

U.S. non-proliferation group ups the ante with draft separation plan

“India should place all power reactors, naval fuel cycle Rare Metals Plant under safeguards”

Siddharth Varadarajan

NEW DELHI: On the eve of India's crucial talks with the United States on its proposed separation of civilian and military nuclear facilities, an influential U.S. non-proliferation think tank has come up with its own plan for how the separation should be effected.

In a six-page report released on Monday, David Albright and Susan Basu of the Institute for Science and International Security (ISIS) say all of India's nuclear facilities “not directly associated with nuclear weapons production or deployment” should be placed under international safeguards which “should apply in perpetuity, with minor, standard exceptions that do not include use in nuclear explosives or weapons.”

The report also says safeguarded nuclear material “should not co-mingle with unsafeguarded nuclear material in any facility, unless this unsafeguarded nuclear material also comes under safeguards.”

• **ISIS report is the first unofficial U.S. attempt to specify what Indian plan should look like**

• **Indian experts say there is no way the prescriptions can be accepted**

• **ISIS proposals on breeder programme, naval reactors “outlandish”**

Calling this latter condition an example of the “key safeguards principle” of “contamination,” it admits that these conditions “do not appear to have been accepted by India” as per the text of the July 18, 2005 statement. At the same time, the report asserts that the perpetuity and contamination principles are necessary “to prevent civil nuclear cooperation from benefiting India's nuclear weapons program.”

The ISIS report is the first unofficial U.S. attempt to specify what the Indian separation plan should look like. It divides India's nuclear facilities into three categories: first, those “not directly associated with nuclear

weapons production or deployment;” second, its weapons-related facilities, and third, facilities “associated with its naval nuclear fuel cycle.” The report says all facilities in the first and third categories must be placed under international safeguards without exception. This means all power reactors, spent fuel reprocessing plants and the two prototype fast breeder reactors at Kalpakkam in Tamil Nadu.

Naval facilities

As for the naval-related facilities — listed in the report as the Advanced Technology Reactor Programme at Kalpakkam, the

gas centrifuge plant at the Rare Materials Plant (RMP) at Rattahalli in Karnataka, and all nuclear submarine reactors — the ISIS says exempting such facilities from safeguards “would undermine efforts to safeguard such facilities in non-nuclear weapon states party to the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty.” It notes that Brazil accepted safeguards on its prototype naval reactor and its enrichment plants at Aramar that are dedicated to the production of naval reactor fuel. “Safeguards applied in India should be consistent with the IAEA's approach in Brazil,” it says.

Indian nuclear experts who have been through the ISIS “separation plan” say there is no way its prescriptions can be accepted. “The basic idea in all these unofficial and official U.S. approaches is that [notwithstanding whatever was agreed to in the July 18 statement] India cannot be treated as a nuclear weapon state,” Dr. A.N. Prasad, a former director of the Bhabha Atomic Research Centre, told

The Hindu on Tuesday.

On the question of separation, Dr. Prasad said the pressure to include specific facilities would go on. “The U.S. wants our plan to be ‘credible,’ which means it must be acceptable to them, and ‘transparent,’ which means every aspect of our thinking has to be known to them.” It was also unrealistic to expect that the U.S. would keep its side of the bargain before India took any concrete step. The key, he said, was to ensure that India did not take measures it would then find difficult or costly to reverse if the U.S. failed to deliver.

As for the ISIS report, Dr. Prasad said the proposals on the breeder programme, naval reactors and other facilities were outlandish. “The Rare Materials Plant cannot even be discussed, let alone safeguarded,” he said.

The only facilities the ISIS says India should be allowed to keep off the safeguarded list are those directly connected to its weapons programme. According to the report, these are the Dhruva research reactor, the Fuel

Fabrication Plant, the Plutonium Separation Plant and the Plutonium Weapon Component facility (all at Trombay), India's unknown nuclear weapons storage sites, its nuclear test range at Pokhran, and its unknown uranium weapons component facility. The report acknowledges that the RMP may produce “a limited amount of highly enriched uranium for nuclear weapons” but says “the main purpose of the plant appears to be to make enriched uranium for naval reactors and possibly a small amount of enriched uranium for civil research reactors.” Hence, safeguards should be applied here too.

As for the 40-MW CIRUS research reactor — which, Dr. Albright has previously claimed produced as much as 25 per cent of the fissile material for India's nuclear weapons — the ISIS report says that if India keeps it off the civilian list, this will “directly violate its commitment to Canada,” which supplied the reactor in 1960 under a “peaceful use” pledge.

21 Dec 2005

THE HINDU

Stage set for nuclear separation talks

Manmohan was asked to choose from options put forth by the Department of Atomic Energy

Siddharth Varadarajan

NEW DELHI: With the expert group headed by Foreign Secretary Shyam Saran now en route to Washington, India is set to hold the most detailed round of discussions to date with the U.S. on the planned separation of its civilian and military nuclear facilities.

However, senior officials familiar with the issue told *The Hindu* on Monday that the two sides were not expected to clinch a deal this time, and that additional rounds of technical talks would be necessary before mutually acceptable specific reciprocal commitments could finally be worked out.

According to official sources, the Department of Atomic Energy

had prepared a number of options and scenarios for the proposed separation, involving the inclusion and exclusion of different facilities. While the officials declined to elaborate they said all the scenarios had been crafted to ensure two minimum outcomes: preserving the flexibility and robustness of the Indian strategic programme, and ensuring the long-term energy security of the country based on the development of indigenous resources and technologies.

“These options have been put to the country’s leadership at the highest level, and the decision taken at that level will drive the Indian negotiating team’s stance” in the crucial December 21 meeting of the India-U.S. working group on civil nuclear cooperation. Asked about the fate of the CIRUS research reactor, the fast breeder reactor, MAPS at Kalpakkam and other indigenous plants and facilities, a senior official told *The Hindu* that any public airing of the final plan that the leadership settles on — or indeed of any scenarios the DAE had presented to the Prime Minister — would compromise the Indian ability to negotiate.

The officials also expressed

surprise at the fact that sections of the Government which were not involved in the decision-making process, and which did not understand the parameters involved, were busy floating opinions. They added that many people inside and outside the Government mistakenly believed that India needed fissile material only for its strategic programme and were projecting scenarios of separation on that basis.

However, the fact, they said, was that the country needed a lot of fissile material for its long-term energy security.

The officials stressed that it was not useful to think of the forthcoming meeting — which is only the second time experts from the two sides are meeting

— as the occasion when all outstanding issues flowing from the July 18, 2005 India-U.S. nuclear agreement would be settled. “The Americans are keen to settle matters before President Bush comes here next year but there is plenty of time between now and then,” an official said.

The issues to be sorted out — separation, sequencing and safeguards — were complicated and the Indian side saw no reason to telescope its technical decision-making process to fit an artificial, political deadline, the officials added.

The Indian negotiating team includes two members from the Ministry of External Affairs, in addition to the Foreign Secretary, and two members from the DAE.

20 DEC 2005

THE HINDU

Reciprocity key to Indo-US N-deal: PM

'India Needn't Stick To Its Pledge If America Doesn't'

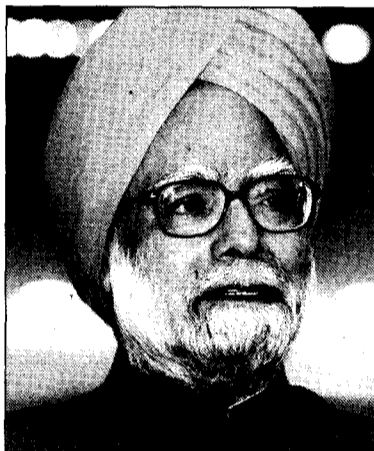
TIMES NEWS NETWORK

New Delhi: Maintaining that the Indo-US nuclear deal would proceed on the basis of "strict reciprocity", Prime Minister Manmohan Singh said on Thursday that he expected the Bush administration to use its "full weight" to get the approval of the US Congress.

During question hour in the Rajya Sabha, the prime minister refused to get drawn into definitions of reciprocity but denied there was any "stalemate", saying India needn't carry out its obligations if the US didn't.

Getting US Congress approval was the concern of the Bush administration and he expected it to use its full weight for this.

Allaying MPs' fears that the US would force India to act before it moved on its own obligations, the PM also asserted that the decision to put certain facilities and reactors under international supervision was "an Indian decision".



There was no question of any country forcing it, he said, stating that he had already said as much in unambiguous terms.

The Indo-US working group will be meeting for the second time later this month and would try to find ways and means for a satisfactory solution so that both sides could honour their

commitments. The framework remains the July understanding between the two countries. He reiterated, "If the US doesn't carry out its obligations, we are also free not to." Asked if India had accepted a crucial provision of a future fissile material cut-off treaty even before it was negotiated by other nuclear weapon states, the prime minister said they had only agreed to work with other like-minded countries to facilitate such a treaty. When it would materialise was difficult for him to say, he told MPs.

Earlier, the government said the US had not done anything which would compromise India's position; hearings are on in the Congress and Senate committees but the US Congress will have to pass laws to relax nuclear curbs against India, and that has not been done so far. Apart from the working group meeting, the American president is scheduled to visit India next year and hence the momentum will be kept up.

17 DEC 2006

Indo-US nuclear deal totters on reciprocity

Our Political Bureau
NEW DELHI 15 DECEMBER

PRIME Minister Manmohan Singh on Thursday said the Indo-US nuclear deal was proceeding on the basis of "strict reciprocity". He also said the government expected the Bush administration to use its "full weight" to get the necessary approval of the US Congress.

Under the agreement reached between President Bush and Dr Singh on July 18, the US would lift restrictions on the supply of reactors and fuel for India's civilian nuclear programme, provided New Delhi fulfilled a series of obligations. The Prime Minister had last week said that the exercise was at an advanced stage.

Responding to supplementaries during Question Hour in the Rajya Sabha, Dr Singh asserted that the decision to put certain facilities and reactors under international supervision was "an entirely Indian decision and, therefore, there is no question of any other country forc-

ing India to put this facility or that facility under control".

"There is no stalemate," Dr Singh said while responding to a clarification sought by former external affairs minister Yashwant Sinha on whether there was an impasse

our obligation".

Dr Singh said the nuclear working group headed by foreign secretary Shyam Saran and US undersecretary Nicholas Burns had held a "good meeting" and the next one was likely to take place on December 21-22.

"As far as the speculation as to what the US is going to insist, I think, I have said it before both the Houses of Parliament that the binding constraint is what is stated in the July 18 statement, which was jointly issued by President Bush and myself, and there is, I think, strict reciprocity," he said.

Amar Singh wanted to know whether India had accepted a crucial provision of a future fissile material cut-off treaty even before it was negotiated by other nuclear weapon states. "That is a question for the future," the PM said, adding: "All that we have agreed is that we will work with other like-minded countries to facilitate the agreement on such a treaty. When that treaty materialises, I think it is very difficult for me to say."



in the implementation of the understanding.

Seeking to allay members' apprehensions that the US administration has been asking for more concessions ever since the nuclear deal was reached, the Prime Minister made it clear that "if the US does not carry out its obligation, I think, we are also free not to carry out

PROGRESS ■ Civilian nuclear agreement is well in train and hopefully legislation will come about in early 2006, she says

Republican
law-maker
bats for

PRESS TRUST OF INDIA

WASHINGTON, DECEMBER 9

INDO-US ties have touched a "new level", and the landmark nuclear agreement between the two countries is "well in train", Assistant Secretary of State for South Asia Christina Rocca has said, while brushing aside the notion that Washington is "moving goalposts" and setting new conditions for implementing the agreement.

"We have begun conversation on the civilian nuclear cooperation... There will be meetings this month and next month where we'll start talking a little more concretely about how the plan might look like, how we move forward," she told PTI when asked about the July-18 agreement yet to be approved by the US Congress.

"We are very busy with conversation on Capitol Hill, the thinktank, with the nuclear suppliers group, international partners and friends...", Rocca said, while noting that there are "lot of questions" in the US Congress.

"I am optimistic as to where we are going," she said adding that the civilian nuclear arrangement is "well in train" and hoping that legislation will come about in early 2006.

The agreement was signed in Washing-

ton on July 18 between Prime Minister Manmohan Singh and President George W Bush, under which the Unites States implicitly recognised India as a nuclear weapons state and agreed to supply fuel for the Tarapore reactor following a series of commitments by New Delhi, including that of separating civilian and military facilities.

Rocca said the July-18 meeting was in many ways the culmination of "four years of hard work together, to take the relationship to a whole new level. So, now we have a new agenda that is on a totally different level...."

"A lot of things are now given. Our political conversations are so drastically different from that four years ago. We are now on a new level," she said. "It was a pretty ambitious agenda that we set on July 18 and we've already started working on a number of things."

She disagreed with the argument that Washington and New Delhi had moved "backwards" in that they first came to a general agreement on the nuclear deal and then sought to work on details and flush out the political dynamics.

"I don't agree with that perspective. What we agreed on is a mutual goal that we will work towards. If you look at the language it's very clear...It's a very big

change in the US policy...This is a big step forward. Had we done it the other way around, it would not have worked. There is no doubt about it," she said.

"... Working out a deal like this means a lot of work on both sides and there is no argument there," she said, adding, "the dialogue (with US Congress) has begun. The various elements that need to be done, certainly on our side, are moving along." Rocca also brushed aside the notion that the Bush administration has resorted to moving goalposts in the aftermath of the accord on the civilian nuclear deal or that it is asking New Delhi to do something "more".

"No. Absolutely not. The language is carefully drafted...I would absolutely say that no goalposts were moved on both sides we are not asking anything of India that we are not asking ourselves, that we are not willing to do ourselves."

"There is no question of moving goalposts. There are people opposed to it who would like to frame it that way. I think they are wrong," Rocca countered.

She also disagreed with a thinking that Bush should postpone his India visit, tentatively scheduled for early next year, if the civilian nuclear deal is not concretised. "I could not disagree more,"

Rocca said. "There are so many things

going on in the US-India relationship on so many different fronts that are very good. We are really happy he's going. This is a relationship that has momentum, and the time to go is exactly now. The relationship is not about this one (nuclear) issue," she said.

Asked if the Bush White House and the administration had the "political capital" on Capitol Hill to push this civilian nuclear agreement with India, Rocca expressed optimism that members of Congress "will see this in US interest, in India's interest and also in the interests of the non-proliferation regime as a whole." Noting the bilateral relationship has a lot of supporters, she said, "US-India relations is a loss for nobody. Everybody understands it."

"This particular aspect (the civilian nuclear agreement) has some controversy... We want to make sure we're right. We believe it would be a net gain for the world non-proliferation regime. And it is a question of convincing that and making our arguments; and I think we'll be able to do it," she remarked. Rocca stressed that the Iran nuclear issue is very important for both the administration and the Congress.

"We are very grateful to the Indian vote at the IAEA... We think we are on the same wavelength with India and hope to

remain so on this. It is important to global security as a whole," she said. She also praised the statesmanship shown by leaders of India and Pakistan and reiterated the American position that it is not the business of Washington to put forth the way forward in the settlement of issues between the two countries.

Rocca expressed hope that the two countries will be able to maintain the momentum of the peace process.

"We've said all along that the solution to the problem is not for the US to forward...It certainly wants to be as encouraging as it can. There is an opportunity here, an opportunity and statesmanship, that is shown on both sides that is greatly appreciated by the US administration. Our hope is that both countries will be able to keep the momentum created..." Rocca said. She stressed that the US would like to see South Asian region stable, democratic, and peaceful with some countries on the road to democracy, peace processes successful and good governance. "There are enormous challenges as you can see," she remarked pointing out the goings on in Nepal and Sri Lanka. On Nepal, Rocca said steps that were taken "backwards" from democracy "which we believe fell right into the hands of the Maoists—strengthening the hands of the Maoists."

India

PRESS TRUST OF INDIA
WASHINGTON, DECEMBER 9

NOTING that the July Indo-US statement was a "major step forward", Republican law-maker and former Co-chairman of the Congressional Caucus on India said that the civil nuclear agreement between India and the US would help global non-proliferation.

Joe Wilson told the House of Representatives that the strategic partnership would ensure future security and prosperity. "The agreement is a major step forward for the US and global non-proliferation policies," he said further. The agreement is one of the critical component of the Indo-US statement. e added that President Bush had appreciated India's commitment to prevent WMD proliferation. Bush had stated that India was a responsible and it should acquire same benefits of other such nations, he added.

10/12
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Indo-US relations on a new level: Rocca

Press Trust of India

WASHINGTON, Dec. 9. — Terming the Indo-US ties as being on a “new level”, US Assistant Secretary of State for South Asia, Ms Christina Rocca, said a landmark nuclear agreement between the two countries was “well in train,” brushing aside the notion that Washington was “moving goal posts” and bringing new conditions for implementing it.

“We have begun the conversation on the civilian nuclear cooperation... there will be meetings coming up this month and next month where we’ll start talking a little more concretely about how the plan might look like, how we move forward,” she

Norway keen on quake research

NEW DELHI, Dec. 9. — Norway has expressed interest in participating at the proposed International Institute for Earthquake Precursor Studies in India. This was one of the two projects that the Prime Ministers of Norway and India agreed to collaborate on during their meeting yesterday. The MEA spokesperson, Mr Navtej Sarna, said India had first invited Norwegian partnership in the proposed institute. “The Norwegian side expressed interest and requested the Indian side to provide details,” he said. The second decision was to set up a task force to devise a strategy to pool resources in research and development efforts on vaccines. The task force is expected to give its proposal by 31 March, 2006. — SNS

said in an exclusive interview to PTI when asked about the 18 July agreement which is yet to be approved by the US Congress.

Meet on ICT

India and the USA have held their first-ever meeting of a bilateral working

group on information and communication technologies. The meet discussed approaches that could be taken to create an investment and regulatory environment in the fast-growing sector, the US State Department said in a statement after the two-day meeting which ended here yesterday. //

10 DEC 2005

THE STATESMAN

Burton asks India to prove delineation of N-facilities



New Delhi: Congressman Dan Burton said on Wednesday that the US Congress would approve of the historic Indo-US nuclear deal if it gets "clear evidence" of a "marked delineation" of India's civil and military nuclear facilities.

"Members of the Congress who recently learned of the agreement want to see a concrete evidence that there will be a marked delineation between civil use of nuclear equipment that we sell to India and military use," Burton, who is leading a Congressional delegation to India, said. "If that is very clearly understood, I am confident that it (nuclear deal) will be passed by the US Congress," he added, winding up the delegation's three-day visit to the country, during which it met PM Manmohan Singh and senior officials.

Considered an India-baiter, Burton said there was a clear understanding between US President George W Bush and Manmohan and parliamentarians from both the countries that there should be a "clear delineation" and hoped the deal would come through. Agencies

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THE TIMES OF INDIA

India should let nuclear agreement lapse: analyst

U.S. trying to impose 'onerous new conditions' on agreement

Diplomatic Correspondent

NEW DELHI: The civilian nuclear deal between India and the United States should be "allowed to lapse" because of the "onerous new conditions" the Americans were trying to impose on the July 18 agreement. Strategic analyst, Matin Zuberi, however, argued that India and the U.S. should continue cooperation in other areas of mutual benefit.

In a paper written for the Observer Research Foundation, Prof. Zuberi raised several questions about the nuclear deal. Would India's declaration to be filed with the International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA) only contain a list of civilian nuclear facilities? Or would it also include the amount of nuclear material produced in them?

If, the latter were included, then India would be going in for full-scope safeguards, he argued.

"According to American sources, Indian purchase of natural uranium would be under IAEA safeguards. Because of (the) shortage of uranium, the introduction of safeguarded uranium in our civilian programme — power reactors, reprocessing plants, research reactors, prototype fast breeder reactor, and even future indigenously produced power plants — would be brought under safeguards; and they will be in perpetuity," he said.

Prof. Zuberi, formerly with the Jawaharlal Nehru University, felt that American interpretations of the July 18 joint statement should be treated as

• **Matin Zuberi raises questions on India's nuclear deal with U.S.**

• **American interpretations should be treated as 'pressure tactics'**

• **"Question of India offering all civilian nuclear facilities under safeguards, does not arise"**

"pressure tactics" to obtain non-proliferation objectives.

"As a democracy, India cannot build a consensus around these extraordinarily escalating demands. Indian negotiators should firmly assert that we stick to the solemn assurances that Prime Minister Manmohan Singh gave (in Parliament) ...," he said.

The strategic analyst said that in 1980 the U.S. had gone back on an international commitment to supply enriched fuel to the Tarapur plant till 1993, citing its domestic laws. "Indian applications for supply that required long and acrimonious Congressional hearings were used to discipline it. The same process is now being repeated at the Congressional hearings on the (July 18) joint statement," the paper said.

Prof. Zuberi quoted American author, Selig Harrison, as observing that India had 31 per cent of the world's known deposits of thorium, allowing it to rapidly expand its civilian nuclear programme and shifting progressively to thorium-based fast-breeder reactors, thereby achieving energy independence. This meant that India could also dramatically increase its inventory of fissile material. Therefore, Mr.

Harrison felt that it was necessary to bind India to the non-proliferation regime.

According to Mr. Harrison, India had made an important concession by agreeing to place "all its existing and future civilian reactors under IAEA safeguards." The alternative to the new arrangement could have been the "emergence over time of a Gaullist India that could play an unpredictable, freewheeling role in Asia."

Prof. Zuberi also pointed out that of the 915 nuclear facilities under safeguards worldwide, only 11 were in the five countries recognised as nuclear powers in the Nuclear Non-proliferation Treaty. Of these, six were in the U.S., three in China, one each in France and Britain and none in Russia.

It should be emphasised that India had reciprocally assumed, under the July 18 deal, the same responsibilities and practices and acquire the same benefits and advantages as other leading countries with advanced nuclear technology, such as the United States.

"Therefore, the question of India offering all civilian nuclear facilities under safeguards simply does not arise," the paper said.

THE HINDU

27 NOV 2005

Delhi to draw up N-division roadmap

Statesman News Service

NEW DELHI, Nov. 25. — India has the "sole responsibility" of drawing up the roadmap for separating the civilian and military nuclear facilities, an important condition for implementation of the 18 July Indo-US civilian energy pact, said diplomatic sources.

Official sources said that India would be sharing details of its civilian nuclear facilities, but not the military installations. "We will not accept anything that limits our strategic programme," said a source. He also said that during the meeting of the Indo-US working group, the Americans had apparently recognised that the separa-

IAEA donation

VIENNA, Nov. 25. — The board of governors of the International Atomic Energy Agency to "agreed that the agency's share of the monetary award with the Nobel Peace Prize (\$630,000 dollars) should be used for funding the needs of developing countries in the peaceful application of nuclear energy, specifically in the human health and food production sectors". — AFP

Diplomacy averted face-off, page 5

tion process would be "complicated, expensive and will have to be done in a phased manner". "They also acknowledged that a change in legislation cannot take place at the end of

the separation," said the source.

Instead, India would "share" the roadmap with the US administration, which will use it to convince its Congressmen to approve the deal and modify the legislation concerned.

Official sources said that with the Indo-US agreement of 18 July paving the way for resumption of civilian nuclear energy cooperation, both sides had agreed that there would be no additional conditions in its implementation. If at any stage the government came to the conclusion that such a separation was not viable, it was under no compulsion to do so, the sources said, adding that as part of the 18 July deal, both countries had agreed to take reciprocal steps.

THE STATESMAN

26 NOV 2005

U.S. gave 'blueprint' on nuclear facilities

Shyam Saran denies receiving any such document; allegations of DAE being sidelined in the discussions

Diplomatic Correspondent

NEW DELHI: The United States "presented" India with a "blueprint" suggesting how New Delhi could go about separating its civil and military nuclear facilities as a follow-up to the July 18 agreement.

A Reuters report from Washington said on Wednesday: "Under Secretary of State R. Nicholas Burns, the U.S. negotiator on the nuclear deal, in September presented Indian officials with a blueprint suggesting how the Americans might go about separating the Indian nuclear facilities. But the Indians

gave it back, saying they could do it themselves, a U.S. official and a source close to the [Bush] administration said."

Asked if the Americans provided any "blueprint," Foreign Secretary Shyam Saran told *The Hindu* on Thursday: "I have received no blueprint from the Americans."

Presented in October

The time-line would suggest that the Americans provided their plan to the Indians before the formal talks between Mr. Burns and Mr. Saran in the third week of October in New Delhi on implementing the deal.

Asked to respond to the Reuters report, the former Chairman of the Atomic Energy Regulatory Board, A. Gopalakrishnan, said, "I'm surprised and sad to hear about such a report. Our Government should be telling us about what is going on [relating to the nuclear deal]."

According to him, the Department of Atomic Energy (DAE) was being sidelined in the discussions on the agreement. "The DAE people are on the sidelines. The nation should go by the DAE's views."

The former Ambassador to the United Nations, Hamid Ansari, said the American objective

appeared to push India on a particular track. "They want to push you into the nuclear non-proliferation mould."

"Reciprocity is the key"

In a related development, Minister of State for External Affairs Rao Inderjit Singh informed the Lok Sabha in a written answer on Thursday that reciprocity was the key to implementing all the steps enumerated in the joint statement.

"We expect a close correlation between the actions to be taken by the U.S. and by India. Indian actions will be contingent at every stage on actions taken by the

other side. There is no question of the U.S. imposing any restrictions in this regard."

According to him, no time frame had been stipulated in the joint statement. "The two sides, however, are working closely to implement the agreement at the earliest."

"The U.S. has not proposed any new norms regarding the understanding on civil nuclear cooperation. The implementation of the July 18 joint statement would be guided fully and entirely by the commitments contained in the joint statement only," he added.

THE HINDU

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Uncle Sam soft on India

'GO EASY ON N-TERMS'

Press Trust of India

WASHINGTON, Nov. 17. — Pointing out that there already are many "serious and difficult" conditions imposed on India in a nuclear cooperation deal, American lawmakers have warned the US Congress that maintaining a "defiant" stand could prove counter-productive, damaging bilateral ties.

There are many serious and difficult conditions in the 18 July joint agreement, signed by Prime Minister Dr Manmohan Singh and President Mr George W Bush that India and the USA would have to meet, Democrat Mr Gary Ackerman told the House International Relations Committee's hearing on "US-India Global Partnership: How significant for American interests" here yesterday.

"If we add conditions that India previously rejected during negotiations, not only will it scuttle the agreement but also do lasting damage to the US-India relations," he said.

Under the agreement, the USA is to lift restrictions on supply of reactors and fuel for India's civilian nuclear programme provided Delhi fulfils a series of obligations, including separation of its military and civilian facilities.

Observing that it was "perfectly appropriate" for the US Congress to include stipulations as part of a piece of legislation being considered on the agreement, Mr Ackerman wondered whether the benefits

sought to be garnered from the fresh terms would be outweighed by the penalty to be paid by them. "I am yet to be persuaded that the benefit of the additional conditions would outweigh their cost," said Mr Ackerman, who is also the co-chairman of the Congressional Caucus on India and Indian Americans and a senior member of the House International Relations Panel.

Another Democrat, Mr Tom Lantos, mentioned how the pact brought forth a "new strategic relationship" between the two countries and said he was confident that the deal would ultimately be approved on its merits.

As long as the US administration is releasing information about Indian progress, "US Congressmen would be able to decide for themselves that India is working to keep its commitments," Mr Ackerman said.

Softening his earlier hard stand, the chairman of the Committee, Mr Henry Hyde, said the US administration had not discussed the deal with Congress before it was announced and said this arrangement was likely to admit of a "more modest consequence, and it is best understood as a useful and long overdue clarification of relations". He said "cramped dogmas of the past" and the distorted views of Indian interests were giving way to a more confident vision of India and its rising status as a major player in world politics.



WATCH US! American Air Force Captains, Shannon Grizz Schneider (left) and Kevin Indy share a joke at Kalaikunda air base during a joint air exercise on Thursday. — Rajib De

Modified AWACS for India by 2007

KALAIKUNDA, Nov. 17. — The Indian Air Force is to get three modified versions of the Airborne Warning and Control System (AWACS), the US reconnaissance aircraft, the first being in 2007.

The IAF's Russian made IL-76 transport aircraft will be fitted with radars from Israel, enabling them to function like AWACS, said a senior IAF officer. However, he did not reveal the price of the radars. The cost of converting the IL-76 into a reconnaissance aircraft will be much less than that of AWACS.

At the Kalaikunda air base, the AOC-in-C, Eastern Air Command, Air Marshal FH Major, said today that the IAF would get the first one in 2007. The AWACS is part of the US Air Force fleet participating in the joint air exercise with the IAF. Made by Boeing, AWACS has a radar fitted atop it and can carry 25 to 40-member crew, Lt-Col. Peter Bastien, a crew commander, said. He said both IAF and USAF pilots flew together in AWACS

and learnt how to monitor the aircraft and maintain liaison with ground staff and pilots.

"Since our chaps got an exposure during the joint air exercise, they now have working knowledge of the AWACS and can operate them with ease," Air Marshal Major said.

He said: "Such exercises not only help in promoting mutual understanding but also enhance interoperability." Both sides have learnt a lot from each other and all objectives of the exercise have

been achieved, he said. Asked if he would recommend F-16s, he said: "We requested 126 multi-role aircraft. Requests for information have been placed with the USA, Sweden, France and Russia for F-16s, Griffin, Mirage and MiG-29s, respectively."

Asked whether the USAF would use Indian air bases, Lt-Gen. DA Deptula, Vice-Commander of the US Pacific Fleet, said: "By co-operative security we mean joint operation during natural calamities like we did after the tsunami." — SNS

"India must submit plan on nuclear facilities"

A purely token civil-military separation will not do: David Mulford

Amit Baruah

NEW DELHI: India must submit a plan for the separation of its civil and military nuclear industry to the United States, which would then judge whether or not it was credible and could be sold to Congress for amendments to domestic legislation to lift the nuclear curbs on New Delhi, U.S. Ambassador David Mulford said here on Monday.

Waiting for game plan

He told presspersons that the U.S. was waiting to see what "game plan" India had for the separation of its civil and military nuclear industry. "It's obviously going to take some time before the division of civil and military...[is] made and ... implemented."

In response to questions, Mr. Mulford took the unusual step of publicly contradicting an October 26 statement by the U.S. State Department spokesman, Steve McCormack, that India separating its civil and military nuclear programmes, among other things, was a precondition for the U.S. to seek changes to its domestic law as per the July 18 Indo-U.S. nuclear deal.

Not accurate statements

"There have been a couple of statements from Washington that were not entirely accurate.

- All major players in NSG positive on lifting curbs
- Time-frame for implementing agreement would depend on New Delhi presenting its plan
- Unlikely that India-specific amendments would come up before January, says Mulford
- Bush administration not confident of support from Congress for nuclear deal
- President Bush committed to agreement and would work to get it implemented

One of them is the statement that seemed to make the case that India had to implement the whole [separation] plan before we changed the law," he said.

Asked whether India would have to file a list of its civilian facilities with the International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA) before the Bush administration moved Congress, Mr. Mulford gave a nuanced reply: "I would have to say no. But, on the other hand, in reality ... the IAEA is going to be aware of what India's plan is. So will the Nuclear Suppliers [Group]."

"But there's not a process laid out whereby the [Bush] administration goes to the IAEA for approval or anything like that. They are going to judge the plan on the basis of the plan itself and then apply for action to the U.S.

Congress," he said.

Asserting that the major players in the NSG were positive about lifting the curbs against India, apart from China which had remained non-committal, Mr. Mulford also said that the implementation of any amended U.S. legislation would take into account that India's separation plan was being implemented.

"I'm not quite sure how that will be captured in the legislation, but there is bound to be some provision that says we've changed our law and it will come into effect when certain progress has been achieved in the [Indian] separation [plan]."

Credible plan sought

The law itself would be changed once it was agreed that India had a credible separation plan and had done the other

things stipulated in the July 18 agreement. A purely token civil-military separation would not be acceptable to the U.S.

"When we go to [the U.S.] Congress, we are going to have to be able to endorse India's plan, otherwise Congress won't take it very seriously..." the Ambassador said. A time-frame for implementing the July 18 agreement would depend on New Delhi presenting its plan.

News report

Asked to comment on a news report that a "weak" President Bush no longer gave priority to the nuclear deal, Mr. Mulford said Mr. Bush was committed to the agreement and would work to get it implemented.

Maintaining that the Bush administration was not confident of support from Congress for the nuclear deal, Mr. Mulford said that it was unlikely that India-specific amendments to U.S. law could come up before January.

Iran vote

Asked about the Indian position if the IAEA Governing Board had to vote against Iran yet again later this month, Mr. Mulford felt that New Delhi had expressed its national interest by its September 24 vote. In another vote, India would again vote according to its national interest.

JPM PROTESTS WILL HAVE NO IMPACT ON FUTURE EXERCISES

We serve to ensure these freedoms: USAF

59-1 176/11

Anjan Chakraborty/SNS

KOLKATA, Nov. 12. — The protests by the CPI-M in Kolkata and Kalaikunda against the Indo-US joint air exercises will not deter the US Air Force (USAF) or the American administration from continuing military-to-military interactions between the two countries.

Speaking to The Statesman from Kalaikunda air station, Captain John Redfield, Pacific Air Forces, USAF, said: "We are aware of the protests going on here and have also read media reports about them. But we are here on a job, on a mission. And in an open society, people are certainly free to voice their opinion, including in the form of protests." As Col. David Cannon, Pacific Air Forces' public affairs director, told The Statesman: "One of the reasons we serve in the military is to preserve the freedom of speech."

A spokesperson for the US Consulate in Kolkata echoed these views and added: "The US Air Force, indeed any branch of the armed forces, only serves in a country at the invitation of that country's government." Asked whether the protests would deter the USA from holding joint exercises with India in future, Captain Redfield, the USAF's public affairs officer for India, was categorical: "No."

"I can speak for the American side and tell you that such protests will not dampen the spirit of our personnel or the desire to hold joint military exercises in India," he said. The US Consulate spokesperson pointed out that Indo-US relations are at an "all-time high". "Two great pluralistic democracies are now positioned for a partnership that will be crucial in shaping the international landscape of the 21st century." The spokesperson, replying to the Communist protesters' allegations that joint military exercises with the USA had "compromised" India's sovereignty, said: "These developments do not compromise India's sovereignty or independence. These



A file photograph of CPI-M activists demonstrating in Kalaikunda.

are agreements between two equal, important partners, who look to the future and understand what some of their shared values and objectives must be."

The USAF is very upbeat about how the joint exercises have gone and said that the objectives of holding such exercises included cultivating common bonds and fostering goodwill between USAF and IAF personnel, apart from promoting regional security and stability in the Asia-Pacific region. "We are learning a lot about each other. The joint exercises are a once-in-a-lifetime opportunity for our pilots and maintenance personnel. They have read a lot about the MiGs and the Mirages — now they have flown with them. Our Indian counterparts are learning about us and our aircraft. This will be helpful in the future when, and if the need arises, USAF and IAF operate together in the region," Captain Redfield added.

Numerous joint military exercises over the past five years have not only strengthened the bilateral relationship but also helped ensure well-coordinated responses to the recent tsunami and Hurricane Katrina disasters. "These are remarkable examples of how far we have come, and the great potential we have for the future," the spokesperson added.

Dussehra US

The Indian **EXPRESS**

Religion & Politics

Thursday, November 10, 2005

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National Network

10/11/05

Religious freedom improved under UPA: Bush admn

LALIT K. JHA

NEW YORK, NOVEMBER 9 The status of religious freedom in India has improved under the United Progressive Alliance (UPA), a senior Bush Administration official said on Tuesday.

"The new government has taken important steps to improve religious freedom situation," said John Hanford, ambassador-at-large, International Religious Freedom, Department of State, after releasing annual report on International Religious Freedom in Washington.

Praising the Manmohan Singh Government for a "remarkable improvement" in religious freedom in India after it came to power, the report said: "With a Muslim President, Sikh Prime Minister — the first time a member of a religious minority ever held the post — and a Christian head of the governing parliamentary party, the UPA government demonstrated its commitment to a policy of religious inclusion at its highest levels and throughout this generally tolerant and highly diverse society." The PM came in for special praise to withdraw controversial school textbooks that had been condemned for espousing a "Hindu nationalist agenda".

The report is unlike those during the tenure of the NDA Government, when it alleged that the administration "failed to act effectively" to counter societal attacks against minorities. However, the report felt the UPA at times did not act quickly enough to counter attacks against minorities.

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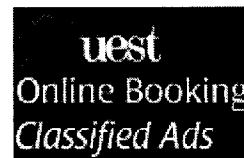
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N-deal to secure US interests: official

Press Trust of India

WASHINGTON, Nov. 8. — Praising India's record in preventing proliferation of its nuclear technology, the Bush Administration has said the Indo-US civilian nuclear deal will not only strengthen the non-proliferation regimes but also secure American interests.

"The administration's initiative only reflects the imperative to be 'creative' and 'adjust' the non-proliferation approaches as they exist rather than as we would wish them to be," the Deputy Assistant Secretary of State for International Security, Mr Andrew Semmel, said before a sometimes skeptical audience at a nuclear non-proliferation conference. "Until now we've confined the world's second most populous country to a place outside the system in spite of its very good record in preventing the proliferation of its nuclear technology. This is not strategically wise," he said at the Carnegie International Non-Proliferation Conference.

As part of the agreement, reached between President George W Bush and Prime Minister Dr Manmohan Singh on 18 July, the USA will lift restrictions on the supply of reactors and fuel for India's civilian nuclear programme, provided New Delhi fulfills a series of obligations. Congress must amend US law before the deal can be completed.

Defending the deal, Mr Semmel said there would be gains for the USA beyond the strategic/security dimension — thousands of jobs by way of American companies entering the Indian market.

"The civilian nuclear initiative will only enhance the existing regimes and Washington has no intention of either weakening the Non-Proliferation Treaty or other non-proliferation regimes," the senior administration official stressed.

The USA, he said, was now waiting for India to submit a plan for separating its civilian and military nuclear

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Saddam breaks silence over capture

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facilities, an important component of the Indo-US agreement.

But a different take of sorts came from Mr David Fite, a professional staff member of the House International Relations Committee. He argued that the 18 July declaration came without congressional consent or consultation and this had upset several Congress members. Also, Congress had not been informed of the "substance" of the arrangement, he said.


"The communication has begun," Mr Fite said, making the point that Capitol Hill was "stunned" that the administration was confident of the deal being secured in Congress before President Bush's planned visit to India.

Mr Fite pointed out that there are currently several uncertainties on how the administration was going to move on amending laws to facilitate the cooperative arrangement with India.

"We still don't know entirely what the administration wants to do with this. Perhaps the greatest change in the US non-proliferation policy in nearly three decades and Congress hasn't been consulted beforehand," he added.

The Indian **EXPRESS**

Tuesday, November 08, 2005

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8/11/2005

National Network

Indo-US air exercise takes off, Left demonstrations alongside

express news service

KALAIKUNDA (WB), NOV 7 The two-week-long Indo-US joint military Air exercise, codenamed Cope India '05, began today at the Kalaikunda Air Force Station in West Midnapore amid statewide protests by the Left parties even as West Bengal Chief Minister Buddhadeb Bhattacharjee said his party was in favour of a military alliance with China and Russia instead of the US.

"We are for US capital, we are for US investment, we are for US knowledge, but we are against US weapons, their military hegemony. That is our policy. Instead, we should have an alliance with China and Russia which will make us a formidable power," Bhattacharjee said at a meet-the-press programme organised by Kolkata Press Club today.

Asked to explain the dichotomy behind the logistical support to the US Army and the protests, Bhattacharjee said: "When the Central government asks us to do something we will have to do it because that is our Constitutional obligation. But I told the Prime Minister that while we extend logistical support, we will hold demonstrations because that is our democratic right. The Prime Minister was under the impression that we would try to stop it, but I assured him that nothing of that sort would happen."

Meanwhile, F-16 Falcons of the US Airforce, which took part for the first time in the joint exercise in the country, besides Sukhoi-MK30i, MIG-29, MIG-27 and MIG-21 BIS, roared past the Kalaikunda skies.

KC-130 refuelling aircraft and AWACS also took part in the exercise. A wooden barricade was set up about 20 feet from the airbase barbed-wire fencing. Police personnel stood guard outside the fencing, while Army jawans in jeeps with machine guns mounted on it, patrolled 20-km road inside the airbase.

The Indian Air Force was led by Air Commodore Abdul Saikia, A-O-C Kalaikunda while the USAF was led by Nelson Cabot.

About 250 US Air staff with 50 officers, including three women officers, took part in the joint exercise. Secretary of the CPI-M West Midnapore district Dipaksarkar, who led the protest, claimed these exercises were to prepare ground for setting up permanent US Air base in India.

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EAGLES HAVE LANDED

War games on, so are protests

HT Correspondents

Kolkata/New Delhi, November 4

THE AMERICANS are here and the war games are on. Despite spirited slogans in Kolkata, Delhi confirmed on Friday that the Indo-US joint air exercise at Kalaikunda from November 7 would go ahead as scheduled.

This was announced in the morning after a meeting of the Cabinet Committee on Security chaired by the Prime Minister. "We had discussions with the Bengal chief minister and central leaders of the CPI(M). Everything has been sorted out," defence minister Pranab Mukherjee said.

In Kolkata, little seemed to have been sorted out when cadres led by CPI (M) MP Amitabha Nandy held a noisy demonstration at the city airport after two KC-10 aircraft of the USAF landed in the afternoon.

Amid shouting of anti-US slogans outside the international terminal, Nandy said, "We will go the whole hog to stop the joint exercise. All patriotic Indians will join our battle against American imperialism." Calling the joint exercise a departure from the UPA-Left Common Minimum Programme, he said, "The Left parties will raise the issue in Parliament during its winter session."

There were also demonstrations outside Hyatt Regency Hotel at Salt Lake where about 50 USAF personnel had been put up for the day and at Kalaikunda where an F-16 squadron arrived in the afternoon. Subrata Sen, member of the CPI(M)'s North 24- Parganas committee, said, "Our demonstrations at Kalaikunda will start on November 7 and carry on till November 18."

But sources said while the demonstrations would continue, CPI(M) bigwigs had assured the defence ministry and the US embassy in Delhi that the agitation would not inconvenience USAF personnel. In telephone talks with the US embassy, the state government had assured that there would be no threat to the safety and free movement of USAF personnel at Dum Dum and Kalaikunda. The same assurance had given to the Union defence minister on Friday. The Left climbdown had followed a message from the Centre three days ago that any disruptive demonstration would be firmly dealt with, a top source at Writers' Buildings said.

See also Kolkata Live, p4

05 NOV 2005

THE HINDU TIMES

“The Information Commission’s role is to act as a non-government arbiter”

Wajahat Habibullah heads the Central Information Commission constituted under the Right to Information (RTI) Act that came into force on October 13, 2005. In an interview, he explains the role he sees for the Commission, addresses criticism of its composition, and states his position on file-notings. Excerpts:

Siddharth Narrain

What is the role of the Central Information Commission?

The role of the Central Information Commission should develop in the manner that has been charted in the [RTI] Act itself. The rules governing the RTI Act are extremely flexible. They have left a lot to the Commission itself to decide upon. Initially it will be a reactive programme. The Act provides 30 days to respond to an application — even if a person has put in an application on the 30th of October, no case is going to reach here before the 13th of November. There is also an appellate stage within the government before the matter comes to the Commission.

The Commission’s role is to act as a non-government arbiter which is not an interested party; an entity which could be expected to take a neutral and disinterested decision on the basis of the facts and the law. Initially the Commission has been kept fairly compact. Other than me, there are four Information Commissioners of whom three have joined. The role of the Commission will develop on the basis of the interaction between the Commissioners themselves, on the interaction between the Commission and the elected representatives, NGOs, and the media.

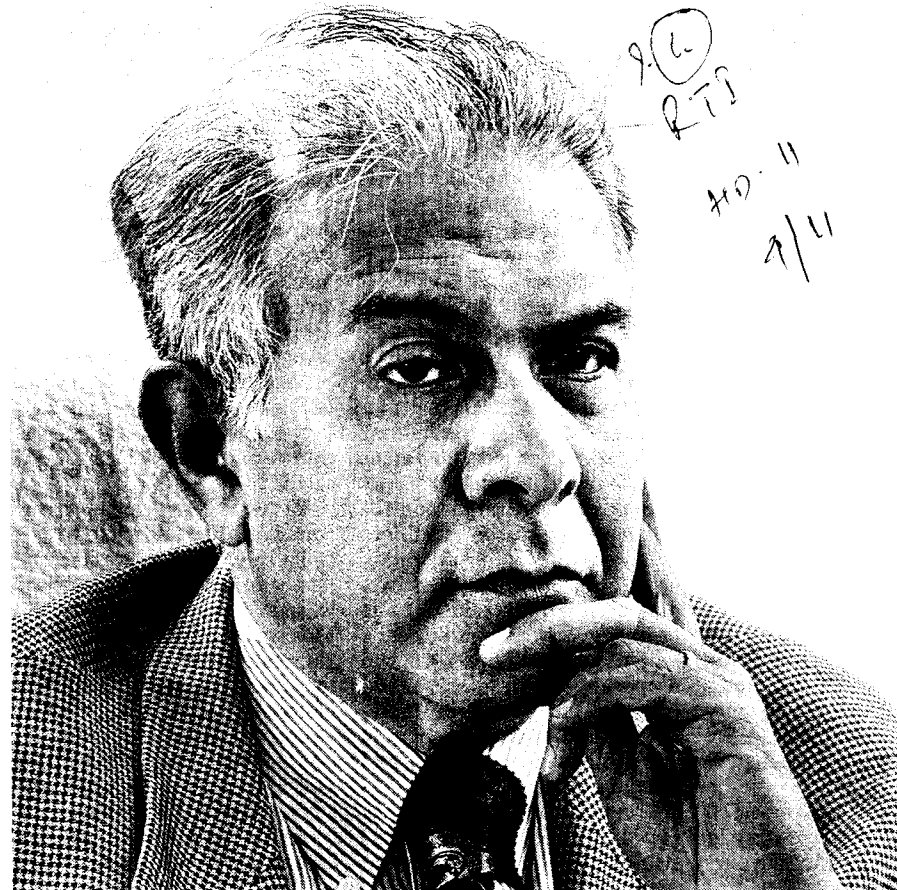
Are there any specific areas that you would like to see the Right to Information mechanism used in?

I do not have any fixed ideas on that front. I would, of course, because of my own experience as Secretary, Panchayati Raj, like to see it being used extensively at the grassroots level, at the level of the Panchayats.

How have you divided work within the Central Information Commission?

We have made an informal division of work to ensure the smooth functioning of the Commission and a clear demarcation of responsibilities.

The allocation is in terms of hearing appeals of Ministries with departments and for interaction with States to ensure coordinat-



Wajahat Habibullah: “I would like to see it [the RTI Act] being used extensively at the grassroots level.” — PHOTO: V.V. KRISHNAN

ed implementation of the Right to Information Act. Each Information Commissioner will have his own assigned work, but the Information Commissioner concerned may wish for another Information Commissioner to sit in with him or her for a particular case.

To start with cases are received at the office of the registrar [who will be the joint

secretary] and the deputy registrar. They will assign the cases according to an informal division that will be laid down. The concerned registrar may also find that the case does not qualify to go before the Commission and has a right to reject it, but that will be subject to the approval of the concerned Information Commissioner looking after the particular Ministry or Department.

Do you feel that appointing persons who have already been in the government as Information Commissioners, despite the RTI Act providing for others to be appointed, is inappropriate? Won't the appointment of ex-bureaucrats lead to a conflict of interest?

I know there has been criticism from certain sections with regard to the composition of the both the Central Information Commission and the State Information Commissions. Within the bureaucracy or those having served in government, it is made up of individuals. To preclude a certain branch from exercising a responsibility under this law is a trifle unfair. A blanket criticism of this nature is not justified in my view.

A suggestion was made that a person who has served in a particular Ministry should not be made the Information Commissioner responsible for that Ministry because there would be a conflict of interest. That is a suggestion that I am looking at. The advantage of having people who have served in government in the Commission is that they know how the government functions and therefore they will be in better position to be able to gauge if something has been concealed or openly stated, which is what is required by the Act.

Are file-notings under the Act's purview?

It is a question of how Section 2(f) of the RTI Act, which defines information, is interpreted. I will on the basis of any case that comes up interpret it accordingly.

Do you think there has been reluctance on the part of the institutions of government to accept the right to information? The President is said to have asked the government to keep his communication out of the purview of the Act. Has there been any communication to you on this?

There has been no communication with me on that. But there would be hesitations in the beginning in a number of areas. The role of an independent Information Commission is to ensure that there is a sense of responsibility in the exercise of the right to information.

India must first begin separation of nuclear facilities, says U.S.

9/25/88 10-12/4

Administration officials praise India's anti-Iran vote, Saran's promise on separation

Sidharth Varadarajan

NEW DELHI: Confirming the statement made last week by the U.S. State Department spokesman that the separation of India's civilian and military nuclear facilities was a "precondition" for Congress being asked to relax its nuclear commerce rules, senior Bush administration officials said the Indian side would have to begin implementing this commitment before the administration would present any related legislative drafts to the Hill.

They also outlined a broad vision for the U.S.-India relationship of which civilian nuclear cooperation was just one part. Cooperation in the promotion of democracy in Central Asia and Myanmar, the sale of U.S. nuclear equipment and civil and military aircraft, and future Indian participation in U.S.-led military undertakings like the Proliferation Security Initiative were described as some of the strategic and economic benefits which would accrue to Washington once the proposed nuclear deal goes through.

But for the entire process to begin, India has to effect a separation between its civilian and military nuclear facilities, the of-

• Broad vision for U.S.-India relationship outlined

• It must craft a credible and transparent plan: Burns

• Separation and safeguards must contribute to non-proliferation goals: Joseph

officials stressed.

"Our judgment is that it would not be wise or fair to ask Congress to make such a consequential decision without evidence that the Indian Government was acting on what is arguably the most important of its commitments — the separation of its civilian and military nuclear facilities," Under-Secretary of State for Political Affairs Nicholas Burns told the Senate Foreign Relations Committee on November 2. He said during his visit to New Delhi in October, he had told the Indian leadership "that it must craft a credible and transparent plan and have begun to implement it before the Administration would request Congressional action."

He added that Foreign Secretary Shyam Saran has "assured me that the Indian Government will produce such a plan."

Both Mr. Burns and Robert G. Joseph, the Under-Secretary of State for Arms Control, favour-

the U.S. side had laid out "some straightforward principles." "I will not enumerate them fully here since the negotiations remain ongoing, but would like to underscore just a couple of these. For example, to ensure that the United States and other potential suppliers can confidently supply to India and meet our obligations under the NPT, safeguards must be applied in perpetuity. Further, the separation plan must ensure — and the safeguards must confirm — that cooperation does not "in any way assist" in the development or production of nuclear weapons. In this context, nuclear materials transferred out of the civil sector."

Mr. Joseph said that "several countries" had told the U.S. that India must not be granted "de jure or de facto status as a nuclear weapon State under the NPT." This was the reason, he said, "a 'voluntary offer' arrangement of the type in place in the five internationally-recognized nuclear weapon States would not be acceptable for India." The U.S., he said, agreed with this argument. Only if New Delhi put forward a "credible and defensible plan" of separation would many States

"become more steadfast in their support" of the plan to allow clear commerce with India.

Once India comes up with "credible, transparent, and defensible separation plan," the U.S. "will be ready to engage with our NSG partners in developing formal proposals to allow shipment of Trigger List items and related technology to India," Mr. Joseph said. "Obviously, the number of facilities and activities that India places under IAEA safeguards, and the method and speed with which it does so, will directly affect the degree to which we will be able to build support for full civil nuclear cooperation."

Saying that he hoped India would "also take additional non-proliferation-related actions beyond those specifically outlined in the Joint Statement," Mr. Joseph noted "with satisfaction" the Manmohan Singh Government's vote against Iran at the IAEA in September. Turning to the commercial benefits, he said "As a result of our involvement in India's civil nuclear industry, U.S. companies will be able to enter India's lucrative and growing energy market, potentially providing jobs for thousands of Americans."

1 lakh Red soldiers vs Indo-US air might

DRIMI Chaudhuri and ALOKE Banerjee
Kolkata, November 1

BETWEEN NOVEMBER 12 and 19, Kalaikunda airbase in West Midnapore will see not just a high-tech war game, but also a grating, eyeball-to-eyeball war of nerves.

On one side will be the combined air might of India and America, on the other, an increasingly assertive Left Front, prepared to surround the airbase with one lakh cadres and stop COPE-India 2005, the joint training exercise in which the Indian and US Air Forces will take part.

There is no hint yet that anybody is willing to blink first.

Defence spokesperson Wing Commander R.K. Das at Bengal Area Headquarters said the USAF would send a squadron of 16 to 18 F-16s, one of the world's most advanced fighter jets.

"They would be accompanied by 300 USAF personnel. While some of them have already arrived, the F-16 pilots, flying in from Misawa and Kadena airbases at Okinawa in Japan, should be reaching on Wednesday. "Although the joint exercises would take place from November 12 to 19, the Americans are coming early to familiarise themselves with the IAF's frontline aircraft such as Jaguar, Mirage, Bison, MiG-27, MiG-29 and Sukhoi-30. They will practise till November 11," Wing Commander Das said.

The USAF would bring along Airborne Warning and Control System (AWACS) and transport aircraft C-5. "Like the F-16s, the AWACS has never been seen in Indian skies. It is fitted with long-range radar capable of aerial surveillance as also command, control and communications functions at high altitude. AWACS can simultane-

IAF-USAF LINE-UP

F-16 squadron and AWACS with 300 US airmen and IAF's Jaguar, Mirage, Bison, MiG-27, MiG-29 and Sukhoi-30 aircraft



Left Front LINE-UP

1 lakh cadres surrounding Kalaikunda and 25 lakh across state to protest against the Indo-US joint air-training exercise

ously detect and track air, sea and ground targets," he added.

The Left Front is not only unimpressed; it is planning a huge movement unless India immediately scraps all joint military operations with

America. CPI(M) state secretary Anil Biswas said on Tuesday that the air exercise could be only the first step towards setting up US military bases on Indian soil.

"In all 120 countries where the US

has set up base, they began with such joint air operations. We won't allow this to happen here," Biswas said.

Asked if the Left should have warned the Centre before taking such an extreme stance, Biswas said, "We

have told the Centre of our objections a number of times. It hasn't paid heed. We don't have options."

Clarifying that the demonstration at Kalaikunda would be peaceful and that protesters wouldn't try storming the airbase, Biswas said cadres would surround the base from all sides on November 7. Another 25 lakh people would be mobilised across the state, including Kolkata, where protest marches would be organised on the day.

"India is becoming part of US policy in Southeast Asia and is helping American expansionism. The US army is the world's most hated armed force. Indo-US joint exercises are dangerous for the nation's security. They will compromise the independence of our defence system. The UPA government must stop such joint exercises. It can't sacrifice its independent foreign policy," Biswas said.

27/10

India, US agree to cooperate in aviation

509

Statesman News Service

NEW DELHI, Oct. 26. — India and the US have entered into several technical cooperation and agreements in the field of aviation, including the setting up of the first ever liaison office here.

Addressing a conference in Washington on 'India's Infrastructure: Challenges and Opportunities', organised by the US-India Business Council and the Federation of Indian Chambers of Commerce and Industry (FICCI), civil aviation minister, Mr Praful Patel, called upon US entrepreneurs to invest more in this sector.

US Secretary of Transport, Mr Norman Mineta, announced that the US Federal Aviation Administration (FAA) would be opening its first ever overseas liaison office in New Delhi, which would be staffed full-time by a permanent FAA representative. This, he said, was being done to strengthen FAA's partnership with its Indian counterpart, the directorate-general of civil aviation (DGCA). This step by the US is seen as a measure of India's growing aviation importance in the region.

The conference was also attended by the road transport, highways and shipping minister, Mr TR Baalu. The ministers were accompanied by a high-level Ficce business delegation of key players in the infrastructure sector.

The Ficci president, Mr Onkar Kanwar, in his opening address, highlighted the lack of quality infrastructure in the country as the single biggest constraint holding the ability of India to perform optimally.

THE STATESMAN

27 OCT 2005

Way ahead in Indo-US nuclear deal

As oil prices soar, dragging gas prices along with them, and as the Kyoto clock ticks away, nuclear power appears more seductive. But unless we bargain hard, we may fritter away the benefits of a hard-won deal, says Sudha Mahalingam

NOW that Nicholas Burns, the visiting US undersecretary for political affairs has indicated that the goalposts of the Indo-US nuclear deal will not be shifted, we need to decide where and how we go from here to secure India's energy needs. After all, energy security was the ostensible purpose of the Indo-US nuclear deal although the collateral gains from the deal — such as our unilateral and voluntary renunciation of further nuclear tests, our readiness to sign additional protocols for civilian reactors and to collaborate with the US in hammering out a Fissile Material Cut-off Treaty — are perhaps more significant from the US viewpoint.

Our policy makers have to now make up their mind about what they would consider a minimum credible nuclear deterrent and how best to secure it. This is the first step to decide which plants can be sequestered and brought under IAEA safeguards and supervision. Separating civilian nuclear facilities from the military is indeed a huge challenge, but not an insurmountable one. But we must think and plan ahead.

The second issue to address would be to examine how the deal will impact India's vision of a three-stage nuclear programme, conceived specifically to suit our domestic resource endowments. After all, India has very poor quality natural uranium and even this will serve a maximum of about 7,000-10,000 megawatts of pressurised heavy water reactor (PHWR) capacity. Bhabha's three-stage programme envisioned PHWRs in the first stage and Fast Breeder Reactors using plutonium from PHWRs in the second stage. The third stage envisaged the thorium route wherein, fuel from the second one would come in handy.

It would be reasonable to assume that India would like to access natural uranium for PHWRs from the Nuclear Suppliers' Group, which one hopes will come around yet. Otherwise, the investments made so far on technology development, fuel and component manufacture and heavy water production would go was-



BONNY THOMAS

te. In that case, those PHWR reactors availing natural uranium from the global suppliers will have to be brought under IAEA safeguards. Will India then be able to use the plutonium from safeguarded reactors for its future Fast Breeder Reactors (FBRs)? If it can, will future FBRs which use plutonium from NSG-supplied reactors also be subject to IAEA safeguards? These are issues that need to be well-thought out, in advance, before we approach the international community for fuel, materials and technology.

If, however, the fuel supplier is reluctant to let India use plutonium from safeguarded PHWRs for its FBR programme, how do we propose to sustain the FBR route? It is not difficult to conceive of such a situation since FBR is not a popular technology globally. In fact, India has been charting a lonely path to indigenously develop FBR precisely because of international sanctions that deprived us of fuel, materials and technology for the last 34 years. If we're now persuaded to abandon the FBR route — and thence the thorium route as well — are we prepared to be perpetually dependent on international fuel supplies for all our future expansion of nuclear power capacity? Is there enough natural uranium available

from the NSG to sustain India's pent-up demand for nuclear fuel to achieve its ambitious nuclear energy targets?

AS IT is, concerns are being raised about whether our existing PHWRs can supply plutonium for our proposed FBR expansion programme. If some of the existing PHWRs are brought under international safeguards as per the recent deal, there would be a question mark over plutonium supplies for the FBR route. Opting for the light water reactor route using low-enriched uranium would also put paid to our dreams of rapidly expanding nuclear power capacity through the FBR route. Whether the benefits from the accord are good enough to abandon the FBR route — after pumping in huge amounts of taxpayers' money to indigenise an information vacuum and nearly succeeding in developing the prototype — is an issue that needs very serious consideration.

In any case, whatever the route adopted, India will have to immediately identify sites where future reactors can be set up. While it makes immense sense to add as much capacity as possible in the existing sites themselves, ambitious proposals for setting up more

than 20,000 megawatts of capacity in the next two decades will require many more new sites as well. The location of the sites itself would depend upon the technology chosen. For instance, LWRs may have to be set up in coastal areas so that the heavy equipment required to build them can be transported by sea.

PHWRs, on the other hand, will require enormous quantities of water. All power plants, whatever the technology, will need sufficient evacuation infrastructure in the form of high-voltage transmission lines. This is perhaps more important than we might be tempted to concede. After all, Tarapur Unit 4 is forced to operate below optimal capacity for want of sufficient evacuation infrastructure. If the proposed reactors are going to be far away from load centres, we had better start thinking about financing and building transmission lines now.

The sites identified for new plants will have to get clearances — from Atomic Energy Regulatory Board for safety and from State Pollution Control Boards and the ministry of environment & forests for environmental clearances — all of which could take up to two years. Sit-ting will have to take into consideration, land acquisition and rehabilitation of displaced populations. This needs to be done after a public hearing process. And finally, the Indian nuclear power establishment will also have to deal with public perceptions about safety and economics of nuclear power, a no mean task in an increasingly health, ecology and cost-conscious world.

We have set ourselves very ambitious goals — such as building 30,000 megawatts of nuclear capacity over the next couple of decades — a quantum jump considering the mere 3,000 megawatts we have now. As oil prices soar and drag gas prices along with them and as the Kyoto clock ticks away, nuclear power appears even more seductive. But unless we do our homework thoroughly and drive hard bargains, we may fritter away the prospective benefits of a hard-won deal.

Bush visit next yr is N-deal deadline

side," explained Saran, adding, "Now, we will be taking these back, reflect upon them and very soon will be coming back in another meeting to take these discussions further."

It's learnt that the two sides are looking at moving simultaneously in a specified time-frame on implementing their obligations. While the Bush Administration has to work on the US Congress, India will have to figure out the separation of civil and nuclear facilities. These are the two crucial steps involved in taking the deal forward and linked to them are other measures like New Delhi starting negotiations on a voluntary safeguards agreement and an additional protocol with the International Atomic Energy Agency.

Burns pointed out that the response at the Nuclear Supplier's Group meeting was encouraging and this will be taken further at the next meeting scheduled for May. "But we can also call for a meeting earlier," he was quick to add.

On convincing the Congress so as to push through the legislation that will open doors for civil nuclear cooperation with India, Burns said: "As more information is produced, I am convinced that members of the Congress will see the benefits of the cooperation with India. We will go on from here and make it work."

fundamentals on where their interests in Islamabad overlap and how the differences ought to be managed, Pakistan might once again trump the prospect of a productive Indo-US relationship.

The only exception to the growing convergence of Indian and American interests in South Asia appears to be Pakistan. Pointing to the new convergence in a speech at New York's Asia Society last Tuesday, Burns pointed to the "close consultations on regional issues, such as Afghanistan, Bangladesh, Sri Lanka, and Nepal."

"In each of these states, we share with India the basic recognition that the best path to development and peace is a democratic one," Burns added. Nevertheless, this "active and productive dialogue" does not appear to include a serious conversation on Pakistan and its future.

It is easy for Washington to say its military ties with Islamabad should not and would not affect ties with New Delhi. India could similarly say its ties with Iran should not come in the way of Indo-US partnership.

The logic of de-hyphenation sounds good in theory. However, there is no way of ignoring the Pakistan factor in thinking about Indo-US relations. It appears that the Bush Administration has made up its mind on selling 80 F-16s to Pakistan. It is a matter of time before the US Congress considers and approves the Administration's request.

While some in the Indian establishment continue to look at the F-16 sale in terms of air balance with the Western neighbour, the real problem for India lies in its long-term political rather than military implications.

Indian officials are cer-

tainly not blind to the new American interests in Pakistan—from the imperatives of the war on terror to management of the unstable neighbourhood in Afghanistan and Iran.

However, if the US sells Pakistan military equipment like F-16s, which have no bearing on the war on terror, India's focus will have to inevitably turn to the prospect of a long-term US military relationship with Pakistan that might not take into account India's sensitivities.

Worse still, such a relationship could destabilise not only the peace process between India and Pakistan but also the potential for a strong future military relationship between New Delhi and Washington.

Equally troubling is the trend line in which Washington seems to offer extraordinary political slack to Pakistan

Pakistan shadow on Indo-US regional security talks today

President Pervez Musharraf while putting India to a loyalty test on Iran.

The fact that Pakistan's abstention on the Iran issue at the International Atomic Energy Agency last month has met little criticism in Washington has not gone unnoticed in New Delhi. While India's vote with the European resolution has been appreciated, voices in the US Congress have insisted that India be examined again when the Iran's non-proliferation comes up for renewed debate at Vienna next month.

India's vote next time around would depend on the merits of the diplomatic circumstances and the state of nuclear diplomacy with Iran. However, New Delhi is discontented by any suggestion that links its vote on the Iran issue with the prospect of civilian nuclear cooperation with the US that is dangling in the air.

Bill: PM proposes, PMO disposes

Committee on Tribal Affairs, chaired by Home Minister Shivraj Patil, asked the Environment Ministry to prepare an alternative draft.

This draft was presented at a meeting chaired by the Prime Minister on September 30. According to MoEF sources, the Prime Minister asked his officials to get copies of the new draft distributed among the participants—ministry officials and independent experts—and wanted a consensus between the two ministries.

On October 4, Environment Minister A Raja gave a copy of the draft to Patil explaining how it addressed the concerns raised by the Prime Minister at the September 30 meet.

"Kindly peruse the Draft Bill of my Ministry and give us an opportunity to steer it through for enactment," Raja wrote to Patil.

However, the same day, R Gopalakrishnan, joint secretary in the PMO, sent Raja's ministry a note asking it not to proceed with any draft bill. "The draft Bill prepared by the Ministry of Tribal Affairs comprehensively addresses the issue," he wrote, adding, in bold letters, that this "course of action" had the Prime Minister's approval. Despite several attempts, Gopalakrishnan was not available for comment. On October 10, the Ministry of Tribal Affairs asked the MoEF for its input on the original draft bill. In response, the MoEF sent a five-point two-page input on 12 October.

India, U.S. express commitment to implementing nuclear deal

It will be a "very good, implementable agreement" before Bush visit, says Burns

Diplomatic Correspondent

NEW DELHI: India had delivered on some of its commitments contained in the July 18 nuclear deal with the United States and was becoming a partner in the global non-proliferation regime, Foreign Secretary Shyam Saran said on Friday.

Addressing a joint press conference with U.S. Under Secretary of State, Nicholas Burns, Mr. Saran hoped that there would be a "very good, implementable agreement" before U.S. President George W. Bush's visit early next year.

"A great power"

Mr. Burns termed his discussions on the agreement as "very good." The U.S. saw India as a "great power," which would work with Washington in the promotion of "peace and stability" in the world.

A complicated matter

Mr. Saran said implementation of the nuclear deal was a complicated matter but both countries were committed to completing the task.

New Delhi had come out with a law against weapons of mass destruction, harmonised its export controls list with those of the Nuclear Suppliers Group (NSG) and Missile Technology Control Regime. It had also unilaterally declared that it would not transfer enrichment technologies to third countries, he pointed out.

Modalities being evolved

Asked about Prime Minister Manmohan Singh's statement in Parliament in July that India would ensure that all restrictions would be lifted before placing civilian facilities under the International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA) safeguards, Mr. Saran said the two sides were looking working out the modalities for implementing the agreement.

Mr. Saran claimed that the commitments of both were very clear. The modalities were discussed with Mr. Burns on Friday and clarifications sought by both

- India becoming a partner in global non-proliferation regime

- New Delhi has introduced a law against weapons of mass destruction

- Export controls list harmonised with that of Nuclear Suppliers Group

- Has said it would not transfer enrichment technologies to third countries

sides. These would be "reflected upon."

The two sides would have another meeting on the issue "very soon."

Stand of NSG

On the inability of the U.S. to push through changes in guidelines at the recent NSG meeting in Vienna, Mr. Burns said Washington could call a meeting of the Group at any time to push through civilian nuclear cooperation with India.

The U.S. was fully committed to implementing the nuclear deal. Contacts were taking place with members of the U.S. Congress, he said. Mr. Burns hoped that there would be progress before Mr. Bush's visit.

Oil pipeline project

Mr. Burns refused to answer "hypothetical" questions on the Iran-Pakistan-India gas pipeline, saying there had been no agreement.

Hitting out at Iran, he said Teheran must feel isolated after the September 24 IAEA governing board vote.

Hits out at Iran

Iran was a "major supporter" of terrorist groups. If it did not come back to the negotiating table, then there would be another vote against it at the November 24 IAEA meeting, he said.

Mr. Burns, however, asserted that there was still a possibility of negotiations between the Iranian and European Governments.



PUSHING THE DEAL: United States Under Secretary of State Nicholas Burns with Foreign Secretary Shyam Saran in New Delhi on Friday. - PHOTO: REUTERS

The U.S.-India agreement: victory for whom?

Murli Manohar Joshi

THE INDIA-U.S. civil nuclear energy cooperation agreement, signed by United States President George Bush and Prime Minister Manmohan Singh in Washington on July 19, has been publicly dubbed as "a historical watershed." The negotiators told their respective media their side gave up little or nothing to win a great deal. If that is true, it is indeed the most historic agreement between the two democracies. However, one must ask: what actually was the agreement and whom does it benefit the most?

Let's examine the background. Since the Congress-led United Progressive Alliance Government came to power, it has been giving an impression that serious efforts are being made to secure for India a permanent seat in the United Nations Security Council. The Government has tried to woo every visiting head of state and sent emissaries to countries seeking their support for India's candidature. Foreign Minister Natwar Singh made a last-ditch effort during his New York visit before the beginning of the U.N. session, prior to the Prime Minister's Washington visit.

The single-minded focus on the U.N. Security Council seat or prestige in the international community should not surprise watchers of Indian foreign policy during 50 years of Congress Party rule. The party, beginning with Jawaharlal Nehru, was more interested in seeking global prestige than in pursuing vigorously the issues of vital national interest. It is nobody's case that India should not try to become a permanent member of the Security Council. But keeping this as the only agenda of our foreign policy and obfuscating other issues would certainly be poor diplomacy. In sharp contrast, the BJP-led National Democratic Alliance doggedly pursued India's "self-interest first" agenda, which began with the 1998 nuclear tests.

India also wanted access to dual use tech-

"We will be sacrificing our national security by letting our nuclear weapons programme be controlled, confined, and contained under international watch."

nology and fuel for under-productive Indian nuclear power plants built on U.S. and western assurances and supplies (which were discontinued after India's 1974 nuclear test).

Ironically, Dr. Manmohan Singh, who likes to be known as the father of India's economic reform among his western friends, went to the U.S. capital with little or no economic agenda for India. The CEO forum crafted by the Deputy Chairman of Planning Commission was an afterthought and had an agenda that had little to do with the country's economic growth. However, the CEOs from both sides wasted no time on pomp and show, and cut several one-to-one deals behind the scene.

While New Delhi was sending feeler upon feeler about its immense desire to get Washington's nod for the Security Council seat, how did the U.S. respond? The Bush administration simply used India's desire to whet the appetite of the Indian team through mixed messages. To American advantage, the Indian team, both political and bureaucratic, was so fixated on the Security Council seat that it failed to ask about, or see, the real U.S. agenda for the agreement.

What was the real U.S. agenda?

Unlike India, the United States administration is very pragmatic. It pursues only concrete and measurable goals and rarely discloses its real agenda in advance. The U.S. agenda does not always come from public sector needs. Most often, it is dictated by private sector needs to sell more goods and services or gain major conces-

sions from foreign governments, especially when they are a guest. This is particularly true of Republican administrations. For the Bush administration, taking care of the business needs of American corporations comes first and last. All one has to do is to scan the list of CEOs from the U.S. side who attended either the CEO meeting or the White House dinner reception. The President's favourite corporations were Boeing and General Electric.

Aside from taking care of Boeing's \$7.2 billion sale to India, the administration had a strategic agenda. This had to do with gaining India's acceptance to cap its nuclear programme through agreements to stop further testing, limit the production of fissile materials, and allow International Atomic Energy Agency inspections. With this agreement signed, India's decision to defend itself through "minimal deterrence" was permanently blocked. It seems that the U.S. was fully aware of India's thorium programme. Its non-proliferation lobby wanted the country stopped in its tracks. Washington rightly calculated that the chances of restraining India are better with an insecure leader guided by bureaucrats, who will do anything to get out of the nuclear doghouse. The United States has been using European governments to contain Iran's nuclear programme and the Chinese government to stop the advanced North Korean nuclear programme. In this pursuit, agreement with India does become very useful.

Today there are three nuclear weapon states in the world not recognised by the Nuclear Non-

Proliferation Treaty: India, Pakistan, and Israel. While the nuclear weapons of Pakistan and Israel are well controlled by the United States, India has been a wild card. In fact, Pakistan's nuclear weapons and programme are monitored and controlled not only by the U.S. but also by China. Contrary to popular belief, it is India's nuclear programme, not Pakistan's, that the U.S. wanted to get its arm around. Both Europeans and Chinese have leveraged it in resisting U.S. pressure to cajole Iran and North Korea too much. Finally, the Indian Prime Minister, who could not see the U.S. game and was overwhelmed by the American pomp and show, presented a golden opportunity for weakening India's regional power ambitions.

On July 18, Prime Minister Manmohan Singh, led by bureaucrats, signed an agreement that committed India to:

- (1) stop any further testing of nuclear weapons, notwithstanding the fact that the U.S. itself never ratified the CTBT;
- (2) put its future nuclear research under American watch knowing fully well that it would take a long time and major expense to separate the civilian and defence nuclear programmes; and
- (3) cap India's nuclear deterrent weapon programme to a point of making it ineffective.

The question remains: what did India gain in return for capping its nuclear deterrence? The often-quoted answer by the Congress-led Government is President Bush's commitment to persuade the U.S. Congress to change the law to allow the administration or other members of Nuclear Suppliers' Group to give India fuel rods. What happens if President Bush is unable to persuade Congress or the suppliers' group to provide India the nuclear fuel?

Can the country go back on the agreement, a notion advanced by Dr. Singh in Parliament? It is unlikely that India can go back on this highly publicised agreement. If the U.S. Congress does not change the law, President Bush can easily explain it away. When the U.S. Congress refused to ratify the Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty, President Clinton quickly explained this away to those whom he had persuaded to sign the treaty. The country must thank the wisdom of Prime Minister Vajpayee for foreseeing the situation and refusing to ink the agreement under Clinton-Talbot pressure.

On the day Dr. Singh was addressing the joint session of the U.S. Congress, the Energy Committee of the House of Representatives was discussing a motion to reject the administration's proposal to allow India to get nuclear fuel. President Bush's major problem may be time. Will he be able to pull it through Congress and persuade the Nuclear Suppliers Group to go along — before he leaves office in 2008?

What can India possibly gain?

Even if all conditions are met or the U.S. Congress modifies its laws to allow India to obtain nuclear fuel from the Nuclear Suppliers Group, it will take \$7 billion to \$10 billion of India's investment, and at least a decade, to add an additional 3 per cent of power (or a total of 6 per cent) from nuclear fuel provided by the agreement.

In return, we will be sacrificing our national security by letting our nuclear weapons programme be controlled, confined, and contained under international watch. As a result, the country will be deprived of effective nuclear deterrence, letting Pakistan and China enjoy their growing defence prowess. In consequence, India's emergence as a regional power will be severely curtailed — if not by design, then by default.

It is now well accepted that the 1998 nuclear tests ordered by Vajpayee Government brought respect and economic growth for the country. The Manmohan Singh Government is squandering the foreign policy gains of the NDA — slowly, but surely.

(The writer is a former president of the Bharatiya Janata Party. He was Human Resource Development Minister in the National Democratic Alliance Government.)

CARTOONSCAPE



India-U.S. deal: negotiating the nuclear fine print

Siddharth Varadarajan

THE JULY 18 nuclear agreement between India and the United States represented a dramatic reversal of Washington's proliferation policies towards New Delhi. Dropping its insistence on India capping or reversing its nuclear weapons programme, the Bush administration declared itself willing to engage in nuclear commerce with a nation whose growing strategic significance it was keen to harness. In the neocon worldview, India's nuclear weapons are not a problem for American power but an asset in the larger game of tethering China and preventing the emergence of an Asian security architecture that might exclude the U.S. Central to this project is the prevention of pan-Asian energy arrangements built around pipelines linking Central Asia, Iran, Pakistan, India, Myanmar, and China. Allowing India access to international civil nuclear technology and supplies flows directly from these imperatives.

REALITY CHECK

In exchange, India committed itself to a number of "voluntary" steps aimed at bringing its nuclear industry under some measure of international scrutiny. Its nuclear weapons programme was excluded from the purview of the July 18 agreement. At the same time, the U.S. was confident that the separation of military and civil nuclear facilities and the placing of the latter under International Atomic Energy Agency safeguards would help keep the Indian arsenal within the limits needed to 'balance' China and ensure it did not develop into a more open-ended enterprise with global implications. Ideally, the U.S. would also like to influence India's choice of civilian nuclear technology, moving it away from its indigenous plutonium-thorium based three-stage programme towards light water reactors running on "proliferation-risk free" low enriched uranium.

India needs to play its hand carefully on sequencing, separation, and safeguards.

Though the Government insists no hidden conditions were attached to the agreement, India was left in no doubt that its strategic instincts and plans must henceforth be curbed or, at the very least, dovetailed to suit the logic of its alliance with America. The shift in Indian behaviour this has induced is palpable. The Manmohan Singh Government's imprudent decision to support the European-U.S. resolution against Iran at the IAEA is the most visible marker of this change but there are other straws in the wind. All plans of looking at Iran as a land and energy bridge to Central Asia and Afghanistan are on hold; officials (and analysts) who once were excited by the prospect of an Iran-India pipeline have since turned turtle; the India-Brazil-South Africa forum is being seen as a distraction rather than a grouping with tremendous political and economic significance; relations with China are on a steady course but the more India gets sucked into the vortex it is entering, there will be dissonance here too.

If this is the political price India is paying for American nuclear assistance, there are also significant technological and financial costs to be borne as the country moves to implement the commitments made in the July 18 agreement. This weekend, the working group headed by Foreign Secretary Shyam Saran and Undersecretary of State Nicholas Burns will meet in New Delhi to evolve the timeframe and specific contours of the commitments to be implemented. The U.S. is committed to changing its domestic laws governing nuclear exports and working to bring the Nuclear Suppliers Group on board. India's commitments are mainly to effect a civil-military separation and accept the IAEA safeguards. However, the first question that has to be resolved in the Saran-Burns meeting is sequencing.

The American side has already spelt out its views. By the time President George W. Bush comes to Delhi in February 2006, "India should have identified the facilities in terms of the separation of civilian and military facilities and activities," Undersecretary of State for Nonproliferation Robert Joseph told a Congressional hearing on September 8. "It should have begun in-depth consultations with the IAEA for the application of safeguards on the civilian side. It should have also begun in-depth discussions with the IAEA on the Additional Protocol." Mr. Burns added that India had been told that the U.S. wanted "a date by which some of the actions will be taken ... And in turn, the Government of India will expect that we will be working in the NSG and with Congress to identify a way forward." (emphasis added)

In other words, by the time India has come up with a plan for separation and is already having "in-depth discussions" with the IAEA, the U.S. would still only be working on identifying a way forward. Assuming that way forward is identified promptly, will U.S. law be changed before India's safeguards agreement with the IAEA comes into force? Prime Minister Manmohan Singh told Parliament on July 29 that before India subjects itself to international scrutiny "we will ensure that all restrictions have been lifted." Careful calibration is required to ensure that India's safeguards obligations kick in after Congress amends the U.S. Atomic Energy Act without riders. The ease with which a handful of Congressmen were able to drag India on the Iran issue has given confidence to the nonproliferation lobby on and around the Hill, which is still seeking to make U.S. nuclear cooperation conditional on additional concessions.

Apart from sequencing, separation too is likely to be a complicated affair and one in which the

U.S. will try and push the envelope as far as it can. Though India insists the identification and separation of military and civilian nuclear facilities is its decision alone, the U.S. is insisting on having a say. The Bush administration is keen to ensure that the separation is "both credible and defensible from a non-proliferation perspective," Mr. Burns told the Congressional panel last month. "The U.S. government has to be able to see it happen and understand what is happening and agree on what is happening." (emphasis added)

The issue is not an academic one. Though the Indian atomic establishment believes there is little difficulty in accepting safeguards at many facilities, there are some non-military facilities and activities where it would not like to let the IAEA in. Anil Kakodkar, chairman of the Atomic Energy Commission, has been quite blunt about this. In an interview to *Frontline* in August he said, "We are not going to put under safeguards any research and development programme." Asked explicitly about safeguards for the Prototype Fast Breeder Reactor (PFBR) under construction at Kalpakkam and other FBRs, Dr. Kakodkar replied: "No, the PFBR will not come. The PFBR is a prototype. Why should it go under safeguards? When technology becomes mature, it is a different story." He added that the IGCAR at Kalpakkam was an R&D centre, implying that it too would remain unsafeguarded. Dr. Kakodkar also emphasised that costs would be another factor in identifying what is civilian.

It is reasonable to infer that the State Department and the DAE have a vastly different view of the civil-military separation. What stand the Ministry of External Affairs takes remains to be seen. Apart from the PFBR, which Washington would ideally like to see on the civilian facilities list, U.S. experts are also believed to be keen to ensure India's present and future detritation facilities — where heavy water is processed and tritium gas produced — are safeguarded since tritium is the hydrogen that gives a lethal boost to the explosive force of 'hydrogen' bombs.

The irony here is that the U.S. produces its tritium at civilian facilities. For decades, the U.S. has been the only nuclear weapon state to have effected a civil-military separation more or less successfully thanks to billions of dollars spent in developing extensive stand-alone facilities to service its nuclear stockpile. However, in 2003 formal separation in the U.S. came to an end when the Tennessee Valley Authority's commercial Watts Bar Nuclear Plant started producing both tritium for nuclear weapons and electricity for civilians. The Department of Energy (which oversees the U.S. military nuclear programme) stopped making tritium in 1988 when its reactors at Savannah River were shut down for safety reasons. Since the gas has a short lifespan, the U.S. administration authorised the use of civilian facilities as a cheaper option to the establishment of a DoE-run dedicated extraction facility.

In other words, even as it expects India to separate its civilian and military nuclear activities, the U.S. is turning its back on separation because of the costs involved. In any case, apart from the U.S. and to a lesser extent Britain, none of the other recognised nuclear weapons states practise any serious separation. French civilian power reactors like the Chinon, Bugey and St-Laurent series are believed to have produced as much as 2000 kg of military plutonium over the years. In China, the China National Nuclear Corporation oversees military and civilian nuclear activities and tends to run them as an integrated whole. In Russia, Oleg Bukharin tells us in *Science and Global Security*, 1994, "the military and civilian nuclear fuel cycles are highly integrated ... at the level of both uranium flows and individual facilities."

The Manmohan Singh Government may still be right in deciding separation is the best way forward for India. Unfortunately, no serious attempt was made to work out the financial and ecological costs that might be involved before the July 18 commitment to separate was made. Now it must not allow itself to be railroaded into a separation plan drawn up to address Washington's concerns and interests.

CARTOONSCAPE



Indo-US N-deal in danger of meltdown

21/10
By Chidanand Rajghatta/TNN

Washington: The Indo-US nuclear deal is proving to be a hard sell for the Bush administration both domestically and internationally, making it unlikely that the agreement will bear fruit before the US President's visit to India early next year.

At a meeting in Vienna earlier this week, Washington failed to move the 44-member Nuclear Suppliers' Group

(NSG) on its proposal to exempt New Delhi from the 30-year sanctions that has kept India outside the nuclear club following its 1974 tests. At the same time, US law-makers wrote to President Bush seeking more information and transparency about the deal if the administration wanted Congress to clear it.

The twin hurdles came ahead of a visit to New Delhi this week by US undersecretary of state Nicholas Burns aimed at reviewing the progress on the commitments made by the two sides. Officials put a positive spin on the developments although they scaled down expectations that the agreement

could be pushed through quickly.

"We always knew it would be an uphill task. But the important thing is that many NSG countries are inclined to look positively at the agreement following the US lead," a senior Indian official told TOI.

At the Vienna meeting, Russia, France, Britain and Canada were among countries that backed Washington's move to relax nuclear export controls on India as a one-country exception in recognition of its

non-proliferation record to meet its energy needs. But Sweden, Japan and New Zealand questioned the need for a permanent regime change to help one country. The Group adjourned without taking a decision and it is not scheduled to meet until next May, making it unlikely that President Bush can bring home the deal when he visits India early next year, although a special meeting can be called if the situation demands it.

Meanwhile, the deal also faces domestic hurdles, with US lawmakers seemingly miffed that the administration had not consulted them before signing the deal with India.

Up Against The World



Deal with India won't weaken non-proliferation: Burns

To ask Congress for legislative changes for civilian cooperation

Amit Baruah

NEW DELHI: India's September 24 vote at the IAEA governing board meeting is a "dramatic example" of where it stands in preventing a "theocratic" Iran from acquiring a nuclear weapons capability, U.S. Under-Secretary of State Nicholas Burns said on Tuesday.

India's vote in Vienna found Iran in non-compliance with International Atomic Energy Agency statute, he said addressing the Asia Society in New York.

(However, in its September 24 explanation, New Delhi said Iran had not violated Article XII-C of the IAEA statute and neither did the "current situation" pose a threat to international peace and security.)

Mr. Burns disagreed that the July 18 civilian nuclear deal between New Delhi and Washington weakened global non-proliferation efforts.

Speaking about past differences in the Indian and U.S. voting records at the United

Nations, he said it was hard to imagine that "our shared interests" in democracy, development and stability would not bring our voting record into "greater convergence over time."

Mr. Burns, who is coming to India on Thursday to co-chair a session of the bilateral working group to implement the July 18 agreement, said the State Department planned to ask Congress for legislative changes for full civilian nuclear cooperation with India before President George W. Bush's visit in early 2006.

"In the meantime both India and the U.S. need to take con-

crete steps to make this agreement possible."

In Vienna, the U.S. proposed to ask its "friends and allies" in the Nuclear Suppliers' Group this week to enable civilian nuclear cooperation and trade with India.

He would discuss the "implementation schedule" of the July 18 nuclear deal in New Delhi.

"For its part, India will be working to develop a way to segregate its civil and military nuclear sectors and develop an appropriate safeguards regime of the sort envisioned in our... agreement."

This was a necessary step to implement the agreement. "By demonstrating our ability to fol-

low through on our commitments, we gain the confidence to embark on even more ambitious projects in the future."

Referring to the June 29 defence accord, Mr. Burns said India and the U.S. were planning to enlarge defence trade, improve cooperation between the armed forces and co-produce military hardware.

"We hope India will purchase American supersonic fighter planes."

He said the world would benefit from the "military and other assets" India would bring to bear by participating in the controversial U.S.-led Proliferation Security Initiative to make the world safer from weapons of

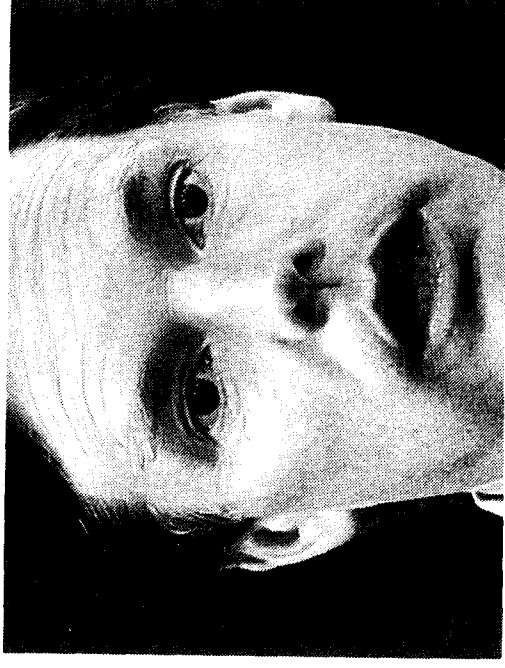
mass destruction.

Claiming that Indo-U.S. relations transformed into a "nascent strategic partnership," Mr. Burns said two successive governments in New Delhi representing opposite ends of the political spectrum had helped in this process.

More than 80,000 Indian students went to American universities this year.

The Indian student population in the U.S. doubled in just five years.

India was the largest source of temporary workers and second largest source of legal migration after Mexico.



U.S. Under-Secretary of State Nicholas Burns

9.10.06

India's vote on Iran nuke issue pleases Uncle Sam

Our Political Bureau
NEW DELHI 19 OCTOBER

IN an attempt to bind India to its anti-Iran position at the IAEA, the US on Wednesday said New Delhi's decision to vote alongside Washington on the Iranian nuclear issue has brought about the Congressional agreement to the Indo-US nuclear agreement.

"Now, there should be substantial support for the agreement with the Congress approving it by the time President George W Bush visits India early next year, under secretary of state for political affairs, Nicholas Burns, who is reaching New Delhi on Tuesday, said.

It may be recalled that Mr Burns had negotiated the deal with India. After the last vote, Mr Burns had said that India had foiled Iran's attempt to pose the standoff as an issue between the developed countries and developing countries.

By the time Mr Bush visits India in early winter of 2006, "You will see both (India and



the US) meet our commitments," and then the two countries will be in a position to put this agreement into effect, he said. Mr Burns said the nuclear agreement was not a scheme for immediate implementation. Both sides have to take certain steps — India has to separate its nuclear and military facilities.

Mr Burns' assertions coincide with pressure on the Manmohan Singh government to avoid another vote against Iran at the IAEA on November 24.

The Left party leaders have made it clear that they will not

allow the government to persist with its anti-Iran position.

This pressure from the Left has seen the government mounting several diplomatic initiatives to avert a vote in the IAEA. Although it has claimed an element of success in its negotiations with Germany and France, the UK has said it will do everything to deal with Iran's nuclear plans.

Government managers here said the negotiations have become quite tough after Tony Blair's meeting with Condoleezza Rice in London last weekend. The two sides agreed to work together to get Iran to meet its international obligations.

This development is quite discomfoting for the government as the Left has been blaming Prime Minister Manmohan Singh for voting against Iran to appease the US.

"The Prime Minister is directly responsible for this state of affairs. The Left parties cannot countenance this new direction of foreign policy," Prakash Karat had said.

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Top US official to urge timetable for nuclear deal

Indo-US Pact On Civilian N-Energy Yet To Gain Approval Of US Congress

New York: United States' undersecretary of state Nicholas Burns said on Tuesday he intended to work with Indian officials on a timetable for implementing a civil nuclear energy agreement, as he prepared to leave for India for talks on the landmark deal reached by the two countries in July this year.

In a speech at the Asia Society, Burns hailed the agreement as a reflection of the new strategic partnership between the US and India, insisting the deal would strengthen

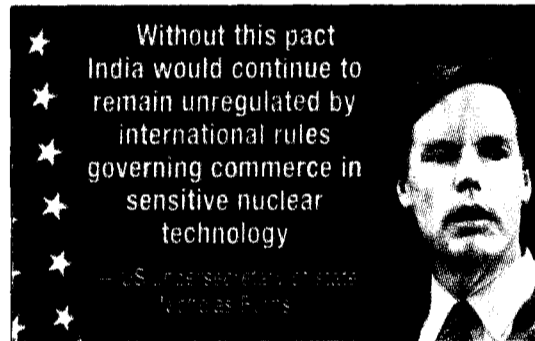
Paris, Burns would meet with European and French partners to discuss issues of mutual interest. In Japan, he will participate in trilateral strategic dialogue talks on key regional and global issues with his Japanese and Australian counterparts, as well as meet with Japanese political leaders, the State Department said.

The agreement between India and the US allows American companies to help India build nuclear reactors and to supply nuclear fuel to the reactors.

In return, India has said it would separate civilian and military nuclear facilities, comply with safeguards established by the International Atomic Energy Agency and open its civilian nuclear facilities to inspection by the UN nuclear watchdog.

The announcement by President Bush on July 18, after a White House meeting with Indian Prime Minister Manmohan Singh, that the US would help India build its nuclear programme marked a sharp reversal of US policy. Before US civilian nuclear technology can be shipped to India, Congress must enact legislation to amend the US law that bans civilian nuclear cooperation with countries that have not submitted to full nuclear inspections.

Burns acknowledged the agreement had yet to gain the full support of the US Congress, though he said he thought there was now "substantial support" in Congress for the deal. Noting India's enormous energy needs, Burns said nuclear energy would serve as a source of clean energy that would also address global warming. AP



the Nuclear Nonproliferation Treaty rather than weaken it, as critics of the US-India nuclear deal have maintained. "Without this agreement India would continue to remain unregulated by international rules governing commerce in sensitive nuclear technology," Burns said.

He said during his upcoming three days of meetings with Indian officials, which begin on Thursday, he would work on a plan that would separate the civil and military nuclear components of India's nuclear programme over the coming years. He said he was confident that once India committed to this plan, implementation of the agreement could begin.

Burns would be travelling to India, France and Japan on a seven-day visit starting Tuesday, the US State Department has announced. In

India, US ink science, tech pact

Washington: India and the United States have signed an agreement designed to promote cooperation in science and technology. The two governments had to bridge differences over intellectual property rights to come up with the deal. The pact was signed by India's minister for science and technology Kapil Sibal and US secretary of state Condoleezza Rice.

"This agreement will strengthen the science and technology capabilities of both the United States and India, expand relations between our extensive scientific and technological communities and promote technological and scientific cooperation in areas of mutual benefit," said Rice.

"I think that the umbrella science and technology agreement that we are signing today is going to allow us to collaborate in areas that are going to serve humanity. I... thank you

very much for condoling with us, both of the time of the tsunami on 26th of December as well as the recent earthquake, which has devastated our regions. Our hearts go out to the people of the United States with the devastation caused by Katrina and Rita. And I think this is an indication that nature is giving to us that it's time for all of us to collaborate," Sibal said.

If the world is to be transformed, the reason will be scientific contributions

—Kapil Sibal

The signing took place in the Treaty Room at the US State Department. On the table were two copies of an agreement described as "imperative" by the US. In a fact sheet the state department attributed the breakthrough on intellectual property rights to the "current (bilateral) relationship" and the "extensive growth in technological capabilities".

Rice predicted that the pact would encourage cooperation in a range of fields, including basic sciences, space, energy, nanotechnology as well as health and information technology.



so long to "discover" India. Turning to the agreement itself, Sibal said the benefits should be felt far beyond the borders of the two signatories.

The international community has benefited from Indian scientific

life sciences, which would benefit the world's poor by producing new vaccines.

The two officials exchanged signed copies of the agreement and departed without taking any questions from the media. Later, addressing the media persons at the Indian embassy in Washington, Sibal described the agreement as a "historic" one and a major "milestone".

"I think that if the two great democracies of the world—the

oldest and the largest—collaborate with each other on these specific issues, apart from high-technology issues, we will hopefully have some solutions on issues that impact on the lives of common people.... If the world is going to be transformed in the new millennium, the reason for that will be our contributions—the scientific community's contributions—in the field of nanotech and biotech.... I am proud of my scientific community that, despite the meagre resources in R and D in our country, they have some us proud. But I think that the time has come when the country must invest more in R and D," he said.

Asked about potential investors who may be worried about the protection of their intellectual property in India, Sibal argued that 150 members of the Fortune 500 would not be in the country already if they did not feel protected. ANI

Stage set for India-U.S. defence cooperation

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Defence Systems executive coming next week

V.Jayanth

ST. LOUIS: U.S. Boeing Integrated Defence Systems' Vice-President and Chief Executive Officer will be in New Delhi next week to initiate the next round of discussions on building India-U.S. defence cooperation.

Though this is not a defence services-to-defence services cooperation, it will be part of a larger canvas of cooperation.

"I will be there next Thursday to kick off discussions with the Government of India and will also meet up with private partners. Our whole effort will be to make it a customer-driven exercise," Jim Albaugh, Boeing IDS CEO, told visiting journalists at the company's facility here on Thursday.

Following the high-level bilateral contacts, the defence forces have got together to discuss a framework for cooperation. Simultaneously, Boeing's IDS has got into the act to build "a long-term relationship." A final protocol is expected to be firmed up by the year-end.

Mr. Albaugh insists that it is "not just sales, but a partnership" that Boeing and its subsidiaries are looking at. It is true that multi-role fighter planes or combat aircraft are certainly on the table, but it will be open to international competition. Then the ageing fleet of Indian Air Force's MiGs, especially the MiG 21s, will be up for replacement. "Over the next 10 years, there could be a \$15-billion market in just India," he says.

All these years, IDS was not looking at India, just the way that it did not look at China. Defence-related cooperation was not on the agenda. The Boeing group was content with "commercial relations," selling its planes. But in the past six months, things have changed rapidly on the India-U.S. front.

• "It is not just sales, but a partnership"

• Over the next 10 years, there could be a \$15 billion market in India

• Discussions with Indian authorities and the private sector "a learning curve"

• Strategic R&D agreement with Indian Institute of Science, Bangalore

• Boeing and other defence-related companies are increasingly turning to the high-potential Asia Pacific market

Strategic R&D agreement

IDS has announced a "Strategic R and D agreement" with the Indian Institute of Science (IISc) in Bangalore. According to Pete Hoffman, Director, Global R and D Strategy, IDS, a technical team will soon visit India to identify and define the areas of cooperation. But it will be in "aerospace structures, materials." It will look into the possibilities of advanced materials, composites and the like in the use of commercial aerospace. The IISc's network of cooperation can also be tapped for the process.

The IDS establishment, through another team, will pick up the threads of its earlier preliminary discussions with other players — The Defence Research and Development Organisation, the Indian Space Research Organisation and private players such as Larsen and Toubro. A clearer roadmap of cooperation is expected to evolve, perhaps before the year-end.

Excited about India's potential

Says Mark E.Kronenberg, Vice-President, Business Development, Asia-Pacific: "India has the fourth largest armed forces in the world. And the level of cooperation has flipped over the past six months. We are quite

excited about the potential."

With the American defence expenditure expected to flatten out over the next few years for various reasons, Boeing and other defence-related companies are increasingly turning to the high-potential Asia Pacific market, where defence spending has seen a steady build-up. Seven of 20 largest purchasers of defence products are in Asia.

Mr. Kronenberg describes the discussions with Indian authorities and the private sector "a learning curve," and both sides are "beginning to feel each other and understand the needs."

To give an idea of what defence deals mean to the Boeing group, this segment now accounts for 58 per cent of the company's estimated \$ 32 billion business last year. Just 10 years ago, commercial deals, meaning airplanes and its associated services, contributed to 77 per cent of the groups' business. As a result of the changing scenario, Boeing went on to acquire other companies, including Mcdonald Douglas and Rockwell, to stay focussed on international defence business.

It is in this setting that the U.S, with both its defence establishment and the private sector has stepped up their attention on India and will look to a huge window of opportunity.

01 JUL 2005

Natwar guided away from Iran missile

K.P. NAYAR

Washington, Sept. 19: With New Delhi's negotiations with the Bush administration on India's role in defusing the Iranian nuclear crisis reaching a critical stage, external affairs minister Natwar Singh has cancelled a proposed visit to Washington.

Singh, who is in New York, was to have arrived here on September 23 after delivering a lecture at Brown University in Providence, Rhode Island, but he will now travel directly to Canada, skirting Washington.

If he had gone ahead with the visit, Singh would have been with his US counterpart Condoleezza Rice and other US officials just three days before the 49th General Conference of the International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA), which is grappling with Iran's covert nuclear activities.

Contrary to the Bush administration's hopes, India today decided, along with Russia, China and 12 of 14 non-aligned governments, which are members of the IAEA

Board of Governors, to vote against referring the Iranian crisis to the Security Council.

The Board of Governors opened its meeting in Vienna today. The Americans believe they have the votes to secure a referral, but would like to avoid a narrow victory that would rob the referral of credibility and moral high ground if they ever attacked Iran.

India and like-minded governments fear that a referral is part of Washington's long-term plan to make out a case

for an eventual invasion of Iran exactly the way the Americans used Security Council resolutions to justify invading Iraq in 2003.

An Indian embassy spokesman in Washington recalled that there were no plans for a meeting between Prime Minister Manmohan Singh and President George W. Bush last week in New York when the external affairs minister's trip to Washington was planned for September 23.

The spokesman said the

minister was present during the Prime Minister's meeting with Rice on September 15 and another meeting between the minister and Rice was planned for this afternoon in New York, making travel to Washington unnecessary.

At the time of writing, foreign secretary Shyam Saran is also scheduled to meet Nicholas Burns, the US under-secretary of state for political affairs, to discuss Iran and the Indo-US nuclear agreement.

By meeting the Americans

in New York, where both Natwar Singh and Rice have several meetings scheduled throughout the day amidst the crowded schedule of the UN General Assembly, the Indians can avoid the spotlight.

If Singh visited Washington, instead, he would be staked out by the Indian and international media.

Natwar Singh has a reputation of putting his foot in his mouth on such occasions and could have landed the Prime Minister in trouble on Iran:

hence the cancellation of his Washington visit.

Besides, Natwar Singh is hugely unpopular in Washington. A few days ago, the senior-most Democrat on the House of Representatives International Relations Committee said some uncharitable things about the Indian minister for his recent remarks on Iran.

In his speech to the UN General Assembly today, Natwar Singh made no references to Iran, but peppered his speech with quotes from Rabindranath Tagore, Jawaharlal Nehru and Ruskin to make his points about UN reforms.

2003

India, US sit today to rule out crossed wires on Iran, make own N-deal work

Saran, Burns have their task cut out: limit impact of Tehran crisis

C RAJA MOHAN

NEW YORK, SEPTEMBER 18

AMIDST the continuing war of words between the Bush Administration and Tehran, Foreign Secretary Shyam Saran is meeting US Under Secretary of State Nicholas Burns here tomorrow to minimise the differences on Iran's nuclear proliferation.

The two officials are expected to review the state of play in the Iranian crisis, including the new proposals put forward by Tehran on Saturday and the likely outcomes at a crucial meeting of the IAEA that begins in Vienna on Monday.

Saran and Burns will have their task cut out as they seek to limit the impact of the Iranian crisis on the prospects for smooth implementation of the Indo-US nuclear pact signed in July.

New Delhi, which has promised a constructive approach to the question, has been surprised at the misrepresentation of India's position in the US media and the Congress.

Saran and Burns, who played a key role in negotiating the nuclear pact, would want to make sure there are no crossed wires on Iran as both countries prepare to take difficult reciprocal steps in moving towards full cooperation in civilian nuclear energy.

Burns will also have an opportunity to brief Saran on the American reaction to the new nuclear proposals made by the Iranian President Mahmoud Ahmadinejad at the United Nations General Assembly

Oil as weapon is an option, warns Tehran

NEW YORK: Iran has threatened to use "oil as a weapon" against the West if the issue of its uranium

enrichment is referred to the UN Security Council.



"Some European countries and America are using the Security Council as a threat. They threaten us so that we give up our rights," Iranian President Mahmoud Ahmadinejad said in an interview to be published in the next issue of *Time*.

on Saturday and how it plans to proceed at the IAEA Board of Governors meeting in Vienna.

Although couched in a lot of rhetoric, Ahmadinejad's proposals to create "international joint ventures" on uranium enrichment and other parts of the nuclear fuel cycle do create some space for new diplomacy.

In the last few days, the Bush Administration has begun to concede the main political point that Iran has been making—its right to the benefits of civilian nuclear energy; but Washington is questioning Iran's credibility in abiding by its international nuclear commitments.

The remaining substantive differences are now centred around the mechanism to provide those nuclear benefits to Iran. US and Europe say "nuclear fuel cycle services" will be provided to Iran, if it gives up its national enrichment programme.

Fully committed to nuclear deal: Bush

Terrorism must stop for realistic progress with Pakistan, says Manmohan Singh

Harish Khare

NEW YORK: United States President George Bush has assured Prime Minister Manmohan Singh that he remains "fully committed to the implementation" of the July 2005 India-U.S. civilian nuclear cooperation agreement.

The "unambiguous" assurance was conveyed during a brief, "pull-aside" interaction between Mr. Bush and the Prime Minister, within hours of Dr. Singh landing in New York on Tuesday afternoon to attend the 60th session of the High-Level Plenary meetings of the Heads of State and Government at the United Nations.

The "half-an-hour or so" meeting was to review the progress made in the implementation of the nuclear deal, signed during Dr. Singh's visit to Washington. Mr. Bush told the Prime Minister that the American Congress was debating the initiative and it was his hope that the nuclear deal would get Congressional approval.

Parliament approval

Dr. Singh told Mr. Bush that Parliament had debated and approved the July joint statement. According to Sanjaya Baru, the Prime Minister's media adviser, Dr. Singh told Mr. Bush that he was surprised at the criticism of the joint statement voiced by the former Prime Minister, Atal Bihari Vajpayee. However, Dr. Singh informed Mr. Bush "that I have the support of the Indian Parliament."

The Bush-Manmohan meeting — sought by the American side, according to Indian officials — was critical in the wake of

• **Bush hopes U.S. Congress will back civilian nuclear deal with India**

• **Conveys U.S. concern over Iran's nuclear programme**

• **Dr. Singh reiterates India's opposition to nuclear proliferation**

the considerable negative reaction within the American strategic community and among U.S. Congressmen over the nuclear deal, especially in the context of India's relations with Iran. Given Washington's current preoccupation with Teheran's nuclear ambitions, the negative American reaction has the potential of derailing the nuclear deal.

President Bush told the Prime Minister that Iran's nuclear programme was "causing concern." Dr. Singh reiterated India's "consistent" position that it made no exception to its principled opposition to any kind of nuclear proliferation and that Iran was obliged to fulfil all international obligations and commitments it had undertaken.

Finding a consensus

The Indian preference, according to Foreign Secretary Shyam Saran who briefed the media, is to let "diplomacy" produce a "consensus" at the crucial meeting of the Board of Governors of the International Atomic Energy Agency. (The Board, scheduled to meet on September 19, is likely to decide whether the matter of alleged Iranian nuclear transgressions be "reported" to the United Nations' Security

Council.) Dr. Singh told Mr. Bush that India could "constructively" contribute towards finding such a "consensus."

Though the Iranian shadow on the nuclear deal is clearly visible, Mr. Saran asserted that "as far as we are concerned, the July agreement" stood by itself and no "additional conditionality or factor" could be associated with it.

The Indian understanding is that the U.S. and France remained "fully committed" to helping India meet its civilian nuclear energy needs and the two countries have agreed to "work with the Nuclear Supply Group to make this possible [enabling the U.S. and others to transfer nuclear fuel and civilian nuclear technology to India]."

There was also a brief discussion of the state of India-Pakistan relations. According to Indian officials, the Prime Minister told Mr. Bush that "our belief is that Pakistan still controlled the flow of terror [in Jammu and Kashmir] and this must stop for any realistic progress."

Earlier, a senior official told the media travelling with the Prime Minister from Paris to New York that in mid-July 2005, Pakistan President Pervez Musharraf had promised that infiltration would stop within a month. According to him, while infiltration was down, the level of violence was not.

At the beginning of his meeting with Mr. Bush, the Prime Minister conveyed India's deep sympathy for the victims of hurricane Katrina in New Orleans. Mr. Bush thanked India for its assistance in the relief measures.

THE HINDU

India-U.S. deal and the nuclear ceiling

R. Rajaraman

IT MAY appear that in the two months since the India-U.S. agreement was signed, everything that could be said about its ramifications would have been said in the innumerable panel discussions and articles devoted to it. But one major implication — particularly important for those of us who consider nuclear weapons to be highly dangerous — has not received due attention. It is that the agreement indirectly nudges India to make a serious quantitative assessment of how large a nuclear force it really needs, even if we accept at face value the need for a nuclear deterrent.

Seven years after the 1998 tests and still basking in the glory of having become *de facto* nuclear weapon states, neither India nor Pakistan displays any urgency to set a ceiling on the size of their nuclear forces. The attitude projected by the strategic circles of both countries is that these are still early days in their nuclear build-up. Their tacit benchmark seems to be set by the arsenals of the other minor nuclear powers, France, the U.K. and China, — several hundred warheads, perhaps including fusion weapons (H-bombs), regardless of whether deterrence requirements in South Asia really call for this.

But, at least for India, the luxury of continuing to build warheads and missiles as rapidly as funds and technology will allow, while hedging on the eventual size of its nuclear arsenal, may have come to an end with the agreement with the U.S.

In effect the nuclear component of the agreement calls for India to declare which portions of its nuclear facilities are civilian and therefore open to safeguards and scrutiny, and which portions it could keep under wraps as defence related. Within these overall contours, the agreement is very liberal in the demands it places on India.

India will suffer no loss of security if it were to abandon all further production of fissile materials for military purposes and declare all its power reactors open to safeguarding.

There is no rigid time frame for declaring this separation, and the choice of which facilities are civilian and which are military has been left entirely to India.

But this very freedom has encouraged much public discussion of the magnitude of its future nuclear plans and has focussed international attention on India's fissile material stockpiles and production goals. When commentators and experts expound on which of our nuclear facilities should be placed inside the military fence, they are in effect discussing the amount of weapon-usable material (plutonium, enriched uranium, and tritium) that India needs to accumulate in the years to come — which in turn is directly tied to number and type of warheads it wants to produce. Similarly, if and when the government makes some public commitments on where it is drawing the fence enclosing its military nuclear facilities, it is in effect revealing the magnitude of its nuclear weapon aspirations.

Our nuclear hawks believe that India should be armed with as many and as powerful a set of fission and fusion warheads as possible. They have issued dire warnings that any attempt to separate the civilian from the military nuclear facilities will seriously jeopardise the defence of the country. The government may not share such an extreme view and has so far made no designation of which of its reactor facilities are military. But it might be tempted to use the support of such hawkish arguments and play it

safe, declaring an unnecessarily large segment of its reactor facilities as being inside the military fence. That would be a way of postponing making the politically sensitive assessment of how big a nuclear force it really needs and protecting itself from those who argue ominously that we must "be prepared to meet all future eventualities."

But such safe-playing would be counter-productive with respect to the very core of the nuclear deal with the U.S. It will not satisfy the U.S. Government, the U.S. Congress, the International Atomic Energy Agency, or the Nuclear Suppliers' Group. We must remember that in the aftermath of the announcement of the agreement, there was considerable concern expressed in the international community about the nuclear portions of that deal. It was felt, variously, that the U.S. Government was acting unilaterally in giving India *de facto* nuclear power privileges; that it was unfair to the signatories of the NPT to make such an exception for India; and that it was setting a bad example, which could encourage further proliferation in non-nuclear weapon states.

The only positive aspect of the deal, from the point of view of these non-proliferation concerns, was that it might help bring much of India's nuclear facilities within the ambit of international safeguards. It is hoped by much of the international community that India will come through with steps to open significant por-

tions of its nuclear reactor facilities to such safeguards. In the absence of such a show of good faith, the many benefits that India may have expected to get because of the agreement, in terms of availability of uranium and of sensitive technologies for civilian purposes, may not materialise. Not just the U.S. Congress but the Nuclear Suppliers Group and other international sources will not be so forthcoming, if it is felt that India is trying to have its cake and eat it too.

Deterrence should be minimal

Therefore, although the Indo-U.S. deal gives India considerable flexibility on when and which of its reactor facilities it can designate as civilian, the government has to resist the pull of unbounded nuclear weapon aspirations.

It should go back to the intentions stated in India's Nuclear Doctrine document — that its nuclear forces are defensive rather than offensive in nature, that it forswears First Use, and that the sole reason for its nuclear force is to maintain a minimal deterrence capability.

But such proclamations of intent will carry no conviction unless the subsequent nuclear build-up is consistent with them. Unfortunately, such consistency is missing even from the original Nuclear Doctrine document. Having declared minimal deterrence as the motivation for the nuclear force, it goes on to describe an arsenal far larger than what would be commensurate with it. The plans to set up "a triad of aircraft, mobile land-based missiles and sea-based assets ... enhanced by a combination of multiple redundant systems" altogether call for hundreds of weapons. Those plans sound more like a replication of the early Cold War measures rather than being the result of a serious fresh calculation of what minimal deterrence calls for in today's South Asian context.

In reality, the requirements of deterrence are quite different in South Asia today than what it was thought to be, for a variety of other reasons, by the Cold War protagonists.

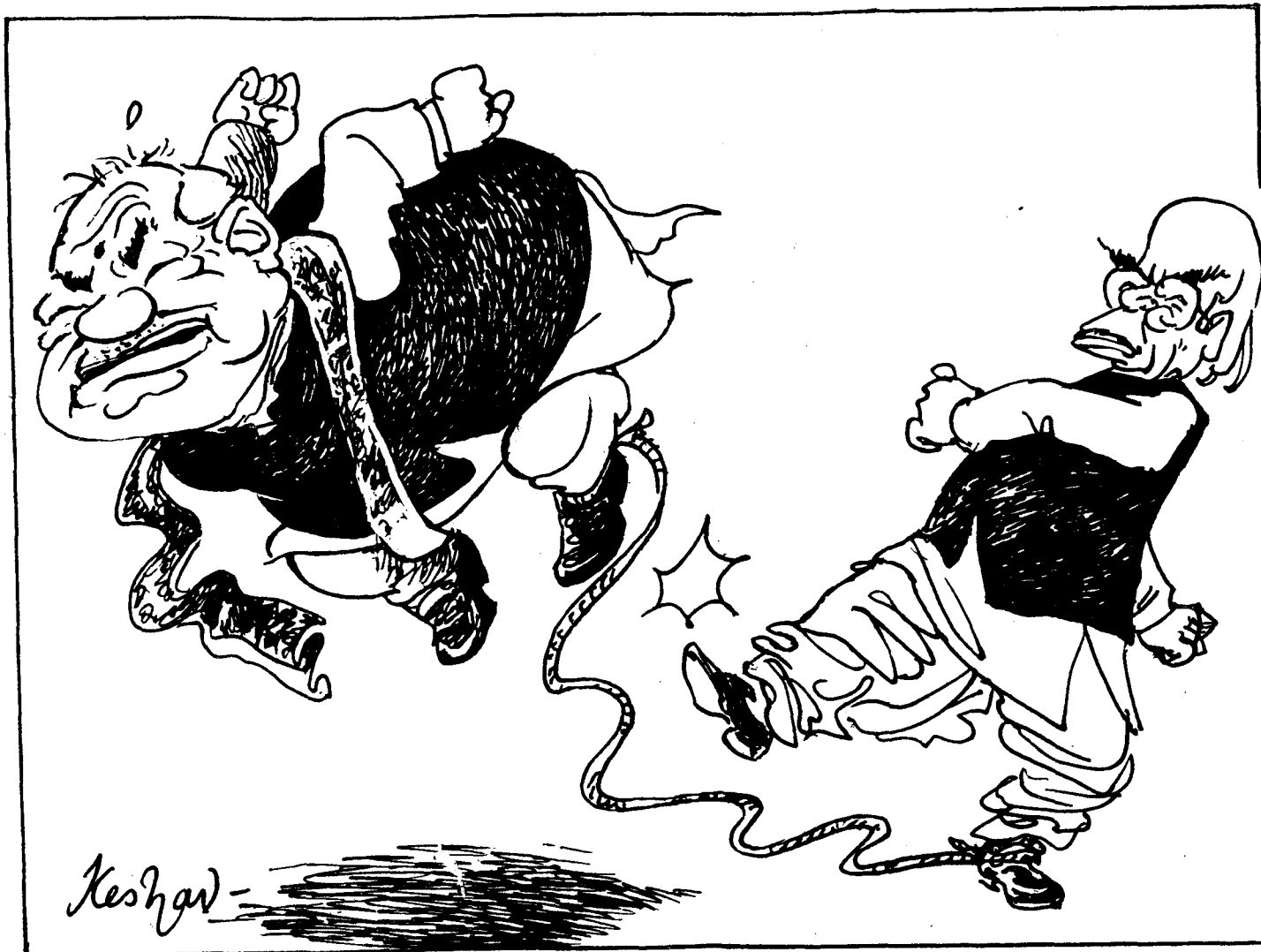
We have made an estimate of the capability required to inflict "unacceptable damage" to the other side and provide adequate deterrence and have repeatedly described it in this newspaper and elsewhere. In brief, just a couple of 15-20 kiloton weapons dropped on Lahore and Karachi or New Delhi and Mumbai would kill half a million people. Surely, that should already be "unacceptable damage" to an even remotely responsible leadership. A leadership that finds this "acceptable" is beyond the pale of rationality and cannot be relied upon to feel deterred even by the prospect of a larger attack. There is no need for weapons with yields in the hundreds of kilotons or for H-bombs. All one needs are a few surviving deliverable weapons.

By all accounts India already has such an arsenal, with plenty to spare. Furthermore, the country also has enough plutonium stockpiles already produced in the Dhruva and Cirus reactors to construct dozens of warheads more. There is also the plutonium being separated from spent reactor fuel by reprocessing facilities at Tarapur and Kalpakkam. If this plutonium is meant to be used for fast breeder reactors as part of the program to convert our rich thorium resources into fissile uranium (233) for civilian reactors, there is no reason why the reprocessing plants cannot be open to safeguarding.

So, India will suffer no loss of security if it were to abandon all further production of fissile materials for military purposes and declare all its power reactors open as civilian; open to safeguarding. This will enable it to quell fears of its reactor facilities being used to fuel a nuclear arms race. By testifying to an awareness that nuclear weapons are very dangerous, and not just harmless pawns in international politics, it will also establish India further in the role of a mature and responsible international power.

(The writer is Emeritus Professor of Theoretical Physics, Jawaharlal Nehru University, New Delhi.)

CARTOONSCAPE



Indo-US nuclear agreement & China

While the Chinese may not have any direct issues with India, they are certainly apprehensive of the long-term US interests in Asia just as the US is uncertain about China's future actions in Asia, says **G Balachandran**

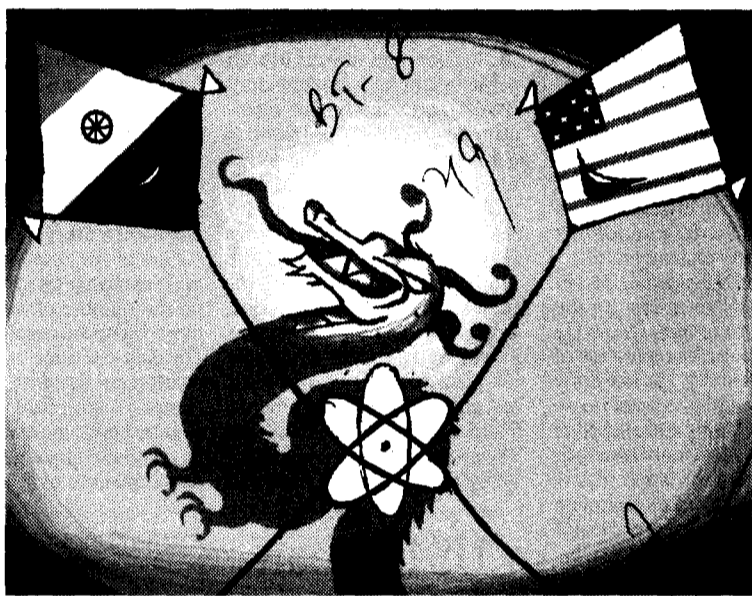
AS HAS been argued elsewhere, the nuclear dimension of the Indo-US joint statement of July 18, 2007 is a very good agreement and is undoubtedly the best arrangement that India could have negotiated with the US. Without conceding anything substantial, India obtained a commitment from the United States to a change in the rules governing international commerce in nuclear technology which had been closed to India so far. This is a welcome development.

However, it would be premature to conclude that this is a done deal. There are two elements to the agreement that may still stall the process of nuclear reconciliation between India and the international community. The first is the changes needed in international control regimes to allow for such reconciliation and the second is the very short period of time available to effect these changes.

The statement declared that "the (US) President would also seek agreement from Congress to adjust US laws and policies, and the United States will work with friends and allies to adjust international regimes to enable full civil nuclear energy cooperation and trade with India, including but not limited to expeditious consideration of fuel supplies for safeguarded nuclear reactors at Tarapur." And the Indian prime minister has made it very clear in the Lok Sabha that "our commitments would be conditional upon, and reciprocal to, the US fulfilling its side of this understanding."

The international regime that is referred to here is the Nuclear Suppliers Group (NSG) which has required India to place all of its nuclear activities under IAEA safeguards as a precondition for nuclear transfers. (NSG Guidelines Part I). These guidelines need to be modified or amended before any civilian nuclear cooperation can take place including fuel for Tarapur.

The rules of procedure at NSG are clear. According to the "procedural



SASIKUMAR

arrangement for the nuclear suppliers group" adopted by NSG members at the Aspen Plenary in May 2001, "proposals for amending Part 1 and Part 2 Guidelines and their Annexes will take effect for the NSG participating governments when endorsed by a unanimous NSG decision in Plenary."

Now while the time frame for trade in reactors is not that critical, that for Tarapur fuel is. The supply of enriched uranium fuel for Tarapur will have to be finalised before the end of the first quarter of 2006. That would require an intersessional plenary to be called by the US preferably before the end of the current year, possibly by December before the expected visit of President Bush to India in the first quarter of 2006. However, even if such a plenary is held, it is not guaranteed that the amendment will be approved.

As stated above, amendments have to be approved unanimously. Past experience of NSG has not always been very encouraging in this respect. In the 1999 plenary, NSG had forwarded to an

implementation working group (IMP) a set of six amendments to be examined by the IMP. At the next plenary held in June 2000 in Paris, the head of IMP reported: "we did not reach a consensus on any item, but found varying degrees of support for each one. Among proposals that we discussed in both October and again this week, the deletion of paragraph 6 of the guidelines, and consequent changes to paragraph 10 (Annex A, point d.) gathered a high degree of support and seemed very close to consensus." That amendment was finally sent to the May 2001 Aspen Plenary with consensus and adopted and the Guidelines, Part I amended in late 2001, more than two years after the original proposal.

NOW China is a recent member of the Nuclear Suppliers Group. How the Chinese will respond to the US amendment to the NSG guidelines will determine, to a large extent, whether or not such an amendment will be adopted. While the Chinese may not have

any direct issues with India, they are certainly apprehensive of the long-term US interests in Asia just as the US is uncertain about China's future actions in Asia. However, the Chinese are likely to be influenced by the following factors in their actions at NSG.

While the US has a policy of denying all munitions licences to China and has also pressured the European Union and Israel from supplying China with any munitions items or technology, it (the US) has just concluded an 10-year Framework for US-India defence relationship which will "in the context of defence trade and a framework of technology security safeguards, increase opportunities for technology transfer, collaboration, co-production, and research and development."

In addition, in the latest annual report to the Congress on "The Military Power of the People's Republic of China" the US department of defence has expressed concerns about China's military buildup. On top of all these developments, not only has the US officially stated that it plans to assist India in becoming a major power, including the military implications of such a state, influential US analysts such as Ashley Tellis, considered to be close to the administration, have indicated that the US should build up India as a countervailing power in Asia against potential Chinese threats.

Under these circumstances, and with the realisation that no further progress on Indo-US relations can take place — hence no threat of US assistance to India to become a major power — unless the Indo-US standoff in nuclear issues is resolved — the Chinese may either oppose or at best delay the changes in NSG guidelines thereby continuing the embargo on nuclear trade with India. This would put a brake on the progress of Indo-US relations. How this issue will play itself out is still an open question. But it is a factor that both the governments must be aware of if they are to sustain the progress of Indo-US ties.

Atal chip in PM gamble with Bush

9/15/94
G-1 19/4



Mammohar Singh and wife Gursaran alight from the VIP flight at the John F. Kennedy International Airport in New York on Wednesday. Picture by Jay Mandala

K.P. NAYAR

New York, Sept. 14: Undeterred by opposition both in India and in the US, Prime Minister Manmohan Singh and President George W. Bush yesterday reviewed the progress of their nuclear deal struck in July and reiterated the commitment of both their governments to pursue the agreement further in the months to come.

"Mr. Prime Minister, you are a good man. I can do business with you," Bush told Singh, employing his famous Texan charm to lift a cloud that had surrounded their meeting after severe attacks on external affairs minister Natwar Singh on Capitol Hill last week.

He referred to their nuclear agreement in July and said his administration was committed to pursuing it.

Bush acknowledged that there was opposition in the US Congress to his decision to engage in "full civil nuclear energy cooperation" with India, but hoped that the legislature will "adjust US laws and policies" to facilitate the transfer of American nuclear technology and equipment.

Responding to this acknowledgement, the Prime Minister said there was oppo-

sition in India also. There was broad agreement in Parliament for the July joint statement, he told Bush. In this context, he told the US President that he was surprised by former Prime Minister Atal Bihari Vajpayee's opposition to the nuclear deal.

By referring to opposition in India and by dragging in Vajpayee's name in his conversation with Bush, the Prime Minister was employing a risky, but clever, strategy to ensure that the nuclear agreement goes through to its logical end.

Sections of the Bush administration and a large number of American legislators would like to introduce quid pro quos to the agreement at this stage.

In recent weeks, they have been working to scuttle India's relations with Iran and secure New Delhi's support against Tehran's nuclear programme.

By referring to opposition in India to the nuclear deal —

indeed, to the whole package of Indo-US engagement, including the joint statement and the framework for defence relations — Manmohan Singh was signalling to Bush that India would not bend over backwards to accommodate Washington.

By bringing in Vajpayee, the Prime Minister lent respectability and credibility to opposition within India to what the government was doing with the Bush administration.

But his comment has triggered outrage in the BJP which said Singh had broken with tradition by discussing domestic politics abroad.

Contrary to this controversy, the statement was, actually, a fitting sequel to Bush's acknowledgement and the due respect he showed for the legislative process in the US.

Foreign secretary Shivam Saran reinforced that impression when he briefed Indian correspondents after the Prime Minister's meeting with Bush.

"The Indo-US agreement on the nuclear issue is spelt out in the joint statement," Saran said.

There was no question of India shouldering any additional responsibilities, he added.

■ See Page 6

Mr Prime Minister, you are a good man. I can do business with you

George W. Bush

31 AUG 2002

'India paid for G4 insistence'

NILOVA Roy Chaudhury
New Delhi, August 30

INDIA'S "SOMEWHAT inflexible" insistence on going with the Group of Four (G-4) comprising India, Brazil, Germany and Japan forced the USA to hold back its overt support for India's candidacy as a permanent member of the UN Security Council.

The entire issue of UN reforms, and not only those of the UNSC, were more important at that stage, US ambassador David Mulford said on Tuesday.

Denying that India had been forced to 'cap' its nuclear programme with the civil nuclear collaboration with the USA agreed upon in the Indo-US joint statement of July 18, Mulford said India was a sovereign country that took its own decisions.

India's "outstanding" record in non-proliferation, its credentials as a democracy and the

MULFORDSPEAK ON INDO-US TIES



■ India's 'somewhat inflexible' insistence on going with the G-4 forced the US to hold back its overt support for India's candidacy as a permanent member of the Security Council

■ Dawood is 'very much' on US sights, and Washington will like to see individuals like him apprehended

■ The US wants the terrorist training camps that had resurfaced in Pakistan 'to be disbanded'

would like to see them apprehended," he said at a briefing.

Dawood has been designated a criminal by the US and Interpol.

Mulford said the US wanted the terrorist training camps that had resurfaced in Pakistan "to be disbanded". President Bush had taken up the issue with his Pakistani counterpart, Pervez Musharraf.

Although he could not specify when President Bush would visit India, the Ambassador hoped many of the question marks on collaborating in civilian nuclear energy and trade would be ironed out by the time of the visit, early next year.

Increasingly, India and the USA are closely collaborating in regional issues, particularly in Bangladesh and Nepal, Mulford said.

In Nepal, the US wants a complete restoration of democratic principles, but "is opposed to the

Maoists in all forms", Mulford said, as in India.

French Prez's visit

Meanwhile, ahead of Prime Minister Manmohan Singh's visit to France, President Jacques Chirac has said he is planning to visit India early next year to lend further impetus to his country's strategic relationship with the "great democracy".

"With India, whose Prime Minister I will be receiving a few days from now, our commercial and investment relations are rapidly expanding", he said while addressing the 13th French Ambassadors' Conference in Paris on Monday.

"To lend further impetus to our strategic relationship with this great democracy, I plan to go there in early-2006", Chirac said.

He said France would make the most of the confidence it enjoyed among partners such as India.

President's (George W. Bush) "personal commitment" to see India as a world power in the 21st Century had brought about the "landmark" statement.

Mulford did not see the concessions made to India's civilian nuclear capacity being replicated with other countries in the region, including Pakistan.

Questioned about Dawood Ibrahim, whose repatriation India seeks from Pakistan, Mulford said the fugitive was "very much" on their sights, and the USA would like to see individuals like him apprehended.

"Individuals like him... We

Indo-US N-treaty faces Congressional test

Washington: US Congress soon will take a hard look at President George W Bush's plan to share civilian nuclear technology with India, a proposal that could bolster an important US ally but some fear would open the floodgates to nuclear proliferation.

Bush and Prime Minister Manmohan Singh announced the agreement during an official visit last month. Before the technology can be shipped to India, however, Congress must approve an exception to, or change, the US law banning civilian nuclear cooperation with countries that have not submitted to full nuclear inspections.

The administration will start pushing its case in earnest after lawmakers return from their summer break on September 6. Already, secretary of state Condoleezza Rice has sought support from congressional leaders.

Some legislators believe the deal would rewrite the rules on how the world exchanges nuclear supplies. India has refused to sign the international Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty, and some fear the Bush plan could eventually allow countries outside the treaty to build nuclear weapons programmes with imported civilian nuclear technology.

"At the end of the day, historians are going to judge this agreement primarily by whether or not it does provide a convenient pretext for other non-nuclear weapons states to become nuclear weapons states," said Robert Hathaway, di-

rector of the Woodrow Wilson Centre's Asia Programme.

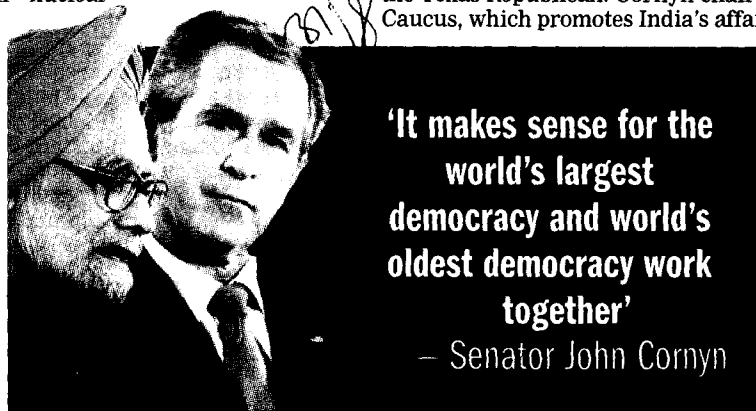
Indian and White House officials are working on the deal's specifics, and both sides have agreed to review their progress when the American president visits India early next year.

While many lawmakers are undecided or aren't making public their views, Senator John Cornyn said he supports it. "It just makes enormous sense that the world's largest democracy and the world's oldest democracy get together and work together in pursuit of our common values," said the Texas Republican. Cornyn chairs the bipartisan India Caucus, which promotes India's affairs in Congress.

Still, some worry how the world's other nuclear powers will view a unilateral decision by the US to loosen restrictions on the distribution of nuclear supplies. "The signal is that we want to change the rules of the game," said Michael Krepon, an expert on

South Asia at the Henry L Stimson Centre. "Other nuclear suppliers will be very free to reinterpret the rules as they like in subsequent cases."

Pakistan, where scientist AQ Khan ran a network smuggling nuclear technology to Libya, Iran and North Korea, will be particularly interested in what happens in Congress. "This is a big deal for Pakistan," Krepon said. "If an exception is to be made for India, it should be made for Pakistan, as well; that's Pakistan's position." AP



'It makes sense for the world's largest democracy and world's oldest democracy work together'

— Senator John Cornyn

Critical period for Indo-US nuclear pact begins now

By Indrani Bagchi/TNN

New Delhi: In the face of mounting criticism against the US-India nuclear agreement, the action will shift to the US early September, with a multi-pronged initiative from both sides. The US will send one of its key diplomats, undersecretary for political affairs,

Nicholas Burns, to India next month.

The next step will be the extraordinary meeting of the Nuclear Suppliers Group (NSG), expected in October. According to diplomatic sources, there is only one issue on the agenda — the US-India agreement. The first important step will be a proposal that the

Bush administration will make in the US Congress soon after it reconvenes in September — requesting the legislative body to amend US laws to accommodate India. Its passage is critical because this is the signal other countries are waiting for.

The spurt of activity in the US administration to

get to work comes as the voices of criticism in Washington achieve higher decibel levels.

The opposition is coming from all quarters — from the Democratic party non-proliferation lobby, which includes the likes of former assistant secretary for non-proliferation to even heavyweights in the

US Senate like majority leader Bill Frist and chairman of the Senate foreign relations committee, Richard Lugar.

The message from the naysayers is the same: India doesn't deserve to be the exception, that dismantling an entire global nuclear regime for India could put North Korea and Iran on

the same path, that India had not offered anything substantial in return, except some old promises and maybe some nuclear reactors. Since the agreement comes at a time when the North Korea talks and the Iran crisis are in the spotlight, it has willy-nilly drawn the India deal under the scanner.

The establishment here is bracing for the fact that these voices of criticism will reach a crescendo around the time Congress starts hearings on the issue. India would rather the debate centers around the energy issue, India's needs, and that a growing, prosperous India is a good balance for the region.

24 AUG 2008

THE TIME OF INDIA

US worried as UPA calls off PSU sale

Our Kolkata Bureau

18 AUGUST

INDO-US economic ties may have hit an all-time high in the aftermath of Prime Minister Manmohan Singh's recent trip to Washington. But the US has voiced concern over the UPA government's decision to call off strategic sales in 13 profit-making PSUs under pressure from the Left parties.

The US government's views were echoed by David C Mulford, US ambassador to India who addressed city businessmen in Kolkata on Thursday.

"Privatisation of government-owned companies is a delicate issue since it is a political process that leads to a financial transaction. The US understands India's political difficulties as such an exercise can trigger job losses and lead to restructuring decisions that can be unpopular with some political parties. While the Indian government may have backed off from large-scale privatisation for the time-being, in the long run, it's essential that India moves ahead with such reform for a more profitable economic outcome," Mr Mulford said.

In an emphatic defence on the

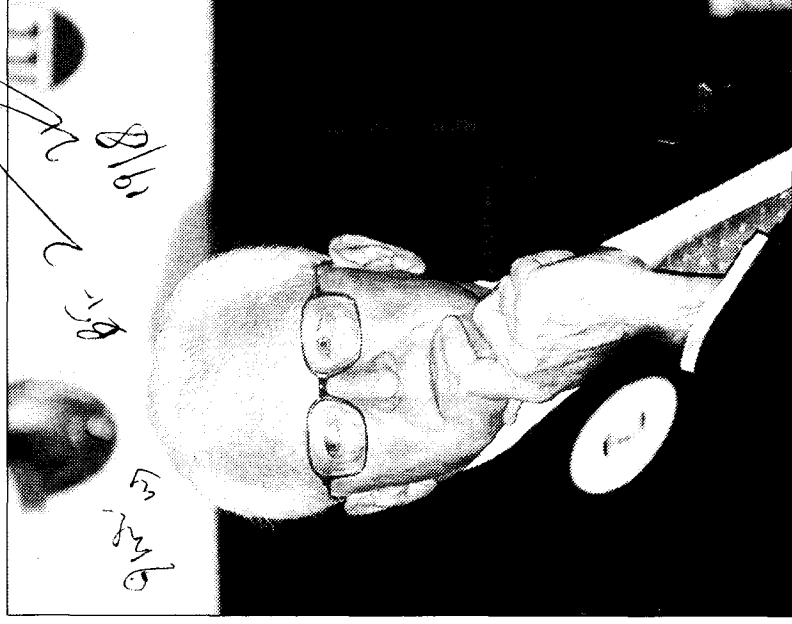
economic benefits of privatising state-owned companies, Mr Mulford said: "Government-owned companies are often a drain on the government's budgets. I think the privatisation process has triggered major economic benefits worldwide resulting in increased employment op-

growth. However, ideological comments of Left leaders in Delhi run counter to ground level developments in states like West Bengal which have indicated a willingness to adapt labour laws to the special circumstances of IT industry, and to close loss-making public enterprises," he said.

Mr Mulford, who had met West Bengal chief minister Buddhadeb Bhattacharjee, earlier in the day said: "In my meeting with the state chief minister, I discussed some of these conflicting comments from Left leaders in Delhi and West Bengal which bother US investors, but I got some reasonable answers. He gave me a sense of the political realities that trigger such seemingly contrary comments."

Nevertheless, Mr Mulford said the wheels were now in motion to expand the US-India strategic partnership in four key areas.

"India and US need to put in place economic policies that unleash private investment and create new jobs across India, assure India's energy requirements are met through use of new and renewable technologies, including civil nuclear and build regional stability through strategic and military cooperation," he said.



TRAIN OF THOUGHT: David C Mulford, US ambassador to India at an interactive meet in the city on Thursday organised by Indian Chamber of Commerce & Indo-American Chamber of Commerce. — Subhajit Pal

Privatisation of government-owned companies is a delicate issue since it is a political process that leads to a financial transaction

tions, efficient managements and better corporate governance".

The US ambassador was also quick to note the "apparent disconnect between the political rhetoric of Left leaders in Delhi and Kolkata". "The West Bengal government has been vocal about attracting FDI and investments from other parts of India in its efforts to promote economic

PM defends US nuke deal, assures strategic autonomy



Our Political Bureau
NEW DELHI 3 AUGUST

PRIME Minister Manmohan Singh on Wednesday defended the nuclear accord with the US, even as he asserted that India would never compromise on its strategic autonomy in the nuclear weapons programme.

"There is nothing in the Joint Statement that should convey that we compromised our autonomy in managing

our nuclear assets," he said in his reply to the four-and-a-half-hour-long debate in the Lok Sabha on the Indo-US nuclear pact signed during his visit to Washington last month.

Dr Singh, in his speech, also sought to allay the apprehensions, expressed primarily by his Left partners, on the fate of the Indo-Iranian gas pipeline, maintaining that the US had "no role" in the project.

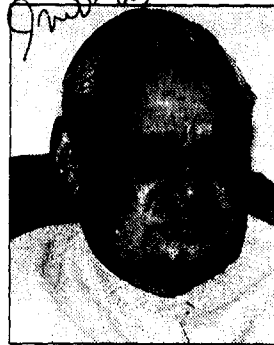
"We have explicitly stated that it is something that concerns Iran, Pakistan and India, and the US has no role in it," he told the Lok Sabha. He asserted that the pipeline issue had not cropped up anywhere during his discussions with the US leadership, and that he had told The Washington Post that while India needed the gas, there were certain "uncertainties" about it.

The Prime Minister devoted a large part of his speech to addressing the concerns ex-

pressed by his predecessor Atal Bihari Vajpayee, who had kicked-off the discussion. Seeking to dispel fears on the feasibility of separating civilian and military nuclear installations, Dr Singh said that he had sought the approval of the chairman of the Atomic Energy Commission before signing the Joint Statement with US President George W Bush.

He informed the House that he was "cautious" about the issue and had refused to sign it until he had received the approval of AEC chief. "This led to a delay in inking the pact by 15 hours," he said.

Maintaining that the US visit was the most challenging job for him after the 1991 Union Budget presentation, Dr Singh said following the removal of restrictive regime by the US, the country could now produce nuclear power to the extent of 30,000 MW to 40,000 MW in about 10-15 years.



Dr Singh also sought to dispel the Left's fears about India becoming part of any military alliance. "We are not part of any military alliance. We are not ganging up against any country, least of all China," Dr Singh said.

Earlier, while initiating the discussion, held under rule 193, Mr Vajpayee on Wednesday urged the Centre to build a consensus on the country's nuclear policy before implementing the provisions of the Indo-US joint-statement.

Left blasts PM for inking N-pact

Our Political Bureau
NEW DELHI 3 APRIL

IN a clear signal that the collective response of the politburo and the views of its general secretary Prakash Karat will dictate the reflexes of CPM MPs in Parliament, Left parliamentarians on Wednesday launched a frontal attack on the Prime Minister for signing the nuclear deal with the US. Strengthening the feeling that the Left is determined to challenge the UPA government's strategic thinking, its MPs charged the Prime Minister with making India a "junior partner" of the US.

In their speeches, Left MPs followed the politburo's line, which termed the joint statement as "a continuation of a

trend of India being accommodated as an ally of the US with decisions such as the joint democracy initiative and accepting the US leadership in the fight against terrorism". At the last meeting of the politburo, the party had emphasised the importance of maintaining independence of developing nuclear technology for peaceful purposes. It had also said that the department of atomic energy should not be weakened while implementing the nuclear cooperation agreement on the basis of "structured reciprocity".

The government was hoping for a muted response from the Left MPs on Wednesday as Jyoti Basu had welcomed the Prime Minister's response to the criticism of the joint statement adopted after the meeting between Dr Manmohan

Singh and President Bush.

Although Mr Basu reiterated that the Prime Minister's response was "okay" even on Tuesday, the speeches of the Left MPs showed that his stand was not in sync with that of his party. This is yet another occasion where the new CPM general secretary has shown he is the toughest man when it comes to defending his beliefs and his party's positions.

The MPs, who followed the Karat line, said the nuclear deal, as well as the Indo-US defence framework were clear deviations from the common minimum programme (CMP) and Delhi's stated positions. Prabodh Panda of the CPI said the accord on agriculture would encourage the "instruments of corporate dictatorship".

Argumentative Indians

The debate on the Indo-US nuclear pact, in Parliament and outside it, should be welcomed

THE on-going debate on the Indo-US nuclear framework has had its full share of acrimony and political posturing. This is inevitable given the paradigm altering nature of the pact that Prime Minister Manmohan Singh and US President George Bush entered into last month. But there is also something unprecedented about the current public articulation. It breaks the mould of national consensus that had marked earlier debates on foreign policy.

We need to recognise this as a healthy sign of a mature democracy. It should not only deepen our political discourse but help the country forge a more clear-sighted and agile response to international events in the future, without the accompanying ideological baggage that had accumulated over the years. It will make for greater political accountability on the part of the UPA government, as already evidenced in the prime minister's statement to Parliament last Friday, when he attempted to allay fears over the Indo-US pact and situate it within the parameters of the country's national interest. The BJP's perception that India has emerged a "loser" in the deal it struck in Washington

needed to be taken seriously. When a former prime minister and foreign minister had stated, for instance, that separating India's civilian and military nuclear facilities and programmes would be difficult, prohibitively expensive, and would hurt national security, their apprehensions deserved to be credibly allayed. Union Defence Minister Pranab Mukherjee, in response, remarked that the pact did not involve any commitments or obligations from India and that his government felt it had today the self-confidence to recognise and resist anything that was not in its national interest.

This is a debate that will carry on in the days ahead. This newspaper has stated its position on the Indo-US pact in unambiguous terms — recognising it as a potentially important step to end India's nuclear isolation, help in expanding its civilian nuclear programme and allow it to emerge an important player on the world stage. But having said this, we nevertheless welcome a comprehensive debate on the issue. After all, as Amartya Sen has just reminded us, India's strength as a democracy has been its tradition of argumentation.

NDA to take strident stand on Indo-US N-deal

NEW DELHI, Aug. 1. — The NDA today decided to take a strident stand against the nuclear agreement between India and the USA, in consonance with the alliance chairman and former Prime Minister, Mr Atal Behari Vajpayee's apprehensions that it would scuttle the country's nuclear research-work particularly of strategic importance. The NDA leaders, who met at the leader of the Opposition and BJP president, Mr L K Advani's chamber, also worked out their joint strategy against the government in both Houses of Parliament. The Lok Sabha today did not conduct any business following the death of sitting CPI-M member Bikash Chowdhury. The BJP deputy leader in the Lok Sabha, Mr V K Malhotra, said after the meeting that all the alliance partners agreed that the nuclear agreement would mean that scientists would not longer be able to carry out any experiment in the field "without someone breathing down their necks". — SNS

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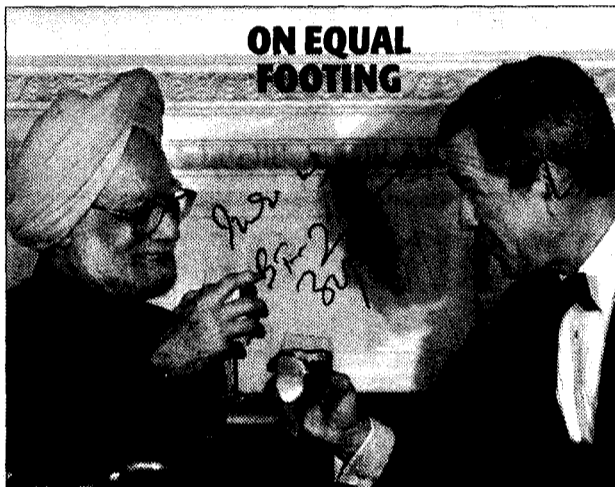
India to keep nuclear autonomy

Our Political Bureau
NEW DELHI 29 JULY

PRIME Minister Manmohan Singh on Friday sought to allay the fears of both the Opposition and his Left allies on the fine print of the recent Indo-US joint statement by asserting that it had in no way capped the country's nuclear programme and that the government retained unrestricted, complete and autonomous control over it.

Making a statement in Parliament on his recent visit to the US, Mr Singh brushed aside the Opposition's apprehensions about his government having struck compromises on the country's nuclear weapons programme.

"There is nothing in this joint (Indo-US) statement that amounts to limiting or inhibiting our strategic nuclear weapons programme over which we will retain unrestricted, complete and autonomous control," he said adding that "we will never make



any compromises insofar as our fundamental and strategic needs are concerned".

He said the basis for the Indo-US understanding reached during his visit was a clear recognition that India is a responsible nuclear power. Mr Singh, however, made it clear that the government

would not allow any fissile material shortage or other material limitations on the country's strategic programmes in order to meet current or future requirements.

"Our commitments would be conditional upon, and reciprocal to, the US fulfilling its side of this understanding," he insisted. The

Prime Minister, in identical statements in the Lok Sabha and Rajya Sabha, said the joint statement referred to "our identifying and separating civilian and military nuclear facilities in a phased manner and taking a decision to place voluntarily civilian nuclear facilities under IAEA safeguards".

But "should we not be satisfied that our interests are fully secured, we shall not feel pressed to move ahead in a pre-determined manner," he clarified.

According to Mr Singh, phased action, in terms of identification and separation of civilian nuclear facilities based solely on India's own duly calibrated national decisions, will be taken at appropriate points in time, consistent with national security interests.

"Before voluntarily placing our civilian facilities under IAEA safeguards, we will ensure that all restrictions on India have been lifted. Our autonomy of decision-making will not be circumscribed in any manner," he asserted.

The truth behind the Indo-U.S. nuclear deal

Siddharth Varadarajan

IN THE fullness of time, last week's nuclear agreement between India and the United States will be seen as one of those decisive moments in international politics when two powers who have been courting each other for some time decide finally to cross the point of no return. The U.S. and India have 'come out', so to speak, and the world will never be the same again.

Every world order needs rules in order to sustain itself but sometimes the rules can become a hindrance to the hegemonic strength of the power that underpins that order. Following India's nuclear tests in 1998, the U.S. had two options: continuing to believe the Indian nuclear genie could be put back, or harnessing India's evident strategic weight for its own geopolitical aims before that power grows too immense or is harnessed by others like Europe or China. The U.S. has chosen the latter option, and the joint statement released by President George W. Bush and Prime Minister Manmohan Singh on July 18 is the most dramatic textual manifestation of what Washington is attempting to do.

REALITY CHECK

India too, had a choice. It could use its nuclear weapons status as a lever to push for a multipolar world system as well as for global restraints on the development of weapons of mass destruction. Or it could use its status as an instrument to help perpetuate an order based on the production of insecurity and violence in which it eventually hoped to be accommodated as a junior partner. The erstwhile Vajpayee Government was never interested in the former option and longed desperately for the latter. The fact that Dr. Singh has managed this is the real source of the BJP's bitterness, not the fact that India's nuclear weapons capability is to be capped (which it is not).

Those in India who marvel at how Mr. Bush

In opening the door to nuclear commerce with India, Washington has confirmed how much an alliance with New Delhi is worth to it. But is anybody on the Indian side doing the math?

could blithely walk away from 40 years of non-proliferation policy do not understand the tectonic shift that is taking place in the bilateral relationship as a result of increasing fears in U.S. business and strategic circles about China. Giving India anything less, or insisting that it cap or scrap its nuclear weapons, is seen by Washington's neo-conservatives as tantamount to strengthening China in the emerging balance of power in Asia. "By integrating India into the non-proliferation order at the cost of capping the size of its eventual nuclear deterrent," Ashley Tellis argued in a recent monograph, "[the U.S. would] threaten to place New Delhi at a severe disadvantage vis-à-vis Beijing, a situation that could not only undermine Indian security but also U.S. interests in Asia in the face of the prospective rise of Chinese power over the long term" (*India as a New Global Power: An Action Agenda for the United States*, Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, 2005). This, then, is the real value of the deal in American eyes and the Indian public should be aware of it.

Predictably, critics in the U.S. have raised objections of one type or another. The non-proliferation lobby argues that President Bush's decision to sell nuclear technology and equipment to India will encourage other countries to go down the nuclear path. Not so say the advocates. Mr. Tellis — a former RAND Corporation analyst who served as an advisor to Robert Blackwill when he was U.S. Ambassador to India — is most forthright. He acknowledges the contradiction between the two goals of U.S. foreign policy — building India up as a counter to China and upholding the non-proliferation regime — but says the circle can be squared. His solution:

don't jettison the regime "but, rather, selectively [apply] it in practice." In other words, different countries should be treated differently "based on their friendship and value to the U.S." With one stroke of the Presidential pen, India has become something more than a 'major non-NATO ally' of the U.S. It has joined the Free World. It has gone from being a victim of nuclear discrimination to a beneficiary. India is not alone. Israel is already there to give it company.

From a strategic perspective, one of the most puzzling aspects of the joint statement was the inclusion of a reiteration by India of its unilateral moratorium on nuclear testing without the U.S. making an explicit reciprocal commitment to abide by its own 1992 moratorium. At stake is not a formal question of protocol but the very real danger that the U.S. might go down the path of testing at some point in the future.

The 2002 Nuclear Posture Review was quite explicit on this point: "The United States has not conducted nuclear tests since 1992 and supports the continued observance of the testing moratorium. While the U.S. is making every effort to maintain the stockpile without additional nuclear testing, this may not be possible for the indefinite future." Stockpile safety is, of course, a ruse, given the fact that the U.S. is running active research programmes on a new generation of smaller and 'smarter' nuclear weapons like 'mini-nukes' and deep earth penetrators. Earlier this month, in fact, the U.S. Senate voted to keep alive the bunker-buster programme in the face of demands that it be scrapped.

The development of deadly new nuclear weapons by the U.S. should be a matter of great concern to India for their eventual deployment

See also - *9-Mile Energy*
will degrade the security environment in the world and Asia. The same is true of the U.S. missile defence programme, which India, regrettably, will continue to remain engaged with. The Pentagon's goal in developing a missile shield is 'full-spectrum dominance,' including the weaponisation of space. Preventing this has been a major goal of most countries at the Conference on Disarmament (CD), with China insisting that a treaty on the prevention of an arms race in outer space (PAROS) is as important as the fissile material cut-off treaty (FMCT), which would place no effective constraint on the U.S. or Russian arsenal because of their huge stockpiles of fissile material. In agreeing to "work with the U.S." on an FMCT, India has accorded primacy to this treaty over PAROS and other long-standing Indian goals at the CD such as negative security assurances and comprehensive disarmament where the U.S. is dragging its feet.

Hidden costs

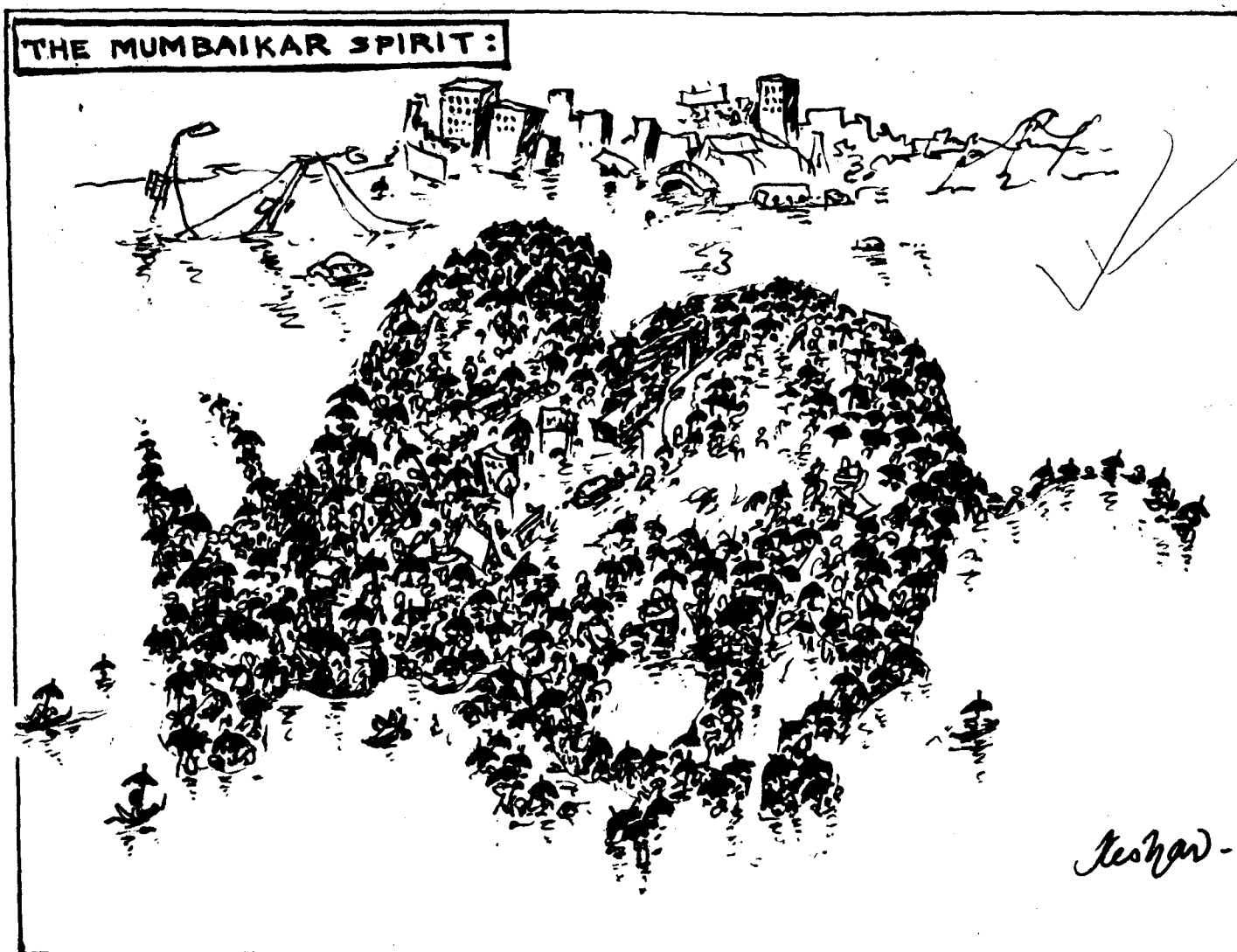
Of all the misgivings present in the public mind, it is the fear of a *quid pro quo* on some other front that the Prime Minister most needs to dispel. Mr. Tellis, whose report on India-U.S. relations formed a valuable input to the Bush administration's thinking, argued, *inter alia*, that allowing India access to U.S. nuclear material and equipment would make New Delhi more likely to help further American strategic goals in the region. "[It] would buttress [India's] potential utility as a hedge against a rising China, encourage it to pursue economic and strategic policies aligned with U.S. interests, and shape its choices in regard to global energy stability..."

When it comes to "global energy stability" are India's interests in alignment with those of the U.S.? Clearly not. It is not a coincidence that the two "American concerns" a *Wall Street Journal* editorial demanded the Prime Minister address during his visit were India's relations with Myanmar and Iran. Both these countries have gas reserves that are vital for our energy security. Addressing the Africa-Asia summit in Jakarta in April this year, the Prime Minister had said: "While our continents include both major producers and consumers of energy, the framework within which we produce and consume energy is determined elsewhere. We must end this anomaly." And yet, in baldly stating that no international bank would want to underwrite the Iran gas pipeline, Dr. Singh would appear to have strengthened the very outside "framework" he once spoke against.

In addition to facing pressure on Iran, India is likely to be asked to let its Navy operate more frequently alongside the U.S. Navy in Asia. The purpose of these joint operations is essentially military and the U.S. wants India to also sign up for the Proliferation Security Initiative. Mr. Tellis's report had predicted that a nuclear deal would "increase [India's] enthusiasm for taking part in counter-proliferation activity in the Indian Ocean." The joint statement makes no direct mention of such cooperation though it speaks of a new "U.S.-India Disaster Relief Initiative that builds on the experience of the Tsunami core group." The real purpose of this initiative is revealed by the apparently inappropriate sub-heading under which it finds mention: 'For Non-Proliferation and Security.'

All told, the deal signed in Washington raises a number of questions about the Manmohan Singh Government's policies in the field of nuclear energy, disarmament, 'promotion of democracy,' energy security and strategic stability in Asia. No doubt the Government has answers, spinning euphoric reports in the mass media is not the way of providing them. The Government owes it to the people to provide a detailed account of its nuclear policy in the form of a White Paper. Let the details of the Strobe Talbott-Jaswant Singh negotiations be made public. Let the Government place on record its estimate of how much the proposed separation of civilian and military nuclear facilities will cost and what the benefits of last week's agreement will be. And let it say openly that nuclear deal or not, India will continue to work for global disarmament and has no desire to play the role of a 'hedge,' fence or 'tether' in the U.S. plan to contain China.

CARTOONSCAPE



Partnership for prosperity

By offering India "full civilian nuclear cooperation nuclear energy," President Bush has made a bold move in establishing long term strategic and economic relations with a country that many US experts perceive as a reliable global partner.

Mr Bush did not let the nuclear Non-proliferation Treaty stand in the way of his new global vision, where an economically strong democratic India would play a stabilising role in world affairs, especially in Asia.

The partnership to help India "become a major power in the 21st century" is not about containing any other rising power but to let India develop as an alternative model of economic growth without compromising fundamental freedoms.

Rapid economic growth of India, 8-9 per cent a year for the next few decades, would lift millions of Indians out of abject poverty.

Besides, an economically dynamic India would make the military containment of China by the USA unnecessary. More equal players in the Asian drama, less the possibility of a single hegemonic power rising.

Mr Bush did not welcome India to the nuclear club; nor was that India's diplomatic goal. He just removed hurdles in India's search for alternative energy sources to fuel its growing economy.

In the process, however, Mr Bush did acknowledge India "as a responsible state with advanced nuclear technology", recognising it as an exception to the rule, and accepted the fact that India should "acquire the same benefits and advantages as other such states."

When Congress approves the deal, India would be able to buy nuclear fuel for its existing nuclear power plants and shop for building new ones, but in the course of time as trust in partnership increases and diplomatic relations

cyber age ND BATRA

Critics in India who fear that the deal would create co-dependency relations with the USA need to con-

helped India solve its energy and infrastructural problems.

The Iran-Pakistan-India pipeline is certainly in the realm of possibility but even if it materialises, it may not be enough to meet India's gargantuan need for

would support India for a UN Security Council seat too. The greatest applause Prime Minister Singh received during his address to the joint session of US Congress occurred when he reminded them "that the voice of the world's largest democracy surely cannot be left unheard on the Security Council when the United Nations is being restructured."

It is only a matter of time when India, with one-sixth of the world population, would be offered its rightful place in the Security Council. Partnership was also one of the themes of Dr Singh's marvellous address to the joint US Congress session on Tuesday. In his impeccable Indo-British accent, Dr Singh told his appreciative audience that India and the USA are natural partners because both are open societies and share similar values. "There are partnerships based on principle, and partnership based on pragmatism. I believe we are at a juncture where we can embark on partnership that we can draw both on principle as well as pragmatism."

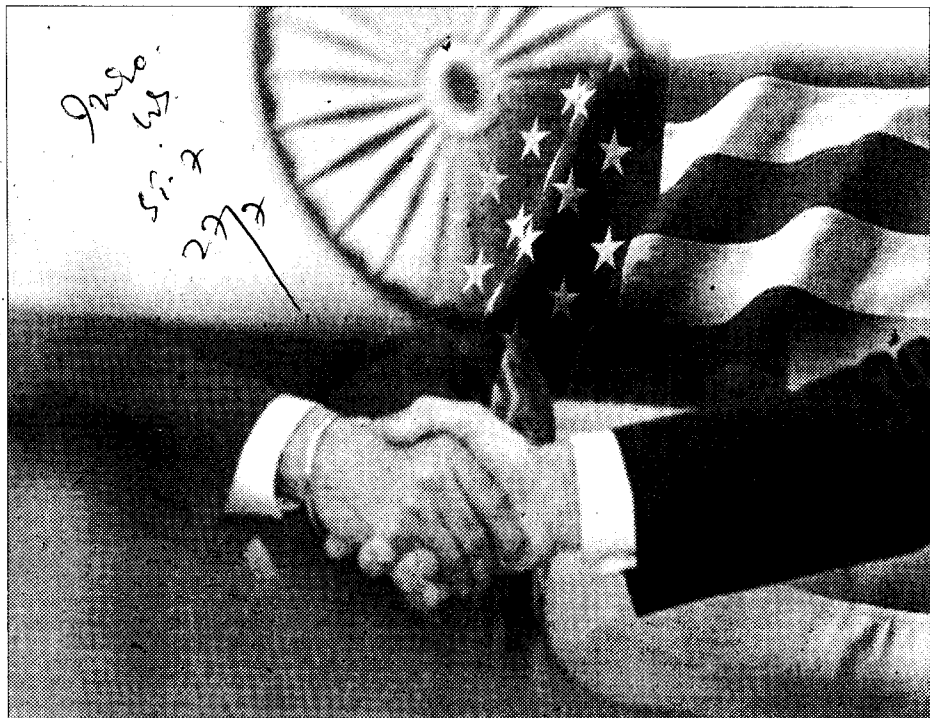
Democracy, multiethnic diversity, and human rights are some of the values that bring the two countries together, but equally important is the fact that India and the USA need each other to fight global terrorism.

Mr Bush's relentless and determined campaign against militant Islamic and Al-Qaida terrorism has begun to change the mindset in Pakistan where there is a growing feeling that

negotiations are the only way to resolve long-standing issues. Mr Bush's policies have helped India fight its own terrorism.

For the next decade or so, India's diplomacy should have a laser-like

focus on one primary goal: speedy economic growth. Would the partnership with the USA help India hasten the pace of economic growth? Yes, of course; therefore, in India's national interest, this partnership



improve further, a whole new world of sophisticated American technology would be open to India, enabling it to leapfrog decades of past sluggish economic growth.

In return India has agreed to do what other nuclear powers have been doing under the nonproliferation treaty, that is, open its civilian nuclear power plants to the International Atomic Energy Agency and continue the moratorium on nuclear testing. Its nuclear military arsenal remains off limit.

consider how South Korea, Taiwan, Japan and China have benefited from strong economic partnership with the USA without compromising their sovereignty.

India must go beyond information technology outsourcing and penetrate deeply into corporate America.

Had Mr Bush decided to back India's claim to UN Security Council permanent membership - instead of lifting nuclear sanctions — he might have flattered the ego of the Indian elite, but that would not have

energy. Clean coal technology, nuclear energy and solar energy are practical alternatives for which the USA has opened its doors to India.

India needs hundreds of billions of dollars of foreign direct investment in building power plants and world-class infrastructure to increase its manufacturing base to create employment opportunities.

Nuclear energy would reduce excessive dependency upon oil from West Asia.

Eventually the USA

7 JUL 2005

NATURAL PARTNERS

US And India Engaged, No Longer Estranged

By HARSH V PANT

5r to 25x

One of the largely untold success stories of the Bush Administration's foreign policy has been the remarkable transformation that has occurred in US relations with India in the last five years. Though it was Bill Clinton's visit to India in 2000, the first by a US President in 22 years, that set the stage for a re-orientation of US foreign policy vis-à-vis India, it is the current Administration that has taken Indo-US relationship to a qualitatively new level. At a time when US foreign policy has been preoccupied with fighting the war on terrorism in the Middle East, India seems to be finally getting its due as an important player in the emerging global strategic structure. Slowly, but steadily, Indo-US engagement has grown from strength to strength in the last few years. Dr Manmohan Singh's visit to Washington marks a major turning point in the recent evolution of Indo-US relations.

Cold War years

It is almost a cliché to suggest that India and the US are natural partners given their vibrant democratic institutions, shared values and convergence on vital national interests. But during much of the Cold War, India's relations with the US and the former Soviet Union were viewed in a zero-sum context. The US foreign policy vis-à-vis South Asia had a "tilt" towards Pakistan as US viewed India as too closely allied with its Cold War adversary, the Soviet Union. The recently declassified transcripts of the conversation between President Richard Nixon and Henry Kissinger, then his national security adviser, during the Indo-Pak crisis of 1971, in which former Indian Prime Minister, Indira Gandhi, is referred to as the "old witch" and Indians as "bastards" reflect the distrust and suspicion that pervaded Indo-US relations for much of the Cold War years.

However, in an ironic turn of events, just when these trans-

The writer is a Research Fellow at the University of Notre Dame, Indiana

cripts were being released, the US Secretary of Defence and his Indian counterpart were inking a ten-year agreement that paves the way for joint weapons production, cooperation in missile defence and possible lifting of US export controls for sensitive military technologies. It is a sign

along with nations like Austria, Bulgaria, Finland, South Africa, and Kuwait.

There is no denying the fact that both states would like to consolidate this upward movement in bilateral relations. There are strong domestic constituencies in India and the US



of how far Indo-US relations have travelled since the end of the Cold War. Today, the US strategy towards South Asia is predicated upon its decision to "help India become a major world power in the twenty-first century".

Defence pact

The latest defence pact comes after both, India and the US, have made serious efforts to upgrade their bilateral relationship. They have engaged on a host of issues ranging from non-proliferation and arms control, trade, cultural exchanges to military-technical cooperation. The two states signed the "Next Steps in Strategic Partnership" agreement in 2003 that aimed at facilitating Indo-US cooperation in areas of civilian nuclear activities, civilian space programmes and high-technology trade as well as initiated a bilateral dialogue on missile defence. The Pentagon has been designating India as a "friendly" foreign country for the last two years

that believe close and cooperative relations between the two nations will endure in the long run because of the convergence of their democratic values and vital national interests.

This is despite the feeling in some quarters in India that the US has not pushed Pakistan far enough in ceasing its support for terrorist activities in Kashmir. Many Indians feel that a substantial part of Indo-US relations remains hyphenated to Pakistan, despite protestations to the contrary, especially after Pakistan's new-found geographical relevance for US military operations in Afghanistan and the Middle East. Despite this, Indian foreign policy today is geared towards influencing the US administration in its favour with some even suggesting an alignment with the US to contain China's growing influence in Asia.

While a significant section of the Indian political establishment might not be enthusiastic about openly joining hands with the US to contain China, there is

less aversion to closer Indo-US ties than ever before. It is being suggested that, in the long run, India and the US are bound to come even closer as Pakistan's utility in the war on terrorism declines and containing fundamentalism in Pakistan itself becomes a US foreign policy priority.

Apart from the issue of Pakistan, Indian nuclear weapons capability also poses a dilemma for the future of Indo-US relations. Many in the US non-proliferation and arms-control bureaucracy are yet to come to terms with India's nuclear weapons. However, the time has come to find a modus vivendi to reconcile India's nuclear ambitions with the global non-proliferation regime. India's active participation is crucial for the success of any non-proliferation regime and its implementation. Given India's long-standing behaviour as a responsible nuclear power, it would be counterproductive if non-proliferation "ayatollahs" are given a veto over the broader direction of Indo-US relations.

Soviet fixation

On the other hand, despite a broad political consensus on strengthening ties with the US, cold warriors in India are still trying hard to derail India's burgeoning relationship with the US. The Indian Left has yet to get over its Soviet fixation and views a close Indo-US relationship as an anathema while many in right argue that a close relationship with the US would inhibit India's ambition of becoming a "major" world power.

It is imperative for the US and India to build on their growing bilateral ties by sidelining the extremists and crafting a partnership that not only enhances US global strategic interests but also enables India to chart out its course toward emerging as a major political and economic power in the coming years. It is this message that the oldest and the largest democracies of the world need to send to their own bureaucracies and to the global community.

N-apartheid changes colour

How India won the brownie points in its 'energy' quest

PRAMIT Pal Chaudhuri
New Delhi, July 29

WHEN INDIAN officials first began talks with new US secretary of state Condoleezza Rice about pushing the Indo-US relationship to a new level, a lot of the talk quickly focussed on energy.

The Indian argument, roughly, was as follows: If the US wants India to become a great power in the 21st century, then the Indian economy needs to grow and, as Rice was told, "energy is the primary constraint to such rates of growth".

From their discussions easily flowed towards what is, perhaps, New Delhi's greatest geo-political bugbear: the global ban on nuclear technology transfer to India. This had been a taboo. But, in the three times US President George W. Bush met Prime Minister Manmohan Singh before the July summit, he cheerfully told Singh, "I want to talk nuclear energy with you".

But India wasn't going to beg to end nuclear apartheid. Indian officials stressed that two basic principles would underpin the nuclear energy dialogue. The first was non-discrimination. India would not do anything that was not required of

NEWS ANALYSIS Indo-US nuclear pact

other recognised nuclear weapons states. The second was reciprocity. India should not be required to carry out unilateral gestures to earn goodwill or brownie points. The US what give as good as it got.

The Bush Administration proved agreeable. The US even urged Indian officials to go beyond, for example, merely asking for nuclear fuel supplies for the Tarapore reactors. Their argument: If we're going to change our laws for you, India might, as well, go the whole hog.

The nuclear deal has two clear sections. One half is the obligations that India has to carry out. The other is what the US will do in return.

Most of the present objections in India derive from an eye-rubbing inability to comprehend just how generous the Indo-US joint statement is to India's interests and how much Bush went out of his way to not tread on Indian sensibilities.

Thus, much of what India has agreed to do - talk about the fissile material cut-off treaty, tighten ex-

port controls or continue its nuclear test ban - are things New Delhi is already doing.

The real biggie is dividing the country's nuclear programme into civilian and nuclear parts. Because the nature of the division is entirely up to India, officials are clear "this obligation doesn't constrict our military nuclear assets, we can develop them in anyway that we desire". The Department of Atomic Energy was asked to determine whether such a division was feasible and gave New Delhi the green light before the summit.

There is much more heavy-lifting to be done on the US side. Namely, to "dismantle completely the technological denial regime that has existed for three decades" against India. There is greater ground for scepticism on whether Washington can carry through with this. Bush will first have to carry the US Congress and then move the atomic cartel, the Nuclear Suppliers Group, to make an exception for India.

But, as Manmohan Singh made clear in Parliament, India will not allow the international community access to Indian reactors if India doesn't get entry into the nuclear club. If Bush fails, the status quo remains.

30 JUL 2005

THE HINDUSTAN TIMES

Come Together On Nuclear Pact

Criticism of the Indo-US treaty is misleading

By K SUBRAHMANYAM

The debate on the nuclear pact with the US is a sad comment on the Indian political establishment. Politicians as well as some former officials of the atomic energy establishment are making blatantly untenable and contradictory statements about the treaty.

For instance, they are saying that our military nuclear programme is only a very small fraction of our atomic energy programme, which is absolutely correct. They then argue that the military and civilian programmes cannot be separated. This is prima facie illogical. I am not a nuclear scientist and I cannot pretend to know the technical aspects of nuclear reactors. But I have been a nuclear strategist for 37 years and am familiar with the working of the atomic energy establishment. I was the convener of the National Security Advisory Board that drafted India's nuclear doctrine. I have been and still am a consistent advocate of India having a nuclear deterrent. I am also non-partisan in politics. But the deliberate misleading by politicians and scientists on the nuclear issue appals me.

I criticised Congressmen when they opposed the nuclear tests in 1998. I also remember the strong criticism of the NDA government for having allegedly sold the country's interests under US pressure (the Jaswant Singh-Strobe Talbot talks were then on) by declaring a moratorium on nuclear tests. It has become an integral part of our political culture for the Opposition to accuse the ruling party of selling the country to the US irrespective of facts.

Now Atal Behari Vajpayee and his party are repaying the compliments to the ruling party by charging the UPA government of selling out. There is as much truth in this charge as there was in the Congress's charge against the NDA. While this kind of low politics is an inherent part of the Indian polity, objective observers should rise above such a blatantly partisan approach. During the NDA government, too, there were

experts, including some from the atomic energy establishment, who were critical of the government's policy.

The Department of Atomic Energy chairman once told me the vegetarians and non-vegetarians — those who were not involved in the weapons programme and those who were — functioned separately. Civilian reactors produced power and their power generation required production of plutonium, which is not normally preferred for bomb production, though the Americans



have argued that reactor-grade plutonium could be used for making bombs. Therefore, there is a natural division between civilian reactors producing plutonium with a higher percentage of PU-240 and the military reactors, such as Dhruva in Trombay, which are operated on a lower burn-up to produce plutonium of bomb-grade quality.

If a civilian reactor is operated to produce bomb-grade plutonium then the cost of operation will go up. Therefore, electricity-producing reactors are not operated that way. Reactor engineers are not familiar with bomb making. In fact, when a reactor

See also J-Mile in Energy Review
engineer was appointed as head of the Atomic Energy Commission, he did not have access to the weapons-making research. The separation between the military and civil sectors in atomic energy in India is that tight. Therefore, the argument that they cannot be separated is politically motivated.

The NDA government offered to put civilian reactors under International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA) safeguards if the US resumed supplies of fuel for the Tarapur plant. This was the beginning of discussions on the 'Next Steps in Strategic Partnership' (NSSP) with the US. It would be childish to charge the NDA government of attempting to sell the nuclear programme of the country just for fuel for one overaged reactor. It is on the basis of the NDA's NSSP draft framework that the UPA government has been able to build further and achieve the present agreement. The improved terms of the agreement are largely due to change in circumstances in the US where the president and the secretary of state have developed fresh ideas on relations with India. In any mature democracy, the UPA government would have thanked the NDA for its contribution in bringing about the Indo-US pact.

Vajpayee, Jaswant Singh and Brajesh Mishra have played significant roles in the evolution of the Indo-US relationship. The NDA government had agreed to the Fissile Materials Production Cutoff Treaty (FMCT). Now it objects to it. The FMCT, because of the Chinese stand, won't come to fruition in the near future. Further, the present understanding does not preclude India from converting some of its civilian reactors to military status and to declare them as such to the IAEA.

Prime minister Manmohan Singh should invite Vajpayee and Mishra to discuss their proposed strategy when they initiated NSSP, offered to place civilian reactors under safeguards and agreed to the FMCT. Unlike Vajpayee, who did not acknowledge the NDA's debt to Congress prime ministers, especially to Rajiv Gandhi who ordered the assembling of the bomb, Singh should be gracious enough to thank the NDA government for its role in developing the country's nuclear programme. Let them meet and demonstrate that they can rise above partisan politics in the interests of national security.

Nuke deal to help India emerge as a positive force

PRESS Trust of India
Washington, July 23

THE FULL nuclear cooperation agreement negotiated between President George W. Bush and Prime Minister Manmohan Singh will encourage India's emergence as "a positive force in the world scene", the US has said.

A fact sheet released by the US on Friday said Washington had established a global partnership with India, which encouraged its emergence as a positive force on the world scene.

The two countries have agreed that India should receive the benefits and accept all the responsibilities of the world's leading states with advanced nuclear technology, concurrent with its enhanced non-proliferation commitments and in the context of its growing energy needs, the document said.

"The agreement to reach full civil nuclear cooperation brings India into the international non-proliferation mainstream. It opens new doorways for a cleaner and more secure global energy future. It makes the US an essential partner as India normalises its rising position in the community of nations", it said.

The document said India will assume the same responsibilities and practices as other countries with advanced nuclear programmes.

Indian commitments to uphold central non-proliferation norms pave the way for expanded cooperation in the civil nuclear sphere, the fact sheet said.

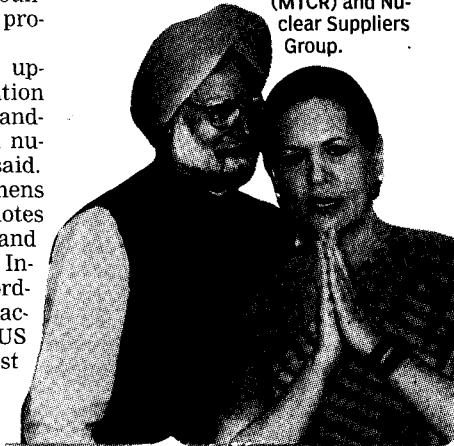
The agreement strengthens energy security and promotes the development of stable and efficient energy markets in India to ensure adequate, affordable energy supplies. These actions firmly aligned the US with the world's largest democracy, it added.

WHAT THE US SAID

- Seek agreement from Congress to adjust US Laws and policies;
- Work with friends and allies to adjust international regimes to enable full civil nuclear energy cooperation and trade with India; and
- Consult with partners on India's participation in the fusion energy consortium ITER and support India's part in work to develop advanced nuclear reactors.

WHAT INDIA SAID

- Identify and separate civilian and military nuclear facilities and programmes and file an IAEA declaration regarding its civilian facilities;
- Place voluntarily its civilian nuclear facilities under IAEA safeguards;
- Sign and adhere to an Additional Protocol with respect to civilian nuclear facilities;
- Continue its unilateral moratorium on nuclear testing;
- Work with the US for the conclusion of a multilateral fissile material cut-off treaty;
- Refrain from the transfer of enrichment and reprocessing technologies to states that do not have them and support efforts to limit their spread; and
- Secure nuclear material and technology through comprehensive export control legislation and adherence to the missile technology control regime (MTCR) and Nuclear Suppliers Group.



How does the PM's visit to Washington look from inside the beltway? A former State Department official and South Asia foreign policy expert tells it like it is

A 'Sweet Deal' for India

WALTER ANDERSEN

THE India-US Joint Statement, agreed to on the first day of Prime Minister Manmohan Singh's successful July 18-20 visit to Washington D.C., pledges the Bush administration to push for a cooperative bilateral agreement that would provide India fuel and technology for its civilian nuclear energy, while allowing it to retain its nuclear weapons and delivery systems. "India got a sweet deal" is the way one State Department official working the non-proliferation issue described to me the Bush administration's support for a change in US nuclear non-proliferation policy on behalf of India. The administration's decision to alter our 30-year-old non-proliferation policy on be-



Reuters

The nuclear non-proliferation cadre in this city has already begun its campaign against any changes in US law. They fear that this exceptionalism for India will prompt other countries to take a similar approach

The strategic justification for making India an exceptional case is to build Indian strength 'for balance of power purposes' in Asia, or to better manage 'the emergence of China.' India, in addition, is a rising swing state in Asia whose cooperation we need now in the global war on terrorism

half of India was the most dramatic development of the visit and was the issue receiving the heaviest press attention.

This very political town was taken aback not just by the scope of the decision, but by the ability of the triumvirate of senior policy-makers at the State Department, Secretary of State Condoleezza Rice, her deputy secretary Robert Zoellick and her counselor Philip Zelikow, to keep their deliberations of a sensitive issue on extremely close hold. This tactic succeeded in preventing leaks, which could have undermined the project by giving its opponents, both those within the bureaucracy and those outside it, time to build a case and solicit allies. The India exception to US non-proliferation policy is another indication of the preeminent influence of the Secretary of State on foreign policy issues. The State Department has regained its role as the undisputed centre of foreign policy-making.

The nuclear non-proliferation cadre in this city has already begun its campaign against any changes in US non-proliferation law. They fear that this exceptionalism on behalf of India will prompt other countries to take a similar approach towards countries we consider problematic. Russia, for example, might cite India to justify further assistance to Iran's nuclear power programme. These critics also fear that existing rules on the export of nuclear related technology will be replaced by rules governed by commercial gain. They argue that there are other less risky ways to strengthen the relationship with India and achieve the

same strategic objective.

The counter-argument will almost certainly be that a democratic India has proved to be responsible on nuclear issues. Such a changed approach to India, moreover, provides an opportunity to work out ways to bring a nuclear-capable India inside the international non-proliferation regime. India has pledged in the Joint Statement to place all its civilian nuclear facilities under International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA) safeguards and to continue its testing moratorium. The non-proliferation cadre will object that that is insufficient because the safeguards should cover military as well as civilian nuclear facilities. The strategic justification for making India an exceptional case, which will be phrased diplomatically, is to build Indian strength "for balance of power purposes" in Asia or to better manage "the emergence of China." India, in addition, is a rising swing state in Asia whose cooperation we may need in future crises, and that we need now in the global war on terrorism. It is a stable democracy in a very unstable and strategically important area to the US.

In order to implement the proposals laid out in the India-US Joint Statement, the Bush administration will have to rally support from Congress to change existing law and from the international community to permit an exception for India on various international nuclear export regimes. It launched this campaign almost immediately after the issuance of the Joint Statement. The anticipated presidential visit to India in early 2006 puts some

pressure on the Bush administration to get favourable Congressional action fairly soon and to start the process of negotiations with India to determine the level of our nuclear cooperation.

The Republican majorities in both the House of Representatives and the Senate will probably support a policy change that is so strongly backed by the White House. There is mumbling of dissent from some Democrats, but many of the Democrats are also friends of India and the increasingly influential Indian-American community is already gearing up for what will probably be its most intensive political campaign to date. Democrats will have to ask themselves whether opposing an action so important to the

politically active part of the Indian-American community is a risk they want to take. Polls show that the Indian-American community up to now has tended to support the Democrats. On the international scene, the administration's lobbying efforts have already begun to show results. Mohamed-el-Baradei, director-general of the International Atomic Energy Agency, in a July 20 statement voiced his support of the US plan to help a nuclear-armed India obtain atomic technology for its civilian facilities, and said that India's intention to place all its civilian nuclear facilities under IAEA safeguards is a welcome step.

The lack of US support for India's bid for a permanent seat on the UN Security Council

On the eve of Singh's visit, the US State Department official responsible for UN reforms splashed some very cold water on India's hopes by arguing at the UN that the Bush administration did not think any proposal to expand the Security Council should be voted on 'at this stage'

seems to be at cross-purposes with the stated Bush administration's objective of helping India become an influential international actor. On the eve of Prime Minister Singh's visit, the US State Department official responsible for UN reforms splashed some very cold water on India's hopes by arguing at the UN that the Bush administration did not think any proposal to expand the Security Council should be voted on "at this stage." The lack of US action on Security Council reform may be due to the continuing internal bureaucratic debate over several complex issues, such as which countries should become permanent members and should they have the veto power. The administration, for tactical reasons, might also have deferred action so as not to overload its policy plate with major policy changes. At some point, the same State Department triumvirate that secured the nuclear breakthrough will have to apply a similar focus to UN Security Council reform because wrangling among various regional and functional bureaus at the State Department is likely to impede speedy action.

The writer is currently Associate Director, South Asia Studies at the School of Advanced International Studies of the Johns Hopkins University, Washington, D.C. Email: wandersen@jhu.edu

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Will politics nuke a good deal?

By K Subrahmanyam

Unsurprisingly, the Indo-US joint statement on their future nuclear relationship has attracted flak from certain quarters.

Many ask why India, a recognised nuclear weapons state, should declare which facilities are military and which civilian, and implement IAEA safeguards on the latter. But the fact that we're asked to do that recognises that India is a military nuclear power.

It's surprising that there are objections to separating civil and military nuclear facilities. The original suggestion for this came from Raja Ramanna, the designer of the first Pokhran bomb. Ramanna's logic can't be challenged.

If civilian and military facilities are not separated, it would mean that all reactors in India support our military programme.

If that were true, other nations would be justified in denying India even a screw for the atomic energy department as that would constitute nuclear proliferation. Those who say that civil and military components can't be separated are, therefore, supporting the avatars of non-proliferation who block any help to India's civilian nuclear energy pro-

actor even if it produces isotopes for civilian use. End products for non-military use can be checked but not reactor operations. Los Alamos, Livermore and Sandia, which are all military facilities, do a lot of civilian research.

The new arrangement doesn't prevent India from having not just two but more reactors declared as military facilities exempt from IAEA safeguards. But to do that, India must first fix its overall nuclear strategy within the consensus of minimum credible deterrence.

Strategists are debating whether the deterrents should number in the low hundreds or a medium three figure number, roughly on a par with British and French arsenals. No one in India wants huge arsenals of the size that US, USSR and China have built.

Sacrificing national interest for parochial partisan interest is an Indian characteristic. Vajpayee did not give credit to Congress when he conducted nuclear tests. Had he done that, most of the criticism could have been avoided. Congress criticised the nuclear tests, for getting that 95% of the bomb was developed by Congress prime ministers.

The same spirit prevails once again. If the government changes after the next election,

there should be no change in policy about the US, as there has been none since the United Progressive Alliance government replaced National Democratic Alliance.

National Democratic Alliance was denounced for selling out to the US. Now United Progressive Alliance is charged with the same.

Actually, circumstances have changed and the US and India, irrespective of the government in office, are adjusting to current realities.

No country sold itself to the US as much as China during the Cold War. Yet China has many admirers in India, who talk of China's 'independent' policy even when Beijing has never dared exercise its veto against America, not because it fears the US but because it suited its national interests.

Yet many in India believe that India—whether under United Progressive Alliance or National Democratic Alliance—would not be able to display as much independence as China does.

Statercraft in a changing world is about getting the maximum advantage for one's own nation from fast changing alignments. That's the lesson to learn from China and America.

THE SCREEN TEST'S OVER



The Prime Minister addresses the Indian community at a reception hosted by the Indian Ambassador in Washington on Tuesday

gramme.

As a matter of fact, in India, the two programmes have always been separate: even the scientists who deal with weapons and reactors are different.

The argument against separation is politically motivated, intended to confuse people and block India's liberation from the shackles of the NPT regime. The proposal to divide reactors into two categories—

civil and military—was originally made by the National Democratic Alliance government as it negotiated the Next Steps in Strategic Partnership (NSSP) with the US. UPA did not invent it. The commitment to go along with Fissile Materials Cutoff Treaty (FMCT) was also made by NDA. Since China is opposed to FMCT, it is unlikely to come into effect soon.

IAEA safeguards don't permit inspection of a military re-

POT SHOTS | CPM takes PM to task for praising US; CPI says statement not a major achievement

Left slams Indo-US joint statement

EXPRESS NEWS SERVICE
NEW DELHI, JULY 21

AFTER two days of assessment, Left parties have strongly criticised the Indo-US joint statement.

The CPI has been strident in its criticism, taking pot shots at Manmohan Singh for yielding too much in return for too little. The CPI(M), a little guarded but nevertheless caustic, has said the Prime Minister agreed on nuclear cooperation with the US without consulting supporting parties, especially the Left.

The CPI wondered why the joint statement was being touted as a major achievement when the "US has neither supported India's claim to the UN Security Council membership nor recognised it as a nuclear weapons power". It is angry that "India has agreed to concede its unilateral moratorium on nuclear testing" in return "for these ambiguous and limited assurances".

Referring to the nuclear co-operation deal, the CPI(M) has questioned "the manner in which such a vital issue has been decided with the US by the UPA government".

It added: "It was incumbent on the Government to place their views and proposals for discussion with all the parties concerned before deciding on the course of action."

Referring to the secret parleys between the then Foreign Minister Jaswant Singh and Strobe Talbott, the CPI(M), which is becoming increasingly cold towards the Centre, said: "The UPA Government should not continue this undemocratic piece."

The party has taken Manmohan Singh to task for "applauding the US leadership either for spreading democracy

or combating terrorism". It reminded the UPA Government that "Iraq today is a glaring example of how imperialist aggression and state terrorism has resulted in an upsurge of terrorist violence not seen before within Iraq."

Unlike the CPI, which has questioned the prudence of opening nuclear facilities for inspection without any acknowledgment of India's status as a nuclear power, the CPI(M) has gone back to its stated position on nuclear weapons. The party says: "It does not subscribe to the views emanating from those

who advocate nuclear weaponisation as a path for India's 'great power' status. In fact, the party has insisted that the current agreement marks an end to India's nuclear disarmament policy."

The CPI(M) adds: "There are legitimate apprehensions that with the intangible promises made by the US, restrictions will be imposed which are going to hamper the pursuit of an independent nuclear technology for peaceful purposes."

It warns: "It is important that India carefully calibrate its steps strictly in response to

the measures taken by the US, the Nuclear Suppliers Group and the IAEA. The CPI(M) expects the Government not to undertake unilateral measures which may compromise national interests."

The CPI is harsher still. "This amounts to a unilateral reversal of India's earlier nuclear policy without prior discussion in Parliament, the UPA or the Left partners," it says. The party adds that it "strongly opposes this joint statement as well as the earlier Indo-US Defence Framework and the policy measures that flow from it".

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INDIAN EXPRESS

Will this commitment prove too costly?

New Delhi has bound itself to an institutional arrangement where saying "no" to American demands on a range of issues will not be so easy. 277 40-11 9/27/03 ✓

Amit Baruah

"Mr. President, India and America are great nations and great democracies. We cherish the openness of our societies and economies. We value our pluralism, our diversity and our freedoms. These shared values that bring us together must be more visible, not only in how we deal with each other, but also in our approach to the world. We must strengthen democratic capacities jointly. We must oppose the evil of terrorism together. To meet such vital challenges, we must be together on the same page. We must speak the same language and display the same resolve." — Prime Minister Manmohan Singh during his banquet speech at the White House on July 18.

A Prime Minister and a party that promised to chart an independent approach on foreign affairs have promised to partner the United States in exporting "democracy" to the rest of the world. Much of the debate and discussion around Dr. Singh's July 18-21 visit to the U.S. has rightly focussed on the contours of the nuclear deal struck between the two sides but other elements of their joint statement and related documents are equally important.

While saying "no" to sending Indian troops to Iraq was a one-off thing in 2003, New Delhi today has bound itself to an institutional arrangement where saying "no" to American demands on a range of issues — from "capacity building" to the participation of Indian troops in operations abroad — will not be so easy.

Declaring their resolve to "transform" the relationship between the two countries, U.S. President George W. Bush and Prime Minister Singh have committed themselves to promoting "stability, democracy, prosperity and peace throughout the world." In a separate document entitled *Indo-U.S. Global Democracy Initiative*, posted on the External Affairs Ministry website, the two countries agreed to "assist other societies in transition seeking to become more open and democratic."

This initiative further commits the two countries to:

— Reaffirming the [April 2005] Community of Democracies Santiago Commitment, and agreeing to work together to jointly implement the Santiago commitment including with other states and civil society



A NEW DEAL? Prime Minister Manmohan Singh and U.S. President George W. Bush. — FILE PHOTO: REUTERS

organisations to promote democracy and development.

— Organising together training courses in India, the U.S., or a third country where necessary, to enhance capabilities to strengthen democratic institutions and develop their human resources.

— Establishing a virtual Coordination and Information Center to share best practices on democracy, identify opportunities for joint support, and highlight capacity-building training programs."

U.S. Under Secretary of State Nicholas Burns perhaps understood the import of the Bush-Manmohan joint statement when he said on July 18, "But what we've done is to develop with the Indian government and this administration a broad, global partnership of the likes that we've not seen with India since India's founding in 1947. This has consequences for American interests in

South Asia, but also has larger consequences for what we are trying to do globally, in terms of promoting democracy, fighting terrorism, fighting HIV/AIDS..."

To the Prime Minister's credit, he termed the invasion of Iraq a mistake at his press conference in Washington. In the same breath, Dr. Singh said it was a thing of the past and "we must look to the future". The Prime Minister made no reference to Iraq's present. For all those interested in America's democratic credentials, Iraq's present is important. All the warm words spoken on American democracy have to be circumscribed by what is currently happening in Iraq.

According to *Iraq Body Count*, a website that has been following closely the events in Iraq, as many as 25,881 civilians have been killed following the U.S.-led military action in 2003. Professor John Sloboda, co-founder

of *Iraq Body Count*, said about a recent report on the website: "The ever-mounting Iraqi death toll is the forgotten cost of the decision to go to war in Iraq. On average, 34 ordinary Iraqis have met violent deaths every day since the invasion of March 2003. Our data show that no sector of Iraqi society has escaped."

Iraq has proved to be a perfect base of a motley group of Islamist terrorists, with suicide bombers proliferating by the day. The violence, which continues to grow, shows that American power, with all its military teeth, has limits, but can create mayhem and chaos in a nation that was the cradle of human civilisation.

Iraq is the current "democratic model" that the U.S. is offering to the rest of the world. And, as everyone who lives in that country or watches television knows, Iraq is a bloody mess. And the Americans are responsible for it. Given the American "record" of establishing democracy, there are grave implications to the Prime Minister buying President Bush's version of representative government and the need for its promotion globally.

Writing in *The National Interest*, former U.S. Ambassador to India, Robert Blackwill, argues that in the short-term India could help train Iraqi police and build a civil society there and, in the long term, it would "do more." Mr. Blackwill, however, admits that most Indians did not support the invasion of Iraq. He also believes that India's "rise" will help address the issue of tackling Chinese power, a point made in a July 19 news report in *The Washington Post* as well.

"... Supporters of the [new U.S.] approach to India [within the Bush administration] said it was an important part of the White House strategy to accelerate India's rise to a global power and a counterweight to China," the paper reported.

America has no altruistic notions of its foreign policy. It will expect a price for "building" Indian power. By allying so closely with the U.S., the Prime Minister has ensured that terms such as "multipolarity" and "democratisation of international relations" — spouted often by Indian leaders in the past — have little or no meaning left. India has decided to take up the American offer of a piggyback ride. Where it will lead, nobody can predict.

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A Great Leap Forward

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Nuclear ties with US won't affect India's military programme

By G BALACHANDRAN

22/7

The Indo-US joint statement issued on July 18 has evoked a mixed response in India. That is understandable since it has initiated Indo-US cooperation in a range of areas. Of course, the one area that has drawn most attention is nuclear cooperation. That is also the most positive element of the joint statement.

Before discussing specific elements of the statement one needs to understand the necessity of integrating India in the international nuclear trade regime. At the moment, because of the Nuclear Suppliers Group (NSG) restrictions India has been denied nuclear fuel and reactors. The current NSG rules require that India place all of its nuclear activities under IAEA safeguards before any NSG member can engage in nuclear trade with India.

This needs to be changed for a variety of reasons. India's growing energy needs have resulted in an ever-increasing reliance on imported fuel supplies. This means that India must develop alternate sources of energy that are economical and environmentally sound. Nuclear power fulfils both requirements. However, the limited reserves of indigenous sources of natural uranium coupled with the limited availability of financial resources constrains the extent to which the indigenous nuclear power programme can contribute to India's energy needs in future.

Access to foreign capital, fuel and reactors will, however, enable India to vastly increase nuclear energy production thereby relieving the pressure on continued imports of hydrocarbon fuels. Also the Tarapur Atomic Power Station needs a fresh batch of enriched uranium fuel when the current stock finishes in 2006. Therefore, India needs to import fuel for Tarapur as well.

Until now the option to access either capital or fuel in the international market had been

denied to India because of the NSG restrictions initiated primarily by the US in the early 1990s. Till recently, the US and the NSG had strongly resisted any trade with India in nuclear fuel and reactors. Indeed when Russia supplied nuclear fuel to Tarapur in 2001, other NSG members forced Russia to give an undertaking that it would not supply any more fuel.

Now, after Manmohan Singh's visit, the US has radically shifted its position on nuclear trade with India. It has expressed its willingness to relax both its domestic laws and NSG rules to accommodate India. According to the joint statement, "The United States will work

None of these actions will in any way compromise either India's indigenous nuclear programme or its national security interests. For instance, till the FMCT comes into force there is nothing that inhibits India's production of fissile material for weapon production. Since India has declared its minimum nuclear deterrence doctrine, there is an upper limit to the amount of fissile material that would be required for this minimum deterrence. Once that is reached, an international FMCT has no impact on India. Similarly, with the declaration of military facilities being India's choice, the government is free to separate its nuclear facilities in such a way that its fissile material requirement is assured.

The terms of the Additional Protocol have to be negotiated between India and the IAEA. A protocol of the type already concluded by the nuclear weapon states with IAEA would assure India that it would not impact its strategic programmes. Finally, IAEA safeguards procedures will have no impact on India's nuclear related R&D and hence will not affect any of its current or future programmes such as thorium reactors.

Considering all factors, there is no doubt that the nuclear component of the statement represents a major gain for India without any

adverse impact on its strategic programmes. It must be welcomed as a genuine forward step in Indo-US bilateral relations.

The only snag in the joint statement is the reference to the "completion of the Next Steps in Strategic Partnership (NSSP) initiative". Except for the US relaxing its export licensing process in a manner that had no practical benefits and the enactment in May 2005 of the WMD Bill, none of the other actions contemplated under the NSSP has been initiated. The other indeterminate elements relate to space and dual-use licensing. The joint statement merely states that closer ties in space co-operation would be attempted and there is no indication of how US licensing of dual-use items to India would be relaxed. For that we will have to wait and see.

The writer is a nuclear expert.



with friends and allies to adjust international regimes to enable full civil nuclear energy co-operation and trade with India, including but not limited to expeditious consideration of fuel supplies to safeguarded nuclear reactors at Tarapur". This is indeed a major gain for India, opening up the possibilities of greatly expanding nuclear power production in India.

In return, India has agreed to undertake certain actions with respect to its nuclear programme. This includes identifying and separating civilian and military nuclear facilities and voluntarily placing the civilian facilities under IAEA safeguards; continuing India's unilateral moratorium on nuclear testing; signing an additional protocol with respect to civilian nuclear facilities; and working with the US for the conclusion of a Fissile Material Cut Off (FMCT) treaty.

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THE TIMES OF INDIA

কেবল তারাপুরই নয়, অন্য কেন্দ্রেও মার্কিন জ্বালানি

সীমা সিরোহি • ওয়াশিংটন

২১ জুলাই: শুধু তারাপুর নয়, অন্যান্য পরমাণু চুল্লির স্থাপনে ভারতকে জ্বালানি সহায়তা দেবে আমেরিকা।

মনমোহন সিংহ দেশের বিমান ধরার পরে তাঁর সফরের প্রাপ্তি নিয়ে ওয়াশিংটনের ভারতীয় কূটনৈতিক মহলে যেমন কটাচড়ে চলেছে, তেমনই মার্কিন কর্তারাও ময়না-তদন্ত চালাচ্ছেন। তাতেই ধরা পড়ছে অন্যান্য পরমাণু চুল্লির জন্য ভারতকে মার্কিন জ্বালানি সহায়তার বিষয়টা। মার্কিন প্রশাসনের কর্তারাই বলছেন ভারত-মার্কিন যৌথ বিবৃতির কথা। সেখানেই বলা হয়েছে, নিরাপদ পরমাণু চুল্লির জন্য জ্বালানি সরবরাহ করতে বন্ধু ও সহযোগীদের সঙ্গে কাজ করবে আমেরিকা। এই চুল্লিগুলোর মধ্যে তারাপুর একটা, কিন্তু একমাত্র নয়।

ইতিমধ্যেই মার্কিন নিষেধাজ্ঞার আওতা থেকে আরও পাঁচটি ভারতীয় সংস্থাকে বাদ দিয়ে দিয়েছে ওয়াশিংটন। পরমাণু ক্ষেত্রে এই প্রাপ্তি হাসিল করার জন্য মুখ্য কৃতিত্ব দেওয়া হচ্ছে অনিল কাকোদকরকে।

ভারতীয় শক্তি মন্ত্রকের সচিব প্রখর বাসুবাবাদী কাকোদকর ঠিক সময়ে ঠিক যুক্তি সাজিয়ে দিয়েছেন। পরমাণু সহায়তার চুক্তিতে কী থাকবে আর কী থাকবে না, সেটা নিয়ে চুলচেরা আলোচনার সময়ে কাকোদকরের উপস্থিতি অত্যন্ত কাজে দিয়েছে।

ভারতের প্রধানমন্ত্রীর এই সফরে পরমাণু সহায়তার ক্ষেত্রে যে সাফল্য পেল দিল্লি, তার ভিত্তি অবশ্য তৈরি হয়েছিল চার মাস আগে। মার্কিন বিদেশসচিব কন্ডোলিজা রাইস মার্চে যখন দিল্লি সফরে যান, তখনই ভারত

সম্পর্কে আমেরিকার নতুন নীতির আন্দাজ দিয়ে এসেছিলেন। ভারতীয় বিদেশ মন্ত্রকের কর্তারা তখন বিশ্বাস করতে চাননি। মার্কিন প্রেসিডেন্ট জর্জ বুশের পক্ষে সন্দেহ ভারতীয় প্রধানমন্ত্রীর সোমবারের বৈঠকের পরে তাঁরাও দেখলেন, ভারতকে সত্যিই পরমাণু শক্তির দেশের স্বীকৃতি দিয়েছে আমেরিকা।

মার্চের সফরে রাইস দিল্লিকে বলে আসেন, একশ শতকে ভারতকে অন্যতম বৃহৎ আন্তর্জাতিক শক্তি হিসাবে গড়ে তুলতে সাহায্য করাই আমেরিকার নতুন নীতি। প্রাথমিক বিশ্বয় এবং অবিশ্বাস কাটার আগেই ভারতের বিদেশমন্ত্রী নটবর সিংহ পরের মাসে মার্কিন সফরে আসেন। রাইস এবং প্রেসিডেন্ট বুশের সঙ্গে তাঁর মুখোমুখি আলোচনায় ছবিটা অনেকটাই স্পষ্ট হয়ে যায়। বস্তুত, নটবর-রাইস নিজেদের মধ্যে বোঝাপড়াকে এতটাই মসৃণ করে তুলেছেন যে, জট ছাড়াতে এখন আর বেশি ক্ষণ লাগে না তাঁদের। প্রসঙ্গত, রাইসকে 'তরুণতম বিদেশমন্ত্রী' আখ্যা দিয়ে নিজের সম্বন্ধে নটবরের মূল্যায়ন— গিনেস বুক প্রবীণতম বিদেশমন্ত্রী হিসাবে তাঁর নামই উঠেছে!

এর পরেই দিল্লিতে টানা পোড়েন শুরু হয়, ভারত স্বল্পমেয়াদি চুক্তির কথা ভাববে, না কি দীর্ঘমেয়াদি লক্ষ্যের কথা মাথায় রাখবে। শেষমেশ সিদ্ধান্ত, কেবল তারাপুরের জন্য সহায়তা আদায় করার লক্ষ্যে সীমিত থাকবে না দিল্লি। সেই বৃহত্তর লক্ষ্য মাথায় রেখেই মনমোহনসিংহের সফরসঙ্গী আমলাদের দলে এ বার রাখা হয়েছিল অনিল কাকোদকরকে। আর নটবর-রাইসের উপস্থিতি তো ছিলই।

বিস্তর প্রস্তুতি নেওয়া থাকলেও মনমোহন-বুশের বৈঠকের আগের রাতে দু'তরফের কর্তারাই উদ্বেগে ছিলেন। প্রতিটা শব্দ মেপে মেপে সমঝোতার পথে এগোতে হবে, এমন কিছু বলে ফেলা যাবে না, যাতে দেশে ফিরে বামেদের 'দেশকে বেচে দিয়ে এল' শুনতে হয় মনমোহনকে— এ সব ভেবে ভারতীয় কর্তারা বেশিই উদ্বিগ্ন ছিলেন। সোমবার দুই রাষ্ট্রনেতার বৈঠকের পরেও রাইসের 'টিম' এক দফা বৈঠক সারের নটবর সিংহ, এম কে নারায়ণন, রণেন সেনদের সঙ্গে। এক মার্কিন কর্তার কথায়, প্রতিটি শব্দের জন্য এক লিটার করে রক্ত খরচ হয়েছে।

'রক্ত খরচে' যে কাজ হয়েছে, মার্কিন কর্তারাই স্বীকার করছেন। মার্কিন বিদেশ দফতরের উপ-সচিব নিকোলাস বার্নস যেমন বলেছেন, সামরিক ও অসামরিক পরমাণু প্রকল্পকে পুরোপুরি আলাদা রাখার ভারতীয় প্রতিশ্রুতিতে তাঁরা ভরসা রাখছেন। অসামরিক পরমাণু প্রকল্পকে আন্তর্জাতিক পরমাণু শক্তি সংস্থাকে দিয়ে পরীক্ষা করানোর ভারতীয় আশ্বাসেও আস্থা আছে তাঁদের। আবার একই সঙ্গে বার্নস জানাচ্ছেন, এই ক্ষেত্রে অত্যন্ত ভারতের সঙ্গে পাকিস্তানকে একগোত্র ফেলছে না আমেরিকা। এক দেশের জন্য এক নীতি নেওয়া হচ্ছে।

পরমাণু সহায়তার চুক্তি নিয়ে এত উত্তেজনার শেষে ভারতীয় কর্তারা আনন্দিত, কারণ তাঁরা স্বাধীন ভাবে কাজ করতে পেরেছেন। আর তাঁদের স্বাধীন ভাবে কাজ করতে দেওয়ার জন্য 'টিম লিডার'কে সেলাম জানাচ্ছেন তাঁরা। অনেক কিছুর সঙ্গে এই কুনিশটাও নিয়ে ফিরছেন মনমোহন।

Bush faces nuclear fire at home

K.P. NAYAR

Washington, July 21: The US Congress is at war over President George W. Bush's initiative to implicitly recognise India as a nuclear weapons state and offer New Delhi nuclear technology that has so far been the preserve of the five big powers.

Even before Prime Minister Manmohan Singh left Washington after bagging a landmark nuclear deal with Bush, the energy committee of the US House of Representatives sent a warning up to the White House not to proceed with the deal.

The committee, made up of almost an equal number of Republicans and Democrats, adopted an amendment to an energy bill that Bush is very keen to pass.

The amendment expressly prohibits any export of nuclear technology or equipment to India and other countries, which have detonated a nuclear weapon and not signed the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty.

"We are playing with fire by picking and choosing when to pay attention to the existing non-proliferation treaties," Ed Markey, a key member of the committee and a Democrat from Massachusetts, said as justification for his amendment.

"Why should the US sell controlled nuclear goods to India?" he asked. "What will Russia say when they want to supply more nuclear materials and technology to Iran? You can be sure that Pakistan will demand equal treatment. Will the Bush administration

soon be announcing nuclear co-operation with them?"

Markey's arguments found favour with both his party members and Republicans as demonstrated by the committee's vote approving his amendment, but Senators rejected the measure at a "conference committee" of both houses of Congress, where differences between the two are reconciled in order for a unified legislation to proceed.

A Republican from Bush's home state of Texas, who chairs the conference committee, Joe Barton, said: "This is a way for the House to send a signal on this particular treaty".

Despite a rejection by senators, members of the House of Representatives have vowed to pursue their opposition to the Bush-Singh nuclear deal.

Markey is likely to move a separate bill seeking to stall the White House initiative on India.

The worry for Bush and Singh ought to be the reluctance of members of the India Caucus on Capitol Hill to come out and openly align themselves with the House on the deal with India.

That reluctance points to a groundswell of doubts and concerns here about the advisability of implementing what the President and the Prime Minister agreed here on Monday.

The second worry for the two leaders ought to be a rising crescendo of opinion in America against the deal. It can only be countered if New Delhi can prove to Americans that there is much in the deal for them, too. That would in-

evitably mean concessions to Washington in other areas.

The Boston Globe said in an editorial yesterday that "Bush is wise to partner up with India while it is beginning its ascendancy as a swing state in the geopolitics of Asia, but he is paying too high a price".

Experts on non-proliferation or South Asia are yet to rally behind what Bush wants to offer India. Michael Krepton, president emeritus of the Henry L. Stimson Center, spoke for this influential community here when he said: "If we change the rules of proliferation, we can't change them only with respect to our friends."

In a hopeful sign for the agreement between Bush and Singh, Mohamed El Baradei, director-general of the International Atomic Energy

Agency, today came out in its support. "Out-of-the-box thinking and active participation by all members of the international community are important if we are to advance nuclear arms control, non-proliferation, safety and security, and tackle new threats such as illicit trafficking in sensitive nuclear technology and the risks of nuclear terrorism," El Baradei said in a statement.

US secretary of state Condoleezza Rice telephoned El Baradei and briefed him on the US nuclear initiative with India, without which, international opposition to the initiative may have been stronger.

She spoke to Musharraf while other state department officials had similar briefings for officials in Berlin, Paris and London.

29 JUL 2005

Our record on non-proliferation impeccable, asserts PM

By Chidanand Rajghatta
Times News Network

Washington: India has an impeccable record of not proliferating nuclear technology and is "fully conscious of the immense responsibilities that come with the possession of advanced technologies, both civilian and strategic," Prime Minister Manmohan Singh told the US Congress on Tuesday. Singh went to the Hill to address a joint session of US lawmakers from the Senate and House of Representatives, where there is already a growing stir over Monday's India-US deal over cooperation in nuclear affairs.

"We have adhered scrupulously to every rule and canon in this area. We have done so even though we have witnessed unchecked nuclear proliferation in our own neighbourhood which has directly affected our security. We have never been, and will never be, a source of proliferation of sensitive technologies," Singh told lawmakers, some of whom are expected to work against the deal over the next several months.

Many lawmakers applauded Singh's commitment, suggesting there was good deal of support for the deal in

Congress. Congressional approval is needed to change some of the domestic laws that currently forbid nuclear cooperation with countries that have not signed the NPT, among which India is one.

It was one of the several times US lawmakers cheered Singh during his 40-minute address, which, while not explicitly electrifying, was thoughtful and penetrating in its assessment of Indo-US ties and new global realities.

Of interest to nuclear pundits was Singh's reference to strategic technologies and his characterisation of the nuclear agreement as an "understanding."

Singh also obliquely defended free trade and off-shoring before lawmakers, many of whom have moved legislation to regulate it.

"India's growth and prosperity is in American interest. American investments in India, especially in new technology areas, will help American companies to reduce costs and become more competitive globally. Equally, India's earnings from these investments will lead to increased purchases from the United States. The information technology revolution in India is built primarily on US computer-related technology and hardware," he said.

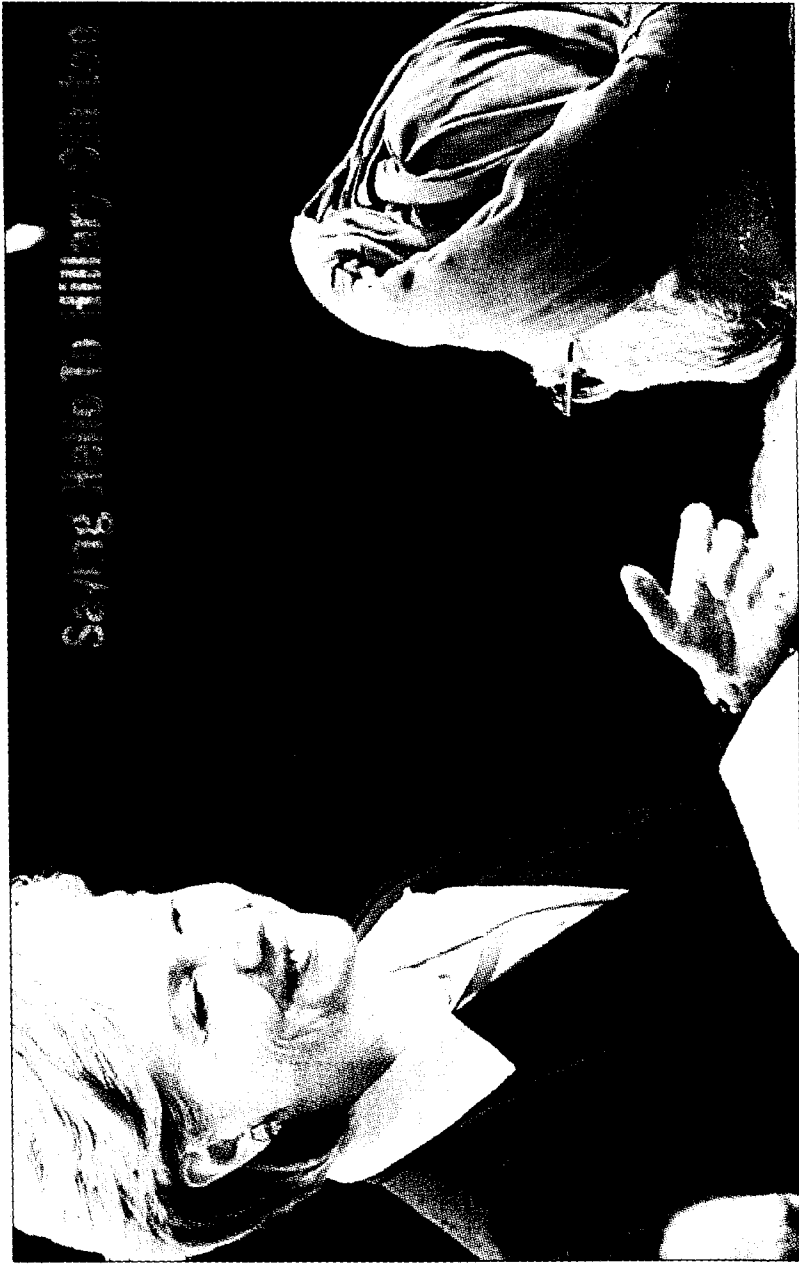
To a Congress that is largely skeptical of the role of the UN and has reservation about the ongoing debate on reforms, Singh said India believed it is time to recognise the enormous changes that have occurred since the present structure was established.

"In this context, you would agree that the voice of the world's largest democracy surely cannot be left unheard on the Security Council when the United Nations is being restructured," he said.

Terrorism was the other key theme in the Prime Minister's address. "India and the United States have both suffered grievously from terrorism and we must make common cause against it," he told a Congress that has often been oblivious to India's suffering in this area.

"We know that those who resort to terror often clothe it in the garb of real or imaginary grievances. We must categorically affirm that no grievance can justify resort to terror."

Lawmakers responded keenly to his suggestion. The Prime Minister is spending most of the day on the Hill meeting members over lunch before attending a reception hosted by the Indian ambassador for the Indian community in the evening.



From the **FRONT PAGE**

Defending India deal, Bush admn works on Congress

could spot Chinese submarines in the Indian Ocean and Aegis radar for Indian destroyers operating in the strategic Strait of Malacca, as useful for monitoring the Chinese military.

On Tuesday, the Pentagon released an assessment of China's military strength. Basing the findings on US intelligence, the report claims that Beijing is increasing its own nuclear arsenal and specifically noted that Chinese missiles are capable of striking India, Russia, and "virtually all of the United States".

Secretary of State Condoleezza Rice called Pakistani President Pervez Musharraf and Mohamed El Baradei, the director of the International Atomic Energy Agency, on Tuesday, officials said.

Her advisers spoke with members of Congress, including Senator Richard Lugar, R-Ind., chairman of the Foreign Relations Committee. And the State Department organised briefings for allies surprised by

the deal, which reverses years of non-proliferation policies and skirts the major tenets of the Non-Proliferation Treaty, which is credited by many with limiting the spread of nuclear weapons.

Foreign diplomats from some of Washington's closest allies predicted a tough climb for the administration, which will need to convince many of them to alter rules in the Nuclear Suppliers Group that limit exports of sensitive nuclear technologies to countries that haven't signed the Non-Proliferation Treaty.

The NSG is a 40-country consortium that was established immediately after India conducted its first nuclear detonation in 1974 as a way of specifically keeping nuclear materials out of the country.

"This sends the signal that bilateral relations and other strategic interests will trump non-proliferation," said Robert Einhorn, who served as assistant secretary of state for non-proliferation when In-

dia conducted a series of nuclear tests in 1998. "And that will reduce the perceived penalties associated with going nuclear."

Members of Congress welcomed Singh on Tuesday but were reluctant to sign off on the agreement, which would require Congressional approval. Lugar, who has pioneered non-proliferation legislation, said Congress needed to hear from the White House how the deal will affect US nuclear policies elsewhere.

"We're going to have a lot of conversations," he said.

House members of the energy conference committee approved a measure offered by Republican Edward Markey, D-Mass., to prevent the export of nuclear technology to India. "This is a way for the House to send a signal on this particular treaty," Republican Joe Barton, R-Texas, chairman of the Conference Committee, said in a statement.

(LA Times-Washington Post)

Pokharan's PM slams deal

The first and foremost among them was India's offer to identify and separate its civilian and nuclear facilities and programmes, Vajpayee said, adding the offer had long-term security implications as the country's military programmes were a small fraction of its nuclear facilities.

"We believe that separating the civilian from the military would be very difficult, if not impossible. The costs involved will also be prohibitive. It will also deny us any flexibility in determining the size of our nuclear deterrent.

"Though we believe in minimum credible deterrent, the size of the deterrent must be determined from time to time on the basis of our own threat perception. This is a judgement which cannot be surrendered to anyone else," he said.

Vajpayee charged that by effecting a separation between civilian and military facilities, India has also accepted a crucial provision of a future fissile material cut-off treaty even before such an international treaty has been

fully negotiated and put into force by other nuclear weapon states.

The former prime minister said India's offer to sign and adhere to an additional protocol with respect to civilian nuclear facilities was also "fraught with dangers" as it will, by its very nature, be more intrusive since it will have to allow international inspectors free access to our nuclear facilities anywhere any time.

Pointing out that Indian nuclear scientists have been allowed all these years to freely carry out research activities without anyone breathing down their necks, he said under the new arrangement this will change and put restrictions even on the country's research programmes.

Referring to the thorium research programme "which would give us freedom from nuclear imports and make us self-reliant in nuclear fuel", Vajpayee said, "What happens to that programme? The government of India owes an explanation on this count."

THE FIN

News

Essar buys BPL for \$ 1 billion in largest M&A deal

-Page 1

Home cost

more viable for the country's needs. While we have already applied for patenting the kits, a NIHFW committee — including experts from the Department of Science and Technology, Indian Council of Medical Research and NIHFW Dean Prof K Kalaivani among others — is now evaluating the proposal for commercialization of these kits and searching for commercial partners. This would also help in resource generation for the institute," he says.

The man behind the research, Dr T G Shrivastav, who works as a Reader in the Department of Reproductive Biomedicine at NIHFW says the scope of the research is immense.

"The kits can be used in far-

Pak arrests London bombing suspect

detained at *madrasa* Qasim ul-Aloom on the outskirts of Sargodha, 150 km south of Islamabad. He has been taken to Lahore.

Other intelligence sources also stood by their comments on Aswad's arrest, despite a denial by Information Minister Sheikh Rashid Ahmed.

"We have arrested nobody called Haroon Rashid," the minister said.

One of the intelligence sources said Aswad had been carrying a belt packed with explosives for a possible suicide attack, around Rs 1 million, and a British passport.

Aswad appears to be the unnamed militant *Reuters* reported was captured on Monday and found with explosives and cash.

The search for Aswad started after his name was passed to Pakistani intelligence by British investigators. His name had come up in the information gathered

from the cellphone of one of the London bombers, the *Asian Wall Street Journal* had reported.

It also said one Aswad Rashid Haroon figured in US Intelligence databases as having ties to the Al Qaeda network of Osama bin Laden.

Aswad's arrest comes as part of a fresh crackdown ordered by President Musharraf after revelations that three of the four London bombers were British Muslims of Pakistani descent, who visited Pakistan before the attacks.

Officials say the three entered Pakistan last year through Karachi and at least one of them visited Islamic schools. Musharraf plans to address the nation on Thursday on the London bombings and the crackdown on Islamist militants.

Over 120 people have been detained so far in the crackdown.—REUTERS

Terror in Srinagar: 5 killed, 17 injured

the camp. "It has been the most painful and difficult job for his colleagues to tell them (family) about the tragedy," says Col A K Batra, PRO Defence. "Then they couldn't see the body."

The attack took place outside the entrance of the school. Fortunately, it had shut its gate half an hour before the blast. Although the windows panes were shattered by the impact of the blast, there were no casualties in the school.

"Thank God," said Mohammad Yunis, a survivor, who rammed his autorickshaw into the pavement when his hands shook by the sudden deafening boom. "It can happen anywhere. There is nothing we can do about it."

And in several cases, luck did come to the rescue of the people. Azad Ahmad Khan (30) of Tangmarg was walking on the same stretch. "I saw a kingfisher stuck in the mesh of the fence, struggling to free itself. I stopped and took the injured bird. It took me a few seconds

and thus saved my life," he said as he lay in the hospital with dozens of splinter wounds on his thighs, neck and arms. "For a few seconds, everything went dark. And then I saw blood everywhere. The leaves of the chinar leaves fell like rain."

Khan said he ran even as blood was oozing out from everywhere. "It seemed as if somebody had put hot nails in my body. The pain was unbearable. But I was in my senses and wanted to reach hospital," he said.

Khan is out of danger but several others are still struggling for life. An unidentified woman was seriously injured and the doctors were contemplating to amputate her limb while she lay unconscious.

At the site of the blast, Kashmir's immunity to violence and death was at full display. Within two hours of the blast, life was back to normal. The tiny crater and the peeled off bark of the chinar were the only marks of the deadly blast.

We kept tab on Salman phone, says minister

EXPRESS NEWS SERVICE
MUMBAI, JULY 20:

THE Maharashtra government today admitted that actor Salman Khan's telephone was under surveillance for about two months in 2001.

In a statement in the legislative assembly, Home Minister R R Patil said as per a preliminary report by an Assistant Commissioner of Police (crime), the authorities had received a tip-off on August 27, 2001, about Salman's alleged links with gangster Abu Salem.

"The state government, after obtaining permission of competent authorities, had put the actor's telephone under surveillance between August 27, 2001, and October 25, 2001," Patil said.

The interception was later discontinued, he added.

Pension Maharashtra

crore. This is followed by West Bengal at Rs 1.38 lakh crore. Thus Maharashtra, Goa and West Bengal are leaders in the pack in terms of problems on account of civil service pensions.

The pension liability of these states alone is roughly as big as that of the central government, excluding defence. But none of these states—who need pension reforms the most—have adopted the New Pension System (NPS).

Under this new scheme, announced by the Centre, all new employees joining after January 1, 2004 will contribute 10% of their salary and DA. The government's liability will be limited to a matching contribution deposited into the employee's personal ac-

THIRUVALLUVAR UNIVERSITY
FORT, VELLORE - 632 004.

ADMISSION NOTIFICATION
2005 - 2006

THE LAST DATE for issue and submission of Applications for admission to M.A./M.Sc. [University Departments] Courses and M.Phil Degree [Both in the Affiliated Colleges / University Departments] Course for the academic year 2005 - 2006 is **EXTENDED UPTO 27.07.2005.**

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Visit us at : www.tn.gov.in DIPR/1012/DISPLAY/2005

INDIAN RAILWAYS
GOVERNMENT OF INDIA
MINISTRY OF RAILWAYS
(RAILWAY BOARD)
NOTICE INVITING SUGGESTIONS FOR REVIEWING TENDER CONDITIONS
Notice No. WS-108/2005

Ministry of Railways intends to procure about 40000 cum of wooden sleepers made out of Malaysian Balau Group (Shorea Spp.) species of various sizes for use on girder bridges and turnouts. The supply is proposed to be obtained in a period of two years.

Tenders for procurement of the wooden sleepers were earlier called. In course of processing the tenders, a number of intending suppliers brought to notice about difficulties/problems in complying with conditions of such supply as stipulated in Tender Documents.

In view of this, it has decided to review these conditions by inviting suggestions from all intending suppliers so that all practical difficulties/problems are overcome and procurement through open tenders may become smooth and effective.

Accordingly, it is hereby notified that all prospective bidders may offer their suggestions in writing in the prescribed format regarding changes in conditions worth incorporating in the Tender Document. The provisions of tender document used last (i.e. for Tender No. WS-108/2003) and the format in which suggestions are to be furnished may be downloaded from Indian Railways website www.indianrailways.gov.in. All interested firms may offer their suggestions for consideration by Ministry of Railways so as to reach Executive Director, Track (M), Railway Board, New Delhi-110001 latest by 17.8.2005.

Send to the following email address -

BORDER ROADS ORGANISATION
752 BORDER ROADS TASK FORCE,
C/O 99 APO
NOTICE INVITING TENDER
NIT NO: 8621/02/E8

Commander 752 BRTF (GREF) C/O 99 APO applications by or before 13 August 2005 up to 1200 hrs from the registered/enlisted contractors of BRO/MES/CPWD/Railways/State PWDs/any other Govt. organisations for issue of the tender documents for "Supply and stacking of sand as per MOSRT&H specifications and reasonably dried locally available firewood of size 3" to 6" dia and 4' long in between KM 2.207 to 6.280, KM 29.600 to 30.600, KM 38.481 to 40.284, KM 67.000 to KM 68.000, KM 68.650 to 70.100, KM 74.050 to 76.690 and KM 91.740 to 92.526 on road Mokokchung-Tuensang of 103 RCC Sector under 752 BRTF in Nagaland State'. The estimate cost is Rs 6.43 Lacs.

Applicants must attach with the applications, cost of the tender documents in the form of Bank Draft for Rs. 1000.00 (Rupees One thousand only) issued by the State Bank of India drawn in favour of the Commander 752 BRTF payable at KHONSA (Arunachal Pradesh). Please note that the applications received without bank draft towards cost of the tender documents, the said application will not be entertained.

In addition to the above, applicants must attach with their applications, registration/enlistment letter, particulars of financial and technical resources, list of similar nature of works executed by them during last three years indicating the name and designation of officers under whom such work were executed. In case above documents are not enclosed with their application, their application for issue of tender documents will be rejected without assigning any reasons thereto.

4. Further details can be seen at the website: <http://www.bro.nic.in> and <http://www.gref.nic.in>

davp 7741(171)2005

OFFICE OF THE
COMMANDANT 25 BN BSF
CHHAWLA CAMP, NEW DELHI-71
Tender Notice No. 01
//TENDER NOTICE//
Sealed tenders are invited for and on behalf of President of India

MES
Garrison Engineer (Project) West, Delhi Cantt-10 invites applications by 06 Aug 2005 from enlisted MES, PWD and Railway contractors of appropriate class for issue of tenders for works: Provision of Essential Supply for lifts at Ms Building at Cab Sectt. New Delhi, **Estimated Cost (Rs.): 7.00 lakhs, Amount of Earnest Money required to be deposited with tender(s): Rs 14,000/-, Period of Completion: 01 (One Month), Amount of Standing Deposit (Rs): 30,000/- Class E', Cost of Tender (Rs.): 500/-, Demand Draft in favour of: GE (P) West Delhi Cantt.**

(For details see Indian Trade Journal dated 13 July 2005).

SB-165785 davp 4000/710/05

NORTHERN RAILWAY
Tender Notice for Construction of Major Bridges
The Chief Engineer (Const) NW, Northern Railway, Kashmir Gate, Delhi for & on behalf of the President of India invites sealed open tenders on the prescribed form for the under noted works. **Name of work:** Construction of 08 Nos. major bridges (90, 92-B, 93-B, 95, 101, 108, 110, 111A) consisting of PSC slabs, steel girders (excluding manufacturing and placement of PSC slabs and steel girders) RCC Box, well foundation, open foundation, Pile foundation on rivers/nallahs of spans upto 12.20 mtr. including all other allied work from Tanda Umar (excluding) to Dasuya (including) in connection with doubling on Jalandhar Cantt-Pathankot-Jammu Tawi Section **Approx. Cost:** Rs. 602.26 Lacs. (Including cost of cement & steel) **Earnest Money:** Rs. 50,000/- **Completion Period:** 12 (Twelve) months for each work from the date of issue of acceptance letter/telegram **Last date and time of submission of tender:** Upto 15.00 hrs. on 18.08.2005 **Date/Time of opening of tender:** Soon after 15.00 hrs. on 18.08.2005 **Validity of offer:** 90 days from the date of opening of tender **Availability of Tender Documents:** On working day from 03.08.2005 to 17.08.2005

Name of work: Construction of 05 Nos. major bridges (117, 119-A, 121, 123A & 128) consisting of PSC Girders, including Well, Pile & Open foundation, and other allied works across river of spans upto 12.2 mtr. from Dasuya (excluding) to Mukerian (excluding) in connection with doubling on Jalandhar Cantt-Pathankot-Jammu Tawi Section **Approx. Cost:** Rs. 578.86 Lacs. (Including cost of cement & steel) **Earnest Money:** Rs. 50,000/- **Completion Period:** 12 (Twelve) months for each work from the date of issue of acceptance letter/telegram **Last date and time of submission of tender:** Upto 15.00 hrs. on 18.08.2005 **Date/Time of opening of tender:** Soon after 15.00 hrs. on 18.08.2005 **Validity of offer:** 90 days from the date of opening of tender **Availability of Tender Documents:** On working day from 03.08.2005 to 17.08.2005

TRUST IN US ^{NY} (1.8)

Christopher Columbus, as Mr Manmohan Singh reminded his audience in Washington, came upon America thinking he had landed in India. But it has taken India more than five decades of deliberation to discover the United States of America. Mr Singh's recognition that India and the US are "natural partners in many respects" is a reversal of India's political and economic attitude towards the US. Jawaharlal Nehru may once have heard echoes of the American constitution in the Indian, but his own foreign policy was a victim of the Cold War. Under the rhetoric of non-alignment, he remained slightly tilted on the Soviet side. Thus suspicion and hostility informed India's attitude towards the US. The pursuit of socialist goals through planning added to the animosity towards the US, which in turn was inclined to see Pakistan as a natural ally. India's attitude began to change under the astute leadership of Mr P.V. Narasimha Rao, and Washington's attitude towards India only after Islamic terrorists attacked New York. Mr Singh's successful visit to Washington, and the applause and the plaudits that he has earned, is a culmination of this process of change and mutual recognition of reciprocal interests.

^{Indo-US}
A new mood of optimism has come in the train of the prime minister's visit. There can be no denial of the fact that India stands to gain significantly from a close friendship with the US. Only the ideologically blind will find in this friendship a threat to India's independence. Such prophets of doom are irrelevant and incorrigible. A different kind of caution is in order. India's policymakers have a tendency to be swayed too much in one direction. Instead of becoming too cosy with Washington, South Block should keep in place a dose of scepticism. Foreign policy can only be dictated by the furthering of national interests and not be protestations of friendship. The US should not be allowed to set the terms of friendship. There are no natural partners in diplomacy, only the assiduous cultivation of self-interest. The track record of the US in the pursuit of democracy outside its own shores is not particularly edifying. India's pursuit of its own interests in Asia may not be in concordance with US designs on the continent. The success of Mr Singh's visit and Washington's bonhomie should not be allowed to cloud judgment. To be invited to the high table has its own demands on responsibility and protocol. /

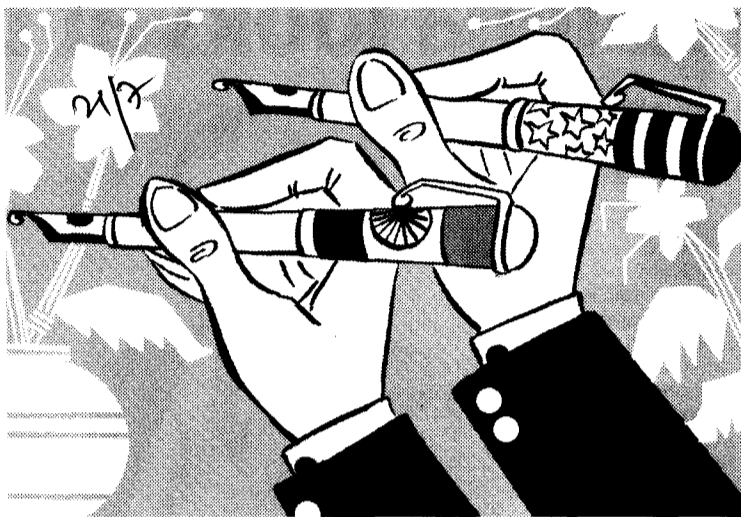
A paradigm shift in Indo-US ties?

Flag and trade are now more synergised in India than ever before and this harmonisation of principle, pragmatism and realpolitik is the subtext of Dr Singh's visit to the US, says C Uday Bhaskar

THE joint statement signed by Prime Minister Manmohan Singh and US President George Bush has the potential to effect a paradigm shift in Indo-US relations if it is implemented in totality. This political consensus will also facilitate a crystallisation of the post-cold war strategic environment which is still groping in the post 9-11 fog of anxiety and uncertainty. The cliché that the world's largest and oldest democracies have been estranged for decades will hopefully be a relic of the past. Meaningful engagement is the cusp on which the relationship is poised.

India and the US have had a mirror-image of each other which is akin to each believing fervently that engaging with the other was akin to supping with the devil — and hence a long spoon was mandatory. This perception is still deeply entrenched in some pockets of the politico-bureaucratic establishment on both sides. It is to the credit of the two leaders at the Washington summit that they were able to put their personal political impress on the consensus that is reflected in the joint statement. For sure, there will be divergences on both sides but it appears that these will be embedded in the growing foundation of convergences and correspondences that span the political, societal, economic and security spectrum. Much of this was reflected in the PM's address to the US Congress and more importantly in his remarks to the press where he indicated that many of the areas that have been identified for co-operation will, hopefully, be implemented before President Bush visits India — in early 2006.

The paradigm shift is predicated on the manner in which the US, under Mr Bush's personal direction, has sought to square the circle apropos the nettlesome nuclear issue that has bedeviled bilateral relations since India's PNE (peaceful nuclear explosion) of 1974 — when the Buddha first smiled. This 'bone-in-the-throat' issue remained intractable from 1974 till as recently as the Clinton administration in 2000. It was the radical



BONNY THOMAS

shift in US nuclear and strategic deterrence policy announced by Mr Bush in early 2001 that provided the opening. The operative section in the July 18 joint statement refers to the US acknowledging the reality that "as a state with advanced nuclear technology, India should acquire the same benefits and advantages as other (such) states." This is not to be equated with the US concurring with India's admission into the NPT fold as a nuclear weapon state in a *de jure* manner — but a tacit recognition of the *de facto* reality of the post-1998 global nuclear domain.

In this context Mr Bush assured his Indian counterpart that the US would seek Congressional approval to bring about the necessary changes in the US law to facilitate meaningful nuclear commerce with India in the civilian programme, as also encourage the global nuclear suppliers' cartel to engage with India as it seeks to redress its energy deficiency through a greater contribution from the nuclear strand. This aspect is inexorably linked with India's aspirations of sustained economic growth and the enhancement of equitable so-

cio-economic development for its less privileged cross-section that is almost 300 million plus.

BUT more than the quantum of energy that will now be made available to India by the nuclear reactor, it is the symbolism of the US engaging with India in the nuclear domain that will have a greater cascading effect on India's overall profile in the global comity. Notwithstanding India's principled stand that the NPT as a regime is discriminatory and not part of international law — the reality is that barring three states, the rest of the international community has accepted this norm — however uncomfortably — and India has been perceived in negative light with the (unjustified) 'pariah' tag always looming in the background. What the July 18 joint statement does in substantive terms is to alter India's status from being a defiant challenger outside the system to one whose potential to meaningfully contribute to the management of the emerging nuclear challenges is now recognised — albeit in an incremental manner.

However, there will be obstacles and resistance to be overcome within the US — from the ayatollahs of nuclear non-proliferation who have already voiced their ire at this Bush 'sell-out' as they see it. The support of the US Congress will be vital for the letter of the joint statement to be realised in deed. In like fashion US nuclear allies such as Japan, Australia and some others who castigated India for Pokharan-II in May 1998 will have to be brought on board in a consensual manner to facilitate India's access to the global nuclear market. The more critical response will be that of China which has deep reservations about India's strategic profile and its relations with the US.

Paradoxically India's improving relations with the US will enable Delhi to manage its own relations better with China. It is nobody's case that the India-US relationship has an anti-China orientation but India's credibility as a swing state that can strengthen the emerging balance of power and relevance will be derived from the strategic equipoise that Delhi can bring to bear in its relations with both Washington and Beijing.

It is also instructive that for the first time a major business leaders' delegation accompanied the Indian PM for a summit meeting and this may be seen as an extension of the new pragmatism that characterises India's evolving strategic culture. Flag and trade are now more synergised in India than ever before and this harmonisation of principle, pragmatism and realpolitik is the subtext of Dr Singh's visit to the US. On balance the summit with Mr Bush augurs well for India to realise its aspirations and assuage its anxieties in the 21st century. It is clearly in the larger national interest of both countries to husband the relationship in a prudent manner with the appropriate candor and sensitivity to each other's democratic prickliness. It is too early to pop the champagne corks but the vintage of the grape that will be savoured in the near future can be reviewed.

U.S. will work to lift curbs on nuclear supplies



A BIG HAND FOR MANMOHAN: Vice-President Dick Cheney, House Speaker Dennis Hastert and other legislators applaud Prime Minister Manmohan Singh at the end of his address to the Joint Meeting of the U.S. Congress in Washington on Tuesday. — PHOTO: AP (REPORT ON PAGE 12)

India agrees "reciprocally" to place its civilian nuclear facilities under IAEA safeguards

N. Ravi

WASHINGTON DC: In a move that recognises India as a nuclear weapons state for all practical purposes but stops short of declaring it as one, the United States has committed itself to working for "full civil nuclear energy cooperation" with the country, including both direct and third party supplies of fuel for the safeguarded reactors at Tarapur. President George Bush will "seek agreement from Congress to adjust U.S. laws and policies" towards this end.

In return for such recognition and restrictions-free cooperation, India has committed itself to separating civilian and military nuclear facilities and placing its civilian nuclear reactors voluntarily under IAEA safeguards.

In the joint statement issued with Prime Minister Manmohan Singh, the United States President, George Bush, referred to India as "a responsible state with advanced nuclear technology" and spoke of its commitment to preventing the proliferation of weapons of mass destruction. The context made it clear that it was assumed to be a nuclear weapons state, asserted Foreign Secretary Shyam Saran in a briefing following the joint statement that was issued on Monday evening after hours of hard negotiations that contin-

• **India will segregate civilian and military nuclear facilities**

• **Bush calls India "a responsible state with advanced nuclear technology"**

• **He will seek agreement from Congress to adjust U.S. laws and policies**

• **India will assume same responsibilities and practices as other nuclear weapons states**

ued well after the talks between the two leaders had ended.

In addition, the joint statement noted Dr. Singh's readiness to assume "the same responsibilities and practices and acquire the same benefits and advantages as other leading countries with advanced nuclear technology, such as the United States." It also made explicit mention that those responsibilities and practices consisted of "identifying and separating civilian and military nuclear facilities and programmes in a phased manner" and filing a declaration on its civilian facilities with the International Atomic Energy Agency.

Apart from such implied recognition as a nuclear weapons

state in the joint declaration, the U.S. administration committed itself to working with friends and allies to "adjust the international regimes to enable full civil nuclear energy cooperation and trade with India" that would include "expeditious consideration of fuel supplies for safeguarded reactors at Tarapur." The U.S. would also encourage its partners to consider the request for fuel to Tarapur expeditiously.

India and ITER

Further, it would consider India's participation in two projects on the frontiers of nuclear technology. The first is the ITER experimental hydrogen plasma project of China, the European Union, Japan, South Korea, the United States and Russia under the IAEA located in France that would start operations in 2016 and provide 500 MW of fusion power.

The second is the development of fourth generation reactors under the Generation IV International Forum, a joint project of 10 countries that would aim for competitively priced energy that is also safe and resistant to proliferation.

Text of Indo-U.S. Joint Statement at www.thehindu.com

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Crossing the milestone

The nuclear agreement affirms the depth and maturity of the India-US engagement

THE new arrangement worked out between President Bush and Prime Minister Manmohan Singh on the nuclear issue is a major landmark in several respects. The agreement promises to end India's nuclear isolation. The United States has committed itself to adjusting its domestic laws and international treaties to facilitate nuclear fuel supply to India. India will, as it always has, behave like a responsible power and put in all possible safeguards against proliferation. If the Bush Administration follows through on its commitments, this agreement could pave the way for a massive expansion of India's civilian nuclear energy programme. In the short run, this agreement will pave the way for expeditious consideration of fuel supplies to Tarapur, which is facing a critical shortage of fuel enriched uranium.

This agreement is also a tribute to India. India is slowly being acknowledged as a full-fledged nuclear power, and an important player in the shaping of a new proliferation order. The agreement is also a testament to what India can achieve when it pursues policies with the weight of political consensus behind it. India's nuclear

policies, and the subsequent diplomatic efforts to bury the ghost of Pokharan, would not have been possible without sustained efforts by both the BJP and Congress. It is, therefore, of the utmost importance that our political parties work together to leverage India's new power towards creating a sustainable nuclear programme. Prime Minister Manmohan Singh deserves credit for his perseverance and his ability to carry along all the branches of government with him in this endeavour.

While the agreement is a major breakthrough, it is also a work in progress. The Bush Administration will have to put in considerable effort to change US domestic laws. But the very fact that it is willing to do so, is a measure of how important India has become in US eyes. It is also a measure of its sincerity that it is willing to expend political capital on India. On the other side, India will have to carefully deliberate on the terms under which its nuclear programme will come under international safeguards. But these residual uncertainties should not detract from the fact that India and the US have just crossed a major milestone.

An embrace too ardent

WINSTON CHURCHILL once called on the British-American relationship to "roll on full flood, inexorable, irresistible and benignant." Whatever the wisdom of Churchill's advice, our admirable strategists are falling head over heels to give similar advice to India. Skepticism about rolling on full flood is dismissed as old fashioned or an aspersion on the government's patriotism. Few deny that India would gain immensely from a close engagement with the United States. The sheer momentum of economic and social links will ensure a substantial measure of cooperation. But it will be fatal if the allure of aligning to US political and military objectives becomes irresistible. It will certainly not be benign. There is some truth to the claim that nothing in our current commitments seriously jeopardises our independence. But equally, it has to be admitted that the discourse on Indo-US relations, as a signal of our political intent and identity, is taking an alarmingly Panglossian view of how American and Indian interests align.

Notwithstanding the current bonhomie, at least ten questions need to be asked more pointedly. India and the US allegedly converge on combating terrorism and promoting democracy. But this shared objective is, at best, an abstraction; at worst, misleading. What is the US track record of building democracies outside of Europe and Japan? Even in its new incarnation, the prospects of American methods promoting democracy are bleak. Iraq is experiencing civil war, and the Taliban has once again become resurgent in Afghanistan. Not moralistic qualms about intervention, but prudence demands that we recognise that America will exacerbate the challenge of building democracy, not solve it.

The same applies to terrorism. A genuine partnership is possible only if India is given a significant role in shaping the long-term



Ten questions India needs to ask about its relationship with the US

PRATAP BHANU MEHTA

global political strategy to deal with terrorism. But what is the US's version of partnership? "We have decided on a strategy for dealing with terrorism: that strategy is on display in Iraq, Pakistan and Afghanistan. We brook no disagreement, do not care for its political consequences and will certainly never admit that this strategy can produce an alarming blowback." India needs to be tough on terrorism. But our political strategies will be different from those of the US. Much of our terrorism problem is rooted in the histories and geo-politics of our region. The anti-western, apocalyptic strain of terrorism has at best been a marginal phenomenon on the sub-continent.

Scepticism about the US does not come from an old mindset, paranoiac about the US. It comes, instead, from confidence in our strength, and a sense that we overestimate US power

Is it in our interest to align with the US and give terrorism ideological and political succour? We can criticise our anti-terrorism strategy on many counts. But it will be an illusion to think that we can afford to combat it by American methods.

Three, India wants to help shape a new nuclear non-proliferation order but isn't it astonishing that we want to sign on to cooperation in this area without clearly ascertaining what kind of non-proliferation regime the US wants? How onerous will be the restrictions on us? The US not only watched, but abetted, the subversion of the last non-proliferation regime. Its own objectives, from Iran to Pakistan, are thoroughly

confused. Let us clarify our own objectives rather than partner the US in its confusion. Four, the US has committed to facilitate civilian nuclear cooperation. But this is still a promissory note and the immediate benefits from that cooperation are still pretty slim. The objective constraints on the Bush Administration are too severe to be relaxed any time soon. Doesn't focusing on civilian nuclear cooperation with the US deflect us from pursuing a path that makes us more self-reliant?

Five, there is something myopic about India trying to position itself in American plans for containing China. Isn't it in our best interests to keep out of the emerging Sino-American rivalry, so that

India does not become a frontline state in this power game? Of course, no one expects this rivalry to be akin to the Cold War, but that is more reason rather than less to keep all your options open. Even if our military engagement with the US is not deep, just being counted as amongst its allies, our generals standing with its staff, entails serious political costs for our standing in the world. For all its faults, India's great virtue was to not let itself become a frontline state during the Cold War. It should now retain the capacity to not be identified as crudely partisan in world politics, to stay out of the conflicts the US is generating and sustaining.

Six, in one profound sense, the

India-Pakistan hyphen has been broken. The US has acknowledged India as a qualitatively different kind of power. But two core elements of the hyphenation persist. The US will encourage Pakistan to tailgate India on everything from technology transfers to weapons systems. The illusion that the hyphen has been broken is sustained because at the moment Indo-Pak relations are improving, so the US's choice of allegiances has not been tested. It would be great if the circumstances under which they would be tested do not arise; but it is still too premature to conclude that the US will make the right choice.

Seven, the interests of the US and India do not converge on the shape of international institutions ranging from the UN to an Asian Monetary Union. Eight, they do not converge in the approach we have to our region. There is talk in Washington of imposing sanctions on companies doing business with Iran. One does not have to condone the Iranians to recognise that US tactics will only make things worse. The US consistently wants to subvert the natural geography of Asia and deny us the power of creating the links we need. Does this fit in with our strategic objectives? Nine, every single power that the US has helped to build up, from Germany to Japan, lost its capacity for independent political and military action. China engaged with the US, but entirely on its own terms.

Finally, the scepticism about the US does not come from, as critics allege, an old mindset; paranoiac about the US. It comes, instead, from confidence in our strength, and a sense that we overestimate US power. By embracing the US as ardently as we are, we are giving up our bargaining chips too soon. We are letting the US set the terms of this relationship more than is warranted. India should become a different kind of great power, not one that orients itself to endorsement by the United States.

On July 19, Manmohan Singh became the fifth Indian PM to address a joint session of the US Congress, after Nehru, Rajiv Gandhi, Narasimha Rao and A.B. Vajpayee. Excerpts from his speech

Coming to America

INDIA and the United States have much in common that is very important to both countries. You are the world's oldest democracy, we are its largest. Our shared commitment to democratic values and processes has been a bond that has helped us transcend differences. We admire the creativity and enterprise of the American people, the excellence of your institutions of learning, the openness of the economy, and your ready embrace of diversity. These have attracted the brightest young minds from India, creating a bridge of understanding that transcends both distance and difference between us.

Indian democracy has been fashioned around India's civilisational ethos that celebrates diversity. The Constitution we adopted after independence enshrined democracy based on free elections and the associated principles of tolerance of dissent, freedom for political activity, protection of human rights and the rule of law.

Our first Prime Minister, Jawaharlal Nehru, addressing this very forum in 1949, acknowledged our debt to America. He said that you could hear in our Constitution the echo of the great voices of the founding fathers of your Republic.

Our commitment to democratic values and practices means there are many concerns and perceptions that we share with the United States. The most important common concern is the threat of terrorism. Democracy can only thrive in open and free societies. But open societies like ours are today threatened more than ever before by the rise of terrorism.

We know that those who resort to terror often clothe it in the garb of real or imaginary grievances. We must categorically affirm that no grievance can justify resort to terror. United States and India must work together in all possible forums to counter all forms of terrorism. We cannot be selective in this area. We must fight terrorism wherever it exists because terrorism anywhere threatens democracy everywhere.

We know from experience that democratic societies that guarantee individual freedom and tolerance of dissent provide an environment most conducive to creative endeavour, and the establishment of just societies. We therefore have an obligation to help other countries that aspire for the fruits of democracy. President Bush and I agreed yesterday on a global initiative to help build democratic capacities in all societies that seek such assistance.

We are often criticised for being too slow in making changes in policy, but democracy means having to build a consensus in favour of change. As elected representatives, you are all familiar with this problem. We have to assuage the doubts and calm the fears that often arise when people face the impact of change. Many of the fears we have to address are exaggerated, but they must be addressed. This is necessary to ensure sustainability. India's economic reforms must be seen in this light: they may appear slow, but I assure you they are durable and irreversible.

India's growth and prosperity is in American interest. American investments in India, especially in new technology areas, will help American companies to reduce costs and become more competitive globally. Equally, India's earnings from these investments will lead to increased purchases from the United States.



The information technology revolution in India is built primarily on US computer-related technology and hardware. US firms are already leading the foreign investment drive in India. I believe 400 of the Fortune 500 are already in India. They produce for the Indian market and will hopefully also source supplies from India for their global supply chains. We welcome this involvement and look forward to further expansion in the years ahead. India needs massive foreign direct investment, especially in infrastructure. I hope American companies will participate in the opportunities we are creating.

The 21st century will be driven by knowledge-based production. We have a large and relatively young population with a social tradition that values higher education. Our educated young people are also English speaking. This makes us potentially an attractive location for production of high-end services whether in software, engineering design or research in pharmaceutical and other areas. Our laws on intellectual property

rights have been recently amended to comply fully with our international obligations under the WTO. We look forward to attracting business in these areas from the United States.

To fully exploit potential areas for cooperation between our two countries, we need to make special efforts to bring our private sectors closer together. To this end, President Bush and I have constituted an India-US forum of chief executive officers.

I am very happy to say that President Bush and I have decided to launch a second generation of India-US collaboration in agriculture. The new initiative will focus on basic and strategic research for sustainable development of agriculture to meet the challenge of raising productivity in conditions of water stress. It seeks to take information and know-how directly to the farming community and promote technologies that minimise post-harvest wastage and improve food storage. It will also help Indian farmers to meet phytosanitary conditions and enable them to participate more fully in

global agricultural trade.

Energy security is another area where our two countries have strong common interests. The world's reserves of hydrocarbons are finite and we must tap new energy sources. India's reliance on coal and hydropower will increase. We have to invest in new oil and gas exploration and in enhanced recovery of oil and gas from available fields.

We must also tap the full potential of nuclear energy. The US can help in all these areas. I am happy to say that we have initiated an energy dialogue with the US to explore the scope for cooperation in each of these areas in the years ahead. The field of civil nuclear energy is a vital area for cooperation between our two countries. As a consequence of our collective efforts, our relationship in this sector is being transformed. President Bush and I arrived at an understanding in finding ways and means to enable such cooperation.

I would reiterate that India's track record in nuclear non-proliferation is impeccable. We have adhered scrupulously to every rule and canon in this area. We have done so even though we have witnessed unchecked nuclear proliferation in our own neighbourhood, which has directly affected our security interests. We have never been, and will never be, a source of proliferation of sensitive technologies.

We are conscious that plans to meet our energy requirements will have implications for the environment. This is especially so since any energy scenario for India will involve heavy dependence on coal. Clean coal technologies that can make an impact need to be developed and should be affordable for poorer countries.

The global challenge of HIV/AIDS is another area for India-US cooperation. President Bush and I have agreed on the need to provide increased international access to safe and effective anti-retroviral drugs.

Globalisation has woven a web of interconnections across the world. This makes it all the more necessary that we evolve a system of global governance that carries credibility and commands legitimacy. Such a system must be sufficiently participative to be able to generate a global consensus. It must also reflect contemporary reality. The Doha round of world trade negotiations and the reform of the United Nations are two major processes in the international arena where we need to work together to strengthen the system of global governance.

The UN Security Council must be restructured as part of the reform process. You would agree that the voice of the world's largest democracy surely cannot be left unheard on the Security Council when the United Nations is being restructured.

As two democracies, we are natural partners in many respects. I believe we are at a juncture where we can embark on a partnership that can draw both on principle as well as pragmatism. My objective on this visit was to lay the basis for transformed ties between our two great countries. I believe that we have made a very good beginning. There is much we can accomplish together.

বামেদের বুঝিয়ে সংস্কার চলবেই

পরমাণু-প্রশ্নে দায়িত্বশীল

ভারত, বললেন মনমোহন

সীমা সিরোহি • ওয়াশিংটন

১৯ জুলাই: মাত্র ২৪ ঘণ্টা আগেই ভারতকে পরমাণুশক্তিধর দেশ হিসাবে রাজনৈতিক স্বীকৃতি দিয়েছেন প্রেসিডেন্ট জর্জ উইলিয়াম বুশ। তাঁর এই আস্থা যে অপাত্রে পড়েনি, আজ মার্কিন কংগ্রেসের যৌথ অধিবেশনে সেই কথাটাই বুঝিয়ে দিলেন প্রধানমন্ত্রী মনমোহন সিংহ। মার্কিন-বন্ধু পাকিস্তানকে পরোক্ষ কটাক্ষ করে বললেন, ভারত তার প্রতিবেশী দেশের মতো দায়িত্বজ্ঞানহীন নয়। ভারতের উন্নয়নে আমেরিকার সাহায্য চেয়ে মনমোহন বলেছেন, ভারত উন্নত হলে আমেরিকারই লাভ। আর সাহায্যের হাত বাড়তে মার্কিন বিনিয়োগকারীরা যাতে দ্বিধা না-করেন সে জন্য দ্ব্যর্থহীন ভাষায় জানিয়ে দিয়েছেন, সমৃদ্ধির লক্ষ্যে আর্থিক সংস্কার চলবেই।

মার্কিন কংগ্রেসের যৌথ সভায় বক্তৃতা দেওয়ার গুরুত্বটা ভালই জানেন ভারতের প্রধানমন্ত্রী। গত পাঁচ বছরে জর্জ বুশের জমানায় তাঁকে নিয়ে মাত্র ষোল জন বিদেশি রাষ্ট্রপ্রধান এমন সুযোগ পেয়েছেন। আর সুযোগটা মনমোহন ভালই কাজে লাগিয়েছেন। ভারতকে পরমাণুশক্তিধর বলে স্বীকৃত দেশগুলির সঙ্গে একাসনে বসতে দেওয়ার সিদ্ধান্ত যে ভুল নয়, তা বোঝাতে গিয়ে তিনি বলেছেন, “পরমাণু অস্ত্রপ্রসার রোধে ভারতের ভূমিকা প্রশংসনীয়। আমরা প্রতিটি নিয়ম-বিধি মেনে চলেছি।” এর পরেই নাম না করে পাকিস্তানকে বিধে বলেছেন, “আমাদের প্রতিবেশী দেশ অবাধে পরমাণু প্রযুক্তি পাচার করছে এবং তার ফলে আমাদের নিরাপত্তা বিঘ্নিত হচ্ছে দেখেও আমরা ভুল পথে পা বাড়াইনি।”

কেন ভারতকে পরমাণু প্রযুক্তি ও জ্বালানি সরবরাহ করতে রাজি হল বুশ প্রশাসন, এ নিয়ে ইতিমধ্যেই এ দেশে প্রশ্ন উঠতে শুরু করেছে। অনেকেই বলেছেন, এ তো ‘ফ্লাড গেট’ খুলে দেওয়ার সামিল। এ বার তো অনেক দেশই পরমাণু প্রযুক্তি নিয়ে তা পাচার করে দেবে। অন্তত ভারতের তরফে এই আশঙ্কা যে অমূলক, তা বোঝাতে মনমোহন বলেছেন, “অসামরিক ও কৌশলগত ক্ষেত্রে অত্যাধুনিক প্রযুক্তি পাওয়ার অর্থ যে বিপুল দায়িত্ব কাঁধে নেওয়া, তা আমরা জানি। আমি কথা দিচ্ছি, ভারত কখনওই এই স্পর্শকাতর প্রযুক্তি পাচার করবে না।”

এই আশ্বাসের দরকার ছিল। ভারতকে পরমাণু কেন্দ্রের জ্বালানি সরবরাহ করতে গেলে আইন সংশোধন করতে হবে বুশকে। যার জন্য মুখোমুখি হতে হবে কংগ্রেসের। আজ প্রেসিডেন্টের কাজটা অনেক সহজ করে দিলেন প্রধানমন্ত্রী।

আর্থিক সংস্কারের প্রশ্নেও মনমোহন মার্কিনদের

আশ্বাসবাণী শুনিয়েছেন। তাঁর সরকারের আর্থিক সংস্কার নিয়ে ঘোর আপত্তি সহযোগী বামেদের। ভেলের বিলম্বিতকরণ থেকে শুরু করে, পেনশন ক্ষেত্রে সংস্কার— সব বিষয়েই তারা বিরোধিতায় সরব। তাদের এই ভূমিকা বিদেশি লগ্নিকারীদের সন্ত্রস্ত করতে পারে আন্দাজ করেই মনমোহন বলেছেন, “অনেক সময় এই কথা বলে আমাদের সমালোচনা করা হয় যে নীতির পরিবর্তন ঘটতে আমরা খুব বেশি সময় নিই। কিন্তু গণতন্ত্রের অর্থ হল পরিবর্তনের পক্ষে মতৈক্য গড়ে তোলা। পরিবর্তনের কথা উঠলেই অনেক মানুষ শঙ্কিত হয়ে পড়েন। তার বেশির ভাগটাই অতিরঞ্জিত। তবু সংস্কারকে স্থায়ী করতে গেলে আগে এই শঙ্কা দূর করা দরকার। ফলে আমাদের সংস্কারের গতি কিছু কম বলে মনে হতে পারে, কিন্তু আমি আপনাদের আশ্বাস দিচ্ছি, সংস্কারের পথ থেকে সরে আসা হবে না।”

আগামী দিনে ভারত যে বিশ্বের সামনে তার বাজার আরও খুলে দেবে সে কথাটাও আজ দ্ব্যর্থহীন ভাষায় জানিয়েছেন মনমোহন। বলেছেন, নতুন প্রযুক্তির ক্ষেত্রগুলিতে যদি মার্কিন সংস্থাগুলি বিনিয়োগ করে তা হলে তারা খরচ কমাতে পারবে। যার অর্থ প্রতিযোগিতার বাজারে এক কদম এগিয়ে থাকে। সেই সঙ্গে পরিকাঠামো ক্ষেত্রের আধুনিকীকরণে মার্কিন লগ্নি চেয়েছেন মনমোহন।

পরমাণু-প্রশ্নে গলার সুর নরম ছিল প্রধানমন্ত্রীর, কিন্তু সন্ত্রাসদমন নিয়ে আমেরিকাকে কার্যত কড়া কথাই শুনিয়েছেন তিনি। বলেছেন, সন্ত্রাস নিয়ে বাছবিচার চলতে পারে না। ভারত ও আমেরিকাকে কাঁধে কাঁধ মিলিয়ে সব ধরনের সন্ত্রাসের মোকাবিলা করতে হবে।

বস্তুত, সন্ত্রাস-প্রশ্নে আমেরিকার দু’মুখো নীতি নিয়ে দীর্ঘদিন ধরেই আপত্তি জানিয়ে আসছে ভারত। এবং সে ক্ষেত্রেও মূল লক্ষ্য পাকিস্তানই। ভারতের বক্তব্য, ইরাক ও আফগানিস্তানে সন্ত্রাসের বিরুদ্ধে লড়াইয়ে পাকিস্তানকে পাশে পাওয়ার স্বার্থে কাশ্মীরে জঙ্গি কার্যকলাপ সম্পর্কে চোখ বুজে আছে আমেরিকা। কাল বুশের সঙ্গে বৈঠকে এই প্রসঙ্গ তুলেছিলেন মনমোহন। পরে বলেন, সন্ত্রাসবাদী কাজকর্ম বিন্দুমাত্র সহ্য না-করার ব্যাপারে আন্তর্জাতিক বিধি তৈরি করা দরকার। আজ তিনি বলেন, অসন্তোষ যা-ই থাক, তার জন্য জঙ্গি কাজ মানা যায় না।

রাষ্ট্রপুঞ্জের নিরাপত্তা পরিষদে স্থায়ী আসনের জন্যও এ দিন জোর সওয়াল করেছেন মনমোহন। দাবি করেছেন, রাষ্ট্রপুঞ্জের সংস্কারের এটাই উপযুক্ত সময়। সংস্কারের অর্থ নিরাপত্তা পরিষদের কাঠামোরও রদবদল করা। এবং সেই সংস্কারে বিশ্বের বৃহত্তম গণতন্ত্র উপেক্ষিত থাকতে পারে না।

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ভারতকে পরমাণু প্রযুক্তি দেওয়া নিয়ে বুশ-বিরোধিতা প্রশাসনেই

ওয়াশিংটন, ১৯ জুলাই: ভারতকে পরমাণু প্রযুক্তি সরবরাহ করা নিয়ে দ্বিধাবিভক্ত মার্কিন প্রশাসন। বুশ প্রশাসনেরই একাংশের মতে, পরমাণু শক্তি প্রসার-রোধে সায় না-দেওয়া সত্ত্বেও ভারতকে পরমাণু শক্তি সরবরাহ করা হলে তা মার্কিন নীতির দ্বিচারিতাই প্রমাণ করবে। কাজেই ভারতের দাবিমতো পরমাণু প্রযুক্তি কবুল করলেও দেশের সীমা পেরিয়ে ভারত পর্যন্ত তা পৌঁছে দিতে মার্কিন প্রেসিডেন্টকে রীতিমতো বেগ পেতে হবে বলেই মনে করা হচ্ছে।

ব্ল্যাকউইল বনাম বোল্টন। ভারতকে পরমাণু প্রযুক্তি সরবরাহ করা নিয়ে মার্কিন প্রশাসনে যে ঠান্ডা লড়াই শুরু হয়েছে, তাতে যুযুধান দুই গোষ্ঠীর নেতৃত্বে রয়েছেন এঁরা দু'জনেই। অবশেষে মার্কিন প্রেসিডেন্ট কাল জানিয়ে দিয়েছেন, পাল্লা ঝুঁকে রয়েছে ব্ল্যাকউইলের দিকেই।

কিন্তু সাফল্য থেকে এখনও বেশ

কয়েক হাত দূরে রয়েছেন পোড় খাওয়া এই মার্কিন কূটনীতিক। ব্ল্যাকউইল মার্কিন প্রেসিডেন্টকে পাশে পেলেও মার্কিন কংগ্রেসকে পাশে পাবেন কি না, তা এখনও নিশ্চিত নয়। তা ছাড়া, ৪০টি দেশের যে মঞ্চ বিশ্বজুড়ে পরমাণু প্রযুক্তির রফতানি নিয়ন্ত্রণ করে, মার্কিন নীতির এই দ্বিচারিতা তারা মেনে নেবে কি না, তা-ও হালফ করে বলা কঠিন।

গোটা পরিকল্পনায় ব্ল্যাকউইলের সঙ্গী ছিলেন অ্যাশলে টেলিস। ভারত-মার্কিন সম্পর্কের বিশেষজ্ঞ টেলিস সম্প্রতি একটি গবেষণাপত্রে জোর সুপারিশ করেন, “এশিয়ায় প্রভাব বিস্তার করতে হলে ভারতকে কৌশলগত সহযোগিতার পরিমাণ বাড়াতে হবে।” টেলিসের যুক্তি, “২০২৫ সালের মধ্যে চিন পরমাণু শক্তি হিসাবে যে জায়গায় পৌঁছবে, তাতে ভারতের পরমাণু ভাণ্ডারকে সমৃদ্ধ করা ছাড়া আমেরিকার গত্যস্তর নেই।” তবে মার্কিন কংগ্রেসে মনমোহন আজ

জানিয়েছেন, ভারত কোনওমতেই পরমাণু প্রযুক্তির অপব্যবহার করবে না।

তাতে অবশ্য আশ্বস্ত হচ্ছেন না রাষ্ট্রপুঞ্জ মার্কিন রাষ্ট্রদূত পদে বুশের মনোনীত প্রার্থী জন বোল্টন। তাঁর যুক্তি, ইরান বা উত্তর কোরিয়ার মতোই ভারতও ‘গোপনে’ গড়ে তুলেছে তার পরমাণু অস্ত্রভাণ্ডার। তাঁর অভিযোগ, অসামরিক প্রয়োজনে যে প্রযুক্তি নেওয়া হয়েছিল, তা ভারত ব্যবহার করেছে অস্ত্র গড়ার কাজে। কাজেই মার্কিন যুক্তরাষ্ট্র যখন এক দিকে ইরান ও উত্তর কোরিয়ার উপরে পরমাণু প্রকল্প বন্ধ করার জন্য চাপ বাড়াচ্ছে, ঠিক সেই সময়েই ভারতের জন্য এই একপেশে নীতি মার্কিন ভাবমূর্তিকে ক্ষুণ্ণ করবে। তবে বিশেষজ্ঞদের মতে, নিরাপত্তা পরিষদে স্থায়ী আসন নিয়ে ভারতকে হতাশ করেছে মার্কিন প্রশাসন। তাই আপাতত পরমাণু চুক্তির মাধ্যমেই কৌশলের বন্ধনে নয়াদিল্লিকে বাঁধল ওয়াশিংটন।

20 JUL 2006

ANADABAZAR PATRIKA

MANMOHAN ADDRESSES US CONGRESS ■ CALLS INDIA, AMERICA NATURAL PARTNERS

Ally gets the N-assurance

Indo-Asian News Service

WASHINGTON, July 19. — The Prime Minister today assured the US Congress that India's track record in nuclear non-proliferation was "impeccable" and it would never be "a source of proliferation of sensitive technologies".

Addressing the joint session of the Congress a day after the USA virtually agreed to grant it nuclear power status, Dr Manmohan Singh said: "We have adhered scrupulously to every rule and canon in this area. We have done so even though we have witnessed unchecked nuclear proliferation in our own neighbourhood which has directly affected our security interests." Describing India and the USA as "natural partners", he also called for intensified cooperation between the two countries in all areas from science to counter-terrorism.

In a speech punctuated by some 22 rounds of applause, not counting the two minutes of standing ovation when Dr Singh walked into the House Chambers, the intellectual economist with his professorial bearing made a deep impression on all those present.

"My objective on this visit was to lay the basis for transformed ties between our two great countries," he said, encapsulating a convergence of strategic and economic interests between the world's two largest democracies. "I believe that we have made a very good beginning."

"As two democracies, we are natural partners in many respects. Partnerships can be of two kinds. There are partnerships based on principle and there are partnerships based on pragmatism," he told Senators and Representatives who turned out in big numbers to hear him. "I believe we are at a juncture where we can embark on a partnership that can draw both on principle as well as pragmatism. We must build on this opportunity."

Dr Singh also reiterated that India had every right to be on the UN's supreme decision-making body. He pitched for "a comprehensive reform of the UN to make it more effective and also more representative. "The UNSC must be restructured as part of the reform process. In this context, you would agree that the voice of the world's largest democracy surely cannot be left unheard on the Security Council when



IN AGREEMENT



Terrorism: Combat terrorism relentlessly. Push to promote democratic policies



Economy: Support economic growth through greater trade. Promote modernisation of India's infrastructure



Energy: Strengthen energy security and develop efficient energy markets in India



Security: New framework for defence relationship and cooperation. Prevention of WMD proliferation



High-tech & Space: Joint research and training in high technology. Closer ties in space exploration

the UN is being restructured."

Dr Singh again referred to India's "impeccable track record in nuclear non-proliferation". He said: "India, as a responsible nuclear power, is fully conscious of the immense responsibilities that come with the possession of advanced technologies, both civilian and strategic. We have never been, and will never be, a source of proliferation of sensitive technologies."

He spoke about India and the USA making a common cause in the fight against terror in all forms. "India and the USA have both suffered grievously from terrorism and we must make common cause against it. We know that those who resort to terror often clothe it in the garb of real or imaginary grievances. We must categorically affirm that no grievance can justify resort to terror."

Visualising an equal partnership based on a synergy of economic and strategic interests, he said: "India's growth and prosperity is in American interest. American investments in India, especially in new technology areas, will help US companies to become more competitive. Equally, India's earnings from these investments will lead to increased purchases from the USA."

More reports on pages 4 & 9



RISING TO THE OCCASION: US Vice-President Mr Dick Cheney (left) and Speaker of the House Mr Dennis Hastert applaud Dr Manmohan Singh as he addresses the US Congress at the Capitol on Tuesday. — AFP

THE STATESMAN

ভারতকে পরমাণুশক্তিধর মেনে নিয়ে তারাপুরে মার্কিন জ্বালানি

সীমা সিরোহি • ওয়াশিংটন

১৮ জুলাই: অবশেষে ভারতকে পরমাণু শক্তির দেশ হিসাবে রাজনৈতিক স্বীকৃতি দিল আমেরিকা। আর সেই স্বীকৃতির হাত ধরেই তাদের কাছ থেকে তারাপুর পরমাণু কেন্দ্রের জন্য জ্বালানি পেতে চলেছে ভারত। এবং সে জন্য আইন বদলাচ্ছে আমেরিকা। এক কথায় যার অর্থ, ভারতের পরমাণু প্রকল্পকে আর বিপদ বলে মনে করছে না বৃশ প্রশাসন।

আজ প্রধানমন্ত্রী মনমোহন সিংহের সঙ্গে বৈঠকে তারাপুর পরমাণু কেন্দ্রের জন্য অয়োজনীয় জ্বালানি সরবরাহ করতে রাজি হয়েছেন প্রেসিডেন্ট জর্জ বৃশ। কূটনৈতিক মহল বলেছে, ভারত-মার্কিন দ্বিপাক্ষিক সম্পর্কে যে 'আমূল' পাল্টে গিয়েছে, এই সিদ্ধান্তই তার প্রমাণ। বৈঠকের পরে মনমোহন সাংবাদিকদের প্রশ্নে, "বিষয়টির যে ভাবে মীমাংসা হয়েছে, তাতে আমি খুবই খুশি। প্রেসিডেন্ট ব্যক্তিগত ভাবে আগ্রহ দেখিয়ে ও উদ্যোগী হয়ে জটিল এই সমস্যার সমাধান করেছেন। সে জন্য আমি তাঁকে ধন্যবাদ জানাচ্ছি।"

এ দিন মনমোহনের সঙ্গে তাঁর দু'ঘণ্টার বৈঠকে বিভিন্ন আন্তর্জাতিক বিষয় নিয়ে আলোচনা করেছেন বৃশ। ঘটনা হল, সন্ত্রাসবাদ থেকে শুরু করে পরমাণু অস্ত্রপ্রসার— সব বিষয়েই এখন দিল্লিকে পাশে চাইছে আমেরিকা। মার্কিন রাজনীতি বিষয়ক দফতরের উপসচিব নিক বার্নস বলেছেন, "আমরা ভারতের সঙ্গে যে বিস্তৃত আন্তর্জাতিক সহযোগিতার দিকে এগোলাম, ১৯৪৭ সাল থেকে তা কখনও হয়নি।"

বৃশ-মনমোহন যৌথ বিবৃতিতে আনুষ্ঠানিক ভাবে এই পূর্ণ সহযোগিতার কথা উল্লেখ করে বলা হয়েছে, "প্রেসিডেন্ট প্রধানমন্ত্রীকে বলেছেন, তিনি ভারতের সঙ্গে অসামরিক পরমাণু শক্তি ক্ষেত্রে পূর্ণ সহযোগিতা চান। পরমাণু শক্তি উৎপাদন ও তার নিরাপত্তার ব্যাপারে ভারতকে সাহায্য করবে আমেরিকা।"

এর বিনিময়ে "আমেরিকার মতো পরমাণু প্রযুক্তির ক্ষেত্রে অগ্রসর দেশের মতো দায়িত্বশীল ভূমিকা পালন করতে ভারত।" সামরিক ও অসামরিক পরমাণু প্রকল্পগুলিকে পুরোপুরি আলাদা করে ফেলবে দিল্লি। অসামরিক প্রকল্পগুলিকে আন্তর্জাতিক পরমাণু শক্তি সংস্থার পর্যবেক্ষণের আওতায় আনা হবে। ক্ষেপণাস্ত্র ও পরমাণু অস্ত্রপ্রসার রোধে আইনের প্রয়োজনীয় পরিবর্তনও করবে তারা।

বৃশকে আমন্ত্রণ

ওয়াশিংটন, ১৮ জুলাই: ভারত সফরে আসুন মার্কিন প্রেসিডেন্ট জর্জ বৃশ। সোমবার হোয়াইট হাউসে একান্ত বৈঠকে আনুষ্ঠানিক ভাবে আমন্ত্রণ জানানো ভারতের প্রধানমন্ত্রী মনমোহন সিংহ। মার্কিন প্রেসিডেন্ট আমন্ত্রণ গ্রহণ করেছেন। বৈঠকের পরে নিজেই সাংবাদিকদের এ খবর জানান মনমোহন। আগামী বছরে বৃশ ভারতে আসতে পারেন বলে উচ্চ পর্যায়ের অনেক দিন ধরেই আলোচনা চলছে।

ভারতকে এই রাজনৈতিক স্বীকৃতি দেওয়ার তাৎপর্য এটাই যে, সে ক্ষেত্রে রাষ্ট্রপুঞ্জের নিরাপত্তা পরিষদের স্থায়ী সদস্য পরমাণুশক্তির দেশগুলির সঙ্গে তাকে এক করে দেখেছে আমেরিকা। সরকারি ভাবে না বলেও কার্যত। নিউক্লিয়ার ক্লাবের দেশগুলির সমান দায়িত্ব পালনের ফলে নিরাপত্তা পরিষদে স্থায়ী আসন চেয়ে দিল্লির দাবি জোরদার হবে। আজও বৃশের পাশে দাঁড়িয়ে মনমোহন সাংবাদিকদের বলেছেন, রাষ্ট্রপুঞ্জের সিদ্ধান্ত গ্রহণ প্রক্রিয়ায় ভারত গুরুত্বপূর্ণ ভূমিকা নিতে চায়। তাঁর সঙ্গে আসা আমলাদের সঙ্গে বিষয়টি নিয়ে বৃশ প্রশাসনের কর্তাদের সবিজ্ঞার কথা হয়েছে। আমেরিকার আপত্তি ছিল একটাই, বিস্তৃত চাপ সৃষ্টিও ভারতের আমলারা বলেন, তাঁদের এই অবস্থানটা আমেরিকার মেনে নেওয়া উচিত। আমেরিকা যদি ভারতের কাছ থেকে সত্যিকারের কিছু প্রত্যাশা করে, তা হলে তাদেরও পাল্টা কিছু দিতে হবে। সেই দরকষাকষির শেষে ভারতের প্রাপ্তির পাল্লাটা বেশ ভারী বলেই মনে করা হচ্ছে।

তারামুর পরমাণু কেন্দ্র আমেরিকারই তৈরি। কিন্তু সেখানে জ্বালানি সরবরাহ বন্ধ করে দিয়েছিল তারা। সেই সিদ্ধান্ত পরিবর্তন করে অন্যান্য পরমাণু শক্তির দেশের কাছেও একটা বাতী পাঠাল বৃশ প্রশাসন— ভারতকে অন্য চোখে দেখার সময় এসেছে।

শুধু পরমাণু কেন্দ্র নয়, অন্যান্য বিষয়েও আমেরিকাকে কাছে টানতে সফল মনমোহন সিংহ। এর পর ছয়ের পরাম্য

মার্কিন জ্বালানি

প্রথম পাতার পর ৩০/৭
যেমন, সন্ত্রাসবাদ। ভারত বলেছে, জর্জ বৃশকে আন্তর্জাতিক সন্ত্রাসদমন অভিযানের নেতা মানতে তারা রাজি। তবে শর্ত একটাই। কাশ্মীরের জঙ্গি কার্যকলাপকে আন্তর্জাতিক সন্ত্রাস হিসাবে গণ্য করতে হবে।
দিল্লি দীর্ঘদিন ধরেই বলে আসছে, ইরাক-আফগানিস্তানে আমেরিকা সন্ত্রাসবাদের বিরুদ্ধে যুদ্ধ করবে আর কাশ্মীরের জঙ্গি কার্যকলাপের ব্যাপারে চোখ বুজে থাকবে, এই দ্বিচারিতা চলতে পারে না। এ বারও বিদেশসচিব শ্যাম সারন হোয়াইট হাউসে-কর্তাদের বলেছেন, অযোধ্যায় জি হানা এবং লডনে বিস্ফোরণ এক সন্ত্রাসবাদের দুই মুখ। একটার প্রতি উদাসীন থেকে অন্যটার মোকাবিলা করা যাবে না।

এই চাপের মুখে আমেরিকা অবস্থান যে কিছুটা হলেও পাল্টেছে তার ইঙ্গিত ছিল বৃশের বক্তব্যে। তিনি বলেছেন, সন্ত্রাসের বিরুদ্ধে লড়াইয়ে ভারতের সঙ্গে কাঁধে কাঁধ মিলিয়ে চলছে আমেরিকা। কূটনৈতিক সহযোগী হিসাবে দুই দেশ নিজেদের মাটিতে এবং বিশ্বের অন্যত্র সন্ত্রাসের মোকাবিলা করছে। যদিও এই সব তত্ত্ব কথা পেরিয়ে কাশ্মীরে জঙ্গি কার্যকলাপ ঠেকাতে মুশারফকে সত্যি সত্যি কতটা চাপ দেবে আমেরিকা, সেই প্রশ্ন থেকেই যাচ্ছে। সম্ভবত সেই কারণেই বৃশের পাশে দাঁড়িয়ে জঙ্গি কার্যকলাপ বিন্দুমাত্র সহ্য না-করার ব্যাপারে একটা আন্তর্জাতিক বিধি তৈরির কথা বলেছেন মনমোহন। যা প্রকারান্তরে পাকিস্তানের উপরে চাপ তৈরির কৌশল।

কাশ্মীর নিয়েও মনমোহনের মুখে হাসি ফুটিয়েছেন বৃশ। মুশারফ এই বিবাদে আমেরিকাকে টানার যত চেষ্টাই করুন, আজ তাতে প্রকাশ্যে জল ঢেলে দেন মার্কিন প্রেসিডেন্ট। সাক্ষ জানিয়েছেন, কাশ্মীর সমস্যা আলোচনার মাধ্যমে মেটানোর দায়িত্ব ভারত ও পাকিস্তানের। আমেরিকা শুধু উৎসাহ দেওয়ার কাজটুকু করবে, নাক গলানোর কোনও অভিজ্ঞতা তার নেই। আমেরিকার কাছে নতজানু হয়ে সুবিধা চাইব না, দেশে বামদেদের কথা দিয়ে এসেছেন মনমোহন। কথার খেলাপ করেননি তিনি। আজ বৃশ-মনমোহন বৈঠক বোঝাল, ভারত-আমেরিকা এখন একই জমিতে।

19 JUL 2005

MAHABUB ZAKARIA

Bush credits India's N-capability

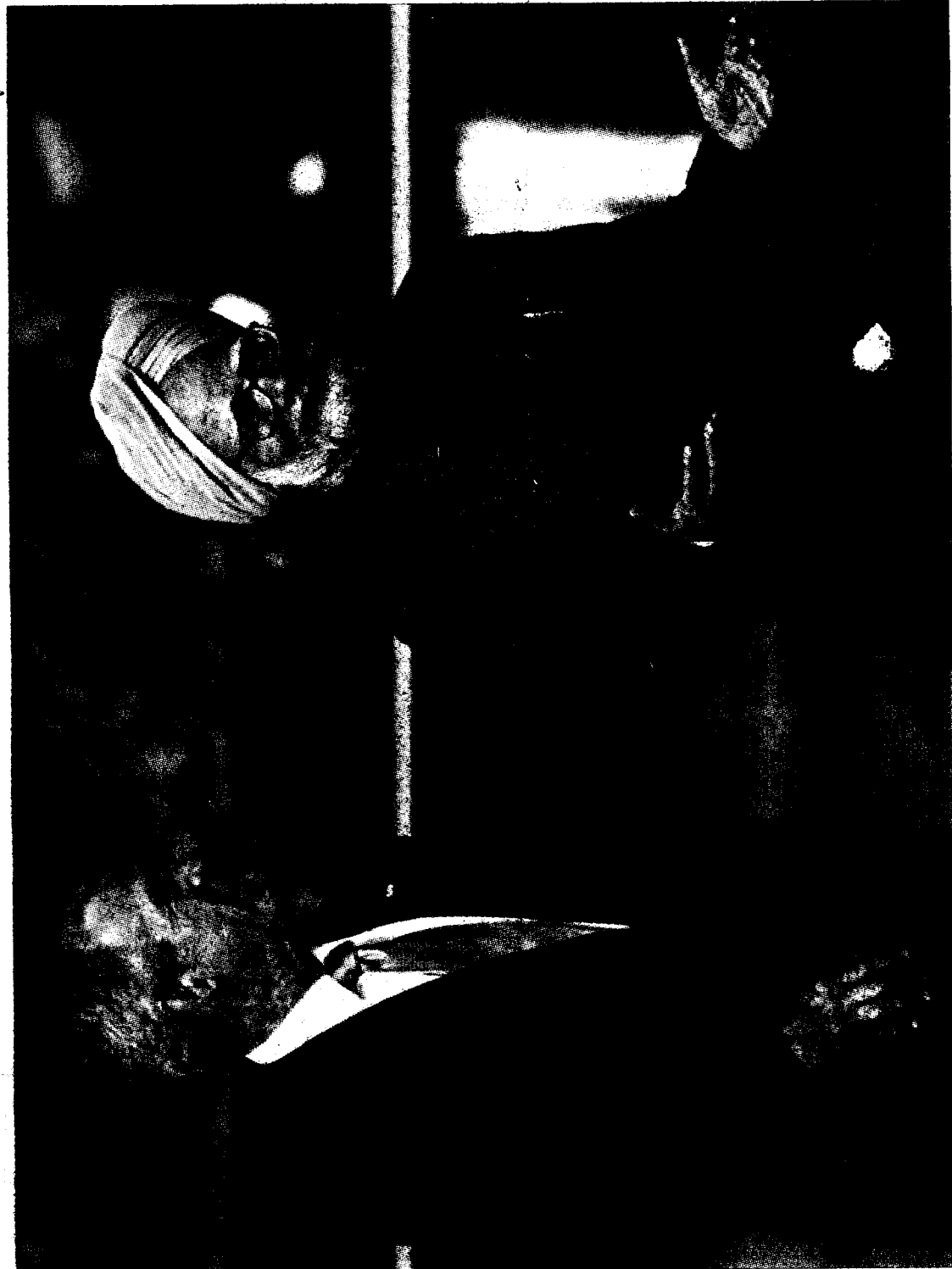
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SIT

N-capability

9 Nov - 13
'Sanctity of LoC'

SIANS & PTI



— 'COME INTO MY PARLOUR!' President Bush welcomes Dr Manmohan Singh at the South Lawn of the White House on Monday. — AFP

WASHINGTON, July 18 — The USA today recognised India as a nuclear weapons power and agreed to provide fuel for the Tarapore Atomic Power plant. This emerged after discussions between Dr Manmohan Singh and Mr George W Bush at the White House.

"We had had a constructive and productive meeting. This issue (cooperation on civilian nuclear energy) has been addressed in a manner which gives great satisfaction to me," the Prime Minister said after his talks with the US President.

The two countries also reached a milestone in their strategic relationship by successfully completing Next Steps in Strategic Partnership (NSSP). This will enable the USA to remove export licence requirements for unilaterally controlled nuclear items to most end users and revise export licence requirements for certain items going to safeguard civil nuclear power facilities.

Mr Bush announced at a joint press conference that they have agreed to increase cooperation in civilian nuclear energy, space and high technology issues. "Today we announce the completion of the NSSP. Completing this partnership will help us further enhance our cooperation in

WASHINGTON, July 18. — President Bush today said there was no change in Washington's policy that the sanctity of the LoC in J&K should be maintained, and that India and Pakistan should resolve the Kashmir problem mutually. "It's (Kashmir) a problem which will be solved by India and Pakistan. Our role is to encourage the two leaders (Dr Manmohan Singh and Gen. Pervez Musharraf) to come to an agreement," Mr Bush said, adding that he was "pleased with the progress" made by them.

Asserting that there should be "zero tolerance" for terrorism, the Prime Minister said that there could be no justification in the killing of innocent, defenceless people. "There must be international norms for zero tolerance for terrorism," Dr Singh said, while appreciating Mr Bush's "steadfast" determination in meeting the challenges of international terrorism. — PTI

the areas of civil nuclear, civil space and high technology commerce," he said.

Earlier today, a 19-gun salute boomed as Mr Bush received Dr Singh and his wife, Mrs Gursharan Kaur, at the White House. The visit is being termed as official with full state honours. The national anthems of India and the USA were played during the ceremony. The US President has agreed to visit India at the earliest, the Prime Minister said.

Nuclear dialogue a test of the new strategic partnership

How far will the U.S. administration be willing to go to meet India's needs?

N. Ravi

10-11 19/7
THE INDIA-U.S. dialogue on civil nuclear energy is emerging as a vital area of focus for India's energy security and will test how far the United States is willing to go in this sensitive area in the context of the new strategic partnership.

Indian officials have been emphasising that this would be the start of a new process of engagement in this area that both the Governments would have to get used to, moving away from their old mindsets. Such an engagement through a working group or some such mechanism may not result in the signing of immediate agreements but would open the way for specific steps for the supply of nuclear fuel and nuclear technology.

For India, nuclear energy has become critical in meeting its needs in the medium

term. Right now, the country is heavily dependent on oil imported from West Asia and the increased use of coal would run up against the issue of greenhouse gases and global warming. It would need to expand its nuclear energy programme from 2400 MW to 40,000 MW in the medium term.

Even an indigenous nuclear programme, however, will run up against the shortage of fuel — domestic nuclear fuel supplies can support no more than 10,000 MW in the immediate future. Supplies of nuclear fuel from outside have become critical to meet the needs of the expansion programme.

U.S. law as well as the rules of the Nuclear Suppliers Group that it leads bar any nuclear fuel or other supplies to India so long as some of its nuclear facilities remain outside International Atomic Energy Agency safeguards. Some part of the country's nuclear facilities including the indigenously built

power reactors and test reactors and fuel processing facilities remain outside IAEA safeguards.

Indian officials recognise that the Bush administration would have to spend considerable political capital if it were to get Congress to amend the law to permit nuclear supplies to India at this stage. Its nuclear non-proliferation goals would also suffer some loss of credibility if it were to persuade the Nuclear Suppliers Group to lift the ban on supplies to India. Yet, they have been at pains to point out to the U.S. administration and to the broader nuclear community that India has remained a responsible nuclear power with a tight control over its nuclear material and facilities, and that the restrictions would not make any sense in the light of its record.

So far there has not been any indication from the American side that it would be

willing to consider nuclear fuel supplies or let other countries supply nuclear fuel so long as some of the Indian nuclear facilities remain unsafeguarded. One possible move could be to provide fuel for the U.S.-supplied reactors at Tarapur. That should be possible without an amendment of the law, but for the large scale expansion of the nuclear energy programme, much more would be needed.

If neither the U.S. nor the Nuclear Suppliers Group were to change their position, India will be faced with the hard choice of limiting its nuclear energy programme to 10,000 MW in the medium term or of taking up the domestically unacceptable issue of subjecting all of its nuclear facilities to international safeguards. It is in this context that the present diplomatic effort at the highest level to work for a change of U.S. attitude and policy assumes importance.

Anything for a place at the high table

Achin Vanaik argues that despite the defence deal between the two nations, the US will not support India's bid to secure a permanent seat in the security council, even one without the veto

The Indian government signed an extraordinary defence arrangement with the United States of America late last month, effectively declaring its willingness to be a subordinate ally in the US's plans to establish an informal global empire. Of course, the enthusiasts of this defence arrangement are never up front about stating what the US's political purpose is — to tie up as many countries as possible into its hub-and-spokes strategic arrangement. This way, all potential opponents would pay more attention to maintaining the health of their relations with the US, than think about ways to counter it.

Indian strategic analysts trot out all the usual rationale about how good the defence deal is, how it is to be valued because of the common need to tackle terrorism. In practice, this refers to how the arrangement might help the US — the state most guilty of international terrorist-like behaviour — confront its selectively defined "terrorist" opponents more strongly.

The deal will help India get more defence goodies, they say. But this will only make India more dependent on, and grateful for, US military help. And how the deal will lead to regional stability — in other words, help stabilize US dominance over the Indian Ocean up to the Straits of Malacca with India faithfully playing the role of junior naval partner in this geo-political project. But since the US has its own gameplan, signing

The author is professor of international relations and global politics, Delhi University

The deal is not going to help India in its efforts to get a permanent seat in the United Nations security council.

In fact, the desperate striving after a permanent seat by the Indian elite and government is one component of a more comprehensive farce that is being played out at various levels. But why is there this desperate striving? Because the Indian elite and government want India to now "make it" as a world power and are scrambling for the symbols that might plausibly convince themselves, if not others, that it has arrived. But first, how worthwhile is the quest itself?

The security council has never been an instrument or a body exercising real power. All it could hope to be was an instrument of legitimization for what the really powerful member countries (the US or the Soviet Union, at one point) wanted to do. But during the Cold War era (barring the rare joint operation), the security council could not even play this limited legitimizing role because of the veto conflict between the two giants. After the end of the Cold War, only the US can, at least sometimes, manipulate the security council to do its bidding.

The other members cannot similarly use the security council since they cannot push an unwilling US to go along with their aspirations. What then are the benefits given to existing or aspiring permanent members? Frankly there aren't any. All the security council membership can do for the newcomers is give them the trappings of self-importance, that is membership of a select club whose

very selectiveness is its primary mark of status. Of course, expansion will create two tiers of members. The existing first-class members have the power of veto, which only the US will exercise ruthlessly. Britain is a lapdog of US foreign policy and can be relied upon not to oppose US ambitions. Today's France is not that of Charles de Gaulle, the last Western leader who was prepared to vigorously defy the US diplomatically.

Paris will only rarely resist US pressure in the security council. The same can be said of today's Russia, while China has only exercised the negative veto on four occasions, all having to do with its own closest preoccupations, like Taiwan. Its demeanour is very different in the case of more distant foreign policy issues. For example, on the occasion of the first Gulf war of 1991, the US threat that it would withhold the most-favoured-nation trade status that the aspirants will get is a

worthless second-class membership without veto power. In fact, the group of four countries (Brazil, Germany, Japan, India) have quickly abandoned the effort to press for first-class membership status. They have declared their willingness to settle for permanent membership without veto power, asking that the issue come up (merely) for discussion after 15 years. So they are not even demanding that after a lapse of time they must get the power of veto.

And what have been the responses? The US has made it clear that it opposes Germany's application because it wants to punish that country for being the only one to side with France during the diplomatic build-up in the UN before the March 2003 invasion of Iraq. This despite the fact that France and Germany, along with China, Russia and the United Kingdom, obsequiously endorsed (through UN resolutions) the subsequent US occupation of the country, despite its illegality.

So Washington is trying to divide the G-4 by saying it favours only the Japanese (Japan is another long-established foreign-policy lapdog of the US) and Indian applications. This did give rise to minor waves of ecstasy in Indian strategic circles for a while, but Tokyo rejected the offer in the name of G-4 unity, forcing New Delhi to do the same subsequently. Of course, Japan did this because it knows China is opposed to its security-council membership and would veto any independent application it made, while it would be a little more difficult for China to reject the bloc application of the G-4 as a whole.

India would have fought for the abolition of the veto and for greater democratization of the UN, especially reforms seeking to subordinate the security council to the general assembly. But those days are long gone. Today's Indian elite and government fully deserve to be enmeshed in this ongoing farce, one that will not end even if India finally secures a meaningless membership of the security council.

A more principled India would have fought for the abolition of the veto and for greater democratization of the UN, especially reforms seeking to subordinate the security council to the general assembly. But those days are long gone. Today's Indian elite and government fully deserve to be enmeshed in this ongoing farce, one that will not end even if India finally secures a meaningless membership of the security council.

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The US knows that its own suggestion to separate Japan and India from the G-4 application would be opposed by China, making it a non-starter. But then Washington was never interested in its own suggestion coming to fruition.

The G-4 proposal is also a non-starter because only Britain and France say they are willing to support it, knowing full well that for different reasons, Russia, China and the US, all oppose it. Once again, France and the UK have scored some diplomatic points but are happy knowing that the *status quo* is most likely to remain despite all the desperate G-4 diplomatic lobbying now going on.

Just how insignificant the whole issue is in Washington has been made clear by Condoleezza Rice. The US secretary of state has repeatedly said that higher priority must be given to other kinds of UN political reforms, for example, instituting a new human rights council and a peace-building mission. Of course, this is nothing but subterfuge for the US's bid to further institutionalize UN subordination to its imperial project, disguised as "military humanism".

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Symbolic gesture

19 JUL 2005 THE 'ELEGANT'