

'NO AMBIGUITY ON UN REFORMS'

PM raises veto pitch

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Statesman News Service

NEW DELHI, Dec. 21. — Asserting there was no ambiguity on UN reforms Prime Minister Dr Manmohan Singh today made it clear that India must have veto rights as a permanent member of the UN Security Council.

Earlier, India's hopes of finding a place on the Security Council had suffered a setback with the Secretary-General Dr Kofi Annan indicating it would be difficult to meet the demand of the group of four countries (India, Japan, Brazil, and Germany) for permanent membership of the Council with the right to veto.

Clearing the air over the recent controversy on the issue, Dr Singh today told the Rajya Sabha: "There is no confusion.... We do not believe there should be any discrimination in the Security Council (on veto rights)." Observing there was "no clarity" on what shape the Security Council reforms would eventually take, he said it was "premature" for the government to "pre-judge" the issue at this stage.

Brushing aside apprehensions over India's nuclear policy, Dr Singh said: "There is no ambiguity about our nuclear policy. India is a nuclear weapon state and we are a responsible nuclear power." He added that India was committed to promoting non-discriminatory nuclear disarmament.

On Indo-Pak ties, he said confidence building measures could not move forward if the flow of terrorists from across the border goes on "without any check and without control." He said India would go by the situation on the ground and was committed to what was agreed between Gen. Pervez Musharraf and



Dr Singh and Dr Annan

'No redrawing map'

NEW DELHI, Dec. 21. — India reasserted its claim over Kashmir today, saying it would not redraw its boundary. Prime Minister Dr Manmohan Singh's tough statement in Parliament came less than three weeks before a scheduled meeting with Pakistan President Gen. Pervez Musharraf in Bangladesh, on the sidelines of the Saarc summit. Dr Singh also said India was willing to look at possible options for a peaceful and negotiated settlement of the Kashmir dispute with Pakistan "without compromising upon our basic national interests." — AP

Mr Atal Behari Vajpayee.

Dr Singh said during his meeting with Pakistan president Pervez Musharraf in New York in September, they had agreed that "possible options for a peaceful, negotiated settlement of the J&K issue should be explored in a sincere spirit and a purposeful manner".

Dr Singh, who met his Pakistani counterpart Shaukat Aziz here on 23 November, said India intended to pursue the path of cooperation and dialogue with Pakistan "building upon support from the people of the two countries without compromising our basic national interests".

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THE STATESMAN

Manmohan firm on UN veto right

HT Correspondent
New Delhi, December 21

INDIA WILL not accept permanent membership of the UN Security Council without veto power.

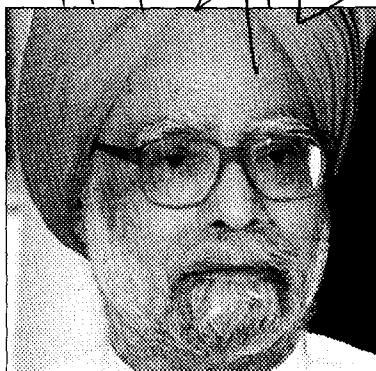
Prime Minister Manmohan Singh made this categorical assertion in the Rajya Sabha today, rejecting Opposition charge that there was ambiguity in the Indian stand on the issue. The Prime Minister gave a statement on his recent foreign tours and talks with US, Pakistan and other leaders in both Houses of Parliament. Replying to clarifications in the Rajya Sabha, he said there was "no confusion on our candidature" for the UN seat.

"At this point, all members of the Security Council have veto power. We believe there should be no discrimination in this among the Council members," he said.

He said efforts for UN reforms were in progress but there was no clarity what the Secretary-General might finally say. The government could not say further on this. "Let us not pre-judge the outcome," he said.

Singh said while pursuing confidence building measures (CBMs) with Pakistan, there was no question of going soft on terrorism "flowing" from Pak territory. "No doubt, we are committed to follow whatever was agreed between former Prime Minister Atal Bihari Vajpayee and President Pervez Musharraf in their joint statement," he said.

"What CBMs will do if the flow of terrorism remained unchecked," he said. In his statement on his talks with the Pakistan leader, Singh said, "I emphasised to President Mushar-



Manmohan Singh
Tough talk

raf the criticality of his fulfilling the reassurance on January 6, 2004, that any territory under Pakistan's control would not be used to support terrorism in any manner."

"We also discussed bilateral issues, including Jammu and Kashmir. We agreed that possible options for a peaceful negotiated settlement of the issue of J&K should be explored in a sincere spirit and a purposeful manner. I made it clear to President Musharraf that while we are willing to look at various options, we would not agree to any redrawing of boundaries, or another partition of the country," Singh said.

He said he discussed the issue of gas pipeline also, and later highlighted India's concerns to Pakistan Prime Minister Shaukat Aziz too. The dialogue would be pursued without compromising "our basic interests." The two foreign secretaries would meet on December 27-28 to initiate the next round of the Composite Dialogue.

India may accept Security Council seat without veto

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19/12

दुर्गा - नमो नमः

By Amit Baruah

NEW DELHI, DEC. 18. India appears ready to accept a permanent berth on the U.N. Security Council without a veto initially and then lobby to achieve equal status with the Permanent Five veto-wielding nations.

Asked about the position of the U.K., France and Russia (countries that have repeatedly supported New Delhi's candidature) on India's entry into the Council with the veto, informed government sources said it was ambiguous.

Referring to the two proposals made by the High-Level Panel on U.N. reforms — one to expand the permanent category without the veto and the other to increase the non-permanent seats — the sources said India favoured the first option. If In-

dia opted out of the race without the veto then other candidates would snap up the position. These remarks come in the wake of a PTI report quoting the U.N. Secretary-General, Kofi Annan, as saying that it should be possible for the member-nations to agree to one of the two proposals made by the High-Level Panel. The veto power is absent from both proposals made by the panel.

"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," Mr. Annan is reported to have said.

On the progress made by India and China on the border talks being conducted by the

Special Representatives, the sources said progress was being made. The two sides were working on a set of political principles to approach the border settlement, which may or may not be ready by the time the Chinese Premier, Wen Jiabao, comes to Delhi early next year. The sources, however, said there were considerable differences between the two countries on the border question.

Talks with Pakistan

On the India-Pakistan dialogue, the sources said the back-channel interaction between the National Security Adviser, J.N. Dixit, and his Pakistan counterpart, Tariq Aziz, continued. The two were in touch, the sources said, but gave no details of the discussions.

Offer to Kashmiris: Page 8

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THE HINDU

India to protest UN seat sans veto

Statesman News Service

NEW DELHI, Dec 2.— Admitting that the lack of a veto with any permanent seat on the United Nations Security Council was not acceptable, the external affairs minister, Mr Natwar Singh, said India was working jointly with Brazil, Germany and Japan in this regard.

Though terming as “purely speculative” reports that India might not get veto power as a permanent member of an expanded UNSC, Mr Singh, responding to supplementaries, told the Rajya Sabha: “Without a veto, I do not think it (UNSC seat) will be acceptable to the country.”

Senior officials, asked to react to the report on ‘Threats, Challenges and Change’ required to reform the United Nations, presented to the UN Secretary General, Mr Kofi Annan, today said they would “study in detail” the high-powered committee’s report before reacting.

“We have to see the report and

Putin to arrive today

NEW DELHI, Dec. 2. — The visit of Russian president Mr Vladimir Putin will help reorient and transform the Indo-Russian strategic relationship from a “declaratory one to a practical one,” with several key agreements due.

According to senior officials, India and Russia will sign a joint declaration and nearly a dozen accords, during President Putin’s three-day official visit beginning tomorrow. He will hold summit-level talks with Dr Manmohan Singh on Friday; the first meeting between the two countries at the highest level after the UPA government assumed office in New Delhi in May. — SNS

study it first,” a senior official said. The group of four main aspirants to the UNSC, India, Japan, Germany and Brazil, issued a joint initial reaction, “welcoming” the report, rather unusual considering how they have been shortchanged on the matter of a veto, available now to the five permanent UNSC members; USA,

Russia, China, France and Britain.

The report presents two formulations for expansion of the UNSC, considered vital to make the organisation more effective and representative. While the first, more acceptable formula, recommends six more seats on the UNSC (two from Asia; two from Africa; one from Europe and one from the Americas) and three new non-permanent seats (bringing the total to 24), the second speaks of a three-tier UNSC, with the P-5, eight new members, elected for renewable four-year terms, and the rotating non-permanent members.

There is no suggestion that any new members will get the power of veto. For any new formulation to be adopted, two-thirds of the 192-nation UN General Assembly and the P-5, without a veto, will have to vote in its favour. And, it is extremely unlikely the P-5 will voluntarily give up their power of veto and become one of the many. Or that they will easily permit other members to the exclusive club, however deserving they may be.

03 DEC 2004

ভেটো-সহ স্থায়ী সদস্যপদ পেতে মরিয়া চেষ্টা ভারতের

নিজস্ব প্রতিনিধি, ওয়াশিংটন, ২ ডিসেম্বর: নিরাপত্তা পরিষদের নতুন স্থায়ী সদস্যদের যাতে ভেটো দেওয়ার অধিকার থাকে, তার জন্য সাধারণ অধিবেশনের মাধ্যমে প্রস্তাব আনার কথা ভাবছে ভারত। রাষ্ট্রপুঞ্জের সংস্কারের যে সব সুপারিশ জমা পড়েছে, সেগুলি রূপায়িত হতে গেলে ১৯১ সদস্যের সাধারণ অধিবেশনের দুই-তৃতীয়াংশের সমর্থন প্রয়োজন। সে কথা মাথায় রেখেই যত বেশি সংখ্যক দেশের সমর্থন আদায় করা যায়, সেই চেষ্টা করছে ভারত।

রাষ্ট্রপুঞ্জের সংস্কারের লক্ষ্যে 'স্লুরিবন' আন্তর্জাতিক প্যানেল ১০১টি প্রস্তাবের একটি রিপোর্ট পেশ করেছে। তাতে বর্তমান নিরাপত্তা পরিষদের স্থায়ী সদস্যসংখ্যা ১৫ থেকে বাড়িয়ে ২৪ করার কথা বলা হয়েছে। তবে এ-ও বলা হয়েছে যে, নতুন স্থায়ী সদস্যদের ভেটো দেওয়ার অধিকার থাকবে না। অর্থাৎ, ভেটো দেওয়ার অধিকার কুক্ষিগত থাকবে পুরনো পাঁচ স্থায়ী সদস্য আমেরিকা, চীন, ব্রিটেন, ফ্রান্স ও রাশিয়ার মধ্যেই।

নিরাপত্তা পরিষদের কলেবর বাড়ানোর সুপারিশকে 'ভাল প্রথম পদক্ষেপ' বলে স্বাগত জানিয়েছেন ভারতীয় কূটনীতিকেরা। কিন্তু ভেটো-ক্ষমতাহীন স্থায়ী সদস্য পদ পেয়ে যে বিশেষ লাভ নেই, সেটা বুঝেই তাঁরা তৎপরতা চালাচ্ছেন। রাষ্ট্রপুঞ্জে ভারতের স্থায়ী প্রতিনিধি নিরুপম সেনের নেতৃত্বে ভারতীয় কূটনীতিকেরা আফ্রিকা, ক্যারিবিয়ান দ্বীপপুঞ্জ এবং অন্য অঞ্চলের দেশগুলির গোষ্ঠীর সঙ্গে

আলাদা আলাদা বৈঠক করেছেন। নিরুপমের কথায়, "পাঁচ স্থায়ী সদস্য দেশ অতীতে যে ভাবে ভেটোর অধিকারকে ব্যবহার করেছে, তাতে বাকি দেশগুলি চিন্তিত। এই গঠনটা তারা পাল্টাতে চায়।" অন্য ভাবে বললে, ঠান্ডা যুদ্ধের পরবর্তী সময়ে আমেরিকা যেমন এক তরফা ভাবে ভেটো ক্ষমতা প্রয়োগ করে এসেছে, সেই জমানার তারা অবসান চাইছেন।

পি টি আই অবশ্য জানাচ্ছে, ভারতের ভেটো-ক্ষমতা না-পাওয়ার সম্ভাবনাকে 'কল্পনামূলক' বলে উড়িয়ে দিয়েছেন ভারতীয় বিদেশমন্ত্রী নটবর সিংহ। রাজ্যসভায় নটবর বলেছেন, "রিপোর্ট নিয়ে নানা ধরনের জল্পনাকল্পনা চলছে। ভেটো ছাড়া স্থায়ী সদস্যপদ আমাদের দেশের কাছে গ্রহণযোগ্য হবে বলে মনে হয় না।"

ভারত-সহ জাপান, জার্মানি, ব্রাজিল অনেক দিন ধরেই নিরাপত্তা পরিষদে স্থায়ী সদস্যপদ পাওয়ার দাবি জানিয়ে আসছিল। সম্প্রতি চার দেশ মিলে একটি জি-৪ গোষ্ঠীও তৈরি হয়েছে। এই চার দেশের স্থায়ী সদস্য হওয়ার বিষয়ে একমত ব্রিটেন, ফ্রান্স ও রাশিয়াও। তবে আমেরিকা এখনও আশ্চর্যজনক ভাবে নীরব।

রাজনৈতিক মহলের মতে, বর্তমান প্রস্তাব আমেরিকার পছন্দ না-হলে কয়েক বছরের জন্য এর বাস্তবায়ন শিকেষ উঠবে। রাষ্ট্রপুঞ্জে আমেরিকার রাষ্ট্রদূত জন ড্যানফোর্থ জানিয়েছেন, রিপোর্টের প্রস্তাব গৃহীত হলে পরিষদ আরও শক্তিশালী হবে কি না, ওয়াশিংটন তা গুরুত্ব সহকারে বিবেচনা

করতে চায়।

ভারতকে আটকাতে মরিয়া পাকিস্তান অবশ্য নিরাপত্তা পরিষদের কলেবর বৃদ্ধির চেষ্টার বিরোধিতা শুরু করেছে। রাষ্ট্রপুঞ্জে স্থায়ী পাক প্রতিনিধি মুনির আক্রম মহাসচিব কোফি আন্নানের সঙ্গে দেখা করে বলেছেন, সর্বসম্মতিক্রমে নতুন স্থায়ী সদস্যদের বাছা উচিত, সাধারণ অধিবেশনের ভেটোভুক্তিতে নয়। রাষ্ট্রপুঞ্জের পদ্ধতিগত বিষয়ে এ ভাবে প্রশ্ন তুলতে যাওয়ায় অবশ্য আন্নানের মুদু ভৎসনা হজম করতে হয়েছে আক্রমকে।

নিরাপত্তা পরিষদের আয়তন বাড়াতে দু'টি উপায়ের কথা রয়েছে রিপোর্টে। একটি হল, বর্তমান পাঁচ স্থায়ী সদস্যের বাইরে আরও ছ'টি দেশকে নিরাপত্তা পরিষদের স্থায়ী সদস্য করা হোক। এর মধ্যে এশিয়া ও আফ্রিকার দু'টি এবং ইউরোপ ও আমেরিকার একটি করে দেশ থাকবে। এর বাইরেও তিনটি অস্থায়ী সদস্য বাড়ানো হবে, যারা দু'বছরের জন্য নির্বাচিত হবে। অন্য প্রস্তাবে পরিষদে নতুন একটি ধাপ গঠনের কথা বলা হয়েছে। তাতে স্থায়ী সদস্যের তলায় পূর্ণস্থায়ী নয় এমন আটটি দেশ থাকবে। এশিয়া, আফ্রিকা, ইউরোপ এবং আমেরিকা থেকে দু'টি করে দেশ মোট চার বছরের জন্য এই ধাপে নির্বাচিত হবে। এর সঙ্গে অস্থায়ী সদস্যসংখ্যাও ১০ থেকে ১১ হবে।

রিপোর্টে প্রাথমিক ভাবে তেমন আশাব্যঞ্জক কিছু না-থাকলেও ভারতীয় কূটনীতিকদের আশা, সাধারণ অধিবেশনেই চূড়ান্ত সিদ্ধান্ত হবে।

03 DEC 2004

Natwar's no to UNSC seat sans veto power

HT Correspondent
New Delhi, December 2

A Security Council seat without the power of veto may not be acceptable to India.

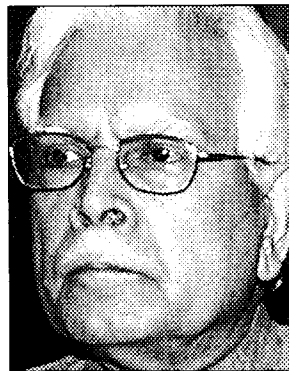
External Affairs Minister K. Natwar Singh while replying to during Question Hour in Rajya Sabha said, "If we get into the Security Council without the power of veto this will not be acceptable to the country."

The minister said it was a complicated issue with wide ramifications. The matter did not come up when the Indian Prime Minister met the US President but the US knows India's views on this, Singh added. He termed as "purely speculative" reports that India might not get veto power as a permanent member of an expanded UN Security Council.

On New Delhi's claim for a permanent membership in the Security Council, he said, the UN was aware of India's views. A special panel had been set up by the Security Council in this regard and Natwar Singh said he had met the members of the panel when he was in New York.

The report of this high level special panel set up by the Secretary-General on UN reforms to go into the issue would submit its report on Friday, he said.

"We will examine the report in detail. This issue is very much before the government. We will apply our mind", he said, adding India, Japan, Brazil and Germany were working together in this regard. Singh said India would like Africa to be represented in the council.



K. Natwar Singh
Sticking to his guns

03 DEC 2004

THE HINDUSTAN TIMES

India shortchanged in UN overhaul report

Blair visit

NEW DELHI, Nov. 30.— India has been shortchanged by a report intended to overhaul the United Nations set-up. Though placed at the high table, among the UN Security Council's six new permanent members, the report's recommendations do not confer it a veto, making any place on the UNSC a "mere detail."

Attempts to dismiss the "veto" power (that gives the P-5 their "exalted" status) as "anachronistic" or as "defying the basic concept of collective decision-making" are "verbal jugglery, belying the truth," an analyst said. "Why should a country aspire for permanent status unless it gains the power of veto?"

The other formulation (one of two) to reform the UN so that it can cope with the challenges of a four-fold increase in its membership since inception in 1945, is even more disappointing. The report by a group of eminent persons, appointed by UN Secretary General Mr Kofi Annan on the threats, challenges and change the UN needs to make to address contemporary realities recommends that India be one of the second rung countries elected for a four-year renewable term in an expanded three-tier UNSC.

NEW DELHI, Nov. 30. — British Prime Minister Mr Tony Blair is likely to visit India after Britain takes over the presidency of EU as well as G-8. This would time his visit with the India-EU summit, in the latter half of next year, British High Commissioner, Mr Michael Arthur today said at an interactive session with the Forum of Financial Writers. — SNS

The report will be presented to Mr Annan on Thursday at the UN headquarters by the group's chairman, Mr Anand Panyarachun, a former Thai Prime Minister. But there is no saying how soon "or if at all" the 100-odd recommendations made by the group of 16 non-government "worthies" will be translated into reality. Also, before it even gets off the ground, the position of the USA will, more than anyone else's, be critical in determining how effective this exercise will be. The gain, according to diplomats, has been "the recognition that the UN needs reform."

Analysts have pointed out that the UN is getting increasingly irrelevant in issues of critical importance worldwide.

— Nilova Roy Chaudhury

01 DEC 2004

THE STATESMAN

SATURDAY, SEPTEMBER 25, 2004

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PRIME MINISTER MANMOHAN Singh's address to the 59th session of the United Nations General Assembly (UNGA) in New York must be recognised as one of the most thoughtful, thematically interesting, and well-crafted messages delivered by a top Indian political leader at a major international forum in recent times. Fittingly, Dr. Singh signed off with an invocation of the internationalist vision of India's first and greatest Prime Minister, Jawaharlal Nehru. The prescription is that this vision of "a world order whose pillars are peace, harmony, cooperation, and development" needs to "re-animate" collective international efforts to develop a "new partnership to meet the unprecedented challenges" of the present. What can be read between the lines is a clear enough assessment that the current world order in which the United States seeks to assert 'unipolarity' is not acceptable to India and, in any case, cannot deliver the widespread benefits promised. Dr. Singh also seems to suggest that there is no stability or real future for such a dispensation.

The dominant theme of this UNGA address is the duality inherent in the character of virtually every major issue faced by nation-states — whether it is the challenge of terrorism or weapons of mass destruction or the eradication of poverty and mass deprivation (as an integral part of economic development) or pandemics such as HIV/AIDS or widespread environmental degradation. There is a domestic as well as a transnational side to every such issue and a genuinely global response needs to be based on consensus, in other words needs to make the U.N. and its ideals the fulcrum. This 2004 official Indian position may be said to be the antithesis of the Bush view of the world. As for present-day terrorism, the harsh truth is that its "international networks...appear to cooperate more effectively among themselves than the democratic nations that they target." While there seems to be some kind of "global coalition against terrorism," there is

hesitancy in pooling resources, exchanging information, sharing intelligence, and demonstrating the required unity of purpose. Even more worryingly, "selective approaches and political expediency" weaken the substance and credibility of the global effort against terrorism. As for the proliferation of weapons of mass destruction, what is needed is a positive global consensus of willing nations in place of "increasing reliance on restrictive regimes" and confrontational use of punitive action. Dr. Singh justly takes issue with discriminatory global bargains on nuclear and other weapons of mass destruction and also their means of delivery. Questionably, however, in the light of Pokhran II, Dr. Singh holds India up as an exemplary non-proliferator.

Dr. Singh's address must be commended on at least three other counts. First, the author of India's economic liberalisation and globalisation strategy sounds a critical, even a cautionary, note: "Just as prosperity cannot be sustained by being walled in, poverty cannot be banished to some invisible periphery." Politically, this can be recognised as the most important message sent out by Verdict 2004. What is more, development must be equitable and also anchored in "rule-based regimes" to manage global trade, investment flows, and movement of services. Secondly, the Prime Minister, in his own way, expresses the deep concerns of the Indian people over the U.S.-led war of aggression and occupation that has trampled on Iraq's sovereignty and brought enormous suffering to its people. This goes some way in correcting the damaging pro-Washington tilt that characterised India's international policy during the rule of the National Democratic Alliance Government. Finally, both Prime Minister Manmohan Singh and President Pervez Musharraf must be lauded for avoiding all bilateral controversy and for signalling that the process of positive engagement, détente and dialogue between India and Pakistan will move forward towards a productive and mutually acceptable conclusion.

THE HINDU

25 SEP 2004

নিরাপত্তা পরিষদে ভারত: শেষ কথা বলবে আমেরিকা

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সেটা ছিল নভেম্বর মাস, সাল ২০০২। রাষ্ট্রপুঞ্জের অধিবেশন চলছে। নিরাপত্তা পরিষদে ইরাক প্রস্তাবের ওপর আলোচনা

ভোটগ্রহণ হবে। সে দিন নিরাপত্তা পরিষদের অধিবেশনে... জিরু ছিলো; পরবর্তী কালে বহু আলোচিত রাষ্ট্রপুঞ্জের প্রস্তাব নম্বর ১৪৪১ সে দিন জোরের সামনে পাশ হতে দেখলাম। আমেরিকা ও ব্রিটেনের আনা সেই প্রস্তাবে ইরাককে বলা হয়েছে: নিজেদের নিরস্ত্রীকরণের জন্য এই তাদের 'শেষ সুযোগ' দেওয়া হল, তা না হলে 'গুরুতর পরিণতি'র জন্য প্রস্তুত থাকতে হবে। ভোটগ্রহণের সময় পনেরোটি হাত একযোগে উঠল, তার পরই চু করে ঘটাক্ষর, অর্থাৎ প্রস্তাব সর্বসম্মতিতে পাশ। নিরাপত্তা পরিষদের স্থায়ী সদস্য পাঁচ জন, অস্থায়ী সদস্য দশ জন। সে সময়ে একমাত্র আরব সদস্য সিরিয়া কী করবে, সংশয় ছিল। কিন্তু সংশয়ের অবসান হল।

মাবে মাঝেই শোনা যায়, রাষ্ট্রপুঞ্জের পরিবর্তন ও নিরাপত্তা পরিষদের কাঠামো পাল্টানো অত্যন্ত জরুরি। কথাটা যে কত সভ্য তা সে দিন আর একবার অনুভূত হয়েছিল। এত দিন পরে মহাসচিব কোফি আন্নান প্রকাশ্যে বলেন, ইরাকের ওপর আমেরিকার সামরিক আগ্রাসন রাষ্ট্রপুঞ্জের বিনা অনুমতিতে হয়েছিল। ইরাকের সামরিক ভাঙাঘের তদন্তকারী আফিসাররা তাদের রিপোর্ট জমা দেওয়ার পর ইরাকের বিরুদ্ধে যুদ্ধে যাওয়া নিয়ে রাষ্ট্রপুঞ্জ তুমুল মতবিরোধের মধ্যে আর স্থিতীয় কোনও প্রস্তাবের অপেক্ষায় না থেকে আমেরিকা ও তার সহযোগীরা 'কোয়ালিশন অব দ্য উইলিং' অর্থাৎ যুক্তাধীনের জোট কাজে নামে পড়লেন।

সম্প্রতি রাষ্ট্রপতি কালম বলেছেন, নিরাপত্তা পরিষদের সদস্যদের 'ভেটো' প্রয়োগ করার ক্ষমতা থাকা উচিত নয়। পাল্লামের বিশেষ-বিষয়ক কমিটির পক্ষে ২০০০ সালের অগস্ট মাসে 'রাষ্ট্রপুঞ্জ ভারতের ডুমিকা, বিশেষত নিরাপত্তা পরিষদে ভারতের স্থায়ী সদস্যদের দাবি' এই বিষয়ে আনি যে রিপোর্টটি পেশ করেছিলেন, তাতে কমিটি একই রায় দিয়েছিলেন। কমিটির সামনে এ বিষয়ে বক্তব্য রাখতে এসে সে সময়ে জাতীয় নিরাপত্তা বিষয়ক পরামর্শদাতা কমিটির আহ্বায়ক ব্রজশ্রীনিধম এই 'ভেটো' ক্ষমতা কেন দেওয়া

ব্রিটেন জানিয়েছে, ভারত নিরাপত্তা পরিষদের স্থায়ী সদস্যদের যোগ্য দাবিদার। ফ্রান্স, রাশিয়া আগেই সমর্থন জানিয়েছে। উল্টো দিকে, পাকিস্তান ভারতকে আটকাতে তৎপর। পরিষদে এশিয়া আফ্রিকা লাভিন আমেরিকাকে शामिल করতে পারলে কিন্তু দুনিয়ারই মঙ্গল। লিখছেন কৃষ্ণা বসু



ভারত আবার? রাষ্ট্রপুঞ্জের সাম্প্রতিক অধিবেশনে কোফি আন্নান ও মনমোহন সিংহ। ছবি: রয়টাস

অবশ্য শেষ কথা বলবে আজকের একমাত্র সুপারপাওয়ার আমেরিকা। তাদের আবার এ ব্যাপারে আমাদের সমর্থন নয়। যদিও অনেক, বর্তমান সহযোগী দেশ পাকিস্তান পছন্দ করবে না এমন কিছুতে তারা সায় দেবে না।

শুভেতে পেলাম জার্মানি, জাপান, ব্রজিল ও ভারত 'জি-হোর' নামে সংগঠিত হয়েছে। তারা পরস্পরের সদস্য পদ সমর্থন করবে। একই সঙ্গে জানা গেল, পাকিস্তান, ইন্দোনেশিয়া, মালয়েশিয়া, ইতালি, মোস্কোকো আর কোন দেশকে নিয়ে একটি 'কাফে ক্লাব' খুলেছে, তাদের কাজ হবে ভারতের সদস্যপদের বিরোধিতা। রাষ্ট্রপুঞ্জের বার্ষিক অধিবেশন যখন চলে তখন বিভিন্ন দেশ দ্বিপাক্ষিক আলোচনাতেও বসে। পাকিস্তান ও ভারত এমন অনেক আলোচনায় বসেছে। তবে অভিজ্ঞতা হল এই যে রাষ্ট্রপুঞ্জের অধিবেশনের সময়ে যে কোনও সুযোগ পেলেই পাকিস্তান কাশ্মীর প্রসঙ্গ উত্থাপন করে ও ভারত বিরোধী প্রচার চালায়। রাষ্ট্রপুঞ্জের ২০০০ সালের অধিবেশনের সময়

নিরাপত্তা পরিষদে বক্তৃতা দেওয়ার জন্য অপেক্ষা করছি। বিষয় হল নিরাপত্তা, শান্তি ও নারী। আমার ঠিক আগে বলতে উঠলেন রাষ্ট্রপুঞ্জের পাকিস্তানের রাষ্ট্রদূত ও তাদের পার্মানেন্ট মিশন এর প্রধান। যেমন ঘটে থাকে, বিষয় যাই হোক তিনি কাশ্মীর প্রসঙ্গে ভারতকে বিশেষ আক্রমণ করে বক্তব্য রাখলেন। আমাদের পার্মানেন্ট মিশনের অফিসারেরা পিছন থেকে আমাকে একটি চিরকুট পাঠালেন, 'আপনি কি এর প্রতিবাদ করতে চান?' এক মিনিট ভেবে নিয়ে আমি ফিরে লিখলাম: না, আমি বরং এটা উপেক্ষা করতে চাইছি। পরে আমাকে বলা হয়েছিল আমার সিদ্ধান্ত ঠিক ছিল, কারণ আমরা ফাঁদে পানা দেওয়াতে পাকিস্তান খুব হতাশ হয়েছিল।

সে বারের এই ঘটনার সঙ্গে আমার একটি সেন্টিমেন্টাল স্মৃতি জড়িয়ে আছে। নিজের বক্তব্য শেষ করে আমি যখন বসলাম উল্টো দিক থেকে আমাদের আর এক প্রতিবেশি বাংলাদেশের প্রতিনিধি একটি চিরকুট পাঠালেন, খুলে দেখলাম বাংলায় লেখা— বাঙালি হিসেবে আপনার জন্য আমরা গর্বিত। খুবই অতিভূত হয়েছিলাম। আজ আমাদের দুদিকের সীমান্তই প্রস্তুত গোলযোগ। আমার মনে হয়, যারা নিরুভাবাপন্ন নন, আমরা যদি তাদের সঙ্গে সংঘাতের পথ যথাসম্ভব এড়িয়ে চলি, আর যাদের সঙ্গে হয়তো কিছু সময়্য্য আছে কিন্তু মৌলিক কোনও বিরোধিতা নেই তাদের দিকে আর একটু বন্ধুত্বের হাত বাড়িয়ে দিই, তবে হয়তো অনেক সমস্যার সুরাহা হয়।

জগৎসভায় ভারত তার উপযুক্ত মর্যাদার স্থান পাবে কি না তা অনেক কিছু উপর নির্ভর করবে। আমরা আশা করব, প্রধানমন্ত্রী মনমোহন সিংহের রাষ্ট্রপুঞ্জ সফর ও বক্তব্যের ফল অত্যন্ত সর্ধক হবে এবং আমাদের কূটনীতিকরা নিরস্তুর প্রয়াস চালিয়ে যাবেন। রাষ্ট্রপুঞ্জের সংস্কার জরুরি, এ বিষয়ে সকলে একমত। তবে এই সংস্কার সময়সাপেক্ষ। কিন্তু তার প্রথম পদক্ষেপ হিসেবে নিরাপত্তা পরিষদের সদস্যসংখ্যা বাড়িয়ে এশিয়া, আফ্রিকা ও লাতিন আমেরিকাকে शामिल করে নেওয়া যত দীর্ঘ হয় ততই মানবজাতির মঙ্গল।

লেখক প্রাক্তন সাংসদ ও সংসদের বিদেশ দফতর বিষয়ক কমিটির চেয়ারম্যান (ত্রয়োদশ লোকসভা, ১৯৯৯-২০০৪)

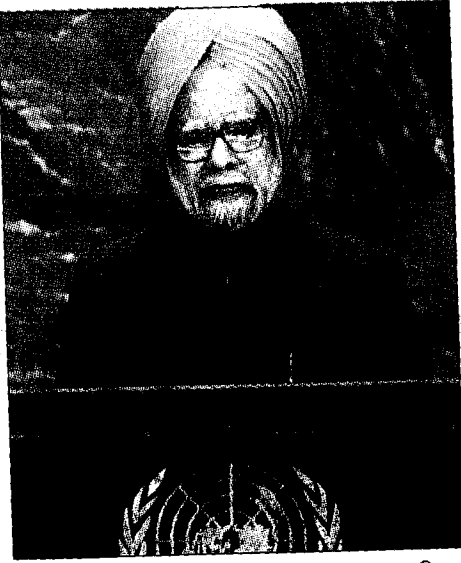
নতুন ভারতের জন্য বিশ্বের স্বীকৃতি চাইলেন মনমোহন

সীমা সিরোহি • নিউ ইয়র্ক

২৩ সেপ্টেম্বর: পাক প্রেসিডেন্ট পারভেজ মুশারফের কালকের সংঘাত ও নরম সুরের বক্তৃতার পরে আজ প্রধানমন্ত্রী মনমোহন সিংহও কাশ্মীর প্রসঙ্গ সম্বন্ধে এড়িয়ে গেলেন। বরং বিশ্বের আঙ্গিনায় বড় ও শক্তিশালী দেশ হিসাবে ভারতকে তুলে ধরে তিনি রাষ্ট্রপুঞ্জের নিরাপত্তা পরিষদের স্থায়ী সদস্য পদ পাওয়ার দাবিতে জোরালো সওয়াল করলেন। মনমোহনের বক্তব্য, শুধু জনসংখ্যার

নিরিখেই ভারত বিশাল দেশ নয়, অর্থনীতি ও প্রযুক্তির দিক থেকেও দ্রুত প্রথম সারিতে উঠে আসছে। আন্তর্জাতিক দুনিয়ার জটিল পরিস্থিতিতে রাষ্ট্রপুঞ্জের সামনে এখন যে সব নতুন চ্যালেঞ্জ উপস্থিত, তার মোকাবিলা করতে হলে রাষ্ট্রপুঞ্জের কাঠামোগত সংস্কার জরুরি। রাষ্ট্রপুঞ্জের বর্তমান কাঠামোয় মুষ্টিমেয় দেশের হাতে যে ভাবে ক্ষমতা কুক্ষিগত রয়েছে, তাতে সন্ত্রাসবাদ বা দারিদ্রের মতো আন্তর্জাতিক সমস্যার বিরুদ্ধে সঙ্ঘবদ্ধ লড়াই করা সম্ভব নয়। সে জন্য রাষ্ট্রপুঞ্জকে সংস্কার করে আরও গণতান্ত্রিক করে তুলতে হবে। ভারতকে নিরাপত্তা পরিষদের স্থায়ী সদস্য করার মধ্য দিয়েই সেই লক্ষ্যে এগোনো যেতে পারে বলে প্রধানমন্ত্রী মন্তব্য করেন।

মনমোহনের বক্তৃতার দু'ঘণ্টা পরে মার্কিন বিদেশ সচিব কলিন পাওয়েল অবশ্য বলেছেন, এখনই এ ব্যাপারে সিদ্ধান্ত নিতে তাঁরা প্রস্তুত নন। রাষ্ট্রপুঞ্জের সংস্কার নিয়ে ডিসেম্বর মাসে রিপোর্ট জমা পড়বে। আমেরিকা সেই রিপোর্টের জন্য অপেক্ষা করবে।



রাষ্ট্রপুঞ্জ মনমোহন। বৃহস্পতিবার। — এ এফ পি

ভারত যে সত্যিই বিশ্বের দরবারে নতুন ও গুরুত্বপূর্ণ ভূমিকা নিতে প্রস্তুত, তা বোঝাতে প্রধানমন্ত্রী আজ বর্তমান আন্তর্জাতিক পরিস্থিতি নিয়েই বেশি কথা বলেন। ১৩ বছর আগে অর্ধমন্ত্রী হিসাবে দেশে আর্থিক সংস্কারের সূচনা করে বিশ্বায়নের দরজা খুলে দিয়েছিলেন যিনি, সেই মনমোহনই এখন প্রধানমন্ত্রী হিসাবে রাষ্ট্রপুঞ্জের সাধারণ অধিবেশনের মঞ্চে মনে করিয়ে দেন, বিশ্বায়ন দেশে দেশে অর্থনীতিকে সচল ও দক্ষ করে তুলে জীবনযাত্রার মানে উন্নতি ঘটানো চাই, একই সঙ্গে ধনী ও দরিদ্রের ফারাক বাড়াচ্ছে। ভারতের সাধারণ নির্বাচনের উল্লেখ করে তিনি দাবি করেন, বিশ্বের মঞ্চে আজ তিনি যে কথা বলছেন তা বৃহত্তম গণতান্ত্রিক দেশের মানুষের মনের কথা। ২০০০ সালের সহস্রাব্দ অধিবেশনের কথা স্মরণ করিয়ে দিয়ে তিনি বলেন, সে বার রাষ্ট্রপুঞ্জ দারিদ্র দূরীকরণে অনেক ঘোষণা করলেও 'বাস্তবে ইতিমধ্যেই সেই লক্ষ্য থেকে আমরা অনেকটা পিছিয়ে পড়েছি'। তাঁর খেদ, খাদ্য উৎপাদন ও প্রক্রিয়াকরণের অত্যাধুনিক প্রযুক্তি থাকা সত্ত্বেও বহু মানুষ এখনও ক্ষুধার বিরুদ্ধে লড়াই করছে।

তাঁর মতে, বিশ্বের সামনে এখন প্রধান ৩টি চ্যালেঞ্জ— সন্ত্রাস, গণবিধ্বংসী অস্ত্রের নিবিচার প্রসার এবং দারিদ্র ও উন্নয়ন। তাঁর যুক্তি, তিনটিই কোনও দেশের সীমায় আবদ্ধ নয়, বিশ্বায়নের যুগে তিন মূল সমস্যারও বিশ্বায়ন ঘটেছে। কিন্তু আন্তর্জাতিক দুনিয়াকে পাশে সরিয়ে রেখে মার্কিন নেতৃত্বে কয়েকটি দেশ যে ভাবে জোট বেধেছে, ভারতের মতে তা বিশ্ব-সন্ত্রাস মোকাবিলার ঠিক পথ নয়। আমেরিকার নাম না করে তিনি বলেন, এটা দুঃখজনক হলেও সত্যি যে এর পর আটের পাতায়

নতুন ভারত

প্রথম পাতার পর

সন্ত্রাসবাদীরা নিজেদের মধ্যে আন্তর্জাতিক স্তরে সমন্বয় করে চললেও গণতান্ত্রিক দেশগুলি তা করছে না। প্রধানমন্ত্রীর বক্তব্য, সত্যিকারের আন্তর্জাতিক সহযোগিতা, তথ্যের আদানপ্রদান ও সমন্বয় ছাড়া এই চ্যালেঞ্জের মোকাবিলা করা কঠিন। একই ভাবে পরমাণুঅস্ত্র প্রসার রোধে চুক্তির সুবাদে স্থায়ী সদস্যদের হাতে পরমাণু অস্ত্রের যে মৌরসি পাট্টা রয়েছে, নাম না করেই তার সমালোচনা করে মনমোহন বলেন, এই বৈষম্যের কারণেই এখন বিশ্ব জুড়ে গোপনে গণ-বিধ্বংসী অস্ত্রের প্রসার ঘটছে।

আমেরিকার নাম না করেই তিনি বলেন, বিশ্বের বর্তমান অবস্থায় নতুন রাজনৈতিক ও অর্থনৈতিক শক্তি বাড়তি চ্যালেঞ্জ ছুড়ে দিলেও ভারত রাষ্ট্রপুঞ্জের গুরুত্ব ও প্রয়োজনীয়তায় আস্থাশীল। ইরাক যুদ্ধের সময় আমেরিকা-ব্রিটেন যে রাষ্ট্রপুঞ্জকে অগ্রাহ্য করে নিজেদের ইচ্ছেয় কাজ করেছিল, সেই ইঙ্গিত দিয়ে তিনি মনে করিয়ে দেন, সাম্প্রতিক কালে রাষ্ট্রপুঞ্জ তার ভূমিকা ঠিকমতো পালন করতে পারেনি। কিন্তু রাষ্ট্রপুঞ্জই এই সব চ্যালেঞ্জের মোকাবিলায় উপযুক্ত প্রতিষ্ঠান হতে পারে, কিন্তু সে জন্য তার কাঠামোগত সংস্কার করে তাকে একটি প্রকৃত গণতান্ত্রিক প্রতিষ্ঠান করে তুলতে হবে। নিরাপত্তা পরিষদের স্থায়ী ও অস্থায়ী সদস্য হিসাবে বিভিন্ন দেশের অন্তর্ভুক্তি ঘটতে হবে। উল্লেখ্য, এবার নিউ ইয়র্কে এসে গতকালই মনমোহন ব্রাজিল, জাপান ও জার্মানির রাষ্ট্রপ্রধানের সঙ্গে আলাদা বৈঠকে মিলিত হন। এরা সকলেই স্থায়ী সদস্য পদের দাবিদার। অন্য দিকে, পাকিস্তান কাশ্মীর প্রসঙ্গে আলোচনায় বসে সমস্যা মেটাতে আগ্রহী হলেও ভারতের নিরাপত্তা পরিষদের আসনলাভে বাধা দিতেই সচেষ্ট। পাকিস্তানের কূটনীতিকরা রাষ্ট্রপুঞ্জে এ কথা জানিয়েও দিয়েছেন।

বিশ্বের প্রথম সারির দেশের প্রতিনিধি হিসাবে নিজেদের ভাবমূর্তি গড়ে তুলতে সচেষ্ট মনমোহন এ দিন

We will carry forward composite dialogue, says Manmohan

'Coalition against terrorism needs credibility'

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By Harish Khare

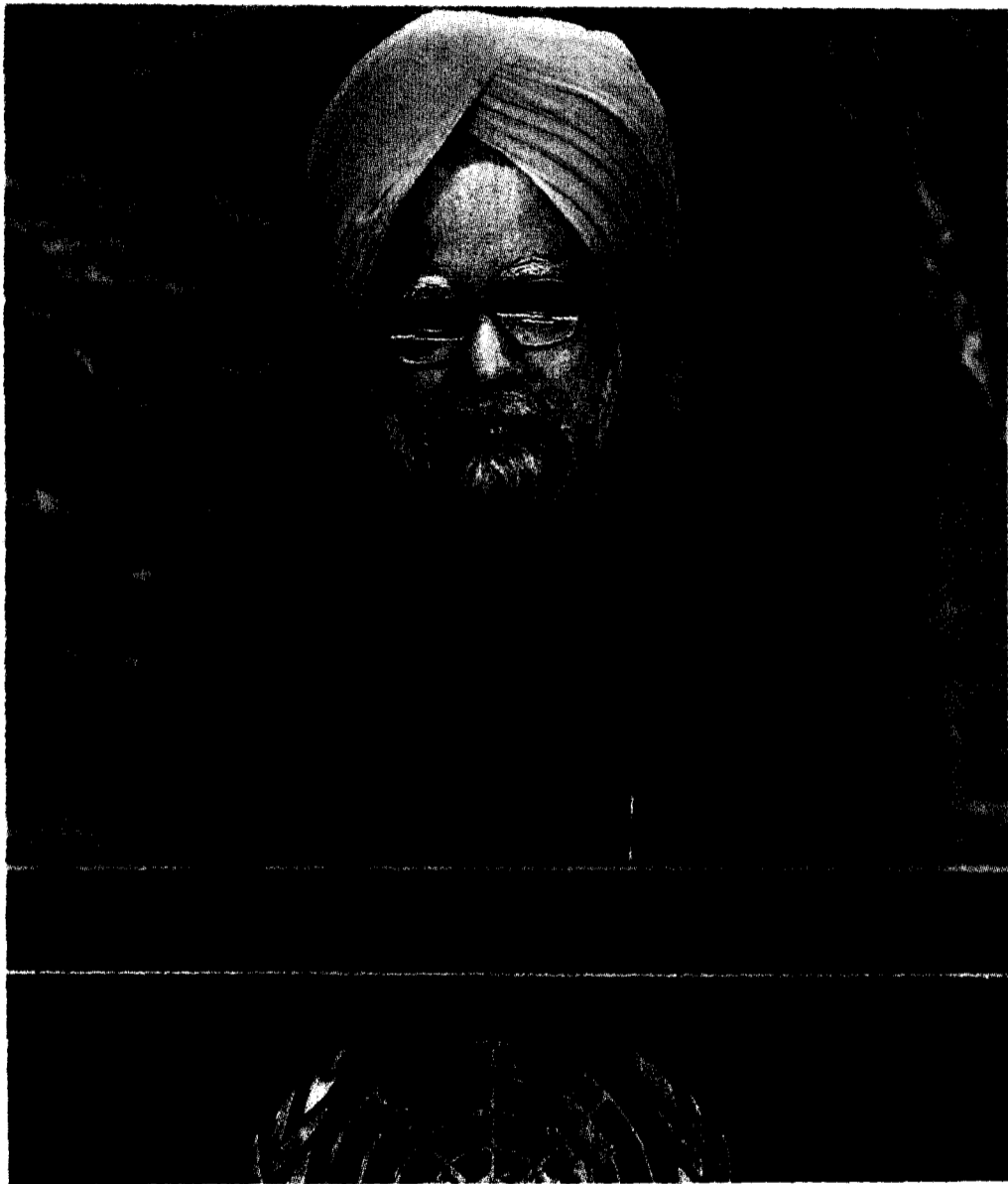
NEW YORK, SEPT. 23. India is determined "to carry forward [the India-Pakistan composite] dialogue to a purposeful and mutually acceptable conclusion," the Prime Minister, Manmohan Singh, has assured the international community.

Addressing the 59th session of the United Nations General Assembly, Dr. Singh devoted only a short paragraph in his speech to India-Pakistan relationship. The restrained reference stands out in sharp contrast to the lengthy rebuttal in recent years by Indian Prime Ministers to Pakistan's provocative references to the situation in Jammu and Kashmir.

In fact, the short paragraph in its entirety reads: "Relations between India and Pakistan have been a matter of attention for the international community. It is known that since January this year India and Pakistan have initiated a composite dialogue to resolve all issues, including Jammu and Kashmir. I reaffirm our determination to carry forward this dialogue to a purposeful and mutually acceptable conclusion."

'Positive response'

The Indian response was more or less determined by the "constructive" tone struck by the Pakistan President, Pervez Musharraf, in his address yesterday to the U.N. The Indian side was prepared for three scenarios — First, Gen. Musharraf could make an unhelpful but mild reference to Kashmir; in that case, the Indian response would have been made by a low-level diplomat. Second, the Pakistan leader could be provocative and aggressive, like he was last year, and such a performance would have demanded a detailed reply from Dr.



PITCHING FOR GLOBAL EFFORT: Prime Minister Manmohan Singh speaks at the United Nations General Assembly in New York on Thursday. — AFP

Singh. And, the third scenario hoped for a positive and constructive reference to Kashmir; this is what turned out to be the case, and the Indian side was

happy to make an equally positive response. The major thrust of Dr. Singh's speech was that the approach to tackling global problems such as terrorism,

proliferation of weapons of mass destruction, economic globalisation, pandemics like HIV/AIDS must be genuinely global.

"We speak about cooperation [against terrorism] but hesitant to commit ourselves to a global offensive to root out terrorism, with the pooling of resources, exchange of information, sharing of intelligence the unambiguous unity of purpose required. This change. We do have a global coalition against terrorism must give it substance and credibility, avoiding selective approaches and political expediency," Dr. Singh added.

On proliferation of weapons of mass destruction, the Prime Minister stressed "that only a global consensus of willing nations that would ultimately prove to be the more effective approach."

He added that "it is through representative institutions rather than exclusive clubs of privileged countries" that proliferation issues could be tackled. He invoked the Rajiv Gandhi Action Plan of 1988, and suggested that "it is quite evident today that a global dialogue is required for evolving more cooperative and consensual international security order."

Council seat

Dr. Singh also made a low key pitch for India's membership of the Security Council, contextualising India's claim as a world's democracy that must find its voice in a global order promoting democracy across the world: "An overwhelming majority of the world's population cannot be excluded from an institution that legislates on an increasingly number of issues, with an ever-widening impact..." Dr. Singh's speech, according to Indian officials, was "extremely well-received" and he was complimented by a very large number of diplomats.

Text of speech: Page 14

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We have to fashion a global response: Manmohan

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UNITED NATIONS, SEPT. 23. This is the text of the speech of the Prime Minister, Manmohan Singh, at the United Nations General Assembly today:

Mr. President,
Allow me to congratulate you on your election as the President of the 59th Session. May I assure you of India's full support in ensuring its success.

As we gather here in the 60th year of the United Nations — we might perhaps pause to reflect on the fate of the idea and ideals of the international community that animated its creation.

The post-war generation had already become aware that the world which had emerged from the ashes of global war could no longer be a peaceful world unless the underlying forces of conflict were addressed by the entire community of nations as a collectivity. Nations united together to make the world a safer and more peaceful place, in which a free people could together pursue a destiny of shared prosperity.

Mr. President,
The impulse behind the creation of global institutions nearly sixty years ago has become an even more pressing reality today.

If we look around us, the single most defining characteristic of our contemporary world is the global, transnational character of the challenges we confront, whether these are in the realm of international security or development.

Virtually every major issue that we face as nation states, has both a domestic as well as a transnational dimension. It is becoming increasingly apparent that unless we fashion a global response, based on consensus, to these challenges, we would not succeed in creating a world that manifests the ideals of the United Nations.

Price of terrorism

Terrorism is one such challenge for which many of us have paid an unacceptable price. We shall not forget that three years ago, it was this city that witnessed the single most horrendous terrorist act in human history. About three weeks ago, the world saw another brutal act of terror, in Russia, which took the lives of hundreds of innocent civilians, including young children. Terrorism exploits the technologies spawned by globalisation, recruits its foot soldiers on technologies of bigotry and hatred, and directly targets democracies.

It is a sad reality that international networks of terror

appear to cooperate more effectively among themselves than the democratic nations that they target. We speak about cooperation, but seem hesitant to commit ourselves to a global offensive to root out terrorism, with the pooling of resources, exchange of information, sharing an intelligence, and the unambiguous unity of purpose required. This must change. We do have a global coalition against terrorism. We must now give it substance and credibility, avoiding selective approaches and political expediency.

Let us turn to other challenges we face today, such as the proliferation of weapons of mass destruction. There is increasing reliance on restrictive regimes and the use of punitive action to confront this threat to international peace and security. While India is opposed to proliferation and has an impeccable record in this respect, we believe that it is only a global consensus of willing nations that would ultimately prove to be more effective in this regard.

The Chemical Weapons Convention is a good model to follow in respect of other weapons of mass destruction including nuclear weapons. It is through representative institutions rather than exclusive clubs of privileged countries that we can address global threats posed by proliferation of weapons of mass destruction and their means of delivery. As far back as in 1988 Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi had outlined a series of specific steps in an Action Plan, whose central proposition remains valid — that progressive steps towards the elimination of weapons of mass destruction must be based on a balance of obligations between those who possess such weapons and those who do not. It is quite evident today that a global discourse is required for evolving a more cooperative and consensual international security order. India believes that this consensus must differentiate between states whose actions strengthen non-proliferation and those that weaken its objectives.

Central theme

Let me turn to the central theme for the vast majority of U.N. members; the challenge of development and the eradication of poverty. Globalisation has undoubtedly brought enhanced effectiveness and efficiency in economies, integrated market places, higher standards of living and a revolution in global connectivity. But there is also the phenomenon of widening economic disparities, both within and among countries. Connectivity also means that people are painfully aware in real time of how far and how fast they are falling behind in their relative conditions of living.

Development today is no longer a function of domestic resources and national policies alone. It is a process that is integrally linked to the international economic environment. The international community must find ways to contracting the circles of exclusion. We need to find innovative sources of financing and access to technologies that are necessary to assist those who are on the margins of globalisation. Just as prosperity cannot be sustained by being walled in, poverty cannot be banished to some invisible periphery. Development must return to the centre of global discourse. We must evolve equitable and rule-based regimes to manage global trade, investment flows and movement of services. Four years ago, at our millennium Summit, we adopted ambitious global development goals, but have already fallen behind in their implementation.

New technologies

While globalisation has generated new challenges, it has also given us new technologies to deal with these challenges. The world faces looming pandemics such as HIV/AIDS, but it today possesses remedies and skills that can rid the world of this scourge. We face problems of environmental degradation in many parts of our planet, but we also have available safe and environment-friendly technologies. Many countries are beset by problems of hunger and malnutrition, but we possess modern techniques of food production and processing to make a hunger-free world a credible and realistic goal.

Lack of global concert

Although our excessive dependence on hydrocarbons raises concerns about the long-term availability of energy, technology has made available environmentally sound alternatives. What we lack is a global concert and a mobilisation of the international community to overcome these challenges.

Mr. President,
The experience of the decades since the inception of the United Nations demonstrates the great significance of democracy as an instrument for achieving both peace and prosperity. While it is gratifying that the frontiers of democracy have expanded dramatically in the last decade and a half, they still exclude significant numbers. Only a few months ago, in our 14th General Elections, India went through the largest exercise of popular will in the world. I can therefore assert with confidence the importance of national articulations in global forums truly reflecting the democratically expressed will of their people. We choose to overlook the absence of democracy in too many cases for reasons of political expediency.

Democracy's representative nature validates the commitments we take on as countries; it should also determine the manner in which the architecture of international institutions evolves. For what is required for the International community to successfully deal with global challenges, whether they be security challenges, economic challenges or challenges in the sphere of the environment are the existence of international institutions and a culture of genuine multilateralism.

The U.N. and its specialised agencies are the only instruments available for responding effectively to the challenges we face. But what is missing is our sustained commitment to democratise the functioning of the United Nations. It is common knowledge that the U.N. is often unable to exert an effective influence on global economic and political issues of critical importance. This is due to its "democracy deficit", which prevents effective multilateralism, a multilateralism that is based on a democratically-evolved global consensus. Reform and restructuring of the U.N. system can alone provide a crucial link in an expanding chain of efforts to re-fashion international structures, imbuing them with a greater degree of participatory decision-making, representative of contemporary realities.

Millennium Declaration

Our Millennium Declaration had recognised the urgency of the reform of the U.N. Security Council. An overwhelming majority of the world's population cannot be excluded from an institution that legislates on an increasing number of issues, with an ever-widening impact. The expansion of the Security Council, in the category of both permanent and non-permanent

members, and the inclusion of countries like India as permanent members, would be a first step in the process of making the U.N. a truly representative body.

Mr. President,
I would like to make brief references to two countries with which India has had historically friendly ties and whose early return to political normalcy is the focus of the world's attention.

The situation in Iraq causes great concern. The U.N. has a central role to play in erasing the discord of the recent past and in ensuring that the Iraqi people can soon exercise effective sovereignty, preserving the country's unity and territorial integrity.

An end to the suffering of the Iraqi people and recognition of their aspirations should be the guiding objectives. Consistent with our long-standing ties of friendship with the Iraqi people, India will contribute to Iraq's humanitarian and economic reconstruction.

Afghanistan

In the past three years, the international community has assisted Afghanistan in pulling back from the brink of chaos and chronic instability. We sincerely hope that the forthcoming Presidential elections and the subsequent Parliamentary elections will allow the Afghan people to express their will, free from interference and intimidation. India's assistance to Afghanistan's reconstruction will continue.

Relations between India and Pakistan have been a matter of attention for the international community. It is known that since January this year India and Pakistan have initiated a composite dialogue to resolve all issues, including Jammu and Kashmir. I reaffirm our determination to carry forward this dialogue to a purposeful and mutually acceptable conclusion.

In closing, Mr. President, I would like to reaffirm India's commitment to the principles that have brought us together in this Organisation.

New challenges

These principles retain their relevance and validity even while the global economy and the international political order pose new and very different challenges. All of us have to grow out of the comfort of the predictable, discard constraining habits of thought and move forward with confidence to meet the demands of the present and the future. Each of us has to be prepared to take on new obligations and larger responsibilities relevant to our times.

I deem it a privilege to say unhesitatingly that India is conscious of the responsibilities that lie ahead. I speak of an India on the move, on the cutting edge of economic, technological and developmental transformations. This is an India endowed with outstanding human resources, and we are putting in place policies which will respond to emerging and critical tasks. We have the capabilities and capacity to take these on, and to participate in the structuring of a just and dynamic world order. We are confident that in an inextricably interdependent world, our commitment to the common good, which this organisation embodies, will be resolute.

In this, we are inspired by the vision of internationalism bequeathed to us by India's first Prime Minister, Jawaharlal Nehru — of a world order whose pillars are peace, harmony, cooperation and development. This vision needs to re-animate the collective wisdom of the world community for a new partnership to meet the unprecedented challenges we face. Thank you. — PTI

Singh and Blair

So far, so good

The first leg of Manmohan Singh's first major foreign policy foray has proved a success, with Tony Blair providing unequivocal backing for a permanent seat for India on the Security Council. The gamut of outstanding issues between India and the UK appear to have been amicably discussed with Blair, who supported India's position that those causing mayhem in Jammu and Kashmir are terrorists, rather than "freedom fighters" or anything in between. By undermining Islamabad's hope (and Delhi's fear) that "internationalising" Kashmir will do it much good, that should strengthen Singh's hands for the meeting with General Musharraf on 24 September. Iraq could have been a sticking point but the issue was finessed without changing India's basic position.

Delhi must keep pushing hard on the Security Council permanent seat issue. Singh will probably be making a pitch for this in his speech to the UN General Assembly, but Delhi must also focus on behind-the-scenes lobbying and the formation of pressure groups where these matters are really decided. Settling on the G4 — which could be called the group of the excluded: India, Germany, Japan and Brazil — is a good idea but South Africa should also be invited to join. If the idea behind reforming the Security Council is that international relations need to be democratised then at least one permanent representative from Africa is necessary, and South Africa with its political sophistication and economic muscle seems a good choice. It would also blunt criticism that Delhi cannot be expected to be rewarded with a permanent seat after exploding nuclear bombs, since Delhi could also back Pretoria's candidacy, and South Africa is the only country which had the technical capacity to conduct nuclear tests but voluntarily renounced it. It isn't certain that Delhi's interests are presently accommodated in world affairs. Securing a permanent seat on the Security Council would be a way of ensuring this, and ought to be a prime goal of the Singhs, Natwar and Manmohan.

THE STATESMAN

23 SEP 2004

U.N. reform should be broad-based: Manmohan

28/9 HD-1
By Sridhar Krishnaswami

UNITED NATIONS, SEPT. 22. The Prime Minister, Manmohan Singh, has told the United Nations Secretary-General, Kofi Annan, that the reform of the world organisation should be broad in character and should strengthen the General Assembly, the Security Council, the functional agencies and the Secretariat.

At his meeting with Mr. Annan, Dr. Singh reiterated India's strong commitment to the U.N. and effective multilateralism. He complimented Mr. Annan on his speech at the General Assembly on Tuesday where he stressed the importance of the rule of law in international relations. India fully endorsed this, Dr. Singh told Mr. Annan.

On the high-level panel looking into threats and challenges, Dr. Singh is reported to have told Mr. Annan that India rejected any new category of rotational or semi-permanent

members in the Security Council and that the recommendations of the panel would have to be subjected to the U.N.'s decision-making processes.

Mr. Annan said the panel would submit its recommendations in December and there would be the fullest possible debate.

Mr. Annan is said to have referred to the challenges faced by the U.N. in Iraq and remarked that if the security situation in Iraq was a matter of concern, the U.N. would give every support to the electoral process planned in that country.

Meeting with Karzai

Prior to his meeting with Mr. Annan, Dr. Singh met the President of Afghanistan, Hamid Karzai. In this "very warm and friendly meeting," Mr. Karzai focussed on the coming Presidential elections in his country and the challenges and hopes they engendered.

He said the main objective

was the institutionalisation of democracy and the need to establish strong institutions.

Mr. Karzai spoke of India as a great example of democracy and appreciated New Delhi's assistance to Afghanistan in all sectors, especially in education and health.

Briefing the media on the meeting, the Foreign Secretary, Shyam Saran, said Dr. Singh hoped there would be a strong commitment to national unity and ethnic harmony in Afghanistan.

"National unity is very important for the destiny of Afghanistan," Mr. Karzai replied.

Dr. Singh offered Afghanistan more assistance. Mr. Saran said no specifics were discussed but the assistance programmes were already extensive and in the next two to three years it could touch \$400 million.

"India is committed to the stability of Afghanistan," Mr. Saran added.

See also Page 11

Delhi in joint push for UN council seat

S. Rajagopalan
New York, September 22

INDIA, TEAMING up with Japan, Germany and Brazil, launched here on Tuesday a joint bid for permanent seats in an expanded UN Security Council. Leaders of the four nations have vowed to work together and support each other's candidature.

"The Security Council must reflect the realities of the international community in the 21st century. It must be representative, legitimate and effective," they said in a joint statement adopted at a meeting held on the sidelines of the UN General Assembly session.

Prime Minister Manmohan Singh, Japanese Prime Minister

Junichiro Koizumi, Brazilian President Luiz Inacio Lula da Silva and German Foreign Minister Joschka Fischer held a strategy session on how best to put their joint project on the fast track.

Singh also had a separate meeting with UN Secretary-General Kofi Annan at which he put forth India's case for comprehensive reforms of the UN system, including the Security Council.

He used the occasion to reject one of the proposals being considered by a panel appointed by Annan to go into the reforms issue — creating a new layer of eight semi-permanent members serving for five-year terms.

"We reject any new move to create semi-permanent or rotational

PM calls Clinton

PRIME MINISTER Manmohan Singh on Wednesday called former US President Bill Clinton to wish him a speedy recovery following his recent quadruple heart bypass surgery. Clinton told the PM he was keen to stay engaged with India and work for the welfare of marginalised sections and AIDS victims under the aegis of his Clinton Foundation.

HTC, New Delhi

seats." Foreign Secretary Shyam Saran said while briefing Indian journalists on the G-4 meeting and Singh's talks with Annan.

India is also emphatic that the new permanent members accommodated in an enlarged Security Council should have the same authority as the present five members who enjoy veto powers.

Annan indicated to Singh that the panel on UN reforms was expected to submit its recommendations sometime in December. Thereafter, the report will be thrown open to a full debate by member-countries.

However, under the UN charter, any restructuring of the Security Council will need a two-thirds approval by the 191-member General Assembly and, importantly, without a veto from any of the five permanent council members.

The G-4 countries are seeking

an expansion of both the permanent and non-permanent categories in order to make the Security Council truly representative.

The council set-up has remained unchanged since 1945, despite a four-fold increase in UN membership. The council comprises five permanent members with veto powers (United States, Britain, France, China and Russia) and 10 non-permanent members chosen for two-year terms.

The G-4 says that countries having the will and capacity to take on major responsibilities to maintain international peace and security should be considered for permanent membership of the council. By this yardstick, the four countries believe that they eminently fit the bill.

✓

BLAIR CONDEMNS TERRORISM IN KASHMIR

UK backs India's entry to UNSC

21/9

9/20/04

(11)

Nilova Roy Chaudhury in London

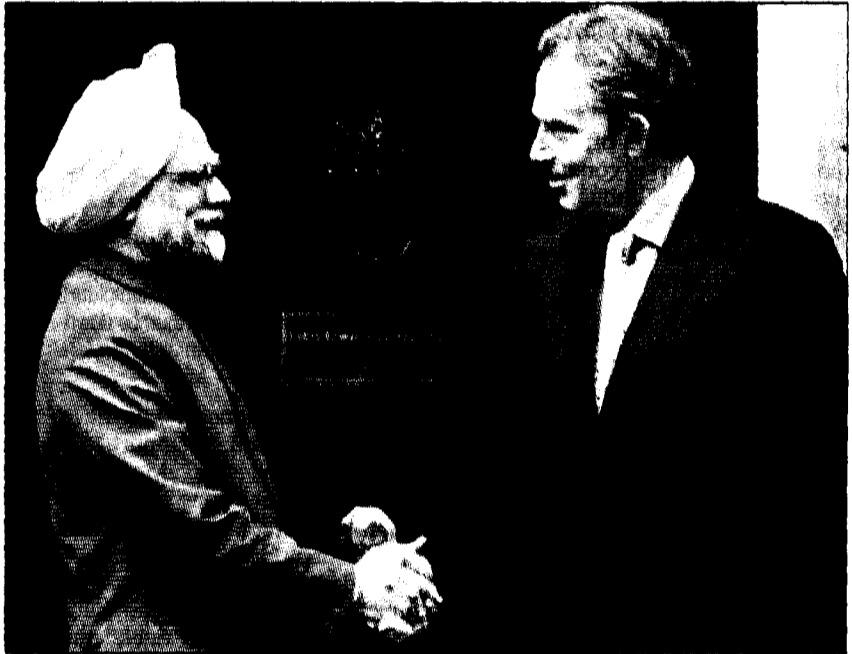
Sept. 20. — A categorical “yes” to India’s inclusion as a permanent member of the Security Council, and an equally emphatic condemnation of “all terrorism in Kashmir” were the major commitments India received from Britain when Prime Minister Dr Manmohan Singh met his counterpart, Mr Tony Blair, at 10 Downing Street for talks and lunch today.

Noting that India was a country of 1.2 billion people, Mr Blair said: “India not to be represented on the Security Council is something that is not in tune with the modern times. We totally and completely condemn any terrorism associated with Kashmir.” He added: “Britain supports the Indo-Pak dialogue process through peaceful exchange of views.”

With relations between India and Britain going “from strength to strength”, Mr Blair said bilateral ties were at “the strongest they’ve ever been”, a view reflected in the joint declaration issued at the end of the meeting.

The declaration, *Towards a New and Dynamic Partnership*, outlines “a vision and a commitment” for the future, Dr Singh said. He expressed gratitude to Britain for India being the “largest recipient of British aid”. While the declaration deals with foreign and defence policy, reinforcing the bilateral strategic partnership, it also speaks of jointly combating terrorism and strengthening civilian nuclear cooperation.

Dr Singh said he came to Britain “50 years ago” as a student and the sentimental journey today showed how far both countries have progressed. However, to make any progress in working together to tackle problems facing the world (such as Britain’s desire to include India in the mission for the uplift of Africa and the global effort on climate change), the



“Ties are at the strongest they’ve ever been,” Mr Blair tells Dr Singh at 10, Downing Street. — AFP

Prime Minister said “effective and credible strategies” had to be evolved to tackle “the menace of terrorism” that threatens to derail any development effort. But it was clear that both countries differed in their perception of the war in Iraq as part of the fight against terrorism.

Citing India as the “world’s greatest democracy”, Mr Blair pointed out that democracy was what the war against Saddam Hussein’s Iraq was intended to bring. But Dr Singh said: “We have our own perceptions of what is happening in Iraq.” It would not be possible for India, given the lack of political consensus and the Parliament resolution, to send troops there. However, he did commit assistance for rehabilitation and reconstruction efforts in that country.

More reports on pages 3 & 10

Pak to oppose

ISLAMABAD, Sept. 20.— Pakistan has said it would strongly oppose India’s bid to get a permanent seat in the UN Security Council. “Pakistan would do everything possible to thwart India’s attempts to get a permanent seat,” Pakistan’s permanent representative to UN Mr Munir Akram said ahead of the 24 September Singh-Musharraf meeting. “Pakistan would oppose the increase of permanent members in the UNSC,” Mr Akram said yesterday in New York. “If we have to choose, we will support Germany and Japan against India,” he was quoted as saying by Pakistan’s *Daily Times*. — PTI

THE STAFFORDIAN

2 SEP 2004

No nation should have veto powers, says President Kalam

Dar-es-Salaam: At a time when India is lobbying for a permanent seat in the United Nations, President A P J Abdul Kalam has opined that no country should have the veto power in the UN and there is a need for a new world body to tackle global terrorism.

Asserting that this was his "personal views", Kalam while addressing prominent personalities here on Sunday night said that "no nation should have veto powers. We need a foundation for the UN. It should not be depending on one country's resources". "It is not my government's view and it is my personal view," he clarified. The President was responding to a question on how to tackle terrorism globally as the UN was not effective.

Observing that India faced a "unique"



President Abdul Kalam addressing the Indian community of Zanzibar at Salam Mahal on Sunday

problem of cross-border terrorism, he said that New Delhi was taking steps to reinforce its borders and engaged in talks with its neighbour. "You need a new world order system" to have a mis-

sion on facing the situation, Kalam said.

Kalam also suggested a three-pronged strategy to create a better world—imparting value education to youths, transforming religion into spiritualism and removing economic disparity. Emphasising the importance of agriculture for a country's economic progress, the President cited the instance of developed countries imposing economic and technology sanctions on New Delhi after it became a nuclear state. "One thing that saved the country was its foodgrain production."

The President also advised the people of Indian origin to work for the progress of the country where they were and New Delhi would provide the "cultural connectivity." Agencies

Pak links gas pipeline to Kashmir talks

Islamabad: Stepping up the rhetoric on Kashmir ahead of a meeting between Prime Minister Manmohan Singh and President Pervez Musharraf, Pakistan has linked the proposed Iran-India gas pipeline with progress on the Kashmir issue through "meaningful talks."



Shaukat Aziz and President Pervez Musharraf, Pakistan has linked the proposed Iran-India gas pipeline with progress on the Kashmir issue through "meaningful talks."

"We are ready to allow transit facilities and also foolproof security (to gas pipeline) but India will have to deal with Kashmir issue in an equitable

and peaceful manner through meaningful talks so that progress can be made on other areas, including gas pipelines," Prime Minister Shaukat Aziz said in an interview published in Pakistan Observer on Monday.

His comments came close on the heels of Musharraf's assertion that Pakistan would never give up Kashmir. Musharraf is meeting Singh in New York later this month.

"I will meet Manmohan Singh and tell him in unequivocal terms about our stand on the issue. We will not give up Kashmir," he told a meeting of army officers and soldiers at a 'Garrison Darbar' in Quetta on Saturday.

Claiming that the ball was now in the Indian court, Aziz said "Kashmir is the core issue and nothing can move without making any progress on Kashmir. In fact, India needs resolution of disputes more than us."

Pakistan showed interest in the gas pipeline projects as it was hoping to get around \$600 million in royalties.

The gas pipeline projects, specially the Iran-India gas line figured prominently during the recent talks between external affairs minister K Natwar Singh and his Pakistan counterpart Khurshid M Kasuri. A joint statement issued after their talks in New Delhi said that a separate meeting of energy ministers of

both countries would discuss "availability and accessibility of energy resources" in the region. Aziz said gas pipelines from Turkmenistan, Iran and Qatar have to go through Pakistan into India. "Fact remains that India for its economic sustainability, direly needs these gas pipelines," he said.

Aziz said that his "government is mindful of the fact that people of the subcontinent are hostage to Kashmir issue. "South Asia needs economic and social growth. We need to eliminate poverty, disease and evil of extremism from this region. This cannot happen unless the two nuclear neighbours resolve the Kashmir dispute". Agencies

Manmohan Singh's pitch at the United Nations

By C. Raja Mohan

NEW DELHI, SEPT. 12. In an unprecedented meeting next week on the margins of the annual session of the United Nations General Assembly (UNGA), the Prime Minister, Manmohan Singh, will join the leaders of Brazil, Japan and Germany to make a strong pitch for reforming the world body.

All four nations are candidates for the permanent membership of the United Nations Security Council (UNSC) and have begun to endorse each other's case to be part of the global decision-making on war and peace.

At their first-ever joint session, the four nations are expected to focus on the imperatives of making the U.N. more effective and its leading arm, the Security Council, reflect the global power distribution in the 21st century.

Dr. Singh's talks with the Brazilian President, Lula da Silva, the Prime Minister of Japan, Junichiro Koizumi, and the German Foreign Minister, Joschka Fischer, mark an important turning point in the extended debate on U.N. reform.

This meeting of the four aspiring powers is expected to underline the urgency of lending a representative character to the UNSC. All four have strong credentials as well as wide-ranging support to have a permanent seat.

Equally important, it is a step forward — in what Dr. Singh had called in his press conference a few days ago an "essay in

persuasion" — in getting the international community to accept India's strong case to be part of the global security management.

High-level panel

The intensified effort by the four nations comes amid a growing dissatisfaction with the way the U.N. was left standing aside when the Bush Administration invaded Iraq without an international mandate.

While the U.S. has reserved the right to intervene unilaterally to protect its strategic inter-

DIPLOMATIC NOTEBOOK

ests, the Europeans, in the name of multilateralism, are pressing relentlessly for a "supra-national" U.N. with a "right to intervene" in the internal affairs of other states.

A high-level panel appointed last year by the U.N. Secretary General, Kofi Annan, to assess the new threats and challenges facing the organisation is discussing many of these issues. The report of the panel is expected to be out in December and could form the basis for a renewed debate on U.N. reforms.

China's veto

In addressing the UNGA, Dr. Singh will have an opportunity to shape the great debate on the future of the U.N. and multilateralism.

Even as India and Japan extend mutual support, they keep

a wary eye on the attitude of China, which could veto any restructuring of the U.N. system.

China has not opposed U.N. reforms. It has also underlined the importance of bringing more "developing countries" into the UNSC. This open-ended position avoids a commitment either in favour or against the candidature of Japan and India.

Meanwhile, the Chinese media reflects the deep reservations in Beijing about Japan's global ambitions.

In an article last week, *China Daily* declared that Beijing must boldly say "No" to Japan's entry into the UNSC. Another writer in *People's Daily* suggested that Japan, India, Germany and Brazil "cannot go far without adequate patience."

U.S. support

While the U.S. has broadly supported Japan's case, the Secretary of State, Colin Powell, last month declared that Japan must consider revising its peace constitution that abjures the use of force if it wants to play an active role in international security affairs.

Japan is caught between the devil and the deep blue sea. Beijing opposes Tokyo's membership of the UNSC by reviving the memories of Japanese militarism. Washington demands that Japan shed its current military inhibitions if it wants to enter the UNSC.

Mr. Koizumi has apparently decided for the moment to stake its claim — for the first

time at the UNGA — for the permanent membership without any "promise" or "threat" to change its peace constitution.

Nuclear burden

For India, too, American support would be crucial in gaining a permanent seat. In his much-anticipated book about India, the former Deputy Secretary of State, Strobe Talbott, sums up the conversation on the subject between the former U.S. President, Bill Clinton, and the former Prime Minister, Atal Bihari Vajpayee, at Hyderabad House in New Delhi in March 2000.

Mr. Talbott writes: "...Vajpayee appealed for Clinton's support in making India a permanent member of the United Nations Security Council. Clinton replied that there were other major regional powers with similar aspirations, such as Brazil—which he added, had the done the right thing in *not* going nuclear".

The linkage between India's nuclear policy and a permanent seat at the UNSC, set out by Mr. Clinton in 2000 remains unchanged in the pronouncements of the Democratic Presidential candidate, Senator John Kerry.

The Bush Administration has been less critical of India's nuclear weapons programme but has not extended support to India's UNSC claims.

When he meets the U.S. President, George W. Bush, in New York, Dr. Singh will have an opportunity to find out if there is an evolution in American thinking.

13 SEP 2004

Reforming the United Nations

By Amit Baruah

India has been able to build up strategic alliances with key international players as it advances towards the goal of entering the United Nations' Security Council as a permanent member.

On Thursday evening, the External Affairs Minister, Natwar Singh, and the Japanese Foreign Minister, Yoriko Kawaguchi, announced that they would support each other's candidature to join the Security Council.

Last month, the German Foreign Minister, Joschka Fischer, said that Germany and India had agreed to back each other's candidature to enter the Security Council. And, on January 27, the Brazilian President, Luiz Inacio Lula da Silva, announced that Brazil and India had agreed they would support their respective bids for the Council.

Not an end in itself

Senior officials, however, stress that India does not see the expansion of the Security Council as an end in itself, but a part and parcel of the larger process of United Nations' reform. In 1945, there were 50 countries in the United Nations, today there are 192. "There has been a four-fold increase,"

they said, adding that the ground realities of such a situation had to be recognised. India, they said, stressed that there must be a balance between security, development and human rights concerns in the United Nations. New Delhi

pointed out that unilateralism in Iraq may just have hastened the process of change in the U.N.

However, it is not as if additions to the Security Council are going to happen overnight. India has now secured the backing (and promised to back) three serious contenders for the Security Council — Japan (which is the second largest contributor to the U.N. budget), Germany and Brazil.

As and when there is a consensus among the "permanent five" in the United Nations (the United States, China, France, Russia and Britain) on expansion, India will be able to push its case as part of a group of allies whose credentials to enter the Council match those of New Delhi.

Among the P-5, France, Britain and Russia have backed India's case to enter the Security Council at the highest level — not once, but on many occasions. The U.S. and China have not taken any direct position on India's candidature yet.

A clear recognition

India's role in the world is being given greater recognition. The invitation to hold discussions with G-8 leaders in Evian, France, last year, and the recent statement made by the Italian Prime Minis-

ter, Silvio Berlusconi, that India and China should be invited to the G-8 is a clear recognition of India's growing importance.

"We may not enter the Security Council tomorrow, but the fact of the matter is that a large country like India simply cannot be ignored. Whether it is contributing to debates within the U.N system or peace-keeping operations, India has always taken the lead," the officials pointed out.

A major step

Garnering Japan's support for India's bid to enter the Security Council given the fact that Tokyo was one of New Delhi's worst critics after the May 1998 nuclear tests, in itself, is a major step forward in the bilateral relationship between the two countries. Obviously, the Japanese have seen the recent agreements between Germany and India as well as India and Brazil on the issue.

These statements of intent are, however, the first step in reforming the U.N. system and making the Security Council more representative of today's developing world. This "quartet" of candidates will have to pull their weight together if their position is to be recognised in the world at large.

NEWS ANALYSIS

strongly favoured strengthening the General Assembly and wanted that there should be a balance between the General Assembly, the Security Council and the Economic and Social Council.

Transparency

"Our idea of reform is that the decision-making process in the United Nations should be transparent; not opaque," they said. For instance, they pointed to the fact that decision-making in the World Trade Organisation (WTO) was no longer the monopoly of a few Western nations — with Brazil and India taking a leading role in recent negotiations.

The officials believe that U.N. reform, including the expansion of the Security Council, could be, ironically, speeded up in the post-Iraq world. Recognising that the United States and a handful of Western nations had acted against the spirit of multilateralism, they

India puts foot down on WMD resolution

SF-2
29/4

India. WMD

Press Trust of India

UNHQ, April 23. — India has told the UN Security Council that it won't accept any interpretation of a resolution on WMD which imposes obligations arising from treaties that it has not signed or ratified.

India, however, expressed its commitment to an "effective and comprehensive" system of export control of WMD-usable materials, equipment or technologies or their delivery system and to deny unlawful access to either state or "non-state actors".

Indian ambassador Mr Vijay K Nambiar told the Council: "India won't accept externally prescribed norms or standards, whatever their source, on matters pertaining to domestic jurisdiction of its Parliament, including national legislation, regulations or arrangements which are not consistent with its constitutional provisions and procedures or contrary to its national interests or infringe on its sovereignty."

The resolution hammered out



Indian ambassador to the UN,
Mr Vijay K Nambiar

The resolution would compel nations to adopt and enforce laws prohibiting a terrorist or 'non-state actor' from getting weapons of mass destruction

by the five permanent members of the Security Council — the USA, Britain, Russia, France and China — in negotiations extending over five months would compel nations to adopt and enforce laws prohibiting a terrorist or "non-state actor" from getting weapons of mass destruction.

But, Mr Nambiar said validity of

the focus on "non-state actors" in the resolution in no way diminishes state accountability on combating terrorism, in eliminating its support to infrastructure or linkages with the WMD. "As in the case of terrorism, state accountability cannot be absolved on grounds that the proliferation was the result of private enterprise," Mr Nambiar said without naming Pakistan, but obviously referring to the proliferation admitted by its top scientist Dr AQ Khan.

It would be a "precarious paradox" if individual states actions, despite this resolution, condone instances of proliferation or "reward proliferating states by other means", he said.

The vote on the resolution is not expected till April end and the USA, diplomats said, might consider amendments to get a unanimous vote.

The resolution invokes chapter seven of the charter which makes it obligatory for all 191 member states to implement it and allow use of sanction or even military force against those who fail to do so.

INDIA

24 APR 2004