

# AU ditch fails to deter India

## *Fight for UNSC expansion will continue: Natwar*

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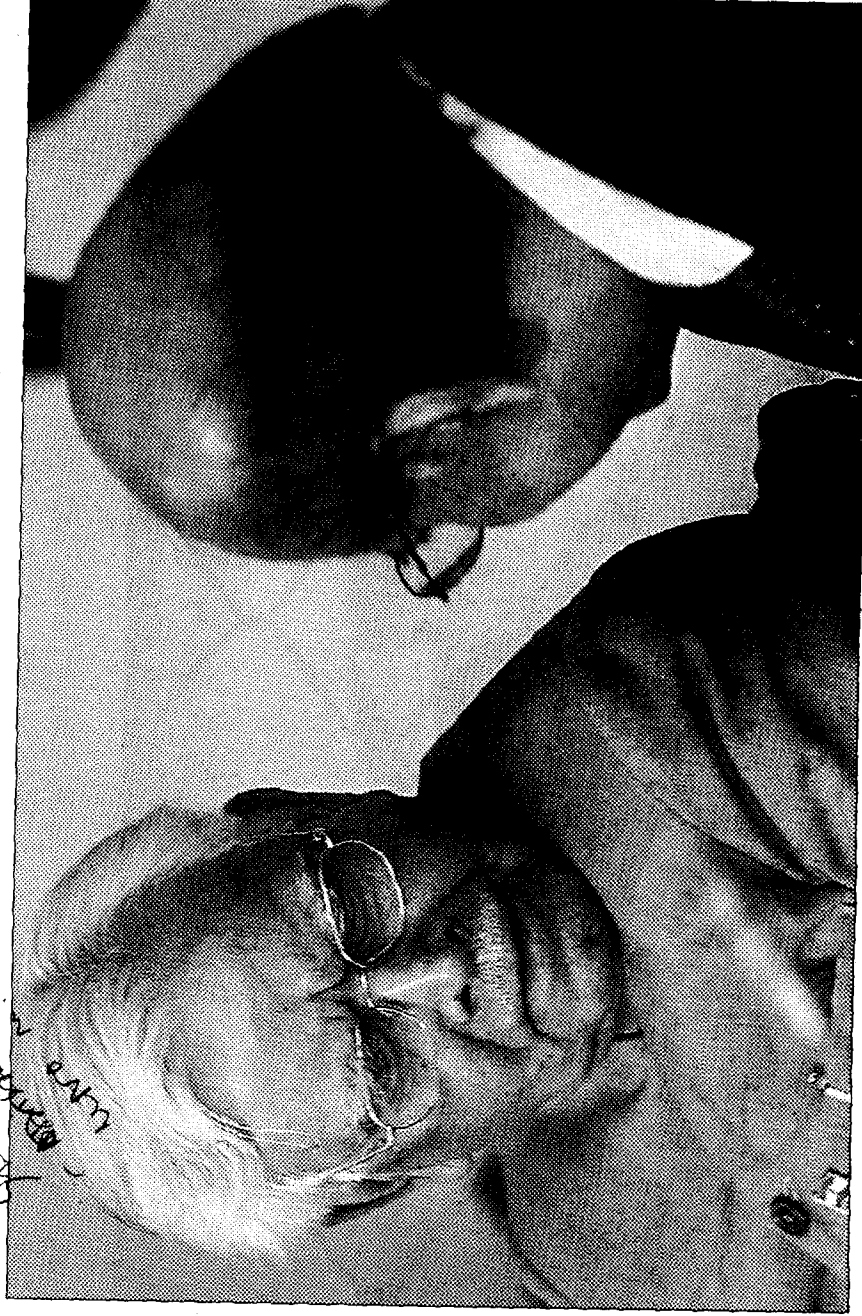
CLOSE ON the heels of the African Union's decision not to support the G4 resolution on expansion of the UN Security Council, India on Saturday expressed solidarity with other members of the grouping and said it would continue to press for restructuring of the world body.

Visiting external affairs minister K. Natwar Singh briefed his Bangladesh counterpart Morshed Khan on the latest developments relating to efforts by India and other G4 countries — Brazil, Japan and Germany — on UN reforms.

"We'll continue to have consultations with the friendly African countries so that there is a joint draft framework resolution opening the way for the expansion of the Security Council", foreign secretary Shyam Saran said after wide-ranging discussions between Singh and Khan.

New Delhi has firmly advocated the expansion in both permanent and non-permanent members in the Security Council. Saran said that during the talks, the Indian side solicited the support of Bangladesh for India's candidacy for permanent membership of an expanded Security Council and also its backing for the G4 resolution.

Bangladesh said the Indian request would receive its "active and friendly consideration", Saran said.



Foreign minister Natwar Singh speaks to an official during a meeting in Dhaka on Saturday.

AFP

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# African Union pours cold water on India's campaign for U.N. seat

India - voters

Addis Ababa meet insists that any new permanent UNSC member must have veto power

Siddharth Varadarajan

**NEW DELHI:** India's hopes of winning a permanent seat on an enlarged United Nations Security Council hit a road block on Friday with the African Union (AU) — whose 53 votes in the General Assembly are crucial — insisting that any new permanent member of the UNSC must have veto power.

The AU's decision — taken at an extraordinary summit in Addis Ababa on Thursday — means Africa as a whole will not back the G-4 draft resolution authored by India, Japan, Brazil and Germany. As matters stand, the AU and G-4 have separate draft resolutions, neither of which is likely to garner the 128 votes necessary to win acceptance.

With India running out of op-

tions, the Ministry of External Affairs said it was a "matter of regret" that the African States were "unable to endorse an AU/G-4

Draft framework resolution" based on the compromise reached by the G-4 Foreign Ministers and representatives of the AU in London last month. The compromise involved the G-4 agreeing to increase the total size of the proposed Security Council to 26, rather than 25, so as to accommodate an additional African non-permanent member on a rotational basis. In return, the AU was supposed to drop its insistence on the veto.

Though Nigeria pushed for acceptance of the compromise at the meeting, an alliance of North and East African States — Algeria, Libya, Egypt, Kenya and Zambia — effectively derailed the process.

When the G-4 draft was first circulated in May, it envisaged full veto powers for the proposed new permanent members. This provision was subsequently diluted and virtually dropped un-

der pressure from many countries — mostly in Europe — worried that the proliferation of veto power might end up reducing the effectiveness of the Security Council.

Of the more than 80 countries backing the G-4 draft on Friday, it is estimated that as many as 50 of them have strong views against the extension of veto power.

Although the G-4 must now collectively decide its next move, there is likely to be little or no appetite for a vote any time soon on the G-4 draft currently before the General Assembly. The External Affairs Minister, Natwar Singh, had spoken to his counterparts from Brazil, Germany and Japan to review the situation, an MEA spokesman said on

Friday. An attempt is being made to understand the African position and to see whether a critical mass of countries from the continent is prepared to break ranks with the AU's consensual position.

Apart from buying time in order to woo individual African supporters, the G-4 now has two options. The four can push for a vote or can announce that they will not seek a vote on their draft resolution, thereby living to fight another day.

## To be united

The MEA spokesman said the G-4 would "continue to act in unity to promote the cause of U.N. reform, including UNSC reform." According to Indian officials, Security Council reform is

firmly and irrevocably on the international agenda and this is largely due to the G-4's efforts.

At the same time, officials say, the G-4 will also have to guard against the "Coffee Club" taking advantage of dissonance in the camp of those who want more permanent seats. Italy and Pakistan have drafted a resolution based on U.N. Secretary General Kofi Annan's Model B, envisaging the creation of semi-permanent membership. If both the G-4 and the AU do not press for a vote on their draft resolutions, the "Coffee Club" might seek to put its draft to vote. In the absence of competing proposals, it just might win a respectable level of support in the General Assembly though nowhere close to the 128 votes needed to pass.

- **AU decision means Africa will not back G-4 draft resolution**
- **Natwar Singh speaks to counterparts from Brazil, Germany and Japan to review situation**
- **Move on to woo African countries to G-4 position**

# AU jolts India's seat dream

**PRAMIT Pal Chaudhuri**  
New Delhi, August 5

IN THE end, it came down to African unity versus Group of Four aspirations and the former won. The 54-country African Union's (AU) decision to reject a compromise resolution on United Nation reform effectively kills any hope of the G-4's resolution passing the General Assembly.

The story is in the numbers. For any UN reform resolution to win, it needs the support of 128 of the 191 General Assembly members. That vote is now split between three different resolutions: the G-4's, the AU and the United for Consensus (the anti-G-4 group). Presuming the AU members stick together, then their resolution will get 54 votes.

The 12-strong United for Consensus group then only needs 38 votes to kill the G-4 resolution. This is likely to be easy given that spoiler votes, probably backed by the US, China and, quietly, Rus-

## NEWS ANALYSIS

sia, will probably go to the United for Consensus resolution.

Other G-4 members have more or less thrown in the towel. According to Japanese press reports, foreign ministry officials in Tokyo had said their country's chances for a permanent Security Council seat were now "zero."

The African Union had caught Indian diplomats by surprise when it first came out with a third resolution.

Its key difference with the G-4 resolution was its insistence that all new permanent members get veto power. After the G-4 had hammered out a compromise formula with an African contact group, the expectation was that the AU would shift its position.

Instead, the Union was split almost vertically. North and East African countries led the opposition to any compromise of the

original formula.

Two of India's closest friends on the continent — Senegal and Sudan — were among the naysayers. Countries like Nigeria, South Africa and Ethiopia pushed for an acceptance of the G-4 compromise. But facing concerted opposition, they concluded maintaining a common African front was more important than the happiness of the G-4. Both Indian and Japanese diplomats say the Africans, scarred by decades of tribal war, take their unity "seriously".

At the very least, the G-4 will have to delay the vote on the resolution till the end of August. But Tokyo is already indicating a desire to drop the whole issue. India may also be tempted. Most diplomats agree that in the next round of UN reforms, India will be the shoe-in.

As President Abdul Kalam told schoolchildren on Friday, "We have the right to get that seat. One day, I'm sure, we will get it".

06 AUG 2005

...coming here in London on Monday where differences with the African Union...

# G-4 makes peace with AU

July 26, 2000  
27 JUL 2000

## Differences ironed out to allow joint UNSC resolution

**NILOVA Roy Chaudhury**  
New Delhi, July 26

IT WAS India's "special relationship" with Africa that won the day, official sources said on Tuesday, ironing out differences between the African Union and the G4, to allow for a joint resolution on expansion of the United Nations Security Council.

Hours of intense negotiations between the foreign ministers of India, Brazil, Germany and Japan (G4) and 15 representatives from the AU in London till late on Monday resulted in the breakthrough after the African nations dropped their demand for veto rights for new permanent members.

After hectic parleys with the foreign ministers of G-4 nations comprising India, Germany, Japan and Brazil, representatives of the African Union agreed to drop their demand for veto rights for new permanent members of the expanded Security Council.

The G4 reciprocated by acceding to the AU proposal to add five new non-permanent members of the Security Council, making it a 26-member body. The G4 wanted to add only four non-permanent members to the UN body. The extra seat will be floated among the developing

### HOW IT HAPPENED

#### BREAKTHROUGH

Hours of intense negotiations in London till late on Monday resulted in the breakthrough after the African nations dropped their demand for veto rights for new permanent members.

#### AFRICA TO GO AHEAD

We all want the UN reforms to go forward. We've also agreed not to press for veto rights. There's an agreement that the African Union will meet at an extraordinary meeting to discuss the way forward: Adeniji Oluwemi

countries of Africa, Asia and Latin America and the Caribbean states.

"The above changes shall be incorporated into a joint AU-G4 resolution on the understanding that continued support by AU and G4 co-sponsors, as well as supporters is ensured, with a view to adopting the resolution, if possible by the end of the month", an Indian official spokesman said.

"We all want the UN reforms to go forward. We've also agreed not to press for veto rights.

There's an agreement that the African Union will meet at an extraordinary meeting to discuss the way forward", African Union Group chairman and foreign minister of Nigeria Adeniji Oluwemi.

External affairs minister K. Natwar Singh, and the foreign ministers of Japan, Germany and Brazil Nobutaka Machimura, Joschka Fischer Celso Luiz Nunes Amorim, respectively, represented the G-4. Natwar Singh played a "key role" in the "breakthrough in the discussions", the sources said, that will see the G4 and the 53-nation African Union table a joint resolution for UNSC expansion by the end of the month.

A spokesman of the African Union said everyone had accepted the objective that the United Nations system must be changed to make it more functional, more representative, more reflective of the reality and more democratic. "We can't amend the UN charter unless we have 128 members — two thirds of the 191-member UN General Assembly — supporting our resolution.

"In the game of numbers, G4 has 32 countries supporting it. African Union has 53 countries. Together, the two groups have 85 countries — still a shortfall of 43", he said.

# Britain backs Indo-US nuclear deal

**PRAMIT Pal Chaudhuri**  
New Delhi, July 26

THE BRITISH government denied reports that it was opposed to the Indo-US joint statement on nuclear issues. The British High Commission in New Delhi said the UK "warmly welcomed" the Indo-US agreement and was "looking hard" to see how India could "be better integrated" into the international civilian nuclear and non-proliferation regimes.

However, the British statement stressed the obligation that the joint statement placed on India

and was more ambiguous about accommodating India into the international regime.

The British note spoke of being pleased that India had agreed to separate its civilian and military nuclear programmes, adhere to the guidelines of the missile technology control regime and the Nuclear Suppliers Group, and work towards a fissile material cut-off treaty.

It went on to say that the UK was "ready to discuss with international partners the basis for cooperation in civil nuclear matters with India."

It avoided calling India a nu-

clear weapons state saying that India would be taking on the responsibilities of such states. But it called India "a responsible actor" when it came to proliferation.

British officials said when it came to the US's argument that India represented a unique nation in terms of its nuclear record and deserved to be accommodated within the nuclear non-proliferation regime, "Britain is already on board."

An earlier response by France also stressed India's nuclear obligations but said, ambiguously, "Anything done in this area must

be compatible with the non-proliferation regime."

Britain's support for the Indo-US agreement will be crucial when it comes to winning over the Nuclear Suppliers Group. A number of the European Union countries, notably many of north European nations, are expected to oppose bending the rules for India.

Britain, which holds the EU presidency, will seek to forge a common European position that is favourable to India. An obvious goal would be to get such an agreement before the India-EU summit in New Delhi in September.

7 JUL 2001



India needs to take UN reforms beyond just security council expansion

# Seating ducks

BY PRAMIT PAL CHAUDHURI

Mr. G  
M/G

**W**HEN BRAZIL, Germany, India and Japan combined forces in June last year to win fixed berths on the United Nations Security Council, the country judged to be hanging on the others' tailcoats was India.

Today, diplomats from any corner of the world will tell you the Group of Four candidate with the widest support and least opposition for a permanent seat is India. "When we started, we were the weakest member of the G-4. Today we are the strongest," said one Indian official.

This hardly means India is guaranteed the jackpot later this year. The security council expansion process is tortuous, the byzantine politics and India's fortunes are for now tied to those of the other G-4 nations. As one senior official noted philosophically, "Even if we fail in the present bid, it's clear that whenever the issue of UN reforms comes around again, India will be the country best placed for a permanent seat."

When the Cold War began to wind down and security council expansion was making the rounds, a US proposal for seats for Germany, Japan and three regional powers was the only show in town. A booming Indonesia was frontrunner for the additional Asian seat. But two decades is a long time in geopolitics.

Germany, for example, is now the G-4 straggler. Its original sponsor, the US, is now passively opposed. Worse, as one German diplomat noted ruefully, "We cannot get even the European Union to endorse us." Many African and Latin American nations just don't see why a unifying Europe should get a third permanent seat.

Japan's candidacy at least carries the imprimatur of the US. Years of being the world's biggest foreign aid-giver have given Tokyo plenty of goodwill. But Japan has at least one Big Daddy of an opponent — China. And Beijing is anything but passive, spewing vitriol and veto threats. Not unlike Germany, Brazil has a bad neighbourhood problem with other Latin American countries — and quietly the US — lobbying against it.

India's condition is not all present perfect. About a dozen countries, mostly Arab and led by Pakistan, are judged to be viscerally opposed to India. But the bulk of the Coffee Club — the nations who



oppose the G-4 plan for security council expansion — has signalled to New Delhi that it isn't anti-India but anti-some other G-4 member. South Korea, for example, says it has no problem with India but cannot allow Japan to succeed.

One country to join the ranks of the 'India yes, G-4 no' this year is the US. Both Indian and US officials rubbish claims that Washington has been pressuring India to abandon the G-4. According to an Indian official, what the US has indicated is that "when the G-4 has outlived its utility, then come and talk with us".

Unfortunately, New Delhi has realised its popularity — and the unpopularity of the rest of the G-4 — somewhat late in the day. India wasted much time and energy chasing the mirage of veto power. It ignored clusters like Eastern Europe for too long. Perhaps worst of all, it banked solely on the Third World, declining to approach the US for support even though Washington can probably swing 30 small-State votes in the 191-strong general assembly. "There has been a historic lack of contact with the US over UN reform," admitted an official.

India's initial lack of confidence and its Cold War hangover have meant its hopes this year will sink or swim with the G-4.

The first obstacle between India and a permanent seat is, by all accounts, the one most likely to trip up the whole G-4 campaign. That is getting a two-thirds majority in the general assembly for the G-4's framework resolution. That lays out the security council plan that the G-4 backs and provides for,

among other things, six new permanent seats parcelled out by region. The resolution lays out a formula and a process; it doesn't name names. The debate on the resolution is on right now.

A straw poll of the diplomatic community indicates that most do not believe the G-4 has the two-thirds needed to get the resolution passed, especially now that Africa has come out with its own formulation and the US has come out so strongly against it.

But making a prediction is tough. Much will depend on the votes of such sovereignty-sprinkled areas as Micronesia, Central America and the Caribbean. And the African Union's 54 members are widely seen to possess the swing vote.

Miracles, however, can happen. If the framework resolution passes, each candidate must win a two-thirds vote on its own. As one Indian official said, "After the framework resolution passes, it's every man for himself."

At this juncture, India's chances jump from 30 per cent to 90 per cent. Outside the G-4, India is likely to win two-thirds of the votes without difficulty. It is guaranteed not to attract a P-5 veto. No other candidate can make a similar claim. "One scenario could well be all the other candidates failing to get the necessary votes and India being the lone nation to get a new permanent seat," observed an Indian diplomat.

But Indians need to brace themselves for the possibility of the whole campaign coming down like a pack of cards.

If and when this happens, the de-

bate should move on to preparing for the next round of UN reforms. The lesson of this past year seems to be that the world is a lot more ready for an Indian permanent seat than it is for an expanded security council. "The case for India getting a seat will strengthen with time," said one senior Indian official. Unlike, for example, Japan and Germany whose future trends all point south.

Working out a process that flows from these facts should be the next step. The US has left an outline of one path by laying out criteria for new permanent members that were more or less tailored to fit India. A post-G-4 Indian campaign on UN reform could adopt this index.

If India applies a few years of diplomatic elbow grease to making these criteria universally acceptable, it would make India's security council ambitions less dependent on the foibles of others.

India also needs to take UN reform beyond just security council expansion. One of the reasons for the early scepticism regarding India's candidacy was a widespread view that India would use a seat largely to wage diplomatic war over Kashmir; that it would avoid any responsibility in preserving international stability.

It is not as if India doesn't have ideas on how to change the UN for the better. It is just that New Delhi has traditionally preferred to not take risks, to bury the ideas in a file and leave them on a shelf.

When US officials prodded their Indian counterparts to look at issues like peace-building, administrative reforms and the like, the Americans were surprised to find Indian ideas on these issues more or less mirrored their own. It's just that New Delhi treated them as academic exercises rather than policies that needed to be implemented.

If India needs to campaign in the future for a permanent seat, it needs to go beyond just counting the number of *jawans* wearing blue helmets when it is asked "What will you contribute to the UN?" India has nearly worked itself out of its Pakistan hole. Now it needs to climb some hills.

Being a permanent security council member is about more than just saying, "I don't want this." India needs to start publicly recognising that being on the high table is much more about saying "We need to do this."

# নিরাপত্তা পরিষদে অন্তর্ভুক্তিতে আমেরিকার 'না', হতচকিত ভারত

সীমা সিরোহি • ওয়াশিংটন

১৬ জুলাই: রাষ্ট্রপুঞ্জের নিরাপত্তা পরিষদে স্থায়ী সদস্যপদ নিয়ে ভারতের আশায় জল ঢেলে দিল আমেরিকা। প্রধানমন্ত্রী মনমোহন সিংহের মার্কিন সফরের ঠিক আগেই বুশ প্রশাসন কড়া ভাষায় জানিয়ে দিল নিরাপত্তা পরিষদের আয়তন বৃদ্ধি নিয়ে জি-৪ দেশগুলির আনা খসড়া প্রস্তাবের বিরোধিতা করবে তারা। শুধু বিরোধিতা করেই ক্ষান্ত নন বুশ, অন্যান্য দেশও যাতে এই প্রস্তাবকে সমর্থন না করে তার জন্যও সর্বতো ভাবে চেষ্টা করছে আমেরিকা।

আমেরিকার আকস্মিক সিদ্ধান্তে হতচকিত ভারতীয় কূটনীতিকেরা তাঁদের ক্ষোভ ও হতাশা গোপন করেননি।

রাষ্ট্রপুঞ্জে ভারতের স্থায়ী প্রতিনিধি নিরুপম সেন বলেছেন, হঠাৎ কেন এই

## মনমোহনের সফরের আগে থান্কা

সিদ্ধান্ত নেওয়া হল তা বোঝা যাচ্ছে না। তিনি বলেন, আমেরিকা, চীন ও পাকিস্তান পরিবর্তন চায় না, তারা স্থিতাবস্থা বজায় রাখতেই আগ্রহী। তবে সেন বলেন, রাষ্ট্রপুঞ্জের সাধারণ সভায় দু'বার পাশ হওয়ায় এই খসড়া প্রস্তাবকে এত সহজে উড়িয়ে দেওয়া যাবে না। মঙ্গলবার রাতে আমেরিকার এই সিদ্ধান্তে শুধু ভারতই নয়, জার্মানি, ব্রাজিল ও জাপানের পক্ষেও নিরাপত্তা পরিষদে স্থান পাওয়া কঠিন হয়ে পড়ল।

নিরাপত্তা পরিষদে জাপান বা ভারতকে অন্তর্ভুক্ত করার ব্যাপারে আমেরিকার এতটা আপত্তি ছিল না। কিন্তু জি-৪-এর প্রস্তাব মানলে জার্মানি, ব্রাজিল-সহ মোট ছ'টি দেশকে নিরাপত্তা পরিষদে নিতে হত। এত বড় সম্প্রসারণে নারাজ

আমেরিকা ও চীনের মতো শক্তিশালী সদস্যেরা। কারণ এতে তাদের নিজেদের সিদ্ধান্ত নেওয়ার ক্ষমতা কিছুটা হলেও কমত। তবে জাপানকে বাদ দিতে চাননি বুশ। রাষ্ট্রপুঞ্জের তহবিলে প্রায় আমেরিকার সমান অর্থ অনুদান দেয় জাপান। ভারতকেও ভবিষ্যতের গুরুত্বপূর্ণ আর্থিক শক্তি মনে করে বুশ প্রশাসন। পরে ভারত ও জাপানকে আলাদা ভাবে নিরাপত্তা পরিষদে সমর্থন করতে পারে ওয়াশিংটন।

কাল রাতে এই মার্কিন সিদ্ধান্তের কথা ঘোষণা করেন রাষ্ট্রপুঞ্জের সংস্কার বিষয়ে মার্কিন বিদেশমন্ত্রকের উপদেষ্টা শিরিন তাহির খেলি।

পাকিস্তানি বংশোদ্ভূত শিরিন বুশ পরিবার এবং পাকিস্তানি সেনাপ্রধানদের খুবই ঘনিষ্ঠ।

পাকিস্তানের মুশারফ প্রশাসনের সঙ্গেও তাঁর ঘনিষ্ঠ যোগাযোগ আছে। এই ব্যাপারটিও

যথেষ্ট চিন্তায় ফেলেছে ভারতকে। শিরিন বলেন, "একটা ব্যাপার স্পষ্ট করে নেওয়া যাক। নিরাপত্তা পরিষদের আয়তন বৃদ্ধি নিয়ে কোনও প্রস্তাবকেই আমেরিকা এই মুহূর্তে সমর্থন করবে না।"

তিনি স্পষ্ট বলেন, বর্তমান নিরাপত্তা পরিষদের প্রাসঙ্গিকতা কমিয়ে দেয়, এমন যে কোনও প্রস্তাবেরই ঘোর বিরোধিতা করবে আমেরিকা। একই সঙ্গে রাষ্ট্রপুঞ্জের সাধারণ সভাকে এই প্রস্তাবের বিপক্ষে ভোট দেওয়ারও পরামর্শ দিয়েছেন শিরিন। জি-৪-এর খসড়া প্রস্তাব সম্পর্কে তিনি বলেন, নিরাপত্তা পরিষদের আয়তন বৃদ্ধি নিয়ে নিশ্চয় কাজ করা হবে। তবে 'ঠিক সময়ে ঠিক মতো' এ ব্যাপারে সিদ্ধান্ত নেবে আমেরিকা।

14 JUL 2005

ANADABAZAR PAIRIKA

# Straw's support for India's seat bid

**HT Correspondent**  
London, June 27

FOREIGN SECRETARY Jack Straw – after his half-hour meeting with external affairs minister Natwar Singh – reiterated the UK's "long-standing policy of support" for India securing a place in the UN Security Council.

But, when asked if the UK supported India having veto power, Straw said the UK supported India's "permanent membership without a veto". He tried to explain that the UN P5 veto was fundamental to the UN's survival. Singh, while referring to the G8 summit on July 7, said Prime Minister Manmohan Singh was "keen on India being part of G8". When asked if the G8 would become G10, Singh said, "The first steps have been taken". But, regarding the UNSC, Singh said, "We don't want to pitch G8 against the UNSC". Talking to journalists during a joint Press conference with Straw, Singh also mentioned that a request had been made to alter the

adverse UK travel advisory for Jammu and Kashmir. "We'd appreciate the issue being reconsidered. There are 30,000 tourists in J&K". Straw, while responding, said, "I've promised to look into the matter".

Straw congratulated India on the development of good relations with Pakistan. "The transformation is nothing short of miraculous". He added, "We look forward to a composite dialogue on Kashmir". Straw also praised India for its contribution to the reconstruction of Iraq and Afghanistan. When a journalist asked if India was shying away from discussing the Kashmir issue, Singh retorted, "India has not shied away from discussing Kashmir. The Prime Minister has said that, short of redrawing the map of India, we're ready to discuss everything".

Referring to the EU summit in New Delhi in September under the presidency of Tony Blair, Singh said there were "minor hitches" that would be ironed out. He did not detail the "hitches".

28 JUN 2005

THE HINDUSTAN TIMES



# U.N. seat: New Delhi moves Islamabad too

HD-1 23/6 India news

**"Response was quite diplomatic; Pakistanis said they had nothing against India"**

Diplomatic Correspondent

**NEW DELHI:** Pakistan will no longer be left out of New Delhi's diplomatic tango to secure the support of all 191-member nations of the United Nations. Given the state of play that existed till April 2003 between the two neighbours, such an approach would have been unthinkable some months ago.

The "untouchable" nature is for real. In many senses, Pakistan still doesn't exist for India. For instance, the External Affairs Ministry website, which provides a brief for bilateral relations with most countries round the globe, has a missing entry in alphabet "P." The "P," needless

to say, stands for Pakistan.

The times, it would appear, are now changing. Officials dealing with India's efforts at getting the G-4 resolution tabled and passed in the United Nations General Assembly told *The Hindu* that New Delhi had actually approached Pakistan despite the fact that it was a leading member of the "coffee club" in New York that opposes expansion in the permanent category.

And, what was Pakistan's response to India's approach?

It was quite "diplomatic," the officials said. "The Pakistanis told us politely that they had nothing against India, but were opposed to any expansion in the permanent category in the Security Council."

ity Council."

## Preparing for the battle

India, meanwhile, is preparing for a long diplomatic battle in a bid to ensure the G-4 (which has Brazil, Germany and Japan as other members) resolution is actually tabled and then adopted by a two-thirds vote in the 191-member General Assembly.

From the larger South Asian region, India has been heartened by the fact that Afghanistan, the Maldives and Bhutan have agreed to co-sponsor the G-4 resolution. A formal response from Sri Lanka is awaited, the officials said.

The Russians, despite being solid India-backers like the Brit-

ish, have decided not to add their name to the list of co-sponsors of the resolution, which seeks an expansion of the Security Council by six in the permanent category and four in the non-permanent category.

France, another permanent member, has, of course, indicated that it will be one of the co-sponsors. As Foreign Ministers of G-4 nations meet in Brussels to discuss future strategy, it is becoming clear that a long, hard battle lies ahead of them.

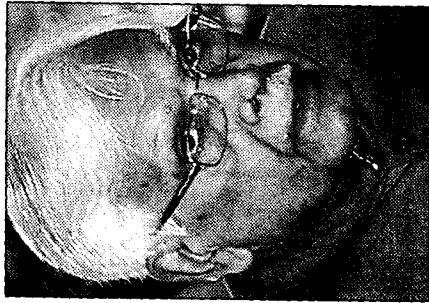
Already, the G-4 draft has forced the Americans to take a position that they favour limited expansion in both the permanent and non-permanent category.

# G4 sends unity message to America

## OUR SPECIAL CORRESPONDENT

**New Delhi, June 18:** Foreign ministers of India, Japan, Germany and Brazil will meet next week, signalling the four countries would stick together in their bid for a permanent seat in an expanded Security Council despite America's attempt to wean away the first two.

External affairs minister K. Natwar Singh, who is now in London, will cut short his visit to Italy for the June 22 emergency meeting in Brussels with his Group of Four



Natwar: Standing firm

counterparts.

The George W. Bush administration, which had already said it would support Japan's candidacy, yesterday gave the impression that it also backs India's claim for a permanent seat in the council, a commitment US officials have repeatedly refused to make in public.

Nicholas Burns, the under-secretary of state for political affairs, said the Bush administration "would likely support adding two or so new permanent members to the council", based on factors like size of a country's economy, population,

on, military capacity and potential to contribute to the UN system.

The announcement came as latest assessments in New York concluded that the G4 resolution seeking restructuring of the world body had a fair chance of passing with a two-thirds majority in the General Assembly next week.

Indian officials maintained there was no way Delhi would like to split the G4.

"We are trying to negotiate with as many countries as possible for support to the G4 resolution, which would be tabled

at the UN for consideration," a foreign ministry official said.

Japan was the first to voice its reservations. "Japan cannot go along with this idea (of splitting the G4)," Prime Minister Junichiro Koizumi said.

"We cannot say that's right and jump on to the US proposal as we have been in the G4 campaign," foreign minister Nobutaka Machimura said after a call from US secretary of state Condoleezza Rice.

Germany also said it would adhere to the G4 plan and argued that adding only two permanent members was

not enough to change the disproportion in the Security Council.

The G4 countries have already made it clear they are willing to enter the Security Council without veto rights for the time being. Most of the permanent five members — the US, the UK, France, Russia and China — are opposed to share the rights with the additional members.

Analysts said the G4, by publicly dropping the demand for veto rights, has shown flexibility and might get the support of two-thirds of the 191 member nations.

# India will stick to the G-4 track

Further discussions will be held with U.S when its official visits New Delhi on June 23

Amit Baruah

**NEW DELHI:** India will pursue the G-4 track to expand the United Nations Security Council, though a senior American official said the "large" addition proposed by Brazil, Germany, Japan and India could be injurious to the effectiveness of the body.

South Block sources told *The Hindu* here that New Delhi viewed positively the criteria listed by Under-Secretary of State Nicholas Burns who, at a press briefing in Washington on Wednesday, listed several attributes the U.S. would like to see in a new member.

It was for Washington to explain what it meant when it said it wanted the permanent membership expanded by "two or so," the sources said. While Amer-

• **It is for Washington to spell out what it means when it says it wants the U.N. Security Council expanded by "two or so"**

• **Britain not to co-sponsor resolution, while supporting G-4 stand**

ica's support for Japan has been reiterated, the other candidates have not been named.

## Manmohan visit

The sources said the "best occasion" for the U.S. to announce its support for India's candidature would be Prime Minister Manmohan Singh's visit to Washington in July. They confirmed that Britain, which had

been asked to co-sponsor the G-4 resolution, decided not to do so while extending support to the informal grouping, pushing for the expansion of the Council in both the permanent and non-permanent categories.

To a question, the sources said the G-4 draft resolution was likely to be tabled in the General Assembly in New York, after the African Union deliberations in the first week of July. India and the others are keen that the G-4 be expanded into G-6 — with two countries being named candidates from the African continent. On Mr. Burns' remarks, the sources said further discussions would be held during his two-day visit here from June 23. New Delhi approved the criteria laid down by Mr. Burns.

Mr. Burns said, "Certainly,

the size of a country's economy is important; the size of its population; its military capacity; its potential to contribute militarily to U.N. peacekeeping missions; its contributions to peacekeeping; its commitment to democracy and human rights; its financial contributions to the U.N. system; its record in and commitment to counter terrorism and non-proliferation; and we have to look, of course, at the geographic balance, overall, of how the Council is constituted."

India, the sources said, met all these criteria. However, it was for the U.S. to announce its support. The issue of U.N. reforms has been under discussion between the two countries for some time now. Already, National Security Adviser M.K. Narayanan is in Washington.

## স্থায়ী সদস্যপদে মার্কিন সমর্থনের ইঙ্গিত ভারতকে

নিজস্ব প্রতিনিধি, ওয়াশিংটন, ১৭  
জুন: নিরাপত্তা পরিষদে স্থায়ী সদস্যপদ  
পাওয়ার দৌড়ে অনেকটাই এগিয়ে  
গেল ভারত। আমেরিকার সরকারি  
মহল বৃহস্পতিবার জানিয়েছে, স্থায়ী  
সদস্য পদে তারা জাপান ছাড়া একটি  
উন্নয়নশীল দেশকে সমর্থন করবে।  
আর বিদেশমন্ত্রকের এক কর্তা সেই  
সমর্থনের যে সব শর্ত জানিয়েছেন, তা  
থেকে কূটনৈতিক মহলের ধারণা, সব  
ঠিকঠাক চললে সমর্থন পাবে ভারতই।

স্থায়ী সদস্যপদের দৌড়ে যে যে  
দেশগুলি রয়েছে, তাদের মধ্যে  
জাপানকে আগেই সমর্থন জানিয়েছে  
আমেরিকা। বাকিদের ক্ষেত্রে কী হবে,  
তা নিয়ে জল্পনা চলছিল। অবশেষে  
কাল সরকারি এক কর্তাকে উদ্ধৃত করে  
মার্কিন সংবাদপত্র জানায়, আমেরিকা  
একটি উন্নয়নশীল দেশকে সমর্থন  
করবে। তার পর মার্কিন বিদেশমন্ত্রকের  
পদস্থ কর্তা নিকোলাস বার্নস জানান,  
স্থায়ী আসন দখলের লড়াইয়ে  
আমেরিকার সমর্থন পেতে হলে  
দাবিদার দেশকে মোট দশটি যোগ্যতা  
পূরণ করতে হবে। সেগুলির মধ্যে  
আছে গণতন্ত্র ও মানবাধিকার রক্ষায়  
দায়বদ্ধতা, অর্থনীতির আয়তন,  
জনসংখ্যা, রাষ্ট্রপুঞ্জের শান্তিরক্ষা  
বাহিনীতে অবদান, সন্ত্রাসবাদ-  
বিরোধিতা ইত্যাদি। আমেরিকা কয়েক  
দিনেক মধ্যেই এ বিষয়ে একটি প্রস্তাব  
রাষ্ট্রপুঞ্জের সাধারণ সভায় পেশ করবে।

ভারত, জাপান, জার্মানি ও ব্রাজিল  
বৃহৎ দিন থেকেই একটি আলাদা গোষ্ঠী  
(জি-৪) গড়ে স্থায়ী সদস্যপদের জন্য  
দাবি জানাচ্ছে। জাপান তো

আমেরিকার সমর্থন পাচ্ছেই, আর  
জার্মানি উন্নয়নশীল দেশ নয়। বাম-  
শাসিত ব্রাজিলের ব্যাপারে বুশ  
প্রশাসনের অস্বস্তি সুবিদিত। আর যে  
সব যোগ্যতা মানের কথা বলা হয়েছে,  
ভারত তার সব গুলোই পূরণ করছে।  
ফলে ভারতের পক্ষে আমেরিকার  
সমর্থন পেতে অসুবিধা হবে না বলেই  
মনে করছে কূটনৈতিক মহল।

তবে আমেরিকার সমর্থন পেলেই  
যে নিরাপত্তা পরিষদে ভারতের স্থায়ী  
আসন নিশ্চিত হয়ে যাবে, তা নয়। চিন  
জি-৪ গোষ্ঠীর সদ্য প্রকাশিত প্রস্তাব  
নিয়ে তীব্র অসন্তোষ জানিয়েছে। স্থায়ী  
সদস্যপদ বাড়ানোর প্রস্তাবে চিনের  
ভেটো দেওয়ার সম্ভাবনা অনেকেই  
উড়িয়ে দিচ্ছেন না। নিরাপত্তা পরিষদে  
ভারতের দাবি সমর্থন করা মানে যে  
পাকিস্তান ও চিনের মতো দেশগুলির  
প্রবল বিরোধিতার সম্মুখীন হতে হবে,  
তা বুশ প্রশাসনেরও অজানা নয়। তাই  
মার্কিন বিদেশসচিব কন্ডোলিজা রাইস  
কাল জানিয়েছেন, নিরাপত্তা পরিষদের  
সম্প্রসারণ অবশ্যই গুরুত্বপূর্ণ। কিন্তু  
তার জন্য রাষ্ট্রপুঞ্জের অন্য সংস্কারগুলি  
ভুলে যাওয়া উচিত নয়।

তবে ভারতের কূটনীতি মহল  
যথেষ্ট আশাবাদী। মনমোহন সিংহের  
আসন্ন সফর নিয়ে কথা বলতে  
ভারতের জাতীয় নিরাপত্তা উপদেষ্টা  
এম কে নারায়ণন এখানে এসেছেন।  
নিকোলাস বার্নসও চলতি মাসেই  
ভারতে যাবেন। ফলে প্রধানমন্ত্রীর  
সফরের আগে স্থায়ী সদস্যপদের  
বিষয়ে আমেরিকার মনোভাব ভাল  
ভাবেই বুঝে যাবে ভারত।

18 JUN 2005 ANADABAZAR PATRIKA

## American games on UN reform

# US bid to split India team

1876 India UN G-1

**K.P. NAYAR**

**Washington, June 17: As national security adviser M.K. Narayanan arrived here yesterday for talks, the Bush administration revealed a diabolical plot to split the Group of Four (G4) seeking the expansion of the UN Security Council and wean India and Japan away to its side.**

Feigning American help in getting India into the Security Council, Nicholas Burns, the new US under-secretary of state for political affairs, yesterday announced that the administration "would likely support adding two or so new permanent members to the council, based on (a) set of criteria".

Listing the criteria, he said "the size of a country's economy is important, the size of its population, its military capacity, its potential to contribute militarily to UN peacekeeping missions... its commitment to democracy and human rights, its financial contributions to the UN system, its record and commitment on counter-terrorism, its record and commitment on non-proliferation and

we have to look, of course, at the geographic balance, overall, of how the Security Council is constituted".

The US representative to the UN, Anne Patterson, will expand on these criteria and speak on Tuesday at the UN General Assembly's general debate on reforms.

Burns's statement has given the impression that the US supports India's claim to a permanent seat in the Security Council, a commitment American officials have refused to make in public.

To what extent the administration comes out in support of India on Tuesday will very much depend on its talks with Narayanan today and on Monday.

What the US is looking for is to delay the G4 resolution on Security Council expansion, which is to be tabled next week in the General Assembly as soon as Nirupam Sen, India's permanent representative to the UN, returns to New York from Doha, where he is lobbying Third World leaders at the South Summit for India's case at the UN's high table.

Yesterday, as latest assessments in New York concluded

that the G4 resolution had a fair chance of passing in the General Assembly with a two-thirds majority, US secretary of state Condoleezza Rice made another desperate call to Japan's foreign minister, Nobutaka Machimura.

Burns said Rice's call was "to tell him that we very much support the candidacy of Japan to become a permanent member of the Security Council".

He did not say that Rice asked Machimura for the second time this month to delay tabling the G4 resolution.

Japan has stood its ground. "I think they (Americans) threw a difficult curve ball that at first glance looks favourable yet also problematic," Machimura said.

"We cannot say 'that's right' and jump on to the US proposal as we have been in the G4 campaign," he added. The international community is waiting to see if India will follow Japan's principled example or abandon the G4 for the illusory promise of US help in getting into the Security Council. Brazil and Germany are the other two members of the G4.

# India's UN bid gets US boost

PRAMIT Pal Chaudhuri  
New Delhi, June 16

THE UNITED States on Thursday cleared the decks for a permanent seat for India on the UN Security Council.

US officials said they would back Japan and one "developing world" country, which they left unnamed, but diplomatic sources are confident that the other country can only be India. Next week, Washington will move a resolution setting out criteria that, the sources said, would be designed to leave only India in the fray among contenders for the second seat.

Washington has made clear its opposition to giving veto powers to newcomers, saying the privilege should be reserved for the current five permanent members — Britain, China, France, Russia and the United States. India, however, has already agreed not to press for veto powers for the time being.

Indian and US officials have been in hectic negotiations for the past three months to square the circles of their respective positions on UN reforms. The Americans have made it clear to their Indian counterparts that, besides Japan, the US was favourably inclined only towards India's candidacy.

India, Japan, Brazil and Germany, or the Group of 4, are lobbying for permanent seats, and the quartet has circulated a revised draft proposal that would expand the body from 15 to 25 members. The United States wanted a "modest" expansion, and the proposal by the Group of 4 is "not very digestible... We will likely support adding two or so permanent members to the Security Council," undersecretary of state Nicholas Burns said.

Secretary of state Condoleezza Rice has repeatedly hinted at favouring India's bid. When talking about UN reforms, she has noted the emergence of India and the need for the international system to "accommodate" new power arrangements.

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## Bright prospects



**What US says** Will back two nations for permanent UNSC seat. Japan is a prospective nominee, but other country unnamed

**What next US** will table a resolution laying down criteria for new entrants

**How India gets in** Criteria will be designed to ensure that only India can match them

So far, New Delhi's decision to tie its fortunes to the Group of 4 had made it difficult for the US to endorse India. "The US is dead opposed to Germany and unenthusiastic about Brazil or any African nation," a source in Washington said.

But India needed to stay with the G-4 until the group's framework resolution received the backing of the UN general assembly and paved the way for Security Council expansion.

The solution: the US will set out criteria — developing-nation status is the first — that only India can match. India, on the other hand, will rework the framework resolution so that its bid for the seat will not be hostage to the fortunes of the other members. A first step was the jettisoning of the demand for a veto.

UN secretary-general Kofi Annan welcomed the US proposals but said Washington would have to negotiate with other countries rather than impose its will. "I think it is encouraging that the US is joining the other member states to reform this organisation and make it as effective as it can," he said, but, "if the US has proposals, they should put it on the table and discuss it with the others."

17 JUN 2005 THE HINDUSTAN TIMES

# India cautious on next UN move

Statesman News Service

NEW DELHI, June 9. — With the G-4 draft resolution formally dropping the demand for veto, it is time for careful diplomacy as India, Japan, Brazil and Germany hope to get more nations onto their bandwagon.

The Chinese reaction to the new draft was predictably critical, terming it an "immature" plan, while Pakistan has warned against tabling the resolution as it would divide the world body.

According to the new proposal, new permanent members of the Security Council will not be given any veto privileges for 15 years. While India is willing to show "flexibility" on how the veto is articulated in the G-4 draft resolution for UN Security Council reforms, sources asserted that it had not given up on the principle of non-discrimination for new permanent members.

At the same time, India asserted that accepting the "consensus" route, as suggested by certain nations, would mean straitjacketing the only advantage of developing countries in the UN — their numbers. India has also said that creating a consensus for UN reforms cannot be a pre-condition in the world body of 191 countries. "To say that 90 per cent support is required is also not right," officials said. MEA officials feel the increasing vocal opposition from the "coffee club" and China is an indication that the G-4 "is not doing too badly". "There seems to be a concern that the resolution may get adopted, and so there is increased activity. It is evidence of certain success," they said.

On the argument forwarded by China that the framework resolution would be dividing the world body, India has taken the line that calling for consensus means that "effectively you are asking developing countries to give up their only weapon, which is their number". It was also pointed out that when China was made a permanent member of UNSC, it had barely got two-thirds majority in the General Assembly.

10 JUN 2005

THE STATESMAN

# UN seat: India okay without veto powers

S Rajagopalan and  
NILOVA Roy Chaudhury  
Washington/New Delhi, June 9

IN A compromise formula, India and its G-4 partners (Germany, Japan and Brazil) have agreed to forgo for 15 years their demand for veto power for the new permanent members of an expanded United Nations Security Council.

The change of stance by the four contenders is contained in a revised G-4 draft resolution that was circulated among the UN's 191 member nations on Wednesday. The revision comes following indications that China would oppose any move to confer veto powers on the new members.

That India was gradually

giving up its veto demand was clear in recent statements made by the Prime Minister — “We know that the power in the world is not equally distributed” — and senior external affairs ministry officials. US secretary of state Condoleezza Rice called external affairs minister Natwar Singh last weekend and urged India to drop its insistence on veto rights in exchange for US support for India's permanent membership to the UNSC.

But despite the climbdown, the rival formation — Uniting for Consensus — led by Italy, Pakistan and Mexico doesn't seem to be in a mood to give in. Pakistan opposes India's candidature while Italy is dead against Germany's inclusion.

10 JUN 2005

THE HINDUSTAN TIMES



# Kissinger endorses UNSC bid

S. Rajagopalan  
Washington, June 2

FORMER US Secretary of State Henry Kissinger has come out strongly in favour of a permanent seat for India in the UN Security Council. He, however, wants the sticky veto power issue to be put on the backburner for now.

"I'm basically in favour of admitting all four applicants (India, Japan, Germany, and Brazil) without a veto. If you have nine vetoes then I think you get into an extremely unmanageable situation," he said in a chat with journalists on the sidelines of the US-India Business Council's 30th anniversary celebrations.

He felt it would be a better proposition to admit new permanent members without getting bogged down on the veto issue, the whole structure of which could be examined at a later stage.

Kissinger's comments come at a time when the US is in the process of formulating its views on the draft resolution circulated by India and the other G-4 nations on UNSC reforms. In a significant remark, he also said that he accepts India as a



Henry Kissinger

nuclear power. This contrasts with the US's official position that India, Pakistan and Israel can join the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty only as non-nuclear members.

Kissinger, who had drawn flak during the Nixon presidency for the US's policy tilt in favour of Pakistan, projected himself as a vigorous supporter of US-India relations.

"I'm known in the United States as a strong advocate and one of the

originators of close relations with China. I believe that today, I am also a strong advocate of close relations with India," he said.

At the same time he took some pot shots at New Delhi, remarking that "it is never easy to meet Indian expectations". Yet, compared to what the relations were before, enormous progress has been made, he said adding President George W. Bush's projected visit to India by the year-end would bring the two countries even closer.

Asked whether the US thinks India could be a counterweight to China, Kissinger said: "I am starting from the assumption that the Indian government looks at its own security" and Indian foreign policy need not fit American policy.

"I don't accept India could be a counterweight to China," he said. "India is concerned with its security and independence and it will make decisions on that basis.

"It should not be part of an American design to counterbalance China and China. I am a strong advocate of close relations with China. I am also a strong advocate of a close relationship with India."

03 JUN 2000

THE HINDUSTAN TIMES

Draft motion for UN council seat

# India rushes to enter elite club

K.P. NAYAR

New York, May 17: India, acting in concert with Japan, Germany and Brazil, yesterday took the bold, but risky, step of circulating a draft UN resolution, which, if adopted, could see all four countries elected permanent members of the Security Council by the middle of July.

The resolution will mean that Prime Minister Manmohan Singh will have his task cut out for him when he visits the White House around that time.

Singh's visit to Washington will coincide with a vote in the UN General Assembly on India's permanent membership, according to the new timetable. US support is vital for India to achieve that goal.

The draft resolution, circulated among the UN's 191 members late last evening, seeks to expand membership of the council to 25 from 15. The draft does not mention India or the other three aspirants for permanent seats by name.

Instead, it stipulates that two of the new permanent members would be from Asia, two from Africa and one each from the Latin America/Caribbean area and the geographical region known in the UN as "Western Europe and Other States", which includes diverse entities such as Israel.

The draft seeks to increase the council's non-permanent

## WHAT NOW?

- **May 16:** Draft resolution circulated
- **June:** General Assembly debate, leading to adoption of resolution by month-end
- **Early July:** Permanent member aspirants to inform Assembly president
- **Mid-July:** Election of new members by two-thirds majority in Assembly
- **End-July:** Amendment to UN charter on composition of Security Council

membership by four — one each from Africa, Asia, East Europe and Latin America/Caribbean.

It says new permanent members should have "the same responsibilities and obligations as the current permanent members", implying that they, too, should have veto power.

But diplomats at the UN, who attended an informal meeting yesterday afternoon at Germany's permanent UN mission here to drum up support for the draft, said this provision was included in the resolution at India's insistence.

Japan, Brazil and Germany are willing to compromise on the demand for veto power, although they have not publicly said so.

Sources at the UN said the Bush administration had informed aspiring permanent members, such as India, that it would not support their candi-

datures unless they gave up their insistence on the veto.

At yesterday's meeting at the German mission, an impressive 70 countries offered to co-sponsor the draft circulated by India and others, known at the UN as the Group of Four or G4. Among the 70 were two permanent members of the council — France and the UK.

The surprise move by the G4 to advance their case for council restructuring put them on a collision course with China.

"From the initial situation, it appears that the core content of this draft proposal is very different from the positions of many countries," Chinese foreign ministry spokesman Kong Quan said in Beijing. He implicitly criticised the G4 for advancing their proposal at a time when there are still differences in the UN.

As of now, the G4 is unfazed by Beijing's opposition to their draft and are taking the view that they will "cross the bridge when they come to it".

One diplomat at the UN said the change in the G4 timetable was partly prompted by the perception that China was gradually moving closer to the position of the "Coffee Club" states like Pakistan, which are trying to subvert UN reform.

The Prime Minister will have to use his Washington visit to lobby support for UN reforms both in the White House and on Capitol Hill.

# নিরাপত্তা পরিষদে ভেটোই চায় ভারত

সীমা সিরোহি ● ওয়াশিংটন

১৭ মে: আমেরিকার মত যা-ই হোক, রাষ্ট্রপুঞ্জের নিরাপত্তা পরিষদে ভেটো ক্ষমতা-সহ স্থায়ী সদস্যদের দাবিতে অনড় ভারত। জাপান, জার্মানি ও ব্রাজিলের সঙ্গে ভারতকে নিয়ে গঠিত জি-৪ গোষ্ঠীর খসড়া প্রস্তাবে পরিষ্কার জানিয়ে দেওয়া হয়েছে, ভেটো ক্ষমতা নিয়েই নিরাপত্তা পরিষদের স্থায়ী সদস্য হতে চায় তারা। নিরাপত্তা পরিষদের সংস্কার সংক্রান্ত খসড়া প্রস্তাবে জি-৪ বলেছে, “নতুন স্থায়ী সদস্যদের বর্তমান স্থায়ী সদস্যদের মতোই দায়িত্ব ও অধিকার থাকা উচিত।” মোটা অক্ষরে ‘ভেটো’ শিরোনামের নীচে এই বক্তব্য লেখা হয়েছে। জুন মাসের মাঝামাঝি রাষ্ট্রপুঞ্জের সাধারণ অধিবেশনে এই প্রস্তাব পেশ করা হবে। তবে খসড়ায় ঐকমত্যে পৌঁছানোর জন্য জি-৪-এর ভিতরেই বিস্তর টানা পোড়েন চলেছে। কূটনৈতিক সূত্রের খবর, জাপান ও জার্মানি সরাসরি ভেটোর দাবি পেশ করার পক্ষপাতী ছিল না।

নিউ ইয়র্কে গত কাল এই খসড়া প্রস্তাব চূড়ান্ত হয়েছে। আর একই সময়ে ওয়াশিংটন পৌঁছেছেন ভারতের বিদেশসচিব শ্যাম সারন। ভারতের স্থায়ী সদস্যদের দাবির হয়ে সমর্থন জোটতে সারন বৃশ প্রশাসনের কর্তাদের সঙ্গে কথা বলবেন। জি-৪-এর খসড়া প্রস্তাব তৈরি হওয়ার পরে পরেই ব্রিটেন, ফ্রান্স-সহ ৭০টিরও বেশি দেশের প্রতিনিধিদের হাতে তা তুলে দেওয়া হয়েছে। অন্য দিকে, জি-৪ গোষ্ঠীর এই প্রস্তাব বিলির সমালোচনা করেছে চীন। জি-৪-এর এই সিদ্ধান্তে দ্বন্দ্ব বাড়াবে ও রাষ্ট্রপুঞ্জের সংস্কার ক্ষতিগ্রস্ত হবে বলে মন্তব্য

করেছে চীনের বিদেশ মন্ত্রক।

সদ্যই একটি মার্কিন পত্রিকায় খবর বেরিয়েছে যে, ভেটো-সহ স্থায়ী সদস্যদের দাবি তারা সমর্থন করবে না বলে আমেরিকা জি-৪কে জানিয়ে দিয়েছে। মার্কিন প্রশাসনের এক মুখপাত্র অবশ্য সেই খবরের বিরোধিতা করে বলেছেন, আমেরিকা এই বিষয়ে এখনও মনস্থ করেনি। তবে আমেরিকা সরকারি ভাবে তাদের মনোভাব না-জানালেও ভারত চূড়ান্ত সিদ্ধান্ত নিয়ে ফেলেছে। জি-৪-এর বাকি তিন দেশের সঙ্গে তিন মাস ধরে আলাপ-আলোচনা চালিয়ে খসড়া ঠিক করা হয়েছে। সেখানে বলা হয়েছে, নিরাপত্তা পরিষদে বর্তমান পৃথিবীর বাস্তব অবস্থার প্রতিফলন এবং বিশেষত, উন্নয়নশীল দেশগুলির চাহিদার কথা বিবেচিত হওয়া চাই।

জি-৪-এর প্রস্তাবে নিরাপত্তা পরিষদের সদস্য দেশের সংখ্যা ১৫ থেকে ২৫ করার কথা বলা হয়েছে। ৬টি স্থায়ী সদস্য এবং ৪টি অস্থায়ী সদস্য বাড়ানোর প্রস্তাব দেওয়া হয়েছে। বলা হয়েছে, ৬টি স্থায়ী সদস্যের মধ্যে আফ্রিকা ও এশিয়া থেকে ২টি করে দেশকে নেওয়া হোক। আর লাতিন আমেরিকা থেকে ১টি এবং পশ্চিম ইউরোপ ও অন্যান্য দেশ থেকে ১টি করে দেশকে তোকানো হোক। প্রস্তাব অনুযায়ী, সাধারণ অধিবেশনে এক-তৃতীয়াংশ সদস্যের অর্থাৎ ১৯টি দেশের মধ্যে ১২টির সমর্থনে নতুন স্থায়ী সদস্যেরা নির্বাচিত হবে। তবে পদপ্রার্থী হিসাবে জি-৪ প্রস্তাবে নিজেদের নাম উল্লেখ করেনি। কূটনৈতিক সূত্রে জানা যাচ্ছে, সরাসরি ভেটো দাবি করতে প্রথমে আপত্তি থাকলেও জি-৪-এর বাকি তিন দেশ ভারতের সঙ্গে একমত হয়েছে।

18 MAI 2005

ANADABAZAK PATRIKA

# Non-veto Seat Is Meaningless

## India can do without Security Council sops

By NARENDRA SINGH SARILA

There are three good reasons why India should refuse to become a Permanent Member of the Security Council without veto power.

First, the induction of non-veto holding permanent members in the Council will do nothing to change the present dispensation under which power and decision-making is concentrated in the hands of the five veto empowered members of the Council, the US, Russia, Great Britain, France and China. Non-veto holding members — ordinary or permanent — can make no impression unless they have the means to block decisions.

On disputed issues of importance, the five veto-empowered members usually first attempt to settle them by horse-trading outside the Council. Simultaneously, they try to use ordinary members as cat's paws in the Council to put pressure on each other. If no agreement is reached the issue is pigeon-holed or an innocuous resolution passed. Being a political body and not a judicial one, issues in it are judged in the context of the participants' self-interest and power politics, and not on merit or legality.

Permanent membership without the veto will therefore not enhance India's influence in the Security Council. Also, its political clout has been on the decline.

Second, being a permanent member would involve us in many more international disputes of peripheral interest to us — without the redeeming feature of having the lever of the veto either to make a serious contribution to their solution or to protect our interests against those whose horns we tread on. For example, in the coming years there is likely to be an increasing attempt by the United States to use the Se-

curity Council for its own purpose — why otherwise appoint John Bolton as the US delegate to the United Nations? We will be unable to go along with all American prescriptions.

On the other hand, it is in our national interest to limit our disagreements and particularly to avoid public recrimination with the US at this juncture. As a permanent member we will be constantly faced with dilemmas. Only if we have the veto will the US be obliged to enter into serious negotiations with us on disputed issues (like they do with China) and restrain itself from openly contradict-



ing our views.

Third, our agreeing to the system of permanent membership with the veto will mean perpetuating the exclusive veto powers of the present five permanent members for decades to come. Reforms had been mooted to take into account the changed power equations of nations since 1945, to recognise that some new nations have emerged whose economic and political clout is now equal to, or greater than, some of the old veto-holding members.

Japan and Germany can certainly be compared to Great Britain and France. For India to accept permanent membership without a veto will amount to our endorsing the superior status of China, which will not be in our long-term interest. Only if the proposal is blocked will pressure for

increasing the number of veto holding members, among them India, will continue to mount.

Our government has taken a principled stand that we are not interested in permanent membership of the Security Council without the veto. I am distressed to see that many of our leading newspapers have more or less fallen in with Kofi Annan's views expressed in Delhi recently.

They have argued that since a full loaf is problematic, half-a-loaf is better than none. This line of thought is a fallacy. The proposed expansion is a ploy to divert world pressure for ready reform in the

Council by hoping that a permanent membership would mesmerise us to accept the proposal. In reality, this will give the non-veto holding permanent members no more authority than the ordinary members and perpetuate the status quo.

The US alone, among the five veto empowered members, is secure enough to accept the induction of four more veto holding permanent members. It is confident that it can prevail on vital issues with or without the support of the Security Council. However, it does not want to rock the boat for the time being.

If we stay out and can persuade the other G-4 countries — Japan, Germany and Brazil — to do likewise, it is possible that the US will yield to our demand in the not too distant a future. It would like to see its allies Japan and Germany to be given the veto and may accept India and Brazil since a certain parallelism is developing in the policies of these countries and the US. Others will then follow.

We should not only reject the present proposal but give a lead to other G-4 countries to remain firm. Even if the above countries succumb — and there is less chance of their doing so if India stands firm — we must stick to our guns. A calculated risk to stand alone can often be a winner in diplomacy.

*The writer is a former diplomat.*

17 MAY 2005

THE TIMES OF INDIA

## ভেটো বাতিল হউক

প্রথমে মার্কিন যুক্তরাষ্ট্র অসম্মত হইয়াছিল। তাহার পর রুশ প্রেসিডেন্ট ব্লাদিমির পুতিন ভারত সফরে আসিয়াও বেসুর গাহিয়াছিলেন। চিনের সফররত প্রেসিডেন্টকে দিয়াও ভারতীয় বিদেশ মন্ত্রক ভেটো-ক্ষমতা সহ নিরাপত্তা পরিষদের স্থায়ী সদস্যপদ অর্জনের পক্ষে সওয়াল করাইতে পারে নাই। এ বার রাষ্ট্রপুঞ্জের মহাসচিব কোফি আন্নান স্বয়ং ভারতের এই দাবিকে 'কাল্পনিক' বলিয়া উড়াইয়া দিলেন। 'কাল্পনিক', কেননা ইতিমধ্যেই ভেটো-ক্ষমতা ভোগকারী পাঁচটি দেশ কোনও মতেই পরিষদের নূতন সদস্যদের এই অধিকার মঞ্জুর করিতে রাজি হইবে না। আন্নান আসিয়াছিলেন রাষ্ট্রপুঞ্জের চলতি কাঠামোর সংস্কার লইয়া আলোচনা করিতে। সংস্কারের অন্যতম প্রধান অঙ্গ হিসাবে নিরাপত্তা পরিষদের স্থায়ী সদস্য-সংখ্যা বৃদ্ধির প্রস্তাব উঠিয়াছে, যাহাতে পরিষদ তথা রাষ্ট্রপুঞ্জকে আরও প্রতিনিধিত্বমূলক করিয়া তোলা যায় এবং বর্তমান বিশ্বের গুরুত্বপূর্ণ রাষ্ট্রগুলিকেও পরিষদের অন্তর্ভুক্ত করা যায়। এই সূত্রেই ভারত, জাপান, জার্মানি ও ব্রাজিলকে স্থায়ী সদস্য করিবার প্রস্তাব। এই প্রস্তাবে ভেটো-ক্ষমতা সম্পন্ন সদস্য রাষ্ট্রগুলির তত আপত্তি নাই, আপত্তি নূতন সদস্যদের ভেটোর অধিকার লইয়া। ভেটোর অধিকার লইয়া সর্বাপেক্ষা মুখর ভারত। সংসদে প্রধানমন্ত্রী ইতিপূর্বে জানাইয়াও দিয়াছেন যে, ওই বিশেষাধিকার না পাইলে ভারত নিরাপত্তা পরিষদের স্থায়ী সদস্যপদে আগ্রহী নয়। অবশিষ্ট তিন রাষ্ট্র এ ব্যাপারে অত জেদি নয়। বস্তুত জাপান ইতিমধ্যেই এই প্রস্তাবে নিজের নমনীয় অবস্থান জানাইয়াছে। এই অবস্থায় ভারত কিছুটা বিপাকে।

দ্বিতীয় বিশ্বযুদ্ধের পরবর্তী যে-বিশ্বে মূলত নূতন করিয়া যুদ্ধের বিপদ এড়াইতে বার্থ লিগ অফ নেশনস-এর জঠর হইতে বর্তমান আন্তর্জাতিক সংস্থাটির জন্ম হয়, ঠাণ্ডা লড়াইয়ের অবসান এবং একমেরু বিশ্বের একাধিপতি রূপে মার্কিন যুক্তরাষ্ট্রের আত্মপ্রতিষ্ঠার পর তাহা আমূল পরিবর্তিত। বিগত কয়েক দশকের অভিজ্ঞত সাক্ষী, ভেটো-ক্ষমতাদারীরা রাষ্ট্রপুঞ্জকে এমন ভাবে নিজ-স্বার্থে ব্যবহার করিয়াছে যে কার্যত রাষ্ট্রপুঞ্জ তাহাদের রুদ্ধদুয়ার ক্লাবে পরিণত হইয়াছে। যেমন ইজরায়েলের বিরুদ্ধে রাষ্ট্রপুঞ্জের একে পর এক প্রস্তাব হয় মার্কিন ভেটোয় খরিজ হইয়াছে, নতুবা কার্যকর করা যায় নাই। আবার ইরাকে রাষ্ট্রপুঞ্জের নিজস্ব অস্ত্রপরীক্ষকগণ সাম্রাম হুসেনের গণধ্বংসের অস্ত্র নির্মাণের প্রমাণ না পাইলেও ওই ধরনের মারণাস্ত্র মজুত রাখার কাল্পনিক অভিযোগে মার্কিন যুক্তরাষ্ট্র ইরাক দখল করিয়াছে। নিরাপত্তা পরিষদে বিশ্বের প্রতিনিধিত্ব প্রসারিত হইলে ইউরোপ-আমেরিকার বাহিরেও যে এই গ্রহ স্পন্দিত হয়, তাহা প্রতিষ্ঠিত হইবে। কিন্তু শক্তিদর, বিশেষত পরমাণু শক্তিদরদের হাতে ভেটো-ক্ষমতা থাকিয়া যাওয়ার অর্থ তাহাদের স্বার্থেই রাষ্ট্রপুঞ্জের ব্যবহৃত হওয়া। ভারত এই অধিকার চাহিতেছে স্পষ্টতই শক্তির আন্তর্জাতিক ভারসাম্যে স্থায়ী অবস্থানটি অনুমোদন করাইয়া লইতে। কিন্তু ইহা কি বৈষম্যমুক্ত বিশ্বের রক্ষাকবচ? না কি এই অধিকারই বৈষম্যকে নিশ্চিত করিয়াছে?

শক্তিদরদের এই বিশেষাধিকার প্রকারান্তরে বিশ্বকে নিজেদের মধ্যে ভাগবাঁটোয়ারা করিয়া লওয়ার ধ্রুপদী ঔপনিবেশিক প্রবণতারই আধুনিক প্রকরণ। ভেটো-ক্ষমতার জন্য সওয়াল করা নয়, ভারত সহ সব সম্ভাব্য নূতন সদস্যদেরই উচিত বৈষম্যমূলক ভেটো-ব্যবস্থাটিই বাতিলের জন্য সওয়াল করা। যাহারা এই ক্ষমতা ভোগ করিয়া আসিতেছে, তাহারা স্বেচ্ছায় ইহা ছাড়িতে চাহিবে না, এটা স্বাভাবিক। সে জন্যই প্রয়োজন আন্দোলন, আন্তর্জাতিক জনমত গঠন। বান্দুঙে আফ্রো-এশীয় সম্মেলনের যে মঞ্চ নূতন করিয়া গঠিত হইয়াছে, কিংবা নব পর্যায়ের জেটনিরপেক্ষ আন্দোলনের যে সম্ভাবনা জায়মান, তাহাতেও বিষয়টি আলোচিত হউক। বৈষম্যভিত্তিক বিশেষাধিকারে বলীয়ান শক্তিদরদের অবশিষ্ট বিশ্বের ভাগ্যানিয়ন্তা হইবার প্রয়াস বানচাল করার জন্য এই ধরনের অবস্থান একটি দীর্ঘমেয়াদি সংগ্রামের প্রকরণ হইতে পারে। পরমাণু শক্তিদর রাষ্ট্র হিসাবে নিরস্ত্রীকরণের পরিবর্তে যথেষ্ট মারণাস্ত্র সম্ভার বাড়াইয়া অন্য সকলকে পরমাণু-প্রসার-রোধ চুক্তিতে স্বাক্ষর করিতে চাপ দেওয়া কিংবা অর্থনৈতিক অবরোধ বা নিষেধাজ্ঞা জারি করিয়া সার্বভৌম রাষ্ট্রকে শক্তিদরদের বশ্যতা স্বীকারে বাধ্য করার উপনিবেশবাদকে চ্যালেঞ্জ জানাইতে হইলে ভেটো বাতিলের জন্য সর্বব হওয়া উচিত।

30 APR 2005

ANABABAZAR PATRIKA

'Only General Assembly can decide'

# Veto-stung Delhi scoffs at Kofi

PRANAY SHARMA

New Delhi, April 29: Miffed at Kofi Annan's announcement that additional members to the UN Security Council would not have veto powers, foreign minister K. Natwar Singh today said the matter would be decided by the General Assembly and not the secretary-general.

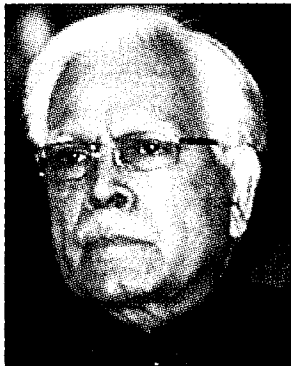
A special session of the General Assembly in New York this September will discuss restructuring and reforms in the UN, including the expansion of the Security Council — the highest decision-making body on international affairs.

The foreign minister made it clear that India would continue to insist that the new members in the Security Council should also get veto powers like the five permanent members.

Popularly known as the P-5, these countries — the US, the UK, France, Russia and China — are also the only recognised nuclear powers.

Singh said India would urge the five countries not to demand the creation of two systems for permanent members. He added that Indian envoys are being sent to 191 countries to convince them against accepting any proposal that is discriminatory.

"There is a view that veto should be abolished. Another view is that no one country should have veto and there should



Singh: Fuming

be at least three countries (with such privilege) and there is also a view that there should be no discrimination between the current and the new members," Singh said.

Annan had said yesterday that enlargement of the council without veto was the only pragmatic option as the P-5 were completely opposed to sharing the power with additional members.

But Singh dismissed the argument, saying the option was not acceptable to India. He said Delhi would negotiate with the permanent members not to block the veto-power provision for the new members of the Security Council.

India has a good chance of making it to the UN high table as it has been trying for a long time and many countries feel it is a rightful contender for a seat.

The foreign minister might

have been voicing his own view or that of a section in the Indian establishment.

There are some in South Block who are in favour of getting into the Security Council without the veto powers, at least for the time being. They believe that if India is too insistent, it might be overlooked in favour of other countries with a more flexible stand.

However, what Singh said today has been Delhi's stated position, which was articulated by Prime Minister Manmohan Singh in Parliament some time ago.

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THE TELEGRAPH

## 577 29/4/05 Annan's veto on veto



NEW DELHI, April 28. — India may become a permanent member of the UN Security Council, but without the veto power. The UN Secretary-General, Mr Kofi Annan, today said India was a "legitimate candidate" for a permanent seat, but indicated that the grant of the veto power was highly unlikely. "No, the new permanent members are not designed to have a veto. The proposal is for additional permanent members without a veto," Mr Annan said at a press conference before he left India at the end of his three-day visit. *India was per.*

Earlier, at a question-and-answer session after his lecture at the India International Centre, Mr Annan urged nations not to stress the veto power, but to make the Security Council more "broadly representative". "Let's not get too involved with vetoes.

At Thursday's press meet. — PTI

Enlargement without veto will itself be a major step forward as the Security Council will get different viewpoints which most countries are not able to present at the moment," he said. Mr Annan said the committee which gave its report last year wanted countries that contribute most to UN — financially, militarily and diplomatically — to be more involved in decision-making. "India's has been one of the most eloquent voices helping to shape the UN agenda on behalf of the developing world," the Secretary-General said. There are two models for an expanded Security Council, as proposed by the high-level panel and Mr Annan. Model A for more permanent members and model B for non-permanent and rotational members. However, Mr Annan said that as Secretary-General, he did not "have a preference for any of the options or express an opinion about which individual country or countries should be members of the Council". Terming it utopian to expect the removal of veto powers from existing permanent members, he said that neither were most UN members in favour of extending the veto powers to new entrants. Mr Annan asked India to sign the Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty (CTBT), and give active support to negotiations on a fissile material cut-off treaty. He also said that there was general consensus that the next Secretary-General would be from Asia. The top UN job has not gone to this part of the world since 1970s. — SNS

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THE STATESMAN

## ভারতকে ভেটো ক্ষমতা নয়, ইঙ্গিত দিলেন আমান

নয়াদিল্লি, ২৮ এপ্রিল: বিশ্ব রাজনীতিতে ভারতের গুরুত্বপূর্ণ ভূমিকা স্বীকার করলেও রাষ্ট্রপুঞ্জের নিরাপত্তা পরিষদে তার স্থায়ী সদস্যপদ পাওয়া নিয়ে কথা দিলেন না কোফি আন্নান। অন্তত ভেটো ক্ষমতা-সহ তো নয়ই। দিল্লিকে রাষ্ট্রপুঞ্জের মহাসচিবের পরামর্শ, ভেটো ক্ষমতার জন্য চাপাচাপি না করাই ভাল। ভারত অবশ্য ইতিমধ্যেই জানিয়ে দিয়েছে, ভেটো ক্ষমতা ছাড়া নিরাপত্তা পরিষদে যাওয়ার ইচ্ছা তার নেই।

ভারত সফরের শেষ দিনে এক সাংবাদিক সম্মেলনে আমান আজ বলেন, “অনেক দেশই মনে করে ভারতের দাবি যুক্তিসঙ্গত।” কিন্তু বর্তমান স্থায়ী সদস্যেরা যে ভেটো-

ক্ষমতার দাবি মানবে না, সে কথাও বলেন তিনি। নিরাপত্তা পরিষদের বিস্তার নিয়ে আমানের দু’টি প্রস্তাব আপাতত বিবেচনা করা হচ্ছে। প্রথম প্রস্তাব: ভেটো-ক্ষমতা ছাড়া ছ’টি দেশকে নতুন সদস্য করা এবং আরও তিনটিকে দু’বছর মেয়াদে সদস্য করা। দ্বিতীয় প্রস্তাব: আটটি দেশকে চার বছর মেয়াদে অস্থায়ী সদস্য করা এবং দু’বছর মেয়াদে অস্থায়ী সদস্যের সংখ্যা আরও একটি বাড়ানো।

ভারতের অবিলম্বে পরমাণু অস্ত্র পরীক্ষা বন্ধের চুক্তিতে (সিটিবিটি) সই করা উচিত বলে মন্তব্য করে আমান বলেন, “পরমাণু অস্ত্র নির্মাণ ও প্রসার বন্ধ না হলে উন্নয়নশীল দেশের মানুষই তার প্রথম শিকার হবেন।”-পি টি আই

ANADABAZAR PATRIKA

29 APR 2005



# Seat at UN high table minus veto

PRANAY SHARMA

New Delhi, April 28: India will not get veto power even if it gets a seat in an expanded UN Security Council. The unambiguous words came from none other than the man who heads the world body — secretary-general Kofi Annan.

"No, there will be no veto powers for the additional members in the Security Council," Annan said today while addressing a news con-

ference at the UN office here to round up his four-day visit to the country.

But he added that he hoped "2005 will be the year of decision", a clear reference to the reform and restructuring of the UN that have been long overdue.

Annan, whose term ends next year, was here to discuss the proposed reforms with Indian leaders. It has not been divulged, but the secretary-general may have spoken of the difficulty that India and the five other aspirants for a per-

manent seat in the council could face if they insist on veto powers like the five permanent members — the US, France, UK, Russia and China.

Although the proposal to induct new members without veto powers runs contrary to the logic that has spurred some Asian and African countries to seek restructuring of the UN to make it more representative, it is turning out to be the only pragmatic way of bringing about a change.

Annan said calls by some UN members for the five per-

manent members to give up their coveted powers to block important resolutions was "utopian" and not realistic.

"It is utopian to think that the five permanent members will give up their veto powers...", he said. "What is important is to have effective representation to make the council more democratic and ensure voices of all the regions are heard."

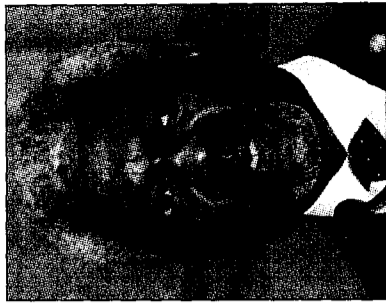
Many countries think India is a rightful contender for a seat, Annan said. But he added that two proposals are

being debated among UN members — induction of six new members with permanent seats or membership by rotation, with a fixed term. He showed no preferences.

Earlier, during a question-answer session after a lecture he delivered on the "changing role of the UN", Annan said: "Let's not get too involved with vetoes. Enlargement without veto will itself be a major step forward. The UNSC will get different viewpoints which most countries are not able to present at the moment."

Many in the Indian leadership as well as several of Delhi's key allies accept the views of the secretary-general. But Delhi does not want to accept it lest its bargaining position gets weakened.

Annan suggested setting up two new inter-government bodies. One is a peace-building commission that would bring together different actors involved in helping countries move from war to lasting peace and the other a human rights council in which states from all regions would participate.



Annan: Reform first

# Respect rights, says Annan

SNS & PTI

NEW DELHI, April 25. — Arriving on a visit to India, the UN Secretary-General, Mr Kofi Annan, said tonight that respect for human rights was necessary for ensuring development and security.

"We believe that there cannot be security without development and there cannot be development without security and we will have neither unless we respect human rights," Mr

Annan told reporters here.

In the wake of Prime Minister Dr Manmohan Singh's recent call for the world body to reflect new realities, India is expected to discuss the need to reform the UN and expand the Security Council with Mr Annan.

External affairs minister Mr K Natwar Singh received him at the airport. Mr Annan comes at a time when India is trying hard for a permanent place in the Security Council.

Besides meeting UN officials here, he will call on President Dr

APJ Abdul Kalam, Dr Singh meet Mr Natwar Singh and lay a wreath at Rajghat. He will also meet BJP president Mr LK Advani, speak on AIDS and deliver a public address on "In larger freedom — the changing role of the UN."

The UN Secretary-General's visit also takes place at a critical juncture with the Millennium Review Summit scheduled to be held in New York in September and New Delhi having intensive interaction with the UN on several important issues.

26 APR 2005

THE STATESMAN

# Troops set for Sudan war zone

**SUJAN DUTTA**

**New Delhi, April 10:** Indian Army troops are being posted to violent Southern Darfur in Sudan to police a ceasefire agreement and enforce peace between warring militia and government forces. Thousands have died in the civil war in the African nation.

The deployment in Sudan will be the second that the Indian Army will undertake under Chapter VII of the UN charter that authorises "peace enforcement" — distinct from "peacekeeping" — and will vest the troops with the power to open fire and use violent

quest. The army commanders' conference here last week also discussed the proposal and the composition of the contingent. Army headquarters has also decided that it will seek to increase Indian presence in UN peace missions.

New Delhi uses the Indian presence in UN peace operations as an argument to bolster its claim for a permanent seat in the Security Council.

The deployment in Sudan — even if the exact number of troops to be deployed has not yet been decided, the figure could be around 2,000 — is likely to make India the largest contributor to UN military missions.

More than 7,000 Indian army and air force personnel are deployed in UN peacekeeping missions in Lebanon, Congo and Ethiopia-Eritrea.

India also has economic interests in Sudan where the public sector ONGC Videsh Limited is running an oilfield.

India had earlier made a case to send larger and more reinforced contingents for UN military missions because increasingly the world body's forces were being attacked by warring parties. India had argued that the peacekeeping mandate was changing because it now requires policing within countries and not just among conflicting nations.

UN peace missions are also an indirect confidence-building measure for Indian forces. Last month, Indian attack helicopters operated in conjunction with Pakistani and South African troops in Congo. In Sudan, Indian troops are likely to work alongside a logistics team from the Chinese People's Liberation Army.

UN military missions are sometimes criticised because developing nations are made to provide the manpower while the rich countries get away by funding them.



**ARMS FOR PEACE**

measures to quell the chaos.

The Indian Army contingent will probably be the largest from among 38 countries after the Security Council adopted a US-sponsored resolution on March 24 to deploy 10,000 UN troops in Sudan, where ethnic violence combines with harsh terrain and weather to pose a mighty military challenge.

The contingent will be nearly brigade-sized and will comprise two mechanised columns and two infantry battalions.

The UN had sounded out India on availability of troops before formally making the re-

# India pushes for UNSC seat, raps US & China

S. Rajagopalan  
Washington, April 9

INDIA MADE a strong pitch for a UN General Assembly vote for a speedy decision on the Security Council's expansion and criticised the US and China for their insistence on the consensus route.

In a strongly-worded intervention in the ongoing UN debate on reforms, India's ambassador to the UN Nirupam Sen on Friday took pot shots at Washington and Beijing after they suggested that there should be no deadlines for ushering in reforms. Disagreeing with the contention that a vote on the reforms issue would lead to dangerous divisions, Sen asked,

"Is the talk of consensus a means of preventing dangerous divisions or a means of preventing democratisation? Is the opposition from within the P-5 (the five veto powers) due the fear of lack of effectiveness or to prevent even the slightest erosion of dominance?"

Over the previous two days, in a rare unanimity, the US and China vigorously advocated a consensus approach and rejected "artificial deadlines" to deal with the issue. Their stand ran counter to Secretary-General Kofi Annan's prescription, urging all member-nations to accept the reforms package by the time the General Assembly held its annual summit in September.

Setting forth the US position, Shirin Tahir-Kheli, senior adviser to secretary of state Condoleezza Rice on UN reforms, said, "As the reform process proceeds, the US would like to move forward on the basis of broad consensus along the lines we have previously stated and without artificial deadlines." She said the US would support the Security Council reform "provided it enhances the effectiveness of the Council. We remain open to considering all proposals and will evaluate them against that benchmark."

Earlier, China had conveyed its objection to setting a timetable for the reforms package. Its ambassador to the UN Wang Guangya said that Beijing would be wary

of "forcing through any immature proposals lacking consensus in the form of a vote". The G-4 nations, comprising India, Japan, Germany and Brazil, are keen to move a set of resolutions in the General Assembly over the next few months seeking expansion of the Council, permanent of seats for themselves and amendment of the charter for the purpose.

**US-China to hold regular talks:** The United States and China have agreed, for the first time, to hold regular senior-level dialogue on a host of political, economic and security-related issues, the department of state said on Friday. The talks were a recognition of the "role that China is playing in Asia and global affairs."

# India rejects UNSC seat sans veto power

Press Trust of India

UNHQ, April 1. — India has firmly ruled out accepting membership of the expanded UN Security Council without veto power, saying new members sans veto would not be able to fulfil the mandate of the General Assembly efficiently.

Responding to suggestions at a meeting attended by diplomats from more than 150 countries here yesterday, India's ambassador to UN Mr Nirupam Sen said both in terms of decision-making and in legal constitutional terms, "we cannot accept any discrimination between permanent members." The meeting was organised by India, Japan, Germany and Brazil, a grouping called G-4 formed to mount pressure on UNSC.

G-4 diplomats pointed

## China optimistic but cold over seat

NEW DELHI, April 1. — Ahead of the visit of Chinese premier Mr Wen Jiabao China said that the Sikkim question had "already been settled", Arunachal Pradesh was still a "disputed area" and hoped that border areas could become a bridge of friendship between the two Asian giants. It, however, remained non-committal on India's bid for a permanent membership of the Security Council. Chinese ambassador to India Mr Sun Yuxi told reporters that China "would like to see India play a bigger role at the UN as well as the Security Council". He refused to make a stand on India's candidature, saying, "People in the UN are now discussing it." — SNS

out that the number of member states represented at the meeting far exceeded the two-thirds majority of 128 needed in the 191-member General Assembly for the passage of any measure to expand the Council.

The meeting called by the "Coffee Club" headed by Pakistani ambassador Mr Munir Akram, which is opposing expansion in the permanent category, hardly attracted 40 member

states, they said. Quoting from Mr Akram's speech, Mr Sen said even he (Mr Akram) had implicitly supported the veto when he observed that new permanent members without veto cannot withstand the weight of old permanent members without veto.

Mr Akram had made the statement during a debate on the report of the High Level Panel on UN reforms and Millennium projects.

Mr Sen said the word veto does not occur in the Charter. It simply says the decisions in Council "shall be made by an affirmative vote of 9 members including the concurring votes of permanent members." "Wouldn't it look somewhat ridiculous" if it was amended to read that there should be concurring votes of some but not of other permanent members, he asked.

Replying to a question, Mr Sen said India would have no objection if veto is abolished. Then there would be no discrimination.

But diplomats pointed out that abolishing veto is impossible as the current permanent members are unlikely to give up their privileges, a point that Secretary General Mr Kofi Annan had himself made. Hence giving veto to a new one is the only solution.

02 APR 2005

THE STATESMAN

# World favours India in council seat: Poll

AMITROY

London, March 21: World opinion is strongly in favour of India being made a permanent member of the UN Security Council, according to a poll conducted by the BBC.

The poll, in which 23,518 people in 23 countries, including India, were questioned, was conducted on behalf of BBC World Service radio.

The findings, released today, show that the a majority of people across the world now want Germany, India, Japan and Brazil to become permanent members of the Security Council alongside the existing five—China, France, Russia, Britain and the US.

Although figures vary from country to country, across the 23 countries, 69 per cent of those questioned want the Security Council to be expanded, while 17 per cent are against.

Not surprisingly, the figure

is highest in India — 87 per cent for and six per cent against. People were then asked about India, Japan, Brazil, Germany and South Africa. With India, the average for was 47 per cent, while 19 per cent were against Indian admission. Another 17 per cent were not against India as such but opposed the very principle of expansion.

“This is a very strong number in support of India,” Doug Miller, president of GlobeScan Inc, the international polling organisation which did the research, told **The Telegraph**.

GlobeScan was assisted by the Programme on International Policy Attitudes (PIPA) at the University of Maryland.

Support for Germany was even stronger, with 56 per cent in favour, while Japan got 54 per cent, Brazil 47 per cent — the same as India — and South Africa 43 per cent.

In India, where people were interviewed in face to

face interviews in Calcutta, Bombay and Delhi, 88 per cent said they wanted the country to become a permanent member, while only one per cent were against.

The figures reveal who are India's friends. In the US, 51 per cent were for India, while 19 per cent were against. In Britain, it was 62 per cent for, 13 against. In China, it was 31 per cent for and 24 per cent against.

Across the world, even in countries which have the Security Council veto, there is a majority view that one nation should not be able to hold up the other members if they unanimously reach agreement on an issue. Across the world, 58 per cent said the blocking power of the veto should be abandoned, while 24 per cent were against the idea.

Even in the US, the figure was 57 for and 34 against, while in China it was 48 for and 36 against.

# Demand for Security Council membership legitimate: Natwar

By Our Special Correspondent

**NEW DELHI, MARCH 3.** India said today that the Security Council should be reformed and expanded with new permanent members.

Delivering the inaugural address at a Conclave on Africa-India Project Partnership 2005, the External Affairs Minister, Natwar Singh, said India was a legitimate candidate for permanent membership in an expanded Council.

Mr. Singh said that "in 2005, the U.N. Security Council should not function on the basis of the political realities of 1945." "We are not just the second largest country in terms of [the] Security Council; we are also the world's fourth largest economy in terms of purchasing power parity, and one of the largest contributors to peace-keeping operations," he added.

It was essential for Africa to be suitably represented in an

expanded Security Council with permanent seats, he said and acknowledged its commitment and support to India's candidature.

Pointing out that "a few have even told me that a reformed Security Council without India would be unthinkable," he expressed the hope that the discussions beginning later this month in New York would address the long-standing anomaly. "A seat for India on the Security Council will also be an additional voice for Africa to articulate its concerns on the inequities of the international order."

Calling for strengthening South-South cooperation, Mr. Singh said India's approach "has been geared towards strengthening horizontal South-South linkages and towards promoting self-reliance through transfer of technologies appropriate to the needs of our partners."

# Narayanan 'pushed hard' on UN turf

K.P. NAYAR

New York, Feb. 21: Newly-appointed national security adviser M.K. Narayanan used his foray into international diplomacy to lend muscle to what is being done here at the UN to secure a permanent seat for India in the Security Council by January 1, 2006.

Narayanan this year replaced the familiar figure of Brajesh Mishra at the annual conference on security policy in Munich, a signal event that brings global players on defence and national security to the Bavarian city each February.

Narayanan's presence in Munich was an indication that Prime Minister Manmohan Singh would not restrict him,

as J.N. Dixit's successor, to matters of intelligence or domestic security.

In Munich last fortnight, together with Tatsuo Arima, special representative of Japan's Prime Minister, Narayanan "pushed hard" — according to diplomats who attended the event — to make the case why their two countries should get permanent seats with veto power in the Security Council.

Germany, as host of the conference, laid the groundwork for their UN-related diplomacy.

Narayanan's maiden speech to an overseas audience in his new job was fundamentally different from that of Mishra, the NDA government's national security adviser: it

showed how far India had moved along the road as a global player since 1998, when the nuclear tests nearly ostracised it from international dialogue on security.

"There is already a view that the imbalance in the current composition of the Security Council is making the Council decisions more difficult for many countries to accept and implement," Narayanan told the conference.

"An expansion in membership should entail an increase in the existing categories viz. permanent and non-permanent membership and inclusion of developing countries as full permanent members in an expanded council."

Mishra, who was the first Indian official to be invited to

the conference, which has been held in Munich since 1962, was primarily defending Pokhran II at that time.

But he also said in February 1999: "During this conference, I got the impression that the West wants to replace the UN with Nato, that the

The idea that permanent membership of the Security Council was within New Delhi's reach then seemed like a fairytale although India soldiered on towards that objective.

In yet another demonstration that the pressures to agree to the nuclear monopoly of the big powers was way behind, Narayanan was forthright on India's nuclear policy.

"The challenge posed by the proliferation of weapons of mass destruction still represents today a threat of the very first magnitude," he said.

"India has consistently held that the only way to completely eliminate the threat arising from the proliferation of weapons of mass destruction is through multilaterally ne-

gotiated, universal and non-discriminatory disarmament instruments."

Setting the record straight after external affairs minister K. Natwar Singh's confusing statement recently in Seoul virtually expressing regret for the Pokhran II tests, Narayanan said: "The nuclear tests of May 1998 are not contrary to India's commitment to this long-held objective. We in India believe, furthermore, that nuclear disarmament cannot be viewed piecemeal in terms of geographical extent."

It was left to Japan to be more blunt, even demanding on Security Council reform. Arima said: "No taxation without representation."

Japan, he pointed out, con-

tributed "about 20 per cent of the whole volume of the overseas development assistance in the world in the past 10 years".

In the first official acknowledgement that a permanent seat in the Security Council is within New Delhi's grasp by January 1, 2006, Narayanan said: "India sincerely hopes that the 60th session of the UN General Assembly will mark a watershed in the history of the UN, heralding its rebirth as an institution in which its members again repose their faith as well as their aspirations."

"In the coming months... India is ready to contribute to this global discourse on the... need for an urgently reformed and restructured UN."

## WAY TO HIGH TABLE

West believes that Nato can solve all global security problems."

India's subsequent presentations in Munich have dealt with New Delhi's perspective on Russia, peace and stability in Asia and global terrorism.

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# Clock ticks on Security Council seat

K.P. NAVAR

New York, Feb. 20: India will become a permanent member of the UN Security Council by January 1 next year if everything goes according to a timetable now being put together at the UN headquarters here.

Sixty to 70 per cent of the UN's membership favours a formula which will bring India — along with significant other countries — into the council as a permanent member, UN diplomats said at the conclusion of a special General Assembly discussion.

A permanent seat for India will be the culmination of nearly 15 years of efforts to change the structure of the council.

The next milestone in reforming the council will be in about three weeks, when UN secretary-general Kofi Annan will propose to members of the world body his restructuring plan.

To enable Annan to make his recommendations, a "high-level panel on threats, challenges and change" gave its opinion to him on December 2 last year.

Lieutenant General Sattish Nambiar, the former deputy chief of army staff, was a

member of the panel. It proposed two formulas for restructuring the council. "Plan A" calls for increasing the number of permanent members by six and that of non-permanent members by three.

"Plan B" envisages creating eight semi-permanent seats, to be filled by election by the General Assembly every four years, and one non-permanent seat.

In both cases, the total number of members will increase by nine to 24. Veto power will not be granted to the new members.

Lobbying for the reform will reach its peak in July in Perthshire, Scotland, during

the next summit of the Group of Eight (G8) industrialised countries.

Japan and Germany are working overtime to get G8 approval for expanding the council.

## WAY TO HIGH TABLE

cil: they reckon that without a G8 consensus, any attempt to reform the UN will come a cropper.

According to diplomats at the UN headquarters here, Japan will present a resolution to the General Assembly

in September for changes to the UN charter.

The resolution, according to present plans, will be co-sponsored by India, Germany and Brazil. All three countries are aspirants to permanent seats and formed an alliance during the General Assembly last year to pursue this goal together.

India's ambassador to the UN, Nirupam Sen, said in his statement during an informal General Assembly meeting, convened here a few weeks ago: "Expansion of the permanent together with the non-permanent membership is not a matter of arithmetical sophistry, but of... clear issues

for the majority of the vulnerable and developing world".

Throughout the General Assembly discussions, the number of countries which supported Plan B remained at a steady 10 among the UN's 191 members.

The remaining 181 governments categorically opposed that plan. Of these, 60 to 70 per cent favoured Plan A, which would see India slide into a permanent seat in the council.

Two-thirds of the General Assembly — 128 countries in all — will have to support the proposed Japanese resolution for this to happen.

This is not only possible, but likely, as Singapore

demonstrated when the General Assembly met to discuss the report of the panel.

Before the meeting, Singapore was in favour of Plan B, but in the General Assembly, it changed its view and launched a blistering attack on the idea of semi-permanent membership.

In recent weeks, India and Singapore have been in regular talks on the course of UN reform. Singapore is a member of the "coffee club" at the UN, a group of states opposed to the expansion of permanent seats in the council.

Therefore, its changed stand on Plan B represents a setback for the club.

India's insistence on Security Council membership only with veto powers is short-sighted, unilateral

# A veto on misplaced arrogance

THE much awaited report of the 16-member high level panel headed by Thailand's former Prime Minister Anand Panyarachun on the changes required in the UN has become public. The recommendations of the panel, which included General Satish Nambiar among its members, received wide interest in India especially in the light of its suggestion as one of the options for allowing six countries to be chosen as new permanent seats, but without veto power, therefore differentiating from the existing five permanent members. This particular recommendation of the UN panel provoked initial reaction from Foreign Minister Natwar Singh in Parliament that India would not be interested in permanent membership without veto power, followed then by the much "misinterpreted" opposition of the visiting Russian President Vladimir Putin to dilution of the veto power of the five permanent members.

On the issue of enlargement of the Security Council, the panel has come up with not one but two alternative formulae — neither of which is likely to be free from criticism. The first formula suggests addition of six countries as new permanent members — two each from Africa and Asia-Pacific and one each from Latin America and Europe. And by insisting that none of these six will be allowed the veto power will, if accepted, add a sub-category of second-class permanent members inferior in powers to the present permanent members.

However much India is opposed to this discrimination, the UN panel has in coming up with the proposal, tried to be mindful of the widely shared reluctance about extending the veto power while enlarging the Security Council. This opposition ironically has come not just

from small and medium powers in the UN and but many permanent members themselves. Apparently in an effort to combine "power with principle", the panel wished to play safe by not taking any extreme position which would displease many and please only a few countries like India. The panel is very much aware of the strong opposition, not just to the veto power but to the very idea of expanding permanent membership which was dubbed for long as a serious breach of sovereign equality principle. Espousing this position are some of the influential countries like Argentina, Australia, Italy, Mexico, Pakistan, and Spain who know that their chances of making it to permanent membership are slim, and yet could not afford to let their regional competitors occupy the coveted position as permanent member in the expanded Council.

The panel kept in mind the concerns of these countries in suggesting the second formula as an alternative to allowing six new permanent members. It has recommended creation of an altogether new category of eight semi-permanent seats in the Council. These eight countries could be neither "permanent" nor "non-permanent", but "semi-permanent" because their continuity in the Council, unlike the permanent members, would be subject to a successful election every four years, and, again, subject to such successful election they could continue to sit in the Council as a democratic privilege which a non-permanent member is debarred from under the existing arrange-



**India's unwillingness to compromise on its goal to secure permanent membership with attendant veto privilege may be understandable in the short run but it may prove to be undoing of our long term interest. India cannot afford the blame of stubbornly blocking achievement of the universally shared aspiration to make the Security Council more representative**

ment. The eligibility criteria to these permanent or semi-permanent seats have also been suggested by the panel. Only

those countries which are top three financial contributors to the UN finances (either budgetary or extra-budgetary) or

top three troop contributors to peace-keeping operations from their geographical regions concerned would be considered eligible for permanent or semi-permanent status.

India's unwillingness to compromise on its goal to secure permanent membership with attendant veto privilege may be understandable in the short run but it may prove to be undoing of our long term interest. India cannot afford the blame of stubbornly blocking achievement of the universally shared aspiration to make the Security Council more representative. In other words, unlike the semi-permanent membership idea, the idea of permanent membership without veto power may not be as unworthy outcome as it may be made out to be.

The approach India can, and should, take must not be unilateral without reference to the positions that emerge from other aspirants to the permanent seats like Brazil, Germany, Japan and South Africa. The question is if all other aspirants acquiesce in such outcome, can India afford to stay out? It does not seem to be in India's interests to do so and miss the bus now and perhaps for the foreseeable future. By accepting the permanent seats without veto power, India along with other aspiring countries could target two very significant goals.

First, they could isolate those countries pressing for semi-permanent seats and win over the confidence of the vast majority of other countries who view veto as "anachronistic" and "undemocratic" to merit any further reinforcement. Secondly, by agreeing to forgo the claim for veto power, a virtue can be made out of

necessity by turning the tables for building moral and political pressure on the existing permanent members to voluntarily agree for a certain limitation of the reckless exercise of veto power in future. Agreeing to forego individual veto power may be compensated by a notional or hidden veto in the actual functioning of the Council. If the panel's suggested strength of 24 becomes the final size of the enlarged Council, the veto-bearing permanent members may often find hard to mobilise the much needed support from 19 other members in the Council. In other words, the requirement of securing an affirmative vote of 15 (instead of 9 now) on draft resolutions in the new Council could give strong leverage in the hands of countries like India and others who may happen to work in concert and coordination as the new permanent members.

It may be pointed out, that a careful reading of the panel's restructuring plan reveals many loopholes. Its impassioned plea for comprehensive strategy to collectively address complex security challenges does not go well with its lop sided emphasis on one organ of the United Nations, the Security Council. The panel tends to view the General Assembly, the Economic and Social Council as mere appendages to the Security Council to be used if and when the latter deemed useful. Notwithstanding the novel suggestion for creating a Peacebuilding Commission, the panel's thinking on revitalising the structures of UN appears to be incomplete, with little or no attention being paid to offer a "New Vision" about the office of the Secretary General, the World Court, the decision-making procedure in the Security Council, etc. These issues too may have to be addressed by India in earnest.

*The author is Professor in International Organization, School of International Studies, JNU*