacekeeping and other U.N. efforts should be the foremost criterion. However, this too has its shortcomings. Germany and Japan, for example, have been historically reluctant to contribute troops to international peacekeeping efforts. For that matter, China, a permanent member, has taken to peacekeeping tepidly. Others such as India have suggested democracy as one of the criteria, while Pakistan has suggested adherence to U.N. resolutions as a criterion for permanent member status. Indonesia suggests population. Thus criteria vary.

The size of the Council and veto for new permanent members are equally vexing issues. Only resolve and political will of the permanent five and vision and courage amongst member-states can help bring about convergence on these issues. Should the Council be 24-strong or 26 as the NAM would wish for? Even a 24-member Council was considered unwieldy and ineffective by four of the permanent five. The British have now said the Council can have up to 24 members. With time, the other permanent members may toe the British position.

It is clear that only three from the NAM could make it to the five permanent seats under the Razali formula,

hence the Movement's insistence on a council of 26. How Mr. Razali's and the NAM's competing visions can be reconciled remains unclear. The NAM could perhaps show flexibility on the Council's size in the short term by not insisting on additional seats on the condition that a review takes place after 10 years as proposed by Mr. Razali himself. But currently there is little agreement on who among them should get the coveted permanent seats. The Movement has therefore recommended expansion in the non-permanent category in the interim while agreement is pursued in the case of permanent seats.

What about veto rights? Germany and Japan are clear that there cannot be two sets of permanent members — one with veto rights, the other without. While other aspirants might prefer to wield the veto, they seem wisely to have left this battle to the two aspiring industrialised states.

Other than among the permanent five, the majority's view is that the veto is anachronistic and undemocratic especially when the entire Council is overridden by the veto of one member. We saw this happen again last month when Russia torpedoed a resolution on technical grounds that was supported by the other 14 aimed at guaranteeing security for Cyprus. In this regard, a frustrated Syrian delegate once questioned the moral authority of a veto when a resolution has the backing of the other 14 members.

As the victorious powers in 1945, the Allies thought that the burden of maintaining international peace would be borne by them. The U.S. in particular was keen on reassuring public opinion and a worried Congress that its forces would not be committed without its concurrence. But we know that no member-state can be forced to contribute troops to even routine peacekeeping efforts much less enforcement actions. In fact, this continues to be a major stumbling block to the U.N.'s efforts to assemble peacekeeping forces rapidly, given its dependence on willing countries to contribute troops.

It is clear that the expansion of the Council cannot happen on its own. Courage, daring and political will are necessary to make it happen. The NAM would need to move away from its stance of a 26-member Council if on balance it wants to achieve an early expansion. The permanent five, for their part, would have to be unequivocal about their stance on a 24-member Council. An election could then follow.

(The writer is Chief Civil Affairs Officer, U.N. Peacekeeping Force in Cyprus, and can be reached at [unkannan@hotmail.com](mailto:unkannan@hotmail.com).)

# Security Council tumbles at Israeli offensive

Agencies

UNHQ, May 19. — With tacit support from the USA, the UN Security Council criticised Israel's military foray into Gaza, calling for a halt to the demolition of Palestinian homes and condemning the killing of Palestinian civilians near a refugee camp.

The rare decision by the USA, Israel's closest ally, to abstain rather than exercise its veto power as it usually does on resolutions critical of the Jewish state reflected the Bush administration's displeasure at Israel's incursion into Gaza.

The final vote was 14-0, with US deputy ambassador Mr James Cunningham raising his hand to abstain. He said the USA couldn't vote in favour of the resolution because it didn't address the Palestinians' efforts to smuggle weapons into Gaza through tunnels in the Rafah refugee camp and its failure to put an end to terrorist activity against Israel.

But in a tough statement after the vote, Mr Cunningham expressed regret at

## Uprising leader convicted



Marwan Barghuti waves to supporters in a Tel-Aviv court on Thursday. — AFP

the loss of innocent civilian lives during a demonstration near Rafah yesterday and concern about the demolition of the homes of innocent Palestinians.

A close aide of Israeli Prime Minister Mr Ariel Sharon expressed "disappointment" at the US decision not to use its veto power which followed un-

TEL-AVIV, May 20. — A court here today convicted Marwan Barghuti, the Palestinian seen as the inspiration behind the intifada and potential successor to Mr Yasser Arafat, on a series of murder charges. Barghuti, a member of the Palestinian parliament, was convicted for direct responsibility in four attacks which killed five people. He had been charged with 26 counts of murder. The prosecution recommended that he receive five life sentences and another 40 years for attempted murder when he appears for sentencing on 6 June. After the verdict, Barghuti vowed the intifada would go on as long as the Israeli occupation of West Bank and Gaza continued. — AFP

sually sharp criticism from the White House. However, Israel showed no sign of wrapping up the raid, launching more helicopter missile strikes and continuing its search of homes.

The Security Council revised the resolution to condemn "the killing of Palestinian civilians that took place in the Rafah

area". The resolution expresses grave concern at "the recent demolition of homes committed by Israel, the occupying power, in the Rafah refugee camp" and calls on Israel "to respect its obligations under international humanitarian law and insists, in particular, on its obligation not to undertake demolition of homes contrary to that law".

The original resolution's "demand" that Israel immediately stop the demolitions was dropped to avoid a US veto, diplomats said.

## Seven killed in Rafah

Seven more Palestinians were killed as Israeli forces pushed on with an unprecedented raid in southern Gaza today despite the UN censure.

Five of the latest Palestinian victims were killed in two overnight air strikes in the Jenaina neighbourhood of Rafah town and the Brazil quarter of the neighbouring refugee camp. Two others were shot dead by troops in the neighbourhood of Tal al-Sultan.

# The U.N. and the Iraqis

By Jonathan Steele

WEDNESDAY'S CARNAGE in Basra is another twist in the downward spiral of violence endangering Iraq. It puts security back at the top of the agenda in the run-up to the long-heralded transfer of sovereignty at the end of June. What use are the trappings of power if there is no guarantee of safety on the streets? The Basra car-bombings were well coordinated and perhaps foreign-inspired.

First reports suggested that they followed the pattern of Al-Qaeda-style suicide attacks in other parts of the world. They will widely be condemned in Iraq since far fewer Iraqis support attacks on their police than they do on occupation troops.

But let us not forget the other source of insecurity in Iraq. The United States has not yet lifted its threat to use force in Najaf to arrest the radical cleric, Moqtada al-Sadr, a decision that could provoke heavy bloodshed. Nor has it drawn back from Falluja, even after the slaughter of several hundred people. Caught between the hammer of poorly targeted suicide bombs and the anvil of unguided American commanders, Iraqis are approaching formal sovereignty in a mood of understandable doubt.

There has been one small piece of good news. Washington has allowed the United Nations a key role in selecting the interim government, which will take over on July 1. The plan, out-

lined in Baghdad by the U.N. special adviser, Lakhdar Brahimi, is for the country's governing council to be dissolved. In its place would be a prime minister at the head of an interim government of technocrats rather than politicians.

The scheme is not a U.N. invention. It bears a strong similarity to what the Americans and the British

Iraq last October. Later, the Council put the Timor force under U.N. supervision.

This did not mean they became blue-helmeted peace-keepers with a U.N. general in charge, but it entitled the U.N. administrator (who happened to be Sergio Vieira de Mello, who was killed in the bombing of the U.N.'s Baghdad headquarters last year) to give the foreign soldiers their political direction.

East Timor was not yet an independent country, but something similar could be done in Iraq. The Security Council could mandate a senior U.N. official to work with the Iraqi government in supervising the multinational force. Even if it were still led by an American general, Iraqis and the U.N. would have the authority to tell the commander that siege of cities and one-tonne bombs dropped on gunmen in populated areas are not politically wise — quite apart from their morality. Now is the time for the majority of U.N. members to strengthen their control. If Iraq's interim government is to acquire more respect than the outgoing governing council had, it too should stand up to the Americans and lay down the rules. The Americans have killed more civilians in one month in Falluja than all the terrorist bombings of the past year, yesterday's included. That surely is a signal that things must change. — ©Guardian

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## The U.N. could follow the East Timor model in Iraq for transfer of power.

Britain want a new resolution to bless the transfer of legal sovereignty to Iraqis, while also keeping U.S. control over all security issues. The result will be a sovereignty that is severely impaired, a bizarre situation in which an allegedly independent country's army is under foreign command on its own territory. It is not too late to change this, since the Bush administration is running scared, electorally, on Iraq.

The U.S. is in a weak position and if key members of the Security Council such as France, Russia and China stand firm, as they did before the invasion last year, there is still a slim chance.

The model is East Timor, where the Security Council initially mandated a "multinational force under unified command," the exact phrase which was reproduced in resolution 1511 on

# USA pleads with UN on Iraq

PRESS TRUST OF INDIA 5-12

UNHQ, April 17.—The United States of America has suggested establishment of a multinational force purely dedicated to providing security to the UN staff and facilities in Iraq and urged member states to contribute troops to it.

The new force is envisaged to be a separate entity but under overall command of the US-led forces now trying to stabilise the situation in Iraq. The USA and Britain are said to be already working on a resolution to authorise such a force. "With the support of the United Nations, the United States has begun to solicit force contributions for the protection of a broad-based UN mission whose role will be further defined by the Security Council action," American UN Ambassador Mr John D. Negroponte said yesterday.

"I believe that I do not overstate the broad desire within the international community for the United Nations to return to Iraq to play an expansive, robust and vital role, in particular after the 30 June transition" to Iraqi sovereignty, Mr Negroponte said in an open briefing to the Security Council, urging countries to contribute troops for the effort.

Mr Negroponte has emerged as the leading candidate to replace Mr Paul

Bremer III, current top American administrator in Iraq, after the US-led coalition hands over sovereignty to Iraqi interim government.

But diplomats said there is urgency for creation of such a force as the UN officials would need to move into Iraq fast if the elections are to be held before the end of January next year as planned. The world body estimates that it would take eight months to organise elections.

UN Secretary General Mr Kofi Annan has expressed reservation about sending a large team of UN staff inside Iraq in the current unstable and violent conditions but Mr Negroponte would like senior staff to move in at the earliest to enable it to play a role in the transition to sovereignty and organisation elections.

The UN has pulled out its international staff after a terrorist suicide bomb destroyed its headquarters in Baghdad, killing 22 people including its top envoy in Iraq Sergio Vieira de Mello. Since then, Mr Annan has been very cautious and has repeatedly emphasised that sending in staff would depend on the security situation.

Mr Negroponte, in his briefing, also touched on the deadly clashes in recent days in Iraq, which he said included ambush and mutilation, riots and attacks perpetrated by insurgents, ter-

## Two Japanese released

BAGHDAD, April 17.—Two Japanese held hostage in Iraq were released by the captors here today and turned over to an association of Sunni Muslim scholars hours after a detained US soldier was paraded on an Arabic satellite channel. "The two were released, they are next to me," Sheikh Abdul Salam Kubaissi, an official at the Committee of Muslim Scholars said. "They are in very good health." — AFP

rorists who have infiltrated into the country, and militias affiliated with radical elements. "The violence has been terrible, and the losses great," he said.

He said the current multinational force has continued to recruit, train and equip Iraqi security forces in preparation for their assuming responsibility for maintaining security and enforcing the rule of law. Currently, there are some 200,000 Iraqi security forces either on duty or in training. Mr Negroponte said the Coalition Provisional Authority has achieved progress in ensuring the transition and reintegration of all armed organisations not under government control.

# UN Annan sacks security chief

Press Trust of India

UNHQ, March 30. — UN Secretary-General Mr Kofi Annan has fired a security chief and demoted another senior staff following a critical report by an external panel which faulted several top officials for events leading to deadly bombing of world body headquarters in Baghdad on 19 August last year which killed 22 people.

Mr Annan, however rejected the resignation of his Deputy Ms Louise Frechette, a Canadian, who headed the steering

group which advised the UN chief to send senior staff members to work in Iraq despite unstable security situation following the US led military action.

Two officials responsible for security on the ground in Baghdad came in for highly critical comments and were charged with misconduct. They would face disciplinary proceedings.

UN Security Coordinator Mr Tun Myat of Myanmar on paid leave since November last was asked to step down as the report said he "appeared to be oblivious to the developing crisis". Mr Annan rejected

Group of failing to ask "some searching questions" about the security before concluding that the staff could be sent to Baghdad.

The security officials, the report said: "Appeared to be blinded by the conviction that UN personnel and installation would not become target of attack, despite clear warnings to the contrary." They did not take measures to improve the security at the headquarters even after they became aware of the risk.

The report also faulted the UN for not sending a team to assess the situa-

tion before allowing the staff members to go in.

It charged the two officials responsible for the security on the ground in Baghdad with "dereliction of duty" and "lethargy bordering on gross negligence", saying that they failed even to ask for or install blast resistant shield on windows of the Canal Hotel where the headquarters was located.

The two, Mr Boulos Paul Aghadjanian of Jordan and Mr Pa MomoDou Sinyan of Gambia, have been charged with misconduct and are facing disciplinary proceedings.

## NAILED

(UN security officials in Baghdad) appeared to be blinded by the conviction that UN personnel and installations would not become targets of attack, despite clear warnings to the contrary.



UN Security Coordinator Mr Tun Myat

over security flaws, chief UN spokesman Mr Fred Eckhard said.

The report faulted the

Ms Frechette's offer to resign but sent a critical letter to her expressing "disappointment and regret"

# USA vetoes Arab resolution on Yassin

## Press Trust of India

UNHQ, March 26. — The USA has vetoed an Arab-sponsored UN Security Council resolution condemning Israel's assassination of Hamas spiritual leader Sheikh Ahmed Yassin, describing the measure as "one-sided". Eleven of the 15 Security Council members voted for the resolution at an open meeting yesterday and Britain, Germany and Romania abstained. Supporting the resolution were China, Russia, France, Angola, Chile, Pakistan, Spain, Algeria, Benin,

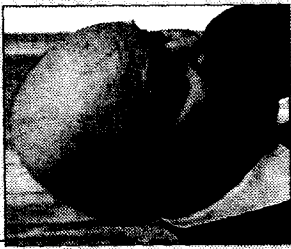
Brazil and the Philippines. The USA, however, cast a negative vote to kill the resolution as it didn't simultaneously condemn Hamas and other Palestinian militant groups for sending suicide bombers to Israel.

Speaking before the vote, American ambassador to the UN Mr John Negroponte conceded that Israeli action had escalated tension in West Asia and could setback efforts to resume progress towards peace. He, however, added that the "one-sided, unbalanced resolution" was "silent about the terrorist atrocities" committed by Hamas. He said:

"The Council should be focused on ways to advance the goal of two states, Israel and Palestine, living side by side in peace and security. The one-sided resolution before the Council does not advance that goal."

During the intense negotiations in the last forty-eight hours preceding the Council meeting, Algeria, the only Arab member in the Council, who sponsored the resolution along with Libya agreed to the inclusion of a paragraph which condemned all terrorist attacks against any civilians as well as all acts of violence and destruction.

**The Security Council should be focused on ways to advance the goal of two states, Israel and Palestine, living side by side in peace and security. The one-sided unbalanced resolution before the Council does not advance that goal."**



**US ambassador to the UN Mr John Negroponte**

After the vote Israel and Palestinian exchanged hot words and accusations as they addressed the Council and then exercised the right of reply to criticise each other.

Palestinian envoy Mr Nasser al-Kidwa said international terrorism and what happens under occupation cannot be equated. "Israeli policies are not part of battle against inter-

national terrorism: it is part of the problem creating terrorism." Mr Al-Kidwa added that the Palestinians were yet to decide whether to take up the issue in the UN General Assembly.

Israeli ambassador Mr Dan Gillerman accused Palestinians of siding with Hamas and said its actions were undermining the international efforts to create a Palestinian state. He took a swipe at Spain: "If you knew the bloody massacre of your citizens was about to happen, would you have sat still and let it happen?"

**Two militants killed**  
Two Hamas militants who

swam up to a block of Jewish settlements in the southern Gaza Strip were killed by Israeli soldiers overnight, sources on both sides said today. AFP adds from Gaza.

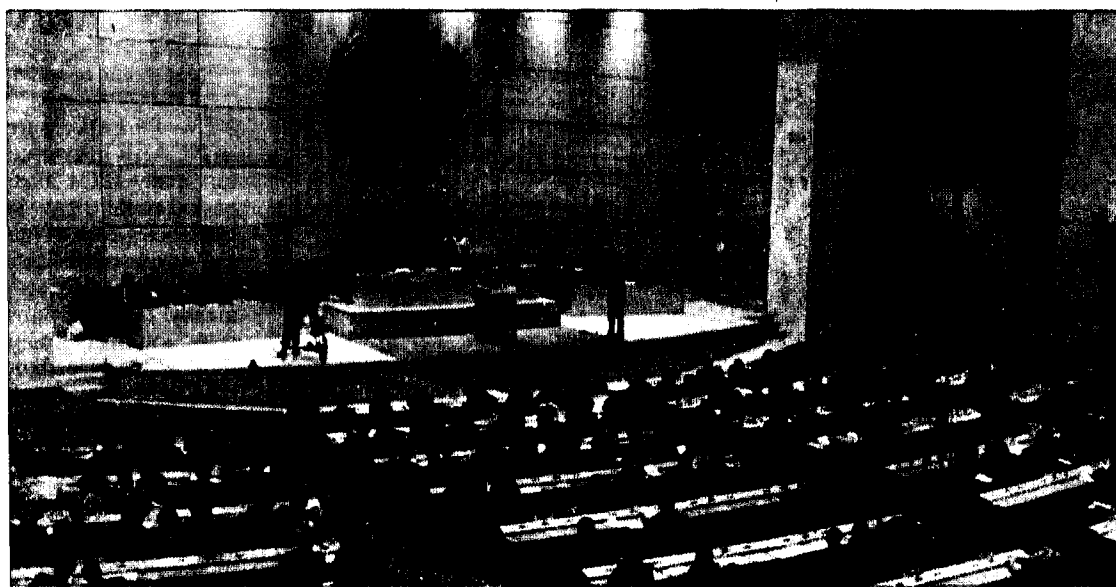
They were spotted wading ashore near Gush Katif and died in an exchange of fire. Israeli soldiers found weapons, including anti-tank rockets, near the bodies, an Israeli spokesman said. In a statement, Hamas' military wing, the Ezzedin al-Qassam Brigades, claimed responsibility for the thwarted attack and said it was conducted to avenge Yassin's assassination.

① UN  
② W. Am...  
③ ...

SF 2277

# Going UNder

To rejuvenate the United Nations is the task of the day and the sooner we get started the better for the world, writes JK DUTT



**T**HE past quarter of a century has highlighted in no uncertain terms the plight of an international organisation that had been created on the conclusion of World War II, a plight that can be equated with the expression, "It's there all right but no one takes it seriously!" The reference is of course to the United Nations whose charter is to ensure peace in the world by preempting war. It is indeed a sad reflection that this mammoth conglomeration of nations has been a toothless tiger in the face of predictable outbreak of wars and worse, has been unable to do justice to its charter.

The UN's parent, the League of Nations, was dissolved because of its singular failure to prevent wars. At the time of its formation, the UN's prime responsibility was defined as establishing a lasting methodology of peace and security, capable of meeting envisaged stresses and strains that were bound to erupt in the world in the course of clashes between people with diverse interests.

The UN's founding fathers felt that the most effective method of achieving the UN's task was through a system of "collective security." In essence, this meant empowerment of the UN to use force against any country that pursued an objective amounting to aggression into the domain of another country. The drawback in this was the huge hiatus between the UN's written directive and its actual implementation, emanating mainly from the fact that the will of the UN, as it were, is nothing more than the collective will of its individual members.

It has been observed time and again that by the time a UN mandated force got deployed, the damage done in the interim period had become irreparable. A glaring example of this is the Balkans. First, Bosnia then Kosovo witnessed an organised pogrom against ethnic Albanians akin to a mini holocaust with two super powers – both UN members, incidentally – pulling in opposite directions over the issue. The UN finally managed to cobble up an international force whose

contribution in tackling the problem was negligible. In any event, it could not undo the destruction of life and property that had already been executed. Yet, it was not the fault of the force as such but the *modus operandi* involved in getting to deploy it in the strife torn area that needs to be radically altered.

Likewise, there are innumerable examples in Africa, Latin America and Asia where little more than lip service was done to interpret the UN's defined responsibility. Perhaps the two worst cases are Russia's naked aggression into Afghanistan and the USA's replication of this in Iraq. In both instances, the UN was conveniently bypassed by Moscow and Washington respectively as if to say that it was none of the UN's business!

If the UN is to be retained, then its avatar has to undergo inherent changes, specifically in the context of meeting the demands of its defined responsibility. The crucial factor in containing aggression is time and in no way can this factor's credibility be upheld if we hold on to the present method of raising a UN force through the usual cumbersome process. Here, the views

of the UN's first secretary general, Trygve Lie, is pertinent.

Lie had visualised that mankind being what it is and irrespective of the gargantuan losses inflicted on humanity through two world wars, inter as well as intra state conflicts would continue unabated, never mind the resultant destroying of lives, morals, ethics, harmony and all the rest that go to constitute the simple desire to exist in peace. Ergo, he had advocated the setting up of a permanent global Rapid Response Force that must be able to deploy in the concerned region within 48 to 96 hours of the conflict breaking out there. The RRF had to be highly mobile and possess force multiplication character.

Unfortunately, Lie's vision remained only on paper as no steps were taken to translate it in physical terms. Therefore, the first action for a rejuvenated UN is the immediate creation of a RRF. Ideally, this force should be the size of a corps comprising three composite army divisions, an aircraft carrier, and long-range heavy duty transport planes. A wholly separate controlling authority reporting directly to the UN secre-

tary general is required to coordinate the operations of the RRF. The contributing countries to the RRF should rotate in accordance with a proper schedule that must be worked out well in advance.

The next measure should be to relocate the UN Headquarters from its present place in New York to a neutral site, perhaps Switzerland or Andorra or someplace similar. Being located on a super power's soil posits an uncomfortable state of mind for the UN; it is the proverbial tenant-landlord scenario and certainly not desirable for the UN if it is to maintain its independent mode and objectivity in functioning.

Third, there is a dire necessity to reform the core of the UN, namely the Security Council. Not only should the number of permanent members be increased at least threefold, considering the total UN membership is close to two hundred, but the aspects of "legality" and "legitimacy" in the UNSC's doctrine have also to be blended into one. These two aspects have more often than not seen eye to eye. The UN must intervene in a conflict based on pure

morality and not get harangued into needless debates on whether such intervention is legal or legitimate.

Lastly, there is an inescapable requirement today for a multipolar world. We need at least four to five global power centres – the term "polarity" is obsolete now – in order to induce stability. Multiple power centres will add to the credibility as also the clout of the UN and provide the organisation with the much sought teeth to confidently face solo super powers in their gerrymandering quests. As an example of the latter, a disconcerting situation is taking shape in West Africa centred on Equatorial Guinea for hijacking of oil reserves by a super power. This must be checked forthwith.

It is high time the international community enforced an annulment of the prevailing US versus UN game plan that has contributed to major global pockets of destabilisation and imbalance. A strong and unwavering UN can become a countercheck to the expanding scourge of terrorism. This scourge has surfaced due to partisan and derogatory foreign policies of major power players. A rejuvenated UN would be able to curtail such policies and oversee the reconciliation of global issues through the civilised technique of negotiations.

Tailpiece. The horror that Madrid experienced recently was entirely avoidable. A hapless UN stood by as a spectator as the lone super power went on a destructive spree based on specious reasons in Iraq. Consequently, the so-called "coalition of the willing" has left itself open to such horrors in the coming days. Before a repetition of this occurs, the member nations of the UN must ask for an emergency meeting of the full house with the aim of reconstructing this organisation on a war footing. Meanwhile, the Iraq issue should be taken over by the UN in all respects and the coalition occupiers there coerced to vacate.

(The author is a retired Lieutenant Colonel of the Indian Army.)



# Guantanamo Britons' ordeal ends

By Hasan Suroor

LONDON, MARCH 11. All the five Britons, released from Guantanamo Bay on Tuesday, were finally reunited with their families today as the British authorities allowed them to go home after keeping them in police custody for a day.

While one of the men — Jamal Udeen — was released soon after the five returned to Britain on Tuesday evening, the remaining four were let off late on Wednesday night without charge bringing to an end their two-year ordeal that started when they were picked up by U.S. forces in Afghanistan on suspicion of terrorism and incarcerated at the notorious

Guantanamo Bay detention centre in Cuba.

The four — Tarek Dergoul, Ruhul Ahmed, Asif Iqbal and Shafiq Rasul — were taken to undisclosed locations of their choice to be met by their families amid concerns about their psychological state after what they have been through.

Their lawyers called their detention, first at Guantanamo Bay and then at a Central London police station, as 'unlawful' as civil rights campaigners called for American Government to be sued for 'illegally' detaining them.

"I think they are owed something by the U.S. Government," said a British human rights lawyer.

Experts said the fact that no charges were brought against them by American authorities despite a high-profile campaign about their alleged terrorist background showed that there was no case against them in the first place.

Media attention focussed on speculation that some of them might sell their stories to tabloids which were reported to be engaged in a 'bidding war'.

A leading public relations consultant, Max Clifford, suggested that whoever sold his story first could get as much as £300,000. Pressure was mounting for the release of four other Britons still languishing in Guantanamo Bay.

THE HINDU

12 MAR 2004

12 MAR 2004

# UN agency nails Iran, Libya for N-agreement breach

Agence France Presse

VIENNA, March 8. — The UN International Atomic Energy Agency today said both Iran and Libya had been in breach of international nuclear safeguards agreements for many years and it expected full transparency from them to restore trust.

Responding to a call for the IAEA to close its file and list of concerns on Iran's nuclear programme, the agency's director-general, Md ElBaradei, told reporters: "That depends very much... on the kind of cooperation we hopefully will continue to receive from Iran." He was speaking before a meeting of the IAEA's board of governors, which is expected to report Libya to the UN Security Council for previous non-compliance with the 1970 nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty but praise it for its current cooperation in eliminating weapons development programmes.



Md ElBaradei has said Teheran would remain in the spotlight as long as questions remained about its nuclear agenda.

A Western diplomat said Libya was "almost done in revealing its nuclear programme" and the non-compliance declaration would merely be a "pro-forma" way of closing the chapter with no threat of sanctions against Libya. He, however, added that the USA saw the declaration as a warning to Iran.

Mr ElBaradei said both Iran and Libya "have been in breach of their obligations under the safeguards agreement" of the NPT.

## 'Pak govt complicity'

UN investigators are increasingly certain that Pakistan government leaders knew the country's top atomic scientist was supplying nuclear technology and designs to other nations, particularly North Korea, according to diplomats familiar with a probe of the world's nuclear black market, adds AP.

The assessment comes about half way through the probe by the International Atomic Energy Agency and Western intelligence services into the Khan network.

Despite denials by the Pakistani government, investigators now are certain that some, if not all, of the country's decision makers were aware of Khan's dealings, especially with North Korea, which apparently helped Islamabad build missiles in exchange for help with its nuclear arms program, said one of the diplomats. "In Pakistan, it's hard to believe all this happened under their noses and nobody knew about it," the diplomat said.

9 MAR 2004

THE STATESMAN

# Britain spied on Annan: Short

**The Guardian**  
London, February 26

BRITISH AGENTS spied on UN Secretary-General, Kofi Annan, in the run-up to the Iraqi war, former international development secretary Clare Short claimed on Thursday.

Short made the claim while being interviewed on BBC Radio 4's *Today* programme about the implications of the collapse of the Official Secrets Act case against GCHQ whistleblower Katharine Gun.

Downing Street refused to comment on the allegation, but insisted that Britain's intelligence services always act within the law. A spokesman said: "We never comment on intelligence matters. Our intelligence agencies act in accordance with national and international law at all times."

Asked whether British agencies had been involved in spying activities against Annan, Short, who quit the Cabinet in protest against the war, said: "I know, I have seen transcripts of Kofi Annan's conversations. Indeed, I have had conversations with Kofi in the run-up to war thinking 'Oh dear, there will be a transcript of this and people will see what he and I are saying'."

Short was asked whether she believed that British spies had been instructed to carry out operations within the UN on people such as



REUTERS  
A file photograph of Kofi Annan with Tony Blair.

Kofi Annan. She replied: "Yes, absolutely." She was asked whether she knew about such operations when she was in government. She said: "Absolutely, I read some of the transcripts of the accounts of his conversations." Asked whether she believed that was legal, she said: "I don't know, I presume so. It is odd, but I don't know about the legalities."

Furore over the disclosures dominated Prime Minister Tony Blair's morning conversation with the press. He declined to address the claims but said the former minister who made them was undermining British security.

"I'm not going to comment on their operations ... that should not be taken as any indication about the truth of any particular accusations," Blair said. "The

fact that those allegations were made, I think, is deeply irresponsible."

Hassen Fodha, UN director in Brussels, said in the first response from the world body that there was no need for governments to bug the organisation. "The UN works in full transparency. Our information is public and under our rules no other information than is public should be used in reports."

But Fodha's deputy, Andreas Nicklisch, said any British spying on Annan would be illegal. "This is something which is not entirely surprising because we always have suspected that," Nicklisch said in a telephone interview from London. "It's illegal of course," he added.

Blair is also set to face questions on the collapse of the Gun case. Gun had been accused of leaking a secret e-mail from US intelligence services allegedly requesting UK help in bugging UN delegates ahead of the Iraq war. She admitted leaking the e-mail, which she said "horrified" her, but the case against her was dramatically dropped on Wednesday with prosecutors refusing, despite concerted pressure, to say why. Her lawyers speculated it was because they had demanded the government disclosed advice it received from the Attorney-General, Lord Goldsmith, on the legality of going to war on Iraq.

27 FEB 2004

THE HINDUSTAN TIMES

# UN seeks Iran n<sup>13</sup>uke a<sup>13</sup>nswers

Vienna, Feb. 24 (Reuters): The UN nuclear watchdog said today it still had questions about Iran's nuclear programme despite what Tehran called a full disclosure last October, and diplomats said Iran was being difficult.

Inspectors for the International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA) said in a report Iran had agreed at the last minute to freeze more activities related to enriching uranium but said several questions remained open.

Those open questions included why Iran had not declared its possession of designs for advanced P2 enrichment centrifuges and its past experiments aimed at creating polonium, a substance used to initiate a chain reaction in nuclear explosions.

The report, sent to the IAEA board and obtained by Reuters, also said a combination of highly enriched and low-enriched uranium had been found at two sites in Iran and had not yet been fully explained. The mixed contamination was a "major outstanding issue", the IAEA said.

"Until this matter is satisfactorily resolved, it will be very difficult for the agency to confirm that there has not been any undeclared nuclear material or activities," the report said.

Iran has explained uranium traces found by IAEA inspectors as the result of contaminated

centrifuges it bought on the black market. "If it was all imported from one place, why are there different types of contamination at Kalaye and Natanz?" asked one Vienna-based diplomat who follows the IAEA.

The IAEA said Iran's failure to acknowledge that it had designs for the P2 centrifuge was "a matter of serious concern".

Centrifuges are used in uranium enrichment, a process of purifying uranium for use in weapons. Iran gave the IAEA last October what Tehran called a full declaration of all its nuclear activities.

The US says Iran's nuclear programme is a front for building nuclear weapons.

25 FEB 2004

THE TELEGRAPH

# UN rules out early polls in Iraq

Reuters

United Nations, February 20

THE UNITED Nations said on Thursday that elections in Iraq were not feasible before the US occupation ends on June 30, as Washington has long contended, but was ready to help form an interim government if asked.

UN officials said the world body wanted Iraqis to make proposals for selecting a caretaker government until elections, but would be prepared to send an envoy to Baghdad if no solution or consensus could be reached.

UN Secretary-General Kofi Annan said, "Elections cannot be held before the end of June,

that the June 30 date for the handover of sovereignty must be respected, and that we need to find a mechanism to create the caretaker government and then prepare the elections sometime later in the future."

Iraqi politicians gave mixed reviews to the UN recommendation but said they would await the details before deciding how best to form a new government to take power from the US-led coalition after June 30.

A top Shia leader, who disrupted the American plan for the handover by calling for a direct vote, reportedly said he would accept only a short delay in elections and argued that any non-

elected administration must have strictly limited powers.

Asked by German news-magazine *Der Spiegel* how long a delay he would accept, al-Sistani replied that "it must not take long". *Der Spiegel* said al-Sistani did not specify when he did so.

On Friday, several hundred Shias demonstrated in al-Sistani's hometown of Najaf in support of his call for quick polls. "Yes to al-Sistani, yes to elections," the protesters shouted. The White House had asked the world body to come up with proposals for Iraq's political future before and after the June 30 transfer of power.

# Bird flu turns on cats and tigers

BIRD FLU has jumped to cats and white tigers. The virus killed three domestic cats and infected a white tiger in Thailand. The cat infection has raised fears the disease will find it easier to jump to humans. WHO viral expert Prasert Thongcharoen said the development was "very dangerous". He warns that it is best for owners not to have direct contact with cats if there are chickens in the neighbourhood.

The infected white tiger at Khao Khiew zoo near Bangkok has recovered.

Agencies, Bangkok

## IRAQ / ROAD TO SOVEREIGNTY

# U.N. will do anything it can, says Brahimi

H10-14  
9/3  
BAGHDAD, FEB. 8. The United Nations will "do everything it can" to help Iraq on the road to sovereignty, said the top U.N. official, Lakhdar Brahimi, today after meeting the U.S.-appointed interim leadership.

"The United Nations reaffirms its desire to do everything it can to help the Iraqi people out of its long ordeal and restore independence and sovereignty," said Mr. Brahimi, who heads the first U.N. mission here in months.

The nine-member team, which arrived yesterday, is charged with assessing the feasibility of the rapid elections demanded by the country's Shia Muslim majority.

It is the first full-scale U.N. mission in Iraq since the Secretary-General, Kofi Annan, sent international staff home after its Baghdad offices were bombed in August.

"The United Nations is in Iraq. For security reasons, some

of its staff had to leave, but we still have Iraqi colleagues here," Mr. Brahimi said.

Speaking about the morning meeting, the current Council Chairman, Mohsen Abdul Hamid, confirmed that discussions were still focused on the U.S.-led coalition's June 30 deadline for the handover of sovereignty.

"We discussed all the ways for elections to be held for a representative government, while sticking to the June 30 date for the moment.

We are confident that Mr. Brahimi and the team will advise us, allowing us to make a decision in the interest of the Iraqi people," he said.

A U.N. spokesman, Ahmed Fawzi, said "We are not here to impose any kind of solution on the Iraqi people (but) to look into the feasibility of elections."

### 3 die in blast

A bomb planted inside a police station exploded soon after

the morning rollcall, killing three policemen and injuring 11 others in Suwayrah, officials said today.

The explosion occurred about 9 am yesterday in the town 50 km south of Baghdad, according to police. It was unclear who planted the bomb, which left a large hole in the floor of the station and caused extensive damage inside.

Led by local police escort, a heavily armoured convoy of Japanese troops arrived in Iraq from Kuwait on Sunday to set up for a controversial humanitarian mission that marks Tokyo's first military deployment to a combat zone since 1945.

The ground troops, most of them engineers, were leading a deployment that will eventually reach about 800 soldiers in a humanitarian mission aimed at improving water supplies and other infrastructure projects around Samawah in southeastern Iraq. — AFP, AP

THE HINDU

THE HINDU

19 FEB 2004

# Annan mulls return to Iraq

The Guardian  
New York, January 20

THE UN indicated on Monday night that it would return to Iraq to help resolve a row between the US occupying force and the country's Shia majority over how best to hand back power to Iraqis.

Secretary general Kofi Annan emerged from a meeting with US, British and Iraqi officials, promising to consider an appeal for UN experts to visit Iraq to assess how best to achieve the June 30 power transfer.

Paul Bremer, top US official in Iraq, is hoping that any UN experts sent to Iraq will agree with the American view on the power handover: that direct elections are impossible in the circumstances, and that an interim government will have to be selected through selection rather than election.

Annan has hinted that he agrees. "I don't believe there may be time between now and May to hold elections," he said on Monday. He added that more talks would be needed before he could reach a decision on sending experts back to Baghdad, scene of a devastating attack on UN personnel in August.

But he suggested it would be unwise to refuse the request, and his decision would not be long in coming as preparations for the power transfer start next month. "If we get it wrong at this stage, it'll be even more difficult and we may not even get to the next stage," Annan said. "So I think it is important that we do whatever we can to assist."

Iraq's majority Shia population is calling for rapid general elections to be held. Their most influential cleric, Ayatollah Ali Sistani, has warned that failure to hold a vote will only aggravate violence.

On Monday, around 100,000 Shias took to the streets of Baghdad demanding early and direct elections. "The sons of the Iraqi people demand a political system based on direct elections and a constitution that realises justice for everyone," said Ayatollah Sistani's representative, Hashem al-Awad. "Anything other than that will prompt people to have their own say," Ayatollah Sistani has indicated he would accept the UN team's decision, even if it affirms Annan's belief that direct elections are unfeasible.

But the UN is also wary about validating a process it has no role in formulating and submitting itself to a timetable dictated by America's desire for re-election. "Nobody can afford to see Iraq implode," said one UN official. "But we want to keep the interests of the Iraqi people at the centre."



Abdul Aziz Khoder, 25 (right), embraces his father after arrival at Beirut on Tuesday after spending nearly 10 months in a US detention camp in Iraq. He was one of four Lebanese released by US forces in Iraq, where they went to fight for Saddam.

## No 'axis of evil' in Bush's speech

The New York Times  
Washington, January 20

TWO YEARS after President Bush described Iraq, Iran and North Korea as an "axis of evil" – perhaps the signature phrase of his presidency – his foreign policy aides contend that his uncompromising language and willingness to use force have changed the behaviour of potential enemies.

But that change has come at a cost,

government officials from Asia to the Islamic world say, as resistance to Bush's calls for reform and democratisation has hardened in some places.

Bush plans to return to the theme of reform in his State of the Union address on Tuesday night, his aides say, though he will not repeat the phrase. Iraq, with its long record of defying the UN, was the first to absorb Bush's wrath. But the decision to invade Iraq 14 months after the

president's speech changed the diplomatic landscape.

With Iran and North Korea, the administration has so far pursued diplomacy, and administration officials acknowledge that military force would be far riskier to use against either country. In the speech, Bush will urge countries to follow the example of Libya, which recently announced that it would dismantle its nuclear weapons programme.

THE NEW YORK TIMES

21 JAN 2004

# UNCTAD urges India to reform further

Press Trust of India

NEW DELHI, Jan. 11. — Acknowledging the impact of trade liberalisation on poverty alleviation, UNCTAD today urged India and other developing countries to further reform their economic policies, by cutting down on tariff rates and addressing trade distortions.

In a draft report released today, the international body said “trade liberalisation has definitely contributed to reducing poverty but this has not been enough. The effectiveness of any liberalisation process would be on domestic reform policies both economic and social”.

It said emergence of G-20 was an important opportunity for India to follow a trade reform agenda.

Increased trade between these countries on the basis of their comparative advantage would increase the level of income and employment and also have both direct and indirect impacts on poverty allevia-

tion in India.

The report further said most of the poverty gains from trade liberalisation will result from India's own reforms.

Any credible poverty reduction strategy must rest on two pillars — a good investment climate to propel growth and empowerment

**In a draft report released today, the international body said “trade liberalisation has definitely contributed to reducing poverty but this has not been enough**

of poor people through participation in decisions that shape their lives.

The report noted that states which are better integrated into the global process have witnessed the highest reduction in poverty.

On agriculture, it said domestic reform will have a greater impact on rural

poverty than external sector reform.

“Developing countries such as India would stand to gain immensely if agricultural protectionist measures such as tariff peaks and tariff elimination and other trade distorting practices like export subsidies and domestic support in developed countries are immediately addressed”, it observed.

On non-agricultural goods, the tariff rates in India are one of the highest in the world.

“Such high tariffs make costlier the products which the poor consume the most. Therefore a reduction in average tariff based on modalities which reflect the concerns of the developing countries is desirable”, it said.

Stating that export growth was crucial, it said better access in export markets for seven products where India has comparative advantage looks an attractive proposition.

“Issues such as tariff peaks, tariff escalation, etc need immediate redress”, it added.



# Annan caught in Iraq tug-of-war

9b-6

AGENCIES  
UNITED NATIONS, JANUARY 9

**W**ITH days to go before UN Secretary-General Kofi Annan meets members of the Iraqi Governing Council and US authorities, pressure is building up on the world body to play a role in the rebuilding. While the coalition wants Annan to return his political staff in Baghdad, Iraqi leaders want him to take over power-transfer plans from the US.

US and UK want the United Nations to return senior political staff to Iraq who could help with the caucuses for a provisional Assembly ahead of a transfer of power to Iraqis by the end of June. US officials will meet Annan late today to discuss the January 19 meeting.

The US, however, does not want to cede any power over the next six months. Britain wants the UN to play an important part in the transition, thereby legitimising the process to self-rule in the eyes of the global community.

On the other hand, an Iraqi Governing Council president and the country's

## MEANWHILE



**Prisoners embrace outside the Al-Ghralb prison after being released on Thursday. Reuters**

### Five killed in mosque blast

**■ BAQUBA:** At least five people were killed and dozens injured by a bomb blast during Friday prayers at a Shiite

mosque in the central Iraqi town of Baquba. Local police said the bomb exploded outside a small mosque in a residential area. Officials at a nearby hospital said 39 people were injured.

### US shuffles troops

**■ PENTAGON:** Pentagon has begun a shuffle of troops in Iraq, Kuwait and Afghanistan to substitute fresh US forces for battle-tested ones. Troops are being ferried in and out of Iraq by plane to lessen the possibility of assaults on ground convoys. The US is also considering lowering the nation's threat alert level from orange to yellow. — *Agencies*

most influential religious leader have asked for UN help in negotiating a security agreement to keep US forces in Iraq, and for an alternative plan to the US blueprint for the transfer of power.

On Wednesday, Shiite cleric Grand Ayatollah Ali Sistani said in Najaf that the US plans to create a transitional government would not "ensure in any way

## Powell defends Iraq WMD chase

**■ WASHINGTON:** US Secretary of State Colin Powell on Thursday staunchly defended his arguments that Saddam Hussein had WMDs that justified a war against Iraq.

Powell insisted that though post-war investigations have yet to find stockpiles of WMDs, the ousted Iraqi regime for years possessed both the arms and the intention to use them. "I am confident of what I presented last year", he said of his February 2, 2003 UN speech, which laid out case for invading Iraq.

The Carnegie Endowment for International Peace had issued a report saying the administration "systematically misrepresented the threat from Iraq's WMD and ballistic missile programmes." Powell said that while "I have not seen smoking gun" on links between Saddam Hussein and Al Qaeda, "I think the possibility of such connections did exist. And it was prudent to consider them at the time that we did." — *Agencies*

unless security improves. — *LATWP*