

Subtle breaches of faith are creeping into the Indo-US deal

Saving the package ✓

Dear Prime Minister,

I am a supporter of the nuclear deal, which you have concluded with the American president, George W. Bush — as an Indian citizen and as a columnist who has had a ringside view of the progress of this accord from its womb to its presently perilous infancy. But I am convinced that in your zeal to see a speedy implementation of civilian nuclear cooperation between India and the United States of America, you are putting at risk precisely those long-term objectives for which you worked out the nuclear agreement with the US between July last year and March, 2006.

Many of India's genuine friends across the US who have stood with us when it was neither fashionable or desirable for them to do so are concerned that the pace at which this deal is being pushed through the due processes necessary here for its legalization is not in India's interest, nor in America's interest, and most of all, not conducive to a long-term strategic partnership between the two countries. They are also concerned that the tactics, which are being used by both governments to make the deal a reality, will be counter-productive in the long-run.

Most of those whom India can truly call its tried and trusted friends on Capitol Hill want to see the 100-member Senate pass the enabling legislation by a two-thirds majority or thereabouts. The same goes for the House of Representatives, which has 435 members. Actually the deal is in greater peril in the House than in the Senate, as of now.

The estimates here keep changing every week, but for at least the past one month, many of India's friends in the Senate believe that this chamber will give consent to the Indo-US nuclear deal by 51 in favour to 49 against or 55 to 45. The numbers depend on who you engage — the Optimists with a capital 'O' or those who are only moderately hopeful about the fate of Senator Richard Lugar's legislation in this regard. Ditto for the House, where Congressman Henry Hyde piloted the bill.

Notwithstanding this optimism about the deal squeaking through both chambers, what most of them want is for the Senate and the House to give their unequivocal stamp of approval for civil nuclear cooperation with India. That means 65 votes in favour in the Senate — at any rate, no less than 60 in New Delhi's favour.

Similar numbers for the House of Representatives too. Do you know why many of those who are sincerely working for the adoption of this deal want both chambers to put a clear seal of approval on it? They will not discuss this in public

for obvious reasons, but most of them are reconciled to the realistic prospect that in the next two or three decades there could be 10 or 15 new nuclear weapons states. Nuclear non-proliferation is in global retreat, aided in no small measure by the nuclear tests in India and Pakistan eight years ago and Israel's undeclared nuclear bomb.

The realists on Capitol Hill know — but they will not acknowledge it openly — that the nature of the global nuclear threat is changing. A significant number of India's friends in America, who stood by us in the difficult days after Pokhran-II, fac-



tor into their handling of the nuclear deal the possibility that India may have to test another nuclear weapon some time in the future. "Why do you think China, Egypt, Israel and the US have not ratified the comprehensive test ban treaty?" they ask you when discussing the changing pattern of nuclear proliferation worldwide.

America is very fickle. Who would have thought ten years ago that America's relations with Germany — whose transformation from the Third Reich to a stable democracy is a matter of proprietary pride here — would reach its nadir in the run-up to Bush's invasion of Iraq in 2003? Or that the French — whose contribution to the defeat of Cornwallis during the American War of Independence was crucial to the birth of the US — would be at the receiving end of Washington's wrath during much of Bush's term in the White House?

American legislators faithfully reflect this fickleness in their voting patterns in the Congress and in

their public positions. John Kerry's failed presidential campaign in 2004 became memorable for his quip when Bush's challenger came under attack for his shifting positions on Iraq: "I actually did vote for the \$87 billion before I voted against it," Kerry said regarding the Bush administration's request for more funding for the Iraq war effort.

It will not come as a surprise to you that most of the time it is Congressional aides who define positions for their bosses, and American legislators simply cast their votes in the Senate and the House the way they are told to do so by their

ident disowns the agreement.

The reason why the sentences relating to the nuclear deal went the way they did into the joint statement you issued with Bush on July 18, 2005, was because they were negotiated on the American side primarily by career foreign-service officers who are bilateralists. Confronted by a doggedly inflexible Indian negotiating team and pressure from the US political leadership for results, some of them decided to be no more than pen-pushers. That has changed since.

Only July 18 last year, America's arms control czar was very new to his job and provided few inputs into the announcement of the nuclear deal. Important vacancies in the state department's bureau of international security and non-proliferation were largely unfilled. That is no longer the case and those officers who have moved into their jobs are making up for lost time, correcting what they see as aberrations in the agreement you concluded with Bush.

Subtly and surreptitiously, these committed non-proliferationists, aided by their counterparts outside the US government, are slipping in elements into the deal, which were not part of the package that you envisioned when you entered into a deed of trust with Bush. We can still counter this breach of faith, but that will be possible only if the foreign secretary, Shyam Saran, gets the kind of institutional backing that he needs to counter those here who ostensibly support the deal, but whose actions will actually lead to its demise.

Adding to India's difficulties is the composition and methods of an Indian-American campaign to shore up support among US legislators for the deal. A similar drive after Pokhran-II was tightly controlled from behind the scenes by the Indian embassy in Washington and scrupulously overseen by New Delhi. The present campaign, on the other hand, has been allowed to be hijacked by self-serving individuals and publicity hounds. Fly-by-night organizations in support of the deal have sprung up, some of them headed by people who have figured in CBI charge-sheets.

You may ask how they can be prevented from campaigning for India. Ask Naresh Chandra, who was ambassador here during the nuclear tests. He refused to associate himself with such people, and yet, used junior officers in the embassy to exploit their well-known and questionable connections with American politicians. But when you are in a hurry, you have to dispense with discretion. We can only hope that the country does not pay a big price for not being able to exercise the luxury of choice.

K.P. Nayar, Washington

DIPLOMACY

K.P. NAYAR

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Burns, Saran meet to push N-deal

The talks in London next week will see how best to move the pact on both sides

S. Rajagopalan
Washington, May 17

IN THE face of new uncertainties dogging the nuclear deal in the US Congress, undersecretary of state Nicholas Burns is to meet foreign secretary Shyam Saran in London next week to see how best to move the pact along "on both sides".

The important meeting comes close on the heels of senior lawmaker Tom Lantos outlining his plan for a compromise legislation that seeks submission of a bilateral agreement and India's safeguards pact before the Congress can vote on the deal.

Burns, who held a "very good discussion" with Saran on the phone on Tuesday, said later, "We have agreed to go over (in London next week) all aspects of the US-India agreement so that we can move it along on both sides". With both the bilateral "123 agreement" and the safeguards pact with the International Atomic Energy Agency still in the works, observers have said that any insistence on their tabling before considering the deal could delay the approval.

Burns — also slated to meet Lantos on Wednesday — said during a talk at the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace that the Bush Administration's idea was to have the "123 agreement" as the last piece of legislative action instead of tabling it before the vote on the deal.

At his meetings with Lantos and other senior Congressmen, Burns proposes to provide the Administra-

tion's own ideas on how best to bring the deal to a conclusion. He, however, repeatedly said it was entirely for the Congress to decide on how to proceed in the matter.

Burns sought to make it clear that Washington did not anticipate any problems over the finalisation of the bilateral agreement with New Delhi. This agreement is only a reflection of all the decisions that have been made during protracted negotiations on the deal.

"This bilateral agreement is a reflection of that. And in that sense there is no new ground to be broken or to be negotiated. There will be nothing of surprise in that agreement to you, me or members of the Congress. But it is the last step of the



process", he said.

As Burns put it, "We feel we've put our best foot forward. We've made a case that

we believe is persuasive and that the Congress will agree". To questions over future nuclear testing by India,

Burns drew attention to India's own commitment for a moratorium on testing that has been laid out in the July 2005 joint statement.

"That was an important commitment made to our government by India and it provided some of the backdrop to the negotiations that subsequently took place towards the separation plan that India engaged in it is a very significant commitment, this moratorium on nuclear testing", he said.

Stating that some lawmakers have come up with "new ideas" on how to proceed on the deal, Burns said, "We will be working with members of the Congress to try to gain as much support as we possibly can. It is up to the Congress to establish a leg-

islative calendar and that is what we will be talking to members of the Congress this week and next week".

As for India's approach on related matters, Burns said, "We are still hopeful that India will align itself with the Australian Group, the Wasenar Group and the Proliferation Security Initiative".

During the Q&A at Carnegie, Burns stressed that different standards should not be applied to India on the question of dealing with Iran. Any judgment of New Delhi's ties with Tehran should be on the same yardstick as that of any other American ally, such as Japan or European countries, he said.

"I would ask that India be judged by the United States on the same basis that we judge all of our allies — Japan, all the European allies. The European allies have full diplomatic relations with Iran", he said.

France no obvious choice to supply reactors

HT Correspondent
Paris, May 17

TRYING HARD to claim credit for helping India work its way back towards the international nuclear mainstream, France still does not qualify as the "automatic" first choice to supply nuclear reactors to India, despite completing a feasibility study for the Nuclear Power Corporation of India (NPCIL) and being able to offer up to six reactors, if India needs them. A senior Indian official said France will be "one among several" choices India would look at, even though competitors like the US, Russia and Japan may not be appear as ready.

There is an economic reason for

this and a political one, the official said. French nuclear power reactors, though "very state of the art", are "extremely expensive" and France has been "very conservative" in its investments, wary of pumping investment into India. But more so, despite France now attempting to take the credit for leading the world's nations to end India's nuclear isolation, it "didn't go the whole way".

In the same way it refused to condemn India for the 1998 blasts at Pokhran, the official said, France could have gone "against the international consensus", which is the easy way out, and gone ahead on its own to start nuclear commerce with India.

"That would have turned the nu-

clear debate on its head, presenting the world with a fait accompli", the official said.

Top French officials, however, claim they made a "political choice" in 1998 to go with India and "work the system" from within, to build an international consensus in India's favour. "Civilian nuclear cooperation is at the core of the India-France strategic relationship", an official said.

Having convinced the other P-5 nations to do the same, they worked through the EU to "build a consensus" for India's bid for a permanent seat on the UN Security Council, and are working to raise the bilateral economic profile and "build on the relationship" through greater investment.

18 MAY 2006

পরমাণু চুক্তিতে সম্মতি দিল সেনেট কমিটিও

ওয়াশিংটন, ২৯ জুন: মঙ্গলবার হাউস অফ রিপ্রেজেন্টেটিভসের আন্তর্জাতিক সম্পর্ক কমিটি সম্মতি জানিয়েছিল। দু'দিন পরে, বৃহস্পতিবার ভারত-আর্কিন পরমাণু চুক্তিকে আরও এক ধাপ এগিয়ে দিল উচ্চকক্ষ সেনেটের বিদেশ সম্পর্ক কমিটি।

সেনেটের এই বিশেষ কমিটি বিলে সম্মতি দিল ১৬-২ ভোটে। চুক্তিতে যে তিনটি সংশোধনের প্রস্তাব করা হয়েছিল, তার মধ্যে একটি খারিজ করে দিল তারা। এই ভাবেই যে দুই দেশের নতুন যুগের সূচনা হতে চলেছে, ফল ঘোষণার সময় সেই কথাও ফলাও করে বললেন রিপাবলিকান কমিটি চেয়ারম্যান রিচার্ড লুগার। বললেন, “ভারতের সঙ্গে এই চুক্তির প্রস্তাবনা করে সব থেকে গুরুত্বপূর্ণ কৌশলগত কূটনৈতিক প্রচেষ্টা শুরু করেছেন প্রেসিডেন্ট জর্জ বুশ।” জানালেন, সেই কৌশলগত কূটনৈতিক প্রচেষ্টাকেই আরও এক ধাপ এগিয়ে দিলেন তারা।

পাকিস্তান এই চুক্তি আটকাতে দু'ভাবে চেষ্টা চালাচ্ছে। এক দিকে তারাও পরমাণু জ্বালানির দাবি জানিয়েছে। দ্বিতীয়ত, ওয়াশিংটনের রাজনৈতিক মহলে নিজেদের লবি খাটিয়ে চেষ্টা করেছে চুক্তির ব্যাপারে বিরুদ্ধ মত তৈরির। কিন্তু হাউস অফ রিপ্রেজেন্টেটিভসের মতোই সেনেটও দেখাল, তারা সেই বিরুদ্ধ মতে পুরোপুরি আক্রান্ত নয়। —রয়টার্স

Senate panel nod for nuclear deal

It's a 16-2 vote; second hurdle cleared

WASHINGTON: A United States Senate panel on Thursday endorsed legislation to ratify the civilian nuclear energy deal between India and the U.S., two days after its counterpart in the House of Representatives gave its approval.

The Senate Foreign Relations Committee gave the green light in a 16-2 vote, after meeting for just over an hour.

The deal cleared its first major hurdle on Tuesday, easily winning approval by the House of Representatives' International Relations Committee in a 37-5 vote.

Under the deal, the U.S. will aid the development of civil nuclear power in India in return for New Delhi placing its civil nuclear facilities under International Atomic Energy Agency inspections.

Earlier, the 18-member Senate Committee discussed whether to make exemptions in the 1954 Atomic Energy Act to enable the U.S. to sell nuclear fuel and technology to India in return for non-proliferation and safeguard commitments.

New options

In his opening remarks to the Senate Committee, released hours before the sitting, its chairman Richard Lugar said the landmark deal was the "most important strategic initiative" undertaken by the Bush administration which provided the country "new diplomatic options" to ensure global stability.

He said that by concluding this pact and the far-reaching set of cooperative agreements that accompanied it, U.S. President George W. Bush "embraced a

- U.S. to ensure that the deal does not undercut its responsibilities under the NPT

- The Bill removes the prohibition on cooperating with India imposed after its 1998 nuclear tests

long-term outlook" that sought to enhance the core strength of the country's foreign policy in a way that would give it "new diplomatic options and improve global stability."

Provisions

The Republican Senator also outlined provisions of the Bill that, in his view, significantly strengthened the proposals first advanced by the administration especially as it related to Congressional oversight and procedures.

Noting that the deal allowed India to access nuclear fuel, technology and reactors from the U.S., which were earlier denied, as New Delhi did not ratify the NPT, Mr. Lugar said Washington would ensure that the civilian nuclear agreement would not "undercut" its responsibilities under the Treaty.

"... The agreement can be a lasting incentive for India to abstain from further nuclear weapons tests and to cooperate closely with the United States in stopping proliferation," he said.

Mr. Lugar said the deal resulted in the improvement of relations between the two countries and the U.S. was strategically benefited by it.

"India's votes at the IAEA on

the Iran issue last September and this past February demonstrate that New Delhi is able and willing to adjust its traditional foreign policies and play a constructive role on international issues," he said.

The Bill is being introduced in the Senate Committee by Mr. Lugar and Ranking Member Joseph Biden.

The Bill gives voice to a set of important policy issues involving bilateral relations, democratic values, nuclear non-proliferation regimes, fissile material production in South Asia, and support for IAEA safeguards and the Nuclear Suppliers' Group.

It removes the prohibition on cooperating with India imposed after its 1998 nuclear tests.

Section 129 of the Atomic Energy Act, which is preserved under the Lugar-Biden Bill, terminates nuclear cooperation if India conducts a nuclear test, proliferates nuclear weapons or materials, or breaks its agreements with the IAEA or the U.S.

Commitments

Mr. Lugar maintained in his statement that the Bill adopted all of the administration's requirements to ensure that India was meeting its non-proliferation commitments.

Non-proliferation efforts

"In addition, we require that decisions in the Nuclear Suppliers' Group enabling nuclear trade with India are made by consensus and consistent with its rules. Our aim is to guarantee that this multilateral organisation will continue to play a vital role in global non-proliferation efforts." — AFP, PTI

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Nuclear fuel supplies issue still remains

Government determined not to allow deal to become an "albatross" around the neck

Special Correspondent

NEW DELHI: As the India-United States nuclear agreement enters the home stretch, senior officials say the Government is determined not to allow the deal to become an "albatross" around the neck of the country's foreign policy.

They were responding to the preambular language in the proposed new U.S. law on nuclear cooperation with India that is a virtual washing line of dirty linen the American side would like to peg on to the nuclear deal. "There is a reference to isolating Iran, joining the Proliferation Security Initiative, the Australia group, Wassenaar agreement. None of this is in the operational part of the Bill, but the language used for these add-ons is just not acceptable," a senior official said here on Thursday. "If there is a reference to Iran and what the U.S. wants us to do along with them, this is just not going to happen."

Conscious of the criticism that the Government had already diluted the independence of its foreign policy in pursuit of the deal, the official said: "Just let the Bill be passed first."

Even if there was a "predilection" to go along with the U.S. on major issues of foreign policy, the official said, "it cannot be sustained domestically given the nature of our political system." Indeed, by raising the PSI and other issues in this manner, "they have made it even more difficult for us to accept something that we might otherwise have accepted ourselves in due course." If India were to join the PSI now, everyone would say this was an additional condition of the nuclear deal.

About the sequencing of the next steps, the official said, "we



RALLYING FOR SUPPORT: Indian-Americans from New York and New Jersey join Frank Pallone (second from left) for a rally on the steps of Capitol Hill in Washington DC to show their support for the U.S-India civilian nuclear deal. - PHOTO: PTI

have clarity in our mind about what follows what," although conceding that the U.S. may not be on the same page.

"123 Agreement"

India believes that having presented its separation plan, the next step to follow will be the actual change in the U.S. domestic law. "If all goes well, the current Bill will be law by August," the official said. Then, India and the U.S. will conclude a '123 Agreement' (named after the numbered section of the U.S.

Atomic Energy Act) to operationalise the precise cooperation envisaged in the nuclear field, including guaranteed uranium supplies over the lifetime of any reactor that is placed under in-perpetuity safeguards with the International Atomic Energy Agency. Parallel to this, the Nuclear Suppliers group will amend its guidelines to allow nuclear commerce with India, following which India will conclude a safeguards agreement with the IAEA.

At this point, Congress will

look at the 123 Agreement and the Safeguards Agreement and, on the basis of the Presidential waiver already authorised, clear the way for U.S. companies to sell India reactors and civilian nuclear technology.

The official said there were still differences with the U.S. side on the 123 Agreement. One round of technical discussions had produced convergence on the basic text, but there were a number of "bracketed" portions yet to be resolved. Among these, the thorniest issue was the guar-

antee of nuclear fuel supplies in exchange for in-perpetuity safeguards.

While India was willing to reiterate its unilateral moratorium on conducting any further nuclear explosive tests, it was opposed to the insertion of a no-test condition in the 123 Agreement since this would give a unilateral commitment the character of a binding legal agreement. The next round of technical talks would be held some time in July.

As for the India-specific safe-

guard agreement, the official said a delegation from the IAEA would be arriving in the country next week for a further round of discussions.

Presidential waiver

The main Bill in its current form makes only an implicit reference to the consequences of an Indian nuclear test by noting that the Presidential waiver will lapse if India were to undertake such an action. But this, say senior officials, amounts to a reiteration of existing U.S. policy and is not an obligation India is committing itself to in legal terms.

Under the present U.S. law, the Atomic Energy Act bans nuclear commerce with countries other than NPT-compliant nuclear weapon states that have not placed all their nuclear facilities under the so-called full-scope IAEA safeguards, which have detonated a nuclear device, which have a nuclear weapons programme, or which are developing enrichment technology.

The proposed presidential waiver will exempt India from this omnibus ban on the basis of a one-time "determination" by the President that New Delhi has separated its civilian and military nuclear facilities and placed the former under permanent IAEA safeguards, has in place robust export controls, is assisting the U.S. in negotiating a fissile material cut-off treaty, and is making progress towards the implementation of an Additional Protocol with the IAEA.

This "determination" or certification, officials stressed, will not be annual or periodic.

Once made, it will lapse only if India were to detonate a nuclear device, or abrogate or be in material breach of its safeguards agreement.

Indo-US nuke deal clears first hurdle

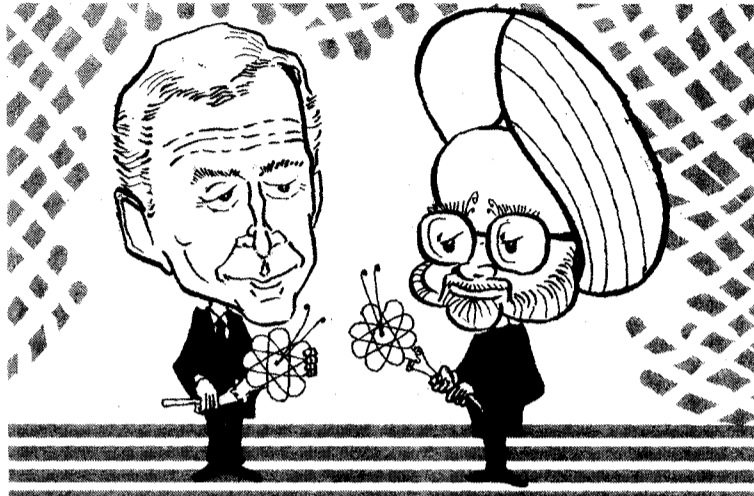
US legislators may assert their right to oversee and seek certain changes but ultimately, on larger strategic and foreign policy issues, they are inclined to follow the direction outlined by the White House, says **Chitrapu Uday Bhaskar**

THE overwhelming support extended in the 50-member House International Relations Committee (HIRC) of the US Congress to the US-India civilian nuclear cooperation agreement augurs well for the future trajectory of the bilateral relationship between the world's oldest and largest democracies. Procedurally, this vote represents the clearing of the first hurdle in the long drawn-out process that involves a number of players whose concurrence and approval is required to translate the George Bush-Manmohan Singh vision into reality.

Setting at rest the many doubts and anxieties expressed over the last few months by sceptics and critics in both countries, the 37 votes in favour of the exceptionalism being proposed by the White House for India in the context of the existing US Atomic Energy Act are also a vindication of the unwavering determination of the Bush team to radically transform the template of the troubled bilateral relationship. Three broad inferences may be deduced from the events of Tuesday in the US Congress.

The final outcome on the vote in the US Congress was determined by the political weight that was brought to bear by the White House and Mr Bush personally. To that extent, more than the fine-print and the arcane minutiae about nuclear proliferation and the NPT, this agreement between the US and India is being driven by considerations of the big picture, as it were, and the evolving strategic and techno-commercial architecture of the 21st century.

When the Bush administration came to power in early 2001, there was a clear and unambiguous assessment that the US had to fundamentally review and radically transform its relationship with India. This determination was driven by objective considerations about how best to nurture and advance abiding US national interests in the 21st century and it was concluded that the nuclear nettle that had soured US-India relations from 1974 onwards had to be grasped. This



BONNY THOMAS

was done in a deft manner by the Bush team and the very nuclear issue that had become so contentious was transformed into an area of potential cooperation in the civilian sector without jettisoning the US commitment to the principles of nuclear non-proliferation.

India, which had demonstrated its nuclear resolve and restraint in May 1998, also displayed considerable political sagacity on its part, albeit after intense debate, in responding to the Bush overtures and the framework for deepening the bilateral relationship was laid. The March 2006 visit of Mr Bush to Delhi and the agreement that followed reflected the political commitment of both countries at the highest level and the stage was set for the agreement to be navigated through the US Congress — which alone has the power to amend US law.

While the last few months have seen the various lobbies and constituencies in the US opposed to such amendments — the inflexible NPT ayatollahs — working zealously to scuttle the deal, the Tuesday vote suggests that US legislators may assert their right to oversee and seek certain changes but at the end of the day, on larger strategic and for-

eign policy issues, they are inclined to follow the direction outlined by the White House. It is significant that no 'deal-breaking' amendment has been allowed to pass and the most credulous suggestion that India sign the NPT was rejected by 36 to four.

THE second observation that merits notice is the manner in which trade and business considerations have also contributed to the vote. In the last few weeks, big business houses in both countries have lent their voice in supporting this deal and this was reiterated by US vice-president Dick Cheney, in the run up to the vote. The techno-commercial benefits that will accrue to the US and India in the long run through the provisions of this agreement have also been a major driver in shaping the vote in the US Congress. In addition to this, the Indian diaspora in the US has also been effective in recent months in the lobbying effort and in prevailing upon their respective Congressmen and Senators.

But it would be premature to conclude that the deal is finally through and this is where the final observation is valid. As noted earlier, the support of

the HIRC is the first procedural step in the realisation of the Bush-Manmohan Singh agreement. The debate moves to the Senate committee and then for a vote in the full House and Senate respectively. On current evidence, cautious optimism is not misplaced and it is likely that the US legislative branch will enable their President.

The proposed Bill has certain sections that reflect the 'sense of Congress' and are deemed non-binding, while the policy related sections are binding. On India's part it is committed to the spirit of the March 2006 agreement whose details including the separation plan and the correlation with the Indian nuclear deterrent were tabled in the Indian Parliament. However, some references to the sequencing of actions and agreements to be reached by India with the IAEA and their referral to the US Congress may need skilful negotiations on both sides.

Some anxiety has already been expressed in India that certain unacceptable conditionalities are being imposed through the non-binding references in this Bill and specific attention has been drawn to Iran. It merits repetition that references to Iran in the Bill are more reflective of the concerns of the US legislature and are akin to the views and mood often expressed in India about countries of 'concern' to wit Pakistan. India's determination about Iran and the nuclear impasse have already been articulated in the IAEA debate on the subject.

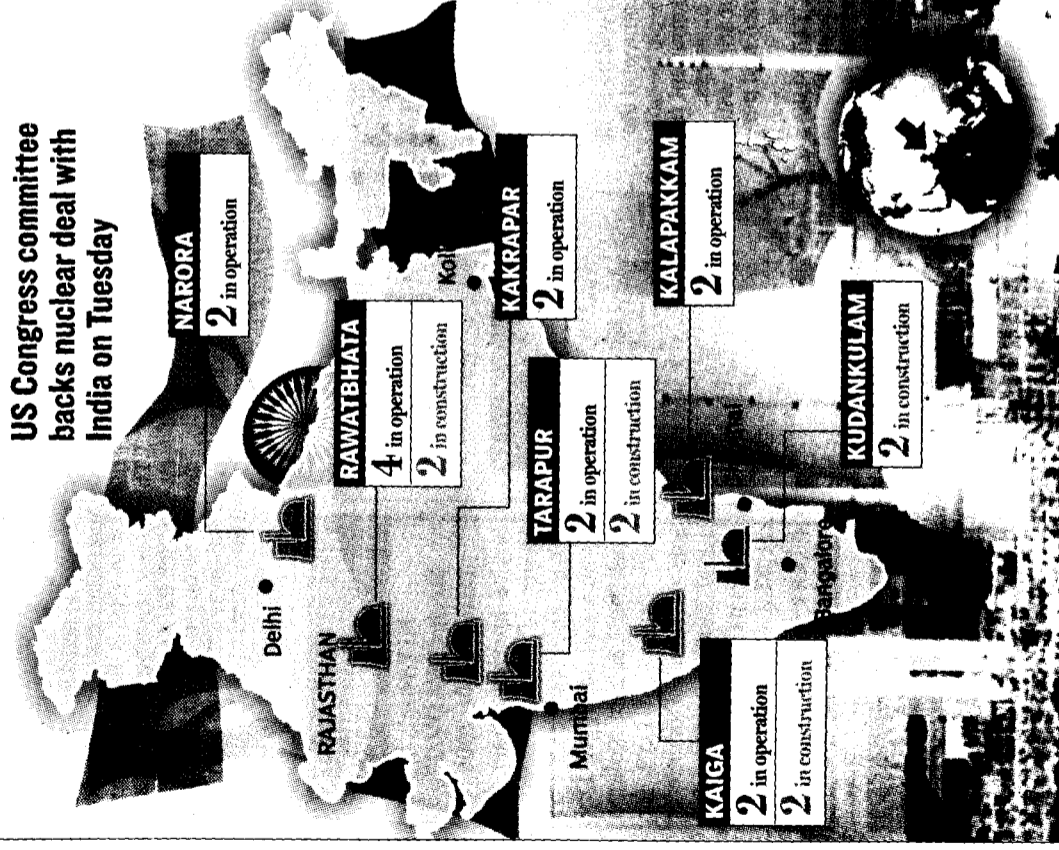
In July last, this author while commending the Bush-Manmohan paradigm shift (*ET*, July 21, 2005) had cautioned that it was too early to pop the cork but that the flavour of the grape could be savoured. That caveat is still valid but the grape does beckon more promisingly today even as the debate continues in the US Senate and will soon move to the Indian Parliament. But the big picture for the bilateral relationship looks more promising now despite the banana peels.

(The author is a Delhi-based defence analyst)

Mark-up sees high drama

India's nuclear reactors

US Congress committee backs nuclear deal with India on Tuesday



Graphic: VINEY

How Lantos, Hyde called the shots

S. Rajagopalan
Washington, June 28

VETERANS PRESIDED over the "nuclear rites" in Washington on Tuesday. Republican Senator Henry Hyde, an octogenarian, and Democrat Tom Lantos, a septuagenarian called the shots from the word go as they scripted an "overwhelming approval" for their jointly drafted Bill on the "landmark" Indo-US nuclear deal at the House International Relations Committee meeting on Tuesday.

Hyde and Lantos rewrote the Bill handed to them by the Bush administration, but took care to preserve its essence. In an attempt to ensure the primacy of Congress and build a bipartisan consensus, they accommodated a series of concerns — and opinions — of individual lawmakers.

Congressional aides dubbed it a winning formula. Hyde and Lantos had to incorporate several features to drive home the point that Congress was standing up to the administration to get critics such as Howard Berman, Brad Sherman and a host of fence-sitters to vote for it.

Lantos, known for Iran-bashing, has been a most vocal supporter of the deal — but only after India voted with the US and the European Union to refer Iran to the UN Security Council. Since then, he has been lobbying for support among the

The Bush administration scripted history by pushing the Indo-US nuclear deal through the first hurdle



Democrats. Elaborating on the changes in the original draft, Hyde said in Tuesday's markup the original Bill had been conceived in a "profoundly unsatisfactory" manner and several changes had had to be made. But they ensured that no "deal-breaking" amendments were incorporated.

Lantos was first to propose a two-step approval process promising it would put the deal on the fast-track, at the same time reassuring lawmakers that Congress would not be reduced to a "rubber stamp of the administration" on such a sensitive issue. By striking this balance, Hyde was so sure of the "groundswell" of support for the bi-partisan Bill that his media aides circulated his victory statement the moment the Bill sailed through.

The run-up to voting was

marked by hectic behind-the-scenes drama on Capitol Hill over the past weeks. The key players were under-secretary of state Nicholas Burns, a spirited band of Indian-American movers and shakers and an assortment of lobbyists, including the ones put in place by the US India Business Council.

The US India Friendship Council and the US India Political Action Committee called on lawmakers personally and organized fund-raisers. The campaign paid off in states such as Texas, where lobbyist Ashok Mago and associates cobbled together the biggest pro-India caucus.

However, in "Democratic" California, the Indian American camp could not make significant headway in bringing lawmakers to support the Bill. Most intended "deal-breakers", such as Howard Berman, Brad Sherman and Barbara Lee, came from California. Each had their own take.

While Berman pushed for India capping its production of fissile material as a rider, Sherman proposed "nuclear non-cooperation by the US" unless India maintained, or lowered, the use of domestic uranium for weapons. Lee tagged India's signing of the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty to the deal. All three amendments were rejected by big margins — 32-13, 32-10 and 36-4, respectively.

U.S. Bill: ^{9/20/05} ^{NO. 1} nuclear test will end deal

House committee discusses Bill

Amit Baruah

NEW DELHI: If India is to conduct a nuclear test, the civilian nuclear cooperation with the United States will end, according to a key clause in a Bill that is being considered on Tuesday by the House of Representatives' International Relations Committee.

The Senate Foreign Relations Committee will take up the Bill, "United States and India Nuclear Cooperation Promotion Act of 2006," on Wednesday. The Bill says a Presidential waiver will "cease to be effective" if India detonates a nuclear device.

Senior officials say this formulation is purely American: India is only bound by the commitment contained in the July 18, 2005 joint statement that New Delhi will continue its moratorium on nuclear testing.

The officials concede that India is not comfortable with the language in the Bill but felt that operative amendments to the U.S. law that will allow for civilian nuclear cooperation are more important.

Under 'Statements of Policy' (Section 3), the Bill makes a specific reference to securing India's "full and active participation" in the U.S. efforts to "dissuade, isolate, and, if necessary, sanction and contain" Iran for its efforts to "acquire weapons of mass destruction."

While permitting conditional cooperation with India, the Bill

calls for submission to Congress of a report by the U.S. President.

It should contain a "description of steps" taken to "encourage India to identify and declare a date" by which it will unilaterally end fissile material production.

"Implications"

The officials, pointing out that there could be more amendments to the draft Bill, feel that there will be "implications" for bilateral relations, if the Bill fails to clear Congress.

After approval by the House and Senate Committees, the Bill will go to the full House and Senate for separate votes.

The U.S. President is required to submit an annual report by January 31 every year, containing an estimate of the uranium mined in India for the previous year, the amount of such uranium used or allocated for making nuclear devices, the rate of production of fissile material and "an analysis" as to whether "imported uranium" has affected "such rate" of producing devices.

The Bill holds that notwithstanding the entry into force of an agreement for civilian cooperation, "no item subject to such agreement or subject to the transfer guidelines of the NSG [Nuclear Suppliers Group] may be transferred to India if such transfer would violate the NSG's transfer guidelines as in effect on the date of the transfer."

THE HINDU

Dealing with China

A Time To Be Firm But Friendly

When this appears in print the eighth round of India-China talks on the boundary dispute will just have ended in Beijing. Settling the boundary dispute is an important hurdle to cross before lasting normalization with China can be attained. But this is the least of India's problems. India's attention ought really to focus on the overall relationship with China in our neighbourhood, in Asia and in the world.

For starters, China must be made to understand that its questionable role in arming and aiding some South Asian governments, as well as some insurgencies, rules out normalization. Such topics cannot of course be discussed by governments in public. But if any genuine relationship really is being sought, the discussions in private must be blunt and candid. China expects from India an unreasonable role towards Tibet and Taiwan while it practices unacceptable interference in South Asia. This is a propitious time to persuade China to review its approach.

Cooler treatment

Earlier this month President Musharraf visited Beijing after trumpeting that he expected equal treatment for Pakistan and India from the US. If denied that, he said, he would seek nuclear energy from China. But in China he apparently drew a blank. In the days to come South Asian governments and groups patronized by Beijing in the past might well start receiving polite but cooler treatment from China. If that happened there would be good reason for it. China is presently preoccupied with a domestic crisis. It may not like to get embroiled in foreign situations that might complicate instead of defuse its internal crisis. China's internal crisis is very quiet but very deadly. It needs understanding. Only then can India derive maximum advantage from talks with Beijing.

China's crisis is three-fold: economic, social and political. The three facets are interconnected. The Chinese government is

Rajinder Puri

busy defusing the crisis. But positive results are unlikely to come quick.

Consider first the economic crisis. China's economic miracle is legendary. But, more than chinks, there are now gaping holes visible in its armour. Chinese banks have given huge loans on the basis of political instead of business re-

performing loans on their books. Each has acknowledged that this signifies a serious issue. These analysts have estimated that irrecoverable loans in the books of China's banks equal some \$673 billion, probably more. This tends to cancel out the bulk of China's foreign reserves, which are around \$819 bil-



asons. These loans were given to state owned enterprises running at continuing loss. But the loans could not be stopped because sixty per cent of China's urban employment depended on these enterprises. If these units closed down it would have caused widespread unemployment, threatening social stability. These bank loans became therefore actually grants.

Repayment of loans was ruled out. Instead of closing down the state owned enterprise or writing off a loan, the banks continued to advance more loans to the business so that it might repay old debts. This maintained the fiction that the loans were viable. The bank loans were often misused by corrupt officials and diverted for private gain. This continued for years. Its cumulative impact is now beginning to hurt.

For the first time, starting May this year, the West has begun to take a close, hard look at China's banking problem. Noted financial analysts have started officially to note the huge gap between the popular perception of Chinese economy and its disturbing reality. Reputed analysts like Ernst & Young, Price Waterhouse Coopers (PWC), McKinsey Global Institute, and Fitch have commented on the problem. Each has said that Chinese banks have unmanageable non-

lition. In short, the Chinese banking system has created an overall crisis for the Chinese economy.

China's economy is already growing at over 9 per cent. It cannot significantly grow faster. What keeps China's growth alive is not domestic consumption but cheap exports. Expanding exports is crucial for China. These alone produce the cash to keep alive China's financial system. In other words China must run faster and faster to stay in the same place. There is a popular belief that China owns over \$ 800 billion in US Treasury securities, holding the US hostage thereby. The truth is different. If China shifted its dollar holdings to other currencies it could rock US economy but would not deliver a knockout blow. Japan holds an equal amount in US securities. On the other hand China's annual trade of \$ 250 billion with the US is its lifeline. To divert US exports to other markets would be a long-drawn and crippling enterprise for China.

President Hu therefore has reason to worry. He has to rectify the huge banking mess of China. That could create unmanageable social unrest. If China's banks are run professionally the livelihood of 60 per cent of its urban population would be threatened. Employment in state owned

enterprises is dependent on the flow of bad loans from these banks. If loans are stopped, the enterprises would have to close down. Could Chinese society endure such upheaval? Already the disparity between the prosperous coastal regions of China and its comparatively poor interior has caused 84,000 public demonstrations against authorities in one year, sometimes resulting in violent clashes with the police. These are official government figures. President Hu's problem is, how to reform the economy and at the same time crack down on dissent.

Unnatural alliance

That highlights China's political problem. Foreign multinational capitalism and one party dictatorship make an unnatural alliance. Corrupt party officials in many regions confiscate peasant land, offer no compensation and tie up with multinationals to set up businesses having a share in the profits. This is playing havoc with the livelihood of peasants. Consequently peasant protest has grown alarmingly. If President Hu pulls up party officials he risks serious political dissent within the government. If he represses the peasants he risks serious civil unrest. That is the dilemma facing the Chinese government.

Broadly there are two courses open to the Chinese government. It can attempt gradual democratic and economic reform, however slow and painstaking. Or it can push through policy changes and crush dissent. Chances are that China will adopt the first option. Its leaders are smart. Enlightened self-interest is likely to prevail. In the event, China would avoid international tension, and focus on domestic reform.

This may be the right time therefore for India to settle differences with China. Its domestic concerns may impel China to be less hegemonic and more reasonable. Indeed, India should formulate its own vision document of the future world order. The Chinese leaders might be in a mood to listen. They know India and China comprise one-third of humankind.

The author is a veteran journalist and cartoonist

US Congress: Amendments in nuclear bill to focus on FMCT

C. RAJA MOHAN

NEW DELHI, JUNE 25

AS two US Congressional Committees prepare for a crucial vote this week on nuclear cooperation with India, the non-proliferation lobby here is making a last-ditch attempt to make it conditional on New Delhi accepting limits on its atomic arsenal.

According to sources here, Congressional staff is considering many versions of a provision to cap or constrain the production of nuclear weapons material in India.

One version will have language demanding that the President certify that India is not "increasing its production of fissile material." It is not clear whether this means stopping production of material or avoiding acceleration of nuclear material production.

Another is to call on the Administration to encourage India, Pakistan and China to work for a regional moratorium on fissile material production.

Although they seem to fall short of the earlier proposals



President Bush and Prime Minister Singh: the last stretch

for an immediate ban on India's production of nuclear material, these demands will not be acceptable to either the Bush Administration or the Indian government.

From the very moment the Indo-US nuclear deal was announced last July, non-proliferation activists here had sought to link Congressional approval of the deal with an Indian moratorium on fissile material production.

While India has already committed itself to join a multilateral fissile materials cut-

off treaty and the Bush Administration has unveiled an initiative on Fissile Material Cut-off Treaty (FMCT) in Geneva last month, the opponents of the deal remain to be propitiated.

Taking no chances, senior officials of the Administration are working closely with the staff of the ranking members of the House International Relations Committee and the Senate Foreign Relations Committee to keep the marked up legislation within

CONTINUED ON PAGE 2

N-deal bill: US Congress to focus on FMCT

the four corners of the nuclear agreements reached between the two countries.

These are the agreement on July 18, 2005 that outlined the framework for bilateral nuclear cooperation and the March 2, 2006 agreement on the separation of Indian nuclear facilities.

The strategy of the Administration on the Capitol Hill has been to ensure that the operative parts of the Bill remain intact, while encouraging the Congress to state its broader non-proliferation concerns, including those on FMCT, in a non-binding manner.

Flexibility on the non-binding sections of the bill is considered crucial to winning the widest possible support in the Congress for nuclear cooperation with India by addressing the concerns of different sections of the political spectrum.

If the champions of FMCT insist on bringing their provision into the operative parts of the bill, the Administration is confident that it has enough votes to defeat unacceptable amendments in the House International Relations Committee and the Senate Foreign Relations Committee this week.

While the amendments relating to the FMCT might not find approval in the Congressional committees this week, some new provisions on the terms of termination of the nuclear cooperation agreement might be incorporated into the legislation.

Under the bill submitted by the Administration, bilateral nuclear cooperation will come to a halt if the President determined that India conducted a test after the approval of the new legislation in the Congress.

The Congress is now expected to add two other conditions under which nuclear cooperation could be terminated. These are determinations by the US President that India has either abrogated the safeguards agreement with the International Atomic Energy Agency or is found in material breach of the agreement.

These conditions reflect the practical political realities on the ground and do not in any way modify the essence of the Indo-US nuclear deal.

Nuclear deal: India concurs with Rice

2/1/06

"Deal not to impact weapons programme"

Diplomatic Correspondent

NEW DELHI: India on Friday concurred with the opinion of U.S. Secretary of State Condoleezza Rice that the civilian nuclear deal with Washington would have no impact on New Delhi's strategic programme.

Responding to press reports quoting a retired Intelligence official that India could make 50 nuclear warheads annually, the External Affairs Ministry said New Delhi was committed to a "credible minimum deterrent".

"The argument that the nuclear deal with the U.S. would enhance our strategic capacity is as misplaced as its opposite extreme — that it would cripple our programme. We believe that Secretary Rice has accurately summed up the situation in her Congressional testimony when she has noted that the nuclear deal would have no impact on our strategic programme."

"Unfortunately, there has been a considerable amount of misinformed speculation about our nuclear programme. First of all, you must remember that our nuclear deal with the U.S. is about civilian nuclear energy cooperation and not about our strategic programme. The issues touched upon in this report have all been covered by the separation plan, which has been tabled

• **New Delhi committed to 'credible minimum deterrent'**

• **Ministry silent on comments made by Lantos on India, NAM**

• **India rejects references to Kashmir made at the OIC meet**

in Parliament. It is clear and unambiguous, just as the July 18 (2005) joint statement is. There is no room for misinterpretation," the Ministry added.

In "response" to another "question" on the comments made by U.S. Congressman Tom Lantos that India should not associate with the NAM statements on Iran, the Ministry said, "We have been negotiating the nuclear deal with the U.S. Administration on the premise that it is an agreement about civilian nuclear energy cooperation on the basis of mutual benefit."

In another development, New Delhi regretted on Friday that the Organisation of Islamic Conference had once again chosen to comment on Jammu and Kashmir at the OIC Foreign Ministers' meeting in Baku, Azerbaijan.

India, U.S. talks end on positive note

Details of dialogue not divulged

Special Correspondent

NEW DELHI: India and the United States on Wednesday ended three-day talks here on the proposed civilian nuclear agreement on a positive note.

"The talks ended on a positive and constructive note," said an official. Both sides refused to divulge the details but indicated that they would report the contents on reaching a common position to their governments before making it public.

"The goal is to finish the talks as soon as possible but the issues on the table are very complex. However, we are satisfied with the talks," said a source.

Aimed at complying with Section 123 of the U.S. Atomic Energy Act, the next round of talks would be held "fairly soon," the official said.

The '123 Agreement' will then set the stage for the civilian nuclear agreement whose contours were agreed upon by Prime Minister Manmohan Singh and U.S. President George W. Bush on July 18 last year.

The U.S. has to sign the '123 Agreement' with another country before inking a long-term pact to export nuclear technology and fuel. India is bargaining for more flexible stipulations than those laid down in the U.S. Atomic Energy Act.

Supply of fuel

Discussions are understood to have focussed on a permanent

• Contents of discussions to be reported to Governments

• May have focused on permanent ban on future testing

• Next round to be held fairly soon

ban on future nuclear tests and guaranteed supply of nuclear fuel from the U.S. India is believed to have pointed out that it unilaterally declared a moratorium on nuclear testing eight years ago and is resisting a binding assurance. It is more amenable to accepting conditions on curbing export of proliferation technology to other countries.

The two sides exchanged their respective versions of the agreement during the meeting between Foreign Secretary Shyam Saran and U.S. Under Secretary of State Nicholas Burns in London last month.

The Indian team, led by Joint Secretary (America) in the Ministry of External Affairs S. Jai Shankar, comprises officials from the Department of Atomic Energy.

The U.S. side is led by Director in the Bureau of Nuclear Energy, Safety and Security in the State Department Richard Stratford and comprises representatives from the Departments of State and Energy, besides the Nuclear Regulatory Commission.

15 JUN 2006

THE HINDU

India, US discuss N-fuel supply pact

Mark-Up Vote On June 21, Talks Begin As Deal May Cross Congress Hurdle By July-End

Indrani Bagchi | TNN

New Delhi: The US House of Representatives has scheduled a "mark-up" vote of the Indo-US nuclear deal on June 21. As the Bush administration looks more confident of getting the agreement through the US Congress by the end of July, Indian and US negotiators started talks on Monday on a bilateral civilian nuclear agreement that focuses on a unique pact whereby the United States, India and IAEA will negotiate an India-specific fuel supply agreement in return for permanent safeguards on India's civilian nuclear reactors.

In the US, a tedious and often painful system of building consensus in the US Congress, made more difficult by the Bush administration's initial hesitation about involving US lawmakers, is finally reaching a conclusion. Building the numbers in the House and Senate has not been easy for the US administration but after the chairman of the House international relations committee Henry Hyde promised a mark-up to the floor "on or before the 21st June", prospects for the deal have brightened considerably.

US officials are confident of a late-July passage. In fact, sources said, completely un-



SOME FUSION: US state department officials Richard Stratford (left), Anya Manuel and Anish Goel and department of energy's Sean Eoehlibert arrive for talks in New Delhi on Monday

related events in other parts of the world have contributed to the Bush administration feeling stronger after being battered by US public opinion for months.

Both sides are reconciled to a two-step vote in the US Congress—the final vote coming after the details of the 123 agreement and the India-specific safeguards agreement are worked out.

However, if the contours of these two agreements can be achieved by the time the US Congress votes on it, it's equally possible that the two votes can be bundled into one.

The assurances of fuel supply to India by the US was

worked into the dearly negotiated separation plan that was agreed when George Bush came here in March.

The United States had also made a promise on the strategic reserve for India, all of which are enshrined in the separation plan presented to parliament. New Delhi is also expected to speed up a safeguards agreement with the IAEA.

Negotiations on the 123 agreement will also incorporate a deal whereby the US, India and IAEA will work out an arrangement that assures continued supply of fuel to India, even if international disruptions occur.

N-deal: Talks begin to smoothen rough edges

PRESS TRUST OF INDIA

NEW DELHI, JUN 12

LAUNCHING formal talks on the bilateral nuclear agreement, India and the US today held negotiations here aimed at narrowing differences on issues like nuclear tests in future by New Delhi and an assurance by Washington on sustained atomic fuel supply.

Officials of the two countries began the three-day talks on peaceful nuclear cooperation agreement or the 123 agreement on the basis of drafts exchanged between Foreign Secretary Shyam Saran and US Under Secretary of State Nicholas Burns in London last month.

While the civil nuclear cooperation agreement concluded in March this year provides enough base for the bilateral pact, certain differences persist between the two sides, relating to nuclear tests by India and continued nuclear fuel supplies by US in particular, sources said.

In the agreement, the US had wanted a clause that nuclear cooperation would be snapped if India were to conduct a nuclear test. New Delhi maintained that it had already declared a unilateral moratorium on atomic tests and thus, there was no need for



A US delegation arrives at South Block on Monday for talks on the Indo-US bilateral nuclear agreement. Anil Sharma

such a clause in the agreement. India noted that the US law anyway had a clause providing for calling off cooperation with any country that conducts atomic tests.

The two sides were now working to find a middle path, the sources said.

On its part, New Delhi was

willing to incorporate in the bilateral agreement its assertion on a unilateral moratorium on nuclear testing, reiterating what has been mentioned in the July 18, 2005 joint statement.

Efforts were being made to see how this can be reflected in the bilateral agreement, the sources said.

Emphasising on continued supply of nuclear fuel, India wants assurances by the US in this regard to be included in the agreement.

In the agreement, New Delhi wants Washington to commit to ensure uninterrupted supply of atomic fuel and in case it were unable to do so for whatever rea-

sons, it made sure that other members of the Nuclear Suppliers Group (NSG) do so.

The US, however, argues that it cannot give assurances on behalf of other countries in a bilateral agreement.

Talks are focussing on narrowing differences in this regard as well, the sources said.

US Congress and the N-deal: Substance to Process



C RAJA MOHAN

AS India and the US begin technical talks in New Delhi today on a formal bilateral nuclear cooperation agreement, the focus of the American debate on the nuclear deal has shifted from

substantive issues to process-related questions. While American opponents have not given up the fight on the substance of the Indo-U.S. nuclear deal, the process of getting the U.S. Congress to act is now gathering momentum.

The non-proliferation lobby in Washington is set to unveil a statement from a number of Nobel laureates opposing the deal this week. In the complex politics between the administration and the U.S. Congress, expertise in one area is not necessarily credible in another.

Meanwhile, expectations are rising that the House International Relations Committee and the Senate Foreign Relations Committee will soon conclude their deliberations on the deal and "mark up" the bills later this month for a vote in the full House of Representatives and the Senate.

The big shift in the American focus from substance to the process is reflected in a new report on the Indo-US deal released last week by the prestigious US Council on Foreign Relations.

The report, *US-India Nuclear Cooperation: A Strategy for Moving Forward*, authored by Michael Levi and Charles Ferguson, suggests that "patience and a few simple fixes would address major non-proliferation concerns while ultimately strengthening the strategic partnership, provided Congress and the Administration work together." The caveat on Congress and the Bush administration working together holds the key to progress on the Indo-U.S. nuclear deal in the next few weeks.

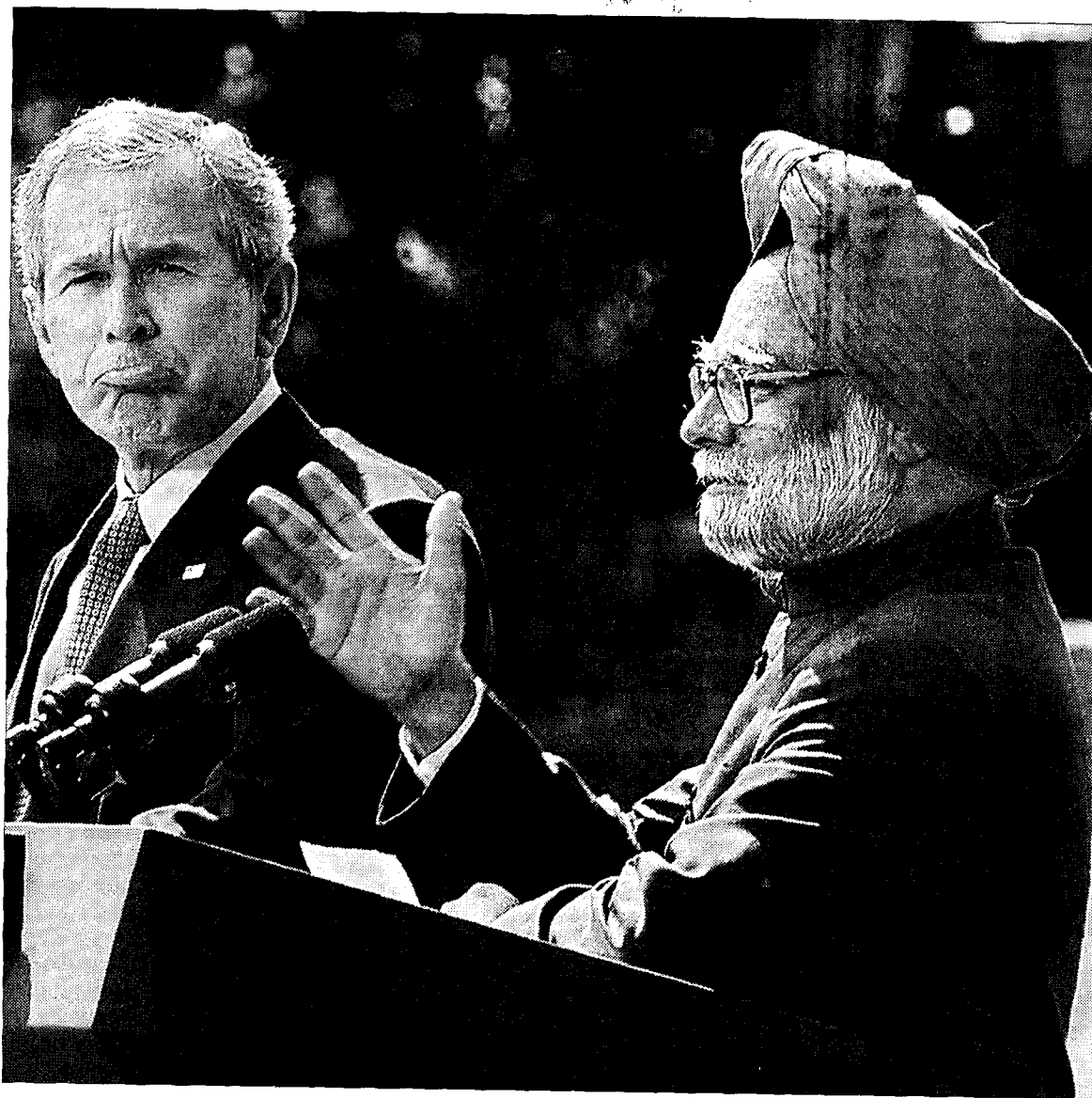
As the administration and the Congress intensify their consultations, many of the old issues that dominated the debate have become less central. One of the main arguments of the opponents of the nuclear deal has been that it would encourage other countries to proliferate and make it difficult for the US to deal with countries like Iran and North Korea.

The CFR report suggests that the US Congress "should not worry that US-India nuclear cooperation will drive other states to acquire nuclear weapons."

It goes on to argue that "regional security environments, prestige, and internal political pressures influence states' decisions to obtain nuclear weapons more than the contours of the nuclear complex in an already nuclear-armed state like India, and the US-India deal, whatever its form, will not change that."

A central thrust of the campaign against the Indo-US nuclear deal has been on getting New Delhi to accept a moratorium on the production of nuclear weapons material in return for full civilian nuclear energy cooperation.

While India has refused to entertain such conditions for implementing the



nuclear deal, the CFR report now argues that the size of the Indian arsenal should not really be an important consideration for the US Congress.

It insists that the Congress "should focus on preventing Indian nuclear testing and fundamental changes in Indian nuclear strategy, rather than on blocking the growth in the number of Indian weapons."

While it has reaffirmed its commitment to abide by its "unilateral moratorium" on nuclear tests, New Delhi has refused to give any additional legal commitments on not testing ever in the future. The attempts by some in Washington to link the approval of the nuclear deal to India's signature on the Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty, however, has its own problems, the report recognises.

It says: "Conditioning US-India cooperation on the Indian testing moratorium is already a diplomatic stretch for an administration and Congress that have flirted with removing the American signature from the CTBT, and Congress would rightly be charged with hypocrisy if it insisted on immediate Indian signature of the treaty. A formal test ban, in both the United States and in India, should remain a long-term goal, but nuclear cooperation should not be held hostage to it."

The CFR report underlines that an Indian nuclear test in the future could set off potentially dangerous consequences. But it insists that future American reaction to an Indian test must depend upon the circumstances and conditions under which it occurs, rather than in a pre-determined manner.

A new report from the US Council on Foreign Relations suggests that 'patience and a few simple fixes' will address proliferation concerns and strengthen the India-US strategic partnership

The Congress should not, according to the CFR report, "deliberately aim to irreversibly end US-India nuclear cooperation if an Indian test follows a Pakistani or Chinese test; the wisdom of continuing US-India nuclear cooperation in that event will depend on the details of any tests, and future presidents should be given flexibility in dealing with such complex situations."

A crucial recommendation of the report deals with the contest for political and constitutional turf between the U.S. Congress and the Bush administration.

There is a strong sentiment in the U.S. Congress that it should not approve any enabling legislation in favour of civil nuclear cooperation without seeing the specifics of the three related agreements with India which are yet to be finalised.

These are the bilateral nuclear framework for cooperation (the so-called 123 agreement being worked out in Delhi this week), the safeguards agreement between India and

the International Atomic Energy Agency, and the new guidelines of the 45 nation Nuclear Suppliers Group in facilitating cooperation with India. To assuage the Congressional concerns about retaining its leverage over the process, the CFR report suggests a two-stage approach in which Congress would first "declare its support for cooperation and present its bottom-line requirements now, but wait to pass legislation until the other elements are in place."

Neither the Bush administration nor India like this two-stage formula. But propitiate the Congress, which is coequal to the Executive in the American system of government, they must. It is in this context that the administration is trying to persuade the Congress to immediately pass the enabling legislation and have a second look when the 123 agreement on bilateral Indo-US nuclear cooperation comes to the Capitol Hill for approval.

India on its part is proceeding with the necessary negotiations on the 123 agreement and substantive talks with the IAEA on an India-specific safeguards arrangement. New Delhi has everything to gain by accelerating the negotiations on its side of the bargain in tandem with the Congressional consideration of nuclear cooperation with India.

This would provide an informal but important political reassurance to the US Congress as well as provide an opportunity for the governments in New Delhi and Washington to bring the process to an early closure once the enabling legislation for cooperation is in place.

Chinese Reaction to Indo-US Relations

K SUBRAHMANYAM



CHINA is the nation with the longest continuity in the practice of international relations and is therefore for more sophisticated in its international diplomacy than India is. This was evident in the reaction of Premier Wen Jiabao during his visit to India last year. He reacted promptly to the US announcement of its intention to help India in its moves to build itself as a world class power. He started talking of India's global role. Till then China used to refer to India's regional role. Since that visit and the US announcement China-India relationship has improved dramatically culminating in the recent Defence Cooperation agreement signed during the visit of Indian Defence Minister, Pranab Mukherji to Beijing. India-China trade is growing fast with the likelihood of China becoming India's first trade partner. India and China are together in Asean Regional Forum. East Asia summit, clean energy initiative and International Thermonuclear Energy Research project (ITER). Both countries are invitees to G-8 summit and India is an observer in the Shanghai Cooperation organization.

China recognizes that today's international system is a balance of power with six major powers - US, China, European Union, Japan, Russia and India. In such a balance of power the possibility of a war among major powers is becoming less and less likely. But peaceful competition among them is the basic feature of the system. China has an export trade of nearly 250 billion dollars with US and an equal volume of trade with Japan - the two countries with which it has some political tension. The Chinese have invested nearly 250 billion dollars of their foreign exchange surplus in US bonds and banks. China has concluded a major deal with Australia, a close ally of US for purchase of uranium for its peaceful reactors. All these developments are not indications of China being afraid of being contained by US and its allies.

China fought a war with US in Korea during 1950-53. It lost nearly 150,000 casualties inflicting 50,000 fatalities on US forces. China used to conduct regularly 'hate America' campaigns during '50s and '60s. The Cultural Revolution was launched against revisionists and capitalist roaders. Yet in 1971 when Kissinger arrived in Beijing and offered a tacit alliance to Mao-Zhou leadership China had no hesitation in accepting it. The Chinese are past-masters in the balance of power game. Now they have made up with Russia with whom they fought a war in 1969 at Ussuri. They have formed the Shanghai Cooperation Organisation with the Russians and four central Asian Republics. China has published its strategic doctrine of "rising peacefully". Having made US, Japan, Russia and the European Union, their major trade partners, they are attempting to do the same vis a vis India.

In these circumstances China would consider the enhancement of Indo-US relationship as a challenge for itself to soft balance US by nurturing its interaction with India.

One must therefore expect Beijing to come up with further initiatives on trade, defence, investments and technology cooperation. Today China is aware that India's civil energy requirements are a matter of international concern as China's own energy needs are. The accelerating growth of energy demands of these two Asian giants if not met by clean energy supplies will aggravate the problem of greenhouse gas emissions and problem of climate change. The Chinese leadership is sensitive to it and therefore has opted for large scale import of nuclear reactors from Russia, France, Canada, Japan, Germany and US. Today China, the erstwhile developing country, is the second largest emitter of greenhouse gases (18%) next to US (25%).

Therefore, while China is aware of the need for India's civil nuclear energy demand being met in global interest and most likely will ultimately agree to go along it does not prevent the Chinese from bargaining hard and getting as much out of it as possible. That is what the current international relations are about in the balance of power world. The complaint about China by US and other Western powers is that it does not play the international game according to the rules. It pegs its currency rate at an artificially low level. It prices its goods at below-market price and exports products made by prison labour. It does not protect the intellectual property rights adequately. Its military expansion, particularly naval expansion tends to be hegemonic. Above all, China proliferates to Pakistan nuclear weapon technology. The US argues that an Asian balance of power, including strengthening India to be a balancer is necessary to persuade China to play the international game according to the rules.

The US is recognized as a hegemon, though a constrained hegemon in this system and it does not play the international game all the time according to rules either. So also the European countries whose companies are the biggest proliferators of nuclear weapon technology to Pakistan, Iran and others. International rule observance is expected to improve as the balancers interact increasingly with each other and soft-balance hegemons like US and China through their economic, technological, political and diplomatic manoeuvres.

There is a mistaken impression among sections of our political class that the world is still bipolar and US and China are ideological adversaries and India has to practice nonalignment between the two. Our political class will do well to learn from China and grasp the new reality of the balance of power system in which China is a competitor and rival of US and not an adversary. The present system necessitates India dealing with all five balancers of power actively and leverage its relationship with one power with another. Unfortunately as it happens in respect of religion in political beliefs too, rigid dogmatism sets in and people who cannot adjust themselves to changing realities create a lot of avoidable difficulties. Henry Kissinger is reported to have remarked while China is a closed society with an open mind, India, though an open society often behaves as though it has a closed mind.

Nuclear deal heading for action time

US House panel may hold mark-up on agreement soon

S. Rajagopalan
Washington, June 10

IT MAY soon be action time in the US Congress on the Indo-US nuclear deal. Indications are that the House International Relations Committee will schedule a "mark-up" over the next two or three weeks to decide on the way forward and move the issue to the floor of the House.

But the contours of what will be emerging out of the panel are not clear yet. In addition to the pending piece of legislation, the committee has before it a two-stage compromise proposal mooted by ranking Democ-

man Henry Hyde has said Hyde is "optimistic" he and Lantos will be able to ask the committee to approve some kind of measure before the end of the month.

While declining to say what shape the measure might take, spokeswoman Kirsti Garlock said, "We're doing everything we can to expedite the situation". Another congressional source said June 21 - as an informal "target date" for the mark-up - had been doing the rounds lately. The Bill, introduced by Senator Richard Lugar and Representative Hyde in the two Houses "at the request of the Bush administration", seeks to

amend the Atomic Energy Act to provide for an India-specific waiver.

Hyde's own position on the piece of legislation has remained unclear. The US India Political Action Committee announced recently that Hyde had come out in support of the deal, but his spokeswoman tempered the statement, saying the chairman still had "serious concerns" on the issue. *The Hill*, the newspaper devoted to Capitol Hill affairs, quoted Garlock as saying Hyde would be working with the administration and Lantos "to craft a bipartisan piece of legislation that supports the President's effort to strengthen ties with India".



TRACKING THE PACT

rat Tom Lantos and an amendment circulated by another senior Democrat, Howard Berman.

Lantos's plan is for an immediate "Sense of Congress" support to the deal, while deferring a vote to amend the Atomic Energy Act until the conclusion of a bilateral agreement and a safeguards pact between India and the IAEA.

A spokesman for committee chair-

Talks to finetune details

NILOVA Roy Chaudhury
New Delhi, June 10

TECHNICAL EXPERTS from India and the US will finetune details of the bilateral nuclear agreement from Monday, as discussions for enabling the legislation in the US Congress enters its final stage. A team of US officials, comprising representatives of the State and energy departments and bureau of security and non-proliferation, will be in New Delhi for a three-day dialogue with Indian officials to

negotiate the Peaceful Nuclear Cooperation Agreement, also known as the 123 Agreement. The agreement needs to be put in place by the time the Congress amends the Atomic Energy Act.

After the Congress approves the deal, it will need to be in place to allow nuclear

U.S. Congress urged to ratify nuclear deal ^{file} _{HO 17}

WASHINGTON: An influential foreign policy group has urged the U.S. Congress to ratify the civilian nuclear pact with India, but delay final approval until New Delhi's non-proliferation efforts are confirmed. ^{Q2V 13}

The Council on Foreign Relations says this approach would allow both — preventing relations with India from being damaged and encouraging changes to its nuclear policy.

Under the pact India has agreed to open 14 of its 22 nuclear reactors for international in-

spection if it is allowed to buy nuclear technology and fuel from the Nuclear Suppliers' Club, which regulates global trade in nuclear technology and equipment. But the deal would require the Congress to exempt India from U.S. laws that ban nuclear trade with that country because it has not signed the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty.

U.S. officials say the treaty is not a perfect plan, saying countries like Iran have signed it, while a responsible nuclear power like India has not. "If the Con-

gress does not approve the deal, it would damage the bilateral relationship," concludes a new Council Special Report.

"Congress should adopt a two-stage approach — formally endorsing the deal's basic framework, while delaying final approval until it is assured that critical non-proliferation needs are met. Patience and a few simple fixes would address major proliferation concerns while ultimately strengthening the strategic partnership," the report 'U.S.-India Nuclear Coopera-

tion: A Strategy for Moving Forward' says.

"The Bush administration has stirred deep passions and put the Congress in the seemingly impossible bind of choosing between approving the deal and damaging nuclear non-proliferation, or rejecting the deal and thereby setting back an important strategic relationship," say the authors, Michael A. Levi and Charles D. Ferguson, both Council fellows for science and technology. But this is a false choice, they argue. — UNI

ভারত-মার্কিন চুক্তির বিরুদ্ধে গোপন জোট ইরানের

সীমা সিরোহি • ভিয়েনা

ও জুন: একেই বলে বদলা! আন্তর্জাতিক পরমাণু শক্তি সংস্থায় (আইএইএ) বিপক্ষে ভোট দিয়ে ইরানের বিরূপভাৱে ভারত আগেই হয়েছিল। তবে তার বদলা নিতে এ বার কার্যত কোমর বেঁধে ভারত-মার্কিন পরমাণু সমঝোতার বিরোধিতায় নামে পড়ল ইরান। প্রকাশ্যে না হলেও তলায় ওলায়। ভারত-মার্কিন পরমাণু চুক্তি যে আদতে পরমাণু অস্ত্র প্রসার রোধ চুক্তি লঙ্ঘনেরই নামান্তর, এই অবস্থানকে পূর্জি করেই এ ব্যাপারে জোটনিরপেক্ষ দেশগুলিকে নিজের দলে টানতে উদ্যোগী হয়েছে তেহরান। অস্ত্র

সাম্প্রতিক কালে বিভিন্ন নিজেটি দেশের রাষ্ট্রদূতদের সঙ্গে ইরান সরকারের আলোচনায় সে উদ্যোগই স্পষ্ট। পরমাণু প্রসার রোধে সই করেছে ইরান। তবে আমেরিকার সঙ্গে পরমাণু সম্পর্কের নিরিখে ভারতের দিকে পাল্লা ভারী। কেনও মতেই এই বৈপরীত্য মানতে পারছে না ইরান। আর সে জন্যই প্রস্তাবিত ভারত-মার্কিন চুক্তি যে পরমাণু প্রসার রোধের বিভিন্ন শর্তের বিরোধী, সে কথা জোর গলায় বলতে শুরু করেছে তারা। এমনকী, আজ ইরান এও বলেছে, পরমাণু অস্ত্র নিয়ে সমঝোতার খোঁজে সে নিঃশর্ত আলোচনাতে বসতে রাজি। আমেরিকা তাতে সন্মত হলেও ইরানের আপত্তি নেই। প্রেসিডেন্ট

আহমেদিনেজাদ নিজে এ কথা আজ কোফি আন্নানকে বলেছেন। সেই সঙ্গে আইএইএ-তে ইরানের রাষ্ট্রদূত আসগর সোলতানেই বলেন, "ইউরোপ-আমেরিকা ব্যাবস্থার পরমাণু প্রসার রোধ চুক্তিতে সমতা বজায় রাখার কথা বললেও, ভারত-মার্কিন পরমাণু সমঝোতা প্রত্যক্ষ ভাবে তা লঙ্ঘন করছে।" তার মতে শুধু ইরান নয়, জোটনিরপেক্ষ অন্যান্য দেশও এই দ্বিচারিতা মেনে নিতে পারছে না। ফেব্রুয়ারিতে ভিয়েনায় আন্তর্জাতিক পরমাণু শক্তি সংস্থায় ইরানের বিরুদ্ধে ভারতের ভোটদান নিয়ে যে জোটনিরপেক্ষ অনেক দেশই অসন্তুষ্ট তা-ও জানান আসগর। ইরানের

শান্তিপর্য পরমাণু পরীক্ষা-নিরীক্ষার আধিকারের সমর্থনে তিনি আইএইএ-তে নিজের দেশগুলির এই অস্থানের কথাই ফিরে ফিরে বলছেন। ভারত-মার্কিন পরমাণু চুক্তির গোবো শুধু একটা নয়। মার্কিন কংগ্রেসের দাবি, আইএইএ-এর সঙ্গে কথা বলে ভারত আগে অসামরিক চুক্তিগুলিকে পর্যবেক্ষণের আওতায় আনার বিষয়টি চূড়ান্ত করুক। কিন্তু ভারত বলছে, যদি হানুমোদনই না মেলে, তা হলে এ সব কথাপাতায় এগিয়ে কী লাভ?

ভিয়েনায় ভারতীয় কূটনীতিকের কথায়, "আমেরিকা যতক্ষণ না পর্যন্ত পরমাণু চুক্তি বিষয়ে সক্রিয় ভূমিকা নিচ্ছে, ততক্ষণ ভারতের উদ্যোগী হওয়ার কার্যত কোনও মানেই হয় না।" নজরদারি ব্যবস্থা নিয়ে কথা বলতে এগিলে পরমাণু শক্তি কমিশনের চেয়ারম্যান আনিল কাকোদকর ও আইএইএ-এর ডিরেক্টর জেনারেল মহম্মদ এলবারাদেই এক বৈঠক করেন। আইএইএ-এর মুখপাত্রের মতে, সে আলোচনা ছিল নিতান্তই প্রাথমিক। তার পর থেকে গোটা ব্যাপারটায় ভারত কার্যত আগ্রহ দেখায়নি। মুখপাত্রের বক্তব্য, "দিল্লি জানিয়েছিল, তাবাই যোগাযোগ করবে। আইএইএকে যোগাযোগ করতে বারণ করা হয়।" এমনকী কোন কোন অসামরিক চুক্তি নজরদারির আওতায় আসবে, সে তালিকাও ভারত জমা দেয়নি।

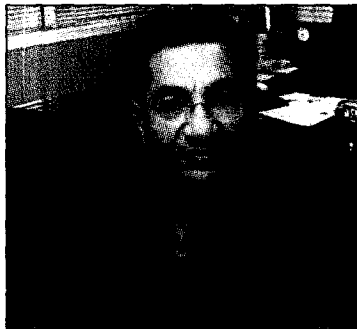
Indian-Americans test their clout on N-pact

6/6
Mike McIntire 7-12

Washington: Indian-Americans have mounted an intensive drive to support President Bush's plan to aid India's civilian nuclear programme, spending heavily on lobbying, campaign contributions and public relations to persuade Congress to approve the deal.

Officials in Washington and New Delhi have called the agreement historic, a centrepiece of American-Indian relations. But to many Indian-Americans, the plan is something more personal: a confirmation of India's emergence as a global power. And they see the increasingly contentious battle in Congress as a unique opportunity to demonstrate their budding political influence in their adopted homeland.

Indian-Americans, a small but fast-growing, affluent and well-educated group, are not new to lobbying in Washington. But the proposed nuclear pact has energised them like nothing before. In recent months, Indian-Americans, as well as the Indian government in some cases, have invested heavily in proven political tools that have helped previous immigrant groups break into American politics—hiring lobbyists, organising fund-raisers and blanketing Capitol Hill with briefings, phone



Sanjay Puri, chairman of a political action group, is rooting for the N-deal

calls and petitions.

"This is the chance to show the community has matured and can translate that into political effectiveness," said Sanjay Puri, an information technology executive who is chairman of the US-India Political Action Committee, or Usinpac, one of several Indian-American political groups that are working on the issue.

Much of the lobbying has focused on lawmakers from the New York metropolitan region, home to the highest concentration of Indian-Americans in the country. Puri's group, for instance, is organising a fund-raiser this month for Senator Hillary Rodham Clinton, whose support is viewed

by Indian-American leaders as crucial to winning broader Democratic backing for the plan, Indian-American activists said. Hillary Clinton, co-chairwoman of the Senate's 39-member India Caucus, has not taken a position on the deal.

The plan, hammered out last year by officials in Washington and New Delhi and announced by President Bush during a visit to India in March, would end a moratorium on sale of nuclear fuel and reactor components to India's civilian nuclear programme.

The Bush administration is now pushing for approval in Congress, where a vote is not expected until at least the autumn and the outcome is far from certain. Some lawmakers have asserted that the White House should have brought Congress into the loop before striking a deal with India, and the president's low ratings have made Republicans less willing to embrace the issue in an election year.

Some Indian-Americans have also questioned if Indian immigrants should be putting so much of their political energy into fighting for the contentious proposal. Rohit Tripathi, an electrical engineer in Maryland and president of Young India, a policy group, said though he did not oppose the deal, he was doubtful it would provide meaningful energy independence for India. NYT NEWS SERVICE

Indo-US defence talks held

Press Trust of India

NEW DELHI, June 5: America's highest ranking military officer and chairman of the joint chiefs of staff General Peter Pace today held talks with the top Indian defence brass in the backdrop of growing military cooperation between the two countries.

Though, defence officials said there was no set agenda for the parleys, Gen. Pace who arrived here on a three day visit, met chairman, chiefs of staff committee Admiral Arun Prakash and Army Chief Gen. JJ Singh and in a brief comment said: "His trip was to familiarise himself with Indian military leadership."

SOLUTION LIES IN DIPLOMATIC EFFORTS & NOT CONFRONTATION

India supports US offer to hold talks with Iran

Our Political Bureau
NEW DELHI

INDIA on Thursday welcomed the US offer to get involved in direct talks with Iran over its nuclear programme even as Iran rejected the conditions imposed by the US for the talks. The US in a complete departure from its stand on the Iran issue offered direct talks with Iran on the condition that it would stop its uranium enrichment project, but Iran has rejected this condition set by the US.

But negotiations are on. India immediately supported the US initiative and said issues relating to Iran's nuclear programme should be resolved through diplomatic channels and not through confrontation.

"The readiness of the US to join in the dialogue between EU-3 and Iran, which India has all along supported, is to be welcomed," MEA spokesperson Navtej Sarna said. EU-3 is Britain, France and Germany.

"We believe that with all sides displaying flexibility and adopting a constructive and forward looking approach, the on-going diplomatic efforts should reach successful conclusion," he added. US Secretary of State Condoleezza Rice said on Wednesday the US was willing to hold direct talks with Iran and also give Iran economic benefits if the country gave up its nuclear

plans. The US president George W Bush said on Thursday the US wants to take a leadership role in solving the crisis. India has throughout backed a diplomatic resolution to the Iran crisis. In fact during the recently concluded NAM ministerial meet minister of state for external affairs Anand Sharma met Iranian foreign minister Manoucher Mottaki on the sidelines and reiterated India's stand on the issue.



Condoleezza Rice

India's stand is that Iran has the right to a civilian nuclear programme but that it also had to abide by its international obligations with the IAEA. Prime Minister Manmohan Singh in March this year had made a statement to Parliament explaining India's stand.

India along with the other NAM countries had unanimously adopted a resolution in the ministerial meet supporting Iran's right to continue with its nuclear programme for peace purposes.

The issue of uranium enrichment had gathered momentum after Iran announced last year that it had started enrichment of uranium despite of the UN Security Council asking it not to.

Iran has argued that it has every right to continue with its nuclear programme for peaceful purposes, while the US and other countries have been accusing Iran of using the uranium for nuclear warheads.

washingtonpost.com

Rice to Lay Out U.S.-India Nuclear Deal Before Some Skeptical Lawmakers

By Dafna Linzer
Washington Post Staff Writer
Wednesday, April 5, 2006; A17

When President Bush announced a new phase in U.S.-India relations last month in New Delhi, he was not the only foreign visitor to attract attention. A day after his arrival, two Iranian naval ships, carrying several hundred sailors, docked at the Indian port of Kochi to begin five days of joint exercises, part of an extensive agreement Tehran and New Delhi signed in 2003.

The port call -- and the broader issue of India's military, scientific and economic ties with Iran -- have raised apprehension on Capitol Hill, where members are weighing an effort by the Bush administration to form its own strategic partnership with New Delhi.

Secretary of State Condoleezza Rice will address those concerns and others when she testifies today before the House and Senate foreign relations panels on details of the unfinished agreement, in which the United States would provide India with civilian nuclear technology.

She faces pressure from Republican and Democratic lawmakers, some of whom are pushing for changes to the deal out of concern about nuclear proliferation. In a letter yesterday, a bipartisan group of nuclear experts urged lawmakers not to authorize technology transfers until India stops producing nuclear weapons material, as the United States, Britain, France, Russia, and China are believed to have done.

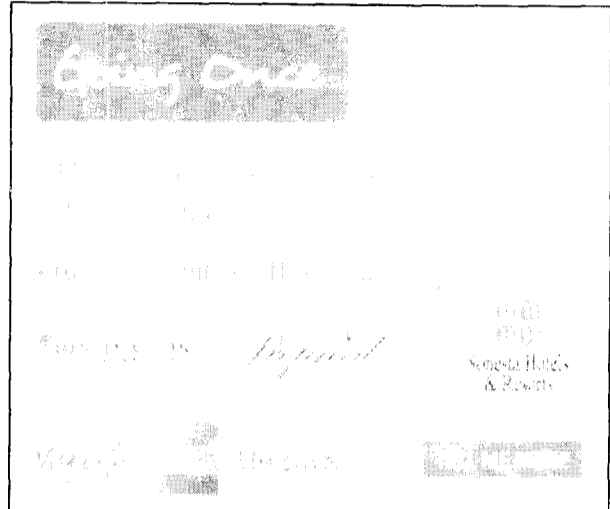
In response, some administration officials said Rice could announce a new push for an international treaty to end production of all fissile material. Negotiations have been at a standstill since the administration announced two years ago that it could not support the kind of accord that had been on the table.

Last July, Bush agreed to give India access, for the first time, to civilian nuclear assistance, breaking with decades of U.S. policy that kept sensitive nuclear technologies from countries that have not signed the nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty.

For the Bush administration, the break was seen as a worthy tradeoff in pursuit of a strategy to accelerate India's rise as a regional counterweight to China. But the agreement would also give India the ability to increase its nuclear arsenal. The terms took Congress by surprise, and lawmakers asked India to separate its civilian and military programs to guarantee that no U.S. technology would be used for weapons.

Last month, Bush and Indian Prime Minister Manmohan Singh agreed on a separation plan, but Congress has not yet seen it.

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Administration officials say the deal addresses nonproliferation concerns because India has agreed to open some facilities to U.N. nuclear inspections. Perhaps more important, they say, is that the world's largest democracy does not pose a nonproliferation threat.

"India has an excellent nonproliferation record," Rice said last month in promoting the deal. India is not tainted by the kind of nuclear black-market scandal that Pakistan suffered when a senior government official was caught selling nuclear components to Iran, Libya and North Korea.

But the Bush administration's actions suggest it does not see India's record as blemish-free.

The administration has imposed sanctions on two Indian companies accused of supplying Iran's nuclear program. Both companies have protested the sanctions but remain on a list in the Federal Registry. In September, two Indian nuclear scientists were also accused of providing Tehran with technology that could contribute to "the development of weapons of mass destruction." The order against one was later rescinded, but the second remains banned from travel to the United States.

India's support for Iran in diplomatic forums has also caused concern. Last September, after the U.S.-India deal was announced, Rep. Tom Lantos (D-Calif.) -- a strong supporter of India -- criticized Undersecretary of State R. Nicholas Burns during a hearing when Burns said it was unclear whether India would support U.S. efforts to pressure Iran. Lantos urged India to do so to win broader support in Congress.

"We listened carefully to Lantos and his colleagues on the Hill and told the Indians that they had to be supportive of our efforts to isolate Iran, and they did so two weeks later," Burns said in an interview.

Lantos said yesterday: "I have every intention of voting for this deal. But my support is very much contingent upon the Iran-India relationship, and I have served notice that, given the nature of the current regime in Tehran, a proper policy vis-a-vis Iran is the sine qua non of my support." Lantos said he did not see how India could have equal ties to Iran and the United States, and said he registered his displeasure over the naval visit last week with India.

State Department spokesman J. Adam Ereli said Washington regretted the timing of the Iranian port call, but added: "Indian-Iranian relations are not of the scope and breadth and depth to call into question the principles that underline our agreement."

It is unclear when Congress will consider the changes to the law needed to complete the India deal. The administration wants Congress to act before summer, but some in Congress say the complex matter will probably not be taken up until after the November elections.

Researcher Julie Tate contributed to this report.

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India sidesteps linking US nuclear deal to Iran

Reuters
Friday, June 23, 2006; 9:51 AM

NEW DELHI (Reuters) - India said on Friday a landmark nuclear deal with the United States should be based on the original commitments made by the two sides, sidestepping new moves to link the pact to its stand on Iran's atomic program.

New Delhi's comments came after a leading U.S. lawmaker warned this week the civilian nuclear energy cooperation deal could be jeopardized if India sided with non-aligned states in backing Iran's atomic ambitions.

Democratic Rep. Tom Lantos of California said the controversial deal was on track to be voted on by the Congress next month, but approval would be at risk if leaders in New Delhi did not "act responsibly."

A draft of the bill prepared for action next week by a key House of Representatives committee also calls for New Delhi's support for Washington's efforts to stop Tehran acquiring weapons of mass destruction.

"There have been a number of U.S. senators and congressmen who have expressed different views concerning the Indo-U.S. nuclear agreement," an Indian Foreign Ministry spokesman said in response to questions about Lantos' remarks.

"We have been negotiating the nuclear deal with the U.S. administration on the premise that it is an agreement about civil nuclear energy cooperation on the basis of mutual benefit."

The deal should be based on commitments made by the two countries when it was first agreed in principle last year and it was the responsibility of the U.S. administration to get the legislation approved by Congress, he added.

India's traditional ties with Iran have haunted the controversial pact since President George W. Bush and Prime Minister Manmohan Singh agreed to it last July.

Although New Delhi has since backed Washington at the International Atomic Energy Agency against Tehran's atomic program, its decision to oppose its old friend and a major source of its soaring energy needs drew strong criticism at home.

As a result, India has been cagey of making any clear commitments against Iran.

The nuclear deal aims to reverse a three-decade ban on sales of U.S. atomic fuel and reactors to India as ties between the two countries, once on opposite sides of the Cold War, warm considerably.

But members of the U.S. congress and non-proliferation experts have criticized it, saying it encourages

Advertisement



w. weapons proliferation as India has not signed the nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty.

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Challenge ahead for Indo-US trade relations

55-11 2/5 ✓

Statesman News Service

NEW DELHI, May 1: Although trade between India and the USA is on the rise, the two countries face a mutual challenge of improving it, given the huge potential that exists, US Under Secretary of Commerce for International Trade, Mr Franklin L Lavin, today said.

"There's a lot of good news in the relationship and in the great potential that we share in trade. But we face significant challenges as well," Mr Lavin told the annual general meeting of the American Chamber of Commerce in India (Amcham). Despite the good trade statistics, there was a lot of ground to be made up if trade and investment were to reflect

India's potential role in the world economy.

At the same time, he urged US companies to take another look at India. "The economy is stirring and American businesses need to think through how to include India in their global strategies," Mr Lavin said.

Listing out the economic numbers, he said 25 years ago Indo-US bilateral trade was only \$2.8 billion. By 2005, this increased nearly 10-fold to \$27 billion. US exports to India also doubled in the last three years from \$4.1 billion in 2002 to nearly \$8 billion in 2005. "With a population of more than one billion and an economy with an eight per cent growth rate, India is increasingly an important economic factor, a location

for investment, a platform for technology development and a market of interest to American companies," Mr Lavin added.

However, even with a 30 per cent growth in US exports to India last year, the vast Indian market accounted for less than one per cent of all US exports.

Giving a comparison, Mr Lavin said the \$8 billion annual US exports to India was about what the US would ship to Canada in a two-week period. In another example, he said cumulative US foreign direct investment (FDI) in India amounted to \$6.2 billion at the end of 2004. US FDI in Singapore amounted to \$56.9 billion.

He identified India's high trade barriers as one of the challenges to be sorted

out. While India had significantly lowered tariffs on non-agricultural products, agricultural tariffs remained around 40 per cent, Mr Lavin pointed out. "As a significant exporter of services and in light of the benefits that India can achieve through the WTO Doha round, we believe it would be beneficial for India to lower these high agricultural tariffs," he added.

Another area was intellectual property rights (IPR), Mr Lavin said, noting that a vibrant IPR regime was critical to the promotion of a creative, technologically advanced economy. While some progress had been made towards creating a more comprehensive framework for IPR protection in India.

THE STATESMAN

02 MAY 2006

CABINET NOD FOR INDO-US AGREEMENT

Civil aviation deal okayed

Statesman News Service

NEW DELHI, May 3: The Union Cabinet today approved a significant agreement between New Delhi and the United States that will enable Indian civil aviation bodies seek American assistance in modernising aviation infrastructure, technology and training.

The memorandum of agreement between the two countries in this connection provides for assistance by the US Federal Aviation Authority (FAA) in developing and modernising airports and other infrastructure in managerial, operational and technical areas in the country's civil aviation sector, an official spokesperson told the media persons after the Cabinet meeting chaired by the Prime Minister, Dr Manmohan Singh.

The US agency, under this umbrella accord, would provide assistance for developing, improving and operation of aviation infrastructure, standards, procedures, policies, training and equipment in India. Besides training the staff, it would also assist in inspection and calibration of Indian aviation equipment and air navigation facilities and certification of airports

WHAT'S ON

- Indian civil aviation bodies can seek US assistance in modernising aviation infrastructure, technology
- US Federal Aviation Authority can train Indian staff
- The deal would make it possible seeking assistance in inspection and calibration of Indian aviation equipment and air navigation facilities, helicopter operations and safety initiative
- The pact paves the way for many other agreements by Indian agencies such as DGCA, HAL and AAI, with the FAA and other American bodies

Rice hints at nuke pact changes

WASHINGTON, May 3: Supporting the early passage of the Indo-US nuclear deal in the Congress, the Bush administration has said New Delhi must be prepared to accept "amendments" to the agreement which are within the "spirit" of the July 2005 accord signed between Prime Minister Dr Manmohan Singh and US President George W. Bush. This was conveyed to a delegation of visiting Indian Parliamentarians by US Secretary of State Ms Condoleezza Rice during a 30-minute meeting at the state department here. A senior state department official said: "They discussed our strategic partnership - the US-India civil nuclear cooperation initiative, our economic and energy dialogue." ■ PTI

in addition to cooperation in helicopter operations and safety initiative.

The US has signed similar agreements with over 100 countries. The agreement would pave the way for India to get FAA assistance in technical and managerial expertise in the

civil aviation sector besides technical assistance for safety.

With this approval, the agreement would pave the way for several other agreements by different Indian agencies such as DGCA, HAL and AAI with the FAA and other US bodies.

04 MAY 2006

Indian-American leaders meet to back civilian N-deal

Washington: Indian-American community leaders from across the US came down here to launch a "co-ordinated grassroots campaign" for the approval of the landmark Indo-US civilian nuclear deal which is pending before Congress.

"Beyond its symbolic significance, this gathering (of over 150 community leaders) served to launch a coordinated grassroots campaign" for the deal, Swadesh Chatterjee, a community leader and political activist from North Carolina, said in a statement.

"We all must be proud of what we accomplished....However, let's be clear—this is just the first step," Chatterjee, one of the founders of the US-India Friendship Council, said.

Indian-American leaders had a briefing at the White House by the top Presidential aide Karl Rove, a key political advisor to President George W Bush, and other senior administration officials.

The briefing was followed by a substantive policy discussion, jointly hosted by the US-India Friendship Council and US-India Business Council at the US Chamber of Commerce.



India Cacus Co-Chair Congressman Joe Crowley, Senator John Cornyn, founder and co-chairman of the Senate India Caucus and Sant Chatwal at a meeting to discuss US-India civil nuclear deal in Washington

According to a statement, the information session featured Republican Senator John Cornyn, one of the founders of the Senate India Caucus, former American Under-Secretary for Political Affairs Tom Pickering and former United States

Assistant Secretary of State for South Asia Rick Inderfurth.

On Capitol Hill, Indian-American leaders visited more than 50 Congressional offices of the House of Representatives and Senate culminating in a reception attended by 32 Senators and Representatives, all of whom expressed support for the nuclear deal and some even expressly stated they would co-sponsor the pending legislation in support of the deal.

The US-India Friendship Council also announced the launch of a Washington DC office. "We have a huge task of informing our fellow Americans of all the ways in which this agreement benefits the United States.

In order to do this, we must not only work hard, we must also work smart," said Ken Bajaj from Northern Virginia, one of the founders of the Council.

"That's why we have set up this office. It will be an 'information clearing house'. Through this office, Indian Americans will have a central place to pick up necessary information and to report progress, or problems, with their Congressional representatives," he said. PTI

Chandrayaan-1 to carry two U.S. payloads; NASA, ISRO ink MoU 800-5 1075

Main objective is to investigate mineral, chemical distribution on moon's surface

Staff Reporter

BANGALORE: In a milestone in space cooperation between New Delhi and Washington, India's unmanned moon mission Chandrayaan-1 will have on board two U.S. instruments. The mission is slated for launch by early 2008.

Indian Space Research Organisation (ISRO) Chairman G. Madhavan Nair and National Aeronautics and Space Administration (NASA) Administrator Michael Griffin on Tuesday signed a memorandum of understanding in this regard.

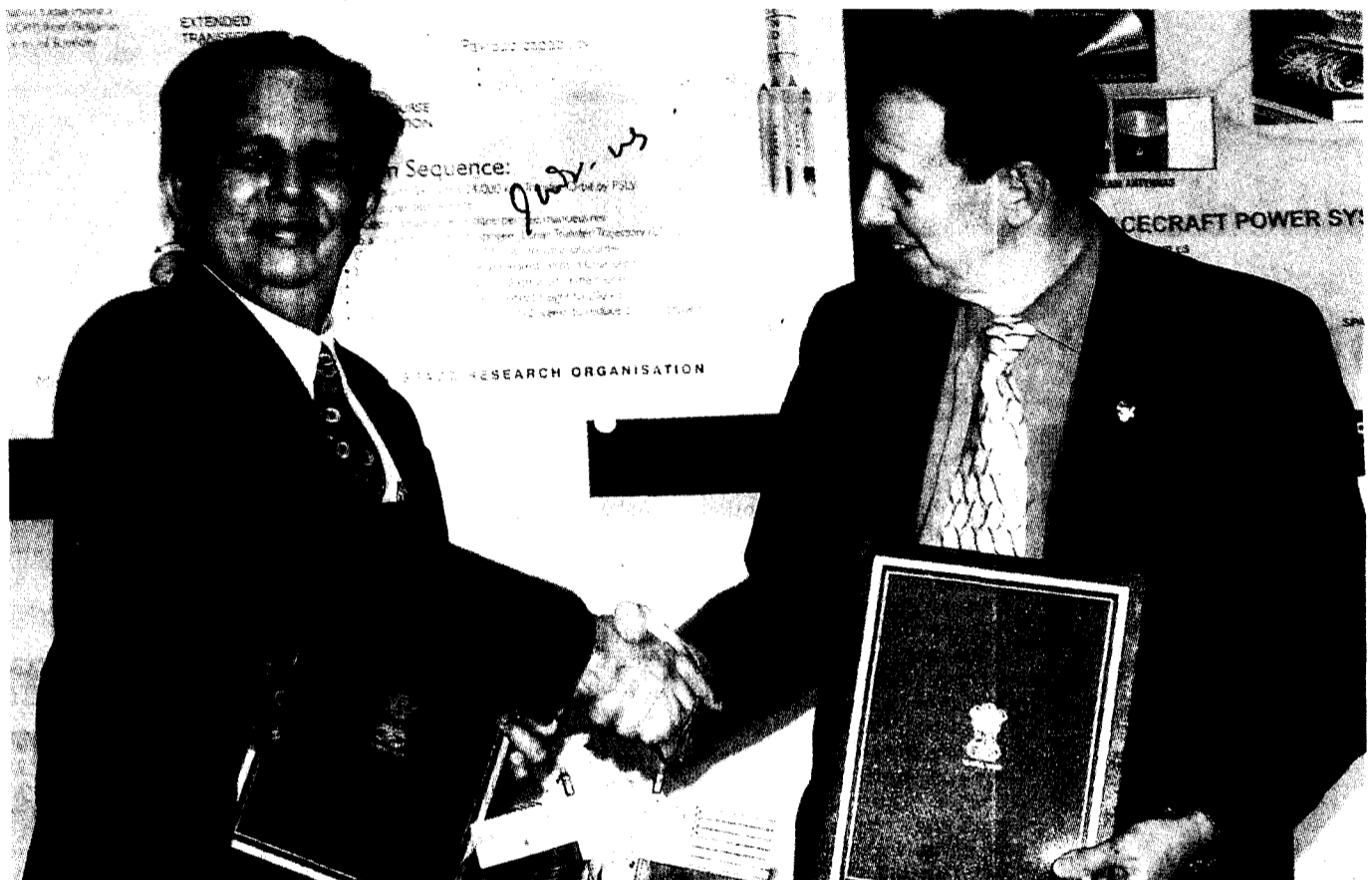
The instruments are, a Miniature Synthetic Aperture Radar (mini SAR) that will map the cold regions and scan for ice deposits and a Moon Mineralogy Mapper (M3).

The Applied Physics Laboratory of Johns Hopkins University, under funding from the NASA, developed the Mini SAR. Brown University and NASA's Jet Propulsion Laboratory built the M3.

Mr. Griffin said, "the two-year mission would map the lunar surface and investigate its properties that would advance knowledge about the moon's history and evolution, besides informing future exploration decisions by characterising the content of the lunar soil.

"Technical achievement"

"The mission you will conduct some 40 years after humans saw the moon up close for the first time will greatly advance our understanding of our closest neighbour in space and represents a



REACHING FOR THE MOON: ISRO Chairman G. Madhavan Nair and NASA Administrator Michael Griffin greet each other after signing a memorandum of understanding in Bangalore on Tuesday. - PHOTO: K. BHAGYA PRAKASH

very impressive "technical achievement."

The NASA chief said: "I understand that you are undertaking this mission to upgrade India's technological capability and provide challenging opportunities for planetary research

for the younger generation."

ISRO's Physical Research Laboratory (PRL) Director V.N. Goswami said the mission's main objective was to investigate the mineral and chemical distribution on the lunar surface. Space cooperation between

the two countries dates back to 1963 when Indian atmospheric experiments were carried out on a U.S. rocket.

However, the relations became strained after India's nuclear testing in 1998. Washington imposed sanctions

on India, resulting in a freeze on exchanges in nuclear and other high-tech sectors.

Another report on Page 12

10 MAY 2006

THE HINDU

THURSDAY, MAY 11, 2006

U.S. joins India's Moon mission

Chandrayaan-1, India's first space probe for the scientific exploration of a celestial body, has matured into a truly international effort. Last year, the European Space Agency formally signed up to send its scientific instruments on the Indian spacecraft that will head for the Moon in two years' time; the Bulgarians too are contributing an instrument. Now the United States has come on board with the signing of Memoranda of Understanding between its National Aeronautics and Space Administration (NASA) and the Indian Space Research Organisation (ISRO). The two scientific instruments, weighing merely a few kg, from the U.S. join an already wide array of cameras and other devices the Chandrayaan will carry to thoroughly map the Moon's surface and understand its chemical composition. It is to ISRO's credit that it reserved space for instruments from other countries in addition to the five being developed by Indian scientists. There has been a resurgence of interest in the Moon in recent years. Europe's SMART-1 satellite has been orbiting it since November 2004 and China is reportedly planning to launch its Chang'e 1 lunar orbiter by the end of next year.

But it is difficult to interpret the NASA-ISRO MoU as heralding a new era of bilateral space cooperation. The United States and NASA played a key role in helping the Indian space programme in its infancy. But the relationship soured after Washington began aggressively to pursue a policy of 'non-proliferation' that centred on controlling access to 'dual-use' technologies. The creation of the Missile Technology Control Regime in 1987 and consequent changes in U.S. export control laws had a direct impact on the Indian space programme. For instance, these laws were used to target India's agreement with the Soviet Union for cryogenic engine technology. India's nuclear tests of 1998 led to even stiffer restrictions. Although many of them have since been eased, the hurdles posed by U.S. export controls for the Indian space programme are still considerable. An effort by Boeing and ISRO to jointly build satellites for the international market collapsed, largely on account of onerous U.S. licensing procedures. By contrast, a similar collaboration with the European aerospace company EADS Astrium has bagged its first contract to build a satellite for Paris-based Eutelsat. Another area of friction is commercial satellite launches, which Washington is able to control because many satellites contain critical U.S.-made components. ISRO has reportedly lost a commercial launch contract as a result of uncertainty over securing American clearances. The Indo-U.S. Working Group on Civil Space Cooperation must find ways of simplifying the U.S. licensing process. Outer space can become the ultimate frontier the two countries can explore together — or squabble over.

11 MAY 2006

Boucher bats for US-India N-deal

S. Rajagopalan
Washington, May 18

IN A renewed bid to convince a sceptical US Congress on the need to approve the nuclear deal, the Bush administration has sought to dispel the notion that Washington has given away "too much" under this initiative.

Testifying before a House sub-committee on Wednesday, Assistant Secretary of State Richard Boucher stressed that India had "already done much" to improve export controls and bring itself "more and more into alignment with the international non-proliferation regime". He pointed out that India's new export controls are already in alignment with the practices of the 45-member Nuclear Suppliers Group, which is slated to consider the Indo-US deal at its May 29 plenary meeting in Rio de Janeiro. He also referred to India's pledge to support negotiations on a fissile material cut-off treaty.

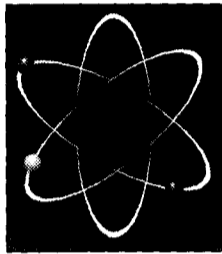
To those harping on the position that the US has given away too much, Boucher said, "I think we'd all be happy if India and Pakistan gave up their nuclear weapons and joined the Non-Proliferation Treaty (NPT). It's not going to happen. This is a real-world agreement. We don't claim it's perfect. We claim it provides a net gain for non-proliferation. It brings India into alignment with non-proliferation efforts worldwide". The Assistant Secretary of State also reminded US lawmakers that approval of the deal would "elevate US-India relationship to heights we have never previously achieved".

Boucher, however, was guarded in his comments on another issue of utmost importance to New Delhi — US support for India's bid for a permanent seat in the UN Security Council.

While Jim Leach, chairman of the sub-committee on Asia-Pacific, put it to him that the Congress was "very sympathetic" to a US backing for India's bid, Boucher stuck to the official position that UNSC overhaul could be taken up only after other UN reforms are gone through. "So India's candidacy is one that we have to consider very carefully.

There are, indeed, philosophical, logical and geo-strategic reasons to consider their membership of the council, but I think it's less a question of India than how we want to handle this matter", he said.

TALKING
NUKES



Reflecting the sense of importance Chirac attaches to ensuring that India gains access to civil nuclear energy, an official said the matter was raised earlier this month with Hu Jintao within the framework of the French-Chinese strategic dialogue



Chirac, Hu talk NSG waiver

NILOVA Roy Chaudhury
Paris, May 18

FRENCH PRESIDENT Jacques Chirac has personally spoken to the Chinese President, Hu Jintao, in recent weeks urging him to favourably consider a waiver for India that would enable other countries to resume nuclear commerce with India.

Giving a sense of how much importance Chirac attaches to ensuring India gains access "soon" to civil nuclear energy, a top French official said the matter was raised earlier this month within the framework of the French-Chinese strategic dialogue discussions.

Chirac's diplomatic adviser, Gourgault Montagne, who also conducts the strategic dialogue with India, tried to convince his Chinese counterpart of India's need to get sources of civil nuclear energy as the only way to sustain its economic development.

French officials, however, dismissed suggestions that France could've done more to hasten the process for India. "It would've been irresponsible for France to flout international law and go ahead without a consensus to unilaterally assist India's civil nuclear programme," the senior official said.

19 MAY 2006

THE HINDUSTAN TIMES

ELBARADEI ■ Also says Iran should take steps to reassure world that its nuclear programme is peaceful

Indo-US N-deal 'win-win', says IAEA chief

PRESS TRUST OF INDIA
WASHINGTON, MAY 25

DESCRIBING the Indo-US civilian nuclear energy deal as a "win-win" proposition, International Atomic Energy Agency chief Mohamed ElBaradei said he hoped that members of the American Congress which is yet to give the agreement its approval—will also see it that way.

"We have...a number of very important issues on our agenda, ranging from making sure that India becomes a partner in the nonproliferation framework. To me, this is a win-win agreement and I hope it will be also for the Congress," ElBaradei said after an hour-long meeting with US Secretary of State Condoleezza Rice here.

"We also are trying to look to the big picture in making sure that we have in-

novative measures to ensure that sensitive proliferation technology, like enrichment or reprocessing is contained. I talk about multilateral centres, multinational centres," he added.

Rice confirmed that India was a topic of discussion with the IAEA chief. "We've also talked about the US-India deal and Dr ElBaradei has been very supportive—not because he is trying to intervene in US-Indian relations, but as we have talked about it because we need to broaden our concept of non-proliferation regime in order to deal with anomalies like the Indian situation," said Rice.

The statements of both Rice and ElBaradei are important in terms of the civilian nuclear deal in the sense that the legislative process is at a critical stage with the Bush administration keen on getting the formal approval of Congress at least by the summer.

The IAEA chief and Rice also stressed that Iran was a major topic of discussion and this too has to be seen in the context of the efforts of the US, Europe, Russia and China at London where they are supposed to be inching their way forward to some sort of a package to wean Tehran away from the nuclear weapons technology route.

"We talked, obviously, about Iran which is a current crisis we are facing. We discussed ways and means for Iran to come into compliance with the requests of the international community to build confidence in the peaceful nature of its programme. I believe that it's very important for Iran to take whatever measures required for the international community to have confidence that its programme is peaceful in nature. I believe also it's very important that Iran goes back into negotiations with the Europeans," ElBaradei remarked.



Mohamed ElBaradei, head of the International Atomic Energy Agency with US Secretary of State Condoleezza Rice during a meeting at the State Department in Washington on Wednesday. AP

2-401-2775

Saran, Burns meet to move Indo-US nuclear deal forward

PRESSTRUST OF INDIA

LONDON, MAY 25

IN an effort to learn about the progress made in getting the Indo-US civilian nuclear deal passed by the US Congress, Foreign Secretary Shyam Saran met American Under Secretary of State Nicholas Burns here today.

Saran and Burns met at the India House. Both flew in here on Wednesday—Burns from Washington and Saran from New Delhi.

The meeting is expected to sort out some of the sticky issues around the agreement and enable both sides to find a formula to move the deal forward. Both Saran and Burns are expected to ex-

change notes and discuss the latest development on the fissile material cut-off treaty (FMCT) that was presented at Geneva Disarmament Conference last week.

Their talks assume importance as they come before the nuclear suppliers group's meeting in Rio De Janeiro on May 29 to discuss the exemption for India in its plenary.

Both the US and Indian governments remain committed to the agreement despite facing flak from the opponents of the deal. The two officials would also decide when the negotiating teams will meet. These meetings would add to the details that may help bring the India-specific legislation to vote by next month end.

26 MAY 2006

INDIA

Bush govt rules out new conditions on Indo-US deal ^{96 7}

PRESS TRUST OF INDIA
WASHINGTON, MAY 26

DISMISSING suggestions that the Indo-US civilian nuclear accord was in trouble, the Bush administration said that though it was ready to show some flexibility to accommodate the views of Congress members, it was not prepared to impose new conditions or introduce fresh legislations at this point.

"We certainly accept the views of Congress on different issues but we are also going to make clear that we cannot do things—legislations or conditions—at this point that will break the deal," Assistant Secretary of State for South and Central Asian Affairs Richard Boucher told

PTI at the US State Department.

Boucher also said that while next week's Nuclear Suppliers Group meet had a broader international agenda, the subject of the US-India nuclear agreement would figure and that it would be "helpful" if New Delhi was able to answer some questions, including on the status of the safeguards agreement and the separation plan.

As part of discussions with other countries on the Indo-US deal, Boucher said he would be travelling to Canada today. "We have ongoing discussions with a lot of countries. We just don't do it in non-proliferation circles. We do it in policy circles, people who appreciate the strategic interests for de-

veloping better relationship with India and helping India developing at the same time," he said.

Meanwhile, after his meeting with Indian Foreign Secretary Shyam Saran to discuss the deal, Undersecretary of State Nicholas Burns echoed Boucher when he confirmed in London, "I can assure you the US is not trying to impose any new issues on the Indian government."

Burns said, "We finished our negotiations and now we are trying to implement them." He acknowledged the issue of nuclear testing had been a part of the discussions for well over a year and said both sides were aware of each other's views.

27 MAY 2006

INDIAN EXPRESS

N-deal: Give more, US experts tell India

Chidanand Rajghatta | TNN

Washington: Top American experts testifying on the US-India nuclear deal before a Senate panel on Wednesday pushed for extracting greater commitments from India without necessarily codifying the demands in any deal-breaking legislation.

The Bush administration has given too much to India in return for too little in the nuclear deal and this imbalance should be corrected by getting New Delhi to commit to American geo-strategic objectives including on Iran and proliferation issues, former administration officials William Perry and Ashton Carter told the American Senate Foreign Relations Committee in its second hearing on the subject.

"We have given them a nuclear quid, we should expect a

geo-political quo," Perry, a former Defence Secretary, told the panel, whose chair Richard Lugar seemed progressively inclined to support the agreement. Carter said Washington should expect greater purchases of US military hardware and civilian nuclear technology, besides enlisting India's help to achieve non-proliferation.

Three of the four experts who testified in the first panel Perry, Carter and Ashley Tellis spoke in favour of the deal while former administration official Robert Gallucci vehemently opposed it using familiar non-proliferation arguments that the other experts see as flawed. As Senators probed the experts to see if they could tighten any aspects of the deal, formally or informally, Gallucci said he would prefer Congress vote down the agreement.

Tellis, a Mumbai-born analyst who is one of the architects of the deal, argued that it is important for the deal to go through to realise the full potential of US-India relations that remained unrealised during the Cold War. Failure of the deal to go through would be a major setback to ties, he warned.

Referring to the commitments other experts expected from India, Tellis suggested that this could be achieved by speaking quietly to New Delhi rather than making demands which would stir issues of national pride.

In a second panel, the Clinton administration's non-proliferation guru Robert Einhorn picked up Gallucci's argument to oppose the deal, arguing that it would be a windfall for India's nuclear weapons programme and would destabilise the region.

Singh wins over Merkel on Indo-US N-deal

By Diwakar/TNN

Hannover: India's efforts to get international support for its civilian nuclear energy programme got a big boost on Sunday when Germany indicated it will not come in the way of the Indo-US nuclear deal. The breakthrough came after PM Manmohan Singh's discussions with Chancellor Angela Merkel here.

The softening of the stance came through clearly in the opening remarks of the Chancellor at the joint media interaction after Manmohan Singh's persuasive lobbying during the talks, indicating that she was ready to believe India's non-proliferation commitment—a key factor with her constituency known for its hypersensitivity on the issue.

"I have been assured that non-proliferation is an important aspect of India's international policies, and this commitment is an important one for us. If the process, as it has been initiated in the US as well as in the Nuclear Suppliers Group (NSG), intensifies, then Germany will be willing to cooperate. This process has not reached its conclusion but the commitments and the statements from the Indian side on the issue of non-proliferation are to my mind important statements in this dialogue," she said.

During the talks, the PM made a strong "India-is-a responsible-country pitch", as he highlighted the country's "impeccable" scorecard—something that was noted by the Chancellor.

But Merkel made it plain that her country's stance will be determined by what happens to the Indo-US nuclear deal in the US Congress and, later, in the

NSG, the Indian delegation interpreted it as Germany relaxing its initial opposition, which had found expression in the wake of the nuclear deal when the Chancellor reportedly called up President George Bush to register a protest.

The satisfaction of the Indian delegation appeared also justified by Merkel's remarks underlining IAEA chief ElBaradei's welcome to the Indo-US deal. "We will also have to look at the discussion as far as ElBaradei is concerned; we found it very important in Germany that ElBaradei considered it as a clear step forward."

She said: "Germany will take very seriously what is said by the Indian side...and...recognise it as a clear commitment. We have questions, we will discuss them directly on a friendly basis."

Germany is a member of the NSG and its role will be important in determining whether the Indian exemption bid passes muster with the body.

Both her statements are important because they came in the face of resistance, both international as

well as domestic. The Chancellor was speaking on the eve of the visit of Pakistan's foreign minister Khurshid Mahmud Kasuri with the mission to queer the pitch for India. Also, as she must have been aware of the resolution moved by the Green Party in the Bundestag and the continued resistance by non-proliferation hawks like Uta Zapf, member of Social Democrats.

Though former chancellor Gerhard Schroeder is expected to support India, Merkel will still have to reckon with Social Progressive Democrats, part of the "grand" ruling coalition.

'I have been assured that non-proliferation is an important aspect of India's international policies, and this commitment is an important one for us. If the process, as it has been initiated in the US as well as in the NSG, intensifies, then Germany will be willing to cooperate'

Indo-US Deal

Nuke deal sign of stronger ties, says Rice

Press Trust of India

WASHINGTON, April 20: Continuing to seek Congressional support to the "path-breaking" Indo-US nuclear agreement, secretary of state Ms Condoleezza Rice has said the deal has to be seen in the context of burgeoning bilateral cooperation in military, agriculture and private sector.

"This agreement is a path-breaking and really very important agreement because India is an anomaly in international politics. It is a country that never signed Non Proliferation Treaty, did develop nuclear weapons but did so, of course, having never signed the NPT, by not having violated the NPT, but it has been cut off as a result of those decisions from any kind of civil nuclear cooperation with rest of the world," she said at Chicago Council on Foreign Relations yesterday.

Setting forth the reasons why Washington wants to change this "anomaly," Ms Rice said: "First of all, because the US needs good strategic partners around the world who are democratic, and India is a huge multi-ethnic, multi-religious democracy that is transparent and can play an extremely important role in the world as a strategic partner, a responsible strategic partner."

"And so we see this broad relationship that is now burgeoning in agriculture and in military-to-military cooperation, and across the board cooperation



between the private sector and business. We see this agreement in that context," she said.

Noting that India was "desperate to fuel economic growth at eight per cent, nine per cent," she said it would need to diversify energy to clean technologies like nuclear energy.

"We cannot begin to share those technologies with India without an agreement of this kind," she said.

Ms Rice also said India has lived up to its obligations not to transfer nuclear technology around the world, though it did not sign the Non Proliferation Treaty.

"It has a really very good record. Moreover, no less than Mohamed ElBaradei, who is the Director General of the International Atomic Energy Agency, which is the agency that protects, in a sense, the NPT, supports this agreement because while it doesn't bring India into the NPT, it does bring India into the broad non-proliferation regime. India has agreed to put its civilian reactors under international safeguards."

21 APR 2003

174-11-1-1-1-1-1

India holds the nuclear line

SNS & PTI

NEW DELHI/WASHINGTON, April 20: The Prime Minister, Dr Manmohan Singh, has ruled out placing India's nuclear reactors in the International Atomic Energy Agency's care, reaffirming a unilateral moratorium on tests without hinting at how things would be in the "distant" future. "We would like the world to

move towards universal nuclear disarmament," he told The Washington Post in an interview published today. Some critics of the Bush Administration have said the USA should have insisted on India allowing all its reactors to be "under the IAEA's full-scope safeguards" for bilateral civilian nuclear energy cooperation.

The former external affairs minister, Mr

Jaswant Singh, though, today criticised India's nuclear pact with the USA, saying the deal did not bestow on the southern Asian nation the benefits of an atomic weapons state but left it shackled like non-proliferation treaty signatories.

Dr Singh said India needed a regionally strategic nuclear weapons programme as "China is a nuclear power and

Pakistan developed its (nuclear) weapons" secretly. He said he could not imagine circumstances requiring India to resume its nuclear tests, domestically viewed as the country's sovereign right. "Our scientists tell me they need no further tests. As for the distant future, I cannot predict" anything though we wish to "continue our unilateral moratorium," he said.

Defending the pact, the Prime Minister, describing the USA as the world's "pre-eminent" superpower, said a "lack of nuclear cooperation is the last remaining cobweb from our old relationship, and we can now sweep it aside."

He said it was in India's interests to have good relations with the USA, "a very important partner" in the context of "our

development ambitions." According to him, one way of helping India would for the United States Congress be to approve legislative changes that could make civilian nuclear technology and supplies available to New Delhi after a 32-year ban. The agreement is yet to be approved by the United States Congress amid considerable opposition.

An agreement and a problem with semantics

India would seem to be caught in the semantics of the agreement that equates it with non-nuclear weapons states. It would rather like to see the language used for nuclear weapons states in the Indo-U.S. agreement, though operationally it matters little.

R. Ramachandran
INDIA'S REJECTION of the draft Indo-U.S. umbrella nuclear agreement — the so-called '123 Agreement' — that contains a provision for the cessation of the agreement in the event of India detonating a nuclear device, actually reflects its obsessive desire to be granted *de facto* status of a nuclear weapons state.

For, given India's commitment to "continued unilateral moratorium on nuclear testing" in the joint statement of July 18, 2005, and the fact that Section 129 (1)(A) of the U.S. Atomic Energy Act (AEA) prohibits all exports of "nuclear materials, equipment and sensitive nuclear technology" if India were to conduct a nuclear test, such a specific provision in the bilateral agreement hardly makes a difference.

India would seem to be caught in the semantics of the agreement that equates it with non-nuclear weapons states (NNWSs), which it does not like. It would rather like to see the language used for nuclear weapons states (NWSs) in the Indo-U.S. agreement as well, though operationally it matters little.

The AEA requires nine conditions to be met by the cooperating party but the U.S. President may grant an exemption with regard to any of these, "if he determines that inclusion of any such requirement would be seriously prejudicial to the achievement of U.S. non-proliferation objectives or otherwise jeopardise the common defence and security."

In the draft bill that was introduced in the U.S. Congress on March 15-16, President George W. Bush has sought a waiver of the application of 'full-scope safeguards' provision for NNWSs as required under Section 123 a.(2) of the AEA in the case of the Indo-U.S. nuclear agreement.

India is an NNWS as defined by the nuclear non-proliferation treaty (NPT).

'No-test condition'

The specific inclusion of a 'no test' condition in the cooperation agreement, on the other hand, arises from Section 123 a.(4) of AEA, which is applicable only to NNWSs. This stipulates that the U.S. "shall have the right to require the return of any nuclear materials and equipment transferred... and any special nuclear material produced through the use thereof, if the cooperating party detonates a nuclear explosive device..."

In any case, for an NNWS, Section 129 (1)(A), that bars nuclear exports in the event of a nuclear test, will always come into play.

If the above 'no test' condition pursuant to Section 123 a.(4) has to be withdrawn from the agreement, a presidential waiver would be required for this clause as well. And, the AEA provides for such a waiver. However, the significant difference between the two waivers is that in the case of the 'full scope safeguards' condition, the cooperation agreement has to go through a formal Congressional oversight and review. In the case of all other conditions, there is no such requirement.

But any such move would complicate matters greatly and make Congressional approval enormously difficult.

For agreements with NWSs, Section 123 a.(4) of the AEA does not apply. But there is a restrictive provision arising from 123 a.(3), which only prohibits the use of nuclear materials and equipment or sensitive nuclear technology supplied under the agreement, and special nuclear material produced through the use of these, "for any nuclear explosive device, or for research on or development of any nuclear

explosive device, or for any other military purpose."

For the NNWS, however, the condition 123 a.(4) implies that any test whatsoever — not just one that uses U. S. supplied material — would lead to a cessation of the agreement.

The U.S. has nuclear cooperation agreements with all NWSs except Russia; with France and the U.K. under the combined agreement with Euratom, the European consortium nuclear company, and a separate agreement with China. Since member-countries of Euratom include NNWSs as well as NWSs, the agreement with Euratom brings out very clearly the difference in the 'no test' conditions applicable to the two groups.

Article 7.2 of the Agreement incorporates the condition required by 123 a.(4), which is applicable to all member-countries. That is, material supplied pursuant to the agreement cannot be used in the production — not detonation — of a nuclear explosive device. Article 13.3, applicable to NNWSs, incorporates 123 a.(4) and prohibits the (European) Community or an NNWS member of the Community from detonating any nuclear explosive device.

Article 13.4, applicable to NWSs, on the other hand, prohibits an NWS member of the Community from detonating a nuclear explosive device only using any item supplied under the Agreement.

Less restrictive deal with China

The agreement with China is somewhat different and, interestingly, less restrictive than the Euratom agreement with regard to nuclear tests. It has only a clause similar to Article 7.2 of the U.S.-Euratom Agreement, that which incorporates 123 a.(3) and prohibits using materials and equipment provided pursuant to the cooper-

ation agreement in the development — not detonation — of a nuclear explosive device or other military purpose.

Significantly, there is no termination of the agreement in the event of any detonation whatsoever, including that using U.S. supplied material.

It only calls for a consultative process with each party reserving the right to terminate the agreement.

All other agreements with other NNWSs, such as Japan, Australia, Canada or Switzerland, incorporate clauses that prohibit nuclear tests using material supplied under the agreement as well as clauses that terminate the agreement in the event of any nuclear test, not just with materials supplied pursuant to the agreement.

In this regard, the Ministry of External Affairs (MEA), it would seem, would like the agreement to be similar to that with NWSs. However, being actually an NNWS, its unrealistic position could make Congressional approval extremely difficult.

Likewise, the MEA is also likely to object to the language of the draft proposal made by the U.S. to the Nuclear Suppliers Group (NSG) for making an India-specific amendment to its guidelines. The NSG Guidelines are applicable only to NNWSs. Paragraph 4 (a) requires application of full-scope safeguards.

The U.S. draft states: "Participating Governments, in accordance with Paragraph 4(d) [of the Guidelines], will continue to strive for the earliest possible implementation of the policy referred to in Paragraph 4(a)."

Even though this does not have any direct implications for the safeguards regime to be put in place, the MEA might still have problems with the semantics.

Cabinet clears Indo-US aviation agreement

50-5
19/4

Statesman News Service

NEW DELHI, April 18: The Union Cabinet today approved a far-reaching agreement with USA that envisages assistance by American civil aviation bodies to their Indian counterparts in modernising airports, aviation infrastructure, technology and procedures, besides training personnel.

The Memorandum of Agreement provides for assistance by the US Federal Aviation Authority (FAA) in developing and modernising civil aviation

infrastructure in managerial, operational and technical areas.

The US agency, under this umbrella accord, would provide assistance in developing, improving and operation of aviation infrastructure, standards, procedures, policies, training and equipment.

Kishanganga project: The Cabinet, by another decision, sought to end a long-standing dispute over the Kishanganga project. India will now propose to Pakistan modifications in the 330 MW hydro-electric power plant in Jammu and

Kashmir to convert it into a run-of-the-river project instead of generating electricity from water stored in a dam. The decision to convert the project into a run-of-the-river scheme comes in the wake of Pakistan's objection to storage of 220 million cubic metres of Indus river water in a reservoir and produce power.

J&K job scheme: The Union Cabinet today approved a Rs 27 crore new employment scheme to benefit people living below the poverty line in Jammu & Kashmir.

19 APR 2006

Indian fights US terror

Toronto, April 18 (AP): Akhil Sachdeva, an Indian accountant who migrated to Canada, is suing US officials for putting him in jail and terrorising him after 9/11.

Sachdeva, 33, says he was seized at gunpoint in December 2001 and held for four months at the Passaic county jail in New Jersey along with other foreigners.

Now a Canadian citizen, he is seeking financial compensation under a federal class-action lawsuit filed in New York against senior officials, including FBI director Robert Mueller and former attorney-general John Ashcroft.

"First of all, I want an apology," Sachdeva said over telephone from his home in Brampton, Ontario.

Chaining him to a bench at the FBI's Manhattan office on December 20, 2001, federal agents demanded to know his religious and political beliefs, asked him whether he had taken flying lessons and sought his personal views about the suicide hijackers, the accountant said.

"Maybe they did this because of the colour of my skin. I am an Indian and look like a person from Pakistan or an Arab country," he said.

"One day, I have everything, the next day they destroyed my life although I had committed no crime. I understand that there was a need of national security then, but how can they treat people the way they treated us?"

Charles Miller, a justice department spokesman, declined comment on the lawsuit, as did Dean Boyd, a spokesman for immigration and customs enforcement in Washington.

Filed by the New York-based Centre for Constitutional Rights on behalf of nearly 800 foreigners, mostly Muslim and Arab immigrants, the lawsuit alleges federal agents violated human rights by jailing them on the basis of nationality and religion.

They were secretly put in high-security cell blocks normally reserved for danger-



John Ashcroft, Robert Mueller: Will they say sorry?

ous criminals until most of them, including Sachdeva, were cleared of terrorist connections.

Sachdeva said he went to New York in early October 2001 to finalise his divorce from his American wife, who owns a gas station. He said his former wife told him an FBI agent had come by and had asked about a Muslim employee.

She asked him to speak to the agent, Sachdeva said, and he went to the FBI office on December 9, 2001, where he was politely questioned by two agents. Sachdeva said he told them he was planning to return to Canada and they told him that was fine.

Eleven days later, Sachdeva said, 30-40 armed agents barged into his uncle's home where he was staying and arrested him. At the FBI's offices, he was subjected to harsh treatment and interrogated for four to five hours. "I was not allowed to call my family or lawyer."

Sachdeva thinks it was just after midnight when he was driven in a police van to the Passaic county jail, where he was strip-searched and put in a cell with dozens of inmates. He said for the first week he was forced to sleep on the cold floor and given no toothbrush.

He and the other seven men named in the lawsuit say their biggest fear came from guards who threatened them and the police dogs that were routinely paraded.

"We never knew. Sometimes you're sitting in a cell

the walls and the dogs were two inches away," Sachdeva said. "They started barking and it was so terrifying."

Other inmates called them terrorists, and one punched him in the face and chipped a front tooth, he said.

On December 27, 2001, Sachdeva received a notice to appear at an immigration court in New Jersey. He conceded he had overstayed his US visa and the judge told him that he would be deported to Canada or India within 30 days. But he remained jailed for three more months before being released on April 17, 2000.

THE TELEGRAPH

15 APR 2008

India refuses to accept US nuclear proposal

Our Political Bureau
NEW DELHI

THE Indo-US nuclear deal hit a roadblock on Monday after India rejected a proposal from Washington, which required New Delhi to give up the option of testing nuclear weapons forever.

"The US had shared with India, some weeks ago, a preliminary draft agreement on Indo-US civil nuclear co-operation under Article 123 of the US Atomic Energy Act," external affairs ministry spokesman Navtej Sarna said. The bilateral preliminary draft or the "123 Agreement" contains a clause that says the deal will be called off if India conducts a nuclear test.

Article 11 of this agreement said the US, after the agreement comes into force, will stop civilian nuclear co-operation with India if it detonates a nuclear explosive device.

"In the preliminary discus-

sions on these elements, so far, India has already conveyed to the US that such a provision has no place in the proposed bilateral agreement and that India is bound only by what is contained in the July 18 joint statement, that is continuing its commitment to a unilateral moratorium on nuclear testing," the spokesman said.

Atal Bihari Vajpayee, whose government initiated a nuclear dialogue with the US after Pokhran-II, had come out in the open with the proposal to bring the comprehensive test ban treaty (CTBT) through the backdoor.

India told the US that there is no place for such kind of provision in the agreement. Negotiations, meanwhile, will continue on the draft of the bilateral agreement.

The July 18 agreement had said India would continue its unilateral moratorium on nuclear testing. The moratorium has been in place since India

conducted tests in 1998.

Mr Sarna further added India's position on the CTBT is "well-known and continues to remain valid." India has maintained that the CTBT is discriminatory and it will only sign the treaty if all countries dismantle their nuclear arsenal.

Testing of nuclear weapons and India defining its minimum credible deterrent have been two issues on which the US has been quietly putting pressure on India.

Richard Boucher, US assistant secretary of state for South and Central Asia, on his recent visit had touched on the minimum credible deterrent issue saying India should further define minimum nuclear deterrent for the stability of the region.

Analysts said this is a move on the part of US to indirectly get India to agree to CTBT principles, which will also make the passage of the agreement in the US Congress smoother.

18 APR 2006

THE ECONOMIST 1 APR 2006

Indo-U.S. project to rehabilitate 80,000 child workers

Special Correspondent

NEW DELHI: Eighty thousand children, employed as workers, will be integrated into mainstream education by 2007 under the IN-DUS (Indo-U.S.) project for the elimination of child labour.

The three-year project was launched in February 2004 as a follow-up of the Joint Statement on "Enhanced Indo-U.S. Cooperation on Eliminating Child Labour." The aim is to eliminate child labour from hazardous occupations in identified districts through effective convergence with the Department of Education.

The U.S. Department of Labour is providing \$20 million for

the project being implemented in 21 districts of Delhi, Maharashtra, Madhya Pradesh and Uttar Pradesh. An equal sum is being contributed by the Central Government.

The National Child Labour Projects (NCLP), launched by the Ministry of Labour on August 15, 1994, has been extended to 250 child labour-endemic districts. It has been revised during the 10th Plan. Under the new scheme, while special schools run under NCLPs will mainstream working children in the age group of 9-14 to the formal education system, while those in the age group of 5-8 will be mainstreamed directly through the

Sarva Shiksha Abhiyan.

Other components

The revised scheme also strengthens other components such as health check-ups, nutritional needs and vocational training. Outlay in the 10th Plan has been fixed at Rs. 602 crore compared to Rs. 250 crore during the 9th Plan.

The Labour Ministry also runs Grant-in Aid Scheme whereby voluntary organisations are assisted up to 75 per cent of the project cost for taking up welfare projects for working children. During 2004-05, about 87 voluntary organisations were extended assistance under the scheme.

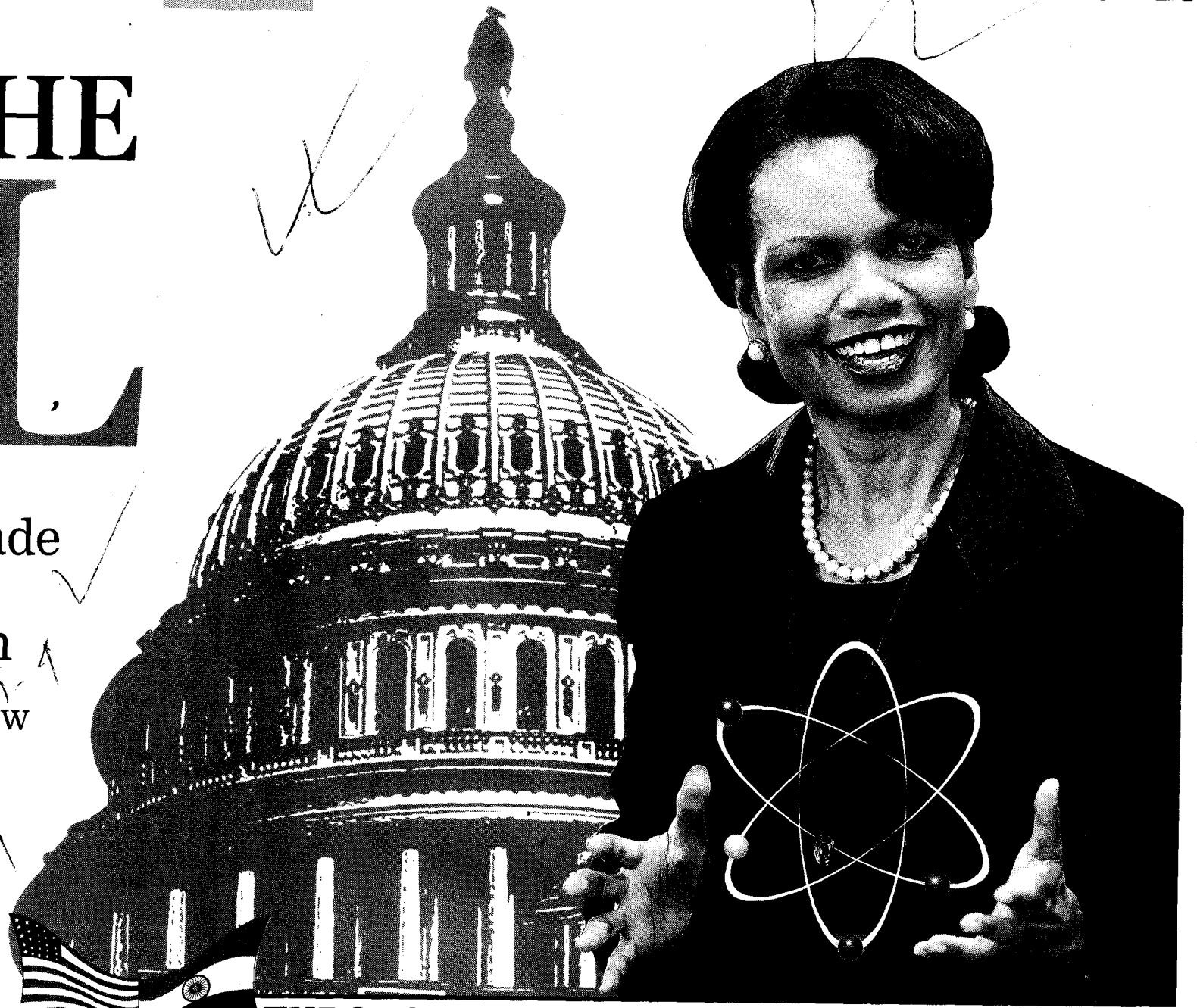
BATTLE ON THE HILL

The political struggle to persuade the US Congress to accept the Indo-US nuclear deal has begun

Round Two Two bills in Congress now

Round One Fought and won by Manmohan Singh in New Delhi

Round Three will play itself out at the Nuclear Suppliers Group



THROUGH THE PROBABILITY METER

PRAMIT Pal Chaudhuri
New Delhi

AFTER CONDOLEEZZA Rice had testified before the House International Relations Committee on Wednesday defending the Indo-US nuclear agreement, committee chairman Henry Hyde asked congressman Joe Wilson to open the questioning. Wilson was pleased: "What a surprise to be first." The decision was curious. Wilson is too junior to normally kick off the session. But he's an Indophile, thanks in part to a father who served in India during World War II. Beltway watchers believe Hyde, who in private backs the Indo-US deal more than he lets on in public, wanted the hearings on bill HR 4974, on the Indo-US nuclear deal, to begin on a positive note.

Hyde was responding to the kind of pie-crust thin support India has in Washington. He wasn't certain if his committee would applaud or abuse Rice. US congressmen are generally positive about India. But few are enthusiastic enough to gamble political capital on a bill that could bomb. Only one other congressman, Tom Lantos, joined Hyde as bill co-sponsor.

Senator Richard Lugar, who put his name on the parallel S 2429 bill in the Senate, had eight co-sponsors - but all were fellow Republicans. If the Democrats decided it would be better to use the bill to beat on an unpopular President George W. Bush, then only two Republicans would bring down the tent. So Lugar also hedged: before the hearing, he sent the State Department 82 questions about the deal.

The run up to the congressional hearings was noticeable for the weakness of legislative support. If asked, US politicians generally said, "India's nice, but not that nice." A coalition of nonproliferation experts to Pakistani lobbyists argued Indo-US relations were too immature, the world too dangerous, the deal too big. Toss in the meltdown in Bush's approval ratings and political obituaries of the deal proliferated in New Delhi and Washington.

The Wednesday hearings lifted the clouds. The house committee, considered the weakest link in the deal's political chain, was largely positive. There were a few questions, but nothing to make Rice sweat. Long-standing India-baiter Dan Burton told Rice, "You continue to impress me, Madame Secretary Dynamite."

The Senate committee hearings were more combative, especially over India's supposed military ties with Iran. But the

senators, inclined to look at the big picture, were largely agreeable. There was no shortage of pro-deal Democrats in either house.

Why were the pundits wrong about Capitol Hill? One is that many fence-sitters were simply ignorant of a fast-tracked, very technical deal. People like Rice's pointman, Nick Burns, and the Indian ambassador to the US, Ronen Sen, worked the phones 24/7. Sen personally met nearly 50 congressmen, say diplomatic sources. Two, key interest groups threw their weight behind the deal. These include the three million strong US Chamber of Commerce and the Indian-American community - despite their abject failure to rally the India Caucus. But Indian officials went off the beaten path to get support, courting even the Black and Hispanic Caucuses.

One example of the pendulum swinging in India's

of a cluster of hard-nosed Democrats that includes Senators John Kerry and Joe Biden, but also works like Richard Holbrooke. They believe Bush conceded too much to India, but are prepared to ignore the small print because they have geopolitical hopes regarding India. "I think if we cut through it all, it comes down to a simple bet. It's a bet that India appreciates...that the

two nations have the potential to be the anchors for stability and security in the world going into the 21st century," said Biden. But it's still far from sown up. There are many days of testimony to go before the committees vote. After that, the bills must win majorities in the full Senate and House.

Ultimately, say both Indian and US officials, the game is to ensure that the current of the debate flows in a certain direction. Rice was able to keep the focus on the benefits of civilian nuclear cooperation to the environment, US jobs, energy security and geopolitics. And that when it comes to non-proliferation, it makes more sense for India to be inside the "Nuclear Nonproliferation Tent" rather than outside.

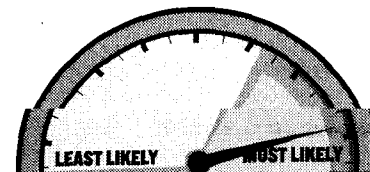
Opponents will play on concerns that India could theoretically make nukes ad infinitum and encourage Iran's nuclear roguishness. Which is why some congressmen made direct appeals to New Delhi to be louder in its support for nonproliferation, like signing the Proliferation Security Initiative.

In the end, it's about believing in India. The deal, Rice said, "says to the Indians: We don't just take you seriously. We really do believe that the potential for an India that is a strategic partner is a real boon for peace, security and democracy around the world."

"It comes down to a simple bet that the US and India have the potential to be the anchors for stability and security in the 21st century"

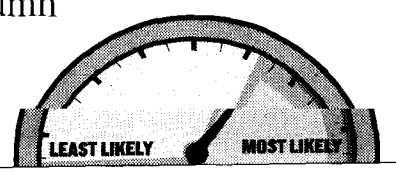
Total victory

Both houses of the US Congress pass their respective bills with the support of both Republican and Democrats by June. No amendments or riders of any consequence are attached to either bill. A strong bipartisan showing will make it easier to sway the Nuclear Supplier Group



Better late than never

Both houses pass the bills, but technical problems delay final success. Among the possible developments: amendments or riders are attached to the bills that are unacceptable to New Delhi, a crowded legislative calendar or some calamity forces voting to be postponed until autumn or even later



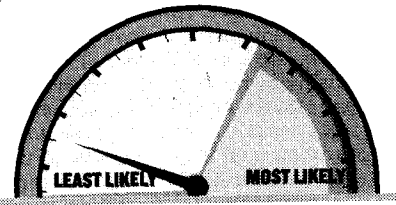
Half and half

The Senate passes the bill, but the more parochial House does not. This would mean delay. But it could also mean another round of lobbying that could force the legislation to wait until next year. If the November mid-term polls see Bush lose either congressional house, pro-bill Democrats could rethink their stance



End of history

Both houses vote against the bills or the Bush administration, deciding it lacks the support, withdraws the bills. This would be a clear indicator that Dubya's declining popularity has taken a terrible toll. It would mean that a sizeable chunk of Republicans have ignored the president's directive



AN INDIAN BUZZ IN THE CORRIDORS OF POWER



Condoleezza Rice
US Secretary of State

"We are dealing with an India which is really anomalous in the international system... [this deal is] therefore India-unique and India-specific."



Barbara Boxer
Democratic Senator

"There's growing evidence that the timing of the US-India agreement is complicating our efforts to pressure Iran."



Henry Hyde
Republican Representative

"I personally know of no one who is not in favour of improved relations and enhanced cooperation between the United States and India."



John Kerry
Democratic Senator

"I think we have to get over this notion that because of what's happened in past history, we can't deal with new realities that are on the table."

THOSE WHO SAY NAY ARE SAYING

Others will break the NPT

This is the war cry of the nonproliferation lobby. If India, a non-NPT signatory, gets to have both civilian and military nuclear arsenals then why not Iran or North Korea? The NPT could begin to unravel and the nuclear rogue states will spread

The Defence: Iran and North Korea signed the NPT and cheated. India didn't sign and stayed honest. Clearly, India is different

Exhibit A: The IAEA, the guardian of the NPT, strongly supports the deal

White House is steam-rolling

US congressmen complained that the White House wasn't briefing them during negotiations. Now some complain that the present bill combines an amendment of the Atomic Energy Act with an open-ended 123 Agreement (authorising bilateral civil nuclear trade)

The Defence: The nuclear deal has been put together fast so there's been a lag. Without an open-ended 123 Agreement, nuclear trade would have to be re-authorised every year making trade impossible

Exhibit A: If Congress approves the amendment, it's done the Big Thing. Everything else is small print

No cap on Indian N-arsenal

India wants to be a *de facto* nuclear power but refuses to do what the other P-5 countries have done: cap its fissile missile production. But India has also agreed to safeguards in perpetuity, which the P-5 haven't. There was give-and-take here

The Defence: Pakistan is piling up fissile material. Even the US has secret doubts that China has stopped production. India can't cap until they do

Exhibit A: India is hardly nuke-crazy. Over 30 years it has built at most 120 warheads and adds just two or three ballistic missiles to its arsenal a year

Mud throwing against India

When all else fails, detractors have thrown dirt and hope enough sticks on India to make congressional fence-sitters continue sitting. The two commonest slurs: Equate India with Pakistan and say it quietly proliferates with Iran

The Defence: Not even the IAEA makes the claim that India proliferates and neither Iran nor Pakistan see India as an ally

Exhibit A: Iran's favourite enemy, Israel, has said it doesn't see India's ties with Iran as a security concern

NRIs: Nuclear Rallying Indians

In a bid to help India clinch the N-deal, American desis are toiling hard

S. Rajagopalan
Washington

"Washington Chalo!" It's a clarion call to Indian Americans with political connections.

The Dates: April 26-27, when US Congress reconvenes after a two-week recess.

The Assignment: Meet your Senator and Congressman to firm up support for the bill on Indo-US nuclear deal.

And no, it will not be a rally of the type one sees in Delhi every Parliament session. "This will be a highly focussed and result-oriented activity," says Swadesh Chatterjee, the entrepreneur-turned-political activist.

The point man for one of the major NRI campaigns ever in the US capital, Chatterjee has put together a core group of 20 Indian Americans. The group made a splash this week with a full-page ad in the Washington Post (cost: upwards of \$100,000) on why Congress must approve this pact. Chatterjee and friends have raised \$2.5 million for this cause.

Over to the US India Political Action Committee, a formation with some clout on Capitol Hill. On Thursday, the group, led by IT honcho Sanjay Puri, demonstrated its strength by

bringing together 20-odd Senators and Representatives for an event to turn the spotlight on the nuclear deal. Both Chatterjee and Puri profess that their groups are not in competition.

The task on hand is so huge that there is room for several players, they say. "You know how we are. We've to forget our egos. This is such a great cause," says Chatterjee, a recipient of the Padma Bhushan five years ago.

Both groups have got the word out to Indian Americans across the country to virtually jam the e-mails and fax lines of lawmakers with their appeals for support.

Puri derives comfort from the fact that some key lawmakers in the US have started coming round.

He says USINPAC functionaries have been able to work on the formidable Democrat Tom Lantos and Republican Ileana Ros-Lehtinen, both of whom have announced their support.

Chatterjee's campaign has the support of such well-entrenched 'desi' outfits as the American Association of Physicians of Indian Origin (AAPI) and the Asian American Hotel Owners Association (AAHOA).

His core group includes some well-known Indian American activists Ken Bajaj, Ranbir

Trehan, Niranjan Shah, Ashok Mago, Bharat Barai, P.C. Chatterjee, Bharat Shah and Desh Deshpande.

Mago, who runs a Dallas-based investment firm, is a close friend of Republican Senator John Cornyn from Texas. He accompanied Cornyn to India a few years ago.

On his return from the visit, Cornyn took the initiative to come forward and form the Friends of India Caucus.

Both he and Kay Bailey Hutchinson, the other Texan Senator, have come forward to co-sponsor the nuclear deal legislation.

Mago says he is in touch with a dozen Congressmen from Texas, who are willing to co-sponsor the bill in the House of Representatives. Mago expects this to happen when Congress reconvenes in two weeks after the Easter break.

The pro-India groups believe that the supportive announcements made by Senators Joseph Biden and John Kerry will spur many sceptics to revise their stand in the coming few days.

"Yes, it's an uphill task. But I think we are going to win. We're going to give whatever we have - a 200 per cent," says Chatterjee.

N-deal hurdles

It's The Politics, Stupid!

That the Indo-US nuclear deal could run into trouble was expected. But that trouble would come from India's traditional friends was unexpected. Former President Jimmy Carter, Senator Hillary Clinton, other leading Democrats and the 180-member India Caucus are either critical or lukewarm. Criticism is based on the argument that it would violate existing nuclear policy. India is not a signatory to the Non-Proliferation Treaty (NPT). It is said that making an exception in the case of India would open the door to nuclear proliferation. It would become difficult to prevent nations like North Korea and Iran from developing nuclear arsenals.

Indigenous expertise

These arguments are at best silly and at worst brazenly hypocritical. India never signed the NPT but went ahead with indigenous expertise to make nuclear weapons. It has no record of proliferation. China as a recognised nuclear power and signatory to the NPT violated it. China illegally passed nuclear technology and material to Pakistan and through it to North Korea, Iran and Libya. Critics of the Indo-US nuclear deal lose their tongues when it comes to questioning China.

The North Koreans for years thumped their chests to proclaim they had nuclear weapons and would continue to acquire them. The Americans meekly sit with half a dozen nations to discuss issues with them. China benignly presides over these meetings. To state now that the Indo-US nuclear deal will encourage North Korea sounds absurd.

US officials and media seldom go beyond Dr AQ Khan's nuclear proliferation while criticising Pakistan. Such criticism erupted belatedly - after IAEA disclosures made silence impossible. As long as the CIA reports which documented nuclear proliferation by China to Pakistan remained under cover, US government and media remained silent. Even after official reports confirmed Chinese links with Osama bin Laden and Al Qaeda, and Pakistan's links with Islamist jihadis, American leaders continued to trumpet the importance of President Musharraf as an ally

The author is a veteran journalist and cartoonist

Rajinder Puri

in the war against terrorism. Obviously it's not high principle that motivates US critics of the nuclear deal. What does?

The following surmise may be considered.

India inadvertently walked smack into the middle of a fierce domestic struggle on the eve of the US Congressional elections come November. President Bush would gain electorally from the nuclear agreement with India. His opponents are discarding the traditional bipartisan approach in foreign affairs to prevent this. The debate inside the US is unusually bitter. It is the traditional friends of India who nurse

ing postponed while the secret Iraq dialogue continues. Significantly, Iran was the first to publicly state that it was willing to discuss Iraq's future with America.

ing what none of his predecessors could. Attempts by Nixon, Reagan and Clinton in their second terms to act independently of the powerful lobbies that shape American politics failed miserably. They were crippled by scandals, an impeachment and an assassination attempt. President Bush is the first second-term President who until now has succeeded in quietly reversing his foreign policy. He was helped most by Secretary of State Condoleezza Rice.

As the *Washington Post* of April 3 reported: "The story behind the (Indo-US Nuclear) agreement also sheds light on how foreign

ing postponed while the secret Iraq dialogue continues. Significantly, Iran was the first to publicly state that it was willing to discuss Iraq's future with America.

In a brilliant analysis US Security analyst Dr George Friedman, who heads Stratfor Forecasting Inc., has dissected the complex US-Iranian negotiations. Due to Iraq's Shiite majority the Iranians want to dominate it. They were unable to wage war against Saddam Hussein. They wanted America to do that. Traditionally Israel had acted as America's conduit to Iran. Through their covert contacts Iran fed disinformation to American intelligence that Iraq had a weapons-of-mass-destruction programme and that there would be no post-war resistance in Iraq. They wanted US forces to bog down in Iraq and eventually withdraw. They sought a Shiite government under their thumb.

Iranian influence

The Americans countenance some Iranian influence in Iraq but not a purely Shiite government. They want the Sunnis to curb the Baathists in return for guaranteed Sunni rights. America also wants US forces stationed outside the urban areas. That disturbs Iran. These are the differences America and Iran are negotiating. As Dr Friedman writes: "Tehran will work on nukes as and when it wants, and Washington will destroy the nukes as and when it wants. The nukes are non-issues in the real negotiations."

A US-Iran settlement would give no handle to Israel. The fight against the Bush administration by his opponents therefore has become desperate. Former Vice-Presidential aide Lewis Libby, facing court charges, has alleged President Bush authorised leaking highly classified secret information. After the new US Congress in November this could snowball into censure or impeachment. Some US critics of India's nuclear deal say their opposition to the deal need not dilute the broader Indo-US engagement. They are mistaken.

If the nuclear deal is scuttled the chance for a deep Indo-US relationship could be destroyed forever. There are other world powers keenly watching. If America cuts its nose to spite its face it could regret doing so for a long, long time.



The debate inside the US is unusually bitter. It is the traditional friends of India who nurse the bitterest feelings. It is worth speculating why.

the bitterest feelings. It is worth speculating why.

Those who masterminded the US invasion of Iraq have distanced themselves from President Bush. Their disenchantment does not emanate necessarily from failures of the Iraq policy. What must be galling is the unexpected aftermath of the Iraq invasion. The destruction of the Saddam regime should have strengthened Israel against the Palestinians. The opposite happened. The State Department had ordered a private survey and learnt that Hamas would win the Palestinian poll. Despite that, permission was granted to allow its participation in the election. Now Hamas is in power. Earlier Prime Minister Sharon under US pressure withdrew from the Gaza strip. Now Prime Minister Olmert contemplates further withdrawal. A future Palestine state looks like a distinct possibility. President Bush in his second term is achie-

policy is conducted in Bush's second term. For an administration frequently criticised for not being nimble, the India deal highlights the flexibility of Rice's foreign-policy team, which has also shifted policies toward Europe, on Iran and other areas in the past year. It demonstrates how, in contrast to the first term, foreign policy is largely driven by Rice and a close circle of advisers, not the White House staff."

Iran is the other bugbear for India's US critics. When the Iraq invasion failed to deliver expected results, the Neoconservative hawks sought an Iranian adventure. In that too the Bush team frustrated them. Contrary to popular perception the nuclear standoff between US and Iran is a red herring. The real issue separating them is the future of Iraq. A secret dialogue between America and Iran regarding Iraq has long been going on. The nuclear dispute keeps be-

Cyprus welcomes nuclear agreement

7/22/94 K01 194

Supports efforts to promote civilian nuclear supply for economic development

Amit Baruah

NICOSIA (CYPRUS): Cyprus, a member of the Nuclear Suppliers' Group (NSG), has welcomed the civilian nuclear understanding reached between India and the United States in March this year.

In an interview to *The Hindu* ahead of his visit to India from Tuesday, Cyprus President Tassos Papadopoulos said on Thursday, "Cyprus welcomes the agreement between India and the U.S. on full international cooperation in civilian nuclear energy.

"Both sides [Cyprus and India] agree that such cooperation would help in addressing concerns related to global energy security and environmental protection. Cyprus conveys its support for India's efforts for the promotion of civilian nuclear supply for the benefit of her economic development and prosperity ...," Mr. Papadopoulos said. Cyprus joins key European Union members such as France and Britain in announcing its support for the India-U.S. nuclear deal, which remains mired in controversy in Washington.

Apart from being approved by the U.S. Congress, the NSG, too, must consent to lifting the civilian nuclear curbs on India.

The 72-year-old President spoke warmly of his country's relationship with India, recalling that New Delhi had taken a principled position on the Cyprus issue over the years.

A friendly country

"Throughout these years, India has always been a friendly country, supporting the principles [behind] a solution of the Cyprus problem, the various resolutions of the United Nations ... territorial integrity, [and] sovereignty of Cyprus," he said.

"Everybody knows India is a country with a great culture

[and] history, and it plays a major role in world affairs. Now, India is one of the leading countries in the rate of growth, especially in information technology," Mr. Papadopoulos said.

Tourism in Cyprus was affected by the Iraq war. "Last September, I was in New York for a U.N. meeting. And there, I happened to meet several leading personalities from Iraq. Irrespective of what their attitude was towards their internal problems, all of them have explained that foreign troops must be removed."

Excerpts on Op-Ed Page

7/22/94

THE HINDU

'Congress proposals can be deal breakers, but we are not going to allow that'

US Assistant Secretary of State, Richard Boucher, recently returned from Vienna where he had gone to attend a meeting of the Nuclear Suppliers Group and present India's case. Boucher, who is currently in India, gave an account to Lalit K Jha, in an exclusive interview in Washington

■ **What happened in Vienna? Critics say there was no breakthrough.**

We were not expecting to convince people in the first meeting. We started a very serious and constructive discussion with the Nuclear Suppliers Group. Some of them had already expressed themselves in favor. So we have countries like France and Britain and Russia, large countries, who are in favor. Other countries raised big picture questions about non-proliferation treaty and more specific questions about what is the timing vis a vis India's negotiations with the IAEA and details. We tried to answer a

Capital. Whether they would be prepared to finalize this in the next NSG in Rio de Janeiro in the end of May I cannot say yet, but we are going to continue very active discussion and try to see that they are prepared to move it up at that point.

■ **Coming back to the civilian nuclear agreement between India and the US, why the condition that the agreement will collapse if India does a test not included as part of Presidential determination rather than a stand alone automatic clause?**

I think because the determination is one that deals with the factors that have to be present for the co-operation to start. The last paragraph is what would make it invalid, which would make that a little bit of a past versus future question. It essentially recognizes the reality and co-operation if there was such an explosion.

■ **Do you agree that civilian nuclear agreement reflects the "double standard" of US foreign policy as alleged by a section of the opponents?**

We think we do have double standards and we should. I think others have said we have double standards vis-a-vis Pakistan. I think we just have to understand that circumstances are different. The situation of India is unique and deserves the kind of treatment that we are giving it now. So one has to compare.

■ **Do you expect the Congress to insert fresh conditions or do you sense that any new condition imposed by the Congress will bring down the deal?**

I think there would be a lot of suggestions. I think a lot of the suggestions would be why did we give more; why did not we get India into agreement with a ban on its weapons, join the non-proliferation treaty, cap on fissile production of nuclear material and disclose its military sector. There could be any number of ideas. But the fact is that we have looked into it very deeply. We are very comfortable with the agreement. Many of these questions, the conditions that might be proposed are in fact just deal breakers. But we are not going to allow that, because we want to proceed with this co-

On the RECORD

RICHARD BOUCHER
US Assistant Secretary of State

lot of them.

■ **Which are the countries that opposed the India-US nuclear agreement or raised questions?**

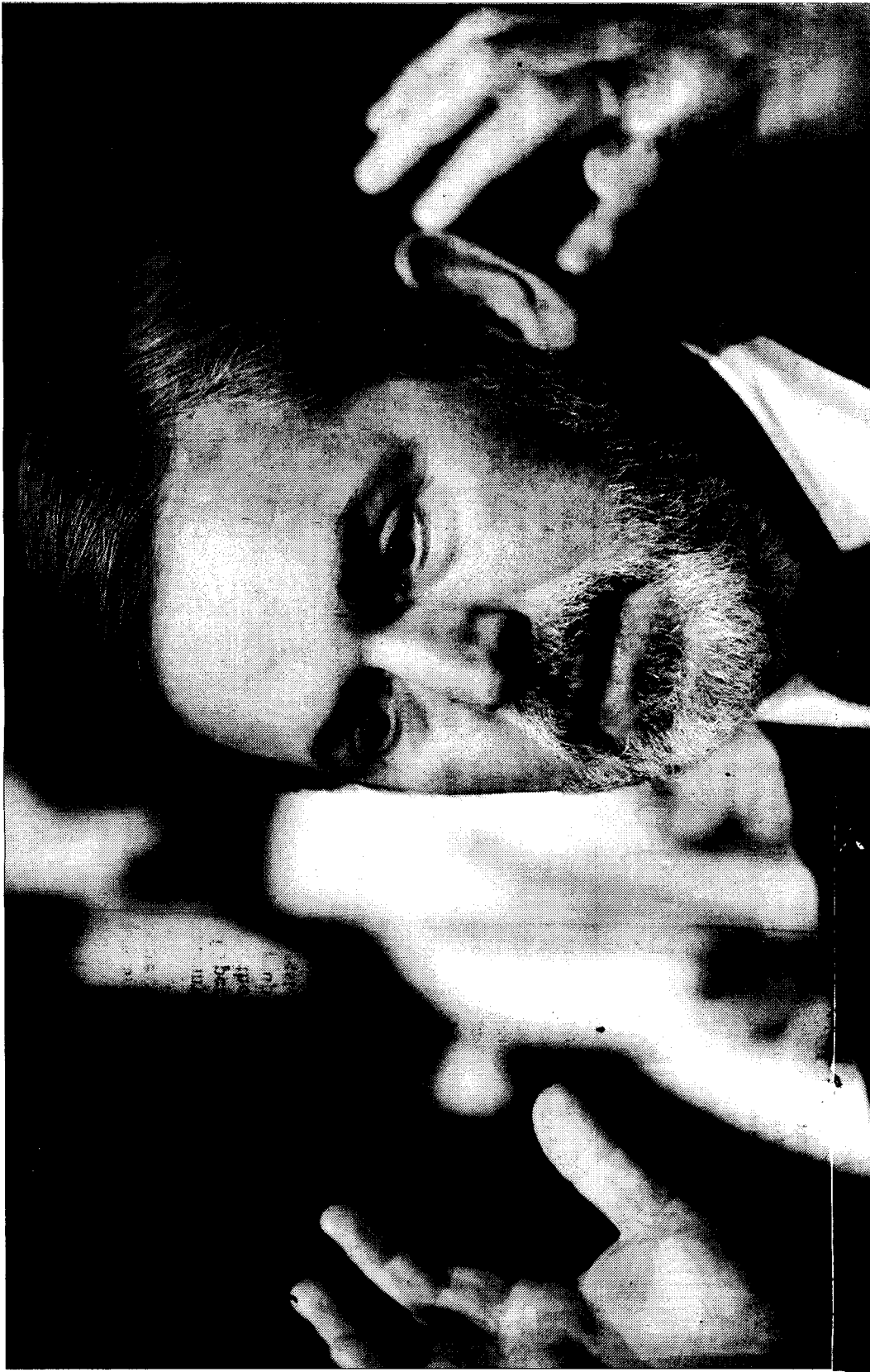
I do not want to start naming them because the proceedings are confidential. There are a group of countries, who are known to be very strong advocates of the non-proliferation treaty and who sometimes push on us.

■ **Are Germany, Australia, and China among them?**

I am not going to name them. There are some, who came out in support of the deal and there are some who asked a lot of questions. There was a very balanced approach. These discussions would have to continue. We have to answer those questions. We have to see India make progress in negotiations with the International Atomic Energy Agency, as we make progress on our own discussion with India and our discussion with the US Congress.

■ **So what next? When you are going to take up the case again with the NSG?**

We would keep in touch. I am sure we would be talking in Vienna and in the



operation. We want to make it work. We look at everything they propose. But I think, we would be very careful to make sure that what is proposed is consistent.

■ **Did you give more or take more from India?**

We reached an agreement that met the needs of both sides. We negotiated. We agreed and they agreed because we thought it was in both our interests to do this.

■ **The Indian-American community plays an important role in Indo-US relations. What are your expectations from this community now?**

I hope a very vibrant and active role from them, as you said. The Indian-American community is a direct participant—in terms of business relations, in terms of politics, in terms of exchanges back and forth and the opportunities for cooperation. There are lot of voices that need to be heard on these matters and so I for one would welcome Indian-Americans speaking up.

■ **Do you plan to involve them to bring**

the two nations more closely?

We had a couple of contacts already. And we are looking to set up more.

■ **Is this contact for something specific or is it general in nature?**

I am going to have the general contact anyway. But because I started this initiative at this juncture, a lot of our discussions need to be centered on this agreement. Let's remember that the President and the Prime Minister agreed on many things. The agricultural knowledge initiative is very important, the science and technology initiative is very important. Both governments are spending money in these things. There is a lot here that would involve universities back and forth, people back and forth and scientists back and forth.

■ **You are leaving for South Asia and Central Asia.**

Yeah. It's a long trip. Provides lot of time to think.

■ **What would be your agenda while you are in India?**

I am working to follow up on the Pres-

ident's trip and make sure that we are doing all the things that we promised. The presidential visit was a long list of factsheet and announcements. Part of my job is to make sure that we do every thing we promise.

■ **What will be at the top of your agenda?**

The nuclear agreement. We need to talk and coordinate on that. As you know, the foreign secretary (Shyam Saran) is in town for couple of days this week. And I am there in another week or so. So we had something back and forth and lot of coordination.

■ **What's your personal interest in India?**

You know, I had this indirect ties with India that goes back a long way. My wife was a student in India, in Mumbai, when she was 16 for one summer. So we have friends in India. It is a fascinating place. I think we see India's emergence on the world scene as a major power. This is one of the greatest strategic changes of the new century. It is fun to be involved with India at this historic opportunity.

Condi bats for India “with sweetness”

By Chidanand Rajghatta/TNN

Washington: As a young girl of ten, the story goes, Condoleezza Rice stood at the gates of the White House and told her father “One day, I’ll be in that house!”

She’s been there often enough during the last 18 years as a foreign policy aide to both father and son Bush, but on Wednesday, the feisty secretary of state was seen taking a step closer to a longer stint there after what lawmakers said was a “bravura” performance on the Hill while presenting the U.S-India nuclear deal.

It was a double date for the still single Rice as she appeared before the Senate Foreign Relations Committee (SFRC) from 9.30 am to past noon, and then again before the House International Relations Committee (HIRC) from 1.30 pm to 5 pm.

At the end of the long day, Rice, dressed in a black business suit, had faced searching and sustained questions from 32 lawmakers—eleven Senators and 21 members of the House—in two marathon sessions that spanned six hours.

That the woman who was called “Steel Magnolia” by a colleague was rarely flustered in the face of tough questions earned her the admiration of her inquisitors, especially the two veterans of the House committee.

Thanking her for her generous time, her informed and

Push for N arms freeze in S Asia

Washington: The United States is pushing for a South Asian moratorium on nuclear weapons production in view of the “relationship between India,



Pakistan and others” and has asked New Delhi to be “helpful” on that, secretary of state Condoleezza Rice has said. “On the fissile material cutoff treaty absolutely. We are trying to get the work done on that ourselves. We’ve told the Indians they need to be helpful in that. They’ve promised that they will,” Rice said on Wednesday at the Senate foreign relations committee hearing on the Indo-US nuclear agreement.

satisfying responses, and “most of all your stamina,” the committee chairman Henry Hyde revealed that his Democratic colleague Tom Lantos had sotto voce told him “She should run for higher office.” Rice blushed and said “Oh goodness!” before Hyde rescued her saying “I don’t know if he meant for President or for Commissioner of the National Football League.” Rice, whose stamina probably comes from daily gym workouts, has expressed

interest in the latter job.

But other law-makers also kidded her about running for President, a prospect that has the media all pumped up (Condi vs Hillary is the dream match-up for the media).

“I would hope that once you’re done with this job as secretary of State, that you might consider running for a higher elected office,” California Republican Dana Rohrabacher chuckled during his question time.

Earlier, during the Senate hearing, Democrat Joe Biden, himself a possible aspirant said, “She’d be a formidable presidential candidate.”

Rice zealously stuck to her brief of explaining the nuclear deal to lawmakers armed with a variety of concerns and agendas from trying to isolate Iran to retaining the old nuclear order.

Time after time, Rice explained that the agreement would not enhance India’s nuclear weapons programme and that India’s military ties with Iran were overblown, and Pakistan was not a fit case for such a deal.

Her written testimony before both the Senate and the House were prefaced with lavish praise for India’s democracy and pluralism.

Never before in US history had any secretary of state presented India with “such sweetness”—which is what the Italian musical term *dolcezza*, which her mother used to name her, stands for.

09 APR 2006

THE TIMES OF INDIA

HILL ■ 'We are the ones who don't have ties with Iran, rest of the world does'

N-deal: Rice rebuts critics on the Hill point by point

Good
7/2
7/1

C. RAJA MOHAN
NEW DELHI, APRIL 6

SLICING through layers of informed American scepticism, US Secretary of State Condoleezza Rice has made the strongest pitch so far on why the deal needed to be signed by Washington in Washington.

Rice stood her ground against persistent demands from opponents of the deal in the US Congress to impose new conditions such as limiting the size of India's arsenal or linking the nuclear agreement to such issues as India's relationship with Iran.

Rather than wait for the now well-rehearsed arguments of the non-proliferation community against the deal, Rice took each of those arguments head-on.

Whether it was the implications of the nuclear deal for the non-proliferation regime or misperceptions

about the potential US support to India's nuclear weapons programme, Rice set out American positions with clarity.

While potential Indian self-goals and ill-conceived criticism of the nuclear deal, of the kind that former Prime Minister Atal Bihari Vajpayee is repeatedly lending his name to, might create unintended problems for India, Rice appears to have generated the much-needed political momentum in favour of the deal in the United States.

Given the strong opposition to the deal whipped up by the non-proliferation lobby and the liberal establishment in the United States, it needed conviction and mastery of detail on the part of the Administration to remove the many apprehensions in the US Congress.

That precisely was what Rice brought to the table on Capitol Hill yesterday.

▶ CONTINUED ON PAGE 2

'If they wanted to build more nuclear weapons, they can do it. The incentives are on the other side'

US Secretary of State Condoleezza Rice before the Senate Foreign Relations Committee:

■ NO CAPPING INDIA ARSENAL:

India would never accept a unilateral freeze or cap on its nuclear arsenal... We are far more likely to be able to influence regional dynamics from a position of strong relations with India and, indeed, with Pakistan

■ INDIA CIVIL N-PROGRAMME NEEDS HELP: If they (India) wanted to build more nuclear weapons, they can do it. The incentives are on the other side. But the constraint is actually on the civil side, because you need more material on the civil side because it takes much more material

■ WHY INDIA'S DIFFERENT: While Iran and North Korea are vio-

lating their IAEA obligations, India is making new obligations by bringing the IAEA into the Indian program



■ NOT ASKING INDIA TO SNAP IRAN TIES:

I believe we're not going to do better in pulling India toward us by insisting that they cut off relations with other states. I don't think that going to work effectively. But the entire world is coming to think differ-

ently about it relationships with Iran... We see it in the vote India took in the IAEA Board of Governors

■ PAK CAN'T GET INDIA DEAL: We've been very clear — publicly, privately — with China, with Pakistan itself, that Pakistan is not an appropriate state for this kind of an exception. It's just a different history

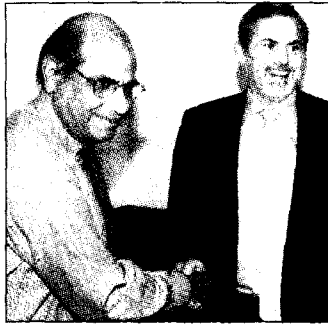
09 APR 2006

INDIAN EXPRESS

'India won't spell out N-deterrence requirements'

New Delhi: Categorically rejecting a US suggestion that India define its credible minimum nuclear-deterrent, the Asian power said on Saturday that it had no obligation to do so.

"What our credible minimum deterrent would be is really for India to decide," Indian foreign secretary Shyam Saran said in an interview to a TV channel. He was asked about US assistant secretary of state Richard Boucher's suggestion, made on Friday, that India "further define" its 'minimum credible de-



Foreign secretary Shyam Saran (left) with US assistant secretary of state Richard Boucher

terrent' in the nuclear field. Boucher contended that it was "absolutely necessary" for decreasing tensions in Asia.

"Certainly there is no responsibility on the part of India to declare what its minimum deterrent is," Saran said, adding that New Delhi had on various occasions pointed this out to the US.

Saran, who met Boucher on Friday, said the US official had not raised this issue with him. "We have a strategic dialogue with the US where we have agreed to exchange views on our respective nuclear doctrines as well as issues like missile defence," he said.

On the Bush administration's contention that it was pushing India and Pakistan for a moratorium on missile tests, he said New Delhi's position was that it would work with Washington at the conference on disarmament in Geneva on a multilateral Fissile Material Cut-off Treaty (FMCT). PTI

Q.8 ADD 2008

THE TIMES OF INDIA

মার্কিন কংগ্রেসে চুক্তির ব্যাখ্যা দিলেন রাইস

সীমা সিরোহি

৫ এপ্রিল: পরমাণু সহযোগিতা চুক্তির মাধ্যমে ভারতকে কার্যত পরমাণু অস্ত্র প্রসার রোধের আওতায় আনা যাবে। মূলত এই যুক্তি দিয়েই মার্কিন কংগ্রেস সদস্যদের বিরোধিতা প্রশমনের চেষ্টা করলেন মার্কিন বিদেশসচিব কন্ডোলিজা রাইস।

এ দিন সেনেটের বিদেশবিষয়ক কমিটির সামনে রাইসের ব্যাখ্যা, “ভারত কোনও দিন পরমাণু অস্ত্র প্রসার রোধ চুক্তিতে সই করবে না। অতীতেও ভারতের বিরুদ্ধে নিষেধাজ্ঞা চাপিয়ে কাজ হয়নি।” তাই বৃশ প্রশাসনের যুক্তি, এই পরিস্থিতিতে নিষেধাজ্ঞার নীতি থেকে বেরিয়ে নতুন করে ভাবা প্রয়োজন। পরমাণু চুক্তিকে ‘ব্যতিক্রমী’ বলে বর্ণনা করে রাইস আজ বলেন, এর মাধ্যমে ভারতের পরমাণু কেন্দ্রগুলির উপরে নজরদারি করা যাবে। এশিয়ার সঙ্গে কূটনৈতিক সম্পর্কের উন্নতি, বাণিজ্যিক আদানপ্রদান, পরমাণু শক্তি বিষয়ক নিরাপত্তা এবং সন্ত্রাস দমনও সম্ভব হবে। চিন আরও শক্তিশালী হয়ে উঠছে। সে ক্ষেত্রে এই পরিবর্তিত বিশ্বে জাপানের সঙ্গে ভারতও আমেরিকার বন্ধু দেশ হলে উপকারই হবে।

কিছু মার্কিন শিল্পসংস্থার সিইও কংগ্রেস সদস্যদের অনুরোধ জানিয়েছেন, পরমাণু চুক্তিটিকে যত তাড়াতাড়ি সম্ভব বাস্তবায়িত করা হোক।

তাদের কথায়, “অসামরিক পরমাণু প্রযুক্তির লেনদেন দুই গণতন্ত্রের পক্ষেই জরুরি। প্রযুক্তিগত স্তরের উন্নয়ন দ্বিপাক্ষিক বাণিজ্যের সুযোগসুবিধে অনেক বাড়াবে। এই ঐতিহাসিক সুযোগ হারানো অনুচিত।” রাইসও আজ ১৯৫৪ সালের পরমাণু শক্তি আইন সংশোধনের অনুরোধ জানিয়ে বলেন, এতে ওয়াশিংটন ও নয়াদিল্লির পরমাণু অর্থনীতিরও প্রভূত উন্নতি হবে। আমেরিকার লাভের দিকগুলি তুলে ধরে তিনি বলেন, “চুক্তি কার্যকর হলে আমেরিকায় ৩-৫ হাজার প্রত্যক্ষ পদ এবং অন্তত ১০ হাজার পরোক্ষ পদে কাজের সুযোগ হবে। ভারতের অর্থনীতির উন্নয়নে সাহায্য করলে মার্কিন অর্থনীতির আঁধারে উন্নতিই হবে।”

বৃশ প্রশাসনের পক্ষে আশার কথা, মার্কিন কংগ্রেসের বিদেশবিষয়ক দু’টি কমিটিতে চুক্তি নিয়ে শুনানির আগেই গুরুত্বপূর্ণ মহল থেকে সমর্থন পেয়েছে তারা। ভারত-ইরান বন্ধুত্বের প্রসঙ্গ তুলে দু’দিন আগেই যিনি চুক্তি নিয়ে প্রশ্ন তুলেছিলেন, কংগ্রেসের সেই ডেমোক্রেট সদস্য টম ল্যান্টোস এ দিন সুর বদলে জানান, কংগ্রেস যে শেষ পর্যন্ত এই চুক্তি মেনে নেবে, সে বিষয়ে তিনি সম্পূর্ণ নিশ্চিত।

তবে রাইস কংগ্রেসকে এ-ও জানিয়ে দেন যে, তাঁরা চুক্তিটি পাশ করলেও ইরান-ভারত পাইপলাইনের কাজ আটকানো সম্ভব নাও হতে পারে।

06 APR 2006

ANADARAZAD BATEIKA

Rice seeks Congress nod

"Nuclear agreement good for U.S., India"

WASHINGTON: United States Secretary of State Condoleezza Rice on Wednesday pitched vigorously for Congress support for the nuclear pact with India, saying it strengthened international security and non-proliferation regimes and advanced America's business opportunities.

Appearing before the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, she said the U.S.' non-proliferation policies had not achieved the goals. It resulted in a more isolated India.

"This civilian energy initiative will not only advance international security but also increase energy security and business opportunities for America. But all these advantages will have to be seen in the larger context of the elevation of India-United States relationship which is now a strategic partnership," she told the committee, chaired by Republican Senator Richard Lugar.

Making a presentation on the deal reached between Prime Minister Manmohan Singh and President George W. Bush in Washington in July last and fine-tuned last month in New Delhi, she said: "Continued isolation of our strategic partner is the wrong policy choice."

Strategic achievement

Ms. Rice said the agreement was a strategic achievement that is "good for America, good for India and good for the international community." The initiative does not re-negotiate or amend the Non Proliferation Treaty. "It is simply seeking to address an untenable situation."

The deal would not lead to an arms race in South Asia and does not complicate American policy with respect to North Korea or Iran, she asserted.

It is "simply not credible to compare India to North Korea or Iran", she said, pointing to the fact that the initiative had the backing of International Atomic

• **The deal will not lead to an arms race in South Asia**

• **"Simply not credible to compare India to North Korea or Iran"**

• **Senator Richard Lugar says the administration must continue to be responsive**

Energy Agency chief Mohammad ElBaradei and countries such as Britain, France and Russia.

Ms. Rice said Mr. Bush's visit to India was broad and multifaceted.

The deal with New Delhi would not only enhance energy security but also benefit the environment. It would also provide as many as 3,000 to 5,000 direct jobs, and perhaps three times more indirectly when the cooperation is formalised.

The deal "does" strengthen international nuclear non-proliferation regimes and it deserved a thorough review of the Senate.

In his formal opening remarks, Chair of the Senate Panel Richard Lugar spoke of the closed door hearing on Wednesday last, involving senior administration officials like Under Secretary of State for Political Affairs Nicholas Burns and that this and other discussions had only "scratched the surface."

"The administration must continue to be responsive," he said and called for a thorough bipartisan review of the agreement in the context of non-proliferation goals, the environment and the strategic relationship with India.

Senator Joe Biden, a leading Democratic voice on foreign affairs in the Senate, said he probably would support the deal. He described it as "a jump of faith."

— PTI

06 APR 2008

THE HINDU

Rice sells nuke deal to Senate

Press Trust of India

WASHINGTON, April 5. — Pitching vigorously for US Congress support for the nuclear deal with India, Secretary of State Ms Condoleezza Rice today said it strengthened international security and non-proliferation regimes and advanced America's business opportunities.

Appearing before the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, she said the past non-proliferation policies of the USA did not achieve the goals as they resulted in a more isolated India.

"This civilian energy initiative will not only advance international security but also increase energy security and increase business opportunities for America leading to more direct and indirect jobs in this country.

"But all these advantages will have to be seen in the larger context of the elevation of India-United States relationship which is now a strategic partnership," Ms Rice maintained appearing before the panel chaired by Republican Senator Mr Richard Lugar. She stressed that the civilian nuclear energy agreement with India was a strategic achievement that was "good for America, good for India and good

US no to Pakistan

ISLAMABAD, April 5. — Turning down Pakistan's request for a nuclear deal on the lines of India, the USA today said both countries had different situations and it believed in dealing with them in its own way. It also expressed opposition to Iran-Pakistan-India (IPI) pipeline in view of its concerns over Teheran's nuclear programme. Assistant Secretary Mr Richard Boucher said the nuclear cooperation with India was only on the civilian side and it had no connection with weapon production as argued by Pakistan. He said Pakistan had enough hydel resources to meet its energy requirements and it did not matter from where energy came, adding his country, however, would continue cooperation with Pakistan to fulfill its energy requirements. — PTI

for the international community.

"Continued isolation of our strategic partner is the wrong policy choice", she said in her presentation on the deal reached between Prime Minister Manmohan Singh and President George W Bush last July in Washington and further fine-tuned last month in New Delhi.

The top administration official

came before the senate panel to strongly endorse the legislation currently in Congress seeking changes to the 1954 Atomic Energy Act that will formalise the bilateral accord.

Rejecting criticisms against the deal, the Secretary of State told lawmakers that this civilian energy initiative did not re-negotiate or amend the Non Proliferation Treaty. "It is simply seeking to address an untenable situation".

The senior official also maintained that the civilian nuclear deal will not lead to an arms race in the South Asian region and does not complicate American policy with respect to North Korea or Iran.

It is "simply not credible to compare India to North Korea or Iran", Ms Rice said, pointing to the fact that the civilian energy initiative has the backing of the head of the International Atomic Energy Agency Mohammad El Baradei and countries like Britain, France and Russia.

Mr Lugar said, "The administration must continue to be responsive" even while calling for a thorough bipartisan review of the nuclear deal in the context of non-proliferation goals, the environment and the strategic relationship with India.

00 APR 11

THE STATESMAN

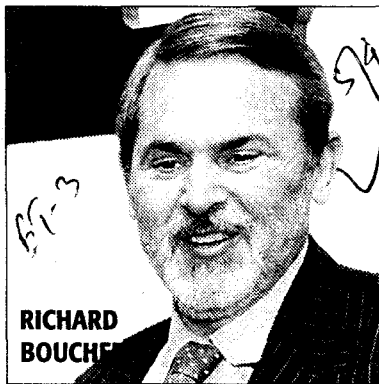
US senators to talk N-deal here

Our Political Bureau
NEW DELHI

INDIA will soon have a chance to garner support for the Indo-US nuclear deal in its own backyard. A number of US Congress members, some of them still undecided on whether to support the deal or not, are expected to visit Delhi as the US Congress goes into a recess.

Apart from the Congress delegation, assistant secretary Richard Boucher, who pleaded the US case to allow India to trade in nuclear technology at the Nuclear Suppliers Group meeting in Vienna, will also be in India. Mr Boucher, who heads the newly re-constituted state department's Bureau for South and Central Asia will be visiting New Delhi for consultation from April 6 to 8.

He will hold meetings with his Indian counterpart, Dr S Jaishankar, joint secretary (America) in the ministry of external affairs and will hold discussions on the en-



tire gamut of bilateral issues, said MEA spokesperson Navtej Sarna. However, the nuclear deal will be the focus of the visit.

Mr Boucher, who is coming to India for the first time in this capacity, is expected to brief New Delhi on the developments both in the NSG and the US Congress and the future course of action. Mr Boucher is

also scheduled to give a talk at CII on Indo-US relations.

The Indo-US nuclear deal is also going to be the focus for a number of US Congress members who are visiting India during the period the US Congress goes into a recess. US Senator, Chuck Hagel, the Republican senior from Nebraska, who is reported to be in favour of the deal, would be visiting New Delhi and Mumbai from April 9 to 11.

Senator Hagel is a member of the senate committees on foreign relations, banking, housing and urban affairs; intelligence and rules and also the chairman of the senate foreign relations subcommittee on international economic policy, export and trade promotion.

His visit will be followed by the visit of a delegation from the US House of Representatives led by House Speaker Dennis Hastert (Republican Illinois). The delegation will visit Agra, Jaipur and New Delhi from April 9 to 12.

05 APR 2006

The Economic Times

Nuke deal in Rice cooker today

Premature To Write Off Pact, Says Top Bush Govt Official

By Chidanand Rajghatta/TNN

Washington: There is no loss of nerve in the Bush administration over resistance to the US-India nuclear agreement from some American law-makers and there remains a commitment at the highest levels of the government to take the deal forward, a senior US administration official said on Monday.

Asking that opposition to the deal from Senators and Congressmen be seen in perspective in a system where complex forces are at work, the official, who spoke on background, suggested it was premature to pronounce the demise of the deal considering the President's commitment to building closer ties with India.

The official's comments came ahead of a hearing on Wednesday on the subject by the Senate foreign relations committee (SFRC) at which secretary of state Condoleezza Rice will testify. Rice was to have appeared before the House international relations committee (HIRC) on Tuesday but that has been deferred because of scheduling problems, sources said.

Rice, who will be the sole witness before SFRC, is expected to be grilled by the leadership of the 18-member committee which has ten Republicans and eight Democrats. The Republican chairman of the committee Richard Lugar and the Democratic leader Joseph Biden both have reservations about the deal, and the case Rice makes before them could well determine its fate.

President Bush is also expected to begin talking about the benefits of the agreement now that he has returned from Mexico. At some point, he will be making direct



contact with law-makers starting with phone calls. In terms of procedure, following hearings by the SFRC and HIRC, the legislation pertaining to the nuclear deal will be taken for mark-up (probably later this month) where its language will be formalised, with amendments if any. The two committees will then vote on whether to send it up to the full House and Senate.

The full House and Senate will debate the issue and vote on the bill, accepting or rejecting further amendment made by members. If there are differences between the House version of the bill with the Senate version, the two sides will meet in a "conference" to reconcile the language, after which it may be voted again as a formality.

Broad indications now are that if it gets past the House and Senate committees— and that's a big IF— it will go to the full legislature next month, but how many conditions and caveats the bill will be tagged with no one knows.

Already, some lawmakers are sizing up the deal to see how it can achieve their goals. For instance, Democrat Congressman Tom Lantos wants New Delhi to join US in isolating Iran and towards this end he has raised the issue of India training Iranian Navy, a misperception that the Bush administration tried to clear on Monday.

05 APR 2008

THE TIMES OF INDIA

US INDUSTRY ■ Launches 'grassroots' campaign to present its views before representatives

'N-deal failure to be disappointing'

LALIT K JHA
NEW YORK, APRIL 3

THE American industry, which is lobbying hard in Congress for the civilian nuclear agreement with India, has said it will be "deeply disappointed" if the deal does not go through.

Represented by the United States Chamber of Commerce, which has over 30 lakh small and big businesses as its members, the American industry has launched a massive "grassroots" campaign in large number of Congressional districts to present their views before their elected representatives and their staff.

The US India Business Council (USIBC), which represents top US companies like Boeing and General Electricals, for the first time has hired a "professional" lobbying firm—Patton Boggs—to articulate the industry's voice in support of the civilian nuclear agreement. With like minded parties, eminent Americans and associations, it has build up a Coalition for Partnership with New Delhi to drum up



'If this watershed deal does not pass Congressional clearance, the US industry will be disappointed, as will our friends and counterparts in India'

the support. "If this watershed deal does not pass Congressional clearance, the US industry will be disappointed, as will our friends and counterparts in India," USIBC president Ron Somers told *The Indian Express*.

With sudden mounting opposition to the nuke Bill this past week, the industry

vantage to the group, which has been opposing the Indo-US civilian nuclear deal.

"Each day our lobbyists and senior corporate members are going up to the Capitol Hill to meet with key members to convey why the US industry feels this legislation is so terribly important to our overall relationship with India," Somers said. The US Chamber's president and CEO, Tom Donohue, has written a letter to each of the Congressmen urging them to support this deal. The coalition has supported submission of a letter co-signed by 25 experts involved in national security who endorse the US-India civilian nuclear cooperation initiative. Former Secretaries of State, and Secretaries of Defence, and National Security Advisers have been solicited by the Coalition to submit a supportive letter to Congress. It is also regularly interacting with the US-side of the CEO Forum to mobilize the US corporate leadership to issue letters of support to the chairmen of relevant Congressional committees and ranking members of

the Congress.

With stakes high for the industry in the passage of the Bill, Somers said: "It is incumbent on us to make certain that success, not defeat, is the outcome."

Referring to the opposition, he said the nuclear non-proliferation community is by-and-large against the US-India civilian nuclear cooperation initiative. "They worry that by making this exception for India, other countries may use this as an excuse to step away from the nuclear non-proliferation regime," he said.

"Personally, I feel this is a red herring," Somers said. No countries, who are party to the NPT have indicated such intentions; those countries who are already violating the NPT, were doing so long before discussions between the US and India even commenced.

"We need to remind the naysayers the deal with India actually enhances the objectives of nuclear non-proliferation regime in that India's civilian nuclear programme will be brought in to the international mainstream, making the world a safer place," he said.

0 4 APR 2006

INDIAN EXPRESS

No Congress thumbs up for N-deal

Saran Arguments
in US Lawmakers

By Chidanand Raighatta/TNN

Washington: India's much-ballyhooped nuclear deal with the US may have to wait a little longer, perhaps a lot longer than the weeks and months anticipated, to come to life. Two days of confabulations by India's foreign secretary Shyam Saran with American interlocutors in Washington this week left the deal no further advanced than before.

The American side handed over the draft of a bilateral agreement, the fine print of the deal, that Saran said would require "further examination" and negotiation in due course, a candid acknowledgement that the agreement was far from gift-wrapped and there may still be some wrinkles.

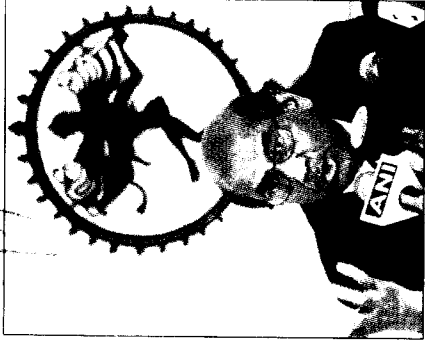
Moreover, his meetings with half-dozen lawmakers did not give the impression of widespread endorsement for the deal on the Hill, although he insisted that the visit was productive and he felt quite

encouraged about the broader sentiments for US-India relations. "We are not surprised that there is a debate and questions are being raised (on the Hill). We have very satisfactory answers...once the agreement goes through the crucible of debate, it will get stronger support," Saran said at a wrap-up press conference before leaving for New Delhi.

The foreign secretary defended the lack of enthusiasm for the deal on the Hill, including from the 180-member India Caucus, saying "these are early days yet". He, however, said India wanted the deal to be implemented "as soon as possible".

But going by the reluctance on the Hill, there are now serious doubts if the deal will get through in the ongoing 109th Congress, which will be dissolved later this year for mid-term elections to the House in November, which will bring in the 110th Congress.

Speculation is rising that the Republicans may lose control of



Shyam Saran addresses the media in Washington before leaving for Delhi

the House and Senate in November—given President Bush's fast diminishing political capital and ratings. If that happens, the nuclear deal will be in limbo because the non-proliferation hawks will have returned to the forecourt.

In fact, one reason being attributed to the lack of support for the deal among Democrats, including the so-called friends of India such as Hillary Clinton, is that they don't want to hand

Bush a foreign policy victory ahead of the polls. Almost all major Democrats who are in the running for Presidency in 2008—Hillary Clinton, Joe Biden, John Kerry—have held back outright support for the India deal.

Saran met two Democratic Senators—Biden and Barack Obama, both of whom are on the Senate Foreign Relations Committee—but did not succeed in meeting committee chairman Richard Lugar. But he said the opposition to the agreement was more on non-proliferation concerns than on ideological issues, since the deal was the result of years of discussion with both the Democratic and Republican administrations. Although he appeared to leave some space for minor readjustments in the deal, he ruled out any substantial revisions and changes saying that would upset the very, very delicate balance the two governments had arrived at.

Asked before his departure if he thought he needed to come back to Washington DC for more talks on the deal, Saran wryly responded, "I like coming to Washington." On this weeks evidence, he just might have to.

চুক্তিতে বদল থাকার দিতে পারে দ্বিপাক্ষিক সম্পর্কে

ওয়াশিংটন, ১ এপ্রিল: এই চুক্তির উপরেই নির্ভর করছে দু'দেশের সম্পর্কের ভবিষ্যৎ। চুক্তিটি ঝুলে আছে সূক্ষ্ম সুতার উপরে। তাই, এমন কিছু করবেন না যাতে এই ভারসাম্য নষ্ট হয়।

মার্কিন কংগ্রেস সদস্যদের সঙ্গে আলোচনার সময় এই ভাবেই তাঁদের বোঝানোর চেষ্টা করেছেন ভারতের বিদেশ সচিব শ্যাম সারন। ভারত-আমেরিকার পরমাণু চুক্তিটি পাশ করানো নিয়ে প্রেসিডেন্ট জর্জ বুশের ইচ্ছে জানার পরেও পদে পদে প্রশ্ন তুলেছেন কংগ্রেস সদস্যরা। সারনের মার্কিন সফরের মূল উদ্দেশ্যই ছিল, এই বাধাগুলিকে যতটা সম্ভব দূর করা। তিনি সফল কি না, সেটা সময় বলবে। কিন্তু, এই ভাবে পথ আগলে আদতে দুই দেশের মধ্যে নতুন সম্পর্কে যে বাধা

হয়ে দাঁড়াচ্ছেন তাঁরা, সেটা কংগ্রেস সদস্যদের ভাল ছাবেই বুঝিয়ে দিতে পারেন।

বুশের ভারত সফরের সময়েই চুক্তির শর্ত ঠিক করতে বিনিত্র রজনী কাটিয়েছেন দুই দেশের প্রতিনিধিরা। পরে প্রধানত মার্কিন প্রেসিডেন্টের ইচ্ছেতেই বাধাবিপত্তি কাটিয়ে সমঝোতায় পৌঁছয় দুই পক্ষ। সেই সমঝোতাকেই 'বুইই সূক্ষ্ম ভারসাম্য' বলে

বর্ণনা করেছেন সারন। বলেছেন, "জটিল আলোচনার মাধ্যমেই এই জায়গায় পৌঁছানো সম্ভব হয়েছে।" একই সঙ্গে তাঁর বক্তব্য, চুক্তিটি নিয়ে বিতর্ক চলতেই পারে। কিন্তু কংগ্রেস সদস্যরা যে সব প্রশ্ন তুলেছেন তাঁর সঠিক জবাব পেলে চুক্তিটিকে তাঁরা

ছাড়পত্র দেবেন বলেই আশা দিল্লির।

দুই দেশের প্রতিনিধিরা মিলে যে 'ভারসাম্য' তৈরি করেছেন, পরোক্ষে তাকে মর্যাদা দিতে বলেছেন সারন। তিনি বলেছেন, আমি আশা করছি, এই

সূক্ষ্ম ভারসাম্য কেউ ব্যাঘাত ঘটাবেন না। আপনারা যদি শুধু সংশোধন এবং বদলের উপরেই জোর দেন, তবে এই ভারসাম্য নষ্ট হতে বাধা। কিন্তু মনে রাখতে হবে, এই চুক্তি দুই দেশের নতুন সহযোগিতার প্রতীক। একে ঘিরে যে আশা ও উৎসাহ তৈরি হয়েছে, চুক্তিটি পাশ না হলে সে সবই ধাক্কা খাবে। বড় মূল্য দিতে হবে দুই দেশকে।

মার্কিন কংগ্রেসের প্রধান সমস্যা,

অস্ত্রপ্রসার রোধ চুক্তি থেকে ভারতের

দূরে সরে থাকা। দ্বিতীয় সমস্যাটি তুলেছেন কংগ্রেস সদস্য টম গ্যাটোস। ইরানের নৌ সেনাকে ভারত প্রশিক্ষণ দিচ্ছে, এটাই তাঁর অভিযোগ।

গত তিন দিনে দফায় দফায় বৈঠকে সব প্রশ্নেরই জবাব দিয়েছেন সারন। কংগ্রেস সদস্যদের তিনি বলেছেন, পরমাণু অস্ত্রপ্রসার রোধ চুক্তিতে সই না করেও তার নিয়ম মেনে চলছে

ভারত। তারা কোনও ভাবেই অস্ত্র বা অস্ত্রের প্রসারের সই না করেও ইতিহাসই বলাচ্ছে। এখানে উল্লেখ করা যেতে পারে, পাকিস্তানকে এই ধরনের পরমাণু চুক্তি থেকে দূরে সরিয়ে রাখার জন্য ইতিহাসকেই যুক্তি হিসাবে দেখিয়েছিলেন জর্জ বুশ।

মার্কিন জালানি পোলে নিজেদের

অস্ত্র তৈরির কাজে গতি আনতে পারে ভারত, এই নিয়েও মার্কিন কংগ্রেসের উদ্বেগ কম নয়। সে সম্পর্কেও আশ্বস্ত করেছেন সারন। ল্যাটফেসকে বলেছেন, ইরানের জাহাজ দুটি সৌজনের খতিয়ে কোচি বন্দরে ভিড়েছিল। এখানে প্রশিক্ষণের কোনও ব্যাপারই নেই।

এই ভাবে কিছুটা হলেও কন্ডোলিজা রাইসের কাজ সহজ করেছেন সারন। চুক্তি সম্পর্কে যাবতীয় সংশয় দূর করতেই এপ্রিলের ৫ ও ৬ তারিখ কংগ্রেসের দুই কমিটির সামনে বসছেন মার্কিন বিদেশ সচিব। তার আগে তিন দিনের সফরে একটি বার্তা পৌঁছে দিলেন ভারতের বিদেশ সচিব: নয়াদিল্লি চায় যত দ্রুত সম্ভব চুক্তিটিকে ছাড়পত্র দিক মার্কিন কংগ্রেস।

Nuke and cranny

The nuclear deal will see negotiation hitches. That's normal. It won't see any more Indian concessions

THE most attractive part of the Indo-US nuclear deal for New Delhi, an India-specific exception to the American domestic non-proliferation law and the global nuclear regime, is exactly what makes it so hard to sell to the US Congress and the international community. India should not forget this central political fact and expect the entrenched non-proliferation lobbies in world capitals to roll over and play dead at the sight of the extraordinary nuclear pact between President George W. Bush and Prime Minister Manmohan Singh.

There is some concern in New Delhi that the Bush Administration, faced with resistance in the US Congress and the 45-nation Nuclear Suppliers Group, might accept political compromises not in India's interest. For example, in the draft that it circulated for approval by the NSG last month, the Bush Administration proposed both a modification of the current international rules that prohibit nuclear cooperation with India as well as an intent to persuade India to accept "fullscope safeguards". On the face of it, these objectives are irreconcilable. The Indo-US nu-

clear pact rests on the recognition that there are separate military and civilian nuclear programmes in India and only the latter would be placed under safeguards. The ambiguity may be a result of the American attempt to reassure the international community that the traditional non-proliferation rules are not being given up even as they are being loosened for India. The Bush Administration has also suggested it is open to new ideas from the US Congress so long as they are not deal-breakers.

India should avoid reacting nervously to every tactical detail in the strategy of the Bush Administration to sell the nuclear deal. What matters to New Delhi is the outcome—a change in the rules that would allow the US and other suppliers to resume nuclear cooperation. How they do it should not be India's business. While it must do what it can to help the Bush Administration push the deal through, New Delhi should make it quite clear that the limits on what it has to offer have already been defined and that there is no room for new conditions. That precisely is what Foreign Secretary Shyam Saran was rightly signaling in Washington last week.

02 APR 2006

INDIAN EXPRESS

'Future relations depend on Indo-US agreement'

TIMES NEWS NETWORK

Washington: The US-India nuclear initiative will determine the direction of future bilateral ties, India has conveyed to the Bush administration, in the starkest indication of how much emphasis New Delhi places on the deal.

New Delhi's strong message was conveyed to senior US officials and lawmakers by foreign secretary Shyam Saran during two days of meetings that centered mostly around the nuclear deal which has been subjected to withering scrutiny and opposition here.

In meetings with US lawmakers on Thursday, Saran emphasised the security and economic rationale for the deal, and countered doubts that the agreement will enable India to increase its



BARGAINING HARD: Saran & Burns

nuclear arsenal.

He met with just three Congressmen—Tom Lantos, Gary Ackerman and Joe Wilson. All three are favourably disposed to the deal. Saran outlined India's case at a speech at the conservative think-tank Heritage Foundation, focusing on aspects of the deal that has run into most criticism, particularly the doubts that it will enable India to expand its nuclear arsenal.

"I would like to remind all of you of our record of responsibility, restraint—and I would even say idealism—in this regard," he said. "We were reluctant to exercise our weapon option to begin with. Having felt compelled to do so, we remain committed to a credible minimum deterrent."

Saran also warned that the US cannot expect India to be a partner and a target at the same time.

01 DEC 2008 THE TIMES OF INDIA

US deal bill may ban India's N-tests: BJP

TIMES NEWS NETWORK

New Delhi: Whipping up a scare scenario, the opposition BJP has said the US legislation on the India-US nuclear deal could end up being a permanent check on India's sovereign decision to test nuclear weapons.

In a letter to Prime Minister Manmohan Singh, senior BJP leader Murli Manohar Joshi alleged that the bill on the nuclear deal introduced in the US Congress "violates" the PM's assertions on reciprocity and autonomy in the agreement.

Training his guns at the 'compromise' by the government, Joshi said on Thursday the US bill could tie India irrevocably to a ban on nuclear testing even as other nuclear powers retained their options. A crucial clause in the legislation says nuclear cooperation with India would be off if India ever detonated a nuclear device.

Joshi said this could put the Pakistan nuclear programme on a faster trajectory than India's. It is a different matter that most nuclear powers have already renounced nuclear testing. Moreover, in 1998, India had said it had secured all the data it needed and would thus impose a unilateral moratorium on nuclear testing.

Joshi urged the PM to seek amendments in the US bill and to inform the coun-

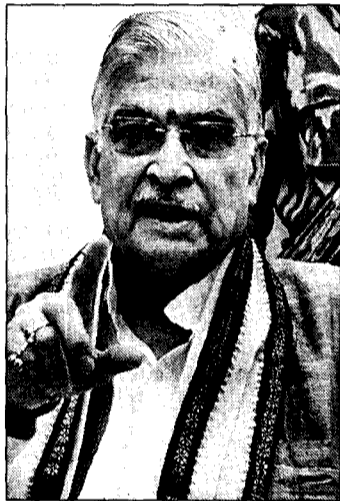
try about its implications.

The bill, which authorises President George W Bush to waive certain provisions of the US atomic energy act, amounted to "complete handing over of our nuclear programme at the sweet will of the President" and the government should reject such an option, Joshi said. It would be better to amend the law rather than seek a presidential waiver.

"Through a very cleverly drafted bill the US wants to impose qualitative and quantitative ceilings on India's nuclear deterrent capabilities and to ensure that India never emerges as a full nuclear-weapons state," he said in the letter. "What Indian scientists had achieved after 30 years of hard work will be obliterated in one stroke." Criticising the Prime Minister's assertion that the deal was reciprocal, Joshi said, "reciprocity

means sharing of responsibilities, obligations and privileges, but here we have only been given obligations."

The bill tries to bring India into the CTBT, forces the country to work with US for the conclusion of a fissile material cut-off treaty and, importantly, it authorises the US president to stop fuel supply if India detonates a nuclear device.



JOSHI: Playing A Patriot

Iran threat to Indo-US bonhomie

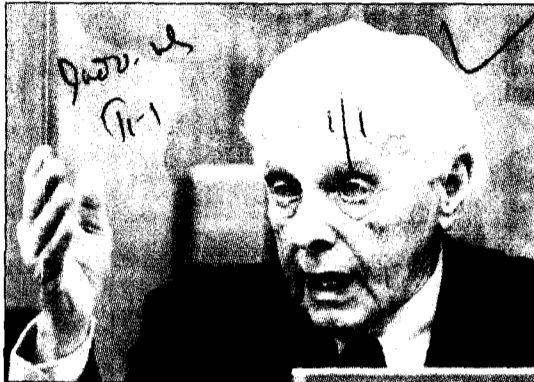
Lawmaker Tells Saran Training Teheran's Troops Could Hit N-Deal

Washington: A senior US lawmaker has warned India that its alleged training of Iranian troops could undermine Congressional support for the landmark Indo-US civilian nuclear deal.

Tom Lantos, a top-ranking Democrat on the powerful house international relations committee, expressed the view when foreign secretary Shyam Saran called on him on Thursday. Lantos was apparently referring to reports that Iranian ships had completed a training programme in Kochi where two of Teheran's warships were said to have been anchored.

However, India denied imparting training to Iranian soldiers, saying it was just a normal diplomatic call on Kochi port by two Iranian navy ships. "The so-called training visit was just a normal diplomatic call on Kochi port by two Iranian ships which were training in the Arabian Sea. Those ships didn't receive formal training in India," an Indian diplomat said.

During the course of the "very friendly"



Democrat Tom Lantos says he's all for the nuclear deal provided India doesn't help Iran

meeting between Lantos and Saran, the California Democrat said he was in general "supportive of India and the closer relations between India and the US" and that was the reason he was welcoming the proposed nuclear deal. "However, he cautioned that there can be

misunderstandings and conflicts which can undermine the support for the deal within Congress," his spokeswoman Lynne Weil said. According to her, Lantos in particular spoke of two issues—"India's wavering commitment to referring Iran to the UNSC and the concerns about Iranian troops possibly having received training in India". While the former issue has been resolved, Lantos brought up the training of Iranian troops during his talks with Saran. "At a time when gestures from allies are significant and will underscore the depth and breadth of India's friendship with the US, situations like the possible training of Iranian troops could be a residual effect on how members of Congress and the US public view those relations," Weil said.

Many Congressmen, including Lantos, had been sharply critical of New Delhi's relationship with Teheran. The fact that India came around and supported the US twice has made a difference in the perception of the lawmakers, including Lantos. Agencies

"U.S. Congress will ratify deal"

Deal is simply about helping India: Sibal

WASHINGTON: Asserting that United States' acceptance of India's nuclear 'separation plan' was "a recognition of our security concerns," Science and Technology Minister Kapil Sibal said the designation of eight of its 22 nuclear reactors for military purposes and thus out of the IAEA ambit was to meet "security needs."

In an informal chat with reporters here on Saturday, Mr. Sibal said he had sought to explain this to everyone he met during his visit to the U.S., including Congressmen, Senators, administration officials and members of the scientific community.

The India-U.S. civilian nuclear initiative is "neither about non-proliferation nor proliferation, it is simply about helping India overcome its energy needs for peaceful purposes," he said.

"If our record as being a country outside the NPT is better than the record of countries that are part of the NPT, I don't see how anybody can object to our being concerned about our security," Mr. Sibal said, adding "just as we understand the security concerns of the U.S., so does Washington realise India's security needs."

Bipartisan support

On his meetings with Senators and Congressmen, Mr. Sibal said he found bipartisan support for the deal, which would be ratified by the U.S. Congress without any hitch, especially after the testimony provided by Secretary of State Condoleezza Rice.

Ms. Rice, during her testimony, said the pact would help satisfy the needs of India that had "managed its nuclear technology responsibly."

Praising her testimony, Mr. Sibal said: "The nature of the testimony, the boldness of her statement, the candour and transparent nature of whatever she said laid the road map as to

10/21
• Indian-American community has an exceptionally important role

• Praises Rice statement in Congress on the deal

why the U.S. wants this kind of arrangement with India and not with others."

He said the Indian-American community had an exceptionally important role to play in this whole new enterprise. "...therefore I have been urging them to use all their might and use all possible means... only fair not foul... to make sure that this deal goes through," he said. "...I can assure you that the Indian-American community's response has been hugely encouraging."

He said one of the main purposes of his visit to Washington was to meet John Marburger, Chief Scientific Adviser to President George W Bush. Their discussions were on setting up a bi-national commission to ensure that collaboration in science and technology moved forward.

"We have decided on a road map in which we want to take an inventory of all the science and technology collaborations that are taking place between India and the U.S. whether it is at the National Science Foundation, at the university level with our institutions or at the National Institute of Health and how to energise both sides to increase the scale and the level of that collaboration," he said.

Mr. Sibal will be attending the Biotechnology Industry Organisation's Convention (BIO-2006) in Chicago from April 9-12. The convention is the largest gathering of biotechnology leaders in the world, attracting more than 18,000 participants, and featuring over 180 sessions, almost 1,000 speakers, and over 1,600 exhibitors. — UNI

10 APR 2006

THE HINDU

Saran, Rice discuss nukes

S. Rajagopalan

Washington, March 30

FOREIGN SECRETARY Shyam Saran called on US secretary of state Condoleezza Rice and undersecretary Nicholas Burns on Wednesday and held extensive discussions on the way forward on the nuclear deal, now before the US Congress.

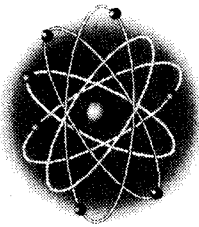
While there was no immediate official word, sources said the deliberations centred on the Bush administration's all-out bid to secure passage of the deal by convincing the Congress that the pact was in the best interests of the US and a net gain for the non-proliferation regime.

Saran had a 30-minute meeting with Rice and discussions lasted well over four hours with Burns and other senior State department officials. Earlier in the day, Burns and undersecretary for arms control Robert Joseph testified before the Senate foreign relations committee in a closed-door session.

The US side has indicated that Rice's upcoming testimony before the Senate panel on April 5 and the House international relations committee a day later would go a long way in helping lawmakers to make up their minds in favour of



DEAL WITH US



the deal. Saran's meetings came close on the heels of Manmohan Singh's remarks in New Delhi that it was now for Washington to take the deal forward.

At the delegation-level talks at the State department, the two sides discussed the '123 agreement' on civil nuclear cooperation. They also exchanged notes on the level of support for the deal in the 45-nation Nuclear Suppliers Group.

HT Correspondent

Washington, March 30

FOREIGN SECRETARY Shyam Saran took the US's non-proliferation pundits head-on on Thursday, seeking to demolish a series of arguments advanced by them in recent weeks to derail the Indo-US nuclear agreement.

In the course of an address to the Heritage Foundation, Washington's foremost conservative think tank, Saran came up with a point-by-point rebuttal to make the case that the nuke deal neither weakens the non-proliferation regime nor lets India an opportunity to build up its arsenal in a big way. "If our posture so far has been one of restraint and responsibility — not disputed even by our critics — there is no reason why we should suddenly change now," he commented. "Some aspersions have been cast on our technology control record. I would like to strongly underline that not only our non-proliferation record but even export control record — that goes back to the 1984 MoU with the USA — has been exemplary," he said.

Delivering the address before proceeding to Capitol Hill for a series of meetings with key lawmakers, Saran termed it "a false analogy" to hold forth that making an exception for India would weaken the non-proliferation regime and encourage other non-nuclear states that may harbour nuclear ambitions.

During a Q&A session that followed, he said any legislation that emerges from the US Congress should be in line with "the parameters of understanding" reached between the two governments. "If it's within bounds, we won't have a problem," he said while responding to a question on the possibility of the Congress seeking conditions for the deal. He, however, hastened to add that one would have to see precisely what emerges.

Asked to comment on the possibility of a long haul for the legislation in the Congress, he said India, being a democracy, was not surprised that there should be an extended debate with doubts being raised. "We believe we have satisfactory answers to all reservations (being expressed)."



Joshi worried

FORMER UNION minister M.M. Joshi has written to Manmohan Singh, saying the Bill on Indo-US nuclear deal introduced in the US Congress "violates" his assertions in Parliament on 'reciprocity' and 'autonomy' in the deal. Joshi, who released his letter to the media on Thursday, said the Waiver Authority Bill authorised the US President to waive certain provisions of US Atomic Energy Act.

Joshi said the Bill tries to bring India into the CTBT, forces it to work with US for conclusion of a multilateral Fissile Material Cutoff Treaty and gives authority to the US to stop fuel supply. **HTC**

Iran complicates Saran's N-deal mission

By Chidanand Rejghatta/TNN

Washington: India's foreign secretary Shyam Saran conferred on Wednesday with top officials of the Bush administration over ways to overcome legislative and expert opposition in Washington to the US-India nuclear deal on a day the UN Security Council voted to place Iran on notice for its nuclear infractions.

Saran had an extended working lunch with his counterpart US undersecretary of state Nick Burns and later called on secretary of state Condoleezza Rice just before she left on a tour of Europe. He also met with undersecretary for international affairs Paula Dobriansky and undersecretary for arms control Robert Joseph to fine-tune the case he expects to make before law-makers on Thursday.

Officials were leery about providing

details of the meeting but discussions evidently centered round the pockets of resistance in Washington to the deal and the arguments to counter the opposition.

On Thursday, Saran will begin with a speaking engagement at the Heritage Foundation before meetings with House international relations committee chairman Henry Hyde, Congressmen Gary Ackerman and Tom Lantos, and Senator Barack Obama among others. Senator Lugar, the legislative lynchpin on the Senate side, is said to have excused himself from meeting Saran citing scheduling problems.

The crucial meeting will be with Hyde, a crusty, near-retirement Republican law-maker who has expressed reservations about the deal and who is expected to grill Saran. Ahead of that key call, Burns briefed Hyde and some other members of the HIRC on

urged Iran to suspend its uranium-enrichment activities and asked the director of the International Atomic Energy Agency to report back on Iran's compliance within 30 days.

Although the Council's "Presidential statement," a non-binding declaration, is much weaker than the one sought by Washington, it makes Saran's task even more arduous because many law-makers have been citing the Iran wrangle to oppose the India deal. They ask how the US could conceivably act tough against Teheran while patronising New Delhi's nuclear programme. The Bush administration's explanation that Iran cheated, and that India is in a different league altogether both in terms of credibility and responsibility, has made little impression on forces bent on piling up reasons to derail the agreement.

On Tuesday Germany's foreign min-

As the UN Security Council voted to place Iran on notice, it made Saran's task even more arduous because many law-makers have been citing the Iran wrangle to oppose the India deal



Wednesday in a classified closed-door session.

Amid this flurry of meetings in the State Department and on the Hill, the UN Security Council in New York

ister Frank-Walter Steinmeier joined the cassandras, saving the timing of the US-India deal was not helpful coming in the middle of the action against Iran.

Steinmeier, however, offered qualified support for the deal saying, "I am not so naive to think that India will sign the (Non-Proliferation) Treaty in the next couple of years. But the fact that the country is putting a bigger part of its civilian nuclear plants under international control is definitely a step forward."

That indeed is the main argument Saran is expected to make on Thursday along with assertions of India's squeaky clean proliferation record despite not being an NPT signatory, something that NPT-wedded European nations cannot boast of given how they were milked for nuclear technology by proliferators such as Pakistan.

► Iran told to halt nuclear work, Page 14

Saran in US as N-deal in critical stage

Foreign Secy To Argue Case With Lawmakers As Protest Rises Against Pact

By Chidanand Rajghatta/TNN

Washington: India's foreign secretary Shyam Saran arrived here on Tuesday at the head of a string of ministers and officials from New Delhi who are expected to bat for the US-India nuclear deal against a host of so-called non-proliferation extremists in Washington bent on scuppering the pact.

Saran will meet lawmakers on Capitol Hill over the next two days to address their concerns on the path-breaking deal that has had the non-proliferation constituency break out in hives.

Some legislators want to rewrite the terms of the deal with amendments in Congress to tighten certain aspects of it, an idea that US administration officials have said will be a deal-buster.

"We frankly think it is such a complex deal and we probably won't be able to put it back together again if it is renegotiated," US undersecretary of state Nicholas Burns reiterated on Monday at a council of foreign relations meeting, one of the half dozen public engagements in which he has argued for the deal.

Burns said the administration is open to ideas from the Senate and House of Representatives "as long as they don't require us to go back and break the agreement, reopen negotiations." He indicated there were some ideas forthcoming but did not elaborate.

Elsewhere though, Ed Markey, a Massachusetts Congressman who is dead set against the deal continued his tirade against it saying the "administration is looking to snooker Congress into signing an agreement" and that "Bush's India ex-

pared at his request, which ostensibly show the deal makes sweeping changes in the Congressional review and approval process vis-a-vis India.

"If Congress passes this bill, it will be little more than a potted plant when it comes to nuclear non-proliferation," Markey said in a statement, a day after he wrote an op-ed in the Boston Globe attacking the deal.

Saran, and officials and ministers such as Montek Singh Ahluwalia and Kapil Sibal, will over the next month be engaging a constituency surcharged with such extreme feelings about the deal. It does not help their cause that Bush is at the nadir of approval ratings and the political atmosphere in Washington has become toxic over issues such as immigration, Iraq and Katrina.

As things stand, prospects of the deal going through on the Senate side look much brighter, given that lawmakers in this chamber have a more internationalist and strategic outlook than many of their counterparts on the House side. House members, who are due to go in for re-election in November this year, are more responsive to domestic pressures and calculations.

The administration is pressing for the current House to clear the deal before it goes into the election mode, amid apprehensions that it could lose its majority in the November poll. Getting the deal through Congress is also the domestic milestone that will spur NSG to assent to it, Burns has indicated. The informal 44-member group heard the US explanation about the deal in Vienna last week but held back its consent pending changes in US domestic laws.

Delhi prepares for return visit

New Delhi: New Delhi will play host to a senior Congressional delegation over the Easter holidays, with senior Democrat leader Edward Kennedy leading the group. The government plans to lay out extensive briefings on the nuclear deal in an effort to swing them over. In the Senate, it's Richard Lugar's support for the Indo-US nuclear deal that is being held up as exemplary. Under no illusions that this would be a difficult deal to sell to the US Congress, Lugar recently said he believed "in due course, a majority of members of the Senate...are probably going to come down on the side of the legislation". Elaborating on his switch, California Democrat (California has the largest concentration of Indians), Tom Lantos said: "I am inclined to support the administration's agreement. I think this is a major step forward in realigning, in a geopolitical sense, India and the US. I'm delighted that we are on the same page and I expect to be supporting the agreement." TNN

emption bill will reduce Congress to the role of a passive rubber-stamp with respect to one of the most critical nuclear non-proliferation issues of the last decade."

Markey based his argument on two new reports of the Congressional Research Service, pre-

30 MAR 2005

THE TIMES OF INDIA

Jimmy Carter opposes Indo-US nuclear deal

PRESS TRUST OF INDIA
WASHINGTON, MARCH 29

OPPOSING the Indo-US civilian nuclear deal, former US president Jimmy Carter has said it has sent "uncertain" signals to countries like Iran and North Korea and will open a Pandora's box of nuclear proliferation.



"This change in policies has sent uncertain signals to other countries, including North Korea and Iran, and may encourage technologically capable nations to choose the nuclear option. The proposed nuclear deal with India is just one more step in opening a Pandora's box of nuclear proliferation," he said in an article in *The Washington Post*. He said there are no detectable efforts being made to seek confirmed reductions of almost

30,000 nuclear weapons worldwide, of which the US possesses about 12,000, Russia 16,000, China 400, France 350, Israel 200, Britain 185, India and Pakistan 40 each.

"A global holocaust is just as possible now, through mistakes or misjudgments, as it was during the depths of the Cold War," he said. Carter said there was some fanfare in announcing that India plans to import eight nuclear reactors by 2012, and that US companies might win two of those reactor contracts, but stressed that it was a minuscule benefit compared with the potential costs.

"India may be a special case, but reasonable restraints are necessary. The five original nuclear powers have all stopped producing fissile material for weapons, and India should make the same pledge to cap its stockpile of nuclear bomb ingredients," he said. He said the proposal for India would allow enough fissile material for as many as 50 weapons a year.

INDIAN EXPRESS

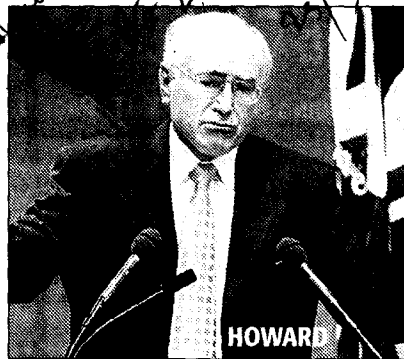
A Delegation Will Look Into Details Of The Indo-US Nuclear Deal

Australia takes U-turn on policy

Our Political Bureau
NEW DELHI

AFTER Russia agreed to supply uranium to India, Australia is now showing some signs of softening its stand on the sale of uranium to India. Australian Prime Minister John Howard, who visited India early this month, said the government is not thinking of a change in its nuclear policy but it is also not ruling out the sale of uranium to India.

Australia, which has 40% of the world's uranium reserves, has a policy of selling uranium only to countries that are signatories to the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty (NPT). India has maintained that though it is not a signatory to the NPT, it abides by all its principles.



But the slight shift comes after US President George W Bush called the Australian Prime Minister over the Indo-US nuclear deal. Australia will now send a delegation to

India and the US to look into the details and ramifications of the Indo-US nuclear deal.

During Mr Howard's trip, both sides had decided to set up group of officials to look into the deal. Meanwhile, foreign secretary Shyam Saran on Tuesday left for a four-day trip to Washington where he will garner support for the deal. Mr Saran, who is to meet under secretary of state for political affairs, Nicholas Burns will also have the opportunity to interact with Democrat and Republican legislators during the trip. He will put across the importance of the deal and stress on India's record as a non-proliferator.

Mr Saran and Mr Burns will discuss the progress made in Congress on the deal. External affairs ministry spokesman Navtej Sarana said Mr Saran and Mr Burns will also discuss steps to take Indo-US relations forward.

PTI

WASHINGTON

ON the eve of crucial meetings on Capitol Hill on the Indo-US nuclear deal, the Bush administration has said it is open to ideas and suggestions from members of the US Congress on the agreement, provided they are not deal-breakers requiring re-negotiations.

It also expressed a willingness to show flexibility on the 123 Agreement — an outline of a final bilateral civil nuclear deal. The under-secretary of state for political affairs, Nicholas Burns, will take up the 123 Agreement with the visiting Indian foreign secretary Shyam Saran this week. Mr Burns, who will on Wednesday hold a closed-door session with lawmakers discussing the landmark deal, said after his address at the Council on Foreign Relations: "There is a difference between ideas and suggestions that are meant to strengthen the agreement, and ideas and suggestions that make us go back and negotiate it (the treaty)...We are open to the former and not to the latter". Mr Burns added the Bush administration will be clearing these ideas and suggestions with the government of India.

"Sure, yes, of course we

Nuke deal before US Congress

would go to the Government of India and say 'look here are some ideas'. They are not deal breakers, they are not conditions. I assume what we'll do if these ideas come along is brief the Indian government," he said. "This happens all the time in the US system. The administration proposes an initiative, the US Congress has its own ideas and the administration then decides whether we want to, or can agree to that. We will have to take these one at a time," he said.

During the formal meeting, Mr Burns argued that the administration is open to any ideas "as long as it does not require us to go back and break the agreement" stressing that the accord

being so complex cannot be re-assembled again.

"...We'll never be able to put it back together again," Mr Burns added, making the point that while members of the US Congress could have ideas, these cannot be deal breakers requiring re-negotiations. "We are going to see a fairly dynamic debate on the Hill...And we hope at some point in the next month or two, more likely in May or June, we are going to see a vote. We are going to wait until Congress acts to formally ask the nuclear suppliers group to make commensurate amendments," Mr Burns said.

"The reason why the India issue is not on the agenda of the board meeting of late May is be-

cause, we are not sure when Congress is going to act. But you can call on the board at any time...So that is not a barrier to us," the senior official said.

Mr Burns also indicated the administration was willing to show flexibility on the so-called 123 Agreement, that can now come after Congress has approved the civilian nuclear energy legislation currently pending before it. Mr Burns said he will be discussing this technical 123 Agreement with Mr Saran this week but did not believe there would be a signing ceremony.

"We are flexible that the 123 Agreement will come after Congressional approval. But I think there's a lot of interest in Congress of what's going to be in it. So we are please to share our draft with Congress. It is a basic construct. It reflects the agreement we've already made. So there is no new ground being made and so it is a technical agreement that reflects the decisions already made by both countries. I have already briefed most members of what's in the agreement," he said.

In his presentation, Mr Burns again put forward the administration's defence of the deal: that it is in conformity with the changing realities of international politics and nation state behaviour.

TRADERS & CONTRACTS

The Economic Times

29 MAR 2006

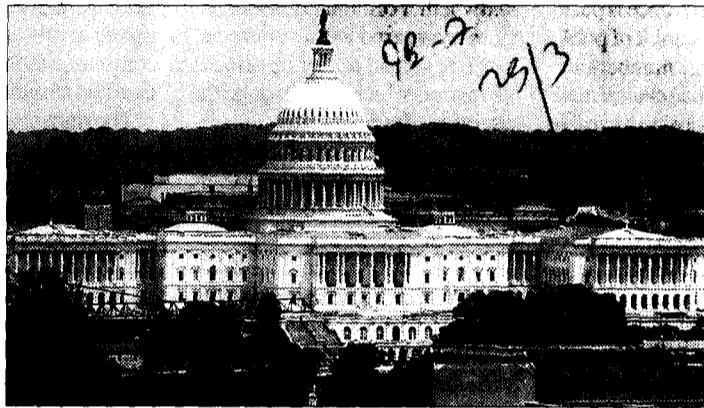
Bush open to ideas on Indo-US deal

PRESS TRUST OF INDIA
WASHINGTON, MARCH 28

ON THE eve of crucial meetings on Capitol Hill on the Indo-US nuclear deal, the Bush administration has said it is open to ideas and suggestions from members of Congress on the agreement provided they are not deal-breakers requiring re-negotiations. It also expressed willingness to show flexibility on the '123 Agreement,' which is an outline of a final bilateral civil nuclear deal.

Under Secretary of State for Political Affairs Nicholas Burns will take up the 123 Agreement with the visiting Indian Foreign Secretary Shyam Saran this week.

Burns, who will hold a closed door session with lawmakers discussing the deal on Tuesday, told reporters after his address at the



Capitol Hill in Washington DC

Council on Foreign Relations that "there is a difference between ideas and suggestions that are meant to strengthen the agreement and suggestions that make us go back and negotiate it...we are open to the former and not to the latter."

Burns put forward the adminis-

tration's defence of the deal: that it is in conformity with the changing realities of international politics and nation state behaviour; in the interests of existing non proliferation regimes; did not devalue the NPT and one that did not bring about any double standards.

INDIAN EXPRESS

29 MAR 2006

Bush push for N-deal

Says Congress ought to agree in USA's interests

S. Rajagopalan
Washington, March 21

PRESIDENT GEORGE W. Bush has mounted a robust defence of the Indo-US nuclear deal even as critics are working overtime to prevail upon US Congress to set conditions for approving the pact.

On Monday, Bush went on to say that Congress "ought to agree" with the deal that is important for the US's own interests and for its new strategic relationship with India. "I feel very comfortable recommending to the United States Congress that it's — they ought to agree with the agreement that Prime Minister Singh and I have reached," Bush said and highlighted India's 30-year record on non-proliferation.

The nuke deal is important for an important relationship, he said, adding: "For too long, America and India were not partners in peace. We didn't deal with each other because of the Cold War. And now is the time to set the Cold War behind us. It's over, folks. It no longer is. And let's think about the next 30 years."

Bush remarked that it is his hope that some day, somebody will ask the question: "Aren't you glad old George W thought about entering into a strategic relationship with India?"

The strong Bush push on the deal came on a day when influential former Senator Sam Nunn provided a filip to the non-proliferation lobby's campaign by asking Congress to set conditions for its support.

"If I were still in Congress, I would be sceptical and looking at conditions that could be attached," commented Nunn, who was a Democratic Senator for 24 years and is currently co-chairman of the Nuclear Threat Initiative.

But the Bush administration has warned that congressionally mandated conditions could cause the agreement to unravel. "This is a complex agreement. To reopen it, we're possibly at risk of never being able to achieve it again and to reassemble it," Undersecretary of State Nicholas Burns had said last week.

Bush, during a question-answer session in Cleveland, Ohio, conceded that it might be "a controversial decision" on his part, but was still emphatic that "India ought to be encouraged to develop a nuclear power industry". "It's in our interests, our economic interests that we work an agreement with India to encourage



President George Bush addresses a gathering in Cleveland on Tuesday.

Lugar foresees green light

S. Rajagopalan
Washington, March 21

IN A projection that is sure to warm Indian cockles, Richard Lugar, chairman of the powerful Senate Foreign Relations Committee, sees the probability of a majority of Senators eventually coming round to supporting the Indo-US nuclear agreement.

The deal is an extremely complex issue and some members may be starting with bias and suspicion, he said, but added, "My guess is that in due course, a majority of members of the Senate are probably going to come down on the side of the legislation." Lugar made the comments to Indianapolis Star in what was his first substantive interview on the subject. It came on a day when former Secretary of State Henry Kissinger, writing in the Washington Post, came out in strong support of nuclear cooperation with India.

Lugar, the senior Republican lawmaker from Indiana, known for his strong position on non-proliferation matters, has not declared his own support to the legislation on the nuke deal as yet. But he has indicated in the interview that he could back the measure "if I am finally satisfied that the new strategic relationship is in the best interest of our country; that there are considerable, if not complete, safeguard with regard to nuclear fuel, and that a substitution of nuclear for hydrocarbons is likely to come of this".

Lugar, who introduced the bill in the Senate at the request of President George W. Bush, listed the issues that could lead him to take a favourable view. These include India's emergence as a major economic and political player; its large population; a working democracy, and the importance of a strategic relationship with it.

On the flip side, he spoke of India's developing a bomb with no word to the rest of the world, noting, "And that has been a source of deep concern for the non-proliferation community". "So we will finally have to make a judgment as to whether our relationship with India is enhanced," Lugar commented.

their expansion of civilian nuclear power," he said.

As Congress gets ready to mull over the pact in the coming weeks, Bush listed the factors in favour of its approval:

- India's expanded use of nuclear power will help cut the dependence on fossil fuels and at the same time protect the environment.
- India, unlike Iran, is ready to embrace International Atomic Energy Agency's safeguards regime.
- India has a 30-year record of non-proliferation.
- India is a democracy and a transparent society, with a free Press and people running for office being held to account.

N-deal gets vital support in US

Top Lawmaker Introduces Bill To Honour Pact

By Chidanand Rajghatta
TIMES NEWS NETWORK

Washington: Senator **Richard Lugar**, Washington's top lawmaker on nuclear issues and a crucial player in the Indo-US nuclear agreement, has said he favours the landmark deal and Congress is likely to amend laws to bring the accord into play.

Lugar, who heads the Senate Foreign Relations Committee that will review the deal, has said despite doubts about the agreement in various quarters, he feels "a majority of members of the Senate... are probably going to come down on the side of the legislation" once their concerns are addressed.

The Senator from Indi-

ana with long-time interest in proliferation issues has introduced a legislation to implement the deal, subject to further briefings and testimony from the administration and experts. Secretary of state Condoleezza Rice and her deputies Nick Burns and Robert Joseph are expected to testify before Lugar's committee over the next fortnight.

But in an interview to Indianapolis Star from his home state this weekend, Lugar seemed to favour the deal and spoke of India's credentials even as he relayed misgivings of some of his colleagues. "I think it is an extremely complex issue in which some members



may start with a bias with regard to India or with regard to international affairs altogether. I think we're in a period in which some members..are very suspicious of international agreements," Lugar said.

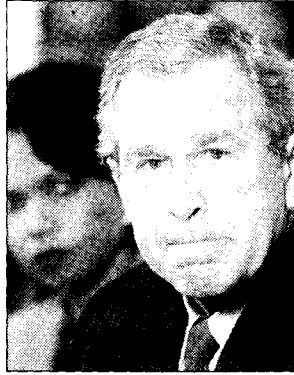
He, however, added that he would support the legislation if he was "finally satisfied that the new strategic relationship is in the best interest of the US, and that there are considerable, if not complete, safeguards with regard to nuclear fuel and that a substitution of nuclear for hydrocarbons is likely to come of this". But he gave no indication of wanting to change the terms of the agreement or tighten its provisions.

21 MAR 2006

বুশ কেন চুক্তি করলেন সেটাই কিন্তু আসল প্রশ্ন

সেমস্তী ঘোষ

একটা গেলাসে মাঝামাঝি অবধি জল। সেটা আন্দেক খালি, না আন্দেক ভর্তি? মার্কিন সমাজে এই মুহূর্তে এ নিয়ে তুমুল তর্ক। ভারতের সঙ্গে আজব এক চুক্তি সেরে দেশে ফিরে এসেছেন জর্জ ওয়াকার বুশ। আজব, কেননা এই চুক্তিতে আমেরিকার লাভের চেয়ে ক্ষতিই বেশি। বুশপক্ষ সাফাই গাইছেন: ভারত এত দিন ধরে পরমাণু কার্যক্রম চালিয়ে যাচ্ছে, বাইরের দুনিয়ায় কেউ কোনও আঁচই পায় না কত দূর এগিয়েছে তাদের পরমাণু-চুল্লিগুলো। এই চুক্তির ফলে অন্তত ভারতের অসামরিক পরমাণু কার্যক্রমটুকু তো আন্তর্জাতিক খবরদারির সামনে উন্মুক্ত করা গেল। নাই মামার চেয়ে খানিক মামা ভাল! বুশ বিরোধীদের সরব উত্তর: না। কেননা অনেকটার মধ্যে খানিকটা 'খানিকটা'ই মাত্র, আর খানিক বিদ্যা ভয়ংকরীই বটে! ভারতীয়রা তো বুকে গেল এর ফলে যে, যা-ই করুক, পার পেয়ে যাবে ঠিক। কী 'ভাবেন বুশ, ওরা এতই বোকা? অসামরিক চুল্লিগুলোয় নজর রেখে সত্যিই বোঝা যাবে যে ওদের সামরিক চুল্লিতে আসলে কত দূর কী হচ্ছে? তার থেকে তো অনেক ভাল ছিল বরাবরের মতো ভারতকে একটা চাপের মধ্যে রেখে তাদের পুরো পরমাণু কার্যক্রমকেই উন্মুক্ত করতে বাধ্য করা— নিউক্লিয়ার নন-প্রলিফারেশন ট্রিটি বা এন পি টি-তে সই করিয়ে। বুশের চুক্তিতে 'খানিক'কে ছাড় দিয়ে আসলে 'পুরো'র পথই চিরতরে বন্ধ হল!



ভারতবন্ধু কনডোলিজা রাইস ও জর্জ বুশ

'খানিকটা'কে কেন চোখে দেখা হবে, মোটের ওপর ভাল না কি মোটের ওপর খারাপ, চুক্তির 'বিচারটা গিয়ে দাঁড়াচ্ছে সেই জায়গাতেই। গেলাস আন্দেক ভর্তি না আন্দেক খালি?

ঘটনা এ দিকে দ্রুত অগ্রসরমাণ। বুশ ভারত-পাকিস্তান সফর শেষ করে ফিরে যেতে না যেতেই মুম্বই বন্দরে এসে ভিড়েছে রুশ ইউরেনিয়াম-ভর্তি জাহাজ, লক্ষ্য: তারাপুরের দুটি পরমাণু চুল্লি। রাশিয়ার সঙ্গে ভারতের এ বিষয়ে

বোঝাপড়া বুশ-সফরের আগে না পরে, তা নিয়ে জল্পনা আছে। কিন্তু একটা বিষয় জল্পনাকল্পনার উর্ধ্বে। রাশিয়া একটি আন্তর্জাতিক গোষ্ঠীর অন্যতম সদস্য, যার নাম পরমাণু প্রযুক্তি সরবরাহকারী গোষ্ঠী বা নিউক্লিয়ার সাপ্লায়ার্স গ্রুপ (এন এস জি)। মার্কিন সরকার যদি ভারতের পরমাণু কার্যক্রমের বিরুদ্ধে অবস্থান নিত, তা হলে কিন্তু এন এস জি-র অনুমোদনও এতটা সহজে মিলত না, রুশ জ্বালানিরও মুম্বই পৌঁছানো হত না। ঠিকই, অতীতেও রাশিয়া (এবং ফ্রান্স) ভারতকে ইউরেনিয়াম সরবরাহ করেছে। শেষ বার এমন জ্বালানি-জাহাজ এসেছে মস্কো থেকেই, ২০০১ সালে। কিন্তু তখন ওয়াশিংটন প্রত্যুত প্রতিবাদ করেছিল। এ বার পট বদলেছে। মার্কিন সরকারের করণাদৃষ্টি অর্জন করে ফেলেছে ভারত, আর তাই এন এস জি-র সবুজ সংকেত-সহ রুশ ইউরেনিয়াম নির্ভয়ে এ দেশে পৌঁছল। বুশের করণা না থাকলে রাশিয়া এই টলমাটাল প্রহরে এ কাজ করত কি?

সবটাই অতি উদ্ভ্রম ভাবে জানা আছে মার্কিনদেরও। আর ঠিক তাই, প্রেসিডেন্ট বুশ ফের ক্ষুদ্র সমালোচনার মুখোমুখি। একেবারে গোঁড়া-বুশপন্থী ছাড়া গোটা মার্কিন সংবাদ-মাধ্যমের রায়: 'বুশ শুভ হ্যাভ স্টেড ব্যাক হোম,' এ হেন দুর্বল বিশ্ববীক্ষা নিয়ে দিল্লি যাওয়াই ওঁর উচিত হয়নি। ঠিক যে আশঙ্কায় ভারতকে লাই দেওয়া অনুচিত বলে মনে করছিল বিরোধীরা, সেটাই যেন রূপ পেয়ে উঠল ভারতের এই নতুন ইউরেনিয়াম আমদানিতে। এন পি টি-তে ভারত সই করেনি এত কাল, ১৯৭৪ সালে প্রথম বার (১৮ মে) এবং ১৯৯৮ সালে পর পর পাঁচ বার (১১ মে-তে তিনটি, এবং ১৩ মে-তে দুটি) পরমাণু বিস্ফোরণ ঘটিয়ে নিজের শক্তি যাচাই করেছে। ফল দাঁড়ায়: '৭৪ সাল থেকেই ভারতকে আমেরিকা সব রকম পরমাণু প্রযুক্তি সাহায্য বন্ধ করে, এবং পাকিস্তানের সঙ্গে কূটনৈতিক ঘনিষ্ঠতা শুরু করে। সেপ্টেম্বর ২০০১ থেকেই ছবিটা ধীরে পাল্টাতে শুরু করেছে বটে। কিন্তু তাই বলে ভারত পরমাণু ক্ষেত্রে এখনও একই অবস্থানে থাকবে অথচ আমেরিকা নিজের যাবতীয় নীতি পাল্টে

এগিয়ে আসবে বন্ধু করতে? মার্কিন কূটনীতির দুর্বলতাই (ভালনারেবিলিটি) কি প্রমাণ হয় না এতে? এত গুরুতর কী ঘটল যাতে আজ নিজের বিগত কয়েক দশকের অবস্থান পাল্টে এতখানি সমঝোতায় আসতে হবে তাদের? মার্কিন কূটনীতির ধারাবাহিকতা সম্পর্কে এতে কী বার্তা পৌঁছচ্ছে সারা দুনিয়ায়?

প্রশ্ন পাকিস্তান নিয়েও। বুশ এ বারে কেবল দিল্লিকেই দু'হাতে মিত্রতা বিলোনানি, পাকিস্তানকেও ফিরিয়ে দিয়েছেন। বহু কালের পাক-মার্কিন সুসম্পর্ক এতে ক্ষুণ্ণ হল। তা ছাড়া, অনেকের মতে, পাকিস্তান এই মুহূর্তে ভারতের চেয়ে বেশি গুরুত্বপূর্ণ সঙ্গী, কেননা পাকিস্তানকে খেপিয়ে দিলে সন্ত্রাস-বিরোধী যুদ্ধে তার ফল হতে পারে মারাত্মক। মার্কিন-বিরোধিতায় কুটনৈতিক এশীয় ইসলামিক দেশগুলির পাকিস্তানের সঙ্গে জঙ্গি যোগাযোগ অতি ঘনিষ্ঠ, সম্ভবত আল কায়দার মুখ্য ঘাটি আসলে সে দেশেই, পাক প্রেসিডেন্ট পারভেজ মুশারফ ছলেবলে সে দেশের উগ্রপন্থীদের দাবিয়ে রাখছেন। এই পরিস্থিতিতে মুশারফ যদি দিনের শেষে রিজু হাতে ফেরেন মার্কিন দুয়ার থেকে, ইসলামিক জঙ্গিপন্যার উপর আমেরিকার শেষ লাগামটুকুও চলে যাবে।

শেষত, আমেরিকার কল্যাণে গোটা বিশ্বের চোখ এখন ইরানের ওপর। ইরান বিষয়ে দুনিয়া জুড়ে জনমত তৈরির প্রকল্প এখন মার্কিন কর্তব্যতালিকার এক নম্বরে। সে প্রকল্পের

ভিত্তি তো অস্বচ্ছ পরমাণু কার্যক্রম। এর আগেও ইরাক যুদ্ধ, কিংবা তারও আগে, বুশের 'অশুভ অক্ষ' (ইরান-ইরাক-উত্তর কোরিয়া) ঘোষণা, সব কিছুই ভিত্তি ছিল এই পরমাণু কার্যক্রমের অস্বচ্ছতা। অথচ, আজ হঠাৎ আর এক 'অস্বচ্ছ' পরমাণু-কারবারি দেশকে কোলে টেনে নেওয়া? মার্কিন 'বিশ্বাসযোগ্যতা' বলে কি এর পরেও কিছু থাকবে?

সমালোচনার বাড়ে হোয়াইট হাউস প্রায় দিশেষহারা। এমন সময়ে মার্কিন কংগ্রেসে উত্থাপিত হল ভারত পরমাণু চুক্তির বিলটি। আগামী কিছু কাল প্রবল চাপান-উতোরের মধ্য দিয়ে যাবে নয়াদিল্লির ভাগ্য। বুশের অবস্থা সত্যিই সঙ্গীন, এমনকী সেক্রেটারি অব স্টেট

কনডোলিজা রাইস-ও স্পপক্ষ-সমর্থনে নিজের হাতে কলম তুলে নিয়েছেন। তাঁদের সম্মিলিত বক্তব্যের সংক্ষেপ: ১) এতদ্বারা ভারতের ওপর আংশিক হলেও প্রথম নজরদারি, ২) ভারত যাতে ইচ্ছেমত অসামরিক চুল্লিকে 'সামরিক' করে না ফেলতে পারে, সে বিষয়ে অন্তত কিছু বাধা আরোপ, ৩) সন্ত্রাস-বিরোধী যুদ্ধে ভারতের জরুরি মিত্রতা নিশ্চিত করা, ৪) কূটনীতির মঞ্চে চিনের নিকট প্রতিবেশী হিসেবে ভারতকে যথাসম্ভব বলীয়ান করা, ৫) বিপুল সম্ভাবনাময় যে ভারতীয় বাজার অদূর ভবিষ্যতে বহু সহস্র মার্কিন নাগরিককে চাকরি দেবে, সেই দেশের সঙ্গে সখা অতীব জরুরি, ৬) বৃহত্তম গণতন্ত্র, দ্বিতীয় বৃহত্তম মুসলিম জনগোষ্ঠী, গণতান্ত্রিক নির্বাচনের ধারাবাহিকতা— ভারতের সঙ্গে বিশ্বের আর কারও তুলনা চলে কি? ইরান-ইরাক দূরস্থান, পাকিস্তানের সঙ্গেও কোনও তুলনা কি করা যায়?...

প্রেসিডেন্ট বুশ বা তাঁর বিদেশমন্ত্রী নিশ্চয়ই জানেন, তাঁদের প্রতিটি যুক্তিরই প্রতিযুক্তি কত জোরদার, ভারতে 'এত মুসলিম তবু একটিও আল কায়দা নেই'-জাতীয় বিশ্বাস-বাক্যের ভিত্তি কত দুর্বল, ভারতের গণতন্ত্র নিয়ে ওঁদের এই আকস্মিক বিশ্বাসিতাচক্ষু প্রশংসা শুনতে কত শস্তা। নিশ্চয়ই জানেন, শেষ পর্যন্ত স্রেফ অর্থনীতির টান এবং সন্ত্রাসের ধাক্কা, এই দুই মহাসত্তোর ওপর ভর করেই কংগ্রেসে তাঁদের ভারত-তরী তীরে ভিড়োতে হবে।

নিশ্চয়ই তাঁরা জানেন, যতই যুক্তি ও প্রতিযুক্তির আড়ালে ঢাকা পড়ুক না কেন, ভারত নিয়ে আজকের এই সংকটের মধ্যে আসলে প্রকাশ পাচ্ছে মার্কিন কূটনীতির অন্তর্নিহিত মহাসত্যটি: যখন যেখানে যে ভাবে স্বার্থরক্ষা, সহ পস্থা। বুশের সময় তো শেষ হয়ে এল বলে, রিপাবলিকান পার্টির ভবিষ্যৎ নির্ভর করবে এই সংকটের কী মীমাংসা হয়, তার ওপর। আপ্রাণ চেষ্টা করবেন তাঁরা, কিন্তু শেষরক্ষা হবে কি?

ইতিমধ্যে বরং আমরা খানিক গর্ব করে নিই এই ভেবে যে, আমাদের মুখ ভারতবর্ষ, দরিদ্র ভারতবর্ষ খোদ মার্কিন বৃদ্ধরাষ্ট্রকে আজ এত বড় পাঁচ ফেলতে পেরেছে।

India-U.S. deal disturbing, says Musharraf

It will upset the balance of power

B. Muralidhar Reddy

ISLAMABAD: Pakistan President Pervez Musharraf has said the civilian nuclear cooperation pact between the United States and India will upset the 'balance of power' in the region.

Addressing jawans at Bhawalpur in Punjab province on Friday, Gen. Musharraf termed the deal "disturbing for Pakistan." He maintained that Pakistan's nuclear arsenals were in safe hands and there was no need to worry about it.

Ever since India and the U.S. forged the nuclear deal in July last year, Pakistan has been urging Washington for a similar package on the ground that it is also a nuclear power like India and needs to boost its energy potential to take care of its future needs.

Orchestrated campaign

It is for the first time that Pakistan has raised questions on the possible 'ill effects' of the India-U.S. deal on the region.

In an orchestrated campaign on Friday, Gen. Musharraf, Foreign Minister Khurshid Mehmood Kasuri and the Foreign Office raised questions on the deal. Obviously it is intended to influence U.S. Congress whose clearance of the deal the Bush Administration has sought.

The *Financial Times* quoted the Foreign Minister as saying the U.S. decision to give nuclear technology to India would encourage other nations to follow suit.

"The whole Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty will unravel. It is only a matter of time before other countries will act in the same way," Mr. Kasuri told the daily in an interview.

"Nuclear weapons are the



• **Pakistan's nuclear arsenals in safe hands**

• **Pakistan too needs to boost its energy potential**

• **U.S. decision will encourage other nations to follow suit**

currency of power and many countries would like to use it. Once this goes through, the NPT will be finished. It is not just Iran and North Korea. Brazil, Argentina and Pakistan will think differently," he said.

Edge for armed forces

Separately, on Saturday, Gen. Musharraf said the Government was taking all possible measures to provide state-of-the-art weapons and equipment to the armed forces to maintain a qualitative edge.

Addressing Army officers at the Bhawalpur Garrison, Gen. Musharraf lauded the role of the armed forces, particularly the Army, for combating terrorism and the relief work they were carrying out in earthquake-hit areas.

He said the armed forces had proved their mettle working as peacekeepers under the U.N. banner.

Nuclear deal enters US Congress test

K.P. NAYAR

Washington, March 16: Landmark legislation to see through the Indo-US nuclear deal and to change a discriminatory global non-proliferation regime for the first time in almost four decades was introduced in the US Congress today.

Announcing this at the US state department, America's top nuclear negotiator with India, Nicholas Burns, however, warned that the process of passing the bill may take many months.

"It is a somewhat lengthy process," he said, adding the Bush administration has so far been encouraged by its talks on Capitol Hill.

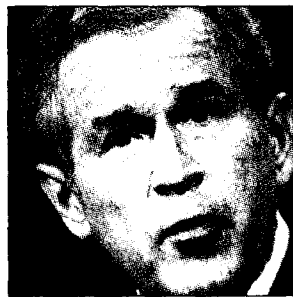
Burns said President George W. Bush and secretary of state Condoleezza Rice had talks with leaders of the Senate and House of Representatives on the deal last week and Rice would resume those talks when she returns here from abroad next week.

"I myself have spent the better part of this week" dis-

India is poised to shoulder global obligations in cooperation with the United States in a way befitting a major power

GEORGE W. BUSH

In the 2006 national security strategy report



cussing this issue with Congressional leaders, Burns revealed.

He said not one member of the Senate or House had categorically told him that he or she would vote against the deal. Many members have questions, but they are mainly technical in nature.

The legislation in the House of Representatives has been moved jointly by Democrats and Republicans. It has been sponsored by Henry Hyde, the Republican chairman of the House International Relations Committee, and Tom Lantos, the seniormost Democrat on the panel.

In the Senate, it was moved by Richard Lugar, the influential Republican chairman of

the Senate Foreign Relations Committee.

"I rise today to introduce, at the request of the administration, its proposed legislation to implement the recently concluded US-India civilian nuclear agreement," Lugar said on this historic occasion.

"By providing this draft legislation to the Senate and the House of Representatives, the administration has taken the first step in initiating the Congressional review of the US-Indian civilian nuclear agreement.... I look forward to working with my colleagues and the administration to review this agreement to fulfill our constitutional role on this important matter."

Asked about the road-

blocks before the legislation, Burns admitted that the deal with India was a very complex one, somewhat "esoteric" in many respects.

He said it was a new way of strengthening the global non-proliferation regime, one that was not working well because the world's second largest country in population was out of it.

He said India was the only country that qualified for exception from the global non-proliferation regime because of its record and its commitments under the deal with the US.

The administration expects many Senators and House members to become co-sponsors of the bill as the debate advances.

The legislation exempts India and the nuclear deal made between New Delhi and Washington from the rigorous provisions of America's Atomic Energy Act. Burns said the draft of a bilateral technical agreement as a follow-up to the deal with India was submitted to New Delhi for approval two days ago.

17 MAR 2006

'US wants deep ties with India'

Sydney: United States secretary of state Condoleezza Rice said on Thursday that Washington's landmark nuclear energy agreement with India strengthened global security and that the US wants a deep relationship with the rising democracy.

The deal will open most of India's reactors to international inspections and provide the nation with US nuclear technology. Subject to US congressional approval, the US will share its nuclear know-how and fuel with India to help power its growing economy.

During a joint news conference with her Australian counterpart Alexander Downer, Rice said the agreement "strengthens security by expanding the reach" of the UN nuclear watchdog, the International Atomic Energy Agency, "to have access to Indian civil nuclear facilities, which it currently does not have".

"Everyone understands a growing economy like India needs energy supply and civil nuclear energy is clean, it protects the environment, it can be plentiful and currently India is not capable of pursuing civil nuclear power to the degree that it will need to," she added.

Rice declined to be drawn on whether she believed Australia should supply uranium to India. Australia has welcomed the deal, but said it will not change its policy of blocking sales to countries that fail to sign the nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty. "India is a rising power in Asia," Rice said. "We need a broad and deep relationship with this rising democracy." AP



17 MAR 2006

THE TIMES OF INDIA

Ties with India on a fruitful path: Bush

'It has been a non-proliferator for the past 30 years'

WASHINGTON: Describing the nuclear deal as a "bold agreement" aimed at realising "meaningful" cooperation with India, President George W Bush on Thursday said the U.S. has "set aside decades of mistrust" and put relations with New Delhi "on a new and fruitful path."

"In July 2005 we signed a bold agreement — a roadmap to realise the meaningful cooperation that had eluded our two nations for decades. India is poised to shoulder global obligations in cooperation with the United States in a way befitting a major power," he said in the 2006 National Security Strategy report in an obvious reference to the civilian nuclear energy agreement between the two countries.

In the 49-page report, the President said "we have set aside decades of mistrust and put relations with India, the world's most populous democracy, on a new and fruitful path."

"India is a great democracy and our shared values are the foundation of our good relations... Our goal is for the entire region of South and Central Asia to be democratic, prosperous and at peace," he said.

"We have made great strides

in transforming America's relationship with India, a major power that shares our commitment to freedom, democracy and the rule of law," Mr. Bush said while making it clear that the region of South and Central Asia is of "great strategic importance where American interests and values are engaged as never before."

Asserting that India is a non-proliferator, U.S. President George W. Bush has urged Congress to pass a law, which would allow the sale of nuclear technology to New Delhi.

"India is a non-proliferator. It has been a non-proliferator for the past 30 years. They have got a record and in my judgment, [the record] should cause the Congress to pass old law. Treat them as a new partner as India wants to be a part of international agreements that will deal with proliferation," Mr. Bush said on Wednesday.

The President went on to say that he did not think the proposal i.e the July 18, 2005 civilian nuclear energy pact would harm U.S. relations with Pakistan. — PTI, ANI

Bill being introduced in Congress

WASHINGTON: The Bush administration will introduce a bill in Congress on Thursday seeking an amendment to the Atomic Energy Act to facilitate implementation of the nuclear cooperation deal reached with India.

The bill will be introduced both in the Senate and House of Representatives, but lawmakers said that they would not be rushed into this

legislation.

The administration already delivered its draft proposal to Congressmen last week seeking a waiver for India from the requirements of the Atomic Energy Act of 1954 that currently bars nuclear technology and dual-use items trade with countries that do not accept full-scope safeguards on their nuclear facilities. — PTI

India counters U.S. objections

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“Change your laws and we will buy Uranium from you”

Special Correspondent

NEW DELHI: Dangling the carrot of “major” civil nuclear imports before the United States in the event of a change in the laws there, India on Wednesday countered Washington’s objections to Russia’s decision to supply light enriched uranium (LEU) for the Tarapur plant.

“The U.S. is aware of the urgent need for fuel for Tarapur,” the Ministry of External Affairs (MEA) spokesperson said when asked for his response to the U.S.’ reservations over the Russian decision. “There is no violation of the Nuclear Suppliers Group (NSG) guidelines and Russia has approached the group under the safety exception clause,” he said.

Senior officials told *The Hindu* that the Russian offer “really has no connection to our nuclear deal with the United States.”

In all interactions over the past year, Russia had assured India that they would continue to provide LEU for Tarapur as and when required, an official said. This point was reiterated when Prime Minister Manmohan Singh went to Moscow last December and the final technical details of the transfer were ironed out in January. However,

Russia waited till India and the U.S. reached the agreement on March 2 before notifying the NSG about its decision.

The Hindu has learnt that the first shipment of LEU from Russia is expected to arrive in India “by the end of the month”.

U.S. State Department spokesman Adam Ereli on Tuesday said the Russian fuel offer was premature, as India was yet to implement the civilian-military separation commitments made in the July 18, 2005 nuclear agreement with the U.S.

“[We] recognise that ... they have need for fuel”, said Mr. Ereli, when asked about the India-Russia deal.

“And we think that deals to supply that fuel should move forward on the basis of a joint initiative, on the basis of steps that India will take that it has not yet taken.”

“U.S. must take next step”

In response, the MEA made it clear that it was now for the U.S. to take the next step forward. “India had made a request to the U.S. to supply fuel for Tarapur, but this was not possible under current U.S. laws,” the spokesperson said.

“The July 18 joint statement has stated that the U.S. will seek to adjust its laws and seek a

change in NSG guidelines to enable full civil nuclear cooperation with India, including fuel supplies for the safeguarded reactors at Tarapur.”

Noting that the U.S. Congress “is currently debating a change in laws, which would enable full civilian nuclear energy cooperation with India”, the spokesperson said that once the U.S. laws were amended “India looks forward to the U.S. emerging as a major and reliable partner to India, not only in respect of assured fuel supplies, but for other aspects of civilian nuclear energy cooperation”.

Point by Rice

The MEA’s suggestion that the U.S. could emerge as a “major” partner in the nuclear field echoes a similar point made by U.S. Secretary of State Condoleezza Rice in a recent op-ed. “India plans to import eight nuclear reactors by 2012,” she wrote in the *Washington Post* on March 13, adding, “If U.S. companies win just two of those reactor contracts, it will mean thousands of new jobs”.

The spokesperson reiterated the U.S. commitment in the July agreement “in the meantime, to encourage its partners to consider India’s request for such fuel supplies expeditiously”.

16 MAR 2006

THE HINDU

Bush unhappy over Russia move

Agencies
WASHINGTON

INDICATING its reservation to Russia's move of supplying fuel for Tarapur nuclear reactor, the US has said any such step should be taken after India fulfils its obligations under the historic Indo-US nuclear deal.

"We recognise that they (India) have need for fuel. And we think that deals to supply the fuel should move forward on the basis of a joint initiative, on the basis of steps that India will take that it has not yet taken," US state department acting spokesman Adam Ereli told reporters here referring to Indo-US nuclear deal.

He was asked about the supply of nuclear fuel to India by Russia and if Wash-

ington had the details.

"Well... and I'm not going to... I'm not in a position to go into the deal. I don't have the details. I haven't seen any sort of official statements of the deal...."

President Bush has been very outspoken and I think visionary in trying to develop a framework within the international system to ensure the safe and secure supply of nuclear fuel through the Nuclear Suppliers Group," Mr Ereli said.

"And specifically with regard to India, we have a very forward-looking and really history-making initiative, joint initiative, to address India's nuclear program, to separate the military from the civilian, and to bring India into compliance with NPT obligations and work based on

that with a Nuclear Suppliers Group to give it access to the kind of fuel supplies that it is looking for," he commented. Asked if he was aware if Russia had informed of the supply of fuel to India, Mr Ereli said: "No, I don't. I'm not aware of that". Russia has agreed to supply the urgently-needed uranium for the Tarapur nuclear plant and a deal involving 60 tonnes of the fuel is likely to be signed during the two-day visit of Prime Minister Mikhail Fradkov, beginning on Thursday.

The Russian decision to supply "limited quantity" of uranium fuel for the "safeguarded units" I and II of Tarapur atomic plant comes following an Indian request, external affairs ministry spokesman Navtej Sarna said.

He said the supply will "enable the plant to continue to operate in safety and provide much-needed electricity to the western power grid of the country," though he didn't give the quantity of the fuel, sources in Moscow said that the deal involved 60 tonnes of nuclear fuel for Tarapur reactor.

The US and other key members of the 45-nation Nuclear Suppliers Group (NSG) have been informed by Moscow in advance about the deal, sources said. While critics in the US saw it as a further erosion of international rules governing nuclear proliferation, sources said like in '01, when Moscow last supplied 58 metric tonnes of fuel for Tarapur, this supply will be governed by safety guidelines within NSG.

Deal with India
an opportunity the
US can't miss



CONDOLEEZZA RICE

US SECRETARY OF STATE

THE week before last President Bush concluded a historic agreement on civilian nuclear cooperation with India, a rising democratic power in a dynamic Asia. This agreement is a strategic achievement: It will strengthen international security. It will enhance energy security and environmental protection. It will foster economic and technological development. And it will help transform the partnership between the world's oldest and the world's largest democracy.

First, our agreement with India will make our future more secure, by expanding the reach of the international nonproliferation regime. The International Atomic Energy Agency would gain access to India's civilian nuclear programme

that it currently does not have. Recognizing this, the IAEA's director general, Mohamed ElBaradei, has joined leaders in France and

India plans to import eight nuclear reactors by 2012. If US companies win just two of those reactor contracts, it will mean thousands of new jobs for American workers

the United Kingdom to welcome our agreement. He called it "a milestone, timely for ongoing efforts to consolidate the non-proliferation regime, combat nuclear

▶ CONTINUED ON PAGE 2

From the **FRONT PAGE**

Nuclear deal with India an opportunity the US can't miss

terrorism and strengthen nuclear safety." Our agreement with India is unique because India is unique. India is a democracy, where citizens of many ethnicities and faiths cooperate in peace and freedom. India's civilian government functions transparently and accountably. It is fighting terrorism and extremism, and it has a 30-year record of responsible behavior on non-proliferation matters.

Aspiring proliferators such as North Korea or Iran may seek to draw connections between themselves and India, but their rhetoric rings hollow. Iran is a state sponsor of terrorism that has violated its own commitments and is defying the international community's efforts to contain its nuclear ambitions. North Korea, the least transparent country in the world, threatens its neighbours and proliferates weapons. There is simply no comparison between the Iranian or North Korean regimes and India.

The world has known for some time that India has nuclear weapons, but our agreement will not enhance its capacity to make more. Under the agreement, India will separate its civilian and military nuclear programmes for the first time. It will place two-thirds of its existing reactors, and about 65 per cent of its generating power, under permanent safeguards, with international verification—again, for the first

time ever. This same transparent oversight will also apply to all of India's future civilian reactors, both thermal and breeder. Our sale of nuclear material or technology would benefit only India's civilian reactors, which would also be eligible for international cooperation from the Nuclear Suppliers Group.

A thriving, democratic India will be a pillar of Asia's progress, shaping its development for decades. This is a future that America wants to share with India, and there is not a moment to lose

Second, our agreement is good for energy security. India, a nation of a billion people, has a massive appetite for energy to meet its growing development needs. Civilian nuclear energy will make it less reliant on unstable sources of oil and gas. Our agreement will allow India to contribute to and share in the advanced technology that is needed for the future development of nuclear energy. And because nuclear energy is cleaner than fossil fuels, our agreement will also benefit the environment. A threefold increase in Indian nuclear capacity by 2015 would reduce India's projected annual CO₂ (carbon dioxide) emissions by more than 170 million tons, about the current total emissions of the Netherlands.

Third, our agreement is good

for American jobs, because it opens the door to civilian nuclear trade and cooperation between our nations. India plans to import eight nuclear reactors by 2012. If US companies win just two of those reactor contracts, it will mean thousands of new jobs for American workers. We plan to expand our civilian nuclear partnership to re-

search and development, drawing on India's technological expertise to promote a global renaissance in safe and clean nuclear power.

Finally, our civilian nuclear agreement is an essential step toward our goal of transforming America's partnership with India. For too long during the past century, differences over domestic policies and international purposes kept India and the United States estranged. But with the end of the Cold War, the rise of the global economy and changing demographics in both of our countries, new opportunities have arisen for a partnership between our two great democracies. As President Bush said in New Delhi this month, "India in the 21st century is a natural partner of the United States because we

are brothers in the cause of human liberty."

Under the President's leadership, we are beginning to realize the full promise of our relationship with India, in fields as diverse as agriculture and health, commerce and defence, science and technology, and education and exchange. Over 65,000 Americans live in India, attracted by its growing economy and the richness of its culture. There are more than 2 million people of Indian origin in the United States, many of whom are US citizens. More Indians study in our universities than students from any other nation. Our civilian nuclear agreement is a critical contribution to the stronger, more enduring partnership that we are building.

We are consulting extensively with Congress as we seek to amend the laws needed to implement the agreement. This is an opportunity that should not be missed. Looking back decades from now, we will recognize this moment as the time when America invested the strategic capital needed to recast its relationship with India. As the nations of Asia continue their dramatic rise in a rapidly changing region, a thriving, democratic India will be a pillar of Asia's progress, shaping its development for decades. This is a future that America wants to share with India, and there is not a moment to lose.

—(The Washington Post)

Condoleezza rebuts charges of exceptionalism for India

Our Political Bureau
NEW DELHI

THE Bush administration, which has rejected the objections of non-proliferation Ayatollahs about exceptionalism for India, said New Delhi should not be equated with aspiring proliferators like Iran and North Korea.

"Iran is a state sponsor of terrorism that has violated its own commitments and is defying the international community's efforts to contain its nuclear ambitions. North Korea, the least transparent country in the world, threatens its neighbours and proliferates weapons.

There is simply no comparison between the Iranian or North Korean regimes and India," secretary of state Condoleezza Rice said in an article in The Washington Post. "Our agreement with India will make our future more secure, by expanding the reach of the international non-proliferation regime. The International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA) would gain access to India's civilian nuclear programme that it currently does not have," she said.

Seeking Congress support to amend laws for implementation of the Indo-US nuclear agreement, Ms Rice on Monday said it was a strategic

achievement which will strengthen international security. "We are consulting extensively with Congress as we seek to amend the laws needed to implement the agreement. This is an opportunity that should not be missed. Looking back decades from now, we will recognise this moment as the time when America invested the strategic capital needed to recast its relationship with India."

Ms Rice said the agreement was a strategic achievement which will strengthen international security, enhance energy security and environmental protection, foster economic and

technological development and help transform the partnership between the world's oldest and the world's largest democracy.

Asserting that a thriving, democratic India will be a pillar of Asia's progress, shaping its development for decades, she said: "This is a future that America wants to share with India, and there is not a moment to lose."

She said India's civilian government functions transparently and accountably. "It is fighting terrorism and extremism, and it has a 30-year record of responsible behaviour on non-proliferation matters," she said.

RICE



Into uncharted waters

THE recently signed Indo-US nuclear deal welcoming India to the world of recognised nuclear power has been termed historic, and for once that may not be usual media hyperbole. Though only the future will determine its true significance, there is little doubt that the nuclear pact is an emphatic acknowledgment of India's transformation from a regional to a global power, an important step in transforming the rules of the world order to accommodate the aspirations of a rising power. Beyond these obvious implications, the measure of the tectonic shift that the Indo-US entente implies will be revealed in its impact on both the world's non-proliferation regime as well as India's strategic posture, its economic-development and foreign-policy orientation. As the fallout from the nuclear deal becomes clear, India may be seen to have made an immediate strategic gain while underestimating the long-term political consequences.

The deal was supposed to be a balancing act between India's desire to maintain maximum autonomy over its military nuclear programme and the rest of the world's desire to cap that programme. While all the details are not available, at this juncture it appears that the deal gives a distinct advantage to India at the expense of the global non-proliferation goal. While India has agreed to safeguards for its civilian reactors in perpetuity, it has artfully tied them to assurances on an uninterrupted fuel supply. India has retained the right to designate future nuclear plants as civilian or military, it can divert indigenous fuel entirely for military use, and the number of plants kept outside the purview of inspection seems large enough to allow a credible military programme. It will be difficult to argue that this deal significantly caps India's nuclear capability. If the deal goes through, India will have managed to transform the rules of the international order without sacrificing its military autonomy.

Will accommodating India weaken the non-proliferation regime, as many critics have claimed? As a practical matter, it could be argued that states like Iran and North Korea will do whatever they wish, regardless of the choices made with respect to India. The choices of countries to go nuclear will be determined more by their perception of security threats and the compulsions of their domestic politics than choices made by third countries. India's treatment as an exception is not arbitrary but principled. India satisfies the criteria of what is called a "responsible" nuclear power: a democratic country that does not engage in proliferation. Iran, Pakistan, North Korea or, for that matter, China do not

India's historic nuclear deal with the USA could have an unpredictable outcome, writes PRATAP BHANU MEHTA



In New Delhi. — AFP

the West. Both are different entities that require different responses. India's strategy of military self-restraint in the face of terrorism has also been politically prudent, while US military actions have, arguably, given terrorism more aid and succor. Is India now in the danger of being drawn into the confrontation between militant Islam and the West, a confrontation that is not of its making?

Of the foreign policy dilemmas that the deal will produce, the most important one revolves around China. The USA projects India as some sort of counterweight to Chinese power. It is odd not to help build India while the Chinese juggernaut roles on unabated. While not acknowledging it overtly, India is also preoccupied with containing Chinese influence. What effect will the deal have on India's relations with China? The answer to this question depends on how US-China relations evolve in the future. If relations between the USA and China worsen, India, by aligning with the USA, risks becoming a frontline state in that confrontation. But while the prospects of such a scenario should not be exaggerated, there is more immediate cause for worry. While the USA has emphatically rejected equating India and Pakistan in any nuclear order, will China do the same? Some argue that China will assist Pakistan, regardless of what India does. So does an increasing alignment with the USA raise China's stakes in the subcontinent? Will it be licensed to scale up its nuclear cooperation with Pakistan? China has also offered Bangladesh civilian nuclear cooperation. The prospect of Pakistan and Bangladesh possessing significant numbers of civilian nuclear reactors is not one that the world, at this juncture, should contemplate with equanimity. As the Iran crisis has demonstrated, the line between civilian and military nuclear use is, to put it mildly, a contentious one. In the chess board of great power politics, the moves of every nation, knight or rook, are equally important.

Coming months and years will show that the Indo-US deal is not just a bilateral pact; it will have consequences for the behaviour of other nations. And prudence requires that India acknowledge the unpredictability of those consequences and brace itself.

Pratap Bhanu Mehta is president of the Center for Policy Research in New Delhi, India.

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PEOPLE & PLACES

Bush bashers



LONDON - Country trio the Dixie Chicks are planning to re-ignite their feud with President Bush in a provocative new song. The group had initially sparked controversy when singer Natalie Maines publicly criticised Bush publicly in 2003. Fans staged bonfires where they burned CDs and merchandise after calling the band traitors. Maines later apologised. But she remains defiant and has written a new song called *Not Ready to Make Nice* in which she talks about the controversy surrounding her concert comments, according to contactmusic.com. IANS

Crouching Tiger



LONDON - The book on which hit martial arts film *Crouching Tiger, Hidden Dragon* is based is set to become a major movie franchise and also into a stage show. The movie's producers Bob and Harvey Weinstein are working on a stage version of the film and turning the books that inspired the movie into three prequels and a sequel, according to contactmusic.com. IANS

Indo-US deal: Lobbying in full swing

LALIT K. JHA
WASHINGTON | MARCH 11 1997

ANYONE who cares for the emerging Indo-US relationship is working overtime to ensure that the civilian nuclear deal gets Congressional approval as a multi-dimensional pro-India campaign is fast building up on Capitol Hill.

Pro-deal lobbyists range from Indian-American organisations to corporate sector leadership and even individuals.

The biggest and most influential of those campaigns was kicked off on Friday by the Coalition for Partnership with India with America's top corporates endorsing the deal.

The meeting at the US Chambers building facing the White House was addressed by Under Secretary of State

Report faults India on non-proliferation record

WASHINGTON: India circumvents other countries' export controls and leaks sensitive technology in procuring materials for its nuclear programmes, according to a report by former UN weapons inspector David Albright. The Indian Embassy dismissed the report as "baseless".

Albright, a physicist who heads the Institute for Science and International Security, said he had "uncovered a well-developed and secret Indian programme to outfit its uranium enrichment programme and circumvent other countries' export control efforts". The report, co-authored by researcher Susan Basu, said that when India seeks bids for nuclear-related equipment, it allows prospective suppliers to buy blueprints and manufacturing instructions for a particular item. Company officials could then sell the item or related technology to other customers. "That's what we think is new, that you could go buy some centrifuge design information through the Indian procurement system," Albright said in an interview. "This is not a normal way of doing business. It's a very irresponsible way to handle sensitive information," he added. Indian Embassy spokesman Venu Rajamony said, "This so-called report is ridiculous and filled with all kinds of baseless charges."

—Reuters

cant for American industry, a point also made by Burns.

Launching the campaign over two dozen eminent persons including former ambassadors to India William Clark and Frank Wisner, former Defence Secretary Bill Cohen, and former Assistant Secretary of State Karl F. Inderfurth wrote a letter to all Congressmen in support of the nuclear deal. Cohen said: "The nuclear agreement was a classical case of two great democracies coming together in a strategic relationship for peace."

As part of the campaign, Christman said the coalition would be writing to and meeting Congressmen over the next few weeks to explain the significance of the agreement. At the grassroots level, members of the Chamber would have meetings in Congressional districts so as to build momentum for it.

peace. India, he said, is crucial for regional stability because it "has influence politically, economically and militarily in South and South East Asia". Refuting criticisms against the deal point by point, he said, "The argument comparing India with Iran might work in the theoretical area it does not work in the real world. India, as a country, is friendly to us. It is saying to the IAEA: 'Come to us and see our nuclear installations'. Iran is not a peaceful country or a trustworthy nation."

Lt. Daniel Christman, who is leading the campaign on behalf of three million members of the chamber, said this agreement was very significant

for Political Affairs, Nicholas Burns, the former Secretary of Defence, Bill Cohen, and Lt. Daniel Christman from the US Chamber of Commerce.

Addressing the Coalition, Burns continued to press in favour of the deal, dwelling at length on why it was important for India, US energy and national security and global

work in the real world. India, as a country, is friendly to us. It is saying to the IAEA: 'Come to us and see our nuclear installations'. Iran is not a peaceful country or a trustworthy nation."

Lt. Daniel Christman, who is leading the campaign on behalf of three million members of the chamber, said this agreement was very significant

Nuclear deal with India a right step for U.S.: Burns

WASHINGTON: United States President George W. Bush and senior members of his administration, including Secretary of State Condoleezza Rice, will be personally involved in the legislative process regarding the civilian nuclear energy agree-

ment with India that has to formally clear Capitol Hill, Under-Secretary of State for Political Affairs Nicholas Burns said on Saturday.

The legislation would be formally introduced in about two weeks, he added.

Speaking at the Coalition for Partnership with India (CPI), a forum created and managed by the U.S. Chamber of Commerce and having as its major player the United States India Business Council led by Ron Somers, he said the civilian nuclear deal was

the right thing for the U.S.

"We are confident that it is the right step for the United States," Mr. Burns told the audience stressing that Washington is confident that the arrangement strengthens the non-proliferation regimes. — PTI

THE HINDU

US slams India's rights record

Report Says Security Forces Indulge In Extrajudicial Killings

TNN AND AGENCIES

Washington: Acknowledging India's commitment to democracy and respect for human rights, the US has nevertheless said that "numerous serious problems" remained there, including "excessive use of force" in combating militancy in Jammu and Kashmir and insurgency in northeastern states.

In its annual 'progress report' on human rights, the US state department said that "India is a long-standing multi-party, federal, parliamentary democracy with a bicameral parliament....The government generally respected the rights of its citizens, however, numerous serious problems remained".

"Government officials used special anti-terrorism legislation to justify the excessive use of force while

combating active insurgencies in J&K and several northeastern states," it charged.

However, it admitted that individual cases were investigated by authorities and perpetrators punished by courts. The report also condemned terrorist and militant groups, including the Naxalites, for attacks on civilians and government officials.

It also highlighted corruption in both the police and administration, saying that it was "endemic in the government and police forces, and the government made little attempt to combat the problem, except for a few instances highlighted by the media".

The report alleged that government forces "continued arbitrary and unlawful deprivation of life of those in custody. Police and prison



JUSTIFIED ANGER? Kashmiris protest the killing of four youths by the army in Handwara on February 23

officers also committed extrajudicial killings of suspected insurgents and suspected criminals by the use of staged encounter killings".

It also pulled up India for its "lax" enforcement of laws on human rights and claimed that "social ac-

ceptance of caste-based discrimination validated human rights violations against persons belonging to lower castes".

The state department, which also spoke about Gujarat, quoted from a human rights watch report alleging that "... extremists threatened and intimidated victims, witnesses and human rights activists attempting to prosecute those who committed crimes during the 2002 Gujarat riots".

"Attacks on religious minorities occurred in several states which brought into question the government's ability to prevent sectarian and religious violence or prosecute those responsible for it," it alleged while also noting that there were no reports of anti-semitic acts during the year against the country's small Jewish population.

Nuclear deal sent to U.S. Congress

First legislative step needs to be enacted by May, say sources

WASHINGTON: The Bush administration submitted to Congress its proposal to change the U.S. law to allow sale of nuclear technology to India, Congressional sources said.

The sources told Reuters on Thursday that the administration wanted the first of two needed legislative steps taken by May, but said this would be difficult because the bill raised questions about an already complicated and controversial nuclear deal.

Approved in principle last July and confirmed in more detail last week by the U.S. President and Prime Minister Manmohan Singh, the agreement would end a three decades-old ban on U.S. civilian nuclear technology sale. But it must first be approved by the Congress.

The 45-member Nuclear Suppliers' Group, which oversees nuclear transfers, must also alter its regulations so that foreign countries can supply India, whose rapid economic growth has created huge energy demands.

India is currently barred under the U.S. and international law from acquiring foreign nuclear technology because it refused to sign the Non-Proliferation Treaty and developed nuclear weapons.

The U.S. approval would be a two-step approach, according to the Congressional sources familiar with the India case but

who were not authorised to speak publicly. Key sections of the legislation were made available to Reuters.

Seven determinations

As a first step, the administration's proposal would exempt India from the Atomic Energy Act, which prohibits nuclear sales to non-NPT states, if Bush makes seven determinations.

These include India providing Washington with a "credible" plan for separating its civilian and military nuclear facilities and supporting international efforts to prevent the spread of nuclear enrichment and reprocessing technology.

Although Mr. Bush and Dr. Singh announced that India would place 14 of 22 civilian nuclear power reactors under international inspections to guard against weapons diversion, one Congressional source said the data sent to Congress on this point was incomplete.

Daryl Kimball of the Washington-based Arms Control Association called the Presidential determinations "minimal" and said they gave the United States "virtually no leverage to ensure that India keeps its side of the bargain."

In addition to obtaining the Atomic Energy Act exemption, the administration must negotiate a nuclear cooperation agreement with India, which sources said could take a year. — UNI

11 May 2007

THE HINDU

ইরান-ভারত এক নয়, বলতে হচ্ছে বুশকে

নিউ ইয়র্ক, ৯ মার্চ: ভারতের সঙ্গে পরমাণু চুক্তির পক্ষে সমর্থন আদায় করতে এ বার সবিস্তার নথি প্রকাশ করল হোয়াইট হাউস। দিন কয়েক আগে ভারতের প্রধানমন্ত্রী যেমন সংসদে কারণ ধরে ধরে চুক্তির সুবিধা ব্যাখ্যা করেছিলেন, এই নথিতেও তেমন ভাবেই মার্কিন কংগ্রেসের আশঙ্কার কারণগুলো খন্ডন করার চেষ্টা হয়েছে। বিশেষত ইরানের পরমাণু কর্মসূচির প্রসঙ্গটি যখন রাষ্ট্রপুঞ্জের নিরাপত্তা পরিষদে পাঠানো হয়েছে, তখন ভারতের ব্যাপারে বুশ প্রশাসন নরম কেন, তার জবাব দেওয়ারও চেষ্টা করেছে বুশ প্রশাসন।

হোয়াইট হাউসের দাবি, ভারত-মার্কিন পরমাণু চুক্তি কখনওই অন্য দেশগুলির কাছে ভুল সঙ্কেত পাঠাবে না। কারণ, উত্তর কোরিয়া বা ইরানের সঙ্গে একই পংক্তিতে ভারতকে রাখা উচিত নয়। ভারত গণতন্ত্র ও শান্তি রক্ষায় দায়িত্বশীল। পরমাণু অস্ত্র প্রসার রোধে অতীতে ভারতের ভূমিকাও ইতিবাচক। উত্তর কোরিয়া আর ইরানের ইতিহাস অন্য কথা বলে। দু'টি দেশই পরমাণু অস্ত্র প্রসার রোধ চুক্তি স্বাক্ষর করেও তা মানেনি। এই

দু'দেশের তরফে সন্ত্রাসে মদত দেওয়ার প্রমাণও মিলেছে। উল্লেখ করা হয়েছে পাকিস্তানের কথাও। পাকিস্তান আর ভারতের অস্ত্র প্রসার রোধের ইতিহাস যে এক নয়, তা বলে হোয়াইট হাউস জানিয়েছে, বন্ধু পাকিস্তানের সঙ্গে বোঝাপড়ার রাস্তা আলাদা। ভারতের সঙ্গে এই চুক্তিকে যে ফ্রান্স, ব্রিটেন, অস্ট্রেলিয়া এবং আইএইএ ইতিমধ্যেই সমর্থন করেছে, তা-ও মনে করিয়ে দিয়েছে হোয়াইট হাউস।

মার্কিন কংগ্রেসের একটা অংশ তো বটেই, দেশের প্রধান সব সংবাদপত্রই এই চুক্তির তীব্র বিরোধিতা করেছে। তাদের বিরোধিতার ভাষা এতই তীক্ষ্ণ যে পড়লে অনেক সময় মনে হয়, বুশ বোধ হয় ইরান বা উত্তর কোরিয়ার সঙ্গে চুক্তি করেছেন। একটি সম্পাদকীয়তে বলা হয়েছে, “বুশের এখন ঘরে বসে থাকাই উচিত।” এই বিরোধিতা কমাতে হোয়াইট হাউস স্পষ্ট করে দিয়েছে, এই চুক্তি ভারতকে পরমাণু শক্তির দেশের স্বীকৃতি দেবে না। বুশ প্রশাসনের দাবি, পরমাণু অস্ত্র প্রসার রোধ আইনে সই না করলেও চুক্তির ফলে কার্যত এই সংক্রান্ত বিধিনিষেধের আওতায় আনা যাবে ভারতকে। — পি টি আই

10 Mar 2007

ANADABAZAR PATRIKA

White House defends N-deal with Delhi

S. Rajagopalan
Washington, March 9

THE WHITE House has hit back at critics of the Indo-US nuke deal, rejecting assertions that it will weaken the non-proliferation regime, trigger a South Asian arms race and embolden Iran and North Korea to continue their weapons pursuit.

In a point-by-point rebuttal of the claims made by the non-proliferation lobby and some lawmakers in recent days, the White House stressed that the landmark deal will actually strengthen the non-proliferation efforts by bringing India into the global nuclear mainstream. It also effectively nailed Pakistan's bid for a copycat deal, stating dismissively: "Pakistan doesn't have the same non-proliferation record as India, nor the same energy needs. We don't intend to pursue a similar civil nuclear cooperation initiative with Pakistan". The lengthy statement in a Q&A format came a day after President George W. Bush kicked off consultations with a group of leading lawmakers and made a personal appeal for support to see the deal through in the US Congress.

Critics on Capitol Hill include some senior lawmakers, such as Senator Edward Kennedy and Representatives Edward Markey and Duncan Hunter. Markey, who has proposed a resolution against the deal, sought to poke fun at Bush for giving India nuclear passage in return for "an IOU for mangoes". The White House statement termed the deal "a historic agreement that brings India into the non-proliferation mainstream and addresses its growing energy needs through increased use of nuclear energy in cooperation with the international community". "Greater use of nuclear reactors to produce energy for the Indian people will not undermine regional security or stability", it said.

The statement sought to make it clear that the deal does not "effectively recognise" India as a nuclear weapons state, as claimed by some pundits. India "does not meet the definition" of nuclear weapons state under the NPT and "we do not seek to amend the treaty" to accommodate India, it said. Under the NPT, only a country that has manufactured or exploded a nuclear weapon or device prior to January 1, 1967,

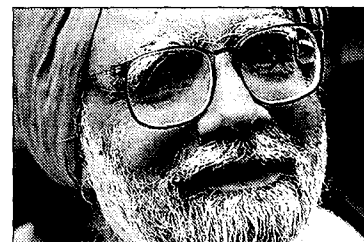
More N-plants on the anvil

PARLIAMENT WAS informed on Thursday that the government proposed to set up more atomic energy plants and construction work on eight reactors was already in progress. These eight nuclear reactors, when completed, will lead to enhancement of power capacity from the current 3360 MWe to 7280 MWe in the next five years, minister of state in the Prime Minister's Office, Prithviraj Chavan, said in a written reply in both houses of Parliament. Chavan said 760 MWe will be added in this fiscal, 1660 MWe in the next, 1000 MWe in 2008-09 and 500 MWe in 2010-11. In addition to this, more nuclear power projects have also been planned to progressively increase the nuclear capacity base in the country, he said. Exploitation of indigenous nuclear resources for production of electricity is based on a three-stage nuclear power programme, he said, adding the three stages have fuel cycle linkages and have to be gone through sequentially, which requires time. Chavan said India's N-programme targets to achieve long-term energy security through the use of abundantly available Indian thorium resources.

HTC, New Delhi

is deemed to be a nuclear weapons state.

Dealing with the critics' charge that only 14 of India's 22 nuclear power reactors will be safeguarded under the separation plan, the White House said the number goes up from just four reactors under safeguards now. It also stressed that "India has committed to place all future civilian power and fast-breeder reactors under safeguards". The statement rejected the contention that the deal represents a "double standard" which will only encourage countries such as North Korea and Iran. "It is not credible to compare the rogue regimes of North Korea and Iran with India", the statement said, adding: "Unlike the, India has been a peaceful democracy with a strong nuclear non-proliferation record".



PM to explain nuclear deal

HT Correspondent
New Delhi, March 9

THE NEXT few days will see Prime Minister Manmohan Singh speak at three different forums as he unravels the complexities of the Indo-US deal and the George Bush visit for the benefit of parliamentarians, Congress leaders and party MPs. The Bush visit will be discussed in Parliament on Saturday. In the Lok Sabha, it will be under Rule 193, with the PM slated to reply to it on the same day. Later in the evening, the PM may speak on the same subject at the Congress Working Committee meeting. The N-deal, the political fall-out of the Varanasi blasts, including the BJP's yatras, and the coming Assembly polls are expected to come up for discussion at the CWC meet.

Pervez turnaround

In an apparent shift in his policy on Kashmir, Pakistan President Pervez Musharaff has reportedly ruled out mediation by any third party on the issue. A statement issued by a news channel on an interview with the President said he had for the first time acknowledged that Kashmir was a bilateral issue and there was "no need for third party mediation".

এপ্রিলের মধ্যে পরমাণু চুক্তি মার্কিন কংগ্রেসে পাশ করানোর উদ্যোগ

নিজস্ব সংবাদদাতা, নয়াদিল্লি, ৮ মার্চ: আগামী এপ্রিলের মধ্যেই ভারত-মার্কিন অসামরিক পরমাণু চুক্তি তার সব থেকে বড় বাধা পার হয়ে যাবে, মনে করছেন মার্কিন রাষ্ট্রদূত ডেভিড মালফোর্ড।

তাঁর কথায়, “মার্কিন কংগ্রেসের একটা বড় অংশ পরমাণু চুক্তির পক্ষে। ফলে এই চুক্তি কংগ্রেসে অনুমোদিত হবে বলেই আমি আশা করছি।”

বাধা দূর করতে প্রেসিডেন্ট জর্জ ডব্লিউ বুশ নিজে কতটা আগ্রহী, স্পষ্ট হয়ে গিয়েছিল তাঁর সাম্প্রতিক ভারত সফরের সময়েই। মনমোহন সিংহের শর্ত মেনে নেওয়ার জন্য তিনিই নির্দেশ দিয়েছিলেন মার্কিন বিদেশ সচিব কন্ডোলিজা রাইসকে। আর আজ ওয়াশিংটনে দেখালেন, কংগ্রেসকে বোঝাতেও একই রকম অগ্রণী তিনি।

প্রথম ধাপ হিসেবে আজ কংগ্রেসের জন্য চোদ্দো গুরুত্বপূর্ণ সদস্যের সঙ্গে বৈঠক করেছেন বুশ। সেখানে যেমন বিদেশ বিষয়ক সেনেট কমিটির চেয়ারম্যান রিচার্ড লুগার উপস্থিত ছিলেন, তেমনই ছিলেন মার্কিন কংগ্রেসের ভারতবন্ধু গোষ্ঠী ‘ইন্ডিয়া ককাস’-এর কো-চেয়ারম্যান গ্যারি অ্যাকারম্যান। কন্ডোলিজা রাইস এবং মার্কিন বিদেশ দফতরের আন্ডার সেক্রেটারি নিকোলাস বার্নসও বৈঠকে অংশ নেন।

পরমাণু চুক্তির পিছনে মনমোহনের ভূমিকার প্রশংসা করে বুশ জানতে চান, মার্কিন কংগ্রেস ঠিক কী কী কারণে এই চুক্তি নিয়ে আপত্তি তুলতে পারে। পরমাণু অন্তপ্রসার রোধ চুক্তিতে ভারতের সই না করা নিয়েই মূলত গোলমাল হবে বলে তাঁকে জানিয়েছে কংগ্রেস।

নয়াদিল্লিতে মালফোর্ডও এখন মনমোহনের প্রশংসায় পঞ্চমুখ। কাল প্রধানমন্ত্রী সংসদে পরমাণু চুক্তি নিয়ে যে বিবৃতি দিয়েছেন, তাকে স্বাগত জানিয়েছেন মার্কিন রাষ্ট্রদূত।

ভারতের সার্বভৌম অধিকারের বিষয়ে প্রশ্ন করা হলে মালফোর্ড বলেন, “প্রত্যেক দেশেরই সার্বভৌমত্ব রক্ষার অধিকার আছে।” বর্তমান পরিস্থিতিতে ভারতকে পরমাণু শক্তিশ্বর দেশ হিসাবে স্বীকার করাকে বাস্তবসম্মত বলেই মনে করছেন মালফোর্ড।

ভারতের সঙ্গে এই অসামরিক পরমাণু চুক্তি সই করাটা যে আমেরিকার দিক থেকেও যথেষ্ট প্রয়োজনীয় ছিল, সে কথাও তিনি স্পষ্ট ভাবে জানিয়ে দিয়েছেন।

ভারতীয় বিদেশ মন্ত্রক সূত্রে জানা গিয়েছে, এ ব্যাপারে আলোচনা করতে কিছু দিনের মধ্যেই ফের এ দেশে আসতে পারেন মার্কিন বিদেশ সচিব কন্ডোলিজা রাইস।

বুশ প্রশাসন চাইছে, সেপ্টেম্বর মাসে প্রধানমন্ত্রী মনমোহন সিংহের আমেরিকা সফরের আগেই পরমাণু চুক্তি বাস্তবায়িত করার কাজ শেষ করতে। অবশ্য প্রধানমন্ত্রীর সফরে চুক্তির বিভিন্ন খুঁটিনাটি দিক নিয়ে আলোচনা হবে। কিন্তু চুক্তির মূল প্রতিপাদ্য নিয়ে যাবতীয় ধোঁয়াশা যত তাড়াতাড়ি সম্ভব দূর করতে চায় আমেরিকা।

INDO-US DEAL ■ New Delhi will have to calm nerves, promise ties with US not directed against Beijing

This weekend, opportunity to reassure China

CRAJA MOHAN
NEW DELHI, MARCH 8

When the Chinese Special Representative Dai Bingguo arrives here on Friday for the next round of talks on the boundary dispute, India will have an opportunity to convey to China at the highest level that its growing relationship with the United States is not directed against Beijing.

India's National Security Adviser M K Narayanan, who had a key role in the successful nuclear negotiations with the Bush Administration, plans to take the Chinese envoy to his home state Kerala this weekend for a relaxed setting to quicken the pace of the boundary negotiations.

Irrespective of the progress on the boundary talks, Narayanan has his task cut out in offering important political reassurances to his counterpart that there is

no hidden agenda between New Delhi and Washington.

With or without the left parties raising the bogey of India aligning with America against China, Beijing has been nervously following the Indo-US nuclear talks since Prime Minister Manmohan Singh's visit to Washington in July last year.

While China has not formally criticised the Indo-US nuclear pact, Chinese media have raised questions about the American decision to make a nuclear exception for New Delhi and its impact on the global non-proliferation regime as well as Asian balance of power. At the last meeting of the Nuclear Suppliers Group last October in Vienna, China took a back seat as some members raised probing questions about the Indo-US nuclear pact.

A few days ago, the Foreign Office spokesman in Beijing, when asked about the nuclear

proliferation regime and peace and stability in the region and the world".

There is enough ambiguity in Beijing's reaction to suggest enduring Chinese apprehensions about the Indo-US pact. Analysts here say Beijing might have concluded that the proposed nuclear cooperation was not an end in itself. China might be concerned that the nuclear pact is really about clearing the path for a much deeper security relationship between India and the US amidst the new uncertainties in the ties between Washington and Beijing.

China would have a say in the NSG when it is convened in the next few months to endorse India's nuclear separation plan. Whether Beijing eventually chooses to oppose the deal in a formal manner or raise the threat of a similar China-Pak civilian nuclear cooperation agreement, it is only proper that

India fully brief the visiting Chinese envoy on Indo-US relations in the wake of President George W Bush's visit.

In demonstrating transparency about Indo-US relations, New Delhi would have every right to point out that Beijing's opposition to the nuclear pact could have unpredictable consequences for Sino-Indian relations which have entered their best ever phase in the past 60 years.

But even as he offers substantive reassurances on the US ties to Dai Bingguo, Narayanan also needs to demonstrate India's solid commitment to make progress on the boundary dispute. Following the guiding principles on boundary settlement signed during Premier Wen Jiabao's visit to India last April, Dai and Narayanan are exploring the outline of mutual territorial concessions necessary for a final settlement.



No mate, we aren't looking at you

pact, said, "This cooperation must meet the requirements and provisions of the international non-proliferation regime and the obligations undertaken by all countries concerned." He also added that as a signatory to NPT, China "hoped that non-signatories can as nuclear-weapons free countries join in the treaty as soon as possible so as to make their contribution to the non-

Bush talks India nuclear deal with key Congressmen

LALIT K JHA

NEW YORK, MARCH 8

US President, George W Bush, who has made Congressional approval of the Indo-US nuke deal as a "high priority" for his administration, on Tuesday met influential members of the Congress seeking their views and soliciting support on the civilian nuclear agreement with India.

"The entire meeting was all nuclear. That was the discussion all about," Gary Ackerman, co-chair Congressional Caucus on India and Indian-Americans, told *The Indian Express*, after the meeting.

Seven "key" members each from the House and Senate were invited for the presidential meeting held at White House.

Bush was aided by the Secretary of State, Condoleezza Rice, and the Under Secretary of State for Political Affairs, Nicholas Burns, in his briefing to the Congressmen about trip to South Asia.

Among House members were Duncan



George W Bush

Hunter, Chairman of Armed Services Committee; Tom Lantos, ranking minority member of the International Relations Committee; David Obey, ranking minority member of Appropriations Committee; John Kolbe, Chairman of Appropriations Committee; Ike Skelton, ranking minority member of the Armed Services Committee and Ros-Lehtinen, who is co-chair of the Congressional Caucus on India and Indian Americans along with Ackerman.

These are considered to play to "key role" in the Congressional committees, which would approve the Indo-US civilian nuclear agreement and the related legislative amendments to be carried out by the Congress.

A long-time friend of India and a strong

supporter of the nuke deal, Ackerman said Bush briefed them about his trip to the South Asian countries and his meetings with the Prime Minister, Manmohan Singh, and the Pakistani President, Pervez Musharraf.

While Bush sought their support in seeking the deal approved by the Congress, some of the Congressmen are understood to have raised their concern over the Indo-US civilian nuclear agreement.

Ackerman, who outrightly supported the deal, informed the President its passage was not going to be that easy. "It is not an easy thing to accomplish in Washington when we are dealing with a nuclear issue," Ackerman said. "He (Bush) quipped, thanks for the heads-up," he added.

"This (civilian nuclear agreement) is an important way to offer an incentive to a known nuclear power that demonstrated for a period of over 30 years that it was a responsible nuclear state that it was a non-proliferator," he said.

Implementing India's separation plan

Fourteen thermal power reactors to come under safeguards between 2006 and 2014. U.S. promises to create conditions for India to have assured and full access to fuel.

This is the text of the document titled "Implementation of the India-United States Joint Statement of July 18, 2005: India's Separation Plan" tabled in Parliament on March 7, 2006:

"The resumption of full civilian nuclear energy cooperation between India and the United States arose in the context of India's requirement for adequate and affordable energy supplies to sustain its accelerating economic growth rate and as recognition of its growing technological prowess. It was preceded by discussions between the two Governments, particularly between President Bush and Prime Minister Manmohan Singh, of the global energy scenario and the long-term implications of increasing pressure on hydrocarbon resources and rising oil prices. These developments led to the announcement in April 2005 of an Indo-US Energy Dialogue that encompassed the entire spectrum of energy options ranging from oil and gas to coal, alternative fuels and civilian nuclear energy. Through the initiation of a sustained dialogue to address energy security concerns, the two countries sought to promote stable, efficient, predictable and cost effective solutions for India's growing requirements. At the same time, they also agreed on the need to develop and deploy cleaner, more efficient, affordable and diversified energy technologies to deal with the environmental implications of energy consumption. India had developed proven and wide-ranging capabilities in the nuclear sector, including over the entire nuclear fuel cycle. It is internationally recognized that India has unique contributions to make to international efforts towards meeting these objectives. India has become a full partner in ITER, with the full support of the US and other partners. India also accepted the US invitation to join the initiative on Clean Development Partnership.

U.S. undertaking

"2. Noting the centrality of civilian nuclear energy to the twin challenges of energy security and safeguarding the environment, the two Governments agreed on 18 July 2005 to undertake reciprocal commitments and responsibilities that would create a framework for the resumption of full cooperation in this field. On its part, the United States undertook to:

"■ Seek agreement from the Congress to adjust US laws and policies to achieve full civil nuclear energy cooperation.

"■ 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.

"■ In the meantime, encourage its partners to consider fuel supply to Tarapur expeditiously.

"■ To consult with its partners to consider India's participation in ITER.

"■ To consult with other participants in the Generation-IV International Forum with a view towards India's inclusion.

"3. India had conveyed its 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. Accordingly, India for its part undertook the following commitments:

"■ Identifying and separating civilian and military nuclear facilities and programmes in a phased manner.

"■ Filing a declaration regarding its civilian facilities with the IAEA.

"■ Taking a decision to place voluntarily its civilian nuclear facilities under IAEA safeguards, and

"■ Signing and adhering to an Additional Protocol with respect to civilian nuclear facilities.

"4. Other commitments undertaken by India have already been fulfilled in the last year. Among them are:

"■ India's responsible non-proliferation record, recognized by the US, continues and is reflected in its policies and actions.

"■ The harmonization of India's export controls with NSG [Nuclear Suppliers' Group] and MTCR [Missile Technology Control Regime] Guidelines even though India is not a member of either group. These guidelines and control lists have been notified and are being implemented.

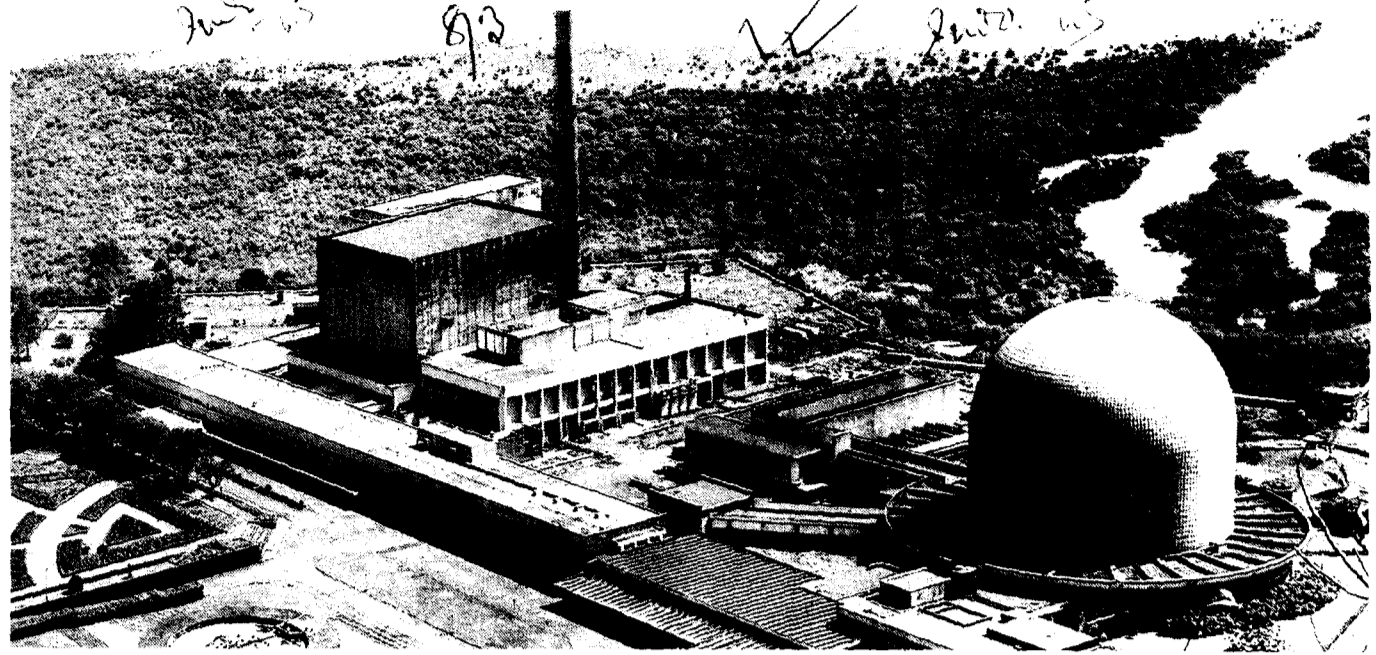
"■ A significant upgrading of India's non-proliferation regulations and export controls has taken place as a result of the Weapons of Mass Destruction Act of May 2005. Inter-Ministerial consultations are ongoing to examine and amend other relevant Acts as well as framing appropriate rules and regulations.

"■ Refrain from transfer of enrichment and reprocessing technologies to states that do not have them and supporting international efforts to limit their spread. This has guided our policy on non-proliferation.

"■ Continued unilateral moratorium on nuclear testing, and

"■ Willingness to work with the United States for the conclusion of a multilateral Fissile Material Cut-off Treaty.

"5. The Joint Statement of July 18, 2005, recognized that India is ready to assume the same responsibilities and practices as other leading countries with advanced nuclear technology, such as the United States. India has an impeccable record in non-proliferation. The Joint Statement acknowledges that India's nuclear programme has both a military and a civilian component. Both sides had agreed that the purpose was not to constrain India's strategic programme but to enable resumption of full civil nuclear energy cooperation in order to enhance global energy and environmental security. Such cooperation was predicated on the assumption that any international civil nuclear energy cooperation (including by the U.S.) offered to India in the civilian sector should, firstly, not be diverted away from civilian purposes, and secondly, should not be transferred from India to third countries without safeguards. These concepts will be



The CIRUS reactor (at right) within the Bhabha Atomic Research Centre in Mumbai is to be shut down by 2010. - PHOTO: AP

COUNTRY	NUMBER OF REACTORS	TOTAL INSTALLED CAPACITY
India	15	3.04 GWe (2.8% of the total production)
U.S.A.	104 (103 operational)	99.21 GWe (19.9% of the total production)
France	59	63.36 GWe (78.1% of the total production)
U.K.	23	11.85 GWe (19.4% of the total production)
Russia	31	21.74 GWe (15.6% of the total production)
China	9	6.602 GWe (2.2% of the total production)

Source: Nuclear Energy Institute, Washington D.C.

COUNTRY	MOST COMMON REACTOR	NUMBER OF SUCH REACTORS
India	PHWRs 220 MWe	12
U.S.A.	69 PWRs and 34 BWRs. Most plants are in the range of 1000-1250 MWe.	51 Reactors in the range of 1000 MWe to 1250 MWe
France	PWRs of 900 MWe and 1300 MWe size	34 PWRs of 900 MWe and 20 PWRs of 1300 MWe
U.K.	No standard size. AGR is the most common in the range of 600-700 MWe	14 AGRs
Russia	3rd Generation VVER-1000 PWRs and RBMK 1000 Light Water Graphite Reactors	9 third Generation VVER-1000 PWRs and 11 RBMK 1000 Light Water Graphite Reactors
China	PWRs 984 MWe	Four

Source: Uranium Information Centre, Melbourne

reflected in the Safeguards Agreement to be negotiated by India with IAEA.

"6. India's nuclear programme is unique as it is the only state with nuclear weapons not to have begun with a dedicated military programme. It must be appreciated that the strategic programme is an offshoot of research on nuclear power programme and consequently, it is embedded in a larger undifferentiated programme. Identification of purely civilian facilities and programmes that have no strategic implications poses a particular challenge. Therefore, facilities identified as civilian in the Separation Plan will be offered for safeguards in phases to be decided by India. The nature of the facility concerned, the activities undertaken in it, the national security significance of materials and the location of the facilities are factors taken into account in undertaking the separation process. This is solely an Indian determination.

Three-stage programme

"7. The nuclear establishment in India not only built nuclear reactors but promoted the growth of a national industrial infrastructure. Nuclear power generation was envisaged as a three-stage programme with PHWRs [pressurised heavy water reactors] chosen for deployment in the first stage. As indigenous reactors were set up, several innovative design improvements were carried out based on Indian R&D and a standardized design was evolved. The research and technology development spanned the entire spectrum of the nuclear fuel cycle including the front end and the back end. Success in the technologies for the back end of the fuel cycle allowed us to launch the second stage of the programme by constructing a Fast Breeder Test Reactor. This reactor has operated for 20 years based on a unique carbide fuel and has achieved all technology objectives. We have now proceeded further and are constructing a 500 MWe Prototype Fast Breeder Reactor. Simultaneously, we have launched design and development of reactors aimed at thorium utilization and incorporating inherent safety features.

"8. Concepts such as grid connectivity are not relevant to the separation exercise. Issues related to fuel resource sustainability, technical design and economic viability, as well as smooth operation of reactors are relevant factors. This would necessitate grid connectivity irrespective of whether the reactor concerned is civilian or not civilian.

"9. It must be recognized that the Indian nuclear programme still has a relatively narrow base and cannot be expected to adopt solutions that might be deemed viable by much larger programmes. A comparison of the number of reactors and the total installed capacity between India and the P-5 brings this out graphically [see table].

"10. Another factor to be taken into account is the small capacity of the reactors produced indigenously by India, some of which would remain outside safeguards. Therefore, in assessing the extent of safeguards coverage, it would be important to look at both the number of reactors and the percentage of installed capacity covered. An average Indian reactor is of 220 MW and its output is significantly smaller than the stan-

dards reactor in a P-5 economy [see table].

"11. The complexity of the separation process is further enhanced by the limited resources that India has devoted to its nuclear programme as compared to P-5 nations. Moreover, as India expands international cooperation, the percentage of its thermal power reactor installed capacity under safeguards would rise significantly as fresh capacity is added through such cooperation.

"12. India's approach to the separation of its civilian nuclear facilities is guided by the following principles:

"■ Credible, feasible and implementable in a transparent manner;

"■ Consistent with the understandings of the 18 July Statement;

"■ Consistent with India's national security and R&D requirements as well as not prejudicial to the three-stage nuclear programme in India;

"■ Must be cost effective in its implementation; and

"■ Must be acceptable to Parliament and public opinion.

"13. Based on these principles, India will:

"■ Include in the civilian list only those facilities offered for safeguards that, after separation, will no longer be engaged in activities of strategic significance.

"■ The overarching criterion would be a judgment whether subjecting a facility to IAEA safeguards would impact adversely on India's national security.

"■ However, a facility will be excluded from the civilian list if it is located in a larger hub of strategic significance, notwithstanding the fact that it may not be normally engaged in activities of strategic significance.

"■ A civilian facility would, therefore, be one that India has determined not to be relevant to its strategic programme.

"14. Taking the above into account, India, on the basis of reciprocal actions by the US, will adopt the following approach:

"(i) **Thermal Power Reactors:** India will identify and offer for safeguards 14 thermal power reactors between 2006 and 2014. This will include the 4 presently safeguarded reactors (TAPS 1&2, RAPS 1&2) and in addition KK 1&2 that are under construction. 8 other PHWRs, each of a capacity of 220 MW, will also be offered. Phasing of specific thermal power reactors, being offered for safeguards would be indicated separately by India. Such an offer would, in effect, cover 14 out of the 22 thermal power reactors in operation or currently under construction to be placed under safeguards, and would raise the total installed Thermal Power capacity by MWs under safeguards from the present 19% to 65% by 2014.

"(ii) **Fast Breeder Reactors:** India is not in a position to accept safeguards on the Prototype Fast Breeder Reactor (PFBR) and the Fast Breeder Test Reactor (FBTR), both located at Kalpakkam. The Fast Breeder Programme is at the R&D stage and its technology will take time to mature and reach an advanced stage of development.

"(iii) **Future Reactors:** India has decided to place under safeguards all future civilian thermal power reactors and civilian breeder reactors, and the Government of

India retains the sole right to determine such reactors as civilian.

"(iv) **Research Reactors:** India will permanently shut down the CIRUS reactor, in 2010. It will also be prepared to shift the fuel core of the APSARA reactor that was purchased from France outside BARC [Bhabha Atomic Research Centre] and make the fuel core available to be placed under safeguards in 2010.

"(v) **Upstream facilities:** The following upstream facilities would be identified and separated as civilian:

"■ List of those specific facilities in the Nuclear Fuel Complex, which will be offered for safeguards by 2008 will be indicated separately.

"■ The Heavy Water Production plants at Thal, Tuticorin and Hazira are proposed to be designated for civilian use between 2006-2009. We do not consider these plants as relevant for safeguards purposes.

"(vi) **Downstream facilities:** The following downstream facilities would be identified and separated as civilian:

"■ India is willing to accept safeguards in the 'campaign' mode after 2010 in respect of the Tarapur Power Reactor Fuel Reprocessing Plant.

"■ The Tarapur and Rajasthan 'Away From Reactors' spent fuel storage pools would be made available for safeguards with appropriate phasing between 2006-2009.

"(vii) **Research Facilities:** India will declare the following facilities as civilian:

"(a) Tata Institute of Fundamental Research

"(b) Variable Energy Cyclotron Centre

"(c) Saha Institute of Nuclear Physics

"(d) Institute for Plasma Research

"(e) Institute of Mathematics Sciences

"(f) Institute of Physics

"(g) Tata Memorial Centre

"(h) Board of Radiation and Isotope Technology

"(i) Harish Chandra Research Institute

"These facilities are safeguards-irrelevant. It is our expectation that they will play a prominent role in international cooperation.

"15. **Safeguards:**

"(a) The United States has conveyed its commitment to the reliable supply of fuel to India. Consistent with the July 18, 2005, Joint Statement, the United States has also reaffirmed its assurance to create the necessary conditions for India to have assured and full access to fuel for its reactors. As part of its implementation of the July 18, 2005, Joint Statement the United States is committed to seeking agreement from the U.S. Congress to amend its domestic laws and to work with friends and allies to adjust the practices of the Nuclear Suppliers Group to create the necessary conditions for India to obtain full access to the international fuel market, including reliable, uninterrupted and continual access to fuel supplies from firms in several nations.

"(b) To further guard against any disruption of fuel supplies, the United States is prepared to take the following additional steps:

"(i) The United States is willing to incorporate assurances regarding fuel supply in the bilateral U.S.-India agreement on peaceful uses of nuclear energy under Section 123 of the U.S. Atomic Energy Act, which would be submitted to the U.S. Congress.

"(ii) The United States will join India in seeking to negotiate with the IAEA an India-specific fuel supply agreement.

"(iii) The United States will support an Indian effort to develop a strategic reserve of nuclear fuel to guard against any disruption of supply over the lifetime of India's reactors.

"(iv) If despite these arrangements, a disruption of fuel supplies to India occurs, the United States and India would jointly convene a group of friendly supplier countries to include countries such as Russia, France and the United Kingdom to pursue such measures as would restore fuel supply to India.

"(c) In light of the above understandings with the United States, an India-specific safeguards agreement will be negotiated between India and the IAEA providing for safeguards to guard against withdrawal of safeguarded nuclear material from civilian use at any time as well as providing for corrective measures that India may take to ensure uninterrupted operation of its civilian nuclear reactors in the event of disruption of foreign fuel supplies. Taking this into account, India will place its civilian nuclear facilities under India-specific safeguards in perpetuity and negotiate an appropriate safeguards agreement to this end with the IAEA.

"16. This plan is in conformity with the commitments made to Parliament by the Government."

Pervez uneasy with warming Indo-US ties

Islamabad, March 7 (Reuters): Warming US ties with India are playing on Pakistani insecurities at a time when President Pervez Musharraf is under fire for the conduct of a war on terrorism forced on him by the US.

Analysts say by the time President George W. Bush arrived home on Sunday at the end of a South Asia tour, Pakistan had little new to show for an alliance with Washington that has pitted its army against its own people on the Afghan border.

To add to Pakistan's chagrin, before coming to Islamabad Bush struck an accord in New Delhi to provide arch rival India with American knowhow for its civilian nuclear programme.

"There was a sharp contrast between the treatment meted out to India and Pakistan," said Talat Masood, a retired general turned political commentator.

Some analysts believe hardliners in the army could be growing impatient with both the conduct of the war on terrorism, and Musharraf's inability to get more support from the US in dealings with India.

Meeting Pakistani media yesterday, President Pervez Musharraf played down rivalry with India, saying Pakistan did not share its neighbour's "global and regional aspirations".

"We are not in competition

with India," he said, declaring Pakistan's priorities were defensive and the creation of jobs and reduction of poverty. But Masood said the US aim to build up India as a regional counterweight to China would inevitably fuel Pakistani unease.

"Whether the fears of Indian hegemony are real or imagined, it has heightened Pakistan's insecurities."

Pakistan has lurched in and out of military rule in the 59 years since it sprang into being from the partition of India. Both India and Afghanistan have regularly accused Pakistan of using militant groups to try to destabilise them.

Since joining a US-led war on terrorism in 2001, Musharraf has been the target of several assassination attempts, with several junior military men convicted of involvement in plots.



Musharraf: Impatient

INDIA-US | Asks whether India would have the same responsibilities and obligations as advanced nuclear states

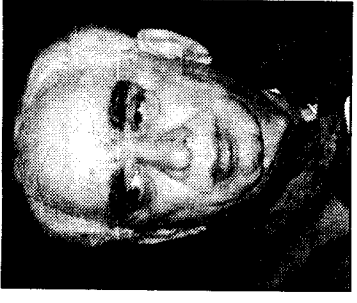
BJP has questions about nuclear deal with US

EXPRESS NEWS SERVICE
NEW DELHI, MARCH 5

IN its first detailed response to the Indo-US nuclear deal, the BJP has accused the government of "surrendering" India's interests by agreeing to put two-thirds of its nuclear plants under International Atomic Energy Agency safeguards. According to the party, the separation plan drawn up by the government would result in a gap on the fissile material available for weapons purposes.

"Not only has the government accepted a cap (on its programme) but also a surveillance of its entire nuclear programme as has not been done before," BJP leader Jaswant Singh said yesterday.

According to the BJP leader, US negotiators had stated the separation plan had been jointly worked out and that the detailed plan would have to be submitted to the US Congress. If the plans had been discussed in detail and also negotiated



with the US, then the Prime Minister should explain his February 27 statement in Parliament that the confidentiality of India's strategic programme had been fully preserved, Singh said.

"If the separation plan has been fully discussed then they (the US) have full knowledge of our facilities.... I had written to the Prime Minister some time back that I am disturbed that the government has shared all the details with the United States," Singh said.

He said the nuclear deal was the result of the strategic direction given by the Vajpayee government, but pointed out that strategic part-

A dream come true for the Indian-Americans

LALIT K. JHA
NEW YORK, MARCH 5

"It is a dream come true for all of us that President George W. Bush's trip has opened doors for new Indo-US relations. Many have compared his trip to Nixon's first trip to China, and I tend to agree," sums up Sampat Shivangi, one of the few Indian-Americans with access to the White House under the Bush regime. He is among the many Indians here who have for long been working behind the scenes to see this day.

Sampat and others like him have been tireless in their efforts, lobbying hard for a better and improved re-

lationship was most effective between equals. "Our government must always bear that in mind," he said, suggesting India may not have been negotiating as an equal.

lationship between the two countries. The result is there for all to see. "We were all preparing for this day. Now there will be no looking back," he said. The President acknowledged the Indian-Americans' contribution in his various speeches and interviews before and during his visit to India. Bush highlighted the community's contribution, both in building bridges between the nations and towards the development of the US.

A section of the community was initially unhappy when told that, unlike Bill Clinton's visit in 2000, none of them would be on board the Air Force One to India. Now, they say the visit has

converted into a "strategic dependency".
"The BJP and the NDA were aware that strategic partnership was not a euphemism for a strategic lock-in with US

exceeded their expectations. Applauding the civil nuclear deal, Sanjay Puri of the US Indian Political Action Committee (USINPAC) termed it a historic step for both. For the past eight months, USINPAC has aggressively worked to get key members of the Congress on board. "We will not rest until this agreement is signed into law," he said.

The USINPAC has been working with members of the House and Senate International and Foreign Relations Committees which have broad jurisdiction for examining the provisions of this agreement. The results have been positive, he said. Quite a few Indian organi-

national and strategic interests," he said.

Singh also said that the government had always maintained, following the Indo-US agreement of July 18, 2005,

stations and individuals have started writing letters to Congressmen urging them to support the nuke deal when it comes for approval. Indian American Forum for Political Education said it will use its contacts with lawmakers in the Congress to help pass the Bill supporting the transfer of civilian nuclear technology to India. Its president, Niles Mehta, urged all Indians to contact their local US House representative and Senator to support the Bill.

Thomas Abraham, chairman of the Global Organisation of People of Indian Origin, said the new ties will bring better things for people in India and America.

national and strategic interests," he said.

Singh also said that the government had always maintained, following the Indo-US agreement of July 18, 2005,

that India would have the same status as a nuclear weapons state. But putting civilian nuclear reactors under IAEA safeguards "in perpetuity" contradicted "this propaganda". "Nuclear weapon states have no obligation of safeguards (for their nuclear reactors) in perpetuity," Singh said.

Key questions raised by the BJP leader on the nuclear deal were: would India have the same responsibilities and obligations as 'advanced nuclear states'; would 'safeguards in perpetuity' be locked in with fuel supply for the same length of time; would the PM's statement that some other Department of Atomic Energy facilities may be added to the list of civilian facilities include fuel fabrication facilities.

He accused the government of going into an "overdrive of briefings" through officials on the nuclear deal when Parliament was in session, and also criticised the Left parties for focussing on communities during their protests against the government's foreign policy.

BJP slams 'surrender' to USA

Statesman News Service

NEW DELHI, March 5 — While welcoming the strengthening of strategic ties between India and America, the Bharatiya Janata Party today accused the Congress-led UPA government of "surrendering" to the USA on the nuclear separation plan.

The former Union minister and leader of the Opposition, Mr. Jaswant Singh, said that it would result in a gap in fissile material for weapon purposes. "It is our view that the government has surrendered on two important counts. The separation plan, reportedly drawn up by the Central government, will result in two-thirds of the nuclear power plants being placed under the IAEA's safeguards. Secondly, this will result in a gap on the fissile material available for weapons purposes," he said.

Mr Singh further questioned that if India had risked losing its nuclear autonomy by agreeing to place "two-thirds" of its nuclear power plants under international safeguards. He said that the government had also "surrendered" to the USA by agreeing for "perpetual safeguards" on the civil nuclear reactors, a condition that he claimed did not apply to nuclear-weapon states.

The BJP leader further said that the government must confirm that "safeguards in perpetuity" would be locked in with fuel supply for the same length of time. He further sought clarification whether India now stood bound under the agreement to put all new imported reactors and fuel under the IAEA's safeguards.

The BJP leader further cautioned the UPA government against allowing India's strategic partnership with the USA to

degenerate into a dependency on the world power. "We urge the government to always bear in mind that strategic partnership with the USA must never be permitted to become either 'strategic dependency' or to convert itself into a 'strategic lock-in' with US national and strategic interests, whether in this region or globally," he said.

The BJP leader, who also accused the Congress-led government of "over-briefing" on the nuclear deal, said the ruling UPA was instead required to answer whether the agreement would in any way impact the country's indigenous nuclear capabilities. "Has the country diminished, diluted, modified our established commitment to indigenous development of technology, directly or indirectly, thus affecting the strategic autonomy of the country," he asked.

Mulford praise for N-deal

Press Trust of India

NEW DELHI, March 5. ^{MB} Terming the Indo-US nuclear deal as "very constructive and credible", American Ambassador to India Mr David Mulford tonight said he believed that it deserved "positive attention" of the US Congress and the agreement was aimed at ending India's nuclear isolation.

"The deal has been negotiated. It's a very constructive deal, a credible deal. I believe it would get the sort of positive attention it deserves", he told a TV channel when asked how confident he was that the US Congress would approve the deal in the light of some criticism in the USA.

Mr Mulford said the civil nuclear energy deal with India will end its isolation and contribute to the non-proliferation system. "This visit is certainly the most important visit any President of the United States has made to India," Mr Mulford said, referring to Mr George W Bush's just-concluded visit to India.

He said the "historic" deal will end India's isolation from gaining access to civil nuclear energy. "I think that would mean it would be a focussed deal on civil nuclear energy and it is of historic importance to both countries. India had a long period of isolation and this would end." The US Ambassador said the deal would also mean the "ability" to address a

^{SR} major economic areas such as energy and it offered India the opportunity to "join the full world system".

The Ambassador said: "From that point of view, it is an opportunity to regularise and globalise the civil nuclear relations with India."

He denied that the agreements in various areas, including space, would give US firms an edge to win contracts in India and said that American companies would also compete with others.

Mr Mulford said the USA and India have a relationship which is extremely broad based and comprehensive in nature and includes all areas of activities. He said the agreement on agriculture initiative, space, science and technology, FDI, terrorism and health were of "direct and critical importance" to both the countries. The focus is on India emerging as a major power in the 21st century and since last summer, when Prime Minister Dr Manmohan Singh visited the USA, discussions were on in his country to enlarge the number of initiatives with India, he said. He said a lot of serious work had gone into working of the initiatives since Dr Singh's visit to the USA last year.

Mr Mulford said Mr Bush came to the country as a "friend of India" and his speeches during his tour in the country had highlighted the magnitude of the new relationship between the USA and India.

The shape of the India-US nuclear balance sheet

Checks and benefits

The details of the negotiations behind the India-US civilian cooperation agreement are unlikely to become fully public in its immediate aftermath. This is a period reserved for positive spin and self-congratulation. The full story will probably be told only when the principal negotiators retire. In the meantime, debates will continue to rage about what the United States of America has gained and what India has conceded — with each side overemphasizing its gains.

From the US point of view, the arguments for the deal were simple. For more than 30 years, there had been no international supervision of India's nuclear programme. Despite its good record on non-proliferation, India was outside the global arrangements. With the new agreement, it is moving back inside these arrangements and adopting internationally-accepted practices and laws. The question before the US policymakers was: Now that India is a *de facto* nuclear power, should America continue punishing it for its bad behaviour or get it on board the non-proliferation regime so that it becomes a part of the US scheme of things?

The agreement, in a sense, answers the worries the US might have had about the safety and secrecy of the Indian nuclear programme and the possibility of the spread of nuclear technology. The agreement curtails the autonomy of India in the highly critical area of nuclear technology while balancing it by promising to dismantle the technology-denial regime that forced India into isolation in high-end technologies. The dismantling of the technology-denial regime holds great commercial benefits for US businesses. The US under secretary of state for political affairs, Nicholas Burns, said as much in Delhi: "The economic benefit is going to be in billions, there is no question about that, because of the huge nature of the Indian economy and the expansion that they are planning in the civilian nuclear energy field."

The US is also hopeful that a large proportion of the big-ticket Indian defence contracts would go to them. Up to now it was seen as an unreliable supplier, but this would now change. The expectation of defence contracts was clear from the Pentagon statement issued a day after the agreement: "Where only a few years ago, no one would have talked about the prospects for a major US-India defence deal, today the prospects are promising, whether in the realm of combat aircraft, helicopters, maritime patrol aircraft or naval vessels."

There are other compelling rea-

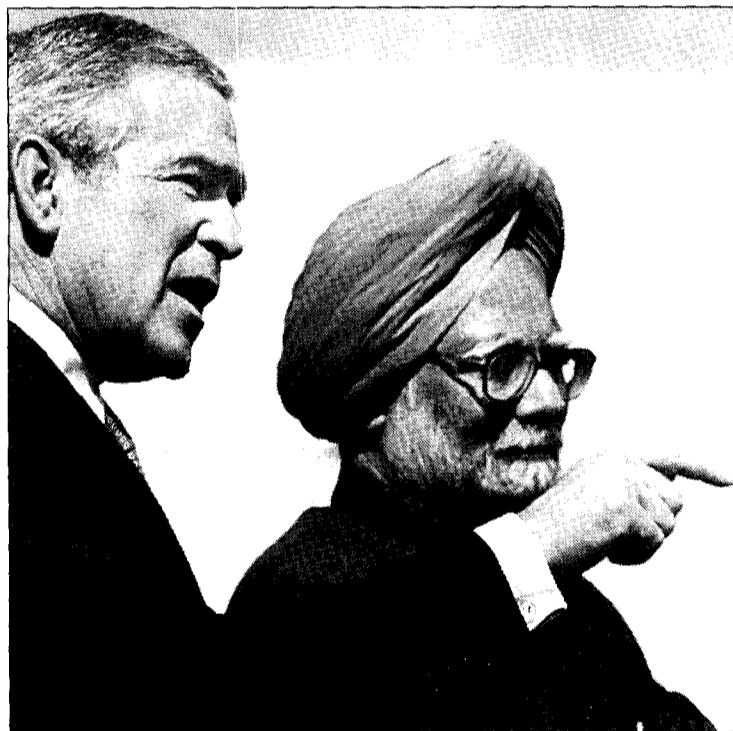
sons also for the US to opt for the agreement. It has serious concerns about the rise of China. It also recognizes the economic and political potential of a democratic, plural India as a counterweight to China. India's eight per cent economic growth rate, its increasing participation in the international knowledge economy and its attractiveness as an investment destination, make it prime economic real estate that cannot be ignored.

fuel supply.

The US has also, to some extent, curtailed India's independence by reducing "flexibility" in handling and use of indigenously produced nuclear material. No nuclear weapons state is required to put its indigenously produced nuclear material under compulsory safeguards. So the purpose of capping the military programme has been partially achieved.

India has also agreed to work

TWENTY-TWENTY BHARAT BHUSHAN



To partake of the Indian economic pie, the US needed to forge closer ties with it and stop punishing it for its nuclear programme. Focusing only on policing proliferation, something India has never been accused of, would have got it nowhere. This was the political decision the US took. However, there are a few things that the US did not concede. It has not recognized India as a *de jure* nuclear weapons power. It will not get all the benefits of a nuclear weapons state. India has clearly compromised on this issue, on grounds of pragmatism.

The US has also forced India to accept international safeguards in perpetuity. Thus, in New Delhi's India-specific safeguards agreement with the International Atomic Energy Agency, there will be no "national security" clause. Unlike the five nuclear weapons states, India would not be able to withdraw some nuclear facilities from the safeguards, if its security interests so demand. However, this has been balanced by permanent guarantees of

“ To partake of the Indian economic pie, the US needed to forge closer ties with it and stop punishing it for its nuclear programme ”

with the US on halting fissile material production under the Fissile Material Cut-off Treaty. This is not a distant prospect in US eyes. Unless India creates a sufficient inventory of fissile material in time, this may be a potential problem. Then in the Global Nuclear Energy Partnership, India is not part of the supplier chain like the US, Russia, France, Japan and the United Kingdom. It will only be a buyer of nuclear fuel with no right to reprocess the spent fuel. Nor has the US said a word about India's aspiration to be a member of the Nuclear Suppliers Group.

However, it is not as if India has gained nothing. New Delhi's nuclear weapons programme has been legitimized. It would gain further legitimacy when negotiations start with the IAEA. India, for the first time, would have the possibility of buying nuclear reactors from other countries. They may also set up nuclear plants in India. But this is not an unvarnished game — India will pay for them and the suppliers will make money. India had a shortage of natural uranium. Its mining capacity has also been limited because of environmental reasons (as in Nalgonda in Andhra Pradesh) or because of civil society opposition (Meghalaya). Now, it would be possible to source natural uranium or even ready to use nuclear fuel internationally. The civilian nuclear cooperation agreement would also make India's international position stronger. Nuclear isolation had prevented India from playing an effective role in the nuclear and WMD-related international structure.

The fact that New Delhi has resolved this tangle will have a fallout on India's ability to do better diplomacy in other regions. India will acquire greater political and economic muscle: US recognition of it will have a cascading effect on other countries.

On the downside, there are some fears that the time-lines of India's three-stage nuclear power generation programme would now get pushed further. New fast-breeder reactors within safeguards would have to be constructed as an intermediate stage to the third-stage thorium reactors. Also, easy availability of nuclear reactors from the international market may mean that there is no incentive for indigenous technology and self-reliance (India has huge thorium reserves which could meet its energy demand for hundreds of years). Dependence on imported reactors would imply moving away from domestic efforts to which international technology was only meant to be supplementary.

There are also problematic areas inherent in too close a relationship with the US, as some European countries, especially Germany, have realized. The view of the Indian leadership is that the nuclear deal does not mean an endorsement of the US perspective on the world. However, the statements made by US officials on Indian policy towards Iran could be a pointer to the problems that can arise. Also, the US policy towards Pakistan is likely to remain an area of non-understanding between the two countries. India's problems on terrorism originate in Pakistan, while the biggest ally of the US against terrorism is Pakistan. Any understanding on Pakistan is likely to remain fragile in any shared agenda on foreign policy.

BJP will analyse nuclear deal before reacting: Jaitley

Protests by Left parties "depicted India in bad light before world community"

Staff Correspondent

CHANDIGARH: While the Bharatiya Janata Party has welcomed the just-concluded visit by U.S. President George W. Bush, it has reserved its reaction till the "fine print" of the nuclear deal was studied and analysed.

Talking to reporters in Amritsar, former Union Law Minister Arun Jaitley said there was no question of "a studied silence by the BJP" on President Bush's visit to India. He said the BJP welcomed the visit, as it was the party's leader, Atal Bihari Vajpayee, during his tenure as Prime Minister, who had extended an invitation to him.

Concerns on deterrent

Mr. Jaitley, recently appointed to supervise party matters in Punjab, said: "For the BJP, Indo-American relations had major national importance. But we have had concerns on maintenance of credible minimum nuclear deterrent. The BJP's stance is already known to the Government and the party would definitely give its reaction after it received the copy of the fine print of the N-deal inked by President Bush and Prime Minister Manmohan Singh."

To respond in Parliament

Mr. Jaitley said Dr. Singh is expected to make a statement in Parliament. Instead of harming national interests through articulating public anguish, the BJP shall come out with a suitable response in Parliament, he added.

Responding to various protests, Mr. Jaitley said the arrogance displayed by the Left parties depicted India in a bad light before the world community. Such demonstrations should have been put on hold till Mr. Bush left the subcontinent, he said.

Banerjee panel report

On the findings of the Justice U.C. Banerjee Committee, Mr. Jaitley said the probe panel had no legitimate power, since the Gujarat High Court had already restrained the Government from implementing the report.

Arguing that the matter had to be decided through the judicial system, Mr. Jaitley said the court would rely on material evidence and not on the Indian Railways or Justice Banerjee report.

Mr. Jaitley charged the UPA Government with attempting to help the 80 accused when the courts from the Districts Sessions' to the Supreme Court had not granted them bail.

Corruption 'rampant'

Commenting on the completion of four years by the Congress Government in Punjab, Mr. Jaitley said the people were disappointed and getting restless due to arrogance of power, while corruption became rampant in most departments.

As it was incumbent on the BJP to provide a credible alternative, he announced that the party would continue its alliance with the Shiromani Akali Dal for the coming Assembly polls.

05 APR 2001 THE HINDU

“U.S. deal no threat to Government”

Sitaram Yechury wants Centre not to vote against Iran

Special Correspondent

BANGALORE: Communist Party of India (Marxist) Polit Bureau member Sitaram Yechury has said the India-United States nuclear agreement was not a serious issue to “rock” the United Progressive Alliance Government. But he warned the Centre against voting against Iran at the International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA) meeting.

He told reporters here on Saturday that “if the Centre does not address four apprehensions raised by the CPI (M), then it will have to think over it (continuing in the UPA).”

He said the Left Parties would take a decision on the future course of action after Prime Minister Manmohan Singh makes a statement in Parliament on U.S. President George W. Bush’s visit to India and the agreements signed.

He asked the UPA Government not to make any move to implement the deal until the U.S. Congress amends the laws.

“The U.S. has adopted the carrot-and-stick approach to make India fall in line with its trade designs. The Centre should not abide by the nuclear deal till the U.S. Congress amended its laws in tune with the agreement. The

group of 45 countries supplying nuclear material should also amend their laws to ensure nuclear disarmament.”

“Modi should quit”

Gujarat Chief Minister Narendra Modi should relinquish office immediately owning responsibility for the Godhra riots, following the ruling by the Justice U.C. Banerjee Commission that held that the fire in the Sabarmati Express was accidental. Mr. Yechury said the Union Government should order a Central Bureau of Investigation inquiry into the major incidents in Gujarat that the Supreme Court had identified.

UPA Government a follower of U.S., says Basu

Has deviated from the principles of non-alignment in foreign policy

Special Correspondent

KOLKATA: Veteran CPI (M) leader Jyoti Basu on Friday alleged that the United Progressive Alliance (UPA) Government had deviated from the principles of non-alignment in foreign policy initiated by Jawaharlal Nehru.

A day after protests in the city against the visit of U.S. President George W. Bush, Mr. Basu said: "It seems to me that the UPA Government is a great follower of the U.S. ... they [the Government] are completely altering what Nehru had pursued [in international policy]," Mr. Basu said here.

It appears that the "present government is thinking that nothing can be done without [the consent of] America," he added.

"[But] what can we do? We have no alternative at the moment," Mr. Basu said when asked whether the CPI (M) would review its support to the UPA Government.

"While conveying its opposition to the U.S. President's visit to the country, the ruling Left Front has sharpened its tirade against the Centre for succumbing to U.S. pressure on matters related to foreign policy," he said.

Mr. Basu criticised the Prime Minister for ignoring protocol and receiving Mr. Bush at the airport. "It is shameful for India and has never happened during previous Congress regimes," he said.

"Poll schedule illogical"

On the Election Commis-

sion's decision to hold Assembly elections in five phases, Mr. Basu said: "The decision amounts to an insult to West Bengal. It is unwarranted and illogical."

Earlier Commissions had commended the State for free and fair elections.

Even Trinamool Congress leader Mamata Banerjee was pleased with the manner in which the last Assembly elections were held, he pointed out.

Chief Electoral Officer Debashish Sen, along with other senior State officials held a video-conference with the Superintendents of Police and District Magistrates during the day instructing them to ensure that the model of conduct sent by the Election Commission is maintained.

Three killed in Lucknow violence

Curfew clamped in two areas after anti-Bush protest turns into communal clashes

LUCKNOW: The death toll in communal riots, sparked by protests against United States President George W. Bush's visit, has risen to three, officials said.

Trouble erupted when protesters, after the Friday prayers, marched through the streets and forced closure of shops in Latouche Road, Aminabad, Kaiserbagh, Nazirabad, Maulviganj and Hazratganj. They indulged in heavy brickbat, Inspector-General of Police O.P. Tripathi said. One person died on the spot after being hit by a bullet during a clash on Latouche Road and two others died of injuries in hospital. The injured were admitted to the KGMU Trauma Centre and Balrampur hospital. Ten Provincial Armed Constabulary companies had been deployed.

The rallyists damaged shops and vehicles by pelting stones and setting ablaze two-wheelers, Mr. Tripathi said.

The authorities announced clamping of curfew in Aminabad and Maulviganj on microphone, but they had been unable to enforce the orders due to shortage of police and presence of violent mob on the streets, an official told UNI.

The Bank of Baroda building in Aminabad area had been set afire.

One of the victims, 12-year-old Shanu, son of Rajendra Kumar, died after being hit by a bullet during a pitched battle between two communities. The kin of the deceased had placed his body on the road demanding arrest of the person, who pulled the trigger.

The problem started when members of a particular community were forcibly trying to close down shops situated in the busy market area, where the procession was passing.

Arson and loot soon spread to others areas under three police stations of Kaiserbagh, Aminabad and Wazirganj.

With majority of the police personnel being deployed for the security arrangements of President APJ Abdul Kalam's visit later in the day, the situation



A FIERY PROTEST: This here is the scene in Lucknow on Friday where firing and arson claimed three lives.

—PHOTO: SUBIR ROY

turned worse within minutes leaving the handful of policemen with no option but to open fire to control the mob. The incident took the district administration by surprise.

Meanwhile, a senior officer

present on the spot said that the administration had to first ensure safety of school children appearing in different exams before enforcing the curfew strictly. "The administration would make fool proof arrange-

ments for the students who were appearing in Boards and other examinations, Alok Sinha, Principal Secretary (Home) said this evening.

Reacting to the situation, Uttar Pradesh Congress Commit-

tee (UPCC) president Salman Khurshid termed the communal flare-up as yet another failure of the Mulayam Singh Yadav Government and demanded immediate restoration of normalcy. —PTI, UNI

"We are closer than ever before"

India's leadership needed in a world hungry for democracy, says George Bush



FRIENDS FOREVER: U.S. President George Bush arrives to deliver a speech at the Purana Qila in New Delhi on Friday. Mr. Bush said he has come to India as a friend. - PHOTO: REUTERS

Amit Baruah

NEW DELHI: After describing India and the United States as "brothers in the cause of human liberty," U.S. President George W. Bush launched a sharp attack on Iran where, he claimed, a small clerical elite was denying basic liberties, sponsoring terrorism and pursuing nuclear weapons.

Addressing an invited audience at the Purana Qila on Friday evening, Mr. Bush had little hesitation attacking Iran, with which Prime Minister Manmohan Singh has repeatedly said India enjoyed "civilisational" ties. He said the U.S. and India were "closer than ever before" and this partnership had the "power to transform the world."

A central theme running

through his remarks was that India, a great democracy, must stand with the U.S. in promoting "democracy" and "freedom" around the world. India's leadership was needed in a world "hungry for democracy," he said, just before leaving for Pakistan.

"Men and women from North Korea to Burma [Myanmar], to Syria, to Zimbabwe, to Cuba, yearn for their liberty... Our nations must not pretend that people of these countries prefer their own enslavement. We must stand with reformers and dissidents..." Mr. Bush said in words of advice.

India and Pakistan, he claimed, were better off with the United States having closer relations with the two countries. "I will meet with President [Per-

vez] Musharraf to discuss Pakistan's vital cooperation in the war on terror... I believe that a prosperous, democratic Pakistan would be a steadfast partner for America and a peaceful neighbour for India and a force for freedom and moderation in the Arab world."

Defending the understanding on civilian nuclear cooperation with India, Mr. Bush said this would strengthen the security and economy of both countries while reducing the risk of proliferation.

Freedom, Mr. Bush said, was not an American or an Indian value — it was a universal value. Appreciating the assistance that India had provided to a new democracy such as Afghanistan, he asked India to "work directly"

with countries where democracy was just beginning to take shape.

Cap on foreign investment

Urging India to lift the cap on foreign investment, Mr. Bush felt that the rules governing business in the country needed more transparency. India's leadership was needed to open markets across the world. He hoped that the Doha round of trade talks would be completed by the end of the year.

Referring to the food assistance provided by the U.S. to India in the 1960s, the President said Washington would now help India achieve a second green revolution. The two countries had agreed on a \$100 million knowledge initiative in the field of agriculture.

Taking a strong line against terrorism, Mr. Bush said that terrorists had misjudged countries such as the U.S. and India. "We love our freedom and we will fight to keep it," he remarked, adding that India and the U.S. were allies in the war against terror.

Thanking the Indian Navy for escorting U.S. ships through the Straits of Malacca after the September 11, 2001 terrorist attacks, he applauded the growing military cooperation between the two countries. "We will win this war [against terrorism] together."

Appreciating India for establishing the rule of law, Mr. Bush said: "If justice is the goal, democracy is the way."

I come as a friend, says

Bush

Statesman News Service

NEW DELHI, March 3. — US President George W Bush concluded his visit to India with a diplomatic round-up speech, terming the relationship between India and US as "closer than ever before" and that it had the "power to transform the world". Invoking Martin Luther King to describe his visit to India as a pilgrimage, President Bush, in his final address to a select gathering at the Purana Qila, said: "I come to India as a friend."

Drawing similarities between India and the US, he termed democracy as central to the characters of the two nations. "Freedom of speech, freedom of assembly and freedom of religion are enshrined in our constitution," Mr Bush said. The common goal was to expand the circle of prosperity and development and to defeat the common enemy — terrorism — he emphasised. On the fight against terrorism, the US President said "We are allies in the fight against terrorism... We are in this war together and will win the war together."

But the US President was not so confident that Pakistan was doing enough to fight terrorism, a day after an American diplomat was killed in a suicide bombing in Karachi. "I will meet President Pervez Musharraf to discuss Pakistan's vital cooperation in the war against terror," Mr Bush said before leaving for Islamabad after a three-day visit to India. "I believe that a prosperous, democratic Pakistan will be a steadfast partner for America, a peaceful neighbour for India and force for freedom and moderation in the Arab world," he said. Mr Bush said there was a time when America's good relations with Pakistan could have been a "source of concern" in India, but now "that day has passed". India was "better off because America has a close relation with Pakistan and Pakistan is better off because America has close relations with India," he said. Police swung batons to disperse about 1,000 anti-US protesters

Charles, Camilla visit this month

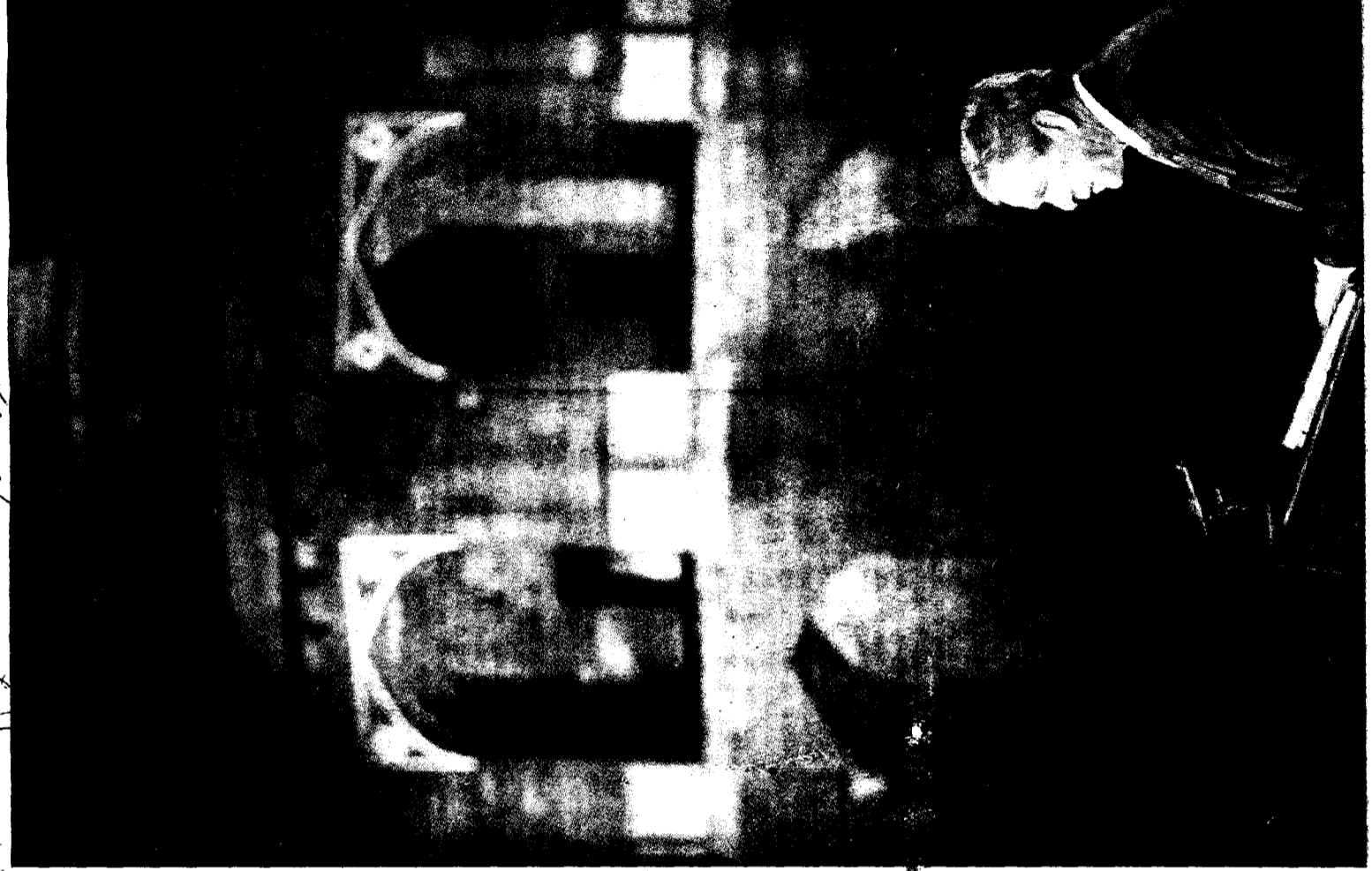
NEW DELHI, March 3. — March will see another high-profile visit when the British Crown Prince Charles and wife, Camilla, Duchess of Cornwall, arrive in India on a six-day visit. They will be in India from 26 to 31 March as part of a three-nation tour which includes trips to Egypt and Saudi Arabia. — SNS

near Islamabad, just hours before Mr Bush was due to arrive. India was a natural ally, he said, drawing copious applause from the not-so-well attended function. Rows of "white" (covered) chairs bore testimony to the security overdrive. He praised India's efforts in Afghanistan while referring to Pakistan. He lauded the role and contributions made by Americans of Indian descent and reserved a special word for astronaut Kalpana Chawla, who was killed in the Columbia Space Shuttle crash in 2003.

Mr Bush said the USA welcomed India's increasing prominence in global economy as it offered opportunities to all, while outlining New Delhi's "responsibilities": It needed to lift caps on foreign investment and open its markets more to US trade. At the same time, he felt, India needed to protect its labour force from exploitation.

"The world also needs India's leadership for world trade," the US President said, referring to its role played at the WTO Doha Round of negotiations. The USA, he said, was pushing for ambitious agreements in manufacturing, services and agriculture and the two countries would work towards the successful completion of the Round.

Another area where India showed leadership was energy, which was also the biggest challenge, Mr Bush said. Referring to the Indo-US nuclear deal clinched yesterday, Mr Bush said the two sides agreed on the plan to implement this "historic initiative" which could strengthen the economy of the two countries. As a global power, he underlined, India had a responsibility to protect democracy around the world.



HOLDING FORT: Mr George W. Bush at Purana Qila on Friday. — AFP (More reports on pages 2 & 4)

Among the hoi polloi

HYDERABAD, March 3. — Mrs Nagarajamma, reliant upon forest produce for her living, proudly displayed to an attentive Mr George Bush gum she had extracted from trees. With a tug at his sleeve, she got him, a little nonplussed by then, to stoop, whereupon Mrs Nagarajamma planted a kiss on a presidential cheek.

The sum and substance of the US president's 85-minute visit to Acharya NG Ranga Agricultural University — where he met farmers, agricultural scientists, thrift group women and artisans — here today was that he delighted rural women who, in their own ways, were quite charming. This visit was the centrepiece of his four-hour stay in Hyderabad. Some women explained their thrift programme: each group member saving Re 1 a day and securing a government subsidy on which banks loan twice the amount. Told that more than seven million women were organised thus, Mr Bush said: "Fantastic." A highly-impressed US secretary of state, Ms Condoleezza Rice, was gifted a *sari* there. Popular requests for autographs resulted in Mr Bush asking for a pen and obliging everyone around. At a handicrafts counter, he was offered a straw hat. He held it. Dr YSR Reddy, chief minister, told him: "She wants you to wear it". Mr Bush laughed and returned the hat. He permitted himself a bit of a social solecism minutes earlier. On being garlanded by a woman, he shook her hand. Then he removed the garland and tried to give it back to her. The woman whispered to Dr Reddy, who told Mr Bush: "She says it is meant for you." Mr Bush apologised and the garland was retained. Later, farmers presented him with a plough. Dr Reddy said: "Please take this to the White House." As if on cue, the farmers placed it on his shoulder. — Stanley Theodore

Open up markets, Bush tells India

New Delhi: US President George W Bush on Friday said the relationship between India and the US was "closer than ever before" and had the power to transform the world. "I have come to India as a friend," he said, addressing a select gathering at the historic Purana Qila here.

Observing that India and the US could lead the way in meeting all global challenges, he said the biggest challenge today was energy. On the landmark Indo-US nuclear deal reached on Thursday, Bush said both sides had agreed on the plan to implement the "historic initiative" which would strengthen the economy of both countries.

He urged India to increase foreign direct investment limits across sectors and open its market for American farm, industrial products and services. Asserting that protectionism was not the right way to deal with issues arising out of offshoring American jobs to India, he said the US would not succumb to the demand and rather retrain workers, who

have lost their jobs, for new careers and create new jobs.

Beginning his address with a *namaste*, Bush said he was "dazzled" by the ancient land, the birth place of many great religions which live side by side peacefully. "You are inspired by the past and you can see the future. India is a natural ally for us," he said amid applause from the gathering. He said the US would open a new consulate in Hyderabad and an American Centre in New Delhi.

Noting the contributions of people of Indian descent to American life, he made a special mention of astronaut Kalpana Chawla, who lost her life in the Columbia space shuttle crash in 2003. Bush said for every nation divided by race, religion and culture, "India offers a hopeful path". The world, he said, had benefited from the example of India's democracy. "It is a global power," the President said, lavishing praise on the country's efforts towards rehabilitation in war-torn Afghanistan. Agencies

দাতা ও গ্রহীতা

প্রধানমন্ত্রী মনমোহন সিংহ বলিয়াছেন, তাঁহারা অর্থাৎ তিনি এবং মার্কিন প্রেসিডেন্ট জর্জ ডব্লিউ বুশ ইতিহাস গড়িয়াছেন। কথাটি সত্য, তবে অর্ধসত্য। সন্দেহ নাই, দুই দেশের মধ্যে পারমাণবিক শক্তি বিষয়ক সমঝোতাটি যে সব শর্তে সম্পাদিত হইয়াছে, তাহা মার্কিন যুক্তরাষ্ট্রের প্রাথমিক দাবির তুলনায় ভারতের পক্ষে অনেকখানি অনুকূল, এবং সে জন্য ভারতীয় কূটনীতির প্রশংসা প্রাপ্য। কিন্তু সেই প্রাপ্যটুকু মিটাইয়া দেওয়ার পরেই এক নিশ্বাসে স্বীকার করিতে হইবে যে, এই বোঝাপড়া দুই সমান শক্তির বোঝাপড়া নয়। মার্কিন প্রেসিডেন্ট ভারতের দাবি কিছু দূর অবধি স্বীকার করিয়া হাত মিলাইতে রাজি হইয়া দিল্লিতে আসিয়াছিলেন, সেই কারণেই সমঝোতাটি ঘটিতে পারিয়াছে। দাতা দানে সম্মত হইয়াছেন, ইহাই প্রধান সত্য। গ্রহীতার ভূমিকা গোপন।

সূত্রাং মুখ্য প্রশ্ন: হোয়াইট হাউস এই বোঝাপড়ায় রাজি হইল কেন? মনে রাখিতে হইবে, মার্কিন যুক্তরাষ্ট্রের রাজনীতি-মহলে 'পারমাণবিক' ভারতকে পরমাণু প্রযুক্তি এবং উপকরণ সংক্রান্ত সহযোগিতার ব্যাপারে প্রবল আপত্তি আছে। আপত্তি আছে প্রেসিডেন্ট বুশের নিজের দলের অন্তর্গত মহলেও। তথাপি তিনি এই বোঝাপড়া করিলেন কেন? এই প্রশ্নের উত্তর এক কথায়: মার্কিন 'স্ট্র্যাটেজিক ইন্টারেস্ট' বা শক্তি-স্বার্থ। মার্কিন যুক্তরাষ্ট্রের দীর্ঘমেয়াদি কূটনীতির বিচারে চিন তাহার প্রতিস্পর্ধী হিসাবে উত্তরোত্তর গুরুত্বপূর্ণ হইয়া উঠিতেছে। কূটনৈতিক ভারসাম্যের প্রয়োজনে ভারত আমেরিকার পক্ষে সেই অনুপাতেই উত্তরোত্তর মূল্যবান হইতেছে। ভারতের এই গুরুত্ব একমাত্রিক নয়। এক দিকে রহিয়াছে তাহার অর্থনৈতিক সমৃদ্ধি এবং সম্ভাবনা, যে সম্ভাবনা কেবল তথাপ্রযুক্তির ভূবনে সীমিত নয়। অর্থনৈতিক শক্তির এই ভিত্তির উপর ভারতের সামরিক গুরুত্বের ইমারত প্রতিষ্ঠিত, যে ইমারতটিকে বিশেষ শক্তি সরবরাহ করিয়াছে তাহার পারমাণবিক সামর্থ্য। কিন্তু অর্থনৈতিক এবং সামরিক শক্তির এই দুই মাত্রার সঙ্গে যুক্ত হইয়াছে একটি সাংস্কৃতিক মাত্রা। শুনিতে যত অপ্রিয়ই হউক, মার্কিন বিশ্বদৃষ্টিতে 'সভ্যতার সংঘাত' একটি গুরুতর সত্য বলিয়া গণ্য হইতেছে, ইসলামি দুনিয়ার সঙ্গে সন্ত্রাসের সংযোগকে মার্কিন নীতিকাররা একটি বিরাট সংকট হিসাবে দেখিতেছেন। এই সংকটের মোকাবিলায় ওয়াশিংটনের দৃষ্টিতে ভারত আদর্শ সহযোগী। কেবল তাহার ধর্মীয় পরিচয়ের (বা পরিচয়হীনতার) কারণে নয়, তাহার বহুত্ববাদী উদার গণতান্ত্রিক সংস্কৃতির জন্যও। এক কথায়, সোভিয়েত-উত্তর দুনিয়ায় মার্কিন যুক্তরাষ্ট্র তাহার প্রভাব প্রতিষ্ঠার যে প্রকল্প রূপায়ণে ব্রতী, তাহার পথে দুইটি কাঁটা প্রকট। এক, বিশ্বায়িত সন্ত্রাস; দুই, চিনের প্রতিস্পর্ধা। দুইটির মোকাবিলাতেই ভারত আমেরিকার কার্যকর সহযোগী হইতে পারে। সেই সম্ভাবনা সার্থক করিতে হইলে ভারতকে অর্থনৈতিক এবং সামরিক ভাবে সাহায্য করা ওয়াশিংটনের স্বার্থেরও অনুকূল। বৃহস্পতিবারের ঐতিহাসিক বোঝাপড়াটি এই সত্যেরই পরিণাম। মনমোহন সিংহ ওয়াশিংটনের এই স্বার্থচিন্তার সুফল কুড়াইয়াছেন। বুদ্ধি এবং দক্ষতার সঙ্গে কুড়াইয়াছেন, কিছু শর্ত শিথিল করাইয়া প্ৰদেশের বিরোধীদের নিরস্তও করিয়াছেন। দ্বিপাক্ষিক সম্পর্কের ইতিহাসে তাঁহার নাম অবশ্য লেখা থাকিবে। কিন্তু সেই ইতিহাসের রূপকার দিল্লি নয়, ওয়াশিংটন।

ভারত যাহা অর্জন করিয়াছে, তাহা ভবিষ্যৎ অর্জনের একটি মূল্যবান ভিত্তি। কিন্তু ইহা কেবল প্রাথমিক এবং সীমিত প্রাপ্তি। কেন, তাহা বুঝিবার শ্রেষ্ঠ উপায় একটি দেশের সঙ্গে ভারতের তুলনা করা। তাহার নাম চিন। পারমাণবিক অস্ত্র-সামর্থ্যের কল্যাণে চিন প্রথম সারির বিশ্বশক্তি হিসাবে স্বীকৃত হইয়াছিল, রাষ্ট্রপুঞ্জের নিরাপত্তা পরিষদের সদস্যপদটি তাহার একটি প্রতীক। অথচ অর্থনীতির বিচারে চিন তখনও নিতান্ত অনগ্রসর। সত্তরের দশক হইতে শুরু করিয়া বিভিন্ন পর্যায়ে মার্কিন রাষ্ট্রশক্তি যে ভাবে চিনের ক্রমবর্ধমান সামর্থ্যকে স্বীকৃতি দিয়াছে, যে ভাবে মানবাধিকার রক্ষণ বা বাণিজ্যিক সংরক্ষণের মতো বিভিন্ন প্রশ্নে চিনের বহু পিছুটিকে মানিয়া লইয়াছে, তাহা এক কথায় চমকপ্রদ। সেই তুলনায় ভারত এখনও প্রায় কিছুই পায় নাই। সূত্রাং দুধের স্বাদ খোলে না মিটাইয়া দিল্লির নীতিকাররা বৃহত্তর অর্জনের সন্মানে ব্রতী হউন। তাহার প্রথম শর্ত হইবে পাকিস্তান-কেন্দ্রিকতার গাণ্ডি ছাড়িয়া একটি যথার্থ বৃহৎ শক্তি হিসাবে আত্মপ্রতিষ্ঠার সার্বিক উদ্যোগ। উপমহাদেশের ঘেরাটোপ হইতে ভারত যদি বৃহত্তর আঞ্চলিক এবং আন্তর্জাতিক মঞ্চে আত্মপ্রতিষ্ঠা করিতে পারে, তাহা হইলে হয়তো এক দিন ভারতের প্রধানমন্ত্রী মার্কিন প্রেসিডেন্টের সঙ্গে বাস্তবিকই যুগ্মস্বরে বলিতে পারিবেন: আমরা ইতিহাস গড়িলাম। হয়তো সেই দিন অর্ধসত্য সত্য হইয়া উঠিবে।

8 A MAR 2006

ভারসাম্যের রাজনীতির দায়ে ঝুঁকি নিলেন বুশ

জয়ন্ত ঘোষাল • নয়াদিল্লি

৩ মার্চ: এ বার প্রেসিডেন্ট বুশের ঘরে ফেরার পালা। তবে উষ্ণ অভ্যর্থনা নয়, ইসলামাবাদ হয়ে তিনি যখন দেশে পৌঁছবেন, তাঁর সামনে থাকবে বাধা, বিরোধিতা।

ভারতের সঙ্গে যে শর্তে তিনি পরমাণু চুক্তি চূড়ান্ত করলেন তাতে মার্কিন কংগ্রেসের একটা বড় অংশ যেমন ক্ষুব্ধ, তেমনই দ্বিধাবিভক্ত পরমাণু সরবরাহকারী রাষ্ট্রগোষ্ঠী (নিউক্লিয়ার সাপ্লায়ারস গ্রুপ বা এনএসজি)। মার্কিন মুলুকের মানুষ এ ঘটনায় বিভ্রান্ত। ভারতের সঙ্গে এমন চুক্তি করায় প্রধান সংবাদপত্রগুলি বৃশ-বিরোধিতায় সরব।

তবু এই অসন্তোষকে অগ্রাহ্য করে, পরমাণু নিরস্ত্রীকরণ লবির উগ্র বিরোধিতার তোয়াক্কা না করে বুশ এ হেন চুক্তি করতে রাজি হলেন কেন? মনমোহন সিংহ এই চুক্তির সাফল্যে কমিউনিস্টদের অনেকটাই চূপ করিয়ে দিতে পেরেছেন। কিন্তু বুশ কি দেশে ফিরে সকলকে বোঝাতে পারবেন, যা করেছেন ঠিক করেছেন? মার্কিন স্বার্থে এমনটাই করা উচিত ছিল? ইরাক যুদ্ধের সিদ্ধান্ত এবং সেখানে বর্তমান পরিস্থিতি নিয়ে এমনিতেই বেশ চাপে আছেন বুশ। গোটা দেশ জুড়ে বিরোধী জনমতও তৈরি হয়েছে। নির্বাচনের আর দু'বছর বাকি এবং ভোটের ফলাফল নিয়ে রিপাবলিকান পার্টিতে এখন থেকেই ঘোরতর সংশয় তৈরি হয়েছে। আবার এ বছর কংগ্রেসে কাজের দিনই আর বাকি আছে মাত্র আশিটি। এই পরিস্থিতিতে দিল্লিতে মার্কিন প্রেসিডেন্ট একটা বড় ঝুঁকি নিলেন কি না, বিভিন্ন মহলে সে প্রশ্ন উঠছেই।

নয়াদিল্লির কূটনৈতিক শিবিরের একটা ব্যাখ্যা হল, বুশ খুব সচেতন ভাবেই এই কাজটি করেছেন। ভারত ফাস্ট রিভার রিঅ্যাক্টরকে অসামরিক তালিকায় না আনা সত্ত্বেও মার্কিন প্রশাসন যে সমঝোতায় রাজি হয়েছে, তার প্রধান কারণ চিন। চিন বেশ কয়েক বছর ধরে পাকিস্তান এবং উত্তর কোরিয়াকে সঙ্গে নিয়ে এক নতুন পরমাণু-অক্ষ গড়ে তুলছে। তাই দক্ষিণ-পূর্ব এশিয়ায় ভারতকে চিনের সমকক্ষ করে তুলতে পারলে মার্কিন কর্তাদের স্বস্তি। কূটনীতিতে ভারসাম্যের রাজনীতি নতুন কিছু নয়। আপাতত না হলেও বুশ ভবিষ্যতে পাকিস্তানের সঙ্গে পরমাণু চুক্তির পথে যেতে পারেন। চেষ্টা করলে, পাকিস্তানের চিনপ্রীতিক লঘু করার। ইতিমধ্যেই মুশারফ বলেছেন, আমেরিকা তাঁদের সঙ্গে পরমাণু চুক্তি না করলে তাঁরা চিনের সঙ্গে সেই চুক্তি করবেন।

কিন্তু শুধু চিনের জন্যই বুশের এই ভারত-প্রেম, এমনটা মানতে রাজি নন মনমোহন সিংহ সরকারের রথী-মহারথীরা। প্রধানমন্ত্রীর সচিবালয় সূত্রে বলা হচ্ছে, বুশ প্রশাসন ভারতের সঙ্গে স্থায়ী সুসম্পর্ক গড়ে তুলতে চায়। ইরান প্রসঙ্গে ভারতের অবস্থান মার্কিন প্রশাসনকে খুশি করলেও তাঁরা জানেন, এই সমর্থন অস্থায়ী হতে পারে। ইতিমধ্যেই অভ্যন্তরীণ চাপে পড়ে ভারত সরকার অবস্থান একটু বদলেছে। এই অবস্থায় বুশ এই সফরে এমন একটা কিছু করতে চেয়েছিলেন, যাতে প্রমাণ হয় তিনি এক দীর্ঘমেয়াদী সম্পর্ক গড়ে তুলতে আগ্রহী। এই কারণে ভারতে আসার আগেই রিচার্ড লুগারের মতো সেনেটরদের মাধ্যমে তিনি দেশের আইন বদলে ভারতকে জ্বালানি সরবরাহের সব রকম চেষ্টা চালিয়েছেন। বিল ক্লিন্টন প্রেসিডেন্ট থাকার সময় ভারতের সঙ্গে সুসম্পর্ক গড়ে তুললেও পোখরান বিস্ফোরণের পরে ভারতের বিরুদ্ধে বিবৃতি দিয়েছিলেন। সুতরাং ভারত পরমাণু শক্তিধর হবে আর মার্কিন জনগণ তা সহজে মেনে নেবে, এমনটা নয়। বুশও তাই জানেন দেশের ভিতর এমন ভারতপ্রেম তাঁর পক্ষে দেখানো সম্ভব নয়, যাতে তাঁর নিজের গদি টলমল হয়।

তাই একটি নয়, ভারতকে শরিক করে তোলায় পিছনে অনেক কারণ আছে। এই চুক্তির বাস্তবরণে আমেরিকা এবং পাশ্চাত্য দুনিয়া ভারতে এক বিপুল অস্ত্রবাজার পাবে বলে

মার্কিন মহলের আশা। সেই অস্ত্র-অর্থনীতি আমেরিকার তথা পশ্চিমের কর্পোরেট দুনিয়ার মুখে হাসি ফোটাবে। আর তাই পরমাণু জ্বালানি সরবরাহকারী রাষ্ট্রগোষ্ঠীর মধ্যেও অস্ট্রেলিয়া, দক্ষিণ আফ্রিকার মতো দেশ এই চুক্তির বিরোধিতা করলেও রাশিয়া এবং ফ্রান্স আমেরিকার পাশে থাকবে বলেই মনে করা হচ্ছে।

মার্কিন দূতাবাস সূত্রে আজ অবশ্য কয়েকটি ভিন্ন যুক্তি দেওয়া হয়েছে। প্রথম যুক্তি, ভারত এবং চিন এখন যে ভাবে জ্বালানি পোড়াচ্ছে, তাতে পরিবেশ দূষিত হচ্ছে এবং হারিকেন ক্যাটরিনার মতো প্রাকৃতিক বিপর্যয়ের সম্ভাবনা বেড়ে যাচ্ছে। পরমাণু শক্তি ব্যবহার করলে পরিবেশ দূষণ হবে না। দ্বিতীয় যুক্তি, তেলের উপর নির্ভরতা বাড়লে দাম বাড়বে, যার দায় মার্কিনীদেরও সামলাতে হবে। মার্কিন কর্তাদের এ সব যুক্তি লোকদেখানো বলে অনেকেই মনে করেন। মনমোহন সিংহ সরকারের এক শীর্ষ মন্ত্রীর ভাষায়, “এত দিন ওদের সাহায্য ছাড়াই ভারত পরমাণু শক্তিতে বলীয়ান হয়েছে। ভারত পরমাণু নিরস্ত্রীকরণ চুক্তিতে সই করেনি। আইন মেনে ভারত শক্তি বাড়িয়েছে। তাই



পুরানা কিলায় বক্তৃতা। — এ এফ পি

বিশ্বায়নের বাধ্যবাধকতাই আসল কারণ। আজ নয় তো কাল এটা করতেই হত। সে ডেমোক্রেটাই হোক বা রিপাবলিকান।” ওই মন্ত্রী বলেন, “আমেরিকা চিনের জন্য ভারতের প্রতি সদয় হলেও আমরা চিনের সঙ্গে সম্পর্ক একই রকম অটুট রাখছি। তাই বুশ যা করেছেন, আসলে তা কোনও দক্ষিণ নয়। এটা করতে তিনি বাধ্য হয়েছেন।”

তা হলে পরবর্তী নির্বাচনের আগে বুশ কি ভারতীয়-আমেরিকান সম্প্রদায়ের কাছে দেখাতে চান যে তাঁর দল ভারতপ্রেমী? মার্কিন প্রেসিডেন্ট নির্বাচনে অত্যন্ত গুরুত্বপূর্ণ এই সম্প্রদায়। বিল ক্লিন্টন তাই ভোটের মুখে অটলবিহারী বাজপেয়ীকে ঘটা করে ওয়াশিংটনে নিয়ে গিয়েছিলেন। যদিও বাজপেয়ীর প্রশাসনে প্রশ্ন উঠেছিল ভোটের মুখে ডুবন্ত প্রার্থীর আমন্ত্রণ রক্ষা করা উচিত কি না।

যাটের দশকে চিনের প্রধানমন্ত্রী বাও এন লাই এসেছিলেন, কিন্তু সে বার নেহরু সীমান্ত-চুক্তিতে সই করতে পারেননি। তার পরেই '৬২-র যুদ্ধ। বহু জমানার পর বাজপেয়ীর সময়ে সেই সীমান্ত-বিতর্ক অবসানে আলোচনা শুরু হল। ইতিহাস থেকে শিক্ষা নিয়েছেন মনমোহন। তিনি ঠিক করেই রেখেছিলেন, যে কোনও মূল্যে এ বার চুক্তিটা করে ফেলতেই হবে। কিন্তু জর্জ ওয়াকার বুশ তা কতটা কাজে লাগাতে পারেন, সেটাই এখন প্রশ্ন।

● বুশের সফর সংক্রান্ত আরও খবর...পৃঃ ৪ ও ৫

THE MANY MOODS OF BUSH

Happy, sad or just plain peeved, Dubya's mobile face makes him a photographer's delight. TOI presents a few pictures worth a million words



YOU TALKING TO ME?



SHAKE ON IT, PARDNER!



DONE IN A JIFFY

GOODWILL PROLIFERATES

In the time it took to hold a joint press conference, George W. Bush and Manmohan Singh made history. Here are some excerpts of the crucial statements that rewrote the story of the Indo-US relationship.

MANMOHAN I'm particularly pleased that we have reached an understanding on the implementation of our agreement on civil nuclear cooperation of July 18, 2005. I have conveyed to the president that India has finalised the identification of civilian facilities to which we had committed. I was also happy to hear... that he now intended to approach the US Congress to amend US laws and the Nuclear Supplier Group to adjust its guidelines. We will discuss with the International Atomic Energy Agency in regard to fashioning an appropriate India-specific safeguards agreement.

I would like to express my warm appreciation for the personal interest shown and the leadership role that president Bush has played in the transformation of our ties. I have met the president a number of times, and on each occasion, I have admired his vision, his resolve, and his commitment to strengthening our bilateral relations. Our discussion today makes me confident that there are no limits to the Indo-US partnerships.

BUSH On trade and investment, ties are growing. We're partners in expanding glob-



ALL IN FAVOUR, RAISE YOUR RIGHT HAND

India and Pakistan have a historic opportunity to work toward lasting peace. Prime Minister Singh and President (Pervez) Musharraf have shown themselves to be leaders of courage and vision. And I encourage them to continue making progress on all issues, including Kashmir.

Terrorists and killers are not going to prevent me from going to Pakistan. My trip to Pakistan is an important trip. It's important to talk with President Musharraf about continuing our fight against terrorists.

The prime minister and I talked about the need to continue working together to fight the scourge of terrorism. You can't negotiate with them, you can't reason with them. They must be brought to justice.

In terms of convincing the Congress, the first thing I will say to our Congress is that our relationship is changing to the better. People in the US have got to understand that trade with India is in our interests, that diplomatic relations with India is in our interests, that cultural exchanges with India are in our interest... The other thing that our Congress has got

to understand is that it's in our economic interests that India have a civilian nuclear power industry to help take the pressure off of the global demand for energy.

What this agreement says is things change, times change, that leadership can make a difference, and telling the world — sending the world a different message from that which is — what used to exist in people's minds... I've always said this was going to be a difficult deal for the prime minister to sell to his Parliament, but he showed great courage and leadership. And it's difficult for the American president to sell to our Congress, because some people

just don't want to change and change with the times. I understand that.

But this agreement is in our interests, and therefore, I'm confident we can sell this to our Congress as in the interest of the United States, and at the same time make it clear that there's a way forward for other nations to participate in a — in civilian nuclear power in such a way as to address nonproliferation concerns.

India has charted a way forward. You heard the prime minister talk about going to the International Atomic Energy Agency. That group exists to help safeguard — safeguard the world from proliferation.

And so I'm trying to think differently, not to stay stuck in the past, and recognise that by thinking differently, particularly on nuclear power, we can achieve some important objectives, one of which is less reliance on fossil fuels; second is to work with our partners to help both our economies grow; and thirdly is to be strong on dealing with the proliferation issues.



EAR FOREVER

al trade. The US is India's largest trading partner, and India is one of its fastest growing export markets. As the PM mentioned, we concluded an historic agreement today on nuclear power. It's not an easy job for the prime minister to achieve this agreement, I understand. It's not easy for the American president to achieve this agreement. But it's a necessary agreement. It's one that will help both our peoples.

Again, I applaud you for your courage and your leadership. I'm looking forward to working with our United States Congress to change decades of law that will enable us to move forward in this important initiative.

ভারত আর চিন, দু'কূল বজায় রেখেই সমঝোতায় আমেরিকা

প্রথম পাতার পর

এর ফলে পরমাণু প্রযুক্তি ও জ্বালানী-সহ শক্তি ক্ষেত্রে ভারতের ক্রমবর্ধমান চাহিদা পূরণ হবে। পরমাণু নিরাপত্তার দিকও সুনিশ্চিত হবে। কিন্তু কী রয়েছে এই সমঝোতায়, যাকে ঐতিহাসিক মাইলফলক বলে মনে করছেন মনমোহন? দীর্ঘ টানা পোড়েনের শেষে কোথায় মোক্ষম চাল দিল দিল্লি?

সংশ্লিষ্ট সূত্রের খবর, তিন দিন আগে সংসদে যে বিবৃতি দিয়েছিলেন প্রধানমন্ত্রী, বুশের সঙ্গে আলোচনার টেবিলে তার থেকে এক চুলও নড়েননি তিনি। শেষ পর্যন্ত মার্কিন প্রশাসন রাজি হয়েছে সমঝোতায়:

- সর্বপ্রথম দেশজ প্রযুক্তিতে তৈরি 'ফাস্ট ব্রিডার' পরমাণু চুল্লি ওয়াশিংটন বরাবরই চাপ দিয়ে এসেছিল, একে অসামরিক তালিকায় আনতে হবে। যাতে তাকে আন্তর্জাতিক নিরীক্ষণের আওতায় আনা যায়। ভারত যুক্তি দিয়েছে, এটি এখনও নির্মীয়মাণ অবস্থায় রয়েছে। তাই এখনই নিরীক্ষণের আওতায় আনা সম্ভব নয়। আমেরিকা মেনেছে।
- প্রধানমন্ত্রী সংসদে বলেছিলেন, ৬৫ শতাংশ চুল্লি তিনি অসামরিক

তালিকার জন্য ছাড়তে রাজি আছেন। দীর্ঘ দরকষাকষির পর স্থির হয়েছে, মোট বাইশটির মধ্যে ১৪টি থাকবে অসামরিক তালিকায়। বাকি ৮টি থাকবে সামরিক। ওয়াশিংটনের দাবি ছিল, অন্তত ১৬টিকে আন্তর্জাতিক নিরীক্ষণের আওতায় অর্থাৎ অসামরিক তালিকায় রাখতে হবে।

- ভারত একটি শর্ত নিয়ে লড়াই করে গিয়েছে। সেটা হল, ভবিষ্যতে দেশজ প্রযুক্তিতে যে চুল্লি তৈরি করা হবে, তার ভবিষ্যৎ ভারতের হাতেই থাকবে। অর্থাৎ আন্তর্জাতিক নিরীক্ষণের সামনে তাকে আনা হবে কি না, তা অন্য কোনও দেশ নির্ণয় করবে না। সেই সিদ্ধান্ত নেবে দিল্লি। দীর্ঘ স্নায়ুর লড়াইয়ের পরে বুশ প্রশাসন এই শর্ত মেনে নিয়েছে।
- দিল্লির দাবি ছিল, পরমাণু শক্তির জি-৫-এর মধ্যে গণ্য করা না হলেও ভারতকে যেন পরমাণু শক্তিহীন দেশ হিসাবে দেখা না-হয়। অর্থাৎ যে রক্ষাকবচ তৈরি করা হবে, তা যেন পরমাণু শক্তিহীন দেশের নিরিখে না-হয়। ভারত-নির্দিষ্ট রক্ষাকবচ তৈরি করা হোক। বুশ মেনে নিয়েছেন এই শর্ত।
- ভারত জানিয়েছে, অসামরিক তালিকায় থাকা চুল্লিগুলিকে

পাকাপাকি ভাবে রক্ষাকবচের আওতায় আনতে তাদের কোনও আপত্তি নেই। পরিবর্তে পরমাণু জ্বালানী সরবরাহের ব্যবস্থাও পাকাপাকি রাখতে হবে। ওয়াশিংটন তাতে রাজি হয়েছে।

তবে এই সমঝোতা মার্কিন কংগ্রেসে কতটা বোঝাতে পারবেন বুশ, তা কিন্তু এখনও স্পষ্ট নয়। মার্কিন কংগ্রেসের আন্তর্জাতিক সম্পর্ক সংক্রান্ত কমিটির সদস্য টম ল্যান্ডেসের কথায়, "এই ধরনের চুক্তি আগে হয়নি। পৃথকীকরণ কর্মসূচির খুঁটিনাটি খতিয়ে দেখতে হবে কংগ্রেসকে।"

ভারতের সঙ্গে এই সমঝোতা যাদের চাপে রাখবে বলে মনে করা হচ্ছে, সেই চিন সতর্ক মনোভাব নিয়ে রয়েছে। চিনের বিদেশ মন্ত্রকের মুখপাত্র কুইন গাং বলেছেন, "পরমাণু অস্ত্রপ্রসার রোধে আন্তর্জাতিক ক্ষেত্রে যে সব শর্ত মেনে চলা হয়, এই সমঝোতাকেও সে সব মানতে হবে।" আর পাক প্রেসিডেন্ট পারভেজ মুশারফ বলেছেন, তাঁদের সঙ্গেও একই রকম চুক্তি করতে বুশকে অনুরোধ করবেন তিনি। মার্কিন বিদেশসচিব কন্ডোলিজা রাইস অবশ্য ইতিমধ্যেই জানিয়ে দিয়েছেন, পাকিস্তানের সঙ্গে পরমাণু চুক্তির কোনও সম্ভাবনা নেই। মুশারফের

জবাব, আমেরিকা না চাইলে আমাদের অন্য রাস্তা খোলা আছে। স্পষ্টতই তাঁর ইঙ্গিত চিনের দিকে।

স্বাভাবিক ভাবেই আজকের পরে উৎসবের আবহাওয়া ভারতীয় পরমাণু বিজ্ঞানী মহলে। পরমাণু কমিশনের প্রধান অনিল কাকোদকর কিছু দিন আগেই এই সমঝোতা নিয়ে খুঁজাছুটে হয়েছিলেন। তাঁর যুক্তি ছিল, দেশজ প্রযুক্তিতে তৈরি চুল্লি আন্তর্জাতিক মহলের সামনে খুলে দেওয়া দেশের সার্বভৌমত্ব এবং সম্মানের পক্ষে হানিকর। অজ্ঞ তিনিই প্রশংসায় পঞ্চমুখ। বলেছেন, "অত্যন্ত ভাল সমঝোতা হয়েছে।"

মার্কিন-প্রশ্নে সরকারের সব চেয়ে বড় সমালোচক সি পি এম পুরো প্রতিক্রিয়া দেননি। সীতারাম ইয়েচুরি বলেছেন, তাঁদের তিন-চারটে শর্ত মানা হয়েছে কি না, খতিয়ে দেখেই তাঁরা মুখ খুলবেন। সেই শর্তের মধ্যে 'ফাস্ট ব্রিডার'কে বাইরে রাখা, নিরীক্ষণের ব্যাপারে নিজেরা সিদ্ধান্ত নেওয়া-সহ আরও একটা শর্ত আছে। সেটা হল, এ সবার বিনিময়ে মার্কিন লেজুড়-বৃষ্টি করা চলবে না। সি পি আই-এর সাধারণ সম্পাদক এ বি বর্ন বলেছেন, পরমাণু সমঝোতা আসলে মার্কিন 'ব্ল্যাকমেল' ছাড়া কিছু নয়।



রাজঘাটে মার্কিন কুকুর

নয়াদিল্লি, ২ মার্চ: আজ রাজঘাটে জর্জ বুশের আগমনকে কেন্দ্র করে মার্কিন নিরাপত্তা কর্মীদের আচরণে গাঁধীজির সমাধিস্থলের কর্মীরা মর্মান্বিত। বুশের আসার আগে ৩ জন মার্কিন নিরাপত্তা কর্মী গোয়েন্দা কুকুর নিয়ে সমাধিস্থলের শ্বেত পাথরে মোড়া চত্বরে কয়েক পাক ঘুরে চলে যান। এতে সমাধিস্থলের কর্মীরা প্রচণ্ড রেগে গেলেও দেখা ছাড়া তাঁদের কিছু করার ছিল না। এক মার্কিন অফিসার আরও এক বার গোয়েন্দা কুকুর নিয়ে সমাধিস্থলে চত্বরে দিতে গলে আপত্তি করেন তাঁরা। রাজঘাটের কর্মীরা জানান, পবিত্র সমাধিস্থলের কাছে এর আগে কুকুর আনা হয়নি। অন্যান্য রাষ্ট্রনেতাদের নিরাপত্তার জন্য যে ব্যবস্থা নেওয়া হয়, এ বারও তাই হয়েছে। কুকুর-কাণ্ডে রাজনৈতিক মহলেও সমালোচনার ঝড় বয়েছে। সিপিএম পলিটব্যুরোর সদস্য সীতারাম ইয়েচুরি, সিপিআইয়ের অতুল আনন্দন এর নিন্দা করে বলেন, "এই ঘটনায় আমরা ক্ষুব্ধ। যে জায়গায় জুতো খুলে ঢুকি, সেখানে কোন যুক্তিতে কুকুর ঢুকল? এটা শুধু গাঁধীজির নয়, গণতন্ত্রেরও অপমান।" গাঁধীর প্রপৌত্র তুয়ার গাঁধীও এতে ক্ষুব্ধ। - পি টি আই

লরার সারা দিন

নয়াদিল্লি, ২ মার্চ: দিনটা কেমন কাটল? উত্তর এল, 'টেরিফিক'। জর্জ নন, প্রব্রুটা ছিল লরা বুশের জন্য। পরমাণু চুক্তি নয়, লরার দিনটা বরাদ্দ ছিল ছোটদের জন্য। সরকারি অনুষ্ঠানের পরে লরা বেরিয়ে পড়েন নয়ডার একটি ফিল্ম স্টুডিওর উদ্দেশ্যে। সেখানে একটি জনপ্রিয় মার্কিন কার্টুন ধারাবাহিকের ভারতীয় সংস্করণের শুটিং চলছিল। লরা তাতে একটু অভিনয়ও করে নিলেন। সেখান থেকে 'প্রয়াস ইনস্টিটিউট অফ জুভেনাইল জাস্টিস'-এ গৃহহীন শিশুদের কাছাকাছি। স্বীকার করলেন, মার্কিন মূলকেও এমন শিশুরা রয়েছে। রয়েছে লিঙ্গবৈষম্যও। মাদার টেরিজার আশ্রম ঘুরে তাঁর দিন শেষ হল। — পি টি আই

বুশ-মনমোহন ঠাট্টা

নয়াদিল্লি, ২ মার্চ: এ যাত্রায় আর তাজমহল দেখা হল না বুশ-পত্নী লরার। আর তা নিয়ে বুশের সঙ্গে ঠাট্টা জুড়লেন প্রধানমন্ত্রী মনমোহন সিংহ। আজ মধ্যাহ্নভোজের আসরে মনমোহন হাক্কি মেজাজে লরাকে বলেন, "এ বার প্রেসিডেন্ট আপনাকে তাজমহল দেখাতে নিয়ে গেলেন না। আশা করি পরের বার তিনি একটু বেশি শিভালরি দেখাবেন!" অতিথিরা হেসে উঠতেই বুশ বলেন, "ফের তাজমহল! লরার কাছে এ নিয়ে কত কিছু শুনেছি... আশা করি প্রধানমন্ত্রী মশাই তাজমহল দেখতে আবার আমাদের নেমস্তম্ব করবেন!" তাজমহলে না যেতে পারার সব দায় তাঁর সফর পরিচালন সংস্থার উপর চাপিয়ে দেন বুশ। — রয়টার্স

পাকিস্তানকে ক্ষেপণাস্ত্র

ইসলামাবাদ, ২ মার্চ: বাশ

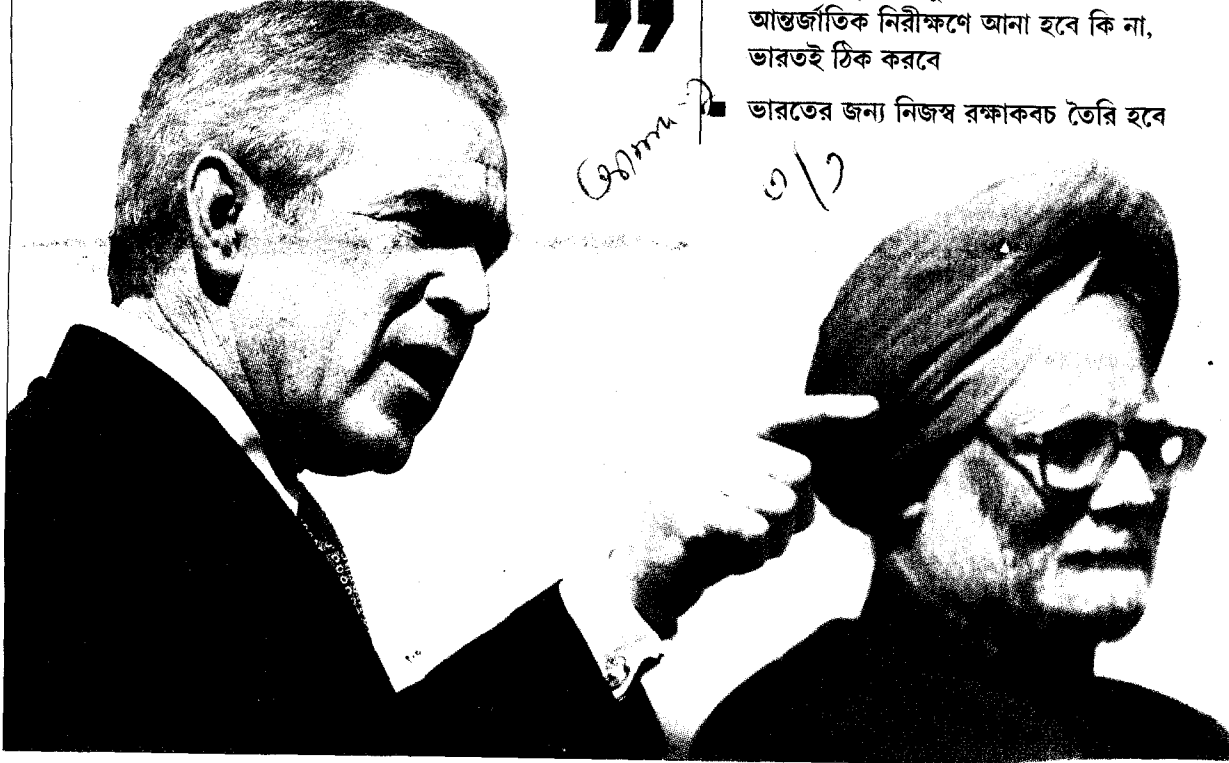
০১ মার্চ ২০০৬

ANADABAZAR PATRIKA

মনমোহনের শর্তে ইতিহাস গড়লেন বুশ

ঐতিহাসিক চুক্তি। ভারতের প্রধানমন্ত্রী বা মার্কিন প্রেসিডেন্ট, কারও পক্ষেই কাজটা সহজ ছিল না— জর্জ বুশ

মিস্টার প্রেসিডেন্ট, আমরা আজ ইতিহাস গড়লাম— মনমোহন সিংহ



চুম্বকে চুক্তি

- 'ফাস্ট ব্রিডার' পরমাণু চুল্লি আন্তর্জাতিক নিরীক্ষণের আওতায় নয়
- ভারতের ২২টি পরমাণু চুল্লির ১৪টি অসামরিক, বাকি ৮টি সামরিক
- দেশজ প্রযুক্তিতে চুল্লি তৈরি হলে তাকে আন্তর্জাতিক নিরীক্ষণে আনা হবে কি না, ভারতই ঠিক করবে
- ভারতের জন্য নিজস্ব রক্ষাকবচ তৈরি হবে

ভারত আর চিন, দু'কুল বজায় রেখেই সমঝোতায় আমেরিকা

অগ্নি রায় ● নয়াদিল্লি

২ মার্চ: নিউ ইয়র্কে ১৮ জুলাই, ২০০৫-এ একটা নতুন সমঝোতায় জন্ম হয়েছিল। নয়াদিল্লিতে ২ মার্চ, ২০০৬ তাকে পূর্ণাঙ্গ চেহারা দিল।

আর সেই মুহূর্তটাকে স্মরণীয় করে রাখতে হায়দরাবাদ হাউসে অবিরাম ফ্ল্যাশ বালকামির মধ্যে জর্জ ওয়াকার বুশের আলিঙ্গনে ধরা দিলেন মনমোহন সিংহ। বললেন, "মিস্টার প্রেসিডেন্ট, আমরা আজ ইতিহাস গড়লাম।"

সমঝোতায় যাওয়ার জন্য ভারত সব শর্ত রেখেছিল, তার প্রায় সবই মেনেছেন বুশ। মনমোহন প্রেসিডেন্ট মুখে একে 'ঐতিহাসিক সমঝোতা' বললেও কূটনৈতিক শিবিরে প্রশ্ন উঠছে, তিনি কেন ভারতের শর্তে সুর মেলালেন?

বিদেশ মন্ত্রক সূত্রের খবর, অসামরিকের সঙ্গে সামরিক পরমাণু প্রকল্পের প্রসঙ্গটা মেনে নিয়ে আমেরিকা আজ ভারতকে পরমাণু শক্তিশ্বর দেশ হিসাবেই মেনে নিল বলা যায়। মার্কিন শিবিরের মতে, একাধিক কারণের সম্মিলিত প্রভাব কাজ করেছে প্রেসিডেন্টের উপরে। প্রথমত, দীর্ঘ দিনের চেষ্টার পরে ভারতকে কিছুটা হলেও রক্ষাকবচের আওতায় আনতে পারা গেল। ভারতের ক্রমবর্ধমান বাজার এবং পরমাণু শক্তি বিক্রির প্রসঙ্গেও আগ্রহ রয়েছে আমেরিকার। সেই সঙ্গে যত দিন যাচ্ছে, চিনের ক্রমবর্ধমান পরমাণু শক্তি মাথা ব্যথার কারণ হয়ে দাঁড়াচ্ছে ওয়াশিংটনের। ভারতের সঙ্গে পরমাণু-প্রসঙ্গে দ্বিপাক্ষিক সম্পর্ক কিছুটা জোরদার করতে পারলে চিনকে কিছুটা কূটনৈতিক চাপে রাখা সম্ভব হবে বলে মনে করছে হোয়াইট হাউস। তা ছাড়া, সন্ত্রাসের বিরুদ্ধে লড়াই, গণবিধ্বংসী অস্ত্রের বিনাশ, উপসাগরীয় অঞ্চল থেকে তেলের জোগান নিশ্চিত করা এবং বিশ্বায়ন-অর্থনীতির হাল ধরে রাখা— প্রতিটি ক্ষেত্রেই ভারতের সহযোগিতা আমেরিকার কাছে কৌশলগত কারণে জরুরি।

ভারত-আমেরিকা আজ যে অসামরিক পরমাণু সমঝোতায় পৌঁছেলো, তা কবে বাস্তবায়িত হবে, স্পষ্ট নয়। মার্কিন কংগ্রেস অথবা নিউক্লিয়ার সাপ্লাই গ্রুপ (এন এস জি)-র সবুজ সঙ্কেত পাওয়া যাবে কি না, তা এখনও একশো ভাগ নিশ্চিত নয়। কিন্তু দীর্ঘদিন রক্তজল করা দর কষাকষির পরে নিজেদের সমস্ত শর্তে বুশকে রাজি করানোকে ঐতিহাসিক বলেই মনে করছে কূটনৈতিক শিবির। এই সমঝোতার দৌলতে আন্তর্জাতিক পরমাণু শক্তিশ্বর দেশ হিসাবে স্বীকৃতির পথে অনেকটাই এগিয়ে গেল ভারত।

পোখরানের পরে যে ভারতকে কালো তালিকায় ফেলে দিয়েছিল আমেরিকা, আজ 'সময়ের বদলের সঙ্গে সঙ্গে' তাকে আন্তর্জাতিক পরমাণু ক্লাবের দিকে হাত ধরে এগিয়ে নিয়ে গেলেন বুশ। বললেন, "আজকের এই ঐতিহাসিক সাফল্য ভারত, আমেরিকা এবং আন্তর্জাতিক গোষ্ঠীর মধ্যে অসামরিক পরমাণু শক্তি সমন্বয়কে এক ধাপ এগিয়ে নিয়ে গেল।" এখানেই না-থেকে মার্কিন প্রেসিডেন্ট বলেছেন, "আমরা তথ্য বিনিময় করছি পরস্পরকে সুরক্ষিত করব বলে। দেশের মানুষের নিরাপত্তা বাড়ানোর একটা সাধারণ লক্ষ্য রয়েছে আমাদের।"

সংসদ চলছে বলে আজ পরমাণু সমঝোতার রূপরেখা নিয়ে বিশদে মুখ খোলেননি প্রধানমন্ত্রী। ধন্যবাদ দিয়েছেন বুশকে। বলেছেন, এই ব্যাপারে "আমরা সন্তোষজনক অগ্রগতি ঘটিয়েছি। প্রেসিডেন্ট বুশকে ধন্যবাদ জানাই। তার উদ্যমেই এটা সম্ভব হল।" এর পরে বুশের কোর্টে বল ঠেলে দিয়ে বলেছেন, "এ বার এই সমঝোতাকে মার্কিন কংগ্রেস এবং এন এস জি-র সামনে পেশ করা জর্জ বুশের দায়িত্ব।"

সমঝোতার কথা জেনে আন্তর্জাতিক পরমাণু শক্তি সংস্থার ডিরেক্টর জেনারেল মহম্মদ এল বারাদেই বলেছেন, এর পর ছয়ের পাতায়

● বুশের সফর সংক্রান্ত আরও খবর... পৃঃ ৫ ও ৬

03 MAR 2006

ANADARAZAR PATRICKA

SERIOUS, SOLID POLITICS: GOING BEHIND THE SCENES AND DE-CODING THE POWER MATRIX FOR YOU

JIHADIS BECOME OPIUM OF CONGRADES



MAKING MARK IN HIS SEPULCHRE: An anti-US rally by communist parties and Muslim organisations in Mumbai on Thursday to protest against President George W Bush's visit to India and against cartoons on Prophet Mohammad published in a Danish newspaper.

Left protocol: What's good for Abdullah is not good for Bush

Our Political Bureau
NEW DELHI

LEFTISTS and liberals often display an itch to adopt double standards. And this was in full public glare once again on Thursday when leading lights of these sections attacked Prime Minister Manmohan Singh's decision to receive president Bush at the Indira Gandhi International Airport.

According to them, the PM should not have broken the protocol. The message was that Mr Singh lowered the prestige of the office that he holds by going to the airport to receive the visiting dignitary. The Leftists and liberals, of course, cannot be faulted for not being familiar with the famed Indian expression *atithi devo bhava*.

But what could invite the change of double standards is the fact that they remained silent when the prime minister made a similar gesture a month ago by receiving Saudi Arabia's King Abdullah bin Abdulaziz



PRESIDING OVER ABUSIVE SLOGANS: CPM general secretary Prakash Karat and SP's Amar Singh at a protest rally in New Delhi on Thursday.

Al-Saud. The chief protector of Wahabi Islam was India's guest at the Republic Day celebrations. Unlike president Bush, who began the visit after paying homage to Mahatma Gandhi, the Saudi monarch departed from protocol and skipped a visit to Raj Ghat. The same sections had defended the PM when he broke protocol and went to the airport to see off Congress president Sonia Gandhi to Russia.

Protocol for Left and SP

was also critical of the PM driving to the airport to receive the US leader. These leaders got ample support from liberals like Arundhati Roy, who matched the ugly soundbytes of the Left leaders, at a rally organised by the Left, SP and Muslim organisations. Ms Roy, who claimed that entire India was against an engagement with the United States, said the US president was here to "speak to some caged animals near the Delhi zoo."

Left leads huge anti-Bush rally

Joint effort afoot to block terror funding

Our Political Bureau
NEW DELHI

AROUND 40,000 marched from Ramliya Maidan to Jantar Mantar in a Left-led rally protesting against American policies, even as president George Bush and Prime Minister Manmohan Singh wrapped up the nuclear deal. Besides the Left, parties like the Samajwadi Party and JD-S participated in the rally which also saw like-minded students, trade unionists, and activists, joining it. While the Left made its usual anti-US noises and castigated the war on Iraq, Samajwadi Party leader and Uttar Pradesh chief minister used the platform to egg on the Left to withdraw support to the UPA government.

The anti-Bush protests also reflected in Parliament where a key ally of the UPA, the RJD, joined the Left, SP, JD-S and BSP in stalling Question Hour and demanding that government spell out terms of the Indo-US pacts in the House.

A little away from Parliament, black balloons saying "go back Bush" were released as CPM general secretary Prakash Karat said the US wanted to put an end to India's independent nuclear programme. He said any "compromise with the US will not be tolerated by people" and the government will be responsible for this. "It's a matter of shame that besides BJP, only Congress was supportive of the US," he said.

Our Bureau
NEW DELHI

INDIA may tighten safeguards against money laundering, joining forces with Uncle Sam against terror funding. The team effort would aim at misuse of the financial system to launder slush money and provide financial support to extremist networks like al Qaeda.

The two sides are already cooperating with each other by sharing information on suspect fund flows, highly-placed sources said. The effort would now be stepped up in a big way to scrutinise international transactions pertaining to cross-border trade, investments and donations, they added.

The joint statement issued after Bush-Singh

deliberations listed "preventing the illicit use of the financial system" as one of the objectives on the economic sphere. The importance attached to this effort by the US side is far higher than what is reflected in the statement, the sources said.

Since 9/11, the US has been looking at global money flows with a microscope to choke terror funding. This followed intelligence reports on money being wired to 9/11 bombers from Pakistan and some European destinations.

India is also on alert for terror funds since hawala funds were tracked while investigating terrorist organisation functioning in Jammu & Kashmir. A number of precautions have been put in through the money laundering law which was enacted recently.

Nation will gain, Congress may lose

Our Political Bureau
NEW DELHI

AFTER having demonstrated the determination to push through the landmark Indo-US civilian nuclear energy deal, the biggest challenge for Mr Manmohan Singh and the Congress is to sell the deal to the domestic constituency.

The task is not easy one as a significant sections of the treasury benches — 100-odd MPs in the Lok Sabha — have been opposing the engagement with the US. That the CCPA's endorsement for the deal was not a good enough protection from attack was clear when Lalu Yadav's RJD — the railway minister is a member of the CCPA — today joined the anti-Bush protests in Parliament.

The anti-Bush protesters are sure to test their new theme in the coming elections. With sectarian elements already brazenly India's engagement with the US an affront to community interests, it can have dangerous electoral implications for the Congress. In poll-bound Assam, the Congress is already experiencing erosion in minority vote bank.

As of now, only the BJP has come out to back the government on the new relationship with the US. But this support may prove to be politically counter-pro-



ductive for the Congress. In any case, the Left has been saying that the UPA government was following the route marked out by the Congress in foreign policy matters. On its part, the Congress is yet to discuss ways to meet the domestic fallout of the alliance with the US.

With its own allies converting foreign policy issues into matters of political contest, the Congress will soon have to sit

down and formulate its response. The PM had said he considered President Bush's initiative as momentous. "President Bush is admired for his strong position on terrorism and I was particularly pleased that we agreed on the need to root out terrorism, of which India has been a major victim". This was a clear message to the Left that he did not agree with their views.

India, US set terms of N-deal



Ladies and gentlemen, this historic deal will put India on par with the five nuclear-weapon states. India's no longer the developing, Third-World economy it used to be - Now playing in ET, Superpower Meets Superpower. Dubya Meets Turbanator. Say, cheers to our entry into the Global Power Pack

Nirmala Ganapathy
NEW DELHI

IN A development that could put India on par with the five nuclear weapon states, Prime Minister Manmohan Singh and US President George W. Bush on Thursday wrapped up a historic nuclear deal.

The two leaders, who swept aside reservations of Cold Warriors in India and the non-proliferation bigots in the US, agreed on an Indian nuclear separation plan that would end the de-nial regime experienced by New Delhi for over three decades.

BUSH BUTTON

In the process, the two countries signalled the taming of a prospect of a radical transformation in Indo-US relationship — from convergence of mutual interests into a solid alliance.

While India agreed to denigrate 65% of its nuclear facilities — 14 of the 22 reactors — President Bush promised to work with the US Congress to make the required changes in American laws for treating India as a de facto nuclear state.

The sticking point at Wednesday night's ne-

Pact to cut reliance on hydrocarbons

Our Political Bureau
NEW DELHI

THURSDAY'S historic nuclear deal will help India access uranium from the international market for its energy programmes. New Delhi has been facing nuclear isolation for the past several decades. US President George W. Bush will now have to work with the US Congress for making the required amendments in the laws to allow a special status for India. He has also promised to get the backing of the Nuclear Supplier Group (NSG) for the deal.



NSG — comprising 45 nuclear supplier states including the US, China and Russia — has an agreement to co-ordinate its export controls governing transfers of civilian nuclear material and nuclear-related equipment and technology to non-nuclear-weapon states.

► **Russia, France back agreement: P 9**

Trade barriers in select areas to go

Our Bureau
NEW DELHI

AFTER Bush, now get ready for the shove. Trade between India and the US is all set to rev up with the two sides going all out on the liberalisation of market access. While you have heard about the *Aam-Bush* — Indian mangoes on American dining tables — right from the President's mouth, the official delegations have shortlisted a number of segments where barriers to trade would be dismantled.

India, for example, will be authorised to certify organic foods for export to the US, in line with US department of agriculture (USDA) standards.

Thorny regulations will be liberalised to allow hassle-free trade in poultry, fresh

Our Bureau
NEW DELHI

fruit and vegetables, cereals and almonds too. The import comes at a time when exports are on the *Woolly Trade* Organisation (WTO) to eliminate export subsidies provided for farm products.

The new initiative, taking shape after the Bush-Manmohan Singh deliberations, is not restricted to farm goods alone.

The two sides have agreed to double bilateral trade in three years to \$40 billion and the trade-booster strategies on the drawing board cover both goods as well as services. Elimination of trade barriers, both tariff as well as non-tariff, will be high on the agenda now, since the larger picture of India-US strategic partnership has taken shape.

The two sides have agreed to "advance mutually beneficial bilateral trade and investment flows".

Ceiling on H-1B visas likely to be raised

Our Bureau
NEW DELHI

US President George W. Bush hinted on Thursday that a larger number of non-immigrant (H-1B) visa could be issued by the US authorities. This should make Indian professionals seeking work in the US happy.

Though the final decision rests with the US Congress, Mr Bush has clearly indicated that he will not veto a proposal for raising the cap. However, even as Mr Bush made this statement at the joint press conference in New Delhi, lawmakers in Washington were preparing to debate

Senator Arlen Specter's Bill.

The Specter Bill proposes to increase the number of H-1B visas available from 65,000 to 115,000 annually.

The Bill also proposes to exempt foreign nationals who have earned advanced degrees in science, technology, engineering or maths from the H-1B cap.

At the Hyderabad House press conference, Mr Bush said: "I think there needs to be more student exchanges between our countries. I think we ought to expand H-1B visas for Indian scientists, engineers and physicists and people in our country."

► **Indians beg around 20% of H-1B quota: P 9**

Energy sector creates \$100-bn opportunity

Shubham Mukherjee
NEW DELHI

WITH the civilian nuclear deal between the US and India in place now, the US business community sees \$100-billion worth new opportunities in India's energy sector alone.

In fact, given this potential, a strong contingent of the US business community has launched the second phase of its strategic initiative to ensure that the deal passes muster in the US Congress. It is not just the energy sector potential that the three-million strong business community of the US Chamber of Commerce, the most influential voice in the corridors of power in the US, will be elated about.

Sources in the US business community said it will also help reduce India's de-

pendence on oil and coal-fired power plants which can in turn help keep world oil prices lower.

India also stands to win through this deal. Strengthening the strategic partnership with India will provide an impetus to India's economic reforms programme that has progressively opened India's markets to US investment in key areas like information technology, telecom, pharmaceuticals, defence trade, insurance, pensions, banking, real estate and infrastructure.

To win passage of the agreement, which requires congressional approval, the chamber is hosting 'Coalition for Partnership with India' to marshal a broad public advocacy campaign that will include aggressive lobbying on Capitol Hill.

► **Lobby firms work hard on deal: P 9**

SENSEX CROSSES 10,700 MARK, RETREATS LATER

9.6.88 51.9

Nuke effect on Dalal Street

MUMBAI, March 2. — The benchmark SENSEX zoomed past 10,700 points on the Stock Exchange, Mumbai this afternoon, soon after reports spread that India and the US have reached an understanding on the implementation of the civilian nuclear cooperation agreed last year.

The SENSEX spurted by 140.75 points to 10,706.22 at 12.30 pm on aggressive buying by foreign as well as domestic funds. The National Stock Exchange index, Nifty, also touched a record high at 3,170.35 points, gaining 47.25 points. The market was in a bullish mood and reports of a

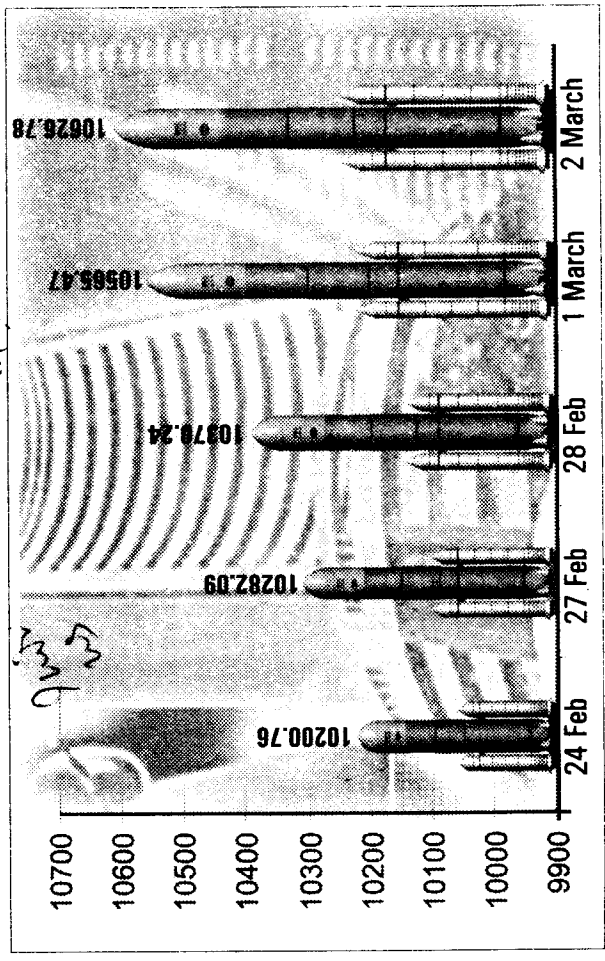
positive outcome of the Indo-US talks on the nuclear issue worked to push up stocks in almost all the segments to their new high levels. Foreign institutional investors (FIIs) remained heavy buyers in key counters while domestic mutual funds, which are said to be flush with funds, made hectic purchases in blue chip stocks after presentation of the growth-oriented Budget.

The BSE 30-share Sensitive Index fluctuated erratically in a range of 10,706.22 to 10,593.80 on alternate bouts of buying and selling before ending the day at an all-time closing high of 10,626.78 from yesterday's

close of 10,565.47, a net rise of 61.31 points or 0.58 per cent.

FIIs have been consistent net buyers and reported net inflows of more than Rs 7,600 crore during February. Domestic funds have turned buyers and made net purchases of more than Rs 277 crore in the last two days of February.

Capital goods, bank, auto and PSU shares were in the forefront following fresh buying support. Heavyweights such as Bharti Tele-Venture, RIL, SBI, ONGC, L&T, ITC, ICICI Bank, Tata Steel, Tata Motors and HDFC Bank scored impressive advances. — PTI



Protests rock Parliament

9/11/22
10/3
5/1/23
10/7
Statesman News Service

CPI-M threat

NEW DELHI, March 2. — The Parliament was today rocked by protests by Left and Samajwadi Party members against the visit of US President George W Bush.

Agitated Left MPs as well as those from SP shouted slogans against Mr Bush's visit in both Houses of Parliament from the moment proceedings began this morning, forcing adjournments in the first half of the day's business. SP members, wearing red caps, trooped into the Well of Lok Sabha. They were joined by Left MPs in raising slogans like, "Bush go back."

Even before Parliament began its business for the day, MPs of the four Left parties and the SP staged a sit-in inside Parliament complex to express their opposition to Mr Bush's trip. Holding placards with slogans such as "War criminal Bush go back", "UPA government stop surrendering to US imperialism" and "Killer Bush", the MPs as well as senior leaders from their parties shouted slogans against the USA.

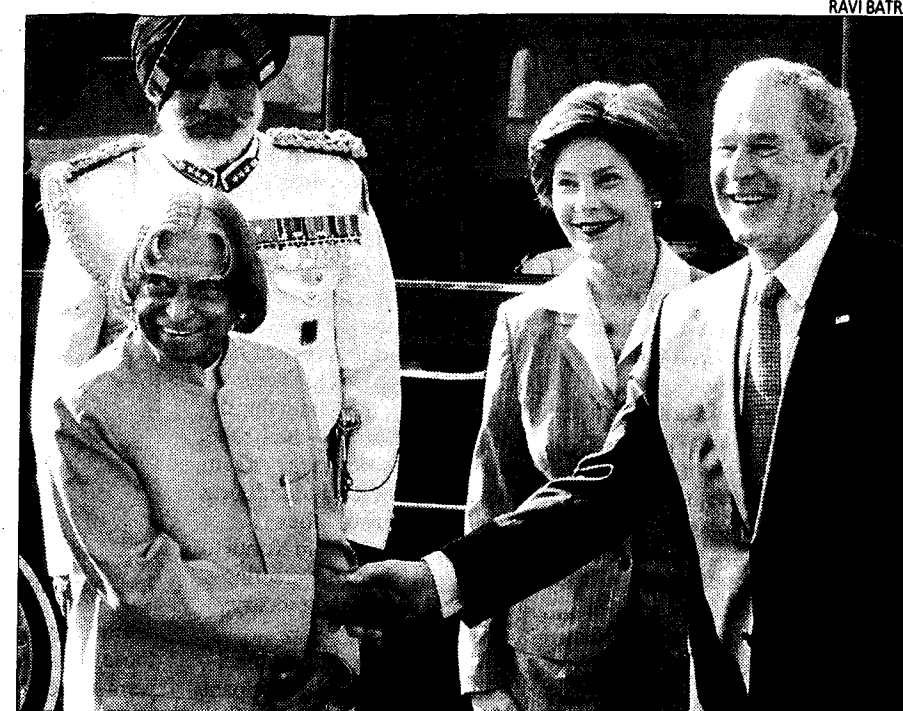
Describing Mr Bush as "the biggest enemy of humanity" and the "biggest killer of the 21st century," CPI-M MP Mr Hannan Mollah said: "Bush should have no place in India; he should not be all-

NEW DELHI, March 2. — The CPI-M declared today that the government would have to "face the consequences" if they succumb to US pressure while clinching an Indo-US nuclear deal. "It is obvious that they have to face consequences," CPI-M Politburo member Mr Sitaram Yechury said on the sidelines of an anti-Bush protest march in New Delhi.

Tens of thousands of people belonging to Left and Muslim organisations and raising anti-Bush and anti-USA slogans converged at Ramlila Ground to protest the visit of Mr Bush. Waving red flags and holding placards and banners — reading "Killer Bush Go Back" and "Bush A War Criminal" — thousands denounced the President's visit. However, the turnout, was below what had been promised by the leaders of the Left. — PTI

owed to come and spread his tentacles on our soil." "After Afghanistan and Iraq, he is now creating a plot to attack Iran," he added. Parliamentary affairs minister Mr PR Das Munshi assured that "the Prime Minister will come to Parliament and tell what has happened (during Mr Bush's visit)."

The Left leaders later went to Ramlila Ground to participate in a massive demonstration against the Bush visit.



(From left) President Bush with wife Laura at Rajghat; with Congress chief Sonia Gandhi; Leader of Oppn LK Advani; (above) President Kalam welcomes Bush at Rashtrapati Bhawan on Thursday

At Raisina Hill, 'never seen a welcome so grand'

ENS & PTI
NEW DELHI, MARCH 2

a word of praise for the New Delhi weather, saying it was "beautiful".

ACCORDED a grand ceremonial welcome in the forecourt of the Rashtrapati Bhavan here this morning, US President George W Bush said today that he was looking forward to fostering "a very important relationship" with India.

Marking the formal start of the US president's visit here, Bush and US First Lady Laura Bush arrived this morning at Rashtrapati Bhavan in a cavalcade of bullet-proof cars. There they were received by the President, the PM and the PM's wife, Gursharan Kaur.

Obviously impressed by the red carpet welcome and the ceremonial guard of honour presented by the armed forces, Bush said, "I have been received in many capitals of the world, but I have never seen a reception as well organised and as grand as the reception we just received. Coming up to this majestic building was breathtaking and the horses that led us in added great elegance to the welcoming ceremony."

As the gun salute boomed and a three-services brass band played the national anthems of both countries, the US head of state inspected the ceremonial guard of honour and inspected it.

Thanking President APJ Abdul Kalam and Prime Minister Manmohan Singh profusely for the visit and the grand reception, Bush said, "It is an honour to be here. I have never been to India before. I have been looking forward to this trip for a long time."

Bush was then introduced by the Prime Minister to key members of his council of ministers—including Pranab Mukherjee, Shivraj Patil, P Chidambaram and Kapil Sibal—National Security Adviser M K Narayanan and the three service chiefs.

"I am looking forward to working with the President and the Prime Minister to foster a very important relationship."

The US President was accompanied by his Secretary of State Condoleezza Rice, National Security Adviser Stephen Hadley, Under Secretary of State Nicholas Burns and Ambassador to India David Mulford.

After the ceremonial reception, Bush left for Mahatma Gandhi's *samadhi* at Rajghat amidst an unprecedented security cover.

'Terror threat to democracy everywhere'

At banquet for Bush, PM calls for fighting terrorism together; defence logistics agreement ready

ENS & PTI
NEW DELHI, MARCH 2

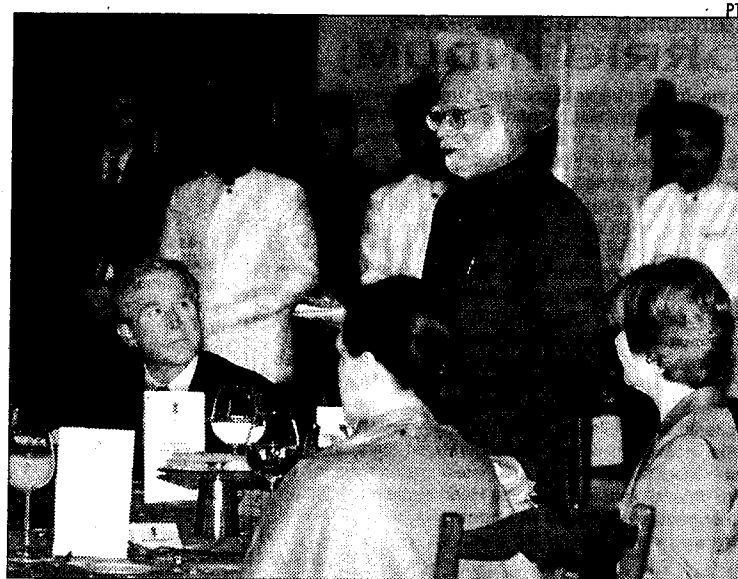
NEW Delhi is inclined to having a neighbourhood of peace and prosperity, and India and the US must together fight terrorism, said Prime Minister Manmohan Singh at a banquet hosted by him in honour of President George W Bush and US First Lady Laura Bush here today.

"We must fight terrorism wherever it exists, because terrorism anywhere threatens democracy everywhere," the Prime Minister said while welcoming Bush and the US First Lady at the banquet.

He added that while the sub-continent was home to all great religions, it was a "powerhouse" of human creativity.

"With wisdom and farsightedness, we South Asians can transform not just this region but the whole world," he said adding that in the journey of development and modernisation, and social change and empowerment, India saw the United States as a "partner, a friend and a well-wisher."

At the banquet were UPA chairperson Sonia Gandhi, former PMs AB Vajpayee and IK Gujral, Leader of the Opposition in Lok Sabha LK Advani, several Cabinet ministers, some



PM Manmohan Singh addresses the banquet for President Bush

Chief Ministers, BJP President Rajnath Singh, Congress MP Rahul Gandhi, sarod maestro Ustad Amjad Ali Khan and Censor Board chairperson Sharmila Tagore among others.

Describing Bush as a "true friend" of India, Singh said he had always been touched by the US leader's warm praise for this country and its people. "We sincerely acknowledge your (Bush's) deep personal commit-

ment to a closer economic and strategic partnership between our countries," he said recalling that at their very first meeting the American President had paid tribute to the country's efforts to achieve economic and social growth in the framework of an open society and open economy.

"I am deeply touched by your admiration for Indian democracy and our commitment to pluralism and modernism," the PM said.

SHIVAROOR
NEW DELHI, MARCH 2

US President George W Bush and PM Manmohan Singh today announced the completion of a defence agreement that marks the single largest effort towards joint operability between the armed forces of the two countries. To be signed shortly, the Logistics Support Agreement (LSA) will pave the way for the militaries of both sides to avail of logistical support and other services from the other.

But the agreement has not come easy. After the landmark Indo-US defence framework signed on June 28 last year in Washington, an Access & Cross-servicing Agreement (ACSA) was proposed to Defence Secretary Shekhar Dutt at the seventh meeting of the Indo-US Defence Policy Group (DPG) in Washington on November 22.

However, Defence Minister Pranab Mukherjee is understood to have had reservations about the word "access" in the name of the agreement, a point that was communicated to the US in December through the Military Cooperation Group, an executive sub-group of the DPG.

A South Block official who was part of the MCG said, "The minister

wanted to be sure that the word 'access' did not imply basing rights to the other country. Therefore a new name for the agreement was proposed from their side which was found suitable.

He added, "There was a lot of discussion on the same agreement which faced similar concerns in Sri Lanka and Philippines. The word 'cross-servicing' was also not suitable in our case since both countries operated entirely different equipment types."

In the larger sense, the agreement will give both militaries the authorisation to request and use each other's facilities for maintenance, servicing, communications, medical care and refuelling. In an immediate scenario for instance, fighters proceeding to the US for a joint exercise will not need to carry tankers full of support equipment, and US 7th Fleet will be able to avail of Naval logistical support in the Arabian Sea.

The LSA will be a "facilitating agreement" in part for the larger Maritime Cooperation Framework both sides agreed to conclude. Bush and Singh "agreed to the conclusion of a Maritime Cooperation Framework to enhance security in the maritime domain...address emergent threats and enhance cooperative capabilities, including through logistics support."

The US president also had

India, U.S. reaffirm commitment to expand ties

Prime Minister Manmohan Singh and President George W. Bush express satisfaction with progress in advancing strategic partnership.

This is the text of the joint statement issued by Prime Minister Manmohan Singh and U.S. President George W. Bush in New Delhi on March 2, 2006:

"President George W. Bush and Prime Minister Manmohan Singh today expressed satisfaction with the great progress the United States and India have made in advancing our strategic partnership to meet the global challenges of the 21st century. Both our countries are linked by a deep commitment to freedom and democracy; a celebration of national diversity, human creativity and innovation; a quest to expand prosperity and economic opportunity worldwide; and a desire to increase mutual security against the common threats posed by intolerance, terrorism, and the spread of weapons of mass destruction. The successful transformation of the U.S.-India relationship will have a decisive and positive influence on the future international system as it evolves in this new century.

"Reviewing the progress made in deepening the global partnership between the United States and India since their Joint Statement of July 18, 2005, the President and the Prime Minister reaffirm their commitment to expand even further the growing ties between their two countries. Consistent with this objective, the two leaders wish to highlight efforts the United States and India are making together in the following areas, where they have:

For economic prosperity and trade

"(1) Agreed to intensify efforts to develop a bilateral business climate supportive of trade and investment by:

"1. Welcoming the report of the U.S.-India CEO Forum, agreeing to consider its recommendations aimed at substantially broadening our bilateral economic relations, and directing the Chairs of the Indo-U.S. Economic Dialogue to follow up expeditiously with the CEO Forum;

"2. Endorsing the efforts of the U.S.-India Trade Policy Forum to reduce barriers to trade and investment with the goal of doubling bilateral trade in three years;

"3. Agreeing to advance mutually beneficial bilateral trade and investment flows by holding a high-level public-private investment summit in 2006, continuing efforts to facilitate and promote foreign direct investment and eliminate impediments to it, and enhancing bilateral consultations on various issues including tariff and non-tariff barriers to trade in goods and services, and preventing the illicit use of the financial system.

"(2) Sought to expand cooperation in agriculture by:

"1. Launching the Knowledge Initiative on Agriculture with a three-year financial commitment to link our universities, technical institutions, and businesses to support agriculture education, joint research, and capacity building projects including in the area of biotechnology.

"2. Endorsing an agreed workplan to pro-

mote bilateral trade in agriculture through agreements that: lay out a path to open the U.S. market to Indian mangoes, recognize India as having the authority to certify that shipments of Indian products to the United States meet USDA organic standards, and provide for discussions on current regulations affecting trade in fresh fruits and vegetables, poultry and dairy, and almonds.

"(3) Reaffirmed their shared commitment to completing the WTO Doha Development Agenda (DDA) before the end of 2006, and agreed to work together to help achieve this outcome."

For energy security and a clean environment

"(1) Welcomed the successful completion of discussions on India's separation plan and looked forward to the full implementation of the commitments in the July 18, 2005 Joint Statement on nuclear cooperation. This historic accomplishment will permit our countries to move forward towards our common objective of full civil nuclear energy cooperation between India and the United States and between India and the international community as a whole.

"(2) Welcomed the participation of India in the ITER initiative on fusion energy as an important further step towards the common goal of full nuclear energy cooperation.

"(3) Agreed on India's participation in FutureGen, an international public-private partnership to develop new, commercially viable technology for a clean coal near-zero emission power project. India will contribute funding to the project and participate in the Government Steering Committee of this initiative.

"(4) Welcomed the creation of the Asia Pacific Partnership on Clean Development and Climate, which will enable India and the U.S. to work together with other countries in the region to pursue sustainable development and meet increased energy needs while addressing concerns of energy security and climate change. The Partnership will collaborate to promote the development, diffusion, deployment and transfer of cleaner, cost-effective and more efficient technologies and practices.

"(5) Welcomed India's interest in the Integrated Ocean Drilling Program, an international marine research endeavor that will contribute to long-term energy solutions such as gas hydrates.

"(6) Noting the positive cooperation under the Indo-U.S. Energy Dialogue, highlighted plans to hold joint conferences on topics such as energy efficiency and natural gas, to conduct study missions on renewable energy, to establish a clearing house in India for coal-bed methane/coal-mine methane, and to exchange energy market information."

For innovation and the knowledge economy

"(1) "Emphasizing the importance of knowledge partnerships, announced the es-

tablishment of a Bi-National Science and Technology Commission which the U.S. and India will co-fund. It will generate collaborative partnerships in science and technology and promote industrial research and development.

"(2) Agreed that the United States and India would work together to promote innovation, creativity and technological advancement by providing a vibrant intellectual property rights regime, and to cooperate in the field of intellectual property rights to include capacity building activities, human resource development and public awareness programs.

"(3) Agreed to continue exploring further cooperation in civil space, including areas such as space exploration, satellite navigation, and earth science. The United States and India committed to move forward with agreements that will permit the launch of U.S. satellites and satellites containing U.S. components by Indian space launch vehicles, opening up new opportunities for commercial space cooperation between the two countries.

"(4) Welcomed the inclusion of two U.S. instruments in the Indian lunar mission Chandrayaan-1. They noted that memoranda of understanding to be signed by ISRO and NASA would be significant steps forward in this area.

"(5) Welcomed the U.S. Department of Commerce's plan to create a license exception for items that would otherwise require an export license to end-users in India engaged solely in civilian activities.

For global safety and security

"(1) Noted the enhanced counter-terrorism cooperation between the two countries and stressed that terrorism is a global scourge that must be fought and rooted out in every part of the world.

"(2) Welcomed the increased cooperation between the United States and India in the defense area, since the New Framework for the U.S.-India Defence Relationship was signed on June 28, 2005, as evidenced by successful joint exercises, expanded defence cooperation and information sharing, and greater opportunities to jointly develop technologies and address security and humanitarian issues.

"(3) Reaffirmed their commitment to the protection of the free flow of commerce and to the safety of navigation, and agreed to the conclusion of a Maritime Cooperation Framework to enhance security in the maritime domain, to prevent piracy and other transnational crimes at sea, carry out search and rescue operations, combat marine pollution, respond to natural disasters, address emergent threats and enhance cooperative capabilities, including through logistics support. Both sides are working to finalize a Logistics Support Agreement at the earliest.

"(4) Welcomed India's intention to join the Container Security Initiative aimed at making global maritime trade and infrastructure more secure and reducing the risk

of shipping containers being used to conceal weapons of mass destruction.

"(5) Reiterated their commitment to international efforts to prevent the proliferation of weapons of mass destruction.

"(6) Building on the July 2005 Disaster Relief Initiative, noted the important disaster management cooperation and their improved capabilities to respond to disaster situations.

"(7) Recognized the importance of capacity building in cyber security and greater cooperation to secure their growing electronic interdependencies, including to protect electronic transactions and critical infrastructure from cybercrime, terrorism and other malicious threats.

Deepening democracy and meeting international challenges

"(1) Recalled their joint launch of the UN Democracy Fund in September 2005 and offered the experience and expertise of both Governments for capacity building, training and exchanges to third countries that request such assistance to strengthen democratic institutions.

"(2) Welcomed the decision of India and the United States to designate a representative to the Government Advisory Board of the International Centre for Democratic Transition (ICDT) located in Budapest to facilitate cooperative activities with ICDT.

"(3) Agreed that the Virtual Coordination and Information Centres set up in September 2005 should be further strengthened and a bilateral meeting aimed at developing a practical programme for utilization of its services be held soon.

"(4) Expressed satisfaction at the expedited USFDA drug approval processes that strengthen the combat against HIV/AIDS at the global level and encourage greater corporate participation to meet this challenge, including the establishment of the Indo-U.S. Corporate Fund for HIV/AIDS.

"(5) Agreed to expand bilateral efforts and continue cooperation in the area of medical research and strengthen technical capacity in food and drug regulation in India as well as address the concern on avian influenza, including agreement to reach out to the private sector, develop regional communications strategies, and plan an in-region containment and response exercise. The President welcomed India's offer to host the International Partnership on Avian and Pandemic Influenza meeting in 2007.

"(6) Welcomed India's membership in the Coalition Against Wildlife Trafficking, a partnership through which we will collaborate in the fight against illegal trade in wildlife and wildlife parts; we also welcome the opportunity to strengthen longstanding work together on the conservation of wildlife through cooperation on park management and ecotourism.

"President Bush thanked Prime Minister Singh and the people of India for the warmth of their reception and the generosity of their hospitality."

Bush, India, and two degrees of separation

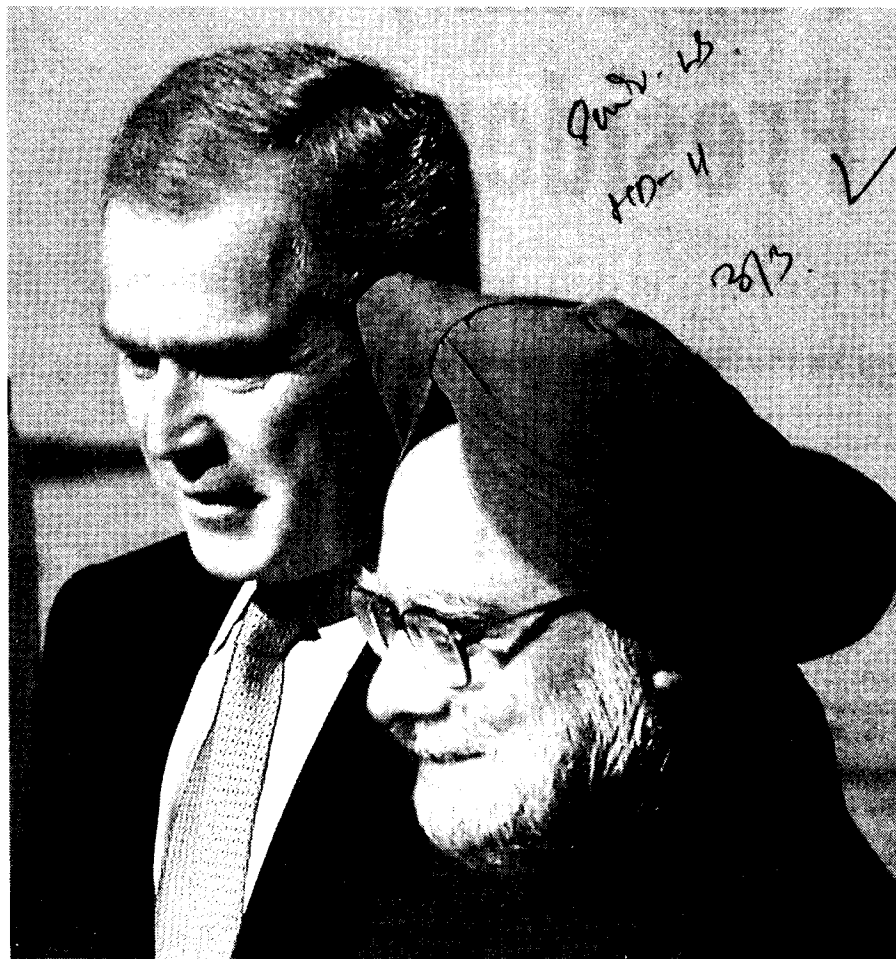
Thanks to public debate and hard bargaining, our scientists have had many of their technical concerns addressed. But India must resist U.S. pressure to link the nuclear deal to any wider strategic realignment.

Siddharth Varadarajan

THE AGREEMENT reached by India and the United States last July was a historic one because it signalled Washington's willingness to end the isolation the Indian nuclear industry had been subjected to for more than three decades. The Bush administration hopes to use the prospects of civil nuclear cooperation as a lever to raise the level of political and strategic interaction with India to a new and unprecedented level. With the emergence of Asia as the primary arena for competition and contention between a clutch of big and rising powers, the U.S. considers India a crucial swing state that ought to be induced to get on the bandwagon so that America can negotiate its way through the 'Asian Century' with its hegemonic power unaffected. And nuclear cooperation is a very big inducement. In the bargain, the U.S. can also keep oil prices down for its consumers by moderating India's hydrocarbon demand — a point made by President George W. Bush on Thursday — and help boost its own moribund reactor-building industry.

This was the theory, the big picture behind the agreement on civilian nuclear cooperation signed by Prime Minister Manmohan Singh and President George W. Bush on July 18, 2005. When it came to negotiating the fine print, however, the remnants of the old non-proliferation theology continued to exert a fatal pull. As if the promise of a strategic alliance with India was not benefit enough, the Bush administration sought to use the nuclear agreement to achieve three other goals. First, place an upper limit on India's military nuclear capabilities by raising the cost of maintaining and extending those capabilities; secondly, direct the development of India's civilian nuclear industry away from technologies that would make it self-reliant in the long-run; and thirdly, curb India's own strategic instincts in Asia by raising the opportunity costs of its troublesome flirtation with countries like Iran or issues like an Asian energy and security architecture that might end up excluding the U.S.

That there were collateral political goals was obvious even before the deal was signed when U.S. Secretary of State Condoleezza Rice announced the Indo-U.S. energy dialogue at exactly the same time she publicly flagged U.S. opposition to the Iran-India pipeline. But as the Congressional hearings



MOVING CLOSER: Prime Minister Manmohan Singh welcomes U.S. President George W. Bush during the ceremonial reception at Rashtrapati Bhavan in New Delhi on Thursday. — PHOTO: V. SUDERSHAN.

on the India-U.S. nuclear agreement started in August, it became amply clear that the administration was prepared to use (and even choreograph) the Executive versus Legislative divide in order to shift the goalpost on the technical parameters of the deal as well. The text of the July 18 agreement was pushed this way and that on the three issues that were under negotiation: the sequencing of the reciprocal steps each side committed itself to, the separation between civilian and military nuclear facilities India had undertaken to perform, and the nature of the safeguards agreement under which India's civilian facilities would be subjected

to monitoring by the International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA).

It was precisely in response to this shifting of the goalpost that a complex, well-informed, and sometimes passionate debate took place in India. This debate centred primarily round the question of India's fast breeder programme, the status of its reprocessing and enrichment facilities, and the number of power reactors that might be placed under safeguards. Sensing the possibility of a disastrous compromise that would jeopardise the country's three-stage nuclear energy programme, the normally media-shy community of retired Department of Atomic

Energy scientists entered the fray. Thanks largely to the contribution to the public debate of experts like A.N. Prasad, A. Gopalakrishnan, M.R. Srinivasan, Placid Rodriguez, P.K. Iyengar, and many others who preferred to remain anonymous, the U.S. was forced eventually to moderate its expectations and even drop its demands on a number of questions. It is a matter of enormous regret that the scientists were attacked as troublemakers and deal-breakers by some advocates of the American position and subjected to a campaign of vilification.

Though the details of the "understanding" on the identification of Indian civilian facilities reached by the two countries on March 2 have not yet been made public and the spin being put out by both sides is quite different, senior officials say virtually all of the concerns raised by the scientists have been taken into account.

There are still questions about the nature of the 'India-specific' safeguards agreement to be negotiated with the IAEA and the kind of Additional Protocol that remain to be addressed. The U.S. has had its way on in perpetuity safeguards, though officials say India has built in an exit clause in case fuel supplies are cut off. It is also not clear if the U.S. will insist on laying down other criteria for the safeguards agreement and the Manmohan Singh Government will have to continue to be on guard so that India does not get entangled in unduly intrusive inspections. The importance of this issue should not be minimised. In some ways, the safeguards issue is likely to prove even more difficult than separation.

Although the energetic public debate — which presumably the Government was able to leverage at the negotiating table — has helped to ensure technical parameters most of the scientists can live with, the battle on the strategic front has only just begun. Citing difficulties in convincing its legislative branch — where the deal must be ratified — the U.S. administration will continue to exert pressure on India to toe the line on Iran and other issues.

On Myanmar and Nepal — India's immediate neighbours — Washington is keen on driving the political agenda, as was evident from Mr. Bush's remarks at the joint press interaction on Thursday. The nuclear deal may be a good bargain by itself but it is the strategic costs of proximity to the U.S. that India must never lose sight of. This is where a little bit of separation would be really useful.

6 3 11 2006

THE HINDU

Muslims stage anti-Bush protest in Mumbai

The rally also drew support of Left parties, Samajwadi Party

Staff Reporter

MUMBAI: Over a lakh Muslims participated in a rally at the Azad Maidan in Mumbai to protest the three-day visit of U.S. President George Bush. The rally also drew the support of the Left parties and the Samajwadi Party, with leaders like Ahilya Rangnekar and Abu Asim Azmi sharing the dais with imams from across the country.

Several organisations, including the Communist Party of India, the Communist Gadar Party, the National Railway Workers' Union, the Jamaat-e-Islami-Hind, the All India Ulema Council and the Mumbai Aman Committee, participated in the mammoth rally.

Organisers of the rally said all sects — Shia, Sunni, Khoja, and Bohra — participated.

"Won't tolerate atrocities"

The speakers touched on a gamut of issues — from Salman Rushdie, Taslima Nasreen and M. F. Husain's paintings to the Israel-Palestine conflict, Af-

ghanistan and Iraq crisis. Samajwadi Party leader Abu Asim Azmi said atrocities perpetrated against Islam would not be tolerated.

The crowd cheered the Shah Imam of Jama Masjid in Delhi, Ahmed Bukhari, when he said "Bush should know that America is not a super power. Only the God sitting above is. The Americans can't get away with killing several hundred people in Afghanistan and Iraq."

The crowd was hard to control. After Mr. Bukhari's speech the barricade erected in front of the stage collapsed under the surge of people. Traffic around Azad Maidan came to a standstill and the entrance to the Chhatrapati Shivaji Terminus was

blocked.

blocked.

The organisers said people had come from distant suburbs like Mumbra, Thane and Jogeshwari to attend the rally. Shops and establishments in predominantly Muslim areas like Bhendi Bazaar and Mohammed Ali Road were closed by early afternoon.

Apolitical rally

Farid Shaikh from the Mumbai Aman Committee said: "This rally is not political. We just wanted all Muslims to assemble for a cause. We are against the Danish cartoonist who hurt the feelings of Muslims. Bush is not good for us. Look at how he attacked Iraq for no reason. We are protesting against all these issues."

However, a civilian said: "I have nothing against America and I am here to pray to Allah. We want peace and I want to pray." Organisers, however, shooed him away and insisted that media persons interact only with authorities and not with the "general public."

03 MAR 2006

THE HINDU

FRIDAY, MARCH 3, 2006

9200 ✓
A hard
bargain ✓
Apr 10
2007

Negotiations may have gone down to the wire but in the end, New Delhi and Washington did manage to reach agreement on the crucial second stage of their ambitious agreement on nuclear cooperation: the plan by which India is to effect a separation between the military and civilian components of its nuclear programme. While the details will presumably be made public in due course, it is reasonable to assume that the Indian 'red lines' — publicly spelt out by our nuclear scientists, by the Department of Atomic Energy chairman and, ultimately, by Prime Minister Manmohan Singh in Parliament on February 27 — have been accepted by the U.S. side. This means the Indian fast breeder programme will remain outside the purview of safeguards and international inspections, as will around 35 per cent of the country's thermal nuclear power generating capacity. That the Government was able to get the Bush administration to agree that these facilities would remain off the safeguards list owes a lot to the energetic debate that has taken place inside the country for the past seven months. As these columns had flagged at the very outset, implementation of the July 18 agreement hinged crucially on the questions of sequencing, separation and safeguards. On all these issues, the U.S. attempted to shift the goalpost and it did seem, initially, as if the Indian side was being blindsided. Addressing the IDSA last October, for example, the Foreign Secretary declared that "it makes no sense for India to deliberately keep some of its civilian facilities out of its declaration for safeguards purposes." Yet thanks to the public debate, four months on this is precisely what India has done. And the U.S. has been persuaded to accept it.

It appears that the one goalpost shift that the Bush administration was unwilling to reverse was its demand that Indian facilities be safeguarded by the International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA) in perpetuity. None of the facilities placed by "other leading countries with advanced nuclear technology, such as the United States" — the phrase is from the July 18 agreement — are under perpetual IAEA safeguards. All the five official nuclear weapon states have the right to redesignate safeguarded civilian facilities as military should they so desire. As a matter of practical concern, there is no real reason for India ever to want to redesignate its safeguarded facilities since the amount of fissile material produced by the unsafeguarded reactors would more than suffice for any strategic programme based on "minimum deterrence." However, what is at stake is the question of assured fuel supply for the safeguarded reactors as well as the principle of non-discrimination that India appears to be giving up on. At any rate, when it comes to negotiating an Additional Protocol with the IAEA, India will have to insist on the kind of exclusions the U.S. has written into its document so as to protect its proprietary technologies as well as national security. Turning to the political aspects of the agreement, it is important that the nuclear deal not be turned into the basis for effecting a broader strategic alliance between the U.S. and India. Washington needs to make the nuclear deal happen as much as New Delhi does and there is no need for the Manmohan Singh Government to entertain any American suggestions that India can now do without an energy relationship with Iran.

93 MAR 2006

IAEA chief welcomes Indo-U.S. understanding

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393

Diplomatic Correspondent

NEW DELHI: International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA) Director-General Mohamed ElBaradei welcomed the announcement of a civilian nuclear cooperation understanding between India and the United States on Thursday.

"This agreement is an important step towards satisfying In-

dia's growing need for energy, including nuclear technology and fuel, as an engine for development. It would also bring India closer as an important partner in the non-proliferation regime," Dr. ElBaradei said in a statement posted on the IAEA website.

"It would be a milestone, timely for ongoing efforts to consolidate the non-prolifera-

tion regime, combat nuclear terrorism and strengthen nuclear safety," the IAEA chief said hours after the India-U.S. understanding was announced.

"The agreement would assure India of reliable access to nuclear technology and nuclear fuel. It would also be a step forward towards universalisation of the international safeguards regime," Dr. ElBaradei said.

0 1 MAR 2006
THE HINDU
THE HINDU

India, U.S. clinch deal on nuclear separation

Fast breeder programme and about 35 per cent of nuclear capacity will be out of IAEA safeguards

Amit Baruah

NEW DELHI: India and the United States on Thursday hammered out an understanding on the separation of New Delhi's civilian and military nuclear facilities, which Washington will have to push through the U.S. Congress and the Nuclear Suppliers' Group (NSG).

Hailing the "successful completion" of their discussions, a joint statement here said the two sides "looked forward" to their "full implementation" of their July 18, 2005 commitments on civilian nuclear cooperation.

Historic accomplishment

"This historic accomplishment will permit our countries to move forward towards our common objective of full civilian nuclear energy cooperation between India and the United States and between India and the international community as a whole," the statement said.

Taking questions after talks with the visiting U.S. President George Bush, Prime Minister Manmohan Singh said the former would now approach Congress for changes in American laws and the NSG for adjustments of its guidelines.

Dr. Singh, who is scheduled to share the separation plan with Parliament, described its preparation as the completion of a phase in the implementation of the July 18, 2005 framework agreement. After the U.S. approached Congress and the NSG, India would turn to the International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA) to negotiate safeguards for its civilian facilities. "So, we

Bush to approach Congress for lifting curbs on India

Mr. Bush told presspersons that Thursday's understanding on civilian nuclear cooperation was a "necessary" agreement. "I'm looking forward to working with the U.S. Congress to change the law..."

He would tell Congress that "we have to get rid of history." The two countries didn't have much of a relationship in the past. "Now, the relationship has changed dramatically."

Times change: Bush

Asked why the U.S. was "rewarding" India for its 1998 nuclear tests and for not signing the nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty and what kind of message it sent out to other countries, Mr. Bush said, "What the agreement says is that things change, times change."

"I've always said this is going to be a difficult deal for the Prime Minister to sell to his Parliament, but he has shown great courage and leadership. It's [also] difficult for the American President to sell to our Congress. There's some people who just don't want to change with the time," Mr. Bush maintained.

Supply of fuel

On safeguards in perpetuity, another knotty issue in the negotiations, India would have no problem if these were linked to permanent supplies of nuclear fuel. The Americans had conceded that India would have the right to take corrective measures if fuel supplies were suspended as had happened in the case of Tarapur.

On the negotiation of safeguards with the IAEA, the sources said India would pitch for a middle path. It did not fall in the category of the five recognised nuclear weapons states, nor would it agree to a protocol as a

non-nuclear weapons state. Mr. Bush told presspersons that Thursday's understanding on civilian nuclear cooperation was a "necessary" agreement. "I'm looking forward to working with the U.S. Congress to change the law..."

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"This agreement is in our [American] interest. I am confident I can sell this to our Congress," he said. India had charted a way forward for other nations to participate in generating nuclear power.



A STEP FORWARD: U.S. President George W. Bush and Prime Minister Manmohan Singh after addressing the media at Hyderabad House in New Delhi on Thursday. - PHOTO: SHANKER CHAKRAVARTY

Editorial on Page 10
Full text of statement on
OP-ED Page
More reports on Pages 12, 13, 14

Left parties announce anti-Bush protest plans

Special Correspondent

NEW DELHI: As U.S. President George Bush arrived on Wednesday night on his State visit, the Left parties announced a programme of protest for Thursday

both inside and outside Parliament.

The Left parties will start the day with MPs holding a demonstration outside the main gate of Parliament from 10 a.m.

When Parliament assembles

9:30-10:30 AM 2/2

an hour later, they will press for the suspension of question hour and urge the House to take up the issue.

"President George Bush's visit to India is an affront to Indian

Parliament which passed a reso-

lution calling for the withdrawal of occupation forces led by the United States from Iraq," Communist Party of India (Marxist) Rajya Sabha leader Nilotpal Basusu and Lok Sabha leader Basudeb Acharya said here.

Thereafter, the Left leaders will join party colleagues and workers in a protest rally from Ramlila Maidan to Parliament Street, where they are expected to address those assembled.

পরমাণু-প্রশ্নে বোঝাপড়ার চেষ্টা অব্যাহত

দীপেন্দ্র রায়চৌধুরী ও অগ্নি রায় ● নয়াদিল্লি

১ মার্চ: এসে গিয়েছেন জর্জ বৃশ।

মার্কিন প্রেসিডেন্টের ভারতে আসা এই প্রথম নয়। ছ'বছর আগেও ঘুরে গিয়েছেন তৎকালীন প্রেসিডেন্ট বিলি ক্লিভার। কিন্তু এই প্রথম এক জন মার্কিন প্রেসিডেন্টের ভারত সফরের দিকে তাকিয়ে রয়েছে গোটা বিশ্ব।

এই প্রথম বিশ্বের সব চেয়ে বড় পরমাণু শক্তিদ্র দেশ আন্তর্জাতিক পরমাণু ক্লাবের দিকে হাত ধরে এগিয়ে দিতে চাইছে একটি উঠতি পরমাণু শক্তিকে। এ বারের সফরেই তার সব কিছু চূড়ান্ত হবে কি না, তা পুরোপুরি নিশ্চিত নয়। কিন্তু গত জুলাইয়ে যে পথ চলা শুরু, তা কী ভাবে লক্ষ্যের দিকে এগোবে, সেটা স্থির করতে মধ্যরাত পর্যন্ত চলছে দু'দেশের জাতীয় নিরাপত্তা উপদেষ্টা পর্যায়ের বৈঠক। সরকারি সূত্রের খবর, পথের কাঁটা কিছুটা দূর হচ্ছে। তবে 'ফাস্ট ব্রিডার' পরমাণু চুল্লিকে অসামরিক তালিকায় নিয়ে আসতে ভারত রাজি না-থাকলেও তা নিয়ে মার্কিন চাপ আজও অব্যাহত রয়েছে। সরকারের শীর্ষ সূত্রে বলা হয়েছে, চূড়ান্ত মতৈকো পৌঁছানো এখনও সম্ভব হয়নি।

এই প্রথম ভারত-মার্কিন সম্পর্কের মধ্যে পাকিস্তানের দীর্ঘ ছায়া নেই। আলোচনার টেবিলে কাশ্মীর আসবে ঠিকই, কিন্তু গুরুত্বের তালিকায় থাকবে অনেক নীচে। কারণ, তালিকায় এক থেকে দশই হল পরমাণু সমঝোতা। মার্কিন প্রেসিডেন্ট আসার প্রাক-মুহূর্তে কেন্দ্রীয় মন্ত্রিসভা সমঝোতা চূড়ান্ত করতে প্রধানমন্ত্রীকে ক্ষমতা দিয়ে দিয়েছে। পোখরান পর্যন্ত সমানে পাল্লা দিয়ে চললেও এই পরমাণু-প্রশ্নে আজ কিন্তু পাকিস্তান অনেক পিছনে। বৃশের সঙ্গে আসার সময় বিমানে বসেই মার্কিন বিদেশসচিব কন্ডোলিজা রাইস স্পষ্ট ভাষায় জানিয়েছেন, ভারত যে মর্যাদা পাচ্ছে, তা পাকিস্তানকে দেওয়ার প্রশ্ন নেই। "ভারত আর পাকিস্তান এখানে এক জায়গায় নেই। আমার মনে হয়, সকলেই এটা বোঝেন," বলেছেন রাইস। যে কথা তিনি ব্যাখ্যা করে বলেননি, সেটা হল, পাকিস্তান থেকে পরমাণু প্রযুক্তি অন্য দেশে পাচার হলেও ভারতের হাতে এই প্রযুক্তি সব সময়েই থেকেছে নিরাপদ।

মার্কিন প্রেসিডেন্টকে নিয়ে তাঁর 'চলমান হোয়াইট হাউস' এয়ারফোর্স-ওয়ান দিল্লিতে নামে সন্ধ্যা সাড়ে সাতটায়। তার আগে কিছুটা অপ্রত্যাশিত ভাবেই বৃশ নামেন আফগানিস্তানে। প্রেসিডেন্ট হামিদ কারজাইয়ের সঙ্গে যৌথ সাংবাদিক সম্মেলনও করেন তিনি। বৃশের সঙ্গে স্ত্রী লরা ছাড়াও রয়েছেন কন্ডোলিজা রাইস, জাতীয় নিরাপত্তা উপদেষ্টা স্টিফেন হ্যাডলি, অন্য উচ্চপদস্থ অফিসারেরা এবং দশ জন শীর্ষস্থানীয় বাণিজ্যকর্তা। বিমানবন্দরেই তাঁকে অভ্যর্থনা জানান প্রধানমন্ত্রী মনমোহন সিংহ। বামেদের বক্তব্যকে গুরুত্ব না-দিয়ে মনমোহন যে বিমানবন্দরে হাজির ছিলেন, তার কারণ এই সফরের সাফল্য তাঁর নিজের কাছেও কঠিনতম পরীক্ষাগুলির একটি। পরমাণু-প্রশ্নে বোঝাপড়া হলে ভারত গোটা পৃথিবী থেকেই সংগ্রহ করতে পারবে পরমাণু জ্বালানি। শুধু তা-ই নয়, ভবিষ্যতে পরমাণু শক্তিদ্র দেশ হিসাবে পৃথিবীর স্বীকৃতি পাওয়ার পথও প্রশস্ত হয়ে যাবে।

ভারত এবং আমেরিকার মধ্যে আজ সারা দিনই চলছে আলোচনা। এয়ারফোর্স-ওয়ান থেকে আজ সকালেই হ্যাডলি কথা চালিয়েছেন ভারতের জাতীয় নিরাপত্তা উপদেষ্টা এম কে নারায়ণনের সঙ্গে। তার আগে আজ সকালে প্রধানমন্ত্রী বিষয়টি নিয়ে বৈঠক করেছেন ইউপিএ চেয়ারপার্সন সনিয়া গাঁধীর সঙ্গে। কী ভাবে জট ছাড়ানো যায়, সেই প্রয়াসই করে গিয়েছে দু'পক্ষ। কাবুলে দাঁড়িয়ে বৃশ নিজেও বলেছেন, তাঁর বিমান থেকে মার্কিন কর্তারা পরমাণু-প্রশ্নে দিল্লির সঙ্গে কথা চালিয়ে যাচ্ছেন। বৃশ দিল্লিতে পা রাখার পরে, মধ্যরাত পর্যন্ত চলছে নারায়ণন-হ্যাডলি বৈঠক। ইতিমধ্যে অসামরিক এবং সামরিক তালিকার পৃথকীকরণ নিয়ে মার্কিন প্রশাসনের মনোভাব জানিয়ে দিয়েছেন কন্ডোলিজা। তাঁর বক্তব্য, "ভারত যে চুল্লিকে আন্তর্জাতিক নিরীক্ষণের আওতায় রাখবে বলে এক বার সিদ্ধান্ত নিয়ে ফেলবে, তা পাকাপাকি ভাবেই সেই আওতাভুক্তই রাখতে হবে। যে চুক্তিই হোক, এটা সব চেয়ে জরুরি।"

আগেই মার্কিন বিদেশ দফতরের উপ-সচিব জানিয়েছিলেন, এই চুক্তি সম্পাদনের পথে ৯০ শতাংশ এগিয়ে যাওয়া সম্ভব হয়েছে। শেষ ১০ শতাংশই রয়েছে পথের কাঁটা এবং তার অন্যতম দেশজ প্রযুক্তিতে নির্মীয়মাণ 'ফাস্ট ব্রিডার' চুল্লি। এই চুল্লিকে আন্তর্জাতিক নিরীক্ষণের আওতায় না-আনার প্রসঙ্গে প্রধানমন্ত্রীর সংসদে দেওয়া বিবৃতির পরেই সক্রিয় হয়ে উঠেছিল হোয়াইট হাউস। কন্ডোলিজার সঙ্গে কাল রাতের টেলিফোনে কথা হয় প্রধানমন্ত্রীর। পরমাণু-চুক্তি ঘিরে ভারত-মার্কিন মতপার্থক্য যাতে কমে আসে, সে জন্য মনমোহনকে অনুরোধ করেন তিনি। হোয়াইট হাউসের মুখপাত্র স্কাট ম্যাকলেলানও বলেছিলেন, "আমাদের বিশ্বাস, বৃশের সফরের সময়েই এই চুক্তি চূড়ান্ত হয়ে যাবে। এটা অত্যন্ত গুরুত্বপূর্ণ চুক্তি।"

এর পর ছয়ের পাতায়

● বৃশের জন্য খাটো বায়গন ● প্রেসিডেন্ট-আপ্যায়নে প্রতিদ্বন্দ্বী...পৃঃ ৫

পরমাণু-প্রশ্নে

প্রথম পাতার পর

কোন পথে এই ব্রিডার-সমস্যার সমাধান করা যাবে, তা এখনও স্পষ্ট নয়। সেটি গবেষণার পর্যায়ের রয়েছে এবং তাকে এই অপরিণত অবস্থায় ২০১০ সাল পর্যন্ত নিরীক্ষণের আওতায় আনা যাবে না— দিল্লির এই যুক্তি যদি মার্কিন কংগ্রেসে চালাতে পারেন বৃশ, তা হলে সমস্যার সমাধান হয়। সে ক্ষেত্রে পরমাণু-চুক্তিতে এই বিষয়টি ভবিষ্যতে 'পর্যালোচনা' করা হবে বলেই উল্লেখ থাকতে পারে। তাৎপর্যপূর্ণ ভাবে দিল্লি আসার পথে বৃশ বলেছেন, "এই চুক্তিতে পৌঁছানো দু'দেশের পক্ষেই কঠিন। কিন্তু দু'দেশের পক্ষেই গুরুত্বপূর্ণ। গোটা বিশ্বেই জ্বালানি এবং গ্যাসের জন্য শক্তি চাহিদা বাড়ছে। আমেরিকার আন্তর্জাতিক কনসোর্টিয়াম রয়েছে অস্ত্রের প্রসার না-ঘটিয়ে নিরাপদ ভাবে এই চাহিদা পূরণ করার জন্য।"

এই অবস্থায় আজ গভীর রাত পর্যন্ত চলছে আলোচনা। এই সফরে পরমাণু-প্রসঙ্গ বাদে দু'দেশের সহযোগিতামূলক আরও বেশ কিছু অর্থনৈতিক চুক্তি যে স্বাক্ষরিত হবে, তা নিয়ে কোনও সন্দেহ নেই। কাশ্মীর-প্রসঙ্গেও আলোচনা হবে। কিন্তু গোটা পৃথিবী যে পরমাণু বোঝাপড়ার দিকে তাকিয়ে, সেই প্রতীক্ষার অবসান হওয়ার কথা কাল।

PM bends protocol to receive Bush

Statesman News Service

NEW DELHI, March 1. — US President George W Bush and his wife Laura arrived here this evening on a three-day visit to India amid speculation over signing of a civilian nuclear deal between the two countries. Breaking protocol, the Prime Minister, Dr Manmohan Singh, and his wife, Mrs Gursharan Kaur, received the Bushes, infuriating both the Left and the BJP. The issue is likely to rock Parliament tomorrow.

Mr Bush and his wife, accompanied by secretary of state Ms Condoleezza Rice and US national security adviser Mr Stephen Hadley, arrived in India after a surprise detour of about four hours in Afghanistan. Soon after their arrival, the President and his team drove to Maurya Sheraton.

Officials from both sides worked the phones to bridge the distance on the key clauses, so that a civilian nuclear agreement could be in place.

Mr Bush told reporters in Kabul that even thousands of metres in the air in Air Force One, American officials continued to speak to their Indian counterparts to put the agreement to bed during the visit. He added: "It is in the interest of the US and in the interest of

countries around the world that India develops a nuclear power industry". The differences between the two sides were not just on the number of nuclear plants to be put on the civilian list and brought under IAEA safeguards, but also on the very nature of the safeguards.

The Americans want India to put civilian reactors under IAEA safeguards for perpetuity, a status accorded to non-nuclear weapon states. But, nuclear weapons states only accede to voluntary safeguards, where-

by they can withdraw their facilities any time from inspection. "The key here is that India has to demonstrate that it is prepared to put its civilian reactors under safeguards, and do so permanently," said Ms Rice.

India had said that it was ready to put its reactors under safeguards for perpetuity if there was a guarantee for fuel supply forever, a condition the USA refuses to accept. Tomorrow, the President will drive to Rashtrapati Bhavan for a ceremonial welcome.

Delegation-level talks followed by a one-on-one meeting will be held at Hyderabad House. Mr Bush will meet Mrs Sonia Gandhi and Mr LK Advani. President Dr APJ Abdul Kalam will host a banquet in the evening. **More reports on page 5**



Dr Manmohan Singh and wife Gursharan greet Mr George W Bush and US First Lady Laura Bush after their arrival in New Delhi on Wednesday evening. — AFP

Protests against visit peak

NEW DELHI, March 1. — The arrival of the US President, Mr George Bush, in India has set in motion rallies and protests against the visit and his policies, with people being mobilised in large numbers in the Capital. A rally, addressed by Left leaders today, drew huge crowds.

Shouting slogans of "Bush go Back", thousands of protestors took part in the rally against the visit of Mr Bush, his "imperialist policies" and "bullying" of Iran over the nuclear issue.

Charging Mr Bush with inciting a war of civilisations by "bullying" Iran over its nuclear programme, CPI general secretary Mr AB Bardhan termed him as an "imperialist aggressor" for the US "invasion" of Iraq.

"He is not welcome in India," Mr Bardhan said, addressing the rally at the Ramlila Grounds, organised by the Jamat-Ulama-i-Hind and other Muslim organisations, to express the "anguish" of the community over Mr Bush's visit and publication of cartoons depicting the Prophet in a Danish periodical.

Terming the publication of cartoons of Prophet Mohammed in the Danish periodical as "atrocious",

March past

KOLKATA, March 1. — Traffic disruptions in the city's central region this afternoon owing to processions in front of the American Center protesting against Mr George W Bush's visit to India gave Madhyamik SUCI activists came to be lathi-charged on RR Avenue, resulting in three of them being injured. Some 4,000 Leftist students, youths and women gathered at Shahid Minar ahead of a march towards the American Center, which also drew 500 CPI-Maoist members. — SNS

Details on Kolkata Plus 1

former Prime Minister Mr VP Singh said Prime Minister Dr Manmohan Singh should send a special envoy to Denmark to urge the government to take action against the cartoonist.

Mr Bardhan said the Left parties would organise rallies across the country tomorrow to mark their protest against Mr Bush's visit. Social activist Ms Medha Patkar and suspended Samajwadi Party leader Mr Raj Babbar also addressed the rally. Demonstrations would be organised in Hyderabad on Friday to coincide with Mr Bush's visit to the city. — SNS

India keeping its fingers crossed on civil nuclear deal

Negotiations on with the United States to reach an agreement before the visit of George W. Bush

Amit Baruah

NEW DELHI: India is keeping its "fingers crossed" on whether negotiations on the civil nuclear deal with the United States would be concluded by the time U.S. President George W. Bush arrives here on Wednesday evening.

Top Government sources told this correspondent that negotiations had been continuing with the American side and India was "reasonably hopeful" that an agreement would be reached before or during the Bush visit.

Asked if the Americans were happy with the position spelt out on Monday by Prime Minister Manmohan Singh, the sources said, "This is the Government's position. We do not know if the Americans are happy with it."

In a related development, Foreign Secretary Shyam Saran told presspersons that U.S. Secretary of State Condoleezza Rice had spoken to Dr. Singh on Monday night and said the two sides needed to "work hard" to conclude the civil nuclear deal.

Hard bargaining

"We are doing very hard bargaining," Mr. Saran said when asked about the nuclear deal at a press briefing. "It was always obvious it would be difficult for both sides." He stressed that In-

dia did not want to leave any ambiguities in the deal, which might create difficulties in the future.

The Foreign Secretary said the U.S. had ruled out providing fuel for the Tarapur nuclear reactors before a full agreement was reached on civil nuclear cooperation. He conceded that

there was a difference in interpretation when it came to the Tarapur fuel issue in the July 18, 2005 joint statement. The statement uses the phrase "in the meantime", which the Indian side interpreted to mean supply of fuel for Tarapur from the Americans even as negotiations continued on an overall civil nu-

clear deal.

Mr. Saran said some major initiatives in the field of agriculture, energy, economy and trade, biotechnology and defence technology were expected during the Mr. Bush's visit.

Power plants

Mr. Saran said the U.S. would

help launch a "second green revolution" in Indian agriculture. The two sides had also agreed to work on zero-emission coal-based power plants.

Many of these agreements would be referred to in the joint statement or separate fact sheets to be issued during the Bush visit.

Asked whether an Indian astronaut would be placed in space as had been previously agreed, the Foreign Secretary stated this involved making a financial outlay by the Government.

"Our space agency came to the conclusion that this would not fit into their perspective plan."

On Mr. Bush's reported comment about the "citizens" of Kashmir, Mr. Saran said Jammu and Kashmir was an integral part of India. "Citizens of Kashmir are citizens of India," he said.

In response to another question, Mr. Saran said India had no intention of dropping out of the proposed Iran-Pakistan-India gas pipeline, which the U.S. has publicly opposed.

Asked how India would vote on Iran on March 6 given that the International Atomic Energy Agency had reportedly given a clean chit to Teheran, Mr. Saran replied that this would depend on the contents of the resolution.

No chicken for Bush at official banquet

Mandira Nayyar

NEW DELHI: There will be lamb, fish and prawns, but no chicken for American President George W. Bush when he comes calling at Rashtrapati Bhavan here on Thursday evening. With officials preferring to stay clear of the "feathered" variety of meat for the official banquet, Bush will be given the usual 4-5 course dinner served to State guests.

"We are looking forward to the visit of the American President and the First Lady. They will be extended all hospitality and courtesy to make their visit a success," says the President's Press

Secretary, S.M. Khan.

"Home" food

Mr. Bush can have a helping of "home" food, as there will be broccoli soup on the menu. As per a custom started by President A.P.J. Abdul Kalam, State guests are always served a dish from their own country to make them feel special. These dishes are always prepared in consultation with the embassy concerned.

A band in accompaniment will play two American folk tunes in honour of the guests. Instead of the grand Banquet Hall, Mr. Bush may well get an opportunity to enjoy Indian cuisine at the sprawling Mughal Gardens. Beginning his trip to India

with a visit to Rashtrapati Bhavan on Thursday morning, Mr. Bush will receive the set drill for State guests. There will be a forecourt ceremony after which Mr. Bush will be escorted by the President's Body Guard to the Jaipur Column where he will be received by Prime Minister Manmohan Singh and the President. Mr. Bush will also receive the traditional guard of honour. A tent has been erected at the Presidential Estate where Mr. Bush will meet dignitaries.

After his morning session where he will be formally received, Mr. Bush will return to Rashtrapati Bhavan in the evening at 7-30 p.m. for the banquet.

Nuclear separation scenarios

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The moot question is, whatever the plan, will it be acceptable to the U.S.?

R. Ramachandran

IN HIS *suo motu* statement on the Indo-U.S. nuclear deal, Prime Minister Manmohan Singh revealed the following important detail about the civil-military separation plan. "Our proposed Separation Plan," he said, "entails identifying in phases, a number of our thermal reactors as civilian facilities to be placed under IAEA safeguards amounting to roughly 65 % of the total installed thermal nuclear power capacity, by the end of the separation plan [emphasis added]". It is important to note that Dr. Singh has spoken of 65 per cent of installed (thermal) nuclear power capacity, and *not* facilities as some reports have interpreted.

Now, significantly, the phrase "end of the separation plan" has been left undefined. Also, by specifying that only thermal nuclear reactors (as against "fast reactors") would be placed under safeguards, the Prime Minister has ruled out bringing breeders too under safeguards *till such period*. So it is not clear what facilities are being offered for bringing under safeguards. In particular, it is not clear how one should interpret his statement that "We cannot accept safeguards on our indigenous Fast Breeder Programme" — whether this would hold in perpetuity or till it creates "opportunities for international cooperation." The moot question is, whatever the plan is, whether it would be acceptable to the U.S.?

Currently, the installed capacity is 3,310 MWe comprising 15 thermal reactors of which four are under safeguards — the two light water reactors (LWRs) at Tarapur (TAPS 1 & 2) and two pressurised heavy water reactors (PHWRs) at Rawatbhata, Rajasthan (RAPS 1 & 2). The remaining 11 PHWRs are not under safeguards. These include, five plants of 2 x 220 MWe reactors at Narora (NAPS 1 & 2), Kalpakkam (MAPS 1 & 2), Kakrapar (KAPS 1 & 2), Kaiga 1 & 2, and RAPS 3 & 4, and one 540 MWe reactor — TAPS 4.

Seven plants are under different stages of construction. These include the 540 MWe TAPS 3, two plants of 2 x 220 MWe PHWRs Kaiga 3 & 4, and RAPS 5 & 6. These together would add another 3,420 MWe to the total installed capacity.

If we assume "end of separation plan" to mean the time when all the five plants under construction too become operational — around December 2008 — we

can conceive the following scenario of separation judging from the remarks made by the various former scientists and officials of the Department of Atomic Energy (DAE) at various times.

Sixty-five per cent of 6,730 (3310 + 3420) MWe works out to about 4,375 MWe. This much of capacity will be brought under safeguards. Now, already TAPS 1&2, RAPS 1 & 2, and KK 1 & 2 are under safeguards, which account for 2,620 MWe.

Four plants of 2 x 220 MWe could provide the additional 1,760 MWe to be brought under safeguards. Equivalently, the 35 per cent of capacity outside safeguards (about 2,355 MWe) would then be accounted for by the 2 x 540 MWe reactors and three operating plants of 2 x 220 MWe capacity.

A conceivable plan

A conceivable separation plan for power producing plants would then be as follows. Besides TAPS 1 & 2, RAPS 1 & 2, and KK 1 & 2 already under safeguards, the DAE would opt for placing the currently operational NAPS 1 & 2 and RAPS 3 & 4 plants together with the upcoming Kaiga 3 & 4 and RAPS 5 & 6 under safeguards, leaving the operational 2 x 220 MWe plants of MAPS 1 & 2, KAPS 1 & 2, and Kaiga 1 & 2 and 2 x 540 MWe plant of TAPS 3 & 4 out of safeguards.

This would fit with the views expressed by DAE scientists that the Kalpakkam complex and entirely indigenously developed PHWR systems should be off safeguards as far as possible. Now NAPS is virtually in the heritage of RAPS 1 & 2; that is, of Canadian design and could be offered for safeguards. RAPS 3, 4, 5 & 6, on the other hand, constitute reactors that are of mature and stabilised indigenous designs of 220 MWe PHWRs and also could be placed under safeguards. TAPS 3 & 4 represent evolving designs of indigenous 540 MWe reactors and so cannot be placed under safeguards.

Whether this logic would be acceptable to the U.S. or not remains to be seen. Because if these are not on the civilian list, it implies that they are militarily significant.

And that may be hard to justify given the amount of unsafeguarded plutonium that these off-safeguards PHWRs would generate. That would seem to be much more than what would be required to fuel the unsafeguarded breeder programme.



THE HINDU

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The New York Times
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March 3, 2006

Bush and India Reach Pact That Allows Nuclear Sales

By ELISABETH BUMILLER and SOMINI SENGUPTA

NEW DELHI, March 2 — President Bush and Prime Minister Manmohan Singh of India announced here on Thursday what Mr. Bush called a "historic" nuclear pact that would help India satisfy its enormous civilian energy needs while allowing it to continue to develop nuclear weapons.

Under the agreement, the United States would end a decades-long moratorium on sales of nuclear fuel and reactor components and India would separate its civilian and military nuclear programs, and open the civilian facilities to international inspections. The pact fills in the broad outlines of a plan that was negotiated in July.

In Washington, Democratic and Republican critics said that India's willingness to subject some of its nuclear program to inspections was meaningless so long as the country had a secret military nuclear program alongside it, and that the pact would only encourage rogue nations like North Korea and Iran to continue to pursue nuclear weapons. They predicted a bruising fight in Congress over the pact, which needs its approval.

At the same time, Mr. Bush said he was going forward with a trip on Friday night to the Pakistani capital, Islamabad, to meet with the country's president, Gen. Pervez Musharraf, despite a bombing Thursday morning outside a Marriott Hotel and the United States Consulate in Karachi. The bombing, a suspected suicide attack, left four dead, including an American Embassy employee.

"Terrorists and killers are not going to prevent me from going to Pakistan," Mr. Bush said at a joint news conference with Mr. Singh. "My trip to Pakistan is an important trip. It's important to talk with President Musharraf about continuing our fight against terrorists. After all, he has had a direct stake in this fight; four times the terrorists have tried to kill him."

In New Delhi, American and Indian negotiators working all night reached agreement on the nuclear deal at 10:30 a.m. Thursday local time — only two hours before Mr. Bush and Mr. Singh announced it — after the United States accepted an Indian plan to separate its civilian and military nuclear facilities.

In the plan, India agreed permanently to classify 14 of its 22 nuclear power reactors as civilian facilities, meaning those reactors will be subject for the first time to international inspections or safeguards.

The other reactors, as well as a prototype fast-breeder reactor in the early stages of development, will remain as military facilities, and not be subject to inspections. India also retained the right to develop future fast-breeder reactors for its military program, a provision that critics of the deal called astonishing. In addition, India said it was guaranteed a permanent supply of nuclear fuel.

The separation plan, according to a senior Indian official, also envisions India-specific rules from the International Atomic Energy Agency, effectively recognizing India as a nuclear weapons state in "a

category of its own."
12/21/2005

http://www.indianexpress.com/print.php?content_id=81664

Both sides appeared eager to announce the agreement as the centerpiece of Mr. Bush's first visit to India, and did so with few details at a triumphal news conference on the lush grounds of Hyderabad House, a former princely residence in the heart of this capital. But Mr. Bush acknowledged that the deal now faced a difficult battle for approval in Congress that would entail a change in American law.

"We concluded an historic agreement today on nuclear power," Mr. Bush said, with Mr. Singh at his side. "It's not an easy job for the prime minister to achieve this agreement, I understand. It's not easy for the American president to achieve this agreement. But it's a necessary agreement. It's one that will help both our peoples."

Speaking of Congress, he added: "Some people just don't want to change and change with the times. But this agreement is in our interest."

Indians hailed the agreement as historic and highly advantageous for their country.

"It offers access to civilian nuclear energy, it protects your strategic program, and it mainstreams India," said Amitabh Mattoo, vice chancellor of Jammu University. "India couldn't have hoped for a better deal."

Critics also said keeping the fast-breeder reactors under military control, without inspections, would allow India to develop far more nuclear arms, and more quickly, than it has in the past. Fast-breeder reactors are highly efficient producers of the plutonium needed for nuclear weapons.

"It's not meaningful to talk about 14 of the 22 reactors being placed under safeguards," said Robert J. Einhorn, a senior adviser at the Center for Strategic and International Studies in Washington, who served as a top nonproliferation official in the Clinton administration and the early days of the Bush administration. "What's meaningful is what the Indians can do at the unsafeguarded reactors, which is vastly increase their production of fissile material for nuclear weapons. One has to assume that the administration was so interested in concluding a deal that it was prepared to cave in to the demands of the Indian nuclear establishment."

Critics of the deal also said it would now be more difficult for the United States to persuade Iran and other nations to give up their nuclear weapons ambitions.

"It will set a precedent that Iran will use to argue that the United States has a double standard," said Representative Edward J. Markey, Democrat of Massachusetts, a leading opponent of the deal. "You can't break the rules and expect Iran to play by them, and that's what President Bush is doing today."

Administration officials in New Delhi countered that India was a responsible nuclear power and had earned the right to the nuclear energy technology that it urgently needs for a booming economy and its population of one billion.

"India is unique," R. Nicholas Burns, the under secretary of state for political affairs, told reporters at a briefing in New Delhi.

Mr. Burns, the administration's point man in the nuclear talks, added: "It has developed its entire nuclear program over 30 years alone because it had been isolated. So the question we faced was the following: Is it better to maintain India in isolation, or is it better to try to bring it into the international mainstream?"

And President Bush felt the latter."

The deal was praised by Mohamed ElBaradei, the director general of the International Atomic Energy Agency. "This agreement is an important step towards satisfying India's growing need for energy, including nuclear technology and fuel, as an engine for development," he said in a statement. "It would also bring India closer as an important partner in the nonproliferation regime."

President Jacques Chirac of France also offered his blessings late Thursday, calling India "a responsible power" and saying access to civilian nuclear energy would help India "respond to its immense energy needs while limiting its emissions of greenhouse gases," Agence France-Presse reported.

At the news conference, Mr. Bush and Mr. Singh announced additional cooperative agreements on counterterrorism, fighting AIDS in India and trade, including the importing to the United States of Indian mangoes, considered by connoisseurs to be among the best in the world.

"And oh, by the way, Mr. Prime Minister, the United States is looking forward to eating Indian mangoes," Mr. Bush said at the news conference.

'Landmark' seal on N-deal

OUR SPECIAL
CORRESPONDENT

New Delhi, March 27: Congress president Sonia Gandhi today put an end to speculation about her party's "unease" with the Indo-US nuclear pact by describing it as a "landmark agreement".

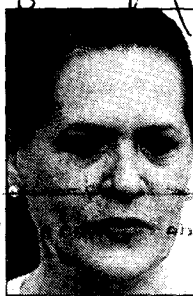
In her customary letter in the latest issue of party mouthpiece *Congress Sandesh*, Sonia criticised "some parties" for trying to communalise India's foreign policy for "short-term electoral gains". "This is above all an insult to our minorities and something that the Congress will never do," she said.

Sonia stressed that her party has never considered religious minorities "any less nationalist" than the majority

community.

All communities had fought for India's Independence, the Congress chief said. "And like earlier, our minorities will continue to support the Congress's desire to create an open and plural society where our democracy gives everyone the right to articulate their difference of opinion."

Sonia clarified that India's independent foreign policy is in place. "Those who accuse the Manmohan Singh government of discarding India's independent policy need to look carefully at the enormous gains our new and equal relationship with America will



Sonia: Clearing air

bring (to) our scientific, technical, agricultural and trade sectors," she said.

Among the other "positive" spin-offs Sonia listed were:

- "Better" integration with the growing sectors of the world economy so that India can meet the need to create jobs and infrastructure.

- Meeting future energy needs and gaining access to high-end technology, which has been denied for 20 years.

Sonia praised the Prime Minister and his team for creating a "positive" atmosphere to work with George W. Bush and simultaneously ensuring that India did not barter away its national interest while

signing the nuclear deal.

She also had a word of praise for atomic energy scientists who, she said, have persevered to maintain India's nuclear programme "despite facing great odds".

As Sonia sang paeans to the deal, she criticised the Left obliquely. "The Congress has always stood at the forefront of the fight against communalism. Even the Left has aligned with the BJP in the past but the Congress has always maintained its principled distance. It is, therefore, ironic that those very parties that did not support India's own indigenous nuclear programme are today the champions of a nuclear Iran. These principled flip-flops reveal the reality behind their vociferous anti-US cries," she said.

Burns hopeful of making convincing case in Congress

Nuclear deal with India is in U.S. interest: Bush

WASHINGTON: President George W. Bush and Undersecretary of State Nicholas Burns have urged Congress to approve a landmark plan to share nuclear technology with India — a deal that could be a tough sell to lawmakers.

"India can be trusted," Mr. Burns said.

Mr. Bush said India has proved itself over 30 years to be a non-proliferator.

"It's in our interest that India use nuclear power to power their economic growth because ... there's a global connection between demand for fossil fuels elsewhere and price here," he said on Wednesday in West Virginia, where he made remarks on Iraq and the war on terror.

Critics, including former Senator Sam Nunn, are sceptical of the recent agreement reached by Mr. Bush and Prime Minister Manmohan Singh.

It requires Congress to exempt India from U.S. laws that restrict trade with countries that have not submitted to full nuclear inspections.

Concerns

Among concerns raised by Mr. Nunn, who played a leading role on military issues in Congress, were that the agreement would

• **Condoleezza Rice will testify in Congress in support of the measure**

• **"India is a country that does not proliferate, we are going to make a convincing case"**

• **The agreement reflects 'the emergence of a new global partnership between India and the United States'**

promote a regional arms race with China and Pakistan and make it more difficult for the United States to win support for sanctions against countries such as Iran and North Korea.

Better off

Mr. Burns said "we take his views very seriously." But, he told a news conference, "we're far better off" having India submit to supervision under the agreement than having it isolated.

"India is a country that does not proliferate. We are going to make a convincing case," he said.

Legislation

Legislation to implement the plan was introduced last week. Mr. Burns said Secretary of State Condoleezza Rice would testify in support of the measure.

Also, two Assistant Secretar-

ies of State, Richard Boucher and Stephen Rademaker, were sent to Vienna to promote the plan with the Nuclear Suppliers Group, an assembly of 35 nations that export nuclear technology.

International verification

"India is accepting international verification," he said.

"India is accepting international inspection. Who can argue with that?"

He said the agreement reflects "the emergence of a new global partnership between India and the United States."

Mr. Burns said it should cause no problem with Pakistan, traditionally a rival of India, and that the United States maintains good, although different, relations with Pakistan. — AP

SATURDAY 18 MARCH 2000

From Russia, with realism The Many Uses Of The Nuclear Deal

THE deal with Russia for the supply of uranium to India should, among other things, help put the Indo-US nuclear deal in perspective. There was a tendency, even among some supporters of the deal with Washington, to believe that India's global recognition as a nuclear power would depend on whether the US Congress approved the deal. While the approval of the Congress is important, the deal with Russia suggests the Rubicon has already been crossed. By placing his personal prestige behind the supply of nuclear fuel to India, President Bush has effectively removed any pressure other major nations may have felt over supplying uranium to this country. The US may continue to object to the supply of uranium through deals like the one with Russia, but these objections no longer have the sting they had in earlier years. Indeed, in the changed circumstances, it would be no surprise if the US administration uses the deal with Russia to remind the Congress that if India does not get its nuclear fuel from the United States, it can source it from elsewhere. Rather than being a roadblock, then, the agreement with Russia may even prod members of the US Congress to support the Indo-US deal.

Within India, too, the agreement with Russia should remove any lingering doubts about the objectives of the Indo-US nuclear deal. While it certainly redefined India's relationship with the US, that was not its only purpose. It was also meant to be a first step towards enabling India to deal with other powers, like Russia, on a much more equal basis. Having established its independence on as globally sensitive an issue as the nuclear one, there is no reason why India should not take this new-found confidence into negotiations in other areas as well. This would involve not just engaging more effectively with all major powers but also being innovative enough to influence the agenda of organisations like the WTO. The strides India has made in nuclear negotiations in recent months might well be a sign of things to come in other international arenas.

The Economic Times

Nuclear deal no threat to Pakistan, China: Narayanan

PRESS TRUST OF INDIA
NEW DELHI, MARCH 17

INDIA'S nuclear deal with the US should be no cause of concern for Pakistan and China as it leaves New Delhi's strategic nuclear capabilities unchanged, national security adviser M K Narayanan has said.

Also, he rebutted suggestions that the US is using India to contain China, saying no American leader had spoken on such terms during President George W Bush's visit this month to India.

"President Bush did not raise this issue even once. Nor has (US national security adviser Stephen) Hadley or (US Secretary of State) Condoleezza Rice. We are certainly not there in any game of containing China or Pakistan," Narayanan said in an interview to a weekly magazine.

The nuclear deal sealed with the US during Bush's visit

to the country does not influence India's nuclear programme, he said. Rather, it has put a large number of reactors under international safeguards, Narayanan added.

"The strategic part (of our nuclear programme) is unaffected, whether we are in it (nuclear deal) or not. So neither China nor Pakistan has any reason to feel more concerned," Narayanan remarked when asked the neighbours did not seem to be pleased with India's landmark pact with the United States.

Narayanan also described as "convoluted" suggestions that China was probably concerned about a possible new push to India's economic potential from the deal.

"It is not like the question of a seat in the Security Council. By getting civil nuclear cooperation, you are one among many countries," he said.

Also, India only believes in keeping the required deterrence, Narayanan added.

Critics of convenience



INDER MALHOTRA

ON March 5, Jaswant Singh, leader of the Opposition in the Rajya Sabha, issued, on behalf of his party, the BJP, an elaborate press release on the joint statement three

days earlier by Prime Minister Manmohan Singh and visiting American President George Bush. Of this, surprisingly, the media took practically no notice. Yet, the document is so revealing in the 19 questions it raises that it merits close analysis.

The first thing to notice is that the BJP wants to have its cake and eat it too. As the "initiator" of the process of "strategic cooperation with the United States", says the Jaswant Singh release, the BJP is "gratified" by the March 2 statement. This statement, it adds, is an "explicit confirmation", by the UPA government, of the "continuing validity" of the BJP-NDA government's "initiative of deepening, broadening and strengthening relations" with the US, and of the "centrality of that policy".

In the same breath, the BJP blandly accuses the Manmohan Singh government of having "surrendered" India's national interest on "two important" counts. First, the placing of 14 of 22 nuclear plants under safeguards would "clearly result in a gap on the fissile material available for weapons purposes". This, sadly, is a classic case of partisan politics triumphing over sense of responsibility or even accuracy.

If the BJP leaders, who have ruled the country for six years, cannot accept the prime minister's categorical assurance that the integrity of the credible minimum deterrent in the changing situation is in no way affected, what about the same assertion by the chairman of the Atomic Energy Commission, Anil Kakodkar, and other eminent nuclear scientists who had initially voiced some doubts but now declare that their concerns have been fully addressed?

Moreover, the ayatollahs of non-proliferation in the US, who are working overtime to persuade the US Congress to "kill the deal", are screaming that the separation agreement, instead of capping Indian nu-

INDER MALHOTRA asks Jaswant Singh to read his objections to the nuclear deal with the US along with the revelations in Strobe Talbott's recent book

clear weapon programme, would be a licence to India to "double or triple" its nuclear arsenal. Surely, both they and the author of the BJP press release cannot be right.

Third, according to an eminent columnist known to be close to the BJP, what Brajesh Mishra, principal secretary and national security adviser to Atalji, offered to put under safeguards in 2002 would, in 2006, have added up to two-thirds of the power plants. So who has surrendered what and to whom?

that Jaswant Singh was willing to concede to the US but was mercifully deterred from doing. In the circumstances, the expression "surrender" comes ill from him.

Before explaining that, however, it is only fair to acknowledge that there is some substance in Jaswant Singh's second point about the placing of Indian civilian reactors under safeguards in "perpetuity". Doubtless, the prime minister's July 29 statement in Parliament had declared that India would accept only those obligations



Jaswant Singh repeatedly, though privately, assured Strobe Talbott that this country would sign the CTBT although there was a parliamentary resolution firmly prohibiting that

The BJP's misleading claims and insinuations could have been disregarded as born of pique or ignorance had they come from the likes of Rajnath Singh or Venkaiah Naidu, but not when they emanate from someone who has been external affairs, defence and finance minister and, more importantly, the Indian interlocutor during the marathon nuclear dialogue with the then US deputy secretary of state, Strobe Talbott. As it happens, Talbott has revealed in his book *Engaging India* (Penguin, 2004) all

as apply to the other five nuclear weapon powers. These Five can put a facility under safeguards and pull it out at will. This privilege India cannot get because it needs to import uranium, while the other five don't. Nobody would give this country uranium to fuel reactors earmarked as military. There surely was a failure to realise this in July. But to call it a "surrender" is to overstretch the point.

As for what Jaswant Singh was prepared to offer, he repeatedly though privately assured Talbott that this

country would sign the CTBT although there was a parliamentary resolution firmly prohibiting that. At first he wanted to act quietly and in slow stages to "favourably alter the context in which the treaty might be looked at anew" (Talbott, page 98). Later, in the presence of Sandy Berger, national security adviser to President Clinton, Jaswant reassured Talbott that "Vajpayee had taken an 'irreversible' decision to sign the CTBT — it was just a question of how and when to make that decision public" (page 123). In January 1999, "Jaswant said that India would sign the CTBT by May. (He) also assured me that under the Indian system, signature was tantamount to ratification" (page 145).

No less shocking is the way in his talks with the Americans Jaswant Singh trashed the draft Nuclear Doctrine that was later adopted and still is the nation's Nuclear Doctrine. When Talbott "registered a strong objection" to the draft doctrine, especially against the "triad" of mobile land-based missiles, airborne weapons and under-sea assets, Jaswant Singh replied, "It was not really even a doctrine — it was just a set of recommendations that Vajpayee would almost certainly not accept. The United States should not 'dignify' it by overreacting" (page 172).

After this what face has Jaswant Singh or the BJP to "caution" the Manmohan government not to allow strategic partnership with the US to turn into "strategic dependency" or "strategic lock-in" with American national interest? In this context, the party's 19 quibbles with the UPA are hardly worth discussing.

It is also interesting that BJP apparently does not realise how grotesque is its apparent attempt to join hands with the Left, completely or partially, on either the nuclear deal or the Iran vote. Especially after the two Communist parties had vigorously condemned it for the 1998 nuclear tests. How pertinent was a remark heard at a meeting presided over by former prime minister Inder Gujral, "The March 5 announcement has certainly made history — by bringing about an alliance between the BJP, the Left Front, the nonproliferation fundamentalists in America, Pakistan, China and Iran."

It's a deal: US looks back, China forward, Mauritius gears up

Expert sees no harm in double standards

S. Rajagopalan
Washington, March 12

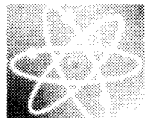
IF THE nuke deal with India is a case of "double standard" on the US's part, so be it. Circumstances justify it and Americans ought to embrace the pact whose benefits outweigh the costs, says Robert Kagan, a senior associate at Washington's Carnegie Endowment for International Peace. Talking of double standards, Kagan points out that the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty (NPT) in itself represents "a gargantuan double standard" — and one of "a particularly mindless kind" at that.

In a *Washington Post* op-ed piece on Sunday, Kagan takes pot shots at the NPT lobby, which is using the "double standard" tag as one of their principal arguments to prevail upon the US Congress to reject the nuke deal.

In a line echoing India's long-held stance that the NPT is discriminatory, he argues that it is the NPT which created the first double standard by restricting the membership of the nuclear club to five nations. That decision was "not based on justice or morality or strategic document or politics but simply on circumstance: Whoever had figured out how to build nuclear weapons by 1968 was in," Kagan writes, adding: "At least our double standard for India makes strategic, diplomatic, ideological and political sense."

Making the point that there must be "some adjustment to reality" in international affairs, he notes: "One aspect of the present reality is that India has long been a nu-

INDO-US PACT



NORTH KOREA CRIBS

■ North Korea on Saturday accused the United States of double standards on the nuclear non-proliferation issue

■ "It is quite intolerable for the US to overlook nuclear issues of some countries, and unconditionally rejects some," the country's official mouthpiece, Korean Central News Agency (KCNA), said

DON'T COUNT ON IRAN: US

■ The US has warned India that Iran is not a 'reliable partner' for its long-term energy needs

■ Answering a question on the India-Iran gas pipeline, US under-secretary of state Nicholas Burns said India could instead turn to Kazakhstan or Turkmenistan

clear power, and this deal doesn't make it more of one. Another part of the present reality is that North Korea and Iran are probably going to be nuclear powers, too, and in any case the non-proliferation 'regime' is not going to stop them." If Congress were to reject the deal with India to maintain the principle of non-proliferation, it would have no effect on India's decisions. "But the futile gesture would have a devastating effect on US relations with India," Kagan warns.



President Kalam and Mauritius Prime Minister N Ramgoolam in Port Louis on Sunday.

PTI

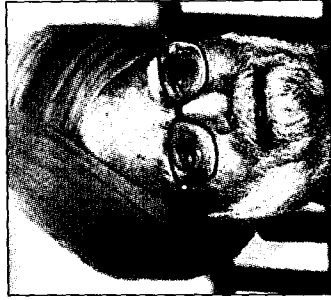
আর্থিক স্বার্থেই পরমাণু চুক্তি, সংসদে মনমোহন

নিজস্ব সংবাদদাতা, নয়াদিল্লি, ১১ মার্চ: ভারত বলছে অর্থনৈতিক প্রয়োজনের কথা। আমেরিকা দেখাচ্ছে কৌশলগত স্বার্থ। সাম্প্রতিক ভারত-আমেরিকা অসামরিক পরমাণু চুক্তির সপক্ষে দু'দেশের সওয়াল ভিন্ন হলেও লক্ষ্য একটাই, বিরুদ্ধবাদীদের সফল শোকাবিলা। আর সে ব্যাপারে টেঙ্গার ক্রটি রাখছে না কোনও পক্ষই।

ভারতে বামেরা আমেরিকার সঙ্গে ঘনিষ্ঠতা নিয়ে যতটা সরব, চুক্তি নিয়ে ততটা নয়। কিন্তু মার্কিন মুলুকে এই চুক্তির বিরোধীরা নীতিগত অঙ্গ তুলে অনেক বেশি সরব। তারই মধ্যে রাষ্ট্রপুঞ্জের প্রাক্তন অস্ত্র পর্যবেক্ষক ডেভিড অলব্রাইট এক বিপোর্টে দাবি করেছেন, ভারত অনেক দিন ধরেই পরমাণু প্রযুক্তি-পাচারের সঙ্গে জড়িত। মার্কিন প্রশাসন যে কারণ দেখিয়ে কংগ্রেসের কাছে ভারত-মার্কিন চুক্তি অনুমোদন করতে বলেছিল, এই বিপোর্ট

তার মূলে আঘাত করেছে। মার্কিন বিদেশ মন্ত্রকের এক মুখপাত্র জানান, অলব্রাইটের বিপোর্ট খতিয়ে দেখা হবে। আজ সংসদে প্রধানমন্ত্রী মনমোহন সিংহ জানান, ভারতীয় অর্থনীতিতে প্রতি বছর ১০ শতাংশ হারে বৃদ্ধির যে লক্ষ্যমাত্রা স্থির করা হয়েছে, তার জন্য শক্তির নিয়মিত এবং যথেষ্ট জোগান দরকার। এই চাহিদা পূরণ করতে গেলে পরমাণু শক্তির ছারস্খ হওয়া ছাড়া উপায় নেই। আমেরিকার সঙ্গে অসামরিক পরমাণু চুক্তি করে পরমাণু জ্বালানির সরকারের আসল উদ্দেশ্য ছিল।

ওই চুক্তির ফলে পরমাণু ক্ষেত্রে ভারতের সার্বভৌমত্ব ক্ষুণ্ণ হয়েছে, বিরোধীদের এই যুক্তি-উত্তিতে প্রধানমন্ত্রী বলেন, “কৌশলগত পরমাণু প্রকল্পের ব্যাপারে সমঝোতা করা হয়নি। পরমাণু অস্ত্র প্রকল্প কাটছাঁট হতে পারে, এমন প্রস্তাবেও আমরা সম্মতি জানাইনি।”



স্বার্থেই আমেরিকার সঙ্গে সুসম্পর্ক রাখা দরকার। তার কথায়, “আমেরিকার উদ্দেশ্যের সঙ্গে আমাদের যে সব সময়ে মিলবে, তা নয়। কিন্তু এমন দিনও আসতে পারে, যখন দু'দেশের স্বার্থ এক হয়ে দাঁড়াবে। সুযোগ নিতে ক্ষতি কী?” প্রধানমন্ত্রীর বক্তব্যকে সমর্থন করেন বিজ্ঞান ও প্রযুক্তিমন্ত্রী কপিল সিংহল।

তিনি বলেন, “শুধু শক্তির নিয়মিত জোগান নয়, কৃষি, স্বাস্থ্য, শিল্প এবং পরিবেশের মতো গুরুত্বপূর্ণ ক্ষেত্রগুলিতে মার্কিন প্রযুক্তির সহায়তা পাওয়ার জন্যও আমেরিকার সঙ্গে চুক্তি করা হয়েছে।” এনডিএ জমানায় ১৯৯৮ সালে পোখরান বিস্ফোরণের পরে আন্তর্জাতিক নিষেধাজ্ঞার মুখে গড়েছিল ভারত। সেই ঘটনার সমালোচনা করে সিন্ধল বলেন, সাম্প্রতিক চুক্তিতে পরমাণু অস্ত্র প্রকল্প নিয়ে সমঝোতা না করেও জ্বালানির নিয়মিত সরবরাহ নিশ্চিত করতে পেরেছে সরকার।

বিরোধীরাও অবশ্য হাত গুটিয়ে বসে নেই। ভারতীয় বিদেশনীতি তার স্বাধীন চরিত্র হারাচ্ছে বলে বামেরা আজও ফের লোকসভায় অভিযোগ তোলেন। জবাবে মনমোহন বলেন, আমেরিকার সঙ্গে চুক্তি করার অর্থ এই নয় যে, ভারত তার দীর্ঘদিনের কৌশলগত সহযোগীদের তুলে যাবে।

বিশেষ করে রাশিয়া ও চীনের সঙ্গে সুসম্পর্ক বজায় রাখার উপরে আজ জোর দেন প্রধানমন্ত্রী।

ভারত যেমন অর্থনৈতিক স্বার্থের কথা তুলছে, তেমনই দক্ষিণ এশিয়ায় আমেরিকার কৌশলগত স্বার্থের কথা মাথায় রেখে এই চুক্তি পাস করানোর জন্য মার্কিন কংগ্রেসের উপরে চাপ সৃষ্টি করছে সে দেশের বিশেষজ্ঞদের একাংশ। তাঁদের মতে, ভারত দক্ষিণ এশিয়ার অন্যতম বৃহৎ শক্তি। তা ছাড়া, পরমাণু অস্ত্রপ্রসার রোধ চুক্তিতে সই না করলেও ভারত কোনও দিন

পাকিস্তানের মতো প্রযুক্তি-পাচার করেনি। হাতে পরমাণু অস্ত্র থাকা সত্ত্বেও শক্তির অপব্যবহার ঘটায়নি। তা হলে ভারতকে পরমাণু শক্তিদর দেশের মর্যাদা দিতে আপত্তি কোথায়? আমেরিকার জন্য পঁচিশ বিদেশনীতি বিশেষজ্ঞ এক চিঠিতে মার্কিন কংগ্রেসের কাছে তাঁদের বক্তব্য জানিয়েছেন।

PM'S ASSURANCE

'Nuclear deal is not against any country'

AGENCIES

New Delhi, March 4

IN THE wake of protests by Muslims against the visit of US President George Bush, Prime Minister Manmohan Singh has decided to invite Muslim scholars and intellectuals to a meeting with him.

Concerned over loss of life and violence during the protests, Singh is likely to tell them that the nuclear deal reached with Bush was not an endorsement of whatever the US was doing in Iraq and elsewhere. The meeting is likely to be held after the current Parliament session. Iraq was

one of the "problem areas" between New Delhi and Washington, highly-placed sources said adding, hopefully Iran's nuclear programme would not fall in a similar category. The sources conceded that even within the higher echelons of the Congress party there had been concerns about certain aspects of the nuclear deal.

Before agreeing on it, the Prime Minister had briefed party president Sonia Gandhi to address these concerns.

The sources said Singh had explained the nuclear deal to the Left parties "at every step" but more needs to be done to convince them.

At the proposed meeting with Muslim intellectuals, the Prime Minister is likely

to emphasise that the deal with the US was not directed against any community or country. In fact, in recent months Singh has told even the Chinese leadership that the nuclear deal was not directed against Beijing or any other

country. The deal, which follows the July 18 agreement between Bush and Singh, has found support from the leaders of France, Britain and Russia, the sources said adding, after his recent visit to India, French President Jacques Chirac had telephoned Bush to say that India had a very good case.



Weapon teams line up

OUR SPECIAL
CORRESPONDENT

New Delhi, March 4: The India-US civilian nuclear deal is being quickly followed up by Washington with a series of meetings, exchanges and drills planned to sell military hardware to India.

The first among these is the visit later this month by the Pentagon's chief official in charge of military sales, Jeffrey Kohler.

Kohler was in India three months ago to brief Indian officials on the processes under the US government's Foreign Military Sales programme. He will continue with the briefings. The next set of briefings is likely to focus on the missile defence system (Patriot III), multi-role combat aircraft and a special one on the joint strike fighter. The last is on a request from India.

But the quick follow-up to the Bush visit does not guarantee that the US will win big-ticket hardware orders from India immediately even if the nuclear agreement does address a key Indian concern. In-

dian military planners have always doubted the US ability to supply weapons systems reliably because of sanctions in the past. That position is beginning to change.

Just reflecting how complex military orders can be despite intensified lobbying by the US, defence minister Pranab Mukherjee today struck a note of caution.

The easy conclusion of the nuclear deal is that the pay-offs for the US will come from military sales. But that is not possible in the short run because of the competition involved, Indian preference for lowest price bidders and the fact that in the decades of denial by the US, India has built its arsenal mainly with Soviet (Russian) weapons.

Mukherjee said in Calcutta: "We have no territorial ambition and will not join any arms race, but will procure arms as per requirements for defence preparedness." He emphasised: "India will decide what type of arms and weapons it requires in its defence system."

When asked for comments

on Jyoti Basu's observation that India's foreign policy was giving up the Nehruvian model, he said there was no change. But "at the same time, it is true that foreign policy does not remain static."

The US is in competition for each of the three segments for which Kohler's team will conduct briefings: for missile defence, India is also in talks with Russia for the SV-300, for the multi-role aircraft, the global tender is being brought in line with a new offsets policy and US companies Lockheed Martin and Boeing are competing with Saab, MIG and the French with more likely to pitch in; India is also in talks with Russia to participate in its fifth generation fighter aircraft programme.

Naval headquarters is also expected to be briefed by US officials again on the E2C Hawkeye aircraft.

The pay-offs for the US are most likely to be in the area of high technology cooperation. The India-US High Technology Cooperation Group is working on licences for dual-use technology exports to India.

CPM to put deal to four tests

OUR BUREAU

New Delhi/Bangalore, March 4: The CPM will not object to the nuclear deal if it takes care of its four basic concerns, so that the party's not seen as opposing "national interest".

But worried about the deal's potential for making India "susceptible to US pressures", the CPM will oppose the Centre if it votes against Iran at Monday's International Atomic Energy Agency conference. The party wants the government to abstain.

"The nuclear deal is not going to rock the government," CPM politburo member Sitaram Yechury said. The Left is waiting for the Prime Minister to spell out the agreement's details in Parliament.

"We will have to rework our response if the agreement does not address the four concerns," Yechury said. The four issues are:

- Deal shouldn't erode India's sovereignty
- Decision on separating civil-



Yechury: Shifting stance

ian and military facilities should remain with India

- India should not start implementing the deal before the US Congress amends its laws
- There can't be any India-specific safeguard agreement with the IAEA.

The latest issue of *People's Democracy* — the CPM mouthpiece — warns that the US could use the deal as a "lucrative bargain" to get India to buy nuclear reactors from it.

The CPM also described as "unfair" the Election Commission's move to hold the Bengal polls in five phases. "If it (the commission) can accept Tamil Nadu's plea for a one-day schedule, why did it not accept the same for Bengal?" Yechury asked.

05 MAR 2006

THE TELEGRAPH

Pact won't hit foreign ties: Pranab

Statesman News Service

Bush wants daughters married!

KOLKATA, March 4. — The new Indo-US agreement on nuclear cooperation will not affect India's relation with Russia or China, nor will it lead to an arms race in the subcontinent, Union defence minister Mr Pranab Mukherjee said here today.

"The agreement has given a de-facto recognition to India's status as a nuclear state. To formally recognise India as a country capable of producing nuclear weapons and nuclear energy, USA will have to make some changes in its internal policy. But France, England and Russia have welcomed the development. In the past we did not allow

HYDERABAD, March 4. — Mr George W Bush's wish to see his two twin daughters, Ms Jenna Bush and Ms Barbara Bush, married, found expression during his chat with Andhra Pradesh chief minister Dr YS Jaganmohan Reddy on board the presidential helicopter *Marine One*. As they were flying to an agricultural university yesterday Mr Bush asked after Dr Reddy's family. The chief minister replied that he had a son and a daughter and four grandchildren. Mr Bush, 59, who is senior by three years, Dr Reddy was surprised. "We marry early," Dr Reddy told the President, to which Mr Bush replied "I am trying to get my daughters to marry." SNS

International Atomic Energy Agency to inspect any of our nuclear establishments. Since India is not a signatory to the Nuclear Non Proliferation Treaty, in future too we will not disclose the size of our nuclear arsenal to anyone. Yes, we have missiles. These are only for self defence. But now the

IAEA can inspect 14 reactors," Mr Mukherjee told reporters. The IAEA has already inspected six of these plants. "With the technology supplied by USA and the other nuclear capable countries, India plans to produce one million megawatt electricity from its nuclear facilities," he said.

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THE STATESMAN

“Nuclear deal not about global paradigm shift”

India not endorsing what U.S. is doing in Iraq, elsewhere, say sources

Special Correspondent

NEW DELHI: Authoritative sources said here on Saturday that India was entering into the civilian nuclear cooperation agreement with the U.S. because it wanted to widen its energy options.

“But what size our military programme shall be and the direction it takes must remain an Indian decision. We have prevented any eventuality of capping. The civilian and strategic division is based on credible minimum deterrence.”

On the role of the nuclear scientists in the negotiations, the sources said Prime Minister Manmohan Singh was clear that he was not going to sign a deal with which the scientists did not agree. “Even on July 17, he had said he would not overrule the scientific community. In that sense, one could say the scientists had a veto.”

Something substantial

Asked what the U.S. had got out of the deal, the sources said the Americans can go back and say they have got something substantial — “65 per cent of the facilities has now been safeguarded.” The sources said there was also “some final fine-tuning on

some facilities which is important for their optics,” the details of which would be revealed by the Prime Minister in Parliament.

Asked whether India’s reprocessing and enrichment facilities would be safeguarded, the sources said this too would be discussed in Parliament.

Allaying fears about the separation creating a military side that was so large it might send the wrong signals to Pakistan, the sources said, “We don’t have mountains of plutonium, so what we have kept out is consistent with our defence needs ... Until now, 100 per cent of Indian facilities were theoretically available for the weapons programme. Now we are saying the upper limit is only 35 per cent. Nothing we have done is a provocation to anybody. By limiting our weapons capability in the way we have done, there is no way for anyone to worry, or enter into an arms race.”

- Any eventuality of capping military option prevented
- Manmohan said he would not overrule scientific community
- China, Pakistan need not worry about deal

Asked about the negative reaction of China to the nuclear deal, the sources said what China has said “has to be taken seriously but we are confident our Chinese colleagues will agree.”

The sources cautioned against reading the nuclear deal as part of a major “paradigm shift.” Whatever global architecture the U.S. may have, said the sources, India has to look at its internal situation and increase options on the energy front. “The U.S. is a global power and their thinking may not converge with ours in all areas ... This agreement is not an endorsement of what the U.S. has done in Iraq. On Iran, Dr. Singh told Mr. Bush that diplomacy and dialogue must be given time to work.” The problems in Iraq are already a concern and India does not want Iran to become another problem. “We don’t want the region to be destabilised in any way,” the sources said.

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March 5, 2006
News Analysis

U.S. Gives India Applause, Pakistan a Pat on the Back

By SOMINI SENGUPTA

NEW DELHI, March 4 — President Bush leaves this region having declared India and Pakistan strategic partners. But his declarations spoke just as loudly of the shifting balance of power in the region, and the world.

It was India that appeared to come out the biggest winner this week. Pakistan walked away with little more than a mild pat on the back after Mr. Bush's visit on Saturday. While buttressing America's alliances in the region, Mr. Bush also took home a formidable political challenge to sell his nuclear deal with India to a skeptical Congress.

India could hardly be more pleased. "IND-US CIVILIZATION," screamed a front-page headline in The Times of India on Saturday, in joyous praise for what President Bush had bestowed on the nation.

Those gifts included a nuclear deal celebrated by Indian officials, elevation as a global leader, and nary a recriminatory word on the troubles in the disputed province of Kashmir. Indian backers of a United States-India partnership were elated.

"I think we have managed to get a rather good deal," a senior Indian official said, unwilling to disclose his name because the full details of the nuclear agreement had yet to be shared with the Indian Parliament. "This is from our point of view, a hard bargain."

In Pakistan, the difference was discerned. "One thing is very clear: The U.S. is keeping India and Pakistan at two different levels," said Hasan Askari Rizvi, an independent political analyst in Lahore. "The kind of multifaceted interaction that exists between India and the United States is not to be seen with reference to Pakistan. For Pakistan, it's a limited and cautious support."

Some members of the United States Congress and analysts have already taken the Bush administration to task for making too many concessions to India, the bête noire of outsourcing in some American circles and a stubborn opponent of the Nuclear Nonproliferation Treaty. Mr. Bush's test is to persuade Americans that India is worth the bargain.

The balance of costs and benefits has everything to do with India's new place in the world and its rise in the American imagination.

It is the world's largest democracy, seen in some quarters as a potential check on China. It has the world's second-largest population of Muslims. Its engineers and call center workers are embedded in the largest American corporations. Its immigrants in the United States have grown swiftly in number, wealth and influence.

Perhaps most important, India's economy has galloped forward for the last several years: It is poised to post more than 8 percent growth this year and double-digit growth in the years ahead. Its potential market is vast. Mr. Bush exhorted India to open that market further, and in his joint statement with Prime Minister Manmohan Singh he listed "economic prosperity and trade" as the first among several agreements made between the countries. "Economics has featured prominently on this trip," the deputy United States trade representative, Karan Bhatia, said Friday.

But it is the nuclear deal, which commits the United States to supporting India's civilian nuclear program, that will stand as the measure of what was achieved this week.

Pakistan said it expected Mr. Bush at least to press India harder for a solution to their territorial dispute over Kashmir in exchange for the nuclear favor granted to India.

But despite Pakistani demands for equal nuclear status with India, the White House maintained that the scandal surrounding the Pakistani nuclear scientist A. Q. Khan and his illegal nuclear peddling made no such deal possible anytime soon.

There was only a passing public reference to Kashmir — and that too only to urge the leaders of both India and Pakistan to work it out between themselves.

What Pakistan got instead was affirmation of its standing as a vital ally in the war on terrorism and what many here will interpret as modest blessing of President Pervez Musharraf's brand of democracy, despite Mr. Bush's nudge to conduct transparent elections next year.

Likewise, Indian officials point out that strategic ties with Washington can help India achieve its aspirations on the world stage — chief among them, ending the country's nuclear isolation in the world and yielding the legitimacy it has long sought as a nuclear weapons state.

Mushahid Hussain, a member of the Pakistani Parliament and close to General Musharraf, said at least the new strategic partnership between Pakistan and the United States should yield a "a peace dividend" for South Asia.

To please two lovers is by nature an impossible task, and in this instance, Mr. Bush did not leave South Asia without leaving a trail of ambivalence — and even outright anger — in both countries.

And while both India and Pakistan may be grateful in receiving what support Washington has to offer, it was not clear that either nation could embrace all that Mr. Bush expected of his new friends. In India, for starters, Mr. Bush's message of crusading for democracy worldwide raised eyebrows. "As a global power, India has an historic duty to support democracy around the world," is what he told the invitation-only audience here at Purana Qila, a fort, on Friday. He used the word "democracy" 16 times in his speech.

Ashok K. Mehta, a retired general who writes about India's foreign policy, pointed out that India was not in the habit of spreading democracy, not even in its own neighborhood. "We would like countries to uphold democratic values but we will not thrust that down their throats," is how Mr. Mehta put it, on his way out of the Bush address.

Indeed, Mr. Bush's list of rogue states — he mentioned Myanmar, Cuba and Syria in his final speech in New Delhi — are all among India's friends. Then there was the explicit reference to Iran, as a country ruled by a clerical minority. India has a longstanding and vital relationship with Iran. "In a world where

the Bush administration is perceived in a not very positive light, India is going to have a challenge in structuring its other relationships," said Sundeep Waslekar of the Strategic Foresight Group. "This challenge will be most demonstrated in how we manage our relationship with Iran."

But India is already marching ahead with deepening its engagement with the military junta that rules natural gas-rich Myanmar, formerly Burma. It has bid, with China, on an oilfield in Syria. Fidel Castro — and Hugo Chávez of Venezuela — are regarded here as friends, even if they are not held in the same esteem in the United States. Sachin Pilot, a member of Parliament, put it neatly, "We agree to disagree."

No uranium export to India: Australia

Sydney: Welcoming the Indo-US nuclear agreement, Australia on Friday said it would not lift its ban on uranium exports to India since it was not a signatory to the nuclear non-proliferation treaty (NPT). "We've considered very carefully over the last few months the American proposal for this agreement that President Bush has signed with the Indians, and our view of it is that it's a good step forward in what's been a difficult situation," Australian foreign minister Alexander Downer said, adding, "It is a step forward and we are pleased about that."

He, however, ruled out sale of uranium to New Delhi, saying, "If we were to export uranium to India, that would constitute a significant shift to our policy. It would open up questions of whether we'd export uranium to countries like Israel and Palestine and I think it is probably easier for us to support the current policy." Agencies

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U.S., India Reach Deal On Nuclear Cooperation

With Fuel Imports Allowed, Arms Program Could Grow

By Jim VandeHei and Dafna Linzer
Washington Post Staff Writers
Friday, March 3, 2006; A01

NEW DELHI, March 2 -- President Bush and Indian Prime Minister Manmohan Singh announced Thursday an unprecedented agreement that would provide U.S. nuclear power assistance to India while allowing the country to substantially step up its nuclear weapons production.

The agreement, which marked a significant break from decades of U.S. nuclear policy, highlighted the increasingly close relationship between the world's two largest democracies and enabled both leaders to declare Bush's visit a success. But it also drew protests from some politicians in both countries.

In Washington, where the pact is subject to approval by Congress, some lawmakers said the goal of improved bilateral relations must be balanced against the need to curb nuclear proliferation. In India, a number of protests were held to oppose Bush's visit, and socialist groups warned that India should not succumb to U.S. pressure on nuclear issues.

Under the agreement, India is to separate its civilian and military nuclear programs over the next eight years in order to gain U.S. expertise and nuclear fuel to meet its rapidly rising energy needs. India's civilian facilities would be subject for the first time to permanent international inspections.

Bush and Singh praised the deal at a joint news conference, but they did not mention that it would allow India to produce vast quantities of fissile material, something the United States and the four other major nuclear powers -- China, Russia, France and Britain -- have voluntarily halted. The pact also does not require oversight of India's prototype fast-breeder reactors, which can produce significant amounts of super-grade plutonium when fully operating.

The Bush administration originally sought a plan that would have allowed India to continue producing material for six to 10 weapons each year, but the new plan would allow India enough fissile material for as many as 50 weapons a year. Experts said this would far exceed what is believed to be its current capacity.

"The nuclear options that India insisted on protecting in this deal cast serious doubt on its declared policy of seeking only a credible minimum deterrent," said Robert J. Einhorn, a former assistant secretary of state for nonproliferation, now at the Center for Strategic and International Studies in Washington.

Bush and Singh described the deal, which has been in the works since July, as an important

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breakthrough in U.S.-India relations, less than a decade after the two nations were estranged and bitterly divided over India's nuclear ambitions.

"What this agreement says is -- things change, times change, that leadership can make a difference," Bush said at the news conference. "I am trying to think differently, not to stay stuck in the past, and recognize that by thinking differently, particularly on nuclear power, we can achieve some important objectives."

Singh said, "We have made history today, and I thank you."

The deal must clear two large hurdles before it can take effect. Bush must overcome concerns by lawmakers in both parties that the United States is rewarding one of only three countries that refused to sign the 1968 nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty.

Rep. Ed Royce (R-Calif.), who chairs the International Relations subcommittee on international terrorism and nonproliferation, said he welcomed better ties with India, but not at any cost. In a statement, he said the agreement had "implications beyond U.S.-India relations" and that the "goal of curbing nuclear proliferation should be paramount." He warned that Congress would not be rushed into backing the deal.

Rep. Edward J. Markey (D-Mass.), who co-chairs the Bipartisan Task Force on Nonproliferation, called the deal "a historic failure of this president to tackle the real nuclear threats that we face."

Bush and Singh must also persuade the international Nuclear Suppliers Group, an informal alliance that oversees nuclear transactions, to lift curbs on India. U.S. officials worry that Sweden and several other members might object.

R. Nicholas Burns, the undersecretary of state for political affairs, said in a telephone interview from New Delhi that India, unlike Iran and North Korea, earned special treatment from the United States with its commitment to democracy and international inspections. Burns was intensely involved in working out the details of the pact.

Last week, during a private meeting with a group of congressional leaders, Burns suggested it was unlikely the sides would be able to quickly bridge significant gaps on the separation plan. But a last-minute decision by Bush to accept India's demands sealed the deal.

Burns said one of the most crucial aspects of the pact is that India would subject future civilian plants to inspections. "This is a significant gain for nonproliferation purposes and it certainly is far better than the zero influence we had before the deal," he said. India, however, won the right to classify reactors as for either military or civilian use, which could limit inspections.

Mohammed ElBaradei, head of the International Atomic Energy Agency, which would be in charge of the inspections, praised the deal. "It would also bring India closer as an important partner in the nonproliferation regime," he said in a statement issued from his office in Vienna.

Some nonproliferation experts, however, suggested that the deal could trigger an arms race in South Asia, one of the world's most volatile regions. India and its neighbor Pakistan, also a nuclear power, are longtime rivals.

For India, which faces dwindling supplies of indigenous uranium, the deal would allow it to import

uranium to fuel its civilian program and free up its local supplies to fuel the weapons program.

"All the United States gets from a nonproliferation standpoint are a few more civilian energy production reactors under safeguards," said Daryl Kimball, executive director of the Arms Control Association in Washington. "But it's meaningless, given that India's weapons production capacity will soar in the coming years."

Of India's 22 nuclear plants, 14 classified for civilian use would be subject to new and permanent international inspections under the deal. The country's eight other reactors, as well as future ones designated for military use, would be off-limits.

There had been debate within the administration about whether the deal would undercut U.S. efforts to confront Iran and North Korea over their nuclear programs. There were also concerns about how the agreement would be accepted in Pakistan, an ally in the U.S. campaign against al-Qaeda. On Thursday, an apparent suicide bombing in Karachi killed a U.S. diplomat and several Pakistanis, underscoring the persistence of regional terrorism.

But supporters said the pact was an important part of a White House strategy to accelerate New Delhi's rise as a global power and as a regional counterweight to China.

Bush, who arrived in India late Wednesday, was greeted Thursday by various branches of the Indian military, including cavalry on horseback, at a sandstone government palace. After Bush reviewed the troops, he told reporters, "I have been received in many capitals around the world, but I have never seen a reception as well-organized or as grand."

Bush and first lady Laura Bush paid tribute to India's independence leader, Mohandas K. Gandhi, tossing flower petals at the site where he was cremated in 1948. The president, who is known for short trips with scant sightseeing time, was teased at lunch by Singh for claiming that his scheduler would not let him visit the Taj Mahal.

In a lunchtime toast, Singh told Laura Bush: "I'm truly sorry that the president is not taking you to Taj Mahal this time. I hope he will be more chivalrous the next time you are here." Bush laughed and promised he would visit the 350-year-old wonder next time. Bush also met with religious leaders.

Bush and Singh also made progress on cementing closer economic ties, including an informal commitment to try to double bilateral trade every three years. But the nuclear deal dominated the day. Indian television provided hours of coverage, with commentators talking about a new era of U.S.-India relations.

Security in New Delhi was heavy as socialist and communist politicians led thousands of people in protesting Bush's visit and held a rally outside Parliament that disrupted all activity within.

"If the government succumbs to the U.S. pressure on the nuclear deal, they have to face consequences," said Sitaram Yechury, a member of Parliament from the Communist Party of India (Marxist), according to the Press Trust of India news agency. He said the left would "protest and oppose any erosion of Indian interest."

Armed policemen stood on alert and helicopters hovered overhead during the anti-Bush protests.

"He wants to control the world, and our government is willing to support this. We are here to oppose this

American neo-colonialism," said Shabeg Singh, 64, a resident of Punjab province who carried a red communist flag. Similar large protests were held in other cities, including Calcutta and Bombay, also known as Mumbai.

Linzer reported from New York. Special correspondent Muneeza Naqvi in New Delhi contributed to this report.

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March 3, 2006
News Analysis

Dissenting on Atomic Deal With India

By STEVEN R. WEISMAN

WASHINGTON, March 2 — In concluding its nuclear deal with India, the Bush administration faces significant opposition in Congress and tough questions from its allies on whether the arrangement could set a precedent encouraging the spread of nuclear weapons to Iran and other potential foes of the United States.

But Bush administration officials expressed confidence on Thursday that they could overcome the skepticism of the critics, in part because support is nearly universal in the West and among Republicans and Democrats in Washington for building India's strength as a bastion of democracy and a counterweight to China in Asia.

The Defense Department issued an unusually explicit statement hailing the deal for opening a path for more American-Indian military cooperation.

"Where only a few years ago, no one would have talked about the prospects for a major U.S.-India defense deal, today the prospects are promising, whether in the realm of combat aircraft, helicopters, maritime patrol aircraft or naval vessels," the Defense Department statement said.

Diplomats familiar with the negotiations with India said Britain, France, Germany and probably Russia would eventually line up to support the agreement, in part because it would clear the way for them to sell nuclear fuel, reactors and equipment to India. They would not agree to be identified, because several countries have yet to signal what stance they would take.

More skepticism is expected from China, several diplomats said, because India has made little secret of its desire for a nuclear weapons arsenal to counter Beijing and its longtime ally, Pakistan.

Critics of the deal in Congress and abroad are certain to focus on what they maintain is a double standard embraced by the Bush administration: in effect, allowing India to have nuclear weapons and still get international assistance but insisting that Iran, North Korea and other "rogue states" be given no such waiver.

But administration officials insisted there was no double standard.

"The comparison between India and Iran is just ludicrous," R. Nicholas Burns, the under secretary of state for political affairs, said Thursday in a telephone interview. "India is a highly democratic, peaceful, stable state that has not proliferated nuclear weapons. Iran is an autocratic state mistrusted by nearly all countries and that has violated its international commitments."

What has emerged on Capitol Hill is an alliance of conservative Republicans, who are concerned that

the deal will encourage Iranian intransigence, and liberal Democrats, who charge that the Bush administration has effectively scrapped the Nuclear Nonproliferation Treaty.

This bipartisan skepticism is unusual, producing for example cooperation between a liberal Democrat, Representative Edward J. Markey of Massachusetts, and a conservative Republican, Representative Henry J. Hyde of Illinois, chairman of the House International Relations Committee.

Senator Richard G. Lugar, the Indiana Republican who leads the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, has raised more than 80 questions about the deal that he says need to be answered before it can be approved.

"People are worried about the precedent of establishing a full-fledged cooperation with India while we're wagging our finger at North Korea and Iran," said a Republican aide on Capitol Hill, who requested anonymity because he was describing matters still being weighed in private discussions. "But it's also true that India is facing an energy crisis, and we can't ignore that problem either."

The negotiated accord announced Thursday by President Bush and Prime Minister Manmohan Singh in New Delhi is aimed at removing the ban effectively imposed by the Nuclear Nonproliferation Treaty on the sale of fuel and civilian nuclear technology to India, in return for India's agreement to put its civilian reactors under international inspections.

India, the negotiators agreed, will be able not only to retain its nuclear arms program but to keep a third of its reactors under military control, outside international inspection, including two so-called fast-breeder reactors that could produce fuel for weapons.

The accord would also allow India to build future breeder reactors and keep them outside international inspections. A fast-breeder reactor takes spent nuclear fuel and processes it for reuse as fuel or weapons. American officials negotiating with India over the last several months failed to get India to put its current and future breeder reactors under civilian control. But the accord would allow India to buy equipment and materials for only those new reactors that are to be used for civilian purposes.

India's refusal to put all its breeder reactors under civilian control was seen in New Delhi as a matter of pride and sovereignty. Mr. Singh, who reiterated the need for India's autonomy in nuclear matters, faces pressure from his governing coalition, which includes the Communist Party and other anti-American elements.

India's nuclear program has previously mixed civilian and military purposes. But the accord announced in New Delhi would place 14 of India's 22 nuclear reactors under civilian inspection regimes by 2014. The phase-in and the possibility that breeder reactors may never come under such a regime have drawn fire from critics.

"This deal not only lets India amass as many nuclear weapons as it wants, it looks like we made no effort to try to curtail them," said George Perkovich, vice president for studies at the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace. "This is Santa Claus negotiating. The goal seems to have been to give away as much as possible."

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India Nuclear Deal May Face Hard Sell

Rice Set to Defend Landmark Accord She Orchestrated Without Congress

By Glenn Kessler
Washington Post Staff Writer
Monday, April 3, 2006; A01

Secretary of State Condoleezza Rice flew into New Delhi a year ago and set in motion a revolution in U.S. policy on nuclear weapons and relations with India.

She didn't tip her hand publicly during the brief stop, sticking to bland expressions of "a new relationship" with "great potential." The outlines of her plan were known by only a handful of people in the U.S. government.

Four months later, on July 18, President Bush and Indian Prime Minister Manmohan Singh approved a landmark accord at the White House.

Beyond the invasion of Iraq, few of Bush's decisions have as much potential to shake the international order than his deal with India, supporters and opponents agree. The debate over the deal has pitted against each other two powerful national security goals -- the desire to stop the spread of nuclear weapons and the desire to counter the rise of China, in this case by accelerating New Delhi's ascent as a global power.

After three decades of treating India as a pariah because it used a civilian nuclear program to produce fissile material for weapons, Bush decided the United States would forgive the transgression. India would be able to buy foreign-made nuclear reactors if it opened its civilian facilities to international inspections -- while being allowed to substantially ramp up its ability to produce materials for nuclear weapons.

Previously, the administration had favored an incremental easing of the nuclear rules regarding India. This agreement, as one of Rice's aides put it, was "the big bang," designed to bring historically nonaligned India firmly into the U.S. camp. But the deal has spawned fierce controversy in Washington, in part because going forward would require Congress to change laws for the nuclear sales. Rice will defend the agreement in congressional testimony this week.

The story behind the agreement also sheds light on how foreign policy is conducted in Bush's second term. For an administration frequently criticized for not being nimble, the India deal highlights the flexibility of Rice's foreign-policy team, which has also shifted policies toward Europe, on Iran and other areas in the past year. It demonstrates how, in contrast to the first term, foreign policy is largely driven by Rice and a close circle of advisers, not the White House staff.

But the India deal also shows the drawbacks of this approach, critics say. The agreement is in trouble partly because -- in what some critics say is an echo of the Iraq invasion -- there was little consultation with Congress or within the foreign-affairs bureaucracy before it was announced. Last month in New

Delhi, Bush and Singh reached agreement on how India will implement the deal. But nuclear specialists in the U.S. government say their concerns about weapons proliferation also were overridden in final talks.

Now, nuclear experts from across the political spectrum have urged Congress to modify the accord, which the administration and Indian officials say would be tantamount to killing it.

"There are times when you have to engage in incremental diplomacy and there are times you need someone who is willing to make a bold move," Undersecretary of State R. Nicholas Burns said in an interview. "The president was willing to make a bold move towards India, and it is going to pay off for the United States now and into the future."

Many diplomatic turning points, such as President Richard M. Nixon's historic decision to open relations with China, are first conducted in secret because established bureaucracies tend to resist new ideas. Senior U.S. officials reject complaints that the expertise of government nonproliferation specialists was ignored. But, as one person involved in the policy development put it, "it is no accident that [nuclear experts] were not included, because you didn't have to be a seer to know how much they would hate this."

The agreement is also controversial in India, where close association with the United States is viewed with suspicion and the eagerness of the Bush administration to strike an agreement frequently took the Indian establishment by surprise. Before Bush arrived in India last month, Singh had little support in his cabinet for reaching a final accord on implementing the agreement, Indian officials said.

"I would say it is not only an act of statesmanship but an act of faith," said Ronen Sen, India's ambassador to the United States. "Both our countries were departing from something which has been well ingrained in the mind-sets of most of our people. We knew there was going to be significant opposition to change. Change is always viewed with suspicion and often viewed as subversive."

The following account is based on interviews with more than 20 U.S. and Indian officials, many of whom spoke on the condition of anonymity because of the diplomatic sensitivities involved.

A New Approach

During the 2000 presidential campaign, Rice indicated that a future Bush administration would take a new approach to India. In an article in *Foreign Affairs* magazine, she said that "India is not a great power yet, but it has the potential to emerge as one" and pointedly noted that "India is an element in China's calculation, and it should be in America's, too."

Rice was national security adviser during Bush's first term and Robert D. Blackwill, one of her closest associates during the campaign, was named ambassador to India. As early as October 2001, he cabled Washington urging a rethinking of nuclear policy toward India, said Ashley Tellis, a Bombay-born expert at the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace and a former aide to Blackwill. But former secretary of state Colin L. Powell had endorsed a more incremental approach to increasing sensitive trade with India. "We also have to protect certain red lines that we have with respect to proliferation," he said in a 2003 interview.

During Rice's confirmation process, she was asked in a written questionnaire whether the administration anticipated that Congress would need to change laws regarding India policy. She answered no.

But within weeks, U.S. officials say, the White House decided to sell F-16 jets to Pakistan. Rice went to New Delhi to break the news -- and to cushion the blow by offering India the prospect of a broader strategic relationship, including military, economic and even nuclear cooperation.

Rice's presentation, while still vague about the specifics, sent shockwaves through New Delhi. "As Rice put across an unprecedented framework for cooperation with India, the establishment in Delhi was stunned," according to "Impossible Allies," a book on the deal by Indian journalist C. Raja Mohan, published last month in India. "Few had expected Rice to go this far."

From the Indian perspective, the partnership Rice suggested offered a way to finally remove the nuclear impediment to closer ties with the United States. "If you are going to be looking at India as a partner . . . then you have to treat India as a partner and not as a target," Foreign Secretary Shyam Saran said. "Both these things cannot be done together."

Because of international restrictions, India's nuclear program is largely homegrown, cut off from international markets. This has hobbled India's use of nuclear power -- it provides only about 3 percent of installed electricity capacity -- and left it desperate for energy as its economy has soared.

A key designer of the new approach was Philip Zelikow, Rice's counselor and longtime colleague. Upon Rice's return from Asia, Zelikow began exchanging memos with Tellis, resulting in a 50-page "action agenda" for U.S.-Indian relations completed in mid-May.

The paper promoted geostrategic cooperation between the two countries rooted strongly in U.S. defense and military sales to India as a way to counter China's influence. "If the United States is serious about advancing its geopolitical objectives in Asia, it would almost by definition help New Delhi develop strategic capabilities such that India's nuclear weaponry and associated delivery systems could deter against the growing and utterly more capable nuclear forces Beijing is likely to possess by 2025," Tellis wrote.

Ten days after Rice's visit, when Bush announced the F-16 sale to Pakistan, State Department officials held a background briefing on the new India policy. One official -- identified by Mohan as Zelikow -- said the policy's "goal is to help India become a major world power in the 21st century. We understand fully the implications, including military implications, of that statement."

One U.S. official involved in the briefing said Zelikow's statement went beyond the talking points drafted for the news conference -- but as time passed, it was clear his bolder pronouncement reflected the administration's true position.

"We had been thinking about this question: How much should you go for? Would an incremental approach be better, would it be more easily digestible [by Congress]?" a senior official asked. "We decided to go for the big bang."

At this critical junction, one of the leading skeptics of a nuclear deal with India -- John R. Bolton, the undersecretary of state for arms control -- was nominated U.N. ambassador. The long battle over his appointment delayed confirmation of his replacement, Robert G. Joseph, until May 26. Other key posts in the nonproliferation ranks were unfilled, leaving officials in that area thinking they had no voice in the debate. The Pentagon, meanwhile, fully backed closer relations with India.

By the time Joseph arrived at the State Department on June 1, the initiative with India was largely underway. Rice dispatched Burns to begin negotiations with India, working mainly with his counterpart,

Foreign Secretary Saran.

Because neither Zelikow nor Burns was an expert in nuclear specifics, Joseph and John D. Rood, his successor and counterpart at the National Security Council, began outlining, with input from their staffs, commitments they hoped to extract from India.

Leading the nonproliferation interests of the administration, Rood and Joseph envisioned a deal in which India would, among other things, agree to limit production of plutonium to a level that ensured the minimal deterrent capability it sought.

The two nuclear experts also wanted India to place all of its electricity-producing reactors under permanent safeguards to be monitored by U.N. inspectors. Such an arrangement would ensure, in accordance with U.S. law, that any American technology going to India would not be used for its weapons program.

But by the time U.S. negotiators agreed on a number of requests -- just days before Singh's arrival on July 18 -- many of the key items on the Joseph-Rood list had been taken off the table, said senior officials who were involved. "We never even got to the stage where we could negotiate them," one official said. The Indians had already made clear to Burns in discussions weeks earlier that they were not interested in outside influence over their nuclear weapons program. "We knew well before Singh's arrival that the Indians wouldn't accept most of that," another senior U.S. negotiator said.

When the final negotiations began before Singh's visit, Joseph wasn't there. Instead, he went overseas on other business, leaving Rood as the lone senior nonproliferation voice on a negotiating team stacked with officials eager to clinch a deal upon Singh's arrival.

Officials said Rood delivered forceful presentations to Burns and others throughout the negotiating process, laying out key nonproliferation concerns. Without a limit on fissile material production, the deal could allow India to make many more weapons than it needed. There was also concern about rewarding a country that built nuclear weapons in secret, which North Korea and Iran are accused of doing. Some in the administration said the deal would hurt U.S. efforts to pressure those countries on their programs.

Few Indian officials expected a breakthrough during the Bush-Singh meeting in July, but Rice was determined to see the negotiations succeed. Bush had reached the conclusion that the nuclear concerns carried less weight than the enormous benefits that a broad partnership with a large and friendly democracy could bring.

The Final Push

Burns, Saran and other officials conferred for nearly three days. From the start, negotiators said the conversations were tense as it became clear that the U.S. goals were not what India was hoping to hear. One by one, Indian negotiators balked at requests, indicating they would walk away before accepting conditions for inspections and other safeguards.

Rice went to Saran's suite in the Willard Hotel on Sunday, July 17, to provide a final push. At 6 p.m., she and Burns thought they had an agreement, but then Saran called Burns at 10:30 p.m., saying the deal was off -- it was too much politically for the Indian government to swallow all at once.

On Monday, July 18, the morning that Singh was to meet with Bush, Rice called Burns at 5:30 a.m. and

said, "We're not going to give up." She met with Singh at 8 a.m. and persuaded him to let the negotiators try again.

Thus, as Bush and Singh met one-on-one in the Oval Office, senior U.S. and Indian aides closeted in the Roosevelt Room were furiously scribbling out the text of a deal that would overturn three decades of U.S. policy on stemming the spread of nuclear weapons.

There were several highly technical issues holding up the announcement. But, in essence, India wanted the coveted status of an official nuclear state, a recognition that would get it into the most exclusive club in the world. Under the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty, only the United States, Russia, China, France and Britain are weapons states. All other countries, except for Pakistan, India and Israel, signed on to the agreement, promising to forgo nuclear weapons in exchange for civilian nuclear technology. Now India wanted the technology, wanted to remain outside the treaty and wanted membership in the club. The final agreement fudged the issue.

"They were really demanding that we recognize them as a weapons state," said a senior official who was knowledgeable about the discussions. "Thank God we said no to that, but they almost got it. The Indians were incredibly greedy that day. They were getting 99 percent of what they asked for and still they pushed for 100."

Last month, Bush and Singh agreed on an implementation plan specifying that 14 of India's 22 nuclear plants would be subject to international inspections. But the country's eight other reactors, and any future ones for military purposes, would be off-limits. And although the Bush administration originally wanted a pact that would let India continue producing material for six to 10 weapons each year, the plan would allow it enough fissile material for as many as 50 annually.

U.S. officials said Bush had kept his focus on a core idea -- that India is a thriving, pluralistic democracy, one of the good guys in international relations -- and thus was willing to sweep away nuclear orthodoxy. The goal, an official said, was to position India to be one of the United States' two or three closest partners.

Only after the announcement did the administration begin to brief members of Congress. One U.S. official involved in the negotiations said the failure to consult with Congress or to build support for the agreement within the bureaucracy has created lasting problems: "The way they jammed it through is going to haunt us."

Staff writer Dafna Linzer contributed to this report.

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U.S., India Reach Deal On Nuclear Cooperation

With Fuel Imports Allowed, Arms Program Could Grow

By Jim VandeHei and Dafna Linzer
Washington Post Staff Writers
Friday, March 3, 2006; A01

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Bush and Singh praised the deal at a joint news conference, but they did not mention that it would allow India to produce vast quantities of fissile material, something the United States and the four other major nuclear powers -- China, Russia, France and Britain -- have voluntarily halted. The pact also does not require oversight of India's prototype fast-breeder reactors, which can produce significant amounts of super-grade plutonium when fully operating.

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"The nuclear options that India insisted on protecting in this deal cast serious doubt on its declared policy of seeking only a credible minimum deterrent," said Robert J. Einhorn, a former assistant secretary of state for nonproliferation, now at the Center for Strategic and International Studies in Washington.

Bush and Singh described the deal, which has been in the works since July, as an important breakthrough in U.S.-India relations, less than a decade after the two nations were estranged and bitterly divided over India's nuclear ambitions.

"What this agreement says is -- things change, times change, that leadership can make a difference," Bush said at the news conference. "I am trying to think differently, not to stay stuck in the past, and recognize that by thinking differently, particularly on nuclear power, we can achieve some important objectives."

Singh said, "We have made history today, and I thank you."

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Burns said one of the most crucial aspects of the pact is that India would subject future civilian plants to inspections. "This is a significant gain for nonproliferation purposes and it certainly is far better than the zero influence we had before the deal," he said. India, however, won the right to classify reactors as for either military or civilian use, which could limit inspections.

Mohammed ElBaradei, head of the International Atomic Energy Agency, which would be in charge of the inspections, praised the deal. "It would also bring India closer as an important partner in the nonproliferation regime," he said in a statement issued from his office in Vienna.

Some nonproliferation experts, however, suggested that the deal could trigger an arms race in South Asia, one of the world's most volatile regions. India and its neighbor Pakistan, also a nuclear power, are longtime rivals.

For India, which faces dwindling supplies of indigenous uranium, the deal would allow it to import uranium to fuel its civilian program and free up its local supplies to fuel the weapons program.

"All the United States gets from a nonproliferation standpoint are a few more civilian energy production

reactors under safeguards," said Daryl Kimball, executive director of the Arms Control Association in Washington. "But it's meaningless, given that India's weapons production capacity will soar in the coming years."

Of India's 22 nuclear plants, 14 classified for civilian use would be subject to new and permanent international inspections under the deal. The country's eight other reactors, as well as future ones designated for military use, would be off-limits.

There had been debate within the administration about whether the deal would undercut U.S. efforts to confront Iran and North Korea over their nuclear programs. There were also concerns about how the agreement would be accepted in Pakistan, an ally in the U.S. campaign against al-Qaeda. On Thursday, an apparent suicide bombing in Karachi killed a U.S. diplomat and several Pakistanis, underscoring the persistence of regional terrorism.

But supporters said the pact was an important part of a White House strategy to accelerate New Delhi's rise as a global power and as a regional counterweight to China.

Bush, who arrived in India late Wednesday, was greeted Thursday by various branches of the Indian military, including cavalry on horseback, at a sandstone government palace. After Bush reviewed the troops, he told reporters, "I have been received in many capitals around the world, but I have never seen a reception as well-organized or as grand."

Bush and first lady Laura Bush paid tribute to India's independence leader, Mohandas K. Gandhi, tossing flower petals at the site where he was cremated in 1948. The president, who is known for short trips with scant sightseeing time, was teased at lunch by Singh for claiming that his scheduler would not let him visit the Taj Mahal.

In a lunchtime toast, Singh told Laura Bush: "I'm truly sorry that the president is not taking you to Taj Mahal this time. I hope he will be more chivalrous the next time you are here." Bush laughed and promised he would visit the 350-year-old wonder next time. Bush also met with religious leaders.

Bush and Singh also made progress on cementing closer economic ties, including an informal commitment to try to double bilateral trade every three years. But the nuclear deal dominated the day. Indian television provided hours of coverage, with commentators talking about a new era of U.S.-India relations.

Security in New Delhi was heavy as socialist and communist politicians led thousands of people in protesting Bush's visit and held a rally outside Parliament that disrupted all activity within.

"If the government succumbs to the U.S. pressure on the nuclear deal, they have to face consequences," said Sitaram Yechury, a member of Parliament from the Communist Party of India (Marxist), according to the Press Trust of India news agency. He said the left would "protest and oppose any erosion of Indian interest."

Armed policemen stood on alert and helicopters hovered overhead during the anti-Bush protests.

"He wants to control the world, and our government is willing to support this. We are here to oppose this American neo-colonialism," said Shabeg Singh, 64, a resident of Punjab province who carried a red communist flag. Similar large protests were held in other cities, including Calcutta and Bombay, also known as Mumbai.

Linzer reported from New York. Special correspondent Muneeza Naqvi in New Delhi contributed to this report.

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March 3, 2006
News Analysis

Dissenting on Atomic Deal With India

By STEVEN R. WEISMAN

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More skepticism is expected from China, several diplomats said, because India has made little secret of its desire for a nuclear weapons arsenal to counter Beijing and its longtime ally, Pakistan.

Critics of the deal in Congress and abroad are certain to focus on what they maintain is a double standard embraced by the Bush administration: in effect, allowing India to have nuclear weapons and still get international assistance but insisting that Iran, North Korea and other "rogue states" be given no such waiver.

But administration officials insisted there was no double standard.

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India, the negotiators agreed, will be able not only to retain its nuclear arms program but to keep a third of its reactors under military control, outside international inspection, including two so-called fast-breeder reactors that could produce fuel for weapons.

The accord would also allow India to build future breeder reactors and keep them outside international inspections. A fast-breeder reactor takes spent nuclear fuel and processes it for reuse as fuel or weapons. American officials negotiating with India over the last several months failed to get India to put its current and future breeder reactors under civilian control. But the accord would allow India to buy equipment and materials for only those new reactors that are to be used for civilian purposes.

India's refusal to put all its breeder reactors under civilian control was seen in New Delhi as a matter of pride and sovereignty. Mr. Singh, who reiterated the need for India's autonomy in nuclear matters, faces pressure from his governing coalition, which includes the Communist Party and other anti-American elements.

India's nuclear program has previously mixed civilian and military purposes. But the accord announced in New Delhi would place 14 of India's 22 nuclear reactors under civilian inspection regimes by 2014. The phase-in and the possibility that breeder reactors may never come under such a regime have drawn fire from critics.

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The New York Times
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March 3, 2006

Bush and India Reach Pact That Allows Nuclear Sales

By ELISABETH BUMILLER and SOMINI SENGUPTA

NEW DELHI, March 2 — President Bush and Prime Minister Manmohan Singh of India announced here on Thursday what Mr. Bush called a "historic" nuclear pact that would help India satisfy its enormous civilian energy needs while allowing it to continue to develop nuclear weapons.

Under the agreement, the United States would end a decades-long moratorium on sales of nuclear fuel and reactor components and India would separate its civilian and military nuclear programs, and open the civilian facilities to international inspections. The pact fills in the broad outlines of a plan that was negotiated in July.

In Washington, Democratic and Republican critics said that India's willingness to subject some of its nuclear program to inspections was meaningless so long as the country had a secret military nuclear program alongside it, and that the pact would only encourage rogue nations like North Korea and Iran to continue to pursue nuclear weapons. They predicted a bruising fight in Congress over the pact, which needs its approval.

At the same time, Mr. Bush said he was going forward with a trip on Friday night to the Pakistani capital, Islamabad, to meet with the country's president, Gen. Pervez Musharraf, despite a bombing Thursday morning outside a Marriott Hotel and the United States Consulate in Karachi. The bombing, a suspected suicide attack, left four dead, including an American Embassy employee.

"Terrorists and killers are not going to prevent me from going to Pakistan," Mr. Bush said at a joint news conference with Mr. Singh. "My trip to Pakistan is an important trip. It's important to talk with President Musharraf about continuing our fight against terrorists. After all, he has had a direct stake in this fight; four times the terrorists have tried to kill him."

In New Delhi, American and Indian negotiators working all night reached agreement on the nuclear deal at 10:30 a.m. Thursday local time — only two hours before Mr. Bush and Mr. Singh announced it — after the United States accepted an Indian plan to separate its civilian and military nuclear facilities.

In the plan, India agreed permanently to classify 14 of its 22 nuclear power reactors as civilian facilities, meaning those reactors will be subject for the first time to international inspections or safeguards.

The other reactors, as well as a prototype fast-breeder reactor in the early stages of development, will remain as military facilities, and not be subject to inspections. India also retained the right to develop future fast-breeder reactors for its military program, a provision that critics of the deal called astonishing. In addition, India said it was guaranteed a permanent supply of nuclear fuel.

The separation plan, according to a senior Indian official, also envisions India-specific rules from the International Atomic Energy Agency, effectively recognizing India as a nuclear weapons state in "a

category of its own."

Both sides appeared eager to announce the agreement as the centerpiece of Mr. Bush's first visit to India, and did so with few details at a triumphal news conference on the lush grounds of Hyderabad House, a former princely residence in the heart of this capital. But Mr. Bush acknowledged that the deal now faced a difficult battle for approval in Congress that would entail a change in American law.

"We concluded an historic agreement today on nuclear power," Mr. Bush said, with Mr. Singh at his side. "It's not an easy job for the prime minister to achieve this agreement, I understand. It's not easy for the American president to achieve this agreement. But it's a necessary agreement. It's one that will help both our peoples."

Speaking of Congress, he added: "Some people just don't want to change and change with the times. But this agreement is in our interest."

Indians hailed the agreement as historic and highly advantageous for their country.

"It offers access to civilian nuclear energy, it protects your strategic program, and it mainstreams India," said Amitabh Mattoo, vice chancellor of Jammu University. "India couldn't have hoped for a better deal."

Critics also said keeping the fast-breeder reactors under military control, without inspections, would allow India to develop far more nuclear arms, and more quickly, than it has in the past. Fast-breeder reactors are highly efficient producers of the plutonium needed for nuclear weapons.

"It's not meaningful to talk about 14 of the 22 reactors being placed under safeguards," said Robert J. Einhorn, a senior adviser at the Center for Strategic and International Studies in Washington, who served as a top nonproliferation official in the Clinton administration and the early days of the Bush administration. "What's meaningful is what the Indians can do at the unsafeguarded reactors, which is vastly increase their production of fissile material for nuclear weapons. One has to assume that the administration was so interested in concluding a deal that it was prepared to cave in to the demands of the Indian nuclear establishment."

Critics of the deal also said it would now be more difficult for the United States to persuade Iran and other nations to give up their nuclear weapons ambitions.

"It will set a precedent that Iran will use to argue that the United States has a double standard," said Representative Edward J. Markey, Democrat of Massachusetts, a leading opponent of the deal. "You can't break the rules and expect Iran to play by them, and that's what President Bush is doing today."

Administration officials in New Delhi countered that India was a responsible nuclear power and had earned the right to the nuclear energy technology that it urgently needs for a booming economy and its population of one billion.

"India is unique," R. Nicholas Burns, the under secretary of state for political affairs, told reporters at a briefing in New Delhi.

Mr. Burns, the administration's point man in the nuclear talks, added: "It has developed its entire nuclear program over 30 years alone because it had been isolated. So the question we faced was the following: Is it better to maintain India in isolation, or is it better to try to bring it into the international mainstream?"

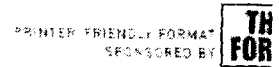
And President Bush felt the latter."

The deal was praised by Mohamed ElBaradei, the director general of the International Atomic Energy Agency. "This agreement is an important step towards satisfying India's growing need for energy, including nuclear technology and fuel, as an engine for development," he said in a statement. "It would also bring India closer as an important partner in the nonproliferation regime."

President Jacques Chirac of France also offered his blessings late Thursday, calling India "a responsible power" and saying access to civilian nuclear energy would help India "respond to its immense energy needs while limiting its emissions of greenhouse gases," Agence France-Presse reported.

At the news conference, Mr. Bush and Mr. Singh announced additional cooperative agreements on counterterrorism, fighting AIDS in India and trade, including the importing to the United States of Indian mangoes, considered by connoisseurs to be among the best in the world.

"And oh, by the way, Mr. Prime Minister, the United States is looking forward to eating Indian mangoes," Mr. Bush said at the news conference.



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Was Bush speech a warning on separation?

Relegating India to status of 'recipient state' in the Global Nuclear Energy Partnership seen as pressure tactic.

Siddharth Varadarajan

THE UNITED States is trying to do an end-run around India's stand on the proposed separation of its civilian and military nuclear facilities by suggesting that Indian participation in a new American-sponsored global nuclear initiative is conditional on the acceptance of in-perpetuity international safeguards on the overwhelming majority of its nuclear facilities, including reprocessing plants.

Indeed, President George W. Bush's reference last week to India as a country with only a "developing civilian nuclear energy program" was intended to threaten New Delhi with the prospect of continued isolation from the "international mainstream" unless it blinks and agrees to what Washington defines as a "credible, transparent and defensible plan to separate its civilian and military nuclear programs."

India's sudden demotion from the "advanced" status acknowledged by the U.S. in last July's nuclear agreement underlines the difficult road that lies ahead for New Delhi even if the two sides were to reach an agreement this week on the issue of separation. And with Prime Minister Manmohan Singh revealing in his *suo motu* statement to Parliament on February 27 that the negotiations with the U.S. have not yet dealt with the safeguards issue, it is safe to assume that the nature of India's safeguards agreement with the International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA) is bound to be the next playground where goal posts are likely to be shifted by the U.S.

What has irked the Indian scientific community is the manner in which the U.S. is holding out the "carrot" of participation in its newly announced Global Nuclear Energy Partnership (GNEP) in order to try and win concessions on the separation front. Describing the GNEP as "old wine in new bottles," A.N. Prasad, a former director of the Bhabha Atomic Research Centre, said India should not go in for "unnecessary inducements." Placid Rodriguez, former director of the Indira Gandhi Centre for Atomic Research, described Mr. Bush's February 22 Asia Society speech as "very mischievous" and said the GNEP was a "devious way of enforcing norms on others." "The so-called suppliers group is giving the right to the fuel

NEWS ANALYSIS

cycle only to itself. So they will dictate costs," he told *The Hindu*. "This is bound to be seen as an infringement of the sovereign rights of others."

GNEP and India

Shortly after the U.S. unveiled the GNEP on February 6, a senior official from the U.S. Department of Energy (DoE) briefed his Indian counterparts about the logic of the proposed initiative. In a nutshell, the nuclear world is to be divided up into countries with "advanced civilian nuclear energy programs" (also called "fuel-cycle states" or "supplier nations") and "recipient states," wherein the latter undertake to forgo their right to build facilities for plutonium reprocessing or uranium enrichment in exchange for guaranteed supplies from the former of "proliferation-resistant" nuclear fuel.

Indian officials who were present at those discussions — held under the rubric of the Indo-U.S. energy dialogue — came away with the unambiguous impression that Washington considered India to be very much part of the new "high table."

Things could not have been otherwise. The Department of Atomic Energy's work on the fuel cycle goes back to 1965, when the country's first reprocessing plant was set up. Most recently, the report on Multinational Approaches to the Nuclear Fuel Cycle written by an IAEA expert group headed by Bruno Pellaud acknowledged in several places India's all-round capabilities on reprocessing and enrichment. Para 128 of the Pellaud report acknowledges India's unsafeguarded capability in enrichment (along with France, Pakistan, Russia, and the U.S.) and paras 163-164 acknowledge India's work on fast reactors, India's reprocessing credentials — including of reprocessing thorium fuel — are referred to in para 167. Among the report's co-authors was Richard Stratford from the U.S. State Department's Bureau of Non-proliferation.

Since the GNEP is intended to address the same problem as the Pellaud report — how to craft an international mechanism for the guaranteed supply of nuclear fuel that would

help limit the spread of enrichment and reprocessing facilities worldwide — Indian officials assumed that the U.S. would see India as part of the solution and not part of the problem. Indeed, at the press conference where the GNEP was unveiled, a senior DoE official said that "once India has met the non-proliferation commitments that it has made and that were memorialised in the joint statement between our two heads of state last summer... we would contemplate in the future that ... they would be a great candidate for participation as well."

Which is why President Bush's reference — in his Asia Society speech — to Indian participation in the GNEP as a recipient rather than a supplier state took New Delhi by surprise. With one stroke of the pen, the U.S. President relegated India from the ranks of "leading countries with advanced nuclear technology" — the words used in the July 2005 agreement — to those who only had a "developing civilian nuclear energy program."

It was under the rubric of the GNEP, said Mr. Bush, that the U.S. and its partners would help to supply nuclear fuel to India. What he did not say explicitly was that the entire bargain of fuel supplies under the GNEP involves the recipient country giving up its right to reprocess spent fuel. The official DoE-run website for the plan states the trade-off bluntly: "Under GNEP, a consortium of nations with advanced nuclear technologies would ensure that countries who agree to forgo their own investments in enrichment and reprocessing technologies will have reliable access to nuclear fuel."

In a radio address to the nation on February 18 — one should stress American nation, since these days he has also begun addressing the Indian nation courtesy Doordarshan — Mr. Bush said "America will work with nations that have advanced civilian nuclear energy programs, such as France, Japan, and Russia. Together, we will develop and deploy innovative, advanced reactors and new methods to recycle spent nuclear fuel... As these technologies are developed, we will work with our partners to help developing countries meet their growing energy needs by providing them with small-scale reactors that will be secure and cost-effective. We will also ensure that these developing nations have a reliable nuclear fuel supply. In

exchange, these countries would agree to use nuclear power only for civilian purposes and forego uranium enrichment and reprocessing activities that can be used to develop nuclear weapons."

Four days later, at the Asia Society, he placed India in that category of developing nations.

The GNEP is a formalisation of a number of initiatives proposed by Mr. Bush in a major speech on non-proliferation at the National Defense University in February 2004, the most important of which was limiting the spread of the fuel cycle. U.S. Energy Secretary Sam Bodman amplified this concern last November. "It is important to note that in addressing reprocessing — or recycling — technologies for dealing with spent fuel, we are guided by one over-arching goal: to set a global norm of no separated plutonium."

In his *suo motu* statement to Parliament on February 27, Prime Minister Singh mentioned reprocessing and enrichment facilities as one of the "complex issues" where there were "difficulties" in the negotiations over separation with the U.S. With DAE chairman Anil Kakodkar publicly ruling out the possibility of India's uranium enrichment plant at Rattehalli going into the civilian list, scientists say the U.S. wants to see the PREFRE reprocessing plant in Tarapur under in-perpetuity IAEA safeguards. India has been placing the plant under "campaign" or temporary safeguards as and when safeguarded fuel from safeguarded reactors has to be reprocessed. But the plant is clearly dual-use and placing it under permanent safeguards would mean incurring the wasteful expense of setting up a dedicated reprocessing facility for military use.

Even if Mr. Bush's reference to India as a recipient — rather than supplier — state in the GNEP was "inadvertent" or temporary, nuclear scientists say it is not clear what benefits India will derive from the proposed plan.

The GNEP involves research into plutonium-consuming fast burner reactors, which may be important if, like the U.S., countries are entering the initiative because of proliferation concerns. "India's principal concern is energy security, so we are more interested in breeding plutonium, not burning it," Dr. Prasad told *The Hindu*. In

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THE HINDU

Singh outlines nuclear deal

GRRR... MR BUSH IS COMING



A sniffer dog keeps vigil at Delhi's Maurya Sheraton hotel where Bush will stay (PTI)

The fear...

The US Secret Service has told Indian security agencies to keep in mind six probable places/objects that terrorists could use

- Sewer lines, manholes
- Power cables and poles
- Land mines
- Car bombs
- Rocket launchers
- Flying objects, including pilotless planes resembling birds

...and the fleet

Bush's armada of protection

- Airforce One*
- 2 C-5 Galaxy heavy lift transport planes
- Fighter aircraft escorts
- 800 Secret Service agents
- Two limousines
- Helicopter
- Ambulance
- Decoy vehicles

*Usually two such planes are brought on long-haul tours

OURSPECIAL CORRESPONDENT

New Delhi, Feb. 27: The Prime Minister today narrated in Parliament the likely shape of a nuclear cooperation agreement that could be reached with the US.

Without giving any hint of whether the deal was through, Manmohan Singh told Parliament that only 65 per cent of the country's total installed nuclear power capacity would be opened to international inspections.

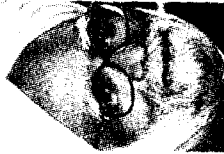
This would leave 35 per cent in the military category, allowing India to pursue its weapons programme. It is to be seen whether the US accepts this. Singh said the negotiations were at a "delicate stage".

"In our dialogue with our interlocutors, we have judged every proposal made by the US side on merits, but we remain firm in that the decision of what facilities may be identified as civilian will be made by India alone and not anyone else," the Prime Minister said.

But he conceded India would not "underestimate" the difficulties and the "complex" issues involved. He cited the fast-breeder programme and India's fuel-cycle capabilities (such as reprocessing and enrichment requirements) as as-

The decision... will be made by India alone and not anyone else

MANMOHAN SINGH



pects that lent themselves to "differing interpretations" in the public domain.

"We have, however, conveyed to our interlocutors that while discussing the separation plan, there are details of the nature and content of our strategic requirements that we cannot share."

Singh made it clear that neither the indigenous fast-breeder programme nor other research and development facilities would be put under international safeguards allowing inspection by the International Atomic Energy Agency.

But he did not set a timetable for separating the civilian and military nuclear programmes; so it wasn't clear how many of the present nuclear power plants would be put under the inspection regime.

What seemed clear is that indigenous nuclear reactors under construction — there are eight of them — will also eventually be put under

safeguards.

But in case he decides to keep some of the reactors — current and under-construction — out of the civilian list, the Prime Minister could argue that there has been "no erosion of the integrity of our nuclear doctrine, either in terms of current or future capabilities".

Singh said some facilities of the department of atomic energy (DAE) may be added to the civilian list, but stressed that no nuclear material will be diverted from civilian to military use.

He said the separation plan would protect India's "vital research and development interests" and not undermine or hinder the three-stage nuclear programme.

After keeping quiet for nearly seven months while the scientific community and the DAE were being attacked publicly, leading to suspicion of the government's acquiescence, the Prime Minister today paid tribute to their efforts.

He claimed that "the nation was justly proud of the tremendous work of our nuclear scientists" and that India because of the high respect and admiration our scientists enjoy internationally.

■ Bush visit reports, Page 6

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THE HUNG...

'This nuclear deal really removes the last barrier between India and the US'

As a South Asia specialist in the US state department, DENNIS KUX's acquaintance with India and Pakistan goes back to the 1950s. Author of books on America's relations with the two countries ('The United States and Pakistan, 1947-2000: Disenchanted Allies' and 'India and the United States: Estranged Democracies, 1947-1991'), he is in India to research an article for the US Foreign Policy Association, called 'Whither India'. Also in the works, he says, is a sequel to the India-US book. He spoke to MINI KAPOOR about George W. Bush's forthcoming visit to India and the importance of the July 18 nuclear agreement:

■ You have traced the improvement of relations between India and US to the May 1998 nuclear tests, saying that it lanced the boil and set the stage for the Jaswant Singh-Strobe Talbott talks.

That was ironic and paradoxical. The fact that India tested meant that the US was no longer leaning on India not to test, and that put one phase of the problem behind. It did clear the way in a sense for the gradual improvement in relations that took place as a result of the talks between Jaswant Singh and Strobe Talbott and Bill Clinton's visit in 2000. It has continued under the Bush administration across the board. And now the nuclear thing has come back. It is a little ironic as well that in a sense the July 18 agreement really responded to what India was asking for: on the one hand acceptance into the nuclear club, and on the other the lifting of the remaining bar on India's participation in civil nuclear trade — in other words nuclear power and getting access to nuclear technology. But the devil is in the detail, they say.

■ As someone who has keenly studied America's relations with India, would you say that if that agreement goes through, it would be a milestone?

Either way it would be a milestone. If it doesn't go through, inevitably it will have its negative implications on the relationship. It seems to me both governments are to some extent at fault on handling this. The agreement was reached in July; only now six-seven months later are they following up to work the details out. Both sides can be blamed for moving too slowly, and therefore there may have been misunderstandings. With time opposition has developed. But having watched US-India relations over the years, I hope this opportunity is not missed.

■ How transparent is the deal?

What is being called for is pretty straightforward: the separation of civil and military

installations in order to permit the new dispensation to go forward. The administration has to present something to the US Congress. If the Congress says that there is nothing here, then they may not do what Bush wants.

■ How significant was the IAEA vote on Iran in this context?

Well, it was not directly related, but it was one of those serendipitous things. It means different things in both countries. For the US one of the arguments for (the nuclear deal) is that India will be working together on non-proliferation. Say what you like about Iran, but the fact is that they kept cheating. So for India not to be part of the global consensus would have sent a negative signal. Over here (in India), of course, it gets all tied up in a variety of things: the Americans are dictating to us, etc. I think the prime minister has been wise. He has said, look, we will do what we think is in our interest in the given circumstances.

■ Would the United States be under pressure to balance this with a nuclear pact with Pakistan?

No, this is India only. They are trying to make an exception for India, period. This also underscores one of the things India has been

trying to achieve, to dehyphenate from Pakistan. Well, this is dehyphenation. Pakistanis don't like it but their record is terrible.

■ So would you say India and the US are estranged no longer?

They are moving towards what I would call a normal relationship, big countries with similar systems. We now have stronger trade links. And this nuclear deal really removes the last barrier, which will enable us to have stronger security links. But if the deal falls through, the barrier is going to remain. There is no waiver authority which the administration could use. And if the Democrats come in, I doubt that they would change it. They are stronger on non-proliferation than the Republicans are.

■ How would you compare Bush's visit with earlier presidential visits to India?

You have two visits he is not likely to surpass: Eisenhower's and Clinton's. Nixon's visit he will surpass. Carter's visit was overshadowed by the open mike and the nuclear problem. Hopefully this one won't be.

■ But given that the last months have not been very good for America abroad, is Bush under pressure to get a foreign policy success?

I think so. That will be a pressure to try to work things out.



2-15-2006

After the hope, comes the dampener

Delhi's Positive, But Bush Unsure Of Inking Nuke Pact During Visit

By Chidambaram Rajghatta/TNN

Washington: The White House has offered a rather bleak prospect of the Indo-US nuclear deal being tied up before US President George Bush's visit to New Delhi starting on Wednesday.

Although the word out of New Delhi, where Washington's top negotiator Nicholas Burns extended his talks with his Indian counterparts, was more positive, both President Bush and his national security adviser Stephen Hadley dampened expectations that the agreement would be sewn up by the time of the visit.

"I understood the politics was going to be difficult, and there's still work to be done. We've just got to continue to come up with an agreement that both of us can live with. But the relationship is broader than just the civilian nuclear issue," Bush said in a brief interview to Doordarshan on Friday, his second to the Indian media after the one with The Times of India and a language newspaper on Wednesday.

Asked about the opposition to the deal within the US, Bush said he was telling the rejectionists that India having a nuclear power industry would be in the interests of the world. "On the other hand, it's also very important for India to understand our concerns about making sure that the civilian pro-

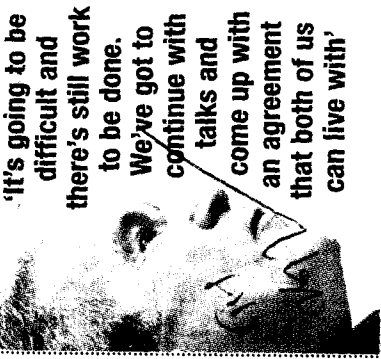
ing to Washington to report on how far the discussions have progressed.

"We'd like to get it before the trip. If we can, great. If we can't, we'll continue to negotiate after the trip," Hadley said, adding, "If we don't get it before the trip, we think we'll get it after the trip."

However, both sides have indicated that the talks will go down to the wire, right until the time Bush is in India when he will probably try and break the logjam with Prime Minister Manmohan Singh. It could well be a repeat of the July 18 agreement of intent, which was finalised just minutes before Bush and Manmohan appeared before the media for a press conference. "We expect the negotiations will continue by phone, document and the like, probably up to the President's visit," Hadley confirmed.

It is also possible the two sides will dress up a half-way deal to show some progress, leaving some more work for later.

The sticking point, as has been reported at nauseum, relates to how much of India's nuclear programme New Delhi will place under international safeguards, and whether the Bush administration believes this list is adequate to convince the US Congress and Nuclear Suppliers Group (NSG) to change laws that will enable nuclear energy commerce with India.



'It's going to be difficult and there's still work to be done. We've got to continue with talks and come up with an agreement that both of us can live with'

gramme is separate from the military, and there's the IAEA safeguards.

"And again, we're breaking some new ground. I'm not surprised that it's difficult to reach a consensus. And we'll keep trying and working at it," Bush said, almost conceding that there might not be a deal just now.

In a separate White House briefing, Bush's national security adviser Stephen Hadley said, "We are making some progress but we are not there yet." Hadley revealed that there had been exchange of papers, exchanges of phone calls and in the latest round, the Indian side had even provided a document about a week ago. Washington had provided some additional ideas and response. Nick Burns is now return-

GUEST FROM AMERICA

Will the real Bush stand up
In what perhaps reminds one of Saddam Hussein and shows the threat under which world leaders live, intelligence sources said they would not be surprised if a George Bush lookalike travelled to India in the second Air Force One accompanying the US President.

White House in Delhi
The Maurya Sheraton Hotel in Delhi will be turned into a mini White House with an entire floor being redone to create a makeshift Oval Office for Bush during his visit. The Bushs will stay in the super suite, the one in which his predecessor Bill Clinton had stayed during his visit to India in 2000.

Day out on cricket field
Too bad the Indo-Pak cricket series just got over. Bush might have liked to stand in as an umpire, or who knows, may have even picked up a bat or ball to bail out Pakistan as he has done often. The US Prez is likely to take part in a "cricket event" when he visits Pakistan on March 4. What's not clear is if he will pad up or just play spectator.

Still work to be done, says Bush

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Before India, U.S. can clinch deal on civil nuclear cooperation

Amit Baruah

NEW DELHI: There's "still work to be done" before India and the United States can clinch an agreement on civil nuclear cooperation, U.S. President George W. Bush has said in an interview days before he arrives in New Delhi for a State visit on March 1.

Talking to Doordarshan on Friday, Mr. Bush conceded that the nuclear agreement was a tough issue. "It's a tough issue for the Prime Minister [Manmohan Singh], I understand that, and it's a tough issue for me ... both of us have to convince our respective people it's in the [ir] interest to have a civilian nuclear programme supported by the United States and India, as well as a civilian nuclear programme that's separate from a military programme in India.

"We've just got to continue to come up with an agreement that both of us can live with. But the relationship is broader than just the civilian nuclear issue ... it's also very important for India to understand our concerns about making sure that there's a ... civilian programme [which] is separate from the military, and there's the IAEA (International Atomic Energy Agency) safeguards. And again, we're breaking some new ground. I'm not surprised that it's difficult to reach a consensus. And we'll keep trying and working at it," he said.

UNI reports from Washington:

Replying to a question, Mr. Bush, who is also slated to visit Islamabad at the conclusion of his three-day stay in India, said he would raise the issue of dismantling terrorist training camps in Pakistan-occupied Kashmir (PoK) during his talks with Pakistan President Pervez Musharraf.

"On my trip to Pakistan, I will, of course, talk about terrorist activities, the need to dismantle terrorist training camps and the need to protect innocent human lives," President Bush said in his interview to Doordarshan.

Observing that Washington's ties with India and Pakistan were at an "interesting moment," he said, "There was a [time] when America was close to Pakistan. And now President Musharraf understands that we need to have a good relationship with India and vice versa and [Prime Minister Manmohan] Singh understands ... We have a good relationship with both."

Describing the war on terrorism as universal, Mr. Bush said, "It is very important for all of us to stop the advance in the goals of these terrorists."

He said he was looking forward to his visit to India and the main purpose was to open up markets between the two countries.

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THE HINDU

Officials say Indo-US N-talks make headway

A joint declaration likely after Bush meets PM

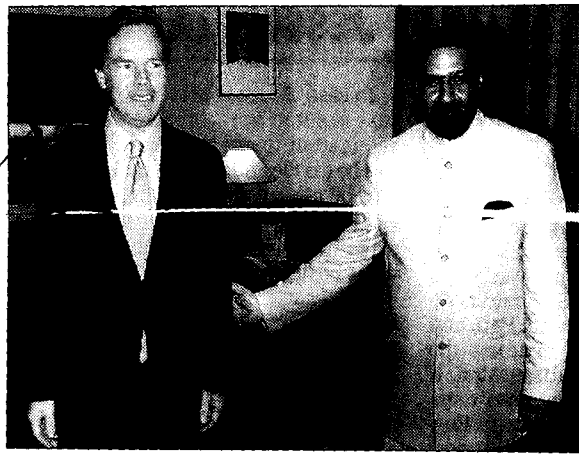
NILOVA Roy Chaudhury
New Delhi, February 24

INDIAN AND American officials reported "progress" in the talks of the joint working group on Indo-US civil nuclear cooperation, indicating that they had arrived at an understanding that would be announced when US President George Bush arrives next week. Prime Minister Manmohan Singh confirmed that the talks had been "fruitful".

An announcement, in the form of a joint declaration, is likely to be made after the US President meets the Prime Minister for formal talks at Hyderabad House on March 2. A core group, comprising national security adviser M.K. Narayanan, DAE chairman Anil Kakodkar, foreign secretary Shyam Saran, and India's ambassador to the US, Ronen Sen, thrashed out details of the deal with US under-secretary Nicholas Burns and senior American officials.

In a three-line pointer, external affairs ministry spokesman Navtej Sarna said, "Progress has been made" in Friday's "detailed and productive discussions", yielding "greater clarity on the issues under discussion". Officials were completely tightlipped after the talks ended on Friday evening, but sources indicated agreement on a "phased separation plan".

Differences between the two sides have centred on the separation of India's 22 reactors into civilian and military facilities, of which the former will be placed under international safeguards. According to sources, the fast-breeder reactor programme that scientists consider critical to India's strategic research programme, will not be placed



Anand Sharma with Nicholas Burns in New Delhi on Friday. EPA

on the civilian list until the agreement is revisited. Neither will the facilities at Kalpakkam and the Bhabha Atomic Research Centre (BARC). It is likely that around 14 of the 22 reactors will be placed on the civilian list.

India does not have a dedicated military nuclear programme, with all the reactors being linked, so separation from the grid will be conducted in a gradual and phased manner. Also, as the Prime Minister publicly asserted, all future reactors, built with international assistance, will be on a civilian list, subject to safeguards of the International Atomic Energy Agency.

"There's a goodwill of both governments, and a commitment by President Bush to see this (July 18 deal) through towards a conclusion", Burns said after meeting minister of state for external affairs Anand Sharma earlier on Friday.

“India wants safeguards locked to fuel supply”

M.R. Srinivasan, former Chairman of the Atomic Energy Commission, advocates caution during the ongoing Indo-U.S. nuclear negotiations. In an interview, he says any agreement should not jeopardise India's interests. Excerpts:

R. Prasad

How do you see the signing of the July 2005 agreement by India and the United States?

The signing of the agreement certainly came as a surprise, because until then it was clear that the policies the U.S. had adopted and also got the Nuclear Suppliers Group (NSG) to adopt were such that there appeared to be no common ground to extend any civilian nuclear cooperation to India.

The discussion by President Bush and Prime Minister Manmohan Singh broke new ground in accepting the realities that India had emerged as a responsible state with advanced nuclear technology. The international nuclear regime should take note of that situation and find a way to open up civilian nuclear cooperation with India.

Does the agreement give India the right to decide which facilities will come under the civilian regime and which under the military regime?

The July agreement clearly stated that it was India's sovereign decision to name which facilities would be put under the civilian nuclear list under safeguards.

Many media reports point out that India is being pressured to put the fast breeder test reactor (FBTR) and the prototype fast breeder reactor (PFBR) at Kalpakkam under safeguards.

From the large amount of media debate, it appears that FBTR is an area of contention. It has been the understanding of India from the beginning that the fast breeder test reactor and the prototype fast breeder reactor, which is a developmental reactor built with indigenous technology and components, would not be under safeguards.

Also, it has not been the situation with other advanced nuclear weapons states that they have to put their R&D facilities under safeguards.

But what about Japan?

The Japanese experience is different. It is a non-nuclear weapons state and also a signatory of the nuclear non-proliferation treaty (NPT) and [so] had to accept safeguards of all its facilities. It's part of the bargain with the NPT agreement. Now, India is not an NPT signatory. So the comparison of Japan with India is, in our view, not appropriate.

Is the Brazil case similar to Japan's?

Yes. Brazil is [also] a non-weapons state and an NPT signatory.

Is it right to ask India to bring fast breeder reactors under safeguards?

In the case of India, fast breeder reactors occupy a very important place. We have a long-term commitment to use thorium. And our breeder reactors have used our own designs and our own unsafeguarded plutonium [as fuel]. So we see no logic in the argument to bring fast breeder reactors under safeguards.

Now when these reactors use safeguarded plutonium from safeguarded enriched uranium or natural uranium, such reactors can be put under safeguards.

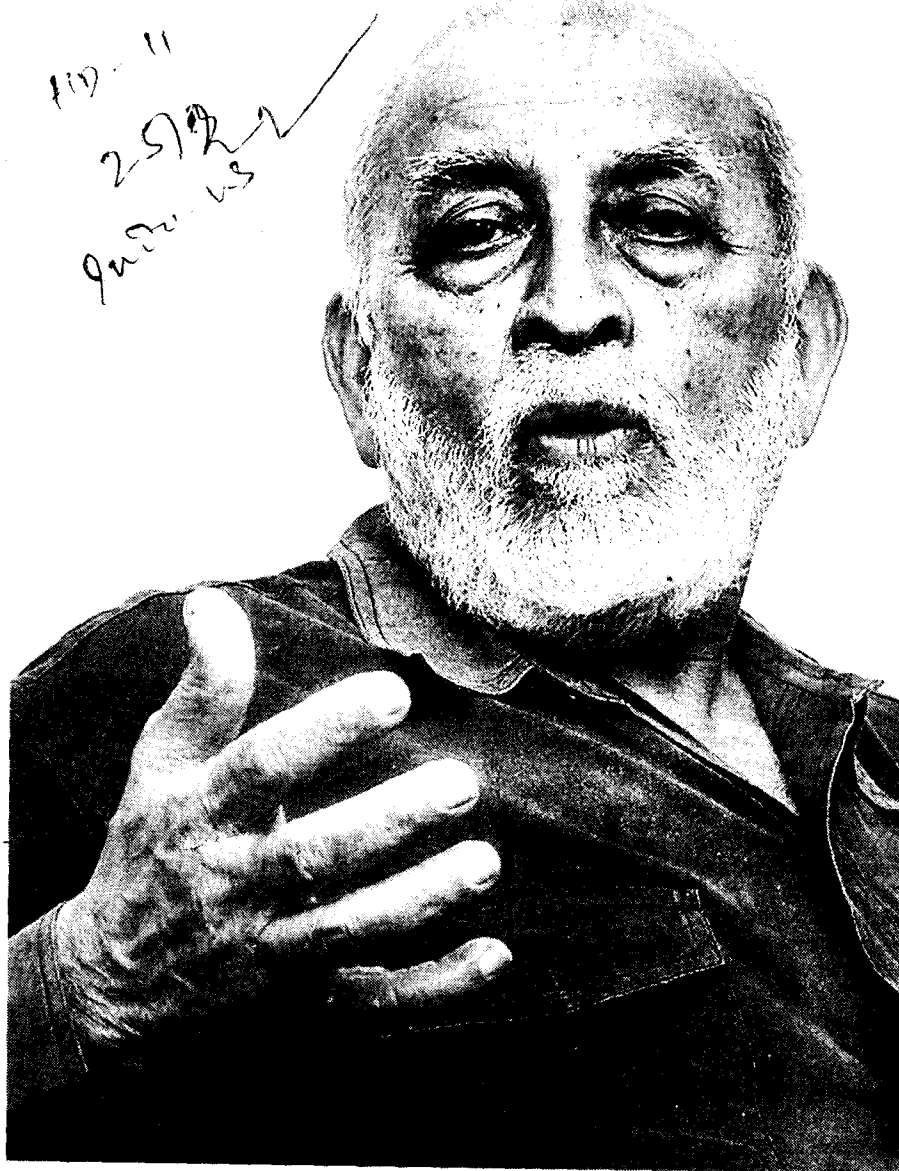
Then there are other areas of difficulties that have arisen — from what is considered as safeguards in perpetuity.

Could you elaborate?

When we import nuclear power stations that also use imported fuel, then the concept is that the reactor installation would remain under safeguards in perpetuity. That is the agreement we have in Koodankulam.

In the case of Tarapur, though the reactor and fuel came from abroad, there is no perpetuity clause and in principle we could have taken a view that at the end of the 30 years life of the agreement, which was in 1993, safeguards could not have continued. But India took the line that although the agreement had expired, we would continue to keep the Tarapur reactors under safeguards.

But when we place some of our own heavy water reactors built with our design and components under safeguards, what India expects is that safeguards will be locked with fuel supply. So when we import fuel for these reactors, the safeguards would apply so long



M.R. Srinivasan: “The question of putting reprocessing plants under safeguards does not arise.” — PHOTO: S.R. RAGHUNATHAN

as the fuel supply continues.

Only as long as the fuel supply continues?

Yes. Safeguards would not continue when fuel supply stops. However, [in the case of] the imported fuel that we have obtained in the meanwhile, safeguards would continue.

Was this part of the agreement?

The agreement says that we enter into an additional protocol with IAEA [International Atomic Energy Agency] and accept the same responsibilities and applications as advanced nuclear states.

India does not want reactors built with indigenous technology and design to be brought under perpetuity safeguards [even when the fuel supply is stopped]. However, those reactors and fuel imported would come under perpetuity safeguards.

Are they agreeable to this?

From the media reports, it appears that some sections in the U.S. seem to feel that India has to accept perpetuity safeguards and that the voluntary safeguards would be applicable to only the nuclear weapons states.

What about bringing other facilities under safeguards?

We believe that since we are using only unsafeguarded uranium or plutonium, the reprocessing or fuel fabrication facilities can't be put under safeguards. But we are opening for safeguards [facilities] that use safeguarded enriched uranium and fuel fabrication plants at Hyderabad where enriched uranium is converted into finished fuel.

So the nuclear fuel complex (NFC) at Hyderabad would be put under safeguards?

No, no. At NFC, there is one plant that is purely for fabrication of imported enriched uranium. That plant alone would be put under safeguards.

What about the reprocessing plants at Tarapur and Kalpakkam?

When reprocessing natural uranium from the Rajasthan reactors [RAPS 1 & 2 which are safeguarded reactors], the Tarapur reprocessing facility is put under safeguards. That is called campaign safeguards.

Can you explain?

The Tarapur reprocessing plant reprocesses safeguarded and unsafeguarded fuels. When it is reprocessing safeguarded fuel, for that period of time when the fuel is reprocessed the safeguards are applied. Not at other times.

Can it work the other way around — put the reprocessing plants under safeguards and not apply safeguards when reprocessing fuel from designated military facilities?

Why? We do not want to put them [reprocessing plants] under safeguards in the first place.

Will the U.S. see India's logic?

But these are plants built with our own technology and the question of putting them under safeguards does not arise.

Will India's emphasis on putting many facilities under military regime give an impression that our intentions are different?

The concern is that attempts are now being made to cap our programme. Now India started weaponisation later than other countries. China has been making fissile material for its weapons programme since the 1960s. Its arsenal is growing. We have relatively modest fissile material for the weapons programme.

So this agreement should not have an impact on our strategic programme. The international community and the U.S. should be assured that India inherently does not

believe in indulging in an arms race. Access to fissile material does not mean we want to use all that for weapon-making.

Supposing we accept safeguards for the FBTR and PFBR, there will be much of plutonium available for weapon making. So we are reducing the amount of plutonium by putting the PFBR in the unsafeguarded regime.

So our interests are not to keep large fissile material for weapons purpose but [to ensure] that our R&D activities do not come under the safeguard regime.

But the U.S. also wants to bring a majority of pressurised heavy water reactors (PHWR) under the safeguards list.

We would like to keep a sufficient number of PHWRs in the military list in order to make available sufficient amounts of tritium for weapons application.

Is it possible to switch a facility from one regime to another at any point in the future?

The additional protocol that the U.S. has signed with IAEA gives them that freedom to switch between civilian and military regimes. I am not sure about other countries.

The U.S. has a way of dangling the carrot to finally make countries toe its line. Is it any different in this case?

It is part of the way the U.S. operates and at the same time many countries have learnt to live with the U.S. kind of decision-making process and continue to cooperate [with the U.S.]

So we want to ensure that we enter into an agreement that would not jeopardise India's interests. Therefore we should be careful with the negotiations.

There are some people [in India] who are suggesting that with this agreement, we should not argue too much as larger Indo-U.S. strategic interests are evolving. While I agree that we should look at the larger perspectives, India should also ensure that nuclear independence should not be sacrificed.

The U.S. and other countries have traditionally been ready to cooperate when we have developed a strategic technology or critical components. Is it any different now?

Well, this you can say is the guiding principle — less in need from outside, more the willingness to supply. So this is the kind of situation that one should expect. But we should not get into a situation of over dependence and at the same time should not carry the argument to an extreme. So it is beneficial to cooperate but such cooperation should be between equal partners and not between unequal partners.

But can we consider India and other nuclear weapons states as equal partners?

The issue is, we have developed the technology to build reactors though our programme is moving at a slow pace. In the case of fast breeder reactor, at this point of time, we have a lead at least in the basic science and technology [compared with the U.S. and Britain]. But it doesn't mean we are ready to build reactors of high capacity. We expect to get there and that is the important thing.

What will happen if India is pressured to put fast breeder reactors under safeguards?

We don't believe that question has to be addressed at this point of time when negotiations are still going on. We believe the flexibility that is required for development of the [breeder] technology will not be there under the safeguards regime.

How much would India stand to lose if the negotiations fail?

Growth would be slower; the nuclear energy programme will not come to a halt. But we believe that if a country like China which has had an adversarial position with the U.S. can access civilian nuclear technology without sacrificing its weapons programme, then it seems odd that India is denied of it. It doesn't stand the test of logic.

All the more, as India has never indulged in any proliferation activities unlike China and some other nuclear weapons states. So it seems a paradox if India is denied civilian nuclear energy despite its exemplary records [of nuclear non-proliferation].

N-deal will boost trust: Bush

US President Advises Patience As the Pact May Take Time

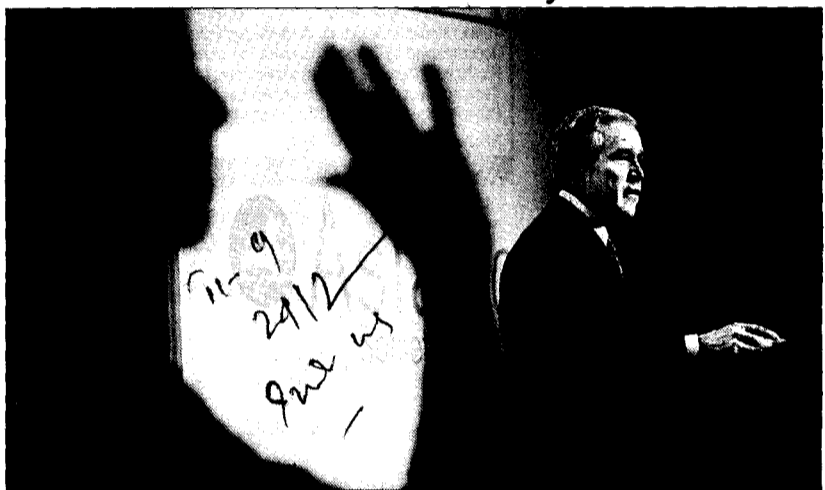
By Chidanand Rajghatta/TNN

Washington: The nuclear energy deal between Washington and New Delhi will bring India into the international mainstream and also strengthen the "bonds of trust" between the two countries, President George Bush said on Wednesday, setting an upbeat note for his visit to the region next week.

In an address to the Asia Society here, the President did not commit himself to whether the deal would be tied up by the time of his visit but he counselled patience. "This is not an easy decision for India or the United States," he said. "Implementing it will take time and patience."

He said the United States continued to "encourage" India to offer a credible and defensible plan to separate its civilian and military nuclear programme, the process which was now under discussion between US negotiator Nicholas Burns and Indian officials. Describing India as a "global leader" and a "good friend", Bush said he would be discussing how the two countries could work together in practical ways on issues such as AIDS, avian flu, and the flap over Iran when he meets Prime Minister Manmohan Singh next week.

Bush was most upbeat when talking



Sign language interpreter Amy Merriman (left) translates President George Bush's remarks to the Asia Society Washington Center on Wednesday

about the economic and trade ties between the US and India and describing India's growth and the way it has benefitted the United States. Referring specifically to the controversy over the outsourcing issue, Bush conceded that it did result in the traumatic loss of some jobs, but the way to meet the challenge was not through protectionist policies but through education policies.

The more affluent India became the better it was for the US because Indian consumers would buy air-conditioners, washing machines and kitchen appliances from American companies such as General Electric, Whirlpool and Westinghouse, he said. "India has a middle class of 300 million people. Think about it. That's more than the population of the United States," he said.

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In pursuit of a nuclear deal with India

If the July 2005 agreement-in-principle is about helping India's economy to grow, it will receive support in the U.S. Congress. If it's also about helping India's nuclear arsenal to grow, it will face stiff questions on Capitol Hill and an even tougher challenge in the Nuclear Suppliers Group.

Michael Krepon

ESAU SOLD his birthright for a bowl of lentils. During the Cold War, a variation of this Biblical tale was played out whenever a President was about to engage in summitry with the Soviet Union. Back then, critics of arms control treaties warned that whoever was in the White House would sell out U.S. national security for the momentary glow of a good news story.

Times have changed. The Bush administration doesn't think too kindly of treaties, and a rare presidential visit to India is fast approaching. There is a lively and welcome debate in India and the United States about the possibilities of a nuclear deal that would commit the Bush administration to changing U.S. laws and the export control practices of the Nuclear Suppliers Group for India's benefit. On Capitol Hill, the key question among sceptics is not whether President Bush will undermine national security in favour of a treaty, but whether he will undermine both in order to accommodate India's bomb makers. Put simply, if this deal is all about helping India's economy to grow, it will receive considerable support in the U.S. Congress. If it's also about helping India's nuclear arsenal to grow, it will face stiff questions on Capitol Hill and an even tougher challenge in the Nuclear Suppliers Group.

The norms and rules against proliferation have been erected with great difficulty by every President from John F. Kennedy to George W. Bush. This complex body of standards and regulations is built around the Non-Proliferation Treaty, which has two central tenets: states that do not have the bomb should not seek it, and states that have nuclear weapons should seek to get rid of them. The weaknesses, as well as the importance, of the rules designed to prevent proliferation are now evident in the cases of North Korea and Iran. This is an awkward moment, to say the least, for the Bush administration to set a high priority to relax these rules in favour of India. But the nuclear deal has become a fixed idea for President Bush, Prime Minister Manmohan Singh, and their inner circles.

The NPT was negotiated in 1968, six years before India tested its first nuclear device. The Treaty's central fault line lies between the nuclear weapon states recognised by the Treaty and nuclear abstainers. One means of relieving pressure along this divide has been to promote "peaceful uses" of the atom, particularly nuclear power plants. But "atoms for peace" have also been diverted to making bombs — a route that India took, and that North Korea and Iran are now following.

The NPT wasn't designed to accommodate special cases like India. The more previous U.S. administrations succeeded in tightening the rules of nuclear commerce to prevent further proliferation, the more these rules constrained India's national and energy security requirements. New Delhi has long desired to be an exception to these rules, and in the Bush administration, it has finally found a champion. Working in great haste and secrecy, the state visit by Prime



Prime Minister Manmohan Singh and President George W. Bush at the White House on July 18, 2005. — PHOTO: AFP

Minister Manmohan Singh to Washington in July 2005 produced an agreement-in-principle to seek changes in U.S. law and nuclear commerce to benefit India. This nuclear initiative, which immediately became the centerpiece of the much-heralded state visit, was undertaken without consultation on Capitol Hill or with key NPT partners.

There was one big catch, however: The Bush administration predicated its willingness to go to bat for India on New Delhi's ability to produce a credible, defensible, and transparent plan for separating its civil and military nuclear programmes. It would be India's sovereign right to decide which nuclear facilities would be placed on the civil or military side, but a process of consultation would be required for New Delhi to learn whether its preferences could meet with success on Capitol Hill and in the Nuclear Suppliers Group. In responding to congress-

sional questions about the nuclear initiative, Under-Secretaries of State Nicholas Burns and Robert Joseph pledged that, for the administration to proceed further, all civil facilities must be placed under strict international safeguards in perpetuity, and that India's breeder reactor programmes be- longed on the civilian side of the ledger.

Much has subsequently been made in New Delhi about how Washington "moved the goalposts" after the July 18 agreement-in-principle. This author finds it hard to believe that the Bush administration would agree to support a separation plan that would be dead on arrival on Capitol Hill and the Nuclear Suppliers Group.

Common sense suggests that, if this deal would ever come to fruition, long plane rides and much private consultation would be required. The Bush administration would also need to establish criteria for securing the

necessary changes in U.S. public law.

The Bush administration-chosen criteria of credibility, defensibility, and transparency make eminent good sense from a U.S. perspective: nuclear suppliers have been burned before by countries that have diverted fissile material from civil to military uses. And fast breeder reactors can produce huge amounts of fissile material.

The application of the Bush administration's criteria have been opposed by a number of well-credentialed critics in India, including distinguished members of India's nuclear establishment. A separation plan was bound to create problems in these quarters, which work both on nuclear power reactors and weapons, and which has enjoyed considerable autonomy from governmental oversight. Several key figures in India's nuclear enclave have offered personal judgments that India's breeder programme, as well as several power reactors that would "feed" it, must not be placed under safeguards. To do otherwise, in this view, would constrain the growth of India's nuclear arsenal and energy independence.

These statements have reinforced opposition to the proposed deal among U.S. non-proliferation experts, since a separation plan along these lines would severely damage safeguards and defeat the central purpose of seeking to change the rules of nuclear commerce in India's favour. Safeguards do not constrain the growth of civil nuclear power; instead, they help prevent proliferation while countries attend to their energy needs.

And if the breeder programmes are to service the growth of India's weapon stockpile along with its energy needs, then the Bush administration has not helped New Delhi to make credible, defensible, and transparent choices that support non-proliferation as well as the growth of India's economy.

The rules governing nuclear commerce have been broadened and tightened with great effort by previous U.S. administrations and by many other countries. These rules have been broken in the past, but they are getting tighter. They remain imperfect and yet essential to prevent further proliferation. Over 180 countries have now pledged to adhere to these rules. It will take considerable effort to change these rules to assist India's economic growth.

India has a good case to make for changing these rules — if the net effect of these changes also strengthens global norms against proliferation. India does not have a good case to make if it seeks to use these changes to grow its nuclear stockpile as well as its economy. To be sure, India also has the right to build up its nuclear weapon capabilities. But do not ask the U.S. Congress or the Nuclear Suppliers Group to subsidise this right.

(Michael Krepon is co-founder of the Henry L. Stimson Center, the director of the Center's South Asia program, and editor of Nuclear Risk Reduction in South Asia, Palgrave Macmillan, 2004. More information on the Stimson Center's South Asia Program at www.stimson.org/southasia.)

Bush demotes India's status

Says 'no' to nuclear reprocessing

Siddharth Varadarajan

NEW DELHI: On the eve of his visit to South Asia, United States President George W. Bush has demoted India from the ranks of "leading countries with advanced nuclear technology" — the phrase used in the July 18, 2005 India-U.S. agreement — to those who merely have a "developing nuclear energy programme."

This unilateral reclassification is not a minor issue. For, only countries that have "advanced civilian nuclear energy programmes" will have the right to reprocess spent nuclear fuel under Mr. Bush's proposed 'Global Nuclear Energy Partnership' of which the India-U.S. deal is "an integral part."

In his speech to the Asia Society in Washington on Wednesday, India was named as a country that would have to hand over its spent nuclear fuel to a handful of "supplier nations" for reprocessing, forgoing, in the bargain, its own right to reprocess the waste generated from its civilian nuclear programme.

"Under this partnership," Mr. Bush said, "America will work with nations that have advanced civilian nuclear energy programmes, such as Great Britain, France, Japan and Russia, to share nuclear fuel with nations like India that are developing civilian nuclear energy programs."

The supplier nations would then collect the spent nuclear fuel and invest in new methods to reprocess that fuel, he said, "so that it can be used for advanced new reactors."

This strategy, he added, "will allow countries like India to produce more electricity from nuclear power ... it will decrease the amount of nuclear waste that needs to be stored and reduce the risks of proliferation."

There is an irony here for New Delhi, which is backing the U.S. in its attempts to get Iran to forgo its right to enrich uranium or reprocess plutonium: Mr Bush is saying that in his plans India, too, must rely on imported fuel and not be involved in reprocessing.

Mr. Bush's proposal has upset Indian nuclear scientists, who see it as an attempt to undermine India's civilian programme, including the fast breeder and the use of thorium, which crucially depend on the reprocessing of spent fuel.

"Even though India set up its first reprocessing plant in Trombay in 1965, Bush has relegated us to the status of a recipient country," says M.R. Srinivasan, member, Atomic Energy Commission. "This is a major breach of the basis of the July 18 agreement. India cannot be lumped together with countries which are said to be developing their nuclear programmes, with countries which do not already have enrichment and reprocessing facilities."

Dr. Srinivasan said any attempt to pursue this proposal would "not only negate any chance of nuclear rapprochement between India and the U.S. but raise new obstacles as well."

Other scientists said that even the Pellaud Committee — set up by the International Atomic Energy Agency last year to examine multinational nuclear facilities — had noted that India was one of those countries which had achieved complete mastery over the front and back ends of the nuclear fuel cycle, including reprocessing.

"I don't know who has advised Mr. Bush on this matter," said Dr. Srinivasan. "This proposal appears to be the handiwork of the old guard of non-proliferationists in the American establishment."

THE HINDU

'Like Americans, the people of India have suffered from terrorist attacks on home soil'

Text of US President George W. Bush's address to the Asia Society in Washington on February 22

For the RECORD

I CAME here today to talk about America's relationship with two key nations in Asia, India and Pakistan. These nations are undergoing great changes, and those changes are being felt all across the world. More than five centuries ago, Christopher Columbus set out for India and proved the world was round. Now some look at India's growing economy and say that that proves the world is flat. No matter how you look at the world, our relationships with these countries are important. They're important for our economic security, and they're important for our national security. I look forward to meeting with Prime Minister Singh in India and President Musharraf in Pakistan. We will discuss ways that our nations can work together to make our world safer and more prosperous by fighting terrorism, advancing democracy, expanding free and fair trade, and meeting our common energy needs in a responsible way...

The United States has not always enjoyed close relations with Pakistan and India. In the past, the Cold War and regional tensions kept us apart, but today our interests and values are bringing us closer together. We share a common interest in promoting open economies. That creates jobs and opportunities for our people. We have acted on common values to deliver compassionate assistance to people who have been devastated by natural disasters. And we face a common threat in Islamic extremism...

First stop on my trip will be India. India is the world's largest democracy... Like our own country, India has many different ethnic groups and religious traditions. India has a Hindu majority and about 150 million Muslims. That's more than any other country except Indonesia and Pakistan. India's government reflects its diversity. India has a Muslim president and a Sikh prime minister. I look forward to meeting with both of them. India is a good example of how freedom can help different people live together in peace. And this commitment to secular government and religious pluralism makes India a natural partner for the United States. In my meetings with Prime Minister Singh, we will discuss ways to advance the strategic partnership that we announced last July. Through this partnership, the United States and India are cooperating in five broad areas.

First, the United States and India are working together to defeat the threat of terrorism. Like the American people, the people of India have suffered directly from terrorist attacks on their home soil. To defeat the terrorists, our intelligence and law enforcement agencies are cooperating on a regular basis to make air travel more secure, increase the security of cyberspace, and prevent bioterrorist attacks. Our two governments are sharing vital information on suspected terrorists and potential threats. These cooperative efforts will make the Indian government more effective as a partner in the global war on terror and will make the people in both our countries more secure.

Secondly, the United States and India are working together to support democracy around the world. Like America, India overcame colonialism to establish a free and independent nation. President Franklin Roosevelt supported India in its quest for democracy, and now our two nations are helping other nations realise the same dream. Last year we launched the Global Democracy Initiative, which is a joint venture between India and the United States to promote democracy and development across the world. Under this initiative, India and the United States have taken leadership roles in advancing the United Nations Democracy Fund. The fund will provide grants to governments and civil institutions and international organisations to help them administer elections, fight corruption and build the rule of law in emerging democracies. We're also encouraging India to work directly with other nations that will benefit from India's experience of building a multiethnic democracy that respects the rights of religious minorities. India's work in Afghanistan is a good example of India's commitment to emerging democracies. India has pledged \$565 million to help the Afghan people repair infrastructure and get back on their feet. And recently India

announced it would provide an additional \$50 million to help the Afghans complete their National Assembly building. India has trained national Assembly staff and is developing a similar program for the assembly's elected leaders. The people of America and India understand that a key part of defeating the terrorists is to replace their ideology of hatred with an ideology of hope. And so we will continue to work together to advance the cause of liberty.

Third, the United States and India are working together to promote global prosperity through free and fair trade. America's economic relationship with India is strong and it's getting better. Last year, our exports to India grew by more than 30 per cent. We had a trade surplus of \$1.8 billion in services. India is now one of the fastest-growing markets for American exports, and the growing economic ties between our two nations are making American companies more competitive in the global marketplace. And that's helping companies create good jobs here in America.

The growing affluence of India is a positive development for our country. America accounts for 5 per cent of the world's population. That means 95 per cent of our potential customers live outside our borders. More than a billion of them live in India. We welcome the growing prosperity of the Indian people and the potential market it offers for America's goods and services. When trade is free and fair, it benefits all sides. At the end of World War II, the United States chose to help Germany and Japan recover. America understood then

its revenues from sales overseas. More than 20 years ago, Texas Instruments opened a centre in Bangalore, which is India's Silicon Valley. They did so to assist in analog chip design and digital chip design and related software development. The company says that their research centres in countries like India allow them to run their design efforts around the clock. They bring additional brainpower to help solve problems and provide executives in the United States with critical information about the needs of their consumers and customers overseas. These research centres help Texas Instruments to get their products to market faster... It makes sense. The research centres are good for India, and they're good for workers here in the United States.

IN THE past decade, India's made dramatic progress in opening its markets to foreign trade and investment, but there's more work to be done. India needs to continue to lift its caps on foreign investment, to make its rules and regulations more transparent, and to continue to lower its tariffs and open its markets to American agricultural products, industrial goods and services. We'll continue to work for agreements on these economic and regulatory reforms, to ensure that Americans' goods and services are treated fairly. My attitude is this: if the rules are fair, I believe our companies and our farmers and our entrepreneurs can compete with anybody, any time, any where. India's important as a market for our products. India is also important

have proposed what's called an advanced energy initiative to make this company (state) less reliant upon oil. As I said in the State of the Union, we got a problem; we're hooked on oil. And we need to do something about it.

So we're spending money on research and development to develop cleaner and more reliable alternatives to oil, alternatives that will work; alternatives such as hybrid vehicles, that will require much less gasoline; alternatives such as new fuels to substitute for gasoline; and alternatives

it an easy decision for the United States. And implementing this agreement will take time, and it will take patience from both our countries. I'll continue to encourage India to produce a credible, transparent and defensible plan to separate its civilian and military nuclear programmes.

By following through on our commitments, we'll bring India's civilian nuclear programme into international mainstream and strengthen the bonds of trust between our two great nations. We have

India needs to continue to lift its caps on foreign investment, to make its rules and regulations more transparent, and to continue to lower its tariffs and open its markets to American goods and services

such as using hydrogen to power automobiles. We will share these promising energy technologies with countries like India, and as we do so, it will help reduce stress on global oil markets and move our world toward cleaner and more efficient uses of energy. India's rising economy is also creating greater demand for electricity. Nuclear power is a clean, reliable way to help meet this need. Nuclear power now accounts for nearly 3 per cent of In-

an ambitious agenda with India. Our agenda's also practical. It builds on a relationship that has never been better. India is a global leader as well as a good friend. And I look forward to working with Prime Minister Singh to address other difficult problems, such as HIV/AIDS, pandemic flu, and the challenge posed by Iran's nuclear ambitions. My trip will remind everybody about the strengthening of an important strategic partnership. We'll

India and the US took a bold step forward when we agreed to a civil nuclear initiative that will provide India access to civilian nuclear technology and bring its civilian programmes under the safeguards of the IAEA. Implementing this agreement will take time, patience

that as other nations prosper, their growing wealth brings greater stability to their regions and more opportunities for products Americans manufacture and grow. The same is true today with developing nations such as India. As India's economy expands, it means a better life for the Indian people and greater stability for the region. It means a bigger market for America's businesses and workers and farmers.

THE area of America's relationship with India that seems to receive the most attention is outsourcing. It's true that a number of Americans have lost jobs because companies have shifted operations to India. Losing a job is traumatic, it's difficult. It puts a strain on our families. But rather than respond with protectionist policies, I believe it makes sense to respond with educational policies to make sure our workers are skilled for the jobs of the 21st century. We must also recognise that India's growth is creating new opportunities for our businesses and farmers and workers. India's middle class is now estimated at 300 million people. Think about that. That's greater than the entire population of the United States. And this middle class is buying air conditioners, kitchen appliances, and washing machines — and a lot of them from American companies like GE and Whirlpool and Westinghouse. And that means our job base is growing here in the United States. Younger Indians are acquiring a taste for pizzas from Domino's, Pizza Hut. And Air India ordered 68 planes valued at more than \$11 billion from Boeing — the single-largest commercial airplane order in India's civilian aviation history. Today India's consumers associate Americans' brands with quality and value, and this trade is creating opportunity here at home.

Americans also benefit when US companies establish research centres to tap into India's educated workforce. This investment makes American companies more competitive globally. It lowers the cost for American consumers. Texas Instruments is a good example. Today Texas Instruments employs 16,000 workers in America, gets more than 80 per cent of

partner in opening up world markets. As a new nation, India emphasised self-sufficiency and adopted strong protectionist policies. During this period, its economy stagnated and poverty grew. India now recognises that a brighter future for its people depends on a free and fair global trading order.

Today the Doha round of trade talks at the (WTO) provides the greatest opportunity to lift hundreds of millions of people out of poverty and to boost economic growth across the world. The WTO members' aim is to complete the Doha round by the end of this year. India has played an important leadership role in the Doha talks, and we look to India to continue to lead as we work together for an ambitious agreement on services and manufacturing and agriculture.

Fourth, the United States and India are working together to improve human health and the environment and address the issue of climate change. So we've joined together to create the Asia Pacific Partnership on Clean Development and Climate. Together with Australia and China and Japan and South Korea, we will focus on practical ways to make the best practices and latest energy technologies available to all, technologies like zero-emission coal-fired plants. As nations across the region adopt these practices and technologies, they will make their factories and power plants cleaner and more efficient. We look forward to being an active partner in this partnership.

Fifth, the United States and India will work together to help India meet its energy needs in a practical and responsible way. That means addressing three key issues — oil, electricity, and the need to bring India's nuclear power programme under international norms and safeguards. India now imports more than two-thirds of its oil. As the economy grows, which we're confident it will, it will need even more oil. The increased demand from developing nations like India is one of the reasons the global demand for oil has been rising faster than global supply. Rising demand relative to global supply leads to price increases for all of us. To meet the challenge here in America, I

dia's electricity needs, and India plans to increase the figure to 25 per cent by 2050, and America wants to help.

My administration has announced a new proposal called the Global Nuclear Energy Partnership. Under this, America will work with nations that have advanced civilian nuclear energy programmes, such as Great Britain, France, Japan and Russia, to share nuclear fuel with nations like India that are developing civilian nuclear energy programmes. The supplier nations will collect the spent nuclear fuel, and the supplier nations will invest in new methods to reprocess the spent nuclear fuel so that it can be used for advanced, new reactors. The strategy will allow countries like India to produce more electricity from nuclear power. It will enable countries like India to rely less on fossil

fuel. It will decrease the amount of nuclear waste that needs to be stored, and reduce the risk of nuclear proliferation.

TO BENEFIT from this initiative, India first needs to bring its civilian energy programmes under the same international safeguards that govern nuclear power programmes in other countries. India and the United States took a bold step forward last summer, when we agreed to a civil nuclear initiative that will provide India access to civilian nuclear technology and bring its civilian programmes under the safeguards of the International Atomic Energy Agency. This is not an easy decision for India, nor is

Not long ago, there was so much distrust between India and Pakistan that when America had good relations with one, it made the other one nervous. Changing that perception has been one of our administration's top priorities

terrorists was made at great personal risk. He leads a country that the terrorists seek to use as a base of operations, and they take advantage of every opportunity to create chaos and destabilise the country. The terrorists have tried to assassinate President Musharraf on a number of occasions because they know he stands in the way of their hateful vision for his country. He is a man of courage, and I appreciate his friendship and his leadership. Pakistan now has the opportunity to write a new chapter in its history. And the United States wants to build a broad and lasting strategic partnership with the people of Pakistan. And in my meetings with President Musharraf, we'll be discussing

work together in practical ways to promote a hopeful future for citizens in both our nations.

The second stop of my trip will be to Pakistan. Pakistan is a key ally in the war on terror. Pakistan is a nation of 162 million people. It has come a long way in a short period of time. Five years ago, Pakistan was one of only three nations that recognised the Taliban regime in Afghanistan. That all changed after September the 11th. President Musharraf understood that he had to make a fundamental choice for his people; he could turn a blind eye and leave his people hostage to terrorists, or he could join the free world in fighting the terrorists. President Musharraf made the right choice, and the United States is grateful for his leadership... President Musharraf's decision to fight the

areas that are critical to the American-Pakistan relationship.

First, the United States and Pakistan will continue our close cooperation in confronting and defeating the terrorists in the war on terror. Second, the United States and Pakistan understand that in the long run the only way to defeat the terrorists is through democracy. Pakistan still has a distance to travel on the road to democracy; yet it has some fundamental institutions that a democracy requires. Pakistan has a lively and generally-free press. I'm confident I will hear from them on my trip to Pakistan. Occasionally, there's interference by security forces, but it's a strong press. Pakistanis are free to criticise their government, and they exercise that right vigorously. There are a number of political parties and movements that regularly challenge the government. President Musharraf remains committed to a moderate state that respects the role of Islam in Pakistani society while providing an alternative to Islamic radicalism. The United States will continue to work with Pakistan to strengthen the institutions that help guarantee civil liberties an help lay the foundations for a democratic future for the Pakistani people. The United States and Pakistan both want the elections scheduled for next year to be successful...

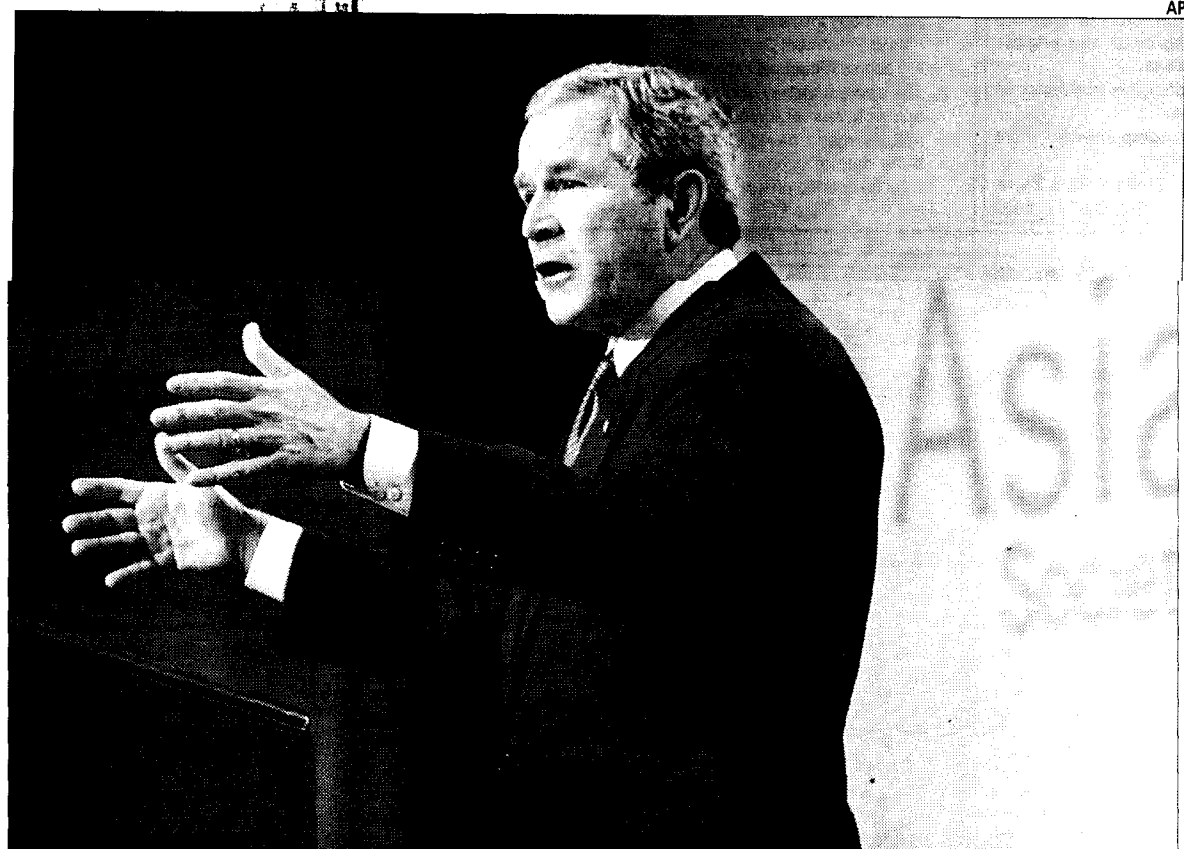
The Pakistani people saw America's commitment to their future when we responded in their hour of need. When a devastating earthquake hit a remote area in the mountains of north Pakistan, it claimed more than 73,000 lives and displaced more than 2.8 million people from their homes. American relief workers were on the ground within 48 hours. Since then, we've pledged more than a half a billion dollars for relief and reconstruction, including \$100 million in private donations from our citizens... The terrorists have said that America is the great Satan. Today in the mountains of Pakistan, they call our Chinook helicopters angels of mercy. Across their country, the Pakistani people see the generous heart of America. Our response has shown them that our commitments to Pakistan are real and lasting. We care about the people in that important country. When they suffer, we want to help.

THE great changes that are taking place inside India and Pakistan are also helping to transform the relationship between these two countries. One encouraging sign came after the earthquake, when India offered assistance to Pakistan and President Musharraf accepted. India sent tents and blankets and food and medicine. And the plane that delivered the first load of supplies was the first Indian cargo aircraft to land in Islamabad since the 1971 war. India and Pakistan must take advantage of this opening to move beyond conflict and come together on other issues where they share common interests. Good relations with America can help both nations in their quest for peace. Not long ago, there was so much distrust between India and Pakistan that when America had good relations with one, it made the other one nervous. Changing that perception has been one of our administration's top priorities, and we're making good progress. Pakistan now understands that it benefits when America has good relations with India. India understands that it benefits when America has good relations with Pakistan. And we're pleased that India and Pakistan are beginning to work together to resolve their differences directly. India and Pakistan are increasing the direct link between their countries, including a rail line that has been closed for four decades. Trade between India and Pakistan grew to more than \$800 million from July of 2004 to July of 2005, nearly double the previous year.

The governments of India and Pakistan are now engaged in dialogue about the difficult question of Kashmir. For too long, Kashmir has been a source of violence and distrust between these two countries. But I believe that India and Pakistan now have an historic opportunity to work toward lasting peace. Prime Minister Singh and President Musharraf have shown themselves to be leaders of courage and vision. In my visit I will encourage them to address this important issue. America supports a resolution in Kashmir that is acceptable to both sides.

This is a sensitive time in South Asia. In Pakistan and other countries, images broadcast around the world have inflamed passions, and these passions have been cynically manipulated to incite violence. America believes that people have the right to express themselves in a free press. America also believes that others have the right to disagree with what's printed in the free press, and to respond by organising protests so long as they protest peacefully. And when protests turn violent, governments have an obligation to restore the rule of law, to protect lives and property, and ensure that diplomats who are serving their nations overseas are not harmed. We understand that striking the right balance is difficult, but we must not allow mobs to dictate the future of South Asia...

Some people have said the 21st century will be the Asian century. I believe the 21st century will be freedom's century. And together, free Asians and free Americans will seize the opportunities this new century offers, and lay the foundation of peace and prosperity for generations to come. May God bless India and Pakistan, and may God continue to bless the United States.



'EFFORTS ON TO CLINCH DEAL WITH USA'

Burns admits N-differences

Statesman News Service

NEW DELHI, Feb. 23. — There still are "some differences" between India and the United States which make the signing of a civilian nuclear agreement during the American President's visit next month uncertain.

This was disclosed by the US Under Secretary of State, Mr Nicholas Burns, after he had emerged from South Block at the end of the first round of "informal" talks with his Indian counterpart, the foreign secretary, Mr Shyam Saran.

"Both of us want to complete these negotiations but there are still some differences between us and those differences need to be worked out," Mr Burns told reporters.

Asked about the possibility of an agreement being reached, he said, "We simply don't know whether we will have an agreement before President Bush's visit. We are trying our best, both sides". Mr Burns said he had had a good discussion with the foreign secretary.

Referring to Mr Bush's address to the Asia Society in Washington yesterday, Mr Burns said the President had made it clear that the separation plan for civilian and military nuclear plants must be transparent and credible and "so we are still working on these issues".

The external affairs ministry's official spokesperson described today's discussions as an "informal exchange of views on the Indo-US civil nuclear energy deal".

He said a more detailed discussion was expected to be held tomorrow during a formal meeting of the working group on civilian nuclear energy.

According to the 18 July 'understanding', India has to present a "credible" road map for the separation and the US administration will have to secure a Congressional approval for changes in legislation so it can

Bush's message on Iran

WASHINGTON, Feb. 23. — Seeking India's support against Iran's controversial nuclear programme, the US President said it was important to send a "firm message" to Teheran that development of a nuclear weapon by it would be unacceptable. "What's important is that India, Pakistan, and the US work together to send a firm message to the Iranians that the development of a nuclear weapon was unacceptable," he said in Washington when asked about a proposed pipeline project between India, Iran and Pakistan. He said he "fully" understood that energy supplies were important to both India and Pakistan. "But a country which has been unwilling to adhere to treaties that it's agreed to, a country the President of which has said the destruction of Israel is part of its foreign policy, a country which has not told the truth when it comes to whether or not they're enriching uranium, is a country that free nations need to deal with in a diplomatic way," Mr Bush said. Adopting Pakistan's point of view, he advocated a solution to the Kashmir issue acceptable to all concerned. — PTI

India, Iran vow to improve ties: page 4

help India, a non-NPT country, with civilian nuclear energy.

The US wants the largest number of reactors on the civilian list, which will demonstrate India's 'sincerity'. The USA also wants to arm itself with a 'credible' separation roadmap so it can prevail over nay-sayers in the Congress and in the Nuclear Suppliers' Group against making an exception for India on transfer of technology.

Now it seems that the US may have to concede leaving out the FBR from the civilian list, at least for several years. The Prime Minister's Scientific Adviser, Mr CNR Rao, yesterday told a news agency that India would not open its Fast Breeder Reactors to international supervision.

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বার্নস-সারন বৈঠকে

নিজস্ব সংবাদদাতা, নয়াদিল্লি, ২৩ ফেব্রুয়ারি: জর্জ ডব্লিউ বুশের দিল্লি সফরে যে ভারত-মার্কিন পরমাণু চুক্তির খসড়া চূড়ান্ত হবে না তা আজ অনেকটাই স্পষ্ট হয়ে গেল। চুক্তি নিয়ে বিবোধের যে মূল জায়গাগুলো রয়েছে, তার জট ছাড়ানোর কাজে আজ দুই দেশের কর্তাদের বৈঠকে অন্তত তেমন এগোনো গেল না। মার্কিন বিদেশ দফতরের আন্ডার সেক্রেটারি নিকোলাস বার্নস ভারতের বিদেশসচিব শ্যাম সারনের সঙ্গে বৈঠকের পরে সেই ইঙ্গিতই দিলেন। তাঁর কথায়, “দুই দেশই চুক্তি নিয়ে বোঝাপড়ার কাজ শেষ করতে চেয়েছিল। কিন্তু এখনও আমাদের মধ্যে কিছু সমস্যা রয়ে গিয়েছে। সেগুলি নিয়ে আরও আলোচনা হবে।”

গত বছর ৮ জুলাই আমেরিকায় মনমোহন-বুশ খসড়া অসামরিক পরমাণু সহযোগিতা চুক্তি সই করেছিলেন। সরকারি সূত্রে বলা হচ্ছে, পরবর্তী শীর্ষ বৈঠকেই এটি চূড়ান্ত করতে হবে, ওই চুক্তিতে এমন কোনও লিখিত বাধ্যবাধকতা ছিল না। চুক্তির রূপায়ণে ধাপে ধাপে এগানোর কথাই তাতে বলা হয়েছিল। তবে বার্নসের মন্তব্য থেকে এই ইঙ্গিত স্পষ্ট যে দুই দেশের মধ্যে দরকষাকষি এখনও শেষ হয়নি।

ভারত-মার্কিন মতৈক্যের ক্ষেত্রে এখন মূল বাধা ‘ফাস্ট ব্রিডার রিঅ্যাক্টর’, যার মাধ্যমে ভারত দেশজ প্রযুক্তিতে পরমাণু গবেষণা এগিয়ে নিয়ে চলেছে। ভারত যাতে ওই রিঅ্যাক্টর-সহ আরও বেশি সংখ্যক রিঅ্যাক্টর সামরিক থেকে অসামরিক পরমাণু প্রকল্পের তালিকায় নিয়ে আসে, সে জন্য চাপ দিচ্ছে বুশ প্রশাসন। সে ক্ষেত্রে রিঅ্যাক্টরগুলিকে আন্তর্জাতিক পর্যবেক্ষণের (ইন্টারন্যাশনাল অ্যাটমিক এনার্জি এজেন্সি বা আইএইএ-র মাধ্যমে) আওতায় নিয়ে আসা যাবে। পরোক্ষে ভাবে ওই রিঅ্যাক্টরের উপর আমেরিকার নিয়ন্ত্রণ বাড়বে। কিন্তু ভারত ফাস্ট ব্রিডার রিঅ্যাক্টরকে আইএইএ-এর পর্যবেক্ষণের আওতায় দিতে চায় না। কারণ, এই রিঅ্যাক্টর ভারতের ত্রিস্তরীয় পরমাণু শক্তি প্রকল্পের দ্বিতীয় ধাপ। এবং এটি পরমাণু অস্ত্রের কাঁচামাল (প্লুটোনিয়াম) সরবরাহকারীও বটে।

সরকারি সূত্রের খবর, এই রিঅ্যাক্টর যাতে ২০১০ সাল পর্যন্ত আন্তর্জাতিক পর্যবেক্ষণের আওতায় আনা না হয়, সেই অনুরোধ নিয়ে আজ বার্নসের সঙ্গে দীর্ঘ আলোচনা করেন শ্যাম সারন। বার্নসকে দিল্লি জানিয়ে দিয়েছে, এই রিঅ্যাক্টরকে অসামরিক পরমাণু প্রকল্পের আওতায় নিয়ে আসা ভারতের নিরাপত্তার কারণেই সম্ভব নয়। তা ছাড়া, এই রিঅ্যাক্টর এখন গবেষণার স্তরে রয়েছে। এখনই এটা বিশ্বের সামনে খুলে দেওয়া সম্ভব নয়। সরকারের এক শীর্ষ কর্তার মতে, “আমাদের নিরাপত্তা তাতে ব্যাহত হবে। আমেরিকা বা ব্রিটেনের মতো আমরা অস্ত্রের ক্ষেত্রে প্রতিযোগিতায় যাচ্ছি না। কিন্তু পরমাণু অস্ত্রের ক্ষেত্রে শত্রু দেশের সঙ্গে আমাদের তো একটা সমতা থাকা প্রয়োজন।” প্রধানমন্ত্রী মনমোহন সিংহও এ দিন সংসদে বলেন, বিদেশনীতি জাতীয় স্বার্থ দ্বারাই পরিচালিত হবে। আর বুশ প্রশাসনের বক্তব্য, তাদের কথামতো চুক্তি না করলে মার্কিন কংগ্রেসে এই চুক্তি পাশ করানোও সম্ভব নয়।

এই বিষয়টি নিয়ে দীর্ঘ দিন ধরেই জলঘোলা চলছে। রাজনৈতিক চাপের পাশাপাশি পরমাণু বিজ্ঞানীরাও এই রিঅ্যাক্টরকে অসামরিক তালিকায় নিয়ে আসার বিরোধিতা করেছেন। এখন ২০১০ সাল পর্যন্ত ছাড় পেলে দিল্লির পক্ষে ঘরোয়া পরিস্থিতি সামলানো কিছুটা সহজ হবে। জানা গিয়েছে, দর কষাকষির জন্য ঘরোয়া রাজনৈতিক বাধ্যবাধকতা, বিজ্ঞানীদের সমবেত প্রতিবাদের কথা এ বার বুশের কাছে তুলে ধরবেন ভারতের শীর্ষ নেতৃত্ব।

ভারতের পক্ষে আশার কথা, বার্নস ইতিমধ্যেই বলেছেন, যে ভারত-মার্কিন পরমাণু চুক্তির ৯০ শতাংশ কাজ হয়ে গিয়েছে। বাকি ১০ শতাংশ কাজের মধ্যে তিনি সম্ভবত ফাস্ট ব্রিডার রিঅ্যাক্টরই রেখেছেন। গতকাল এশিয়া সোসাইটিতে দেওয়া বক্তৃতায় বুশ বলেছেন, ভারতের সামরিক এবং অসামরিক পরমাণু প্রকল্প আলাদা করার প্রক্রিয়ায় ‘স্বচ্ছতা’ এবং ‘বিশ্বাসযোগ্য’ থাকা প্রয়োজন। আজ বার্নস সেই মন্তব্যের রেশ ধরে বলেন, “আমরা এখনও এই প্রক্রিয়া নিয়ে আলোচনা করছি।”

No recall of Mulford: Manmohan

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'Action taken so far will suffice'

Vinay Kumar

NEW DELHI: Prime Minister Manmohan Singh on Wednesday ruled out the recall of the U.S. Ambassador David Mulford for writing a letter to West Bengal Chief Minister Buddhadeb Bhattacharjee.

Dr. Singh, however, described the envoy's action as "unwarranted" and at variance with normal diplomatic practice. The Government had taken note of the issue and the action taken so far would suffice, he said.

The Left parties had demanded Mr. Mulford's recall for writing to Mr. Bhattacharjee following the Chief Minister's criticism of the U.S. President George W. Bush.

"I share the sentiments [of Left members]. But my own feeling is that the action we have taken would suffice for the time being," Dr. Singh said at the end of a 50-minute speech in the Rajya Sabha. He was winding up the debate on the President's address to Parliament.

The Prime Minister said the Ministry of External Affairs had conveyed its displeasure and told the envoy to desist from making such moves.

The response followed queries from Nilotpal Basu and Brinda Karat of the Communist Party of India (Marxist). They wanted to know if the Government would consider recalling Mr. Mulford. Mr. Basu said the Government should deliver a strong message as it was a matter of national pride and self-respect.

To a demand of the CPI (M) members that there should be a discussion on the airport modernisation issue, Dr. Singh said the Government would have no objection to it.

The demand came up at the end of the Prime Minister's reply when Dipankar Mukherjee

• No objection to airport modernisation

• Armed forces will continue to remain apolitical

(CPIM) insisted on an assurance from him to agree to withdraw an amendment to the motion of thanks to the President's address. After the assurance, Mr. Mukherjee did not press for an amendment. He was supported by his colleagues Mr. Basu and Sitaram Yechury. They said that there was no mention of the issue of airports' modernisation in the Prime Minister's reply.

Headcount issue

PTI reports:

Dr. Singh rejected criticism of the move to seek a headcount of Muslims in the armed forces and declared that the forces would continue to remain "apolitical, secular, professional and merit-based." He also dismissed the Opposition charge of appeasement by creating a ministry of minority affairs.

Cartoon controversy

In an apparent rejection of politics being played over cartoons of Prophet Muhammad in a Danish daily and some other European newspapers, he asked political parties to exercise "utmost restraint" in dealing with the controversy.

"We have greatest respect for all religions. India's commitment to tolerance is unshakeable, but statements by some sections of our people is not acceptable.

"I am sure all political and religious leaders would do nothing to inflame public opinion and exercise utmost restraint in a democratic way to make our point of view reasonably restrained," he said.

washingtonpost.com

CORRECTION TO THIS ARTICLE

A Feb. 23 article on President Bush's upcoming trip to India and Pakistan incorrectly said that it would be the first trip to the two countries by a U.S. president since 1998. President Bill Clinton made such a trip in 2000.

Bush Seeks India's Cooperation

U.S. Calls for Split in Civilian, Military Nuclear Programs

By Dafna Linzer
Washington Post Staff Writer
Thursday, February 23, 2006; A12

Days before he leaves for South Asia, President Bush publicly urged India yesterday to separate its civilian and military nuclear programs to pave the way for a new strategic alliance between Washington and New Delhi.

Bush agreed in July to give India access, for the first time, to civilian nuclear assistance, breaking with decades of U.S. nuclear policies. For the Bush administration, the deal was part of a long-term Asian strategy designed to accelerate India's rise as a global power and as a counterweight to China. The White House had hoped to finalize the accord next week when Bush becomes the first U.S. president to visit India and Pakistan since the two South Asian rivals conducted nuclear tests in 1998.

But a deal remains elusive and has faced criticism in Congress, which would need to change several laws before it could take effect. The principal concern, shared by congressional Republicans and Democrats, is that India will try to keep as many facilities as possible under military control, a move that could accelerate the country's nuclear weapons production and weaken attempts to safeguard nuclear materials.

India conducted its first nuclear test in 1974, relying in part on imported civilian nuclear technology. It is one of only three countries, including Israel and Pakistan, that did not sign the nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty. Instead it built a nuclear weapons program and lived without the additional civilian technology it needs to power a country with more than 1 billion people and a surging economy.

A cooperative energy deal with Washington could change that, but U.S. law forbids exporting nuclear materials to sites or facilities that are used for bombmaking. For Congress, the military-civilian separation plan is seen as a key indicator of whether New Delhi intends to use the deal to help its weapons production, or its energy sector.

Bush's comments yesterday suggested he was taking those concerns seriously.

"I'll continue to encourage India to produce a credible, transparent and defensible plan to separate its civilian and military programs," Bush said in a speech to the Asia Society. Such a plan would "strengthen the bonds of trust between our two great nations."

The Bush administration dispatched a team of senior negotiators and nuclear experts to New Delhi yesterday to press for a separation plan that would ease congressional concerns. Administration officials



held out hope a plan could be completed before Bush's three-day visit ends and he departs for the Pakistani capital of Islamabad.

But others cautioned against rushing to complete a military-civilian separation plan.

"If the Bush administration wants to demonstrate clearly that civil nuclear cooperation is not contributing to an increased Indian nuclear weapons capability, then it will have to be very demanding on the separation issue," said Robert Einhorn, who was assistant secretary of state for nonproliferation until November 2001. "If it cuts unwarranted compromises, it will further erode the administration's credibility on nonproliferation issues in general" and make it tougher to deal with Iran and North Korea, he said.

Indian officials have offered three separation proposals over the last seven months, each of which fell short of U.S. expectations.

In December, Indian negotiators surprised their U.S. colleagues when they proposed keeping a majority of the facilities under military control. In particular, the Indians suggested to senior U.S. officials, including Undersecretary of State R. Nicholas Burns, the chief negotiator, that they wanted military control over fast-breeder reactors, at least until 2010. The reactors are in the experimental phase but will be able to produce enormous quantities of weapons-grade plutonium when fully operational.

"We've made significant progress, but the last part of any complex negotiation is the most challenging," Burns said in a telephone interview from New Delhi. "We'd like to have an agreement, but not at any cost."

Burns, who arrived in India yesterday, met with senior congressional officials before he left. He will meet again with Congress on his return to present any plan the sides may reach during the president's trip.

At a meeting last week of nuclear weapons experts, David Albright, president of the Institute for Science and International Security, suggested that India's plans for the breeder reactor were evidence of "a greedy effort to try to have as much of a plutonium production capability for nuclear weapons as possible."

"India has to choose," Albright said. "Does it want nuclear weapons capabilities, or does it want international cooperation?"

The U.S.-India negotiations began quickly last summer, but over seven months they have been fraught with tensions and heated rhetoric on both sides.

During an appearance Tuesday at the National Press Club, India's ambassador to Washington suggested the deal was being "hijacked" by nonproliferation zealots. Ronen Sen said India's atomic weapons program would continue whether or not the deal went through, and he promised that no U.S. technology would be diverted to the weapons program.

His comments came several weeks after the U.S. ambassador in New Delhi, David Mulford, stirred controversy when he suggested that the administration would kill the deal unless India voted to report Iran to the U.N. Security Council this month. India did vote with Washington and against Tehran, which is also a close ally of India, but Mulford's comments rocked the fragile negotiations and were viewed as insulting by some in India.

PLACE NUKE FACILITIES UNDER IAEA SUPERVISION: BUSH

US shocker for India

Special News Service

NEW DELHI, Feb. 22. — A week before he arrives in Delhi, the US President, Mr George W Bush said today in Washington that India had to take the "tough decision" of separating its civilian and military nuclear plants and placing all civilian nuclear installations under international supervision.

Mr Bush was speaking at the 50th anniversary celebrations of Asia Society, where he mentioned civilian nuclear energy co-operation as a part of the five fronts — defeating terrorism, promoting democracy, improving economic ties, health and environment and meeting energy needs — that India and the USA were actively collaborating in.

He described the 18 July, 2005 Indo-US pact as a "bold step", but conceded that the going might not be so smooth. The President's remark seems to be made to belie hopes of clinching an agreement on the civilian nuclear energy front during his visit. Mr Bush noted that if India wanted to become more reliant on nuclear power to meet its energy needs, it had to place its civilian nuclear plants under the International Atomic Energy Agency safeguards. "It is not an easy decision for India to make. Equally, it is not an easy decision for the USA in implementing its agreement. It will take time. It will take patience



It is not an easy decision for India to make. Equally, it is not an easy decision for the USA in implementing its agreement. It will take time. It will take patience...

of both the countries," he said, adding: "By following through on our commitments, we will bring India's civilian nuclear programme into international mainstream." He made it clear that India could benefit from being a part of the US-led Global Nuclear Energy Partnership, but only after adopting the IAEA safeguards.

His statement was an endorsement of the differences between the two sides on what to include in the civilian list. The Americans want to have the majority of the 15 nuclear plants on the civilian list, including the fast-breeder reactor currently under construction. Indian officials insist that the decision rests with them.

In his 35-minute speech, Mr Bush also placed an accent on America's willingness to continue to encourage

Burns arrives

NEW DELHI, Feb. 22. —The US under secretary of state for political affairs, Mr R Nicholas Burns, arrived late tonight for two days of talks with Indian authorities about implementing the 18 July understanding on civilian nuclear energy as well as preparations for President George W Bush's visit. The most important topic on the agenda is expected to be the proposed civilian nuclear energy agreement, specifically the separation of India's military and civil facilities. — SNS

Mulford recall, page 5

India to bring out a "credible, transparent and defensible plan to separate its civilian and military nuclear programmes". He said the two sides would continue to work towards coming up with feasible options to separate the nuclear facilities. The USA would have to lobby not just its Congress, but also the 44-member Nuclear Suppliers' Group, to make an exception for India in the field of transfer of nuclear technology.

The minister of state for external affairs, Mr Anand Sharma, said: "The separation of the Indian nuclear facilities would be done voluntarily by us in keeping with India's national interest." Prime Minister Dr Manmohan Singh will make a statement on the Indo-US nuclear deal in Parliament on 27 February, two days before Mr Bush arrives.

PARLIAMENT I US under-secy to hold talks with Saran today

PM's statement on N-deal two days before Bush trip

ENS/PTI

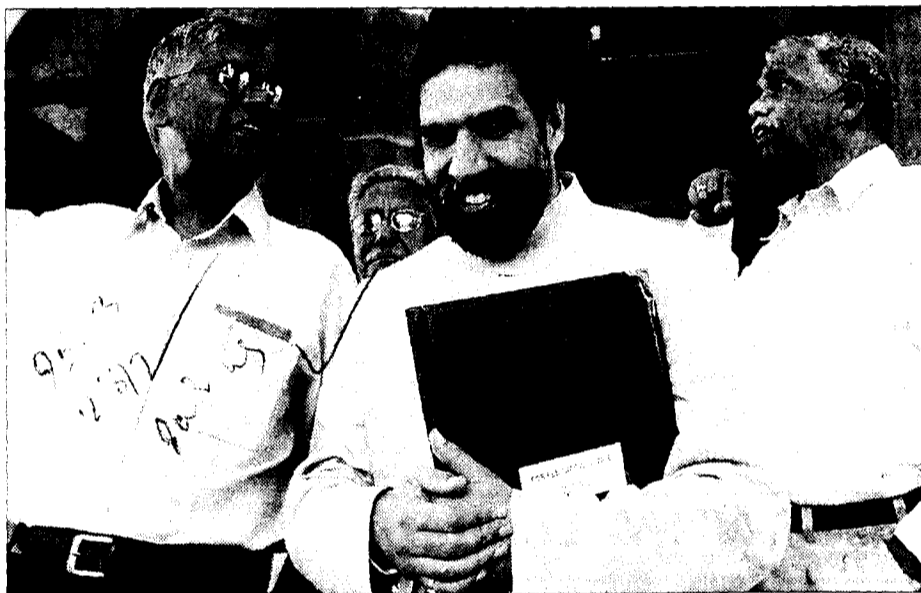
NEW DELHI, FEBRUARY 22

PRIME Minister Manmohan Singh will make a statement on the Indo-US nuclear deal in Parliament on February 27, two days ahead of American President George W Bush's visit to India.

With both countries keen to wrap up an agreement in the run-up to Bush's visit, US Under Secretary of State Nicholas Burns will be holding talks with Foreign Secretary Shyam Saran here on Thursday. On the eve of his visit here, Burns said that 90 per cent of the agreement had been worked out.

The government also said today that India would separate its nuclear facilities voluntarily based on the country's national interest. Minister of State for External Affairs Anand Sharma told the Lok Sabha that the government had considered reports of nuclear experts and former diplomats expressing a wide variety of views on the extent and implications of the separation of nuclear facilities.

Meanwhile, Indian Ambas-



CPI's D. Raja with MoS for External Affairs Anand Sharma. Photo by Anil Sharma

sador to the US Ronen Sen said in Washington DC on Tuesday that India would "continue to pursue its fast breeder reactor (FBR) programme".

Addressing a press conference at the National Press Club on the visit of Bush, Sen also made it clear that there would be no change in the three-stage nuclear programme of India as envisaged by Dr Homi Bhabha, even before India achieved independence in 1947.

The first phase includes

electricity generation through pressurised heavy water reactors. The FBR programme is the second stage, while the final phase would involve thorium-based reactors.

However, Sen did not elaborate further on the issue. India has developed these nuclear technologies on its own and not obtained them through third countries, he said. On the nuclear agreement, Sen said India was committed to meet its obligation i.e., the separation of the civil-

ian and military facilities. He hoped the US would also meet its part of the commitment and introduce related legislation in the Congress and present India's case in nuclear suppliers group.

Sen said the nuclear agreement with the US was about meeting the energy requirements of India. The country would have no option but to go for nuclear energy if it was to reduce its depends on hydrocarbons, the ambassador said.

NE

India, US hold joint maritime exercise

SHIVAROOR

NEW DELHI, FEBRUARY 20

WHAT was planned as a simple passage exercise between aircraft carrier *INS Viraat* and the American *USS Ronald Reagan* supercarrier three days ago off Sri Lanka spontaneously became a full-fledged, joint-maritime war game. A detailed operational report on this "surprising level of Indo-US inter-operability between the two Navies at short notice" will shortly be given to the Defence Ministry.

After just three days of planning, the two vessels were to rendezvous in the Indian Ocean for simple communication drills, but things escalated.

The two carrier groups spontaneously executed dissimilar air combat manoeuvres

original plan, these drills usually take months of planning.

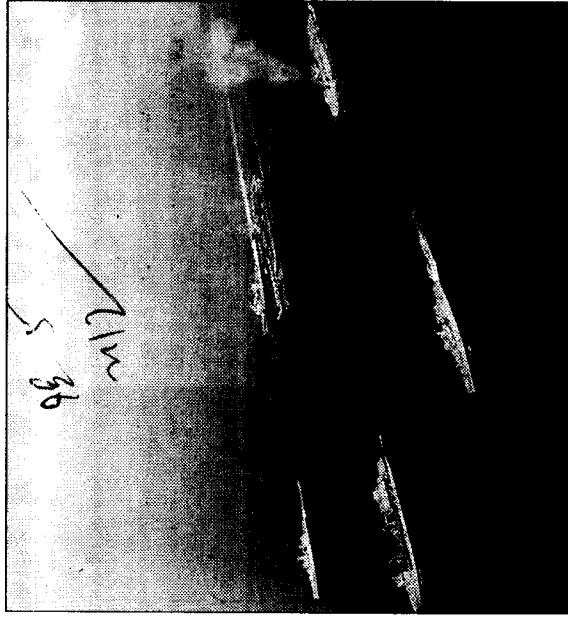
In fact, US Navy fleet commander Rear Admiral Mike Mille even gave his counterpart Rear Admiral RF Contractor a guided tour of the strictly out-of-bounds Combat Direction Center on the *Ronald Reagan*.

In the confidential report that will be submitted to the Ministry, the Navy has said, "This bears testimony to growing levels of inter-operability between the two navies and augers well for future exercises." The message is clear: the two navies can easily combine assets with minimum preparation in the event of a war-like scenario.

The complexity of the exercise is principally unusual because of the short-notice at which it was organised. In fact,

it was on February 11 that the US Navy's Capt Timothy Conway made a request to Navy officials. Another US Navy officer Lt Cdr Billy Hall Jr. in fact was on the *Viraat* on its journey south to the rendezvous point, 60 nautical miles off the Sri Lankan coast. The US warship even flew the Indian flag before departing.

Observing that US Navy's procedures bore a "good similarity to our own", the Navy was declined its request for non-compliant boarding missions because the US fleet did not have any special forces commandos on board. In course of strategic discussions between the two fleet commanders, US officers also said they were not particularly happy with having to share too much technology with other coalition forces.



INS Viraat and USS Ronald Reagan off the Sri Lanka Coast.

with *F/A-18 Super Hornets* and *Sea Kings* and probably most significantly, over-the-horizon targeting (OTH). Not in the

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INDIAN EXPRESS

MPs demand Mulford recall

Statesman News Service

Congress unfazed

NEW DELHI, Feb. 20. — In what must be a clear embarrassment to Washington ahead of President Mr George W Bush's visit to India, its envoy in New Delhi, Mr David Mulford, drew flak in Parliament today for his comments on India's vote on Iran even as UPA constituents DMK, RJD and Left supporters made common cause with the BJP-led Opposition and staged a walk-out in the Lok Sabha. They demanded recall of the ambassador. Some Left leaders demanded that Mr Mulford be declared *persona non grata* and asked to leave the country forthwith.

CPI-M's House leader, Mr Basudeb Acharia, charged the envoy with transgressing diplomatic limits. Backed by many from the Opposition and also some from UPA allies, he vehemently objected to the envoy writing a letter to chief minister Mr Buddhadeb Bhattacharjee after he (the CM) criticised the US President in a party rally. He questioned whether any envoy can directly write to a chief

NEW DELHI, Feb. 20. — The Congress was virtually unruffled by the walkout by some UPA allies on the Mulford issue. The party said it had already made it clear that Mr Mulford's statements and his letter to Mr Buddhadeb Bhattacharjee were not "acceptable" and that "they were not as per the established diplomatic conduct." The Congress today categorically said that neither the party nor the government supported the survey of Muslims in the Armed Forces. — SNS

minister and demanded a statement from the government. "We want to know if diplomatic propriety allows an ambassador to write to a chief minister?" he asked.

(Mr Bhattacharjee, at a Kolkata rally last month had reportedly described the US President as the leader of an "organised bunch of criminals". Mr Mulford in his letter had also suggested that this [the CM's remarks] could affect US investments in West Bengal). Dubbing Mr Mulford's comments as "highly improper", the BJP's deputy leader in the Lok Sabha, Mr VK Malhotra, said the government's silence on the issue was "objectionable". Mr Gurudas Dasgupta, CPI, said Mr Mulford had "infringed on his rights as a diplomat". "Who is he to advise us?" Interjecting, the Speaker, Mr Somnath Chatterjee, rather enig-

matically queried: "Can only

Indians advise Indians? We have many well wishers who mean us well." However, he urged the US ambassador to desist from "rhetoric" to maintain "dignity". Calling for stripping Mr Mulford of his diplomatic status, an angry Mr Dasgupta urged the government "to show more courage to protect the country's dignity". "You are afraid of America," he added.

Meanwhile, a senior administration official has said that USA was "90 per cent of the way there" on formally working out a Indo-US civilian nuclear arrangement, PTI adds from Washington.

"We're 90 per cent of the way there," undersecretary of state for political affairs Mr Nicholas Burns told Mr Fareed Zakaria, editor of *Newsweek* magazine.

THE STATESMAN

সংসদে বামেদের পাশে বিজেপি, কংগ্রেস-শরিকরা

মালফোর্ডকে সরানোর দাবি

নিজস্ব সংবাদদাতা, নয়াদিল্লি, ২০ ফেব্রুয়ারি: মার্কিন প্রেসিডেন্ট জর্জ বৃশ দিল্লিতে পা রাখার আট দিন আগে তাঁর দৃতকে নিয়ে চূড়ান্ত অস্থতির মধ্যে পড়ল কেন্দ্রীয় সরকারের তথা কংগ্রেস।

ভারতে নিযুক্ত মার্কিন রাষ্ট্রদূত ডেভিড মালফোর্ডকে দেশে ফেরানোর দাবিতে আজ উত্তাল হল সংসদের দু'কক্ষই। বামেদের সুরে সুর মিলিয়ে শুধু বিরোধী দল বিজেপি, শিবসেনা বা অকালি সাংসদেরাই নন, সরব হয়েছেন কংগ্রেসের শরিক দলগুলির সদস্যরাও। দৃশ্যতই কোণঠাসা সংসদীয় মন্ত্রী প্রিয়রঞ্জন দাশমুখি জানাতে বাধ্য হন যে, সংসদের মতামত তিনি প্রধানমন্ত্রীকে জানানো। কিন্তু এটুকুতে সন্তুষ্ট না হয়ে লোকসভা থেকে ওয়াকআউট করেন সরকারের সমর্থক এবং শরিক দলের সদস্যরা। রাজসভাতেও মন্ত্রী সুরেশ পট্টোয়ারি জবাবে সন্তুষ্ট না হয়ে কক্ষত্যাগ করে বাম ও সমাজবাদী পার্টি।

চার বাম দল ও সমাজবাদী পার্টি ইতিমধ্যেই সংসদের ভিতরে ও বাইরে মার্কিন-বিরোধী প্রচারের সিদ্ধান্ত নিয়েছে। মার্কিন প্রেসিডেন্টের সফরের সময় বিক্ষোভ দেখানো, ২৩ তারিখ ইরান প্রক্ষে হইচই করার পরিকল্পনা আগে থেকেই তৈরি ছিল। তারই শুরু হিসাবে আজ মালফোর্ড প্রসঙ্গ তোলা হয়। ডেভিড মালফোর্ড অভ্যন্তরীণ নানা বিষয়ে মন্তব্য করার পাশাপাশি সরাসরি পশ্চিমবঙ্গের মুখ্যমন্ত্রী বুদ্ধদেব ভট্টাচার্যকে চিঠি লিখে তাঁদের হাতে অস্ত্র তুলে দিয়েছেন। আর এই বিষয়টিতে শুধু সমাজবাদী পার্টি নয়, রাষ্ট্রীয় জনতা বা ডিএমকে-র মতো সরকারের শরিক দলও তাঁদের সঙ্গে যোগ দেওয়ায় বামেরা বেশ খানিকটা বাড়াতি মানোবলও পেয়ে গেলেন।

লোকসভার জিরো আওয়ারে সিপিএমের সংসদীয় দলনেতা বাসুদেব আচারিয়া বিষয়টি উত্থাপন করেন। তিনি বলেন, “মার্কিন রাষ্ট্রদূত এমন আচার ব্যবহার শুরু করেছেন, যার ফলে পরিস্থিতি অত্যন্ত অনতিশ্রোত হয়ে গিয়েছে।” কলকাতার একটি জনসভায় বুদ্ধদেব ভট্টাচার্য মার্কিন নীতি তথা বৃশ সম্পর্কে

বিপক্ষে ভোট না দিলে ভারত-মার্কিন পরমাণু সম্পর্ক প্রভাবিত হতে পারে, সংবাদ সংস্থাকে দেওয়া সাক্ষাৎকারে মালফোর্ডের এই মন্তব্যেরও কড়া ভাষায় সমালোচনা করেন বাসুদেববাবু। তাঁর প্রশ্ন, মালফোর্ড কোন অধিকারে ভারতের অভ্যন্তরীণ বিষয়ে হস্তক্ষেপ করছেন? অবিলম্বে ভারত সরকার বিষয়টিতে হস্তক্ষেপ করুক। মালফোর্ডকে ফেরত পাঠানো হোক। তা যদি না-ও পারা যায়, বৃশ ভারতে এলে তাঁকে বিষয়টি বলে এর বিহিত করা হোক।

এ দিন লোকসভায় সিপিএম নেতা মহম্মদ সেলিম, সিপিআই নেতা গুরুদাস দাশগুপ্তের সঙ্গে বিজেপি, শিবসেনা যেমন সুর মিলিয়েছে, তেমনই সরকারের শরিকেরাও তাৎপর্যপূর্ণ ভাবে সমালোচনা করেছে। আরজেডি-র দেবেন্দ্রপ্রসাদ যাদব, সমাজবাদী পার্টির রামজীলাল মুন্স, বহুজন সমাজ পার্টির নিয়াজ আজমি, আরপিআই-এর রামদাস অটওয়াল, ডিএমকে-র কৃষ্ণস্বামী, সবাই একযোগে সরকারের সমালোচনায় নামেন।

রাজসভায় বিষয়টি তোলেন সিপিএম নেতা নীলোৎপল বসু। মালফোর্ড-কাতকে ‘অত্যন্ত লজ্জাজনক’ অ্যাখ্যা দেন তিনি। তাঁকে সমর্থন করেন সীতারাম ইশ্চেরি। তিনি বলেন, “দেশের আত্মসম্মানের সঙ্গে বিষয়টি যুক্ত। ভারত তো বানানা রিপাবলিক নয়। আমেরিকার তা বোঝা উচিত, এবং অবিলম্বে মালফোর্ডকে দেশে ফিরিয়ে নিয়ে যাওয়া উচিত।” তাঁর বক্তব্যের সমর্থনে এগিয়ে আসতে দেখা যায় শোদ ইউপিএসআই-এর মন্ত্রীকেই। সংসদ

বিষয়ক প্রতিমন্ত্রী সুরেশ পট্টোয়ারি বলেন, এটা অত্যন্ত গুরুত্বপূর্ণ বিষয়। মুখ্যমন্ত্রীকে এই ভাবে চিঠি লেখা যে অন্যায়, সে ব্যাপারে একমত হন তিনি। পট্টোয়ারির বক্তব্য, “নিঃসন্দেহে এটি প্রতিষ্ঠিত কূটনৈতিক আচারের পরিপন্থী।” বুদ্ধদেববাবু বিষয়টি প্রধানমন্ত্রীকে বলেছেন বলে পট্টোয়ারি জানান।



কিছু বিরূপ মন্তব্য করেছিলেন। তাঁর পরেই মালফোর্ড সরাসরি তাঁকে চিঠি লিখে ওই মন্তব্যের সমালোচনা করেন। আজ কংগ্রেস বামে বাকি সব দলই মালফোর্ডের এই আচরণের কড়া নিন্দা করেছে। পাশাপাশি, ইরানের

এই আচরণের কড়া নিন্দা করেছে। পাশাপাশি, ইরানের

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এই আচরণের কড়া নিন্দা করেছে। পাশাপাশি, ইরানের

Walkout over Mulford issue; Congress isolated

Guided by 211

Left parties and Samajwadi Party join hands with Opposition in demanding recall of U.S. Ambassador

Special Correspondent

NEW DELHI: The Congress found itself isolated in Parliament on Monday as its allies and supporting parties joined hands with the Opposition to demand the recall of American ambassador to India David Mulford for his statements on the Iran vote and letter to West Bengal Chief Minister Buddhadeb Bhattacharjee.

While the Left parties and the Samajwadi Party staged a walkout in both Houses to register their dissatisfaction with the Government's response, the Rashtriya Janata Dal joined them in the Lok Sabha. However, the Bharatiya Janata Party-led National Democratic Alliance — which echoed the sentiments aired by the Left parties — did not join the walkout.

Earlier, Parliamentary Affairs Minister Priyaranjan Dasgupta said the views of the members would be conveyed to the Prime Minister. "The Government has

never [compromised] and will not compromise with the nation's dignity, and the honour and authority of Parliament," he said.

Conceding it was not proper for an Ambassador to write directly to a Chief Minister and that it "violated established procedures", Minister of State for Parliamentary Affairs Suresh Pachauri assured the Rajya Sabha that the sense of the House would be conveyed to the Prime Minister.

In the Lok Sabha, the issue was raised by Basudeb Acharya (Communist Party of India-Marxist) who first mentioned Mr. Mulford writing to Mr. Bhattacharjee on his comments against U.S. President George Bush.

Thereafter, he listed the case of the ambassador writing to Asam Chief Minister Tarun Gogoi offering Federal Bureau of Investigation assistance in a bomb blast case. Lastly, he brought up



UNDER FIRE: The US Ambassador to India, David C. Mulford.

Mr. Mulford stating that the U.S.-India nuclear agreement "would die" if India did not support the U.S. position on the Iran nuclear issue at the International-

al Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA).

Gurudas Dasgupta (CPI) said Mr. Mulford should be declared persona non grata and the Government should show more courage. "Why hasn't the Government lodged a protest with the U.S. against Mr. Mulford's behaviour; thereby giving the impression that you are yielding to American pressure."

Stating that it was improper for the ambassador to have written to the Chief Minister, Vijay Kumar Malhotra (BJP) said more objectionable was the manner in which the Government had succumbed to U.S. pressure as was evident from India's vote at the IAEA.

Questioning the Government's silence, Ram Gopal Yadav (SP) said it should demand his recall and summon the ambassador to communicate its displeasure. Devendra Prasad Yadav (RJD) and A. Krishnaswamy (Dravida Munnetra Kazha-

gam) expressed similar views.

In the Rajya Sabha, Leader of the Opposition Jaswant Singh described the ambassador's statement and letter as a gross impropriety and violation of existing diplomatic norms.

"Hegemony of power is not necessarily hegemony of wisdom. Such a statement could have been made on the spur of a moment. But a letter is a deliberate act which the entire House condemns."

Sharad Yadav (Janata Dal-United) said it was a serious matter. "A country of 100 crore population cannot be insulted in this manner."

Describing the issue as "shameful", Nilotpal Basu (CPI-M) said while the country's self-respect was at stake, the UPA Government was "pussyfooting" with the ambassador.

Sitaram Yechury (CPI-M) said it was an "unprecedented" situation involving the self-respect of the country.

Left Still Debates On Iran Strategy, Gears Up For Anti-Bush Campaign

China 'happy' with Indo-US N-deal

Our Political Bureau
NEW DELHI 16 FEBRUARY

AFTER making uncomfortable noises about the Indo-US nuclear pact, China on Thursday came out in support of the civilian nuclear co-operation agreement signed in July 2004. Chinese Ambassador Sun Yuxi said his country was 'very happy' with the nuclear pact and that China "fully understood" India's energy needs as a "rising country in the developing world".

China's change of stance comes even as the Indian Left focuses on the nuclear co-operation deal, along with the vote on Iran, in the run-up to their anti-Bush campaign. The deal, which has hit roadblocks over separation of Indian nuclear facilities into civilian and military establishments, has unwittingly become part of the debate on India's Iran strategy, with weeks to go before the visit of the US president George Bush. American ambassador David Mulford had linked the two issues in a controversial interview last month where he said the nuke deal would "die" in the US Congress unless India voted against Iran at the IAEA.



The Left, which has insisted that separation of civilian and military facilities should be based on the principle of "reciprocity", views the deal as an instrument of US pressure to make India to toe its foreign policy line. In the aftermath of Mr Mulford's utterances, the Left had expressed "serious apprehensions" about the deal being negotiated with the US. It has asked the government to make public all the proposals of nuclear co-opera-

tion as well as the separation plans submitted to the US. It also came out in support of the Department of Atomic Energy's opposition to putting the faster breeder reactor in the civilian list, a demand reportedly made by the US to take talks forward.

While it would be preemptive to suggest that China's apparent change of stance would alter the manner in which the Left views the issue, however Chinese endorsement of Indo-US ties will surely get the Left thinking. "We would like to see India develop better relations with the US, just as we are working for better relations with America," the Ambassador today said. On Beijing's reaction to the deal he said: "Every government has the right to develop its energy. Given that India is a rising country, in the developing world, we fully understand your energy needs."

India and the US are engaged in frantic diplomatic efforts to overcome the differences ahead of Bush's visit to India between March 1 and 3. The implementation of the agreement is key for India to initiate efforts with other members of the Nuclear Suppliers Group (NSG) to obtain nuclear technology.

2005

Washington's ever-shifting goalpost

Brahma Chellaney

WITH THE United States anxious to hold on to a nuclear deal that is beginning to slip out of its control, there is an air of exasperation among its friends, reflected in mounting attacks on the Indian nuclear establishment. The deal has become critical to U.S. interests in India, promising multiple benefits — leverage in nuclear deterrent and foreign policy fields and billions of dollars in arms contracts and reactor sales. Because the deal at every point can move forward only on U.S. benevolence, even after it comes into effect, it is designed to ensure that India stays indefinitely close to America. The most forceful pitch for the deal has been made by U.S. Ambassador David Mulford, who has described it as “an absolutely fantastic opportunity for India ... historic in every sense of that word ... [and the] most important diplomatic initiative of the last 50 years.” Mr. Mulford contends the deal is an answer to India’s “long-term energy problems,” although high-priced imported reactors dependent on imported fuel make little economic or strategic sense.

Indian protagonists of the deal, echoing largely the same arguments, underscore Secretary of State Condoleezza Rice’s advice that India face up to and “make some difficult choices.” Yet the national debate on the deal is no ordinary one. Never before has the Indian atomic establishment been the target of a scripted campaign waged through the media. Such systematic attacks raise questions whether the Government is discharging its responsibility in an open, free system, or allowing disinformation to obfuscate key issues and constrict its manoeuvring room. More broadly, the high-pitched campaign seeks to paint India and its nuclear scientists as obstructionists by hiding the way the U.S. has methodically moved one goalpost after another since signing the nuclear deal with India in July 2005. Indeed, by not speaking up on Washington’s negation of the core principles enshrined in that accord, New Delhi has allowed itself to be put on the defensive.

It is not any second thoughts on India’s part but a real problem posed by America’s ever-shifting goalpost that threatens the deal. The U.S. has been using the negotiations to broaden

With the U.S. moving the nuclear goalpost, the breeder programme is only the first of a series of nuclear energy disputes with India to hit the public eye.

India’s obligations and make it answerable to Washington. It has also roped in foreign policy matters like Iran. In sum, India is being asked to unequivocally accept the U.S. as its guardian angel. To some extent, the Manmohan Singh Government is responsible for bringing itself under pressure by rushing into a U.S.-drafted deal, without grasping all the nuances and implications. Whenever India has hurriedly entered into an agreement with another state, without close scrutiny, it has proven to be a blunder. Instead of simply agreeing to put its civil facilities under international inspections, New Delhi rashly accepted the more ominous, U.S.-prescribed obligation to first carry out a full civil-military segregation of its nuclear programme and then open its civil facilities to outside inspectors. By agreeing to a unique obligation that no other nuclear power has formally accepted, India undercut its position. The deal, however, has started to come loose largely because of America’s penchant for employing negotiations to ruthlessly underpin its interests by dictating terms.

When Prime Minister Manmohan Singh makes his promised statement in Parliament on the rising national concerns over the deal, he should take up Washington’s shifting of the goalpost. He needs to directly address the core concerns and not shelter behind empty assurances or his new jingle, “enlightened national interest.” Enlightened national interest is as instructive as General Pervez Musharraf’s “enlightened moderation.” The country can be enlightened only through a straight government response to issues that go far beyond the fast-breeder programme.

Consider the following: Nothing better illustrates Washington’s ever-shifting goalpost than its repudiation of the deal’s central plank — that India would “assume the same responsibilities and practices and ac-

quire the same benefits and advantages as other leading countries with advanced nuclear technology, such as the United States.” It now insists that India cannot be allowed to pursue the same “practices” or enjoy the same “benefits” as the other nuclear powers.

U.S. Undersecretary of State Robert G. Joseph has testified that a “voluntary offer” safeguards agreement of the kind the U.S. has with the International Atomic Energy Agency will not be acceptable from India. The five established nuclear powers, under voluntary accords, offer nuclear materials and facilities for IAEA inspections in name only. The IAEA, in return, carries out token inspections or, often, no inspections “to conserve resources.” Out of 915 nuclear facilities the IAEA inspects worldwide, only 11 are in these nuclear weapons states. Mr. Joseph and other U.S. officials have also stipulated another condition not applicable to such states: IAEA inspections on Indian facilities “must be applied in perpetuity.”

Can India countenance this? On July 29, the Prime Minister assured Parliament that “predicated on our obtaining the same benefits and advantages as other nuclear powers is the understanding that we shall undertake the same responsibilities and obligations as such countries, including the United States. Concomitantly, we expect the same rights and benefits.” The Foreign Secretary is on record as saying that India will assume the same duties and rights as the other nuclear powers, “no more and no less.” The PMO, in fact, asserted on its website that, “nuclear weapons states, including the U.S., have the right to shift facilities from civilian category to military, and there is no reason why this should not apply to India.” But the U.S. has made it loud and clear that India will not get equal rights and benefits.

The current focus on the breeder programme has obscured a more critical issue: when India

negotiates facility-specific safeguards agreements and an Additional Protocol with the IAEA, the U.S. will insist on legally binding obligations for New Delhi that the other nuclear weapons states have not accepted. India will not be permitted to make the sweeping national security exemptions and exclusions that the other nuclear powers have built into their Additional Protocol with the IAEA. Furthermore, the role of IAEA inspectors in India will be neither limited nor token in nature. Rather they will have the same lack of restrictions that they enjoy in non-nuclear states.

Secondly, while the deal merely states that India will begin “identifying and separating civilian and military nuclear facilities and programmes in a phased manner,” Washington has added specific conditionality — that such a separation “plan” be “credible,” “transparent,” and “defensible.” Put simply, the U.S. has set itself as the judge to whom India has to report.

Contrast the U.S. conditionality with the Prime Minister’s July 2005 assurance to Parliament that such identification and separation would be a “phased action ... based solely on our own duly calibrated national decisions ... taken at appropriate points in time.” How does Dr. Singh’s use of plural nouns (“decisions” and “points” in time) jibe with Washington’s strident demand that India satisfy it with a separation “plan” at this point?

The U.S. demands a watertight separation plan in India that it can monitor everlastingly. But it conceals the fact that the other nuclear powers have not done the same, because in a majority of such cases there is not even the pretence of civil-military segregation. In fact, America produces tritium for its nuclear weapons in the civilian reactors of the Tennessee Valley Authority and conducts commercially marketable research in its weapons labs, a right it seeks to deny India. In fact, by berating his host country for failing to meet the U.S. “test of credibility,” Mr. Mulford mocked the Prime Minister’s commitment to Parliament that “it will be an autonomous Indian decision as to what is ‘civilian’ and what is ‘military’. Nobody outside will tell us what is ‘civilian’ and what is ‘military’.” Mr. Mulford insists that India open the “great majority” of its facilities to IAEA inspections.

Thirdly, India agreed “reciprocally” to its part of the bargain. But no sooner had the deal been signed than the U.S. moved the goalpost, with Undersecretary of State Nicholas Burns declaring that the accord “will have to be implemented by the Indian government and then we will have to seek these changes from the Congress...” The State Department amplified by saying “these are preconditions for us...”

By sending the Foreign Secretary to Washington in December 2005 with a separation plan for U.S. approval, Prime Minister Singh unfortunately did not keep his word to Parliament that “Indian actions will be contingent at every stage on actions taken by the other side.” A day after the plan was presented in Washington, National Security Adviser M.K. Narayanan said it included the names of facilities and the sequence in which they would be opened to outside inspections, even as he held out the option of further “adjustments” in the plan. How was the presentation of the plan — an action not mandated by the deal — reciprocal to any step by the other side? Until now, the U.S. has not presented any plan of action to its Congress or to the Nuclear Suppliers’ Group (NSG).

Fourthly, the moving of the goalpost shows the U.S. will accept India at most as a second class nuclear power. Is the Government willing to proceed with a deal in which the other party openly insists on India accepting unequal terms? The current spotlight on the breeder programme only shrouds more fundamental issues from public view.

The deal, clearly, is more important for the U.S. than it is for India. While no implementation accord can possibly be signed during the Bush visit, the U.S. side would like at the least a statement on continuing “progress.” What the Prime Minister needs to do is spell out in Parliament that forward movement demands a definite return to the principles embodied in the deal, including parity and reciprocity. For a start, India should ask for the plan of action the U.S. intends to present to its Congress and the NSG.

CARTOONSCAPE



People urged to join protests against President Bush's visit

Special Correspondent

NEW DELHI: With the U.S. President George W. Bush's visit just a fortnight away, efforts are on to mobilise protests against the tour. Of the view that the people of India are "irreconcilably opposed" to his "project of re-colonisation," academics, artists and activists on Monday urged all sections of people to join the protests.

An appeal, through a statement issued under the banner of the Safdar Hashmi Memorial Trust (Sahmat), said: "Mr. Bush must not be allowed to get away

with his project of re-colonisation.

He must be told that the people of India are irreconcilably opposed to this project."

'Sinister process'

After Iraq, the U.S. "is now eyeing Iran, another oil-rich country with a proud anti-imperialist tradition, as the next target for aggression and is about to start the first stage in that sinister process, the imposition of sanctions."

The statement detailed the U.S. policies to pursue its goal of re-colonisation.

"The U.S. is now eyeing Iran, another oil-rich country with a proud anti-imperialist tradition, as the next target for aggression"

Chief among them are, capturing raw material sources, particularly oil and gas; overthrowing third world governments committed to anti-imperialist nationalism;

and opening up economies the world over to the depredations of globalised finance and unhindered exploitation by multinational corporations.

"Imposing its diktat over independent countries on the pretext of promoting human rights, democracy and counter-terrorism, the U.S. constitutes today the gravest threat to peace and freedom in the world. It has provided the staunchest support to the oppression of the Palestinian people by the Zionist State. In its keenness to control the rich oil resources of Iraq, it has

devastated that hapless country, first through sanctions, then through a blatant and totally indefensible war of aggression and now through the promotion of internal strife that could well lead to its trifurcation," the statement said.

The signatories to the statement include Mahashweta Devi, Kamleshwar and Githa Hariharan (all authors), filmmaker Saeed Mirza, actor Nandita Das, academics Shireen Ratanagar, Badri Raina and Zoya Hasan, and activist Teesta Setelvad.

Americans and anti-Americanism

Harish Khare

TWO WEEKS ago Uma Bharti decided to visit *The Hindu* office in New Delhi. With characteristic bluntness the Bharatiya Janata Party "rebel" stated the purpose of her visit: she wanted an assurance that *The Hindu* would not succumb to "pressure" from the BJP establishment to black her out of its news pages. The assurance was readily and sincerely given. This business out of the way, I asked for her take on one of the mysteries of our times: L.K. Advani's praise for Mohammed Ali Jinnah as a secular icon. Why?

With characteristic bluntness, Ms. Bharti explained: because Advaniji wants to become Prime Minister of India with American blessings. Elaborate, if you please. Because Manmohan Singh had refused the American plan of India making concessions to General Pervez Musharraf on converting the Line of Control

STATECRAFT

into the international boundary, the Americans were looking for a pliable man and Advaniji was amenable to Washington's script. When it was pointed out to her that the next Lok Sabha election was more than three years away and that was really too long a time in politics, an untroubled Ms. Bharati argued that the American game plan was to so organise things as to make Advaniji Prime Minister in this Lok Sabha.

Fantasy of an over-active imagination? Or, just a reflection of a belief across the entire political class that somehow the Americans have the leverage and the Machiavellian capacity to re-arrange the chessboard of Indian politics? Or, a subconscious assumption that the other person would knowingly and willingly sell out the country just to enjoy an uncertain power stint

Whatever may or may not be the Americans' motives, they have revived a four-decade tradition of anti-Americanism in Indian politics.

with the help of this or that foreign power?

This is not a new phenomenon. Throughout the 1970s Indira Gandhi's critics suspected her of doing the Soviets' bidding in order to stay in power, while she accused her detractors of being in league with the Central Intelligence Agency (CIA), out to destabilise her regime just as they had in Chile and in other parts of the world. In the 1980s, Rajiv Gandhi's supporters regularly accused V.P. Singh of being guided by foreign agencies, mostly American. In the 1990s, the P.V. Narasimha Rao-Manmohan Singh team was charged with carrying out an agenda spelt out by outsiders. Later, it was Atal Bihari Vajpayee's turn to answer his own *swadeshi* sangh parivar that reviled him for selling out to the *videshi*. The foreigner has a habit of complicating our internal equations.

The foreigner — the American, to be precise — is once again at the core of the current turmoil in national politics. And the Americans have done enough to lend some credence to Uma Bharti's conspiracy theory. The Americans have made the mistake of positing a linkage between the Bush-Manmohan Singh Civilian Nuclear Agreement of 2005 and Iran's nuclear profile. If it was not enough that assorted Americans in Washington have butted in with their presumptuousness, the gentleman at Roosevelt House has come up with his own undiplomatic formulations and communications, each calculated to bring together all the latent anti-American forces and impulses. The American Ambassador has succeeded brilliantly. Almost everybody — from the extreme Left to the Third Front wallahs to the extreme Right — has reason to ques-

tion the Manmohan Singh Government's stance towards the United States. Whatever may or may not be the Americans' motives, they have revived a four-decade tradition of anti-Americanism. Though the various voices have different calculations, a gang-up cannot be ruled out entirely given the desperation among certain unsavoury political entrepreneurs.

Much of the responsibility for this unhelpful situation rests with the Congress leadership and the Prime Minister and his aides. Of all the political forces in this country, the Congress Party has the least to apologise for when it comes to standing up to the Americans. In fact, the only time India defied the United States was when a Congress Prime Minister refused to be cowed down by the Nixon-Kissinger gunboat diplomacy of the *USS Enterprise* kind. Yet the Congress has allowed other voices to walk away with the nationalistic pretensions.

Part of the problem is the lack of appreciation among the Prime Minister and his aides of the need to speak out. Ever since Natwar Singh had to pack his bags at the Ministry of External Affairs, two eminently competent professionals — National Security Adviser M.K. Narayanan and Foreign Secretary Shyam Saran — have shared the burden of conducting foreign policy. While the latter is a trained diplomat and hence not expected to pitch in in the task of selling at home a particular policy, the former being a lifelong (and distinguished) policeman remains unconvinced of the need to sell his foreign policy wares in the democratic marketplace. The Prime Minister, who holds charge of foreign policy; has not devised the format of going public with the

arguments and rationales behind this or that policy initiative. He is content to do the institutionally correct thing: making a statement in Parliament, and waiting for a debate when the Lok Sabha meets for its Budget Session later this week.

Meanwhile the detractors, dissenters, and doubters have almost run away with the nuclear deal/Iran vote debate. In the public discourse over these two developments, most of the arguments — for or against — have been provided by "strategic" experts, who in turn are being internet-worked by not-so-uninterested friends across Chanakyapuri.

It is no exaggeration to suggest that except for three or four among our public officials (Brajesh Mishra, Jaswant Singh, Pranab Mukherjee, and Manmohan Singh), the political class is vastly under-equipped to debate the technical and technological issues involved in Iran's nuclear ambitions or in the Indo-U.S. nuclear agreement. Most of the political leaders have native wisdom and some education as well as varying and rich life experience of sorting out masses' deprivations and dreams. They are used to trafficking in slogans and shibboleths, rather than debating nuanced policy issues. In matters like nuclear issues, each leader and each party has to necessarily depend upon this or that strategic expert and his or her biases. The Manmohan Singh regime has failed to see this crucial gap; it could use all its resources and advantages to calibrate the debate on these two politically dicey issues. Instead, it has (mostly) opted for silence.

Unfamiliar situation

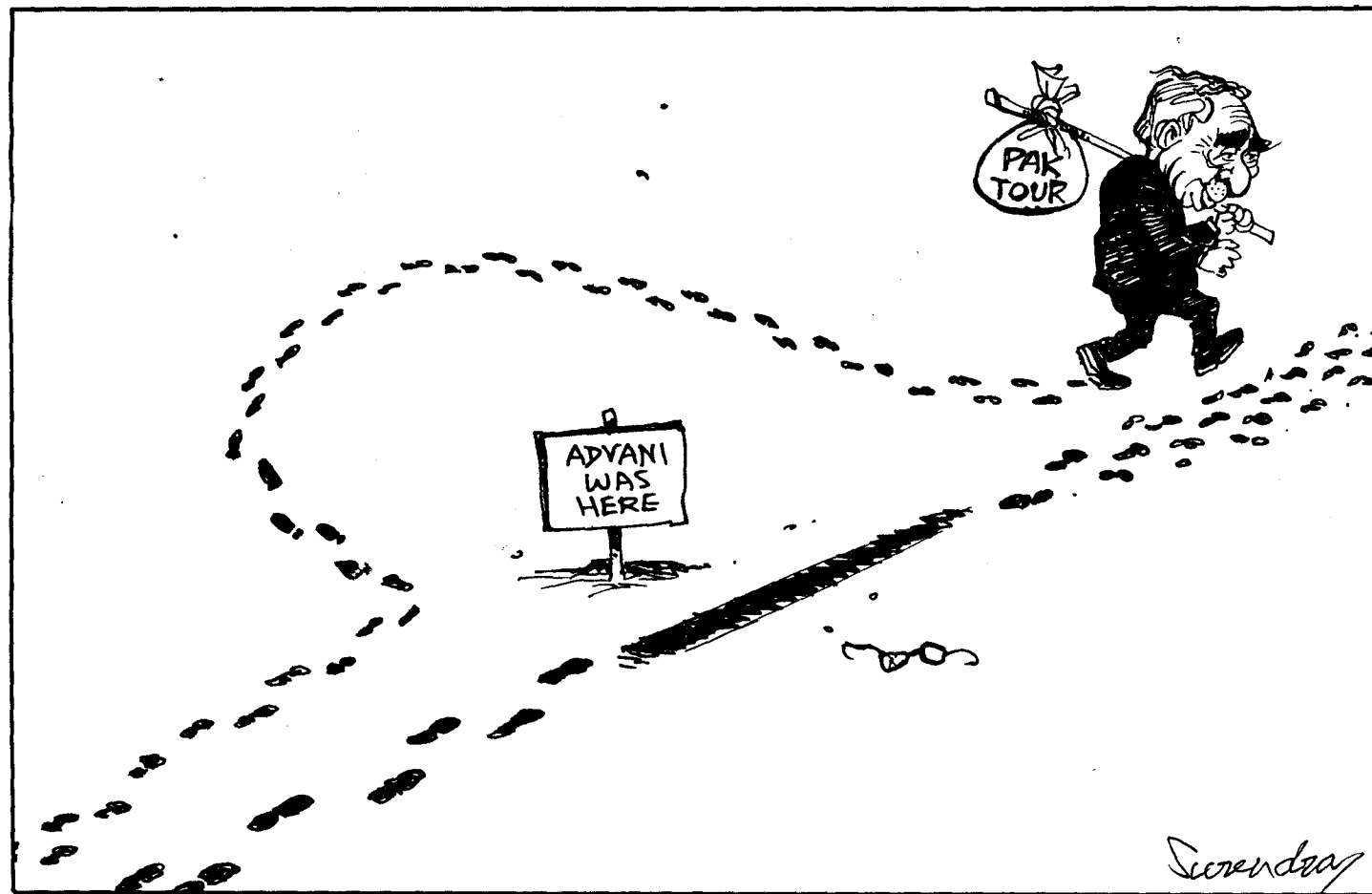
Now, the political system finds itself faced with a new and unfamiliar situation. All these years atomic energy was the plaything of a super-elite. Once in a while a political leader — Indira Gandhi in 1974 and Atal Bihari Vajpayee in 1998 — would seek to garner popular advantage out of a bomb; but most of the time, how and what to do in the nuclear field was left to the Atomic Energy Commission. Suddenly the political leaders and parties are keen to have their say. Complex issues such as "energy security" or "nuclear technology" mean very little to the vast majority of citizens.

How can the concept of energy security be relevant or explained to the Muslim underclasses in Sitapur or to the Dalits in Mirzapur when their *mohallas* and *bastis* do not get electricity for four hours in a day?

For expedient political reasons various political leaders are tapping emotions, from conventional anti Americanism to Muslim sensitivities, in the process even conceding an unhealthy veto power to the minorities over foreign policy. The Telugu Desam Party chief, Chandrababu Naidu, reportedly said: "India has a large Muslim population and we cannot allow their sentiments to be hurt on such issues." This is a dangerous reasoning and in the long run bound to beget reaction of the majoritarian kind. For good measure, Mr. Naidu also accuses the Government of succumbing to American pressure. This from a leader who till the other day showcased himself as the CEO of Andhra Pradesh for every visiting American delegation, from Bill Gates to Bill Clinton.

In the weeks to come, the maturity and wisdom of leadership in all political parties will be tested. The rest of the world will watch how we are able to sort out complex policy issues within the framework of a democratic polity as also whether the ruling establishment is able to use domestic dissent to pursue optimal policies with demonstrable competence, finesse, and fancy diplomatic foot-work. At home, we will need to ensure that unsavoury characters do not use anti-Americanism to pursue their limited agendas.

CARTOONSCAPE



Cloud over Indo-US nuke deal

Problem on both sides

NILOVA Roy Chaudhury
New Delhi, February 11



WITH THE visit of US President George W. Bush barely weeks away, the Indo-US nuclear agreement looks all set to be a non-starter, given the strident opposition to the deal and political compulsions in both countries.

It is not only political opposition in India to what is being perceived by sections of the atomic energy establishment as a "compromise" of India's "credible nuclear deterrent" and "strategic capabilities," sources said the Bush administration was equally hard pressed.

The US's "shifting goal posts" comes from an increasing perception in Washington that arranging a "one-time waiver" for India will not sell given the Bush administration's domestic compulsions.

Both governments knew that they were entering "uncharted territories" when they signed onto this deal. The full measure of the "difficulties" started becoming apparent once the joint working group began discussions of detail.

While the JWG, headed by US under secretary Nicholas Burns and Indian foreign secretary Shyam Saran, is likely to meet before the Bush visit, sources said the Global Nuclear Energy Partnership (GNEP) was "offered as a sop" to India because the main civil nuclear deal "might not work out."

Republicans facing re-election in Congressional elections due in November are wary of the Bush administration's "extremely negative" image in the country, and are "genuinely concerned," sources said, about losing their majority in both Congress and the Senate.

The Bush administration, under severe pressure on its Iraq policy, phone-tapping, the Patriot Act, corruption and even the war on terrorism, appears "unlikely" to be able to "rein in" the 'non-proliferation ayatollahs' who are critical of making an exception for India.

According to them, a waiver for India means a major dilution of the non-proliferation network, already under pressure from Iran's nuclear ambitions and the "largely unchecked" A.Q. Khan "nuclear Wal-Mart."

US ambassador David C Mulford's recent interview to PTI, warning of "devastating" consequences if India did not vote for the resolution to refer Iran's nuclear issue to the UN Security at the IAEA was "clear indication" of how difficult it was proving for the administration to push the deal forward. According to sources Mulford was given the 'go-ahead' from Washington before he said what he did.

Atomic energy chief Anil Kakodkar's recent interview, in which he spoke of the US's "shifting goal posts," was, according to sources, a response to mounting criticism within the US nuclear establishment to the Indo-US civil nuclear deal.

It was also intended to ensure that the message got across that the Indian government would "not go beyond or expand on the letter of the text" of the July 18 agreement, sources said.

IN A NUTSHELL

Bone of contention
Separation of civilian and military nuclear facilities

Troubleshooting
Fresh round of talks next week, visit by US under secretary Nicholas Burns likely

বুধের বিরুদ্ধে মার্কিন দূতের চিঠি! কড়া জবাব প্রকাশ কারাতের

আজকের প্রতিবেদন: মুখ্যমন্ত্রী বুদ্ধদেব ভট্টাচার্য বিরুদ্ধে চিঠি লিখলেন মার্কিন রাষ্ট্রদূত ডেভিড মালফোর্ড। কড়া জবাব দিল সি পি এম পলিটব্যুরো। মুখ্যমন্ত্রী বুদ্ধদেব কিছুদিন আগে ব্রিগেড প্যারেড গ্রাউন্ডে প্রেসিডেন্ট বুদ্ধদেবের সঙ্গ গঠিত খুলে বাহিনীর নায়ক হলেন। এরই প্রতিবাদে চিঠি লেখেন ডেভিড মালফোর্ড। এতে সি পি এম প্রচণ্ড ক্ষুব্ধ। তারা চায় ডেভিড মালফোর্ডকে দেশ থেকে প্রত্যাহার করে নেওয়া হোক। সি পি এম সাধারণ সম্পাদক প্রকাশ কারাত শুক্রবার বলেছেন, মার্কিন রাষ্ট্রদূত কোনওভাবেই মুখ্যমন্ত্রীকে সরাসরি চিঠি লিখতে পারেন না। তিনি চিঠিতে যা-ই লিখুন না কেন, রাষ্ট্রদূত হিসেবে এ ধরনের কাজ তিনি করতে পারেন না। রাষ্ট্রদূত হিসেবে তিনি জানেনই না কী ধরনের ব্যবহার করা উচিত। সেজন্য মুখ্যমন্ত্রী এর বিরুদ্ধে কড়া প্রতিবাদ জানিয়ে প্রধানমন্ত্রীকে চিঠি লিখছেন। প্রেসিডেন্ট বুশের আগামী মাসে এদেশে আসার কথা। ডেভিড মালফোর্ড বলেছেন, আমেরিকা পশ্চিমবঙ্গে বিনিয়োগে আগ্রহী। কিন্তু এ ধরনের মন্তব্য সেই বিনিয়োগে বাধা সৃষ্টি করতে পারে। প্রকৃতপক্ষে দু'দিনের পলিটব্যুরো বৈঠকের পর শুক্রবার সাংবাদিকদের একটি প্রেস বিবৃতি দেওয়া



নভেম্বরে পেরা করা হয়। সি পি এমের এ-সাবে তীব্র আপত্তি আছে। বিমানবন্দর নিয়ে ২২,০০০ কর্মী ধর্মঘটে নামেন। অনেক ইস্যুতে সরকারকে লিখিত নোট দেওয়া হয়েছে। এই সরকার কী কী করেছে তা খতিয়ে দেখে সি পি এম পরবর্তী পদক্ষেপ নেবে। এ বিষয়ে প্রকাশ কারাতকে জিজ্ঞেস করা হয় যে, আর এস পি সাংসদ অবনী রায় কেন্দ্রীয় সরকারের ওপর থেকে সমর্থন প্রত্যাহারের কথা বলেন। প্রকাশ কারাত সঙ্গে সঙ্গে জবাব দেন, না, তিনি এরকম কিছু বলেননি। তিনি ইস্যুভিত্তিক সমর্থনের কথা বলেন। ইরান ইস্যুতে পলিটব্যুরো চায় ভারত যেন ইরানের সঙ্গে বন্ধুত্বপূর্ণ সম্পর্ক রাখে। পলিটব্যুরো মনে করে, আন্তর্জাতিক পরমাণু শক্তি আ্যোসিয়েশনে ভারত যেন কোনও পক্ষে না থাকে। মনমোহন সিং সাধারণ মানুষের মত শুনতে চাইছেন না, সেজন্য বাম দলগুলি সংসদে এ নিয়ে আলোচনার দাবি করবে। ৬ মার্চ তাদের বোর্ড বৈঠকের আগেই সংসদে আলোচনার দাবি তুলবে সি পি এম। এদিন প্রকাশ কারাত সি পি এম রাজ্য দপ্তরে সাংবাদিক সম্মেলনে বলেন, বৈঠকের প্রথম দিন পাঁচ রাজ্যের ভোটার কৌশল নিয়ে কথা হল। রাজ্য কমিটি থেকে পাওয়া রিপোর্ট নিয়ে আলোচনা হল। পশ্চিমবঙ্গ, কেরলে সি

কড়া জবাব প্রকাশ কারাতের

১ পাতার পর
পক্ষেই হাটতে চলেছে ভারতের কমিউনিস্ট পার্টি (মার্কসবাদী-লেনিনবাদী) লিবারেশন। এই দাবিতে জনমত সংগঠিত করতে নেওয়া হবে বিভিন্ন কর্মসূচিও। কিন্তু একই সঙ্গে আসন্ন বিধানসভা নির্বাচনে রাজ্য সরকারের বিরোধিতা করতে চলেছে এরা। শুক্রবার রাজ্য কমিটির কার্যালয়ে সি পি আই (এম এল)-এর রাজ্য সম্পাদক কান্তিক পাল জানানেন এ কথা। এবারের বিধানসভা নির্বাচনে ৪০ থেকে ৪৫টি আসনে প্রতিদ্বন্দ্বিতা করবে দলটি। এস ইউ সি আই ও কানু সান্যাল গোষ্ঠীর সঙ্গে নির্বাচনী সমঝোতার প্রয়াসও চালানো হবে। রাজ্য সরকারের সমালোচনা করে কান্তিক পাল বলেন, রাজ্য সরকার পশ্চিমবঙ্গের মানুষের সঙ্গে চরম বিশ্বাসঘাতকতা করেছে। উন্নয়নের যে কর্মসূচি নেওয়া হচ্ছে তা পূঁজিপতিদের স্বার্থপন্থী। এর ফলে বিপদের মুখে পড়তে চলেছে সাধারণ মানুষ।

সাংবাদিক বৈঠকে প্রকাশ কারাত। শুক্রবার আলিমুদ্দিনে। ছবি: অশোক চন্দ্র

10.11.2008

India, US look set to ink N-deal

By Indrani Bagchi/TNN

New Delhi: It now appears that the nuke deal may indeed be on the table when President George Bush comes calling on March 2. A civil nuclear agreement with the US has started looking entirely possible with New Delhi indicating with confidence that it can keep its prototype fast breeder reactor (PFBR) programme out of the civilian list of nuclear facilities to be presented to the Americans without unduly affecting the deal.

Despite the raging debate and apprehensions, the government is firm on keeping the PFBR out of IAEA safeguards. Significantly, the US may not be hostile to the idea. The first sign that prospects had brightened for the deal came after US undersecretary for energy David Garman, in his talks with foreign secretary Shyam Saran on Wednesday, invited Indian participation in the recently unveiled global nuclear energy partnership (GNEP) "that focuses on commercial recycling technologies designed to expand nuclear power production while addressing environmental concerns with regard to waste management and minimising proliferation risks".

The GNEP is premised on the development of fast breeder reactors. Therefore, sources say, it is not in the US' interest to curb India's breeder reactor programme.

Keeping the FBR outside will cushion the government from op-



India confident of keeping fast breeder reactor (FBR) out of civilian N-facilities

US may play ball as it has begun to realise India's PFBR programme is nascent

Positive indication comes from India's invitation to US' global nuclear energy club

position cries of a "sell-out". The resistance to the deal has acquired a new intensity since DAE chairman Anil Kakodkar accused the US of arm-twisting India into opening its FBR programme to IAEA's intrusive inspections. Although now it appears that Kakodkar was prompted more by suspicions about US motives than what has actually transpired so far in the negotiations, his remarks provided fodder to both the Left parties as well as the NDA government's national security adviser, Brajesh Mishra.

THE GAMES OF INDIA

The complicated world of nuclear deals

R. Ramachandran

INDIA'S VOTE on February 4 at the International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA) in favour of referring Iran to the U.N. Security Council (UNSC), ensured that, on this count at least, the Indo-U.S. nuclear deal of July 18 would not die in the American Congress as Ambassador David Mulford had warned a fortnight ago. The other critical issue, that of separation of civil and military nuclear facilities, however, remains. The deal could die if India's offer is not to the U.S.' satisfaction.

The U.S. wants the Indian fast breeder programme, even in its present R&D phase comprising one 40 MWth Fast Breeder Test Reactor (FBTR) and the upcoming 500 MWe Prototype Fast Breeder Reactor (PFBR) at Kalpakkam, to be brought under IAEA safeguards. Atomic Energy Commission (AEC) chairman Anil Kakodkar has expressed his inability to do so (see *The Hindu*, August 12, 2005). He had argued that safeguards can be considered when the indigenously developed breeder technology matures and becomes commercial, but not in its present R&D phase. And since the Indo-U.S. agreement unambiguously states that India would bring in safeguards in a "phased" manner and "voluntarily," the Department of Atomic Energy (DAE) perceives the U.S.' bid to tell India what it should put under safeguards as amounting to shifting the goalposts.

Since the demand is for separating civil from military, irrespective of whether they are R&D facilities or commercial, Dr. Kakodkar's argument, on the face of it, does not seem convincing. What DAE appears to be really apprehensive about — as Dr. Kakodkar has more recently articulated — are the intangibles that come with safeguards and international inspection, including protecting its proprietary breeder technology. The need to interrupt the R&D process and seek approval of the IAEA whenever there is a change in design or process or material could be a cause for concern, as it requires sending details of the proposals to Vienna. According to DAE insiders, the experience with IAEA safeguards in India and elsewhere does not inspire confidence that sensitive information would be protected.

Safeguards are only one of the fallouts from the Indo-U.S. nuclear deal. Several issues need to be considered before tying down the DAE's hands.

There is also a general sentiment of distrust of the U.S. — legitimate or not — in the DAE that runs down the rank and file of its scientific cadre. There could be historical reasons for this arising from the Tarapur experience but, while the Indo-U.S. nuclear deal is supposed to change all that, Washington has done little in the past to change that sentiment. For instance, the U.S. has shown no interest in resolving the Tarapur spent fuel issue. Even spare parts for the Tarapur plants were denied. These could have been done without any new deal.

Denial of a large number of nuclear related dual-use goods — controlled for non-proliferation reasons — to the DAE continues. Export of these does not violate any U.S. law or the guidelines of the Nuclear Suppliers Group (NSG). Of the 115 such goods, only 12 — the so-called NP2 items — were decontrolled in August 2005 for export to India as part of the Next Steps in Strategic Partnership (NSSP). In fact, this is the only tangible achievement of the NSSP so far. However, it is the mobile telephone companies that stand to gain more by the decontrol than the DAE as they can now import high-end oscilloscopes without licence.

The extent of exasperation evident in media commentaries, on the failure to conclude the deal before President George W. Bush arrives in March, is inexplicable. If there are crucial issues to be sorted out, let it take its normal course. If the DAE has genuine concerns, why force it? Why cling on to such a deal if it makes the DAE, and its scientists, unhappy?

It is also unfortunate that sections of the media have gone into DAE bashing mode, with intemperate language and derisive remarks about DAE scientists, on the one hand, and disinformation about India's nuclear programme, on the other. It is strange that, even as the negotiations are still under way, they should overwhelmingly argue from the American

standpoint rather than Indian. Notwithstanding the fact that the DAE could be faulted on many counts in its functioning or meeting targets, it must be remembered that if the U.S. is willing to talk to India today on near equal terms, it is because of what the scientists have achieved in the nuclear field. So deriding DAE's scientists in this context will not get us anywhere.

One issue that the media never appear tired of hammering is the DAE's failure to meet the target set in the mid-1980s of 10,000 MWe by the year 2000. The DAE achieved only 2720 MWe. The criticisms ignore the basic fact that the chief reason for the programme falling way behind the target was the grossly inadequate funding during the 1990s as against what was required (and even as compared to what the Plan had approved) for setting up new plants. Though R&D funding for the DAE has been substantive over the years, capital investment (at Rs.4 crore/MWe then) for new plants was never forthcoming. This was very comprehensively brought out by the Comptroller and Auditor General of India (CAG) in 2000. Indeed, it is this lack of government commitment to nuclear power that led to the closure of two operational mines at Jaduguda leading in part to the current shortage of natural uranium, the fuel for the indigenous pressurised heavy water reactors (PHWRs). The government in power during the period was that of P. V. Narsimha Rao and the Finance Minister was none other than Manmohan Singh. Is there a newfound commitment to nuclear power that is driving the Indo-U.S. nuclear deal or are there other considerations?

An argument often trotted out by the Government is that the deal will help India meet its short-term energy requirements. As will be presently argued, the deal has little to do with this. It seems to be driven largely by the hypothetical geo-political and other intangible gains, including being recognised as a nuclear weapons

state, that the Government expects getting admitted into the U.S. tent. But in the wake of the nuclear deal, India has only been forced to compromise on several issues including those related to country's energy interests. Therefore, if the proposed separation fails to meet the U.S. benchmark and the deal has to die, let it die.

From the perspective of the DAE, the Indo-U.S. nuclear deal would be useful only to tide over the present temporary phase of shortage of nuclear fuel — natural uranium for the PHWRs and enriched uranium for the twin boiling water reactors (BWRs) at Tarapur. It is true that the PHWRs are being operated at 10-15 per cent lower capacity factors than their normal 80 per cent keeping in view the fuel availability for the 13 operational PHWRs as well as the five upcoming ones till the new mines in Jharkhand begin to produce the yellow cake. In any case, according to Dr. Kakodkar, the economic feasibility of a nuclear plant is based on 68.5 per cent capacity factor.

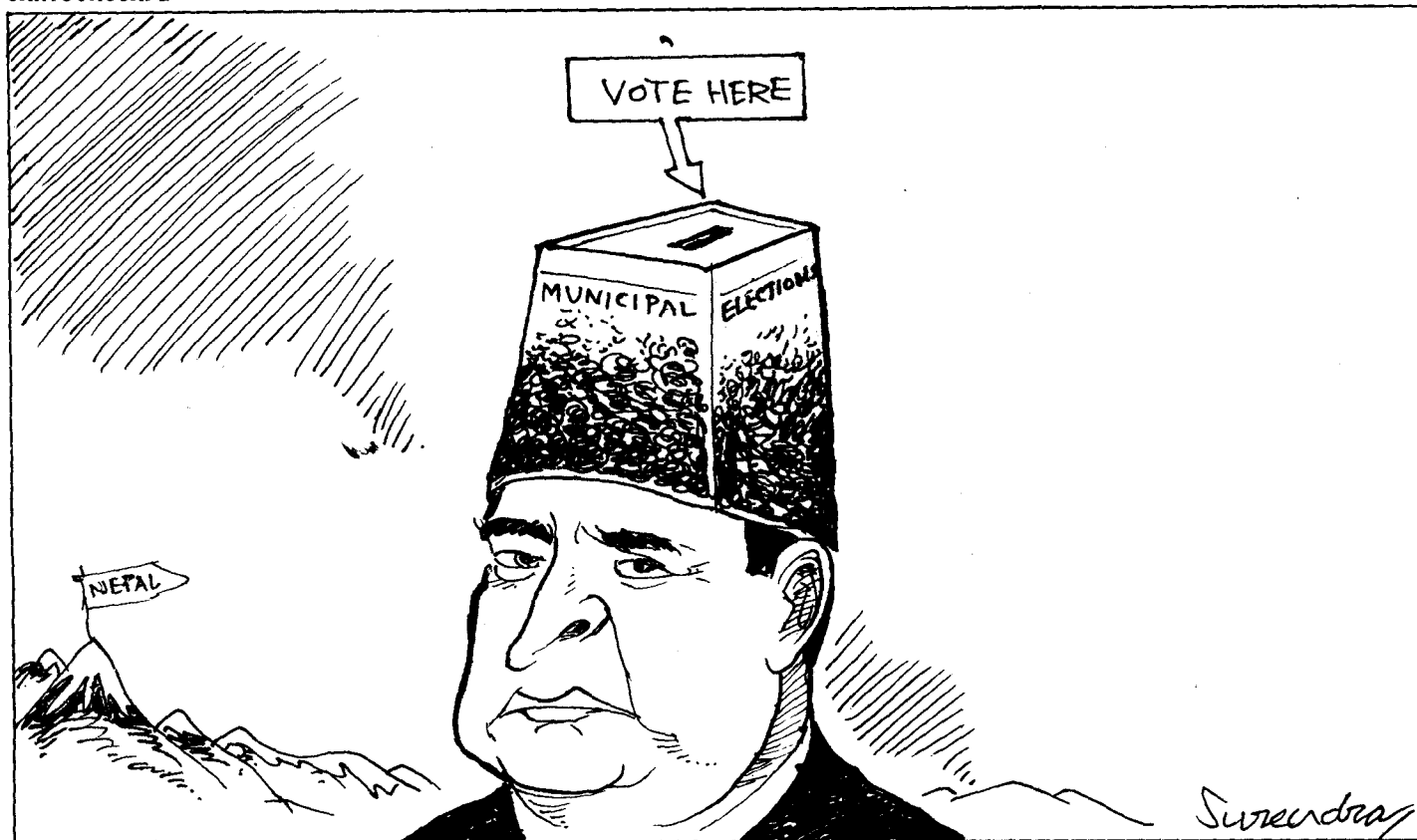
Unacceptable price

The DAE has maintained that if imported reactors come as a spin-off, they will only supplement the three-stage programme already in place and not supplant it. But such an additionality would be welcome only if the attendant costs, tangible and intangible, are not high. In the DAE's perception, the price that is being demanded is unacceptable. At present, the generation capacity of a little over 3000 MWe accounts for just about 3 per cent of the total power generation capacity in the country. So a slight shortfall could not become such a critical issue for the national energy scene. By 2020, the PHWR capacity alone would be about 10,000 MWe, sufficient for getting into a self-sustaining breeder phase. According to DAE estimates, with a chain of breeders in place, a target of about 100,000 MWe should be achievable by 2040. This scenario is based entirely on domestic resources of uranium, its low grade ore notwithstanding (a fact that was known even when the programme began). Of course, potential new sites have been located and if exploited, the PHWR programme can continue alongside.

If the deal materialises, the minimum time any imported plant can take off in is 10-12 years: two year for site survey, three years for design approval by the Atomic Energy Regulatory Board (AERB), and 5-7 years for construction. Judging from the time taken by the Koodankulam plant since 1998 (when it was renegotiated), it could be longer. Only in the case of the recently identified coastal site in Ratnagiri, would the survey time be avoided. And if India opts for Russian VVERs, the AERB clearance time could come down as they have already gone through a design review. So the deal with the U.S. cannot really serve the country's short-term energy requirements. And the self-sustaining breeder phase, which should get under way by 2025, if not by 2020, because of the mismatch between mining and the planned projects, promises to ensure long-term energy security.

Interestingly, no one is talking of the finances that would be required to install these imported plants at \$1.5 million to \$2 million per MWe. If there is this money available, over and above what is required for the DAE's own roadmap, it would make more sense to let the DAE put up more PHWRs at lower costs (of Rs.6 crore/MWe) as well as speed up mining operations in new sites and also upgrade the centrifuge facility to meet Tarapur's requirement of enriched uranium. Most importantly, do we have the necessary nuclear-skilled human resource that a rapid expansion with imported systems would require when the DAE itself is facing a shortage of expertise for the existing facilities? All these issues need careful consideration before tying down the DAE's hands. Safeguards are only one, though significant, component of fallouts from the Indo-U.S. nuclear deal.

CARTOONSCAPE



Left bristles at US ambassador's FDI sermon

327 20 Envoy lectures on reform & retail

OUR BUREAU

New Delhi, Jan. 29: Apart from handing India an ultimatum on the Iran vote, US ambassador David Mulford had lectured Delhi also on economic matters in his recent controversial interview.

Fresh excerpts made available today show the official brushing aside the Left's objections to reforms in retail, banking and insurance, arguing the benefits would go to the "regular working people" of the country.

The ambassador favoured FDI in retail, changes in the FDI cap in the insurance sector and removal of hurdles to foreign banks.

"Why does (the) Left oppose it (FDI in retail)? Are they opposed to farmers and business guys and others getting credit developing their livelihoods and their businesses.... The beneficiaries are the regular working people of India," Mulford said.

He said the experience of other countries showed that large retailers and small shopkeepers could co-exist. He cited small shops being run by Indians in the US in the shadow of big shopping centres.

"They make sales by virtue of the giant number of consumers that are pulled in to that area but who don't want to go into a big department store to



David Mulford

buy one item. So, they stop at a 7/11 (small store) and buy a six-pack of beer, toothbrush.... It is not a zero sum game," he said.

He said the recent decision to open up the sector to single-brand retailers was a "first step" and a "breakthrough".

"The ultimate objective should be to have a completely level-playing field... US retailers should be able to come into India and do the full range of retail business."

CPM general secretary Prakash Karat reacted by saying: "The US ambassador represents Wal-Mart and the interests of big US corporate groups. But we represent the interests of our people.

"Earlier, Mulford had the arrogance to accuse Indian Parliament of breach of trust when they refused to open up the insurance sector. The US ambassador does not decide our policies; the Indian Parliament does."

Mulford sets multiple tests

OUR SPECIAL CORRESPONDENT

New Delhi, Jan. 29: The Iran vote was only one of several conditions David Mulford had set India if it wanted to get its nuclear energy deal with Washington through the US Congress.

In his controversial interview to a news agency last week, the US ambassador had tied the July 2005 pact's success also to India's willingness to put most of its nuclear reactors into the civilian programme.

The plan to separate its civil and nuclear reactors that India had presented to the US earlier this month has failed to meet the "test" of credibility and "minimum standard" that the US legislature requires, the envoy had said.

"I mean, it doesn't do any good to agree to a plan that... isn't credible and then try to sell it to 35 countries and a hundred senators and 400-plus members of the House. You know, you have got to be sure that you can get the votes to win that," Mulford was quoted as saying by the agency, which today released fresh excerpts from the interview.

The first reports of the interview had Mulford asserting that the Indo-US nuclear deal would "die" unless Delhi voted against Iran at the coming International Atomic Energy Agency board meeting.

The ultimatum prompted a summons by Indian foreign secretary Shyam Saran, who told Mulford that linking the nuclear deal with the Iran controversy was inappropriate.

To defuse the tension, the US state department then snubbed the ambassador, disowning his stand and dubbing it his personal view.

But experts here feel there could be a method to Mulford's madness. Though the US has distanced itself from his remarks, Delhi has become suspicious of Washington's designs.

There is a growing feeling that through its ambassador, America has floated a trial balloon to judge the mood in Delhi's political circles. Such tactics are part of international diplomacy, an official said.

Mulford had said that even if India did not fully implement the separation plan, it must give a commitment. "On the basis of that commitment from India, we would seek to change the US law and we would seek to gain the consensus of the Nuclear Suppliers Group in the world (to get the deal through the US Congress)."

If a legislation to alter US law were to be placed in the US Congress before President Bush's visit here, "we have to come to agreement relatively quickly because it takes time to prepare and place legislation before the Congress. It takes several weeks", he said.

THE TELEGRAPH

30 JAN 2006

ভারত-মার্কিন চুক্তির সমস্যা মিটছে না সহজে, ইঙ্গিত বার্নসের

ওয়াশিংটন, ২৮ জানুয়ারি: ভারতের প্রজাতন্ত্র দিবস উপলক্ষে একটি জমায়েতে এসেও মালফোর্ডের টিগ্লনি নিয়ে সাংবাদিকদের কাছে সাফাই গেয়ে গেলেন মার্কিন বিদেশ দফতরের রাজনীতি-বিষয়ক আন্ডার সেক্রেটারি নিকোলাস বার্নস। ভারতীয় রাষ্ট্রদূত রণেন সেনের এই জমায়েতে বার্নস দাবি করেন, ডেভিড মালফোর্ড বা তিনি সম্প্রতি ইরান প্রসঙ্গে ভারতকে যা বলেছেন, তা বাড়িয়ে বাড়িয়ে প্রচার করা হচ্ছে।

বার্নসের সাফাই, আমেরিকা যে ভারতকে যথেষ্ট সমীহ করে, সন্দেহ নেই। তাই ইরান প্রসঙ্গে ভোটাভুটি হলে ভারতের সিদ্ধান্তকে প্রভাবিত করার কোনও ইচ্ছাও আমেরিকার নেই। তবে এর সঙ্গে বার্নস জুড়ে দিতে ভোলেননি, ভারত নিশ্চয় নিজের ভালমন্দ বিবেচনা করেই ভোট দেবে।

বস্তুত মার্কিন বিদেশসচিব কন্ডোলিজা রাইসও ক'দিন আগে ভারতকে কিছু কঠিন সিদ্ধান্ত নিতে হতে পারে বলে ইঙ্গিত দিয়েছিলেন। কিন্তু কী সেই কঠিন সিদ্ধান্ত, তা রাইস ভাঙতে চাননি। 'গোপনীয়তার স্বার্থে' মুখ খুলতে চাইছেন না বার্নসও। তবে

পরমাণু চুক্তি রূপায়ণের বিষয়ে বেশ কিছু বড় সমস্যা এখনও থেকে গিয়েছে বলেই তিনি ইঙ্গিত দিয়েছেন। এমনকী মাঠে মার্কিন প্রেসিডেন্ট জর্জ ডব্লিউ বুশের ভারত সফরের আগে সে সব মেটার সম্ভাবনাও কম বলে জানিয়েছেন বার্নস।

পাশাপাশি পরমাণু চুক্তি নিয়ে অনেক দূর এগনো হয়েছে, এবং আমেরিকা এই চুক্তি রূপায়ণ করবেই এমন আশাও দিয়ে এসেছেন বার্নস।

নয়াদিল্লি থেকে সংবাদসংস্থার খবর, বামপন্থীরা ইরান নিয়ে ভোটাভুটিতে অংশ না নেওয়ার পরামর্শ দিয়ে প্রধানমন্ত্রী মনমোহন সিংহের কাছে চিঠি পাঠিয়ে দিয়েছেন। আন্তর্জাতিক পরমাণু শক্তি সংস্থায় ইরান প্রসঙ্গে সর্বসম্মত সিদ্ধান্ত না হলে সরকারের ভোটদানে অংশ নেওয়া উচিত নয় বলেই বামদেদের মত। পরমাণু চুক্তি রূপায়ণের ব্যাপারে আমেরিকা যে ভাবে শর্ত চাপানোর কৌশল নিচ্ছে, তাতে তাঁরা অত্যন্ত ক্ষুব্ধ। বিশেষত মালফোর্ডের মন্তব্যের পরে সরকারের পক্ষেও আর মধ্যমপন্থা নেওয়া সম্ভব নয় বলে বিশেষজ্ঞদের ধারণা। —পি টি আই

ANADABAZAR PATRIKA

29 JAN 2006

US washes hands of Mulford's fatwa

OUR BUREAU

Washington/ New Delhi, Jan. 27: The state department has unequivocally distanced itself from US ambassador David Mulford's fatwa to India to vote with the Americans for referring Iran to the UN Security Council or let the Indo-US nuclear deal of July 18, 2005 die on Capitol Hill.

Faced with a volley of questions on the controversy created by the ambassador's interview to PTI, state department spokesman Sean McCormack said India's vote on Iran at the International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA) and the nuclear deal were separate issues.

"We deal with the Indian government on these two issues as separate issues," McCormack clarified. "Certainly, they come up in the same conversations, I'll tell you that... Ultimately, how India votes on this matter is going to be a decision for the Indian government."

McCormack said Mulford "was giving his personal assessment of how Congress might react to such an action by India" in voting against any initiative by the US and the three European countries, which have been negotiating with Iran, to haul up Tehran before the Security Council.

"We have got three sepa-

rate branches of government here. We are in the executive branch. And Congress and Senators and Representatives will have views of their own. And I think what ambassador Mulford was doing was expressing an opinion about how the Congress might react, given that outcome."

Question: So what is the executive branch's view on that as far as the understanding?

Spokesman: Our view is that we would certainly encourage and we would hope that India would vote for a referral to the Security Council.

Asked what would happen if India did not vote with the

Americans, the spokesman insisted that the Bush administration will continue to work with the Indian government on implementation of the nuclear agreement.

Going a step further, he said: "We would certainly hope that we would be in a position to — before or as part of the President's visit to India — make progress on this issue.

Part of making progress on this issue is for the Indian government to present a workable plan that would separate the Indian civilian and military nuclear programmes. We are still talking about that issue with the Indian government and I expect that those discus-

sions will continue."

The brush with controversy is not the first for Mulford, who has built quite a reputation for putting his foot in the mouth. In the past, he has

courted trouble by suggesting that Naxalite violence in Andhra Pradesh would affect foreign investments, offering help directly to the Assam chief minister to probe blasts in the state and calling for a rise in the foreign direct investment cap in insurance.

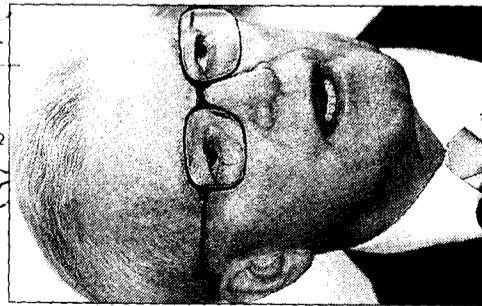
The ambassador, who was summoned by foreign secretary Shyam Saran in the middle of Republic Day ceremonies yesterday and told that linking the nuclear deal with

the Iran issue was inappropriate, evaded the public eye today. He was scheduled to appear at the World Book Fair in Delhi, but skipped the event.

Iran stand

With the IAEA meeting only a week away, Delhi said it favours working out a mutually acceptable solution by avoiding confrontation. It said Iran's right to develop peaceful uses of nuclear energy, consistent with international ob-

ligations, should be respected. Finally, Iran's willingness to work with the IAEA to remove any outstanding issues about its nuclear programmes should be welcomed.



Mulford: Isolated

Coming to terms with nuclear regime change

Reviled by some in India as the "ayatollahs of non-proliferation," Michael Krepon of the Stimson Center and Leonard Spector of the Centre for Nonproliferation Studies are leading the charge against the Indo-U.S. nuclear agreement in Washington. In an interview during a recent visit to Delhi, they spoke about the reasons for their opposition. Excerpts:

Siddharth Varadarajan

Condoleezza Rice has said offering nuclear commerce to India is the price Washington must pay to get the Indians to cut off energy links with Iran. Are you comfortable with this kind of trade-off?

Michael Krepon: It's odd for the Bush administration to suggest it's OK for India to import Iranian natural gas by tanker but not by pipeline. It's also odd to support a peace process in South Asia but to oppose infrastructure that can help with the peace process. That said, Iran does pose a serious challenge to the nuclear non-proliferation regime that is detrimental to U.S. and Indian national security interests. So we have to find ways to square this circle.

Leonard Spector: There is a timing issue too. Availability of gas from Iran will certainly come faster from either means — pipelines or ships — than even the signing of a nuclear agreement because the whole nuclear area is so difficult from the commercial standpoint, even assuming everything else was taken care of.

But in the medium to long term, from the carbon emissions point of view and because of hydrocarbon depletion, many argue nuclear power has to play a bigger role in India's energy mix. Why do you oppose nuclear cooperation with India in the form the Bush administration is proposing?

Leonard Spector: The problem is that in order to facilitate nuclear trade with India, it is necessary to change non-proliferation rules which have applied since 1978. I think the U.S. and virtually the whole spectrum of Congress and even critics like us would be prepared to do that if the deal were structured the right way and if the impact were both to improve relations with India and its energy situation but not to do damage to the non-proliferation regime.

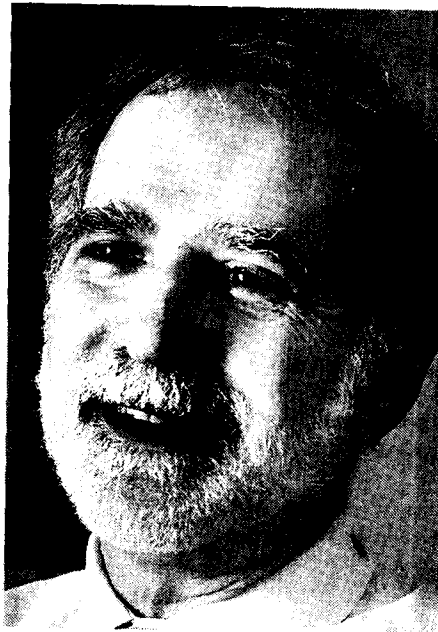
But what kind of specific damage do you anticipate? Talk me through the worst-case proliferation scenarios you foresee if this deal goes through tomorrow.

Michael Krepon: The non-proliferation system is based on principles, standards, and norms. And the Bush administration's initiative with India seeks a country-specific exception to these. If the Nuclear Suppliers Group (NSG) does not agree to a country-specific exception, then the rule of consensus, which is part of the system when it comes to nuclear commerce, would be broken. An exception would be made for India, other nuclear suppliers would make exceptions for their customers, China for Pakistan, Russia for Iran and then someone else for someone else. The regime will be negatively affected.

I don't see how. Domestic U.S. legislation since 1978 prohibits nuclear trade with India but until the NSG adopted additional rules in 1992 banning trade with countries unwilling to accept full-scope IAEA safeguards, nuclear commerce with India was perfectly legal and consistent with the Non Proliferation Treaty (NPT). Today, it is only this rule that has to be changed, not the NPT, and I don't see how it damages the non-proliferation system.

Leonard Spector: I think your fundamental point is correct. This isn't the NPT but the supplier rule...

And that rule itself is a case of the wrong medicine being prescribed for the right disease. The disease was the IAEA's failure to find Iraq's secret nuclear programme before 1991, a country which had full-scope



THE CRITICS: Leonard Spector and Michael Krepon.

— PHOTOS BY SPECIAL ARRANGEMENT

safeguards. Banning commerce with India, Pakistan, and Israel was to bark up the wrong tree.

Leonard Spector: I think the reason for the NSG rule was not the Iraq situation *per se*, because for many years the U.S. was trying to get this rule adopted. What you have had is a core framework, the NPT, and there have been add-ons built around it. So do you want to abandon that principle starkly, or in a way that does as little damage as possible to the regime that you've established. And I think there may be elements in the nuclear deal that may be modified, embellished or enhanced in a way that even if the rule is changed, the overall regime is strengthened.

Michael Krepon: I would propose a principled approach rather than a country-specific exception. So if the rules of nuclear commerce are to be changed to accommodate the new world in which we live, they ought to be changed in accordance with principles that apply to everyone. So, for example, one principle would be that if a country is a responsible international actor with respect to non-proliferation and on the question of terrorism, the rules might be changed. But we change those rules on the basis of the principle, not on the basis of a country exception.

But the 'rule' you are proposing — if it is done that way — India would get through. Pakistan probably wouldn't but India would. So where is the hitch? Why are you against India accessing nuclear commerce?

Michael Krepon: That would be one principle, but it's not the only one. I would propose crafting a set of principles that do not do violence to a system that 185 countries now adhere to. It makes no sense to wreck a system 185 countries belong to in order to favour one country that does not. I think this issue can be addressed in a satisfactory way so that the international community and the U.S. Congress are not faced with a stark either-or choice — either you favour India, or you do serious damage to the non-proliferation system. That's not a good choice.

I want to look at your scenario of country A helping country B. Let us set aside the case of Iran for the moment, because legally speaking, there's nothing the U.S. and India are proposing to do that would alter the rules Iran as a member of NPT and Russia as

a member of NSG have to adhere to in their commerce...

Michael Krepon: No, we are thinking of changing those rules because of the India deal.

But Iran is a member of the NPT, it has accepted full-scope safeguards and Russia can sell anything it likes. So to come back to my question, how would the world be more insecure if safeguarded fuel and facilities were to come to a firewalled civilian programme in India and even Pakistan from America and China. How would this make the world more unstable?

Leonard Spector: India undertook activities which the U.S. condemned many years ago, i.e. to pursue nuclear weapons and keep the option open and move it along. I think, in principle, we are still unhappy this happened and that India continues to have that programme. But we want to find a way to move forward. One way is to set a very high barrier which says we will reconsider cases like India if a country has a decade of disciplined export behaviour, if a country has demonstrated its readiness to apply international export control regimes, if the country is pro-active in supporting global non-proliferation norms, something like that. India would meet this test because its behaviour has been exemplary for a long period of time. Pakistan would not, but it might do so at a later stage. The point is to say we are prepared to make an exception but only because India has done so much in terms of helping non-proliferation externally.

So if this condition is embodied in the exception the U.S. wants to introduce in its domestic law and at the NSG, would you then support the deal with India?

Michael Krepon: It depends. There is another condition. If one engages in nuclear commerce with country X, then the facilities and equipment should be safeguarded for the duration, not temporarily, so that X doesn't move those into a military programme later. So I think a second condition — and the Bush administration itself has articulated this — is that if commercial activities are entered into, those facilities should be safeguarded in perpetuity.

Robert Joseph introduced that on November 2 but there is a grey area about whether in-

perpetuity safeguards are being proposed only for imported fuel and facilities — I don't think India would object — or to indigenous facilities as well.

Michael Krepon: I think this is the subject of negotiations.

Leonard Spector: There are no domestically produced facilities. These are Canadian designs. This technology was actually imported from Canada, the first reactors were built with Canadian assistance in Rajasthan, and India in effect reverse-engineered these facilities.

For certain reactors, perhaps, but with very major modifications. These cannot be called Canadian.

Leonard Spector: Well, I don't know to what extent, so I would say that safeguards in perpetuity should apply to these as well. But I appreciate the point you are making implicitly... I wouldn't agree but you might consider splitting the difference: perhaps we can look forward, not back at material that was produced.

So you would be comfortable with an agreement which says India is not obliged to make a past accounting for all plutonium ever produced in these to-be-safeguarded facilities?

Leonard Spector: That could be the basis for discussion, but there would be one reactor where I would have a problem, CIRUS, which was provided with a peaceful use pledge. So I would also articulate, as one of the principles, that a country should not be in violation of a nuclear trade agreement as I feel India is in respect to CIRUS. But these are elements to work with, they need to be addressed.

I understand from my meetings with Indian interlocutors that India will not go beyond the four corners of the July agreement to accept, for example, a ban on fissile material production. But if one looks within the four corners itself, there is room for non-proliferation rules to be adopted.

Such as?

Leonard Spector: If you brought CIRUS out of the military and into the civilian list, you would constrain a certain amount of fissile production right there. And it wouldn't be a ban or cut-off but a partial restriction.

What about the breeder, which is a domestically designed civilian facility?

Leonard Spector: The more that goes into civilian the better. There could be some trading — you could have a reactor, may be this one, where both sides agree that a decision can be made a little later. One exception, not a host of exceptions. But my impression is that the breeder is not suitable for military purposes, it's probably a reasonable option to put on the civilian side to try and build a package that looks attractive to Congress.

Both of you gentlemen are lovingly called 'ayatollahs of non-proliferation' by establishment-oriented commentators here.

Michael Krepon: That is a very objectionable term because these so-called ayatollahs, myself included, wish to improve U.S.-India relations, we wish to do so without demolishing the non-proliferation system.

Name-calling really does not do service to the efforts of those who are trying to balance these two objectives. Name-calling is something that schoolboys do, it is not something that helps to find solutions.

U.S. tells India to back off Syria oil deal

India
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Aide memoire handed over

Siddharth Varadarajan

NEW DELHI: Taking strong exception to India's recent decision to buy a Syrian oilfield in partnership with China, the United States has asked the Manmohan Singh Government to "reconsider" its proposed investment in Syria.

A demarche to this effect was made earlier this month and an *aide memoire* outlining Washington's objections handed over to the Ministry of External Affairs by senior diplomats in New Delhi.

In December last, ONGC Videsh Ltd (OVL) and the China National Petroleum Corporation (CNPC) teamed up to purchase a 37 per cent stake in the al-Furat oil and gas fields from Petro-Canada for \$573 million. The mature fields, which are jointly run by Shell, have proven reserves of 300 million barrels of oil equivalent. Indian officials consider the Syrian venture to be of enormous strategic significance for the country, both for the value of the underlying assets and because of the role it will play in cementing the China-India partnership for acquiring oil and gas equities in third countries.

The U.S. *aide memoire*, a copy of which is in the possession of *The Hindu*, says: "The United States strongly opposes such investments in Syrian resources."

Pointing out that the U.N. Security Council unanimously passed two resolutions, UNSCR 1636 and 1644, "mandating complete cooperation by the government of Syria with the U.N.'s investigation into the assassination of former Lebanese Prime Minister Rafiq Hariri," the U.S. note says: "Now is not the time to send mixed messages to the

SARG [Syrian Arab Republic Government] either through investment deals or through any form of economic or political reward to the Damascus regime."

"Reconsider decision"

The U.S. is concerned that "the Syrian regime will seek to exploit news of any FDI at the moment as evidence that it is not isolated and therefore not comply with its UNSCR obligations." It adds bluntly: "We ask that you reconsider this decision to extend such a significant amount of investment in Syria".

It is not known whether the U.S. embassy in Beijing presented a similar note to the Chinese Government. Indian officials say the U.S. has been told the Syrian investment will proceed as planned.

Coming close on the heels of the Bush administration's opposition to gas imports from Iran, the latest demand is likely to intensify fears that Washington is leveraging its offer of civil nuclear cooperation to curb India's attempts to diversify its sources of energy.

"We are being told whom to do business with and where we should stay away from," a senior Indian official told *The Hindu*. "Today, it is Iran and Syria, tomorrow it may be Sudan or Myanmar or Venezuela or someplace else. At stake is not just our energy security but also our right to take decisions by ourselves."

The *aide memoire* says the U.S. encourages India "to send the Syrian Government a tough message that the international community — in which your nation plays a crucial and growing role — expects Syria to improve its behaviour before other states can resume normal dealings with it."

THE HINDU

28 JAN 2006

FRIDAY, JANUARY 27, 2006

Reject the American fatwa

In publicly warning India, on Republic Day eve, to vote against Iran or else, United States Ambassador David Mulford has outrageously crossed the line of diplomatic propriety, inviting condemnation from political players ranging from the Left to Atal Bihari Vajpayee. But he has also done India a service by letting the cat out of the bag, if it was ever fully in. In his interview to the Press Trust of India, he has spotlighted the pitiful terms of the bargain struck by the Manmohan Singh Government with Washington under the signboard of civilian nuclear cooperation. Who can, after Mr. Mulford's egregious forthcomingness, doubt that the bargain requires India to behave like a marionette — forced at every turn of major international events to go against its own national instincts and interests for fear of offending Washington? Today it is a *fatwa* on Iran, tomorrow it will be a *diktat* on India's plan to separate its civil and military nuclear facilities, which Mr. Mulford has found to fall short of "minimum standards." He did issue a late night "clarification" on Wednesday claiming his remarks on India and Iran had been "taken out of context." But the verbatim transcript of the relevant portion of the interview circulated by the U.S. embassy (see text on the op-ed page) makes matters worse. The U.S. Ambassador is on record that "we have passed on [an observation]...that if they decide that they don't want to vote for this, our view is that the effect on members of Congress with regard to this civil nuclear initiative will be devastating...the initiative will die in the Congress."

If this is not a threat passed on to India to abandon any idea of voting independently on the Iran nuclear issue, what is? Last week, the Manmohan Singh Government came out fists flailing against Iran for an indirect statement against India on the subject of American nuclear double standards. By contrast, the initial official reaction to Mr. Mulford's incendiary remarks was to play down the issue by rejecting "categorically... any attempt to link [India's position on the Iran issue at the International Atomic Energy Agency] to the proposed Indo-U.S. agreement on civil nuclear energy cooperation." In September, the United Progressive Alliance Government allowed itself to be intimidated into voting against Iran at the meeting of the Board of Governors of the IAEA. During the run-up to the crucial Board meeting of February 2, it is refusing to come clean on how it will vote on a resolution that could take the dispute to the United Nations Security Council. It is also unwilling to take the Indian people into confidence on the nuclear separation plan presented to the U.S. in December. If the Manmohan Singh Government lets the country down a second time by dishonouring its stated stand that the Iran issue must be resolved within the confines of the IAEA, it will be responsible for a political crisis it might not be able to survive.

THE HINDU

2006

Inappropriate comments,^{india-us} Mulford told^{HO 1} ^{1/27/05}

U.S. envoy expresses regret

Amit Baruah

NEW DELHI: Foreign Secretary Shyam Saran "called in" American Ambassador David Mulford on Thursday afternoon and told the envoy that his comments to the Press Trust of India on Wednesday were "inappropriate and not conducive to building a strong partnership between our two independent democracies."

Earlier in the day, former Prime Minister Atal Bihari Vajpayee said Mr. Mulford's comments were "outrageous" and violated all diplomatic norms. Taking the unusual step of issuing a formal statement, Mr. Vajpayee said the External Affairs Ministry's reaction on Wednesday was "routine."

"It hardly expresses the indignation of the people of the sovereign and independent Republic of India," the former Prime Minister stressed in a two-paragraph statement.

An External Affairs Ministry release said the Foreign Secretary "informed" the U.S. Ambassador that India's vote on any possible resolution on the Iran nuclear issue at the International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA) would be determined by New Delhi's own judgment of the merits of the case.

"The Ambassador expressed his sincere regrets, saying that his remarks had been taken out of context. It was not at all his intention to question India's right to take decisions on various issues on the basis of its own national interests. The Foreign

Secretary and the Ambassador agreed that the two sides would work closely together for a successful visit by President [George W.] Bush to India," the statement said.

"Concerning the proposed India-U.S. civil nuclear energy cooperation agreement, the Foreign Secretary reaffirmed India's stand that both countries needed to work in the spirit of the July 18, 2005 joint statement and in strict conformity with the reciprocal commitments contained therein," it added.

Mr. Mulford's comments resonated in Washington, too, with the State Department spokesman saying that Mr. Mulford expressed his "personal opinions" about what the potential political outcome might be if India chose not to vote against Iran.

Mr. Vajpayee said it was "worse" that Mr. Mulford's remarks were made in a "personal" capacity. "Ambassadors are not required to make personal remarks denigrating their host country," the former Prime Minister said.

Separately, the former External Affairs Minister, Yashwant Sinha, told this correspondent that India had voted the first time against Iran in September 2005 at the IAEA under American pressure. Remarks made by U.S. Congressman Tom Lantos were "evidence" of this pressure, Mr. Sinha maintained.

Editorial on Page 10

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India rejects linking Iran vote to nuclear deal with U.S.

If India doesn't vote against Iran, deal will die: Mulford

Diplomatic Correspondent

NEW DELHI: India on Wednesday categorically rejected any attempt to link New Delhi's vote on Iran at the International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA) with the future of its civil nuclear deal with the United States.

The comment came hours after the Press Trust of India quoted U.S. Ambassador to India David Mulford as saying that if India did not vote against Iran, the fallout on the July 18, 2005 deal would be "devastating" and the initiative would "die."

"We have seen the remarks attributed to the U.S. Ambassador in India concerning a possible vote on the Iran nuclear issue at the IAEA. The position that India will take on this issue at the IAEA will be based on India's own independent judgement," the External Affairs Ministry spokesman said.

"With regard to negotiations on the proposed [civil nuclear] agreement, India will proceed on the basis of its own national interests, as acknowledged by the

U.S. Ambassador himself," the spokesman maintained.

Rejecting the civil-military separation plan presented by India to the U.S. in December, Mr. Mulford told PTI that it "did not meet the test" and fell short of the "minimum standards required" for the U.S. Congress to approve the deal.

Putting pressure on India to vote according to American requirements, the Ambassador said an "observation" had also been conveyed to New Delhi that if it decided not to vote for the resolution, "the effect on members of the U.S. Congress with regard to (Indo-U.S.) civil nuclear initiative will be devastating."

"I think the Congress will simply stop considering the matter. I think the initiative will die in the Congress not because the administration would want it..." Mr. Mulford said. This, he remarked, should be part of the calculations "India will have to keep in mind" while taking a decision on the Iran issue at the IAEA governing board meeting on February 2-3.

Referring to the nuclear deal, the envoy stated, "It is not just the United States. The NSG (Nuclear Suppliers' Group), which says, wait a minute, if we are going to make this very special one-time change, unique change for India in the nuclear field and they don't stand up on this issue [Iran], why should we make the change," he said.

According to Mr. Mulford, India had to elaborate its civil-military separation plan and commit to it, but did not have to fully implement the plan. "The credibility test has to be pretty high to get that kind of support (in the Congress and NSG)," Mr. Mulford said stressing that if India's plan did not put the "great majority" of the nuclear reactors in its civilian programme, the U.S. Congress would wonder whether New Delhi had a "different agenda."

"It doesn't do good to agree to a plan that isn't credible and try to sell it to 35 countries and 100 Senators and 400 plus members of the House (of Representatives). You got to be sure to get the votes," he said.

THE HINDU

26 JAN 2006

India should vote against Iran or nuke deal will die: Mulford

PRESS TRUST OF INDIA
NEW DELHI, JANUARY 25

JUST a week ahead of the International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA) meeting on Iran, the US today made it clear that if India did not vote against Tehran's nuclear programme, the fallout on the Indo-US nuclear deal in the Congress would be "devastating" and the initiative will "die".

The US also feels that the ideas put forth by New Delhi on separation of its civilian and military nuclear establishments had not met the "test of credibility" and the negotiations process need to be completed before President George W Bush's visit here in March failing which the "historic opportunity" would be "much less practical".

"We have made it known to them (India) that we would very much like India's support because India has arrived on the world stage and is a very important player in the world,"



US Ambassador to India David C Mulford said.

"If it (India) opposes Iran having nuclear weapons, we think they should record it in the vote," he said.

Mulford's observations come amid intensified efforts by the US and the EU-3 (Britain, France and Germany) to seek world support for the resolution to be placed at February 2 of the IAEA meeting for referring Iran's nuclear issue to the UN Security Council for action.

The US envoy said an "observation" had also been conveyed to New Delhi that if India decides not to vote

We have made it known to them (India) that we would very much like India's support because

India has arrived on the world stage and is a very very important player in the world

for the resolution, "the effect on members of the US Congress with regard to (Indo-US) civil nuclear initiative will be devastating.

"I think the Congress will simply stop considering the matter. I think the initiative will die in the Congress not because the administration would want it...," Mulford said, days after Foreign Secretary Shyam Saran held talks with US Under Secretary of State (Political Affairs) Nicholas Burns on the subject. Mulford said that this should be part of the calculations "India will have to keep in mind" while taking a decision on the Iran issue at the IAEA meet.

India had voted in favour of the IAEA resolution against Iran in September based on its judgement of its own national interests, he said.

"Again, India will have to make a decision on what its national interests are. That is an issue firmly in the hands of the Indian government to decide," he said.

Besides the US Congress, Mulford said that India's decision would also have to satisfy the 35-country Nuclear Suppliers Group (NSG) in which a consensus has to be evolved with regard to the Indo-US civilian nuclear cooperation deal, reached between Prime Minister Manmohan Singh and the US President in Washington on July 18 last year.

Under the deal, to be ratified by the US Congress, Washington will lift sanctions on dual-use technology trade with India for which New Delhi will have to separate its civilian and military nuclear establishments.

ইরান নিয়ে পাশে না-দাঁড়ালে চুক্তি খারিজের মার্কিন হুমকি

নয়াদিল্লি, ২৫ জানুয়ারি: আন্তর্জাতিক পরমাণু শক্তি সংস্থায় ইরানের বিরুদ্ধে ভোট দাও। না-হলে পরমাণু চুক্তির কথা ভুলে যাও।

প্রায় এই ভাষাতেই নয়াদিল্লিকে হুঁশিয়ারি দিয়েছে ওয়াশিংটন। জর্জ বুশের সফরের ঠিক আগে এই ভাবেই ভারতের উপরে নতুন করে চাপ সৃষ্টি করেছে আমেরিকা। তবে রাতের দিকে মালফোর্ড অবশ্য তার সুর অনেকটাই পাল্টে ফেলে বলেন, ইরান নিয়ে তাঁর বক্তব্য সংবাদমাধ্যমে ভুল ভাবে উদ্ধৃত হয়েছে। কোন প্রেক্ষিতে তিনি আসলে কী বলতে চেয়েছেন, তা সঠিক ভাবে তুলে ধরা হয়নি।

এই পিছু হটা থেকে স্পষ্ট, হুঁশিয়ারির দিকটি প্রচ্ছন্ন রেখে এখনও 'বন্ধু'র মতোই মনমোহন সিংহদের বোঝাতে চাইছে বুশ প্রশাসন। মালফোর্ড সরাসরি একবারও বলেননি যে, চুক্তি খারিজ হয়ে যাবে। কিন্তু ইরান ভোটের প্রেক্ষিতে বিষয়টি নিয়ে মার্কিন কংগ্রেসের মনোভাব বদলে যাবে বলে পরিষ্কার জানিয়ে দিয়েছেন। মালফোর্ডের বক্তব্য ছিল, "ভারত যদি মনে করে ইরানের হাতে পরমাণু অস্ত্র থাকটা অনুচিত, তবে তারা সেটা ভোট দিয়ে বোঝাবে না কেন?"

ইরান নিয়ে যে প্রস্তাবটি নিয়ে এখন আন্তর্জাতিক মহলে সব থেকে হই চই, আই এ ই এ-তে সেটি এনেছে ইউরোপের তিন দেশ, ব্রিটেন, ফ্রান্স এবং জার্মানি। সমর্থন করেছে আমেরিকা। প্রথম দফায় ভারত প্রস্তাবের পক্ষেই ভোট দেয়। কিন্তু পরে দেশে রাজনৈতিক দায়বদ্ধতার কথা মাথায় রেখে দ্বিধায় পড়ে যায় মনমোহন প্রশাসন। তাদের সেই দ্বিধা প্রকট হয়ে যায় আন্তর্জাতিক ক্ষেত্রেও।

মনমোহনদের পিছিয়ে আসার মূলে ছিল বামপন্থীদের লাগাতার চাপ। আজ মালফোর্ড যে ভাবে প্রচ্ছন্ন হুঁশিয়ারি দিয়েছেন, তার পরে কেন্দ্রীয় সরকার সব দিক কী ভাবে সামলায়, সেটাই দেখার। তারা যে আসলে ভারতের বন্ধু, সেই কথা উল্লেখ করেই নতুন চাপ তৈরি করেছে আমেরিকা। সংবাদ সংস্থাকে দেওয়া সাক্ষাৎকারে মালফোর্ড আজ বলেছিলেন, "নয়াদিল্লিকে স্পষ্টই জানিয়েছি, ইরান নিয়ে তাদের সমর্থন চাই। কারণ, ভারত এখন আন্তর্জাতিক ক্ষেত্রে অত্যন্ত গুরুত্বপূর্ণ দেশ।"

তবে শুধু ইরান প্রসঙ্গে আমেরিকার পাশে দাঁড়ালেই হবে না, বুশ-মনমোহন পরমাণু চুক্তিকে বাস্তবের মুখ দেখানোর পথে আরও কয়েকটি বাধা অতিক্রম

করতে হবে ভারতকে। মালফোর্ড জানিয়েছেন, শুধু সামরিক-অসামরিক পরমাণু গবেষণা কেন্দ্রকে আলাদা করলেই হবে না। নিজেদের 'যথার্থতা' প্রমাণ করতে আরও বেশি কিছু করতে হবে ভারতকে। আর পুরো প্রক্রিয়াই শেষ করতে হবে বুশ ভারত সফরে আসার আগে। অন্যথায় তারা যে ঐতিহাসিক সুযোগ পেয়েছে, সেটাও হারাতে হতে পারে।

মার্কিন প্রশাসনের কয়েক জন কর্তব্যক্ষির সঙ্গে এর মধ্যে কথা হয়েছে ভারতীয় প্রশাসনের। তাঁদের এবং মার্কিন কংগ্রেসের মনোভাবকে ধরে নিয়েই এ সব মালফোর্ডের পর্যবেক্ষণ। তিনি বলেছেন, সব কথাই জানানো হয়েছে নয়াদিল্লিকে। এমনকী, ইরান নিয়ে আমেরিকার পক্ষে ভোট না-দিলে ভারতের অসামরিক পরমাণু কেন্দ্রের জন্য জ্বালানিলাভের চুক্তিও যে মার্কিন কংগ্রেস থেকে শূন্য হাতে ফিরবে, সেটাও বুঝিয়ে দেওয়া হয়েছে। মালফোর্ড বলেছেন, "আমার মনে হয়, বিষয়টি নিয়ে ভাবনাচিন্তাই বন্ধ করে দেবে মার্কিন কংগ্রেস।" তাঁর বক্তব্য, জাতীয় স্বার্থে এক বার ভোট দিয়েছে ভারত। আরও এক বার সে কথাই তাদের মাথায় রাখা উচিত। - পিটিআই

ANADABAZAR PATRIKA

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Atomic lethargy

The Indo-US nuke deal is a test: is a department bigger than the government?

THAT the Department of Atomic Energy (DAE) was unhappy about separating its civilian and military programmes was evident when Prime Minister Manmohan Singh and President George W. Bush signed the nuclear deal last July. Since then the DAE has found it difficult to come up, either quickly or credibly, with a separation plan that holds the key to ending India's anomalous status in the global nuclear order. The failure of the latest round of consultations between Foreign Secretary Shyam Saran and US Under Secretary of State Nicholas Burns last week has been blamed on DAE's reluctance to put its fast breeder programme on the civilian list.

Forget the Americans for a moment. Indian public has a right to know the nature of the breeder programme — is it civilian or military? The DAE apparently wants it both ways: a peaceful facility with future military options. It is this twisted logic, backed by decades of political self-deception, that has landed India in a nuclear mess. It neither has a successful civilian nuclear power programme nor a purposeful weapons programme. Sanctimonious rhetoric over the decades from the Indian political leadership that the nation's nuclear programme was entirely for peaceful purposes resulted in a mixed man-

date for the DAE and the loss of operational clarity. Separating civilian and military programmes and making them both efficient has been a long-neglected national need. After claiming the lion's share of the nation's R&D money for nearly six decades, the DAE today produces barely 3000 MW of power. On the strategic front, instead of building the necessary plutonium production reactors, the DAE has got into the bad habit of using its civilian programme for military needs.

Why is the DAE, once a shining example of scientific internationalism under its founder Homi Bhabha, now so opposed to external engagement? Sanctions against the DAE since the nuclear test of May 1974 have steadily forced it into the dark corner of scientific isolationism. Manmohan Singh, however, cannot let the DAE's fear of natural light undermine the historic nuclear accord with the US. The DAE's concerns about intellectual property relating to fast breeder reactors are not impossible to negotiate with the Bush administration and the International Atomic Energy Agency. The PM, however, must make it clear to the DAE that he would not allow individual prejudices of a particular department come in the way of pursuing the national interest. After all the government is more than the sum of its parts.

2 JAN 2006

INDIAN EXPRESS

INDO-US TIES | Bipartisan resolution introduced in US House of Representatives

Nuke deal a security threat for South Asia, say lawmakers

SRIDHAR KRISHNASWAMI

WASHINGTON, DECEMBER 21

COINCIDING with Foreign Secretary Shyam Saran's visit here for talks on the Indo-US civilian nuclear cooperation, two lawmakers have introduced a bipartisan resolution in the House of Representatives opposing the deal and claiming that it posed "grave security implications" for South Asia and the entire world.

"Current law prohibits the sale of nuclear technology to any country such as India which refuses to sign the Non Proliferation Treaty, refuses to allow full safeguards under the treaty and which develops nuclear weapons and detonates nuclear tests

in defiance of the treaty," Democrat Ed Markey, who has co-sponsored the resolution along with his Republican colleague Fred Upton, said in a statement.

The Bush administration's move to launch nuclear cooperation with India has "grave security implications for South Asia and the entire world," he claimed.

"Supplying nuclear fuel to countries that are not party to the nuclear

Non Proliferation Treaty (NPT) details the delicate balance that has been established between nuclear nations and limits our capacity to insist that other nations continue to follow this important Non Proliferation Policy," Markey said.

"We cannot break the nuclear rules established in the nuclear Non Proliferation Treaty and demand that everyone else play by them."

The resolution was introduced yesterday ahead of Saran's talks with his

American counterpart Nicholas Burns here during which the two sides are expected to spell out the steps taken by them on implementation of the civilian nuclear deal.

During the meeting between the visiting Foreign Secretary and Burns, Under-Secretary of State for Political Affairs, India is likely to specify its plans for segregating the civilian and military nuclear installations, believed to be in advanced stages, as is required under the July 18 joint statement issued after talks here between Prime Minister Manmohan Singh and US President George W Bush.

Asserting that India and the US have a common interest in reducing the dangers posed by nuclear

weapons, the resolution introduced by Markey and Upton argues that the current proposal between the two sides on full civilian nuclear cooperation poses far reaching and potentially adverse implications for nuclear non-proliferation objectives of the US and promises little in the long term to bring India closer to the strategic objectives of the US.

The resolution further stated its disapproval for any proposal for nu-



Nicholas Burns

US inducts 66 soldier citizens

► BAGHDAD: Sixty six soldiers from 30 countries became US citizens this week, at a ceremony held at a palace built by Saddam Hussein.

"You are truly the best that America has to offer," Lieutenant General John Vines told Sergeant Ambar Penelope Gonzalez from the Dominican Republic, Specialist Collins Umoh from Nigeria and their fellow servicemen and women. They were given a certificate, a US flag that had flown over the marble Al-Faw palace, at Camp Victory west of Baghdad, and two standing ovations by senior US officers and enlisted personnel.

"This is better than getting the Bronze Star," Umoh said in reference to a top military honour for heroic or meritorious achievement. He added: "I can't wait for the next election!" and said he looked forward to the "freedom of a US citizen to travel without being bothered because of your colour".

—Agence France Presse—

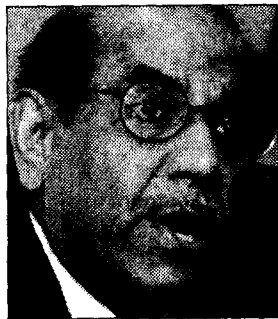
clear cooperation that "would result in exports or transfers of nuclear technology or materials to any country that is not a party to the NPT and has not accepted full scope IAEA safeguards."

Markey said that President Bush's "rogue nuclear doctrine" will send the message to other nations that there are no serious consequences for violating nuclear treaties.

"India is not party to the nuclear Non Proliferation Treaty and they tested nuclear weapons as recently as 1998. If we provide them with nuclear fuel for their reactor, we are essentially allowing them to build up their nuclear weapons stockpile," the lawmaker said.

"What (if) other countries will ask for exceptions after India? This is an extremely dangerous precedent to be setting."

—PTI



Shyam Saran

20 JAN 2006

AMERICAN UNIVERSITY

Nuclear deal with U.S.: change of mood seen

"More work needs to be done before it can be implemented"

Diplomatic Correspondent

NEW DELHI: There's a shift in the mood as far as the civil nuclear deal between India and the United States is concerned. This is evident from on-the-record remarks made after the second meeting of the India-U.S. joint working group on civil nuclear cooperation in Washington last month and the just-concluded third meeting in New Delhi.

The key message from the remarks made by Foreign Secretary Shyam Saran and Under Secretary of State Nicholas Burns on Friday was simple: that more work needs to be done before the July 18, 2005 nuclear deal can be implemented.

"I think we have come to the conclusion that we need to discuss this in greater detail in the coming days and weeks and this particular dialogue between us will be continued," Mr. Saran told presspersons.

On December 22, the Foreign Secretary, after the second round of his discussions with Mr. Burns in Washington, was upbeat in his assessment of where the civil nuclear deal was headed.

He said at the time: "...We came to the conclusion that in fact we should be in a position to

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- We need to discuss this in greater detail in the coming days: Saran

- Foreign Secretary was upbeat after second round of talks with Mr. Burns

make a significant advance on this initiative before the visit of President [George W.] Bush to India ..."

"Both the United States of America, as well as India are conscious of the time line in respect of the implementation of this agreement and we have exchanged ideas on the implementation of the July 18th agreement. We have... made significant progress in this regard, and we hope that we will be able to have a successful outcome of our deliberation, sooner rather than later," he added.

On Friday, Mr. Burns pointed to the difficulties that lay ahead in implementing the deal: "We will have to see if we can be successful.

I hope we can because it is very important that this agreement be realised ... it would allow the non-proliferation community internationally, the

regime that has been established internationally, to have the benefit of India meeting the same standards and practices in the civil sphere (as) the rest of us have been meeting for a long time. So, we are negotiating on that basis. We have to see what happens in the future. We would be working hard. But there are difficulties ahead."

The U.S. Under Secretary had a different take on the issue when he came for the first meeting of the joint working group to New Delhi.

On October 21, 2005, he said: "... We look forward in the early part of 2006 to our Congress passing legislation in the United States that would allow our government and our private sector to begin, on a national basis, this [nuclear] cooperation with India as well."

On the same day, standing along with Mr. Burns, the Indian Foreign Secretary said: "So we believe that it will be possible for us, as Nick [Nicholas Burns] said, by the time the President comes on his visit to India, we hope that we will have, in fact, a very good agreement between our two sides, an implementable agreement between our two sides on this very important question."

THE HINDU

Safeguards for breeder reactors, key obstacle

U.S. unwilling to accept Indian stand

Siddharth Varadarajan

NEW DELHI: As India and the United States concluded their third round of technical talks on the planned separation and safeguarding of Indian civilian nuclear facilities this week, the status of the country's fast breeder programme is emerging as a key obstacle to the conclusion of an agreement acceptable to both sides, *The Hindu* has learnt.

According to sources familiar with the ideas exchanged by both delegations, the U.S. team, headed by Under-Secretary of State for Political Affairs Nicholas Burns, is unwilling to accept India's position that the fast breeder, as an R&D programme, will not be put on the list of civilian facilities that are offered up for safeguards and inspections by the International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA).

The American delegation is understood to have argued that there was nothing unique or distinctive about fast breeder technology, which warranted an exception being made for it. They argued that if Japan could agree to subject its Joyo experimental breeder reactor and Monju prototype breeder reactor to IAEA safeguards, there was no reason India could not.

Both reactors have been under safeguards since their inception and today are subject to full-time advanced verification systems such as 'neutron coincidence counters', radiation monitoring systems and fuel flow monitors, in addition to video surveillance. If India does not accept safeguards on its breeders, the U.S. argues, it will be very hard to get the Nuclear Suppliers Group (NSG) to sign off on a rule change enabling nuclear commerce with India.

Thursday's meeting here was apparently the first time the Indian side formally got to learn of America's insistence on safeguarding the 20-year old Fast Breeder Test Reactor (FBTR) and Prototype Fast Breeder Reactor (PFBR) at Kalpakkam, near Chennai. Even as recently as December last, following the conclusion of the second round of talks, well-placed Indian officials told *The Hindu* that the breeder issue had never been raised by the American side.

At Thursday's discussions, however, the Japanese analogy for safeguards cut no ice. The Indian side pointed out that there was no basis to compare India with Japan when the July 18, 2005 agreement spoke of India assuming "the same responsibilities and practices and (acquiring) the same benefits and advantages as other leading countries with advanced nuclear technology, such as the United States." Japan was a non-nuclear weapon state under the NPT and the status of its safeguards agreement with the IAEA had no bearing on what India should do.

India also believes that the breeder technology plays a much less important part in Japan's overall nuclear energy mix than it does in Indian plans. Unlike the Japan Atomic Energy Agency, which has the freedom to source components and technology from any part of the world, India's Department of Atomic Energy has had to rely on its own resources and technologies. Despite this, it has achieved great success particularly in the development and use of carbide fuel. At the same time, much work still needs to be done, particularly on commercial viability of breeder reactors.

Talks augur well for Indo-US N-pact

Indo-Asian News Service

NEW DELHI, Jan. 20. — The USA today expressed hope that the civil nuclear cooperation agreement with India would be implemented as New Delhi readied to roll out the red carpet to welcome US President George W Bush in the first week of March.

Visiting US undersecretary of state for political affairs Mr Nichols Burns and foreign secretary Mr Shyam Saran today concluded two-day discussions on a broad range of bilateral issues, including the civil-nuclear energy pact and regional issues such as the Iranian nuclear controversy and the situation in Sri Lanka and Nepal.

Calling India "a friend of the USA and a global partner", Mr Burns said he was "optimistic" about implementing the civil nuclear agreement signed

between India and the USA on July 18 last year.

"We remain hopeful that the agreement will be realised. It will have enormous benefits for India, the USA and the international community," Mr Burns said. "We have made some progress in the past six months (since the deal was signed). But more progress has to be made."

Mr Burns stressed: "It may take several weeks to discuss the intricacies and niceties of the deal, such as India's separation of its civilian nuclear and military facilities. There are difficulties ahead, but we remain optimistic about it."

As part of the deal, Washington is to share civilian nuclear technology and supply nuclear fuel to India in return for New Delhi separating its civilian and military nuclear programmes and allowing international inspections of its atomic facilities.

Some members of the

US Congress, which has to ratify the deal, have said they would wait before throwing their full support behind the deal until they knew all the details of how India would separate its civilian and military nuclear programs. But foreign secretary Mr Shyam Saran said at a joint press conference with Mr Burns that there was a "fund of goodwill for India in the US Congress," and that India remained hopeful that the deal would go through.

"India is looking forward to the forthcoming landmark visit of President Bush and Mrs (Laura) Bush which we expect to take place in the first week of March," Mr Saran said during a joint Press interaction with Mr Burns. "It would be another defining moment in India-US relations," he stressed. "An advance team will be visiting soon to finalise protocol and security issues."

THE STATESMAN

Bush to visit from March 1-3

By Chidanand Rajghatta/TNN

Washington: An advance team of US officials and security personnel led by White House deputy chief of staff Joe Hagin left for the Indian sub-continent on Wednesday to prepare the ground for President George Bush's much anticipated visit to the region in the first week of March.

Bush is expected to be in India from March 1 to March 3 on a landmark visit to the region that will also include a brief foray to Pakistan and a possible stopover in Afghanistan. In India, Bush will arrive in Delhi along with First Lady Laura Bush, and is expected to make a brief sortie to the famed Taj Mahal in Agra after talks with the Indian leadership. He is also slated to visit Hyderabad, where the US intends to announce the opening of a new consulate.

The plans are still up in the air and subject to confirmation by the advance team. Hagin, who handles intelligence, defense and homeland security issues at the White House and who, in many ways, is Bush's shadow, will make the call on the final schedule.

Bush's three-day visit to India is expected to be tightly choreographed and nothing like the 2000 Clinton visit that involved bursts of off-the-wall spontaneity, including dancing with women in a Rajasthani village and being mobbed by Indian lawmakers after his address to the joint sessions of parliament.

Bush is not expected to address the joint session, in part because of the peculiar pathology of Left MPs towards the US and talk of a boycott.



The President's schedule is also being kept under wraps given the delicate security issues, especially with regard to Pakistan. No American leader or official has stayed overnight in Pakistan in recent months because of the dodgy securi-

ty situation and it appears US officials are still in a quandary about Bush's schedule in that country.

Washington would like to make a token gesture to Pakistan in recognition of its status as a FAT-WAT (Frontline Ally in The War Against Terrorism) but it is constricted by the nature of the country's government (a military dictatorship), its role in the spread of nuclear weapons and the general distaste in the US for Pakistan on this count.

THE HINDU OF INDIA

More US diplomats for India

WASHINGTON, Jan. 19.

— India will see the presence of more US diplomats this year as the Bush administration is planning to shift 100 diplomatic posts from Europe and Washington to various emerging nations to advance its “transformational diplomacy.” India and China are among those shaping the course of history in the 21st century, secretary of state Ms Condoleezza Rice said yesterday, while explaining the new move.

“In the 21st century, emerging nations like India, China, Brazil, Egypt, Indonesia and South Africa are increasingly shaping the course of history,” Ms Rice told the students of Georgetown University. Ms Rice added: “We will begin this year by moving 100 positions from Europe and Washington to countries like China, India, Nigeria and Lebanon, where additional staff will make an essential difference.” — PTI

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THE STATESMAN

India benefits more than Pak in strategic US ties

K.P. NAYAR

Washington, Jan. 18: Pakistan may be America's non-Nato military ally (NNMA), but it is India which is increasingly benefiting from its strategic co-operation with the US even as President George W. Bush is preparing to visit New Delhi.

Among the series of steps taken by the Bush administration as follow up to the Next Steps in Strategic Partnership (NSSP) with India and the Indo-US nuclear agreement of July 18 last year, is a landmark decision by the commerce department's Bureau of Industrial Security (BIS) to do away with mandatory import certificates for selling dual use equipment by American companies to India.

The decision taken last month is now beginning to impact on trade between India and the US in American equipment and technology that can be put to both civilian and military use in India, according to companies here which want to build up such trade.

But what is significant about the decision is that for the first time since independence, India is being equated by America's ultra-sensitive in-

dustrial security administration with Washington's NATO allies.

The BIS announcement said export certificates were being done away with for Slovakia, Bulgaria, Czech Republic, Hungary, Poland and Romania because they are Nato members.

But in the case of India, this is being done because of the NSSP, which was launched by Bush together with former Prime Minister Atal Bihari Vajpayee.

The six former satellites of the USSR are also members of various arms control and non-proliferation regimes such as the Wassenaar Arrangement, the Australia Group, the Missile Technology Control Regime and Nuclear Suppliers Group.

India is not a member of these and is trying to get into some of these exclusive clubs as a nuclear weapons state. Yet, for the first time, India is being treated on par with members of such international regimes.

One senior Bush administration official said the decision was a recognition here that India is a country that is

trusted by the US with sensitive material and technology.

The official compared the decision to "removing a 'stop' sign on the highway of trade in dual use equipment and technology, which has long eluded the two countries".

Meanwhile, the White House yesterday announced its intention to remove from her post Christina Rocca, who served as assistant secretary of state for South Asia for about five years.

Rocca will be replaced by Richard Boucher, a career diplomat who was the state department's spokesman until early last year. Boucher's appointment is part of a process to refashion the state department in the image of the secretary of state, Condoleezza Rice, who replaced Colin Powell last year.



Christina Rocca:
Replaced

THE HINDU

Make the Indo-U.S. nuclear deal more transparent

If the civil-military separation plan is good enough to share with a foreign power, it is certainly good enough to share with the Indian public.

Siddharth Varadarajan

THE INDO-U.S. working group on civilian nuclear cooperation will meet for the third time on Thursday with the American response to the Indian separation plan topping the agenda for discussion. During the last round of technical talks in Washington in December, Foreign Secretary Shyam Saran — who heads the Indian side — handed over a document specifying the underlying principles that will cover the proposed separation of India's civil and military nuclear facilities. The U.S. side, led by Undersecretary of State for Political Affairs Nicholas Burns, chose not to respond to the Indian document at that time and is likely to present to India this week a detailed response and, possibly, a counter-plan.

Though the Manmohan Singh Government has kept its separation plan under tight wraps in India, the document has been circulated among select U.S. Senators and Representatives. Indeed, feedback of sorts has already started coming. At a seminar at the Woodrow Wilson Center in Washington DC last week, Sharon Squassoni of the Congressional Research Service (CRS) suggested that the Indian plan would not pass muster on the Hill. "Reportedly, the first separation plan for separating the facilities was not credible or defensible. And also reportedly India has not yet contacted the International Atomic Energy Agency to talk about safeguards. Those are the two things that need to happen," PTI quoted her as saying. Ms. Squassoni is the principal author of the CRS report on the July 18, 2005 deal, a report that raised a number of "proliferation" concerns about the prospects of Indo-U.S. nuclear cooperation. Either she has seen the plan herself or has received feedback from those who have. Though Ms. Squassoni is a known critic of the deal, it is reasonable to assume that her characterisation of the plan

would be shared — or at least exploited — by members of the official American negotiating team.

The Indo-U.S. nuclear agreement had spoken of India assuming "the same responsibilities and practices and (acquiring) the same benefits and advantages as other leading countries with advanced nuclear technology, such as the United States." These "same responsibilities and practices" were then spelt out, *inter alia*, as: "identifying and separating civilian and military nuclear facilities and programs in a phased manner and filing a declaration regarding its civilian facilities with the International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA); taking a decision to place voluntarily its civilian nuclear facilities under IAEA safeguards; (and) signing and adhering to an Additional Protocol with respect to civilian nuclear facilities."

U.S. reinterpretation

In the intervening months, the United States has attempted to reinterpret this fairly straightforward language in several ways and introduce new conditions. First, it said the separation of civilian and military facilities had to be "credible, defensible and transparent." None of these conditions obtain for the separation of civilian and military facilities in the U.S. or the other "leading countries with advanced nuclear technology." Then it said the separation plan had to pass muster in the U.S. Congress. Finally, it said the placing of civilian nuclear facilities under IAEA safeguards had to be done mandatorily and in perpetuity, rather than voluntarily as the July 18 statement clearly says. In addition, the Bush administration has made it clear that the deal's success is also linked in some way to the wider strategic realignment it is trying to engineer in Indian foreign policy. Joining hands against Iran is one issue that has already come to the fore. No doubt Washington has other expectations as well.

Though the Indian atomic establishment appears to have overcome its initial reservations about the July 18 agreement, there is a broad consensus among the scientists on at least three issues. First, under no circumstances should the agreement — and the conditions that come with it — compromise India's technological independence in the nuclear field. According to them, India's own reserves of uranium as well as its indigenous reactor programme will enable it to produce at least 207 gigawatts of electricity by 2052, or around 15 per cent of the projected national requirement of 1350 GW. For this to happen, the country needs to preserve its independence in heavy water reactors, fast breeders, and accelerator driven systems. Thus, all experimental and research facilities should be kept off the civilian list for safeguards purposes, including the fast breeder reactor.

Secondly, the flexibility required for keeping the costs associated with India's strategic programme down to a minimum must be preserved. Thirdly, the safeguards agreement and additional protocol should not compromise proprietary technology and information, nor should they involve the principle of pursuit or the accounting of past materials balances. Here, the U.S. additional protocol — including the so-called "Brill letter" stipulating additional constraints on what the IAEA can inspect — would serve as the appropriate model.

From the perspective of the scientists, there is no reason why *sui generis* safeguards cannot be crafted to address India's concerns about its autonomous technology development as well as the very reasonable concerns of any future partner that cooperation provided to the Indian civilian nuclear sector not leak out to its military programme. These could take the form of 'in perpetuity', INFCIRC-66 type safeguards for imported facilities, while something approximating the U.S.-style voluntary safe-

guards is applied to all indigenously developed facilities.

Unlike New Delhi's strategic community — which tends to believe India is in urgent need of U.S. assistance in the nuclear field — our nuclear scientists feel India has a huge edge in human resources and that the U.S. stands to benefit a great deal from the initiation of bilateral nuclear cooperation. The U.S. has not built a new reactor since 1979 and has a gap of at least two generations when it comes to those with hands-on experience of running a nuclear power plant from the start.

The Canadians too have recognised India's expertise in refurbishing the Candu reactors and would be interested in an Indian role in their own nuclear industry. In short, the scientific consensus is that India is coming to the nuclear table from a position of strength and should be well placed to resist any untoward pressure during its negotiations with the U.S. on the fine print of the July 18 deal.

There is one last issue for the Manmohan Singh Government to consider. If the separation plan is good enough to hand over to a foreign power and circulate in its capital, there is no earthly reason why the same should not be made public in some form on this side as well. The U.S. excels in using dissent within and outside its political system as a tactic in tough negotiations with foreign countries. The Indian Government must now do the same.

The more informed comment and discussion there is, the better will be the degree of public understanding about the technical and political contours of the nuclear agreement. If the Government is confident about the correctness of the path it is going down, there should be no hesitation in encouraging the widest possible debate. Conversely, unnecessary secrecy can only lead to the assumption — right or wrong — that the Government has something to hide.

Pro-India Kerry backs nuke deal



US Senator Mr John Kerry in New Delhi on Thursday. — PTI

Statesman News Service

NEW DELHI, Jan. 12. — The defeated US presidential candidate and Democrat senator, Mr John Kerry backed the India-US civilian nuclear energy deal “in principle”, but also pointed out that this agreement had larger implications, beyond the bilateral context.

On a visit to India, Mr Kerry, who is also a member of the Senate Foreign Relations committee and said the nuclear deal granted nuclear power status to India.

“I will be disingenuous to suggest that if the (Indo-US) agreement (on civilian nuclear cooperation) comes through, it will not grant nuclear power status to India.

Obviously, it does,” he told reporters. On the 18 July agreement, he gave his vocal support, stating, “In principle, I support the deal. It is a great game, a positive game, for India, the US and the global community”.

However, he added that his support was conditional provided “you are not undermining the broader goal of non-proliferation itself”.

The a pro-India Democrat Senator arrived in India yesterday, following which he met the Prime Minister, Dr Manmohan Singh, for 45 minutes.

He left for Hyderabad today, which will be followed by a trip to Mumbai, before leaving for Islamabad.

The public expression of support for the deal by Mr Kerry, who came close to defeating Mr Bush in the Presidential elections last year, assumes significance as his party will have a crucial role to play in ensuring the US Congress’ endorsement of the agreement under which the USA would lift sanctions on trade in dual use technology with India.

Kerry wants fissile material cut-off included in nuclear deal

'India has to join with U.S. in taking Teheran threat seriously'

Diplomatic Correspondent

NEW DELHI: Visiting American Senator John Kerry has said it is worth looking at a cap on the production of fissile material by India as part of implementing the July 18, 2005 civilian nuclear deal with the United States in the larger context of nuclear non-proliferation.

Addressing a press conference on Thursday, the former Democratic Presidential candidate, who was supportive of the nuclear deal in principle, said nuclear proliferation was also "building of additional [nuclear] weapons by any country."

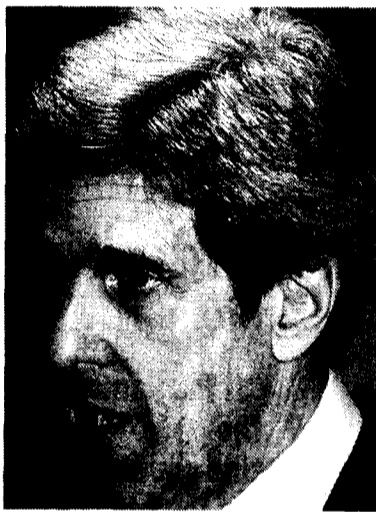
Arguing that the July 18 deal was not simply a bilateral agreement, Senator Kerry said that in order to "pass" the accord, the Nuclear Suppliers Group had to reach an agreement, the U.S. Atomic Energy Act of 1954 had to be amended while the Missile Technology Control Regime (MTCR) would also be affected.

Asked whether the agreement would be cleared by U.S. Congress, Mr. Kerry replied, "I think that what Congress will do or not do will depend on what the four corners of the agreement finally say when it is arrived at."

The Senator told presspersons that Prime Minister Manmohan Singh had promised him on Wednesday that India would sign a Fissile Material Cut-off Treaty (FMCT) as soon as it was arrived at.

'Full definition'

Stating that the U.S. Under Secre-



U.S. Senator John Kerry at a press conference in New Delhi on Thursday. - PHOTO: REUTERS

tary of State Nicholas Burns would be coming to India to negotiate and talk about the "full definition" of segregating civilian and military nuclear facilities, Mr. Kerry felt it was better to have India as a participant in International Atomic Energy (IAEA) procedures.

The Senator said it was better to have most of India's nuclear programme under constraints because this would reduce what was available to the military. Expanding the ambit of the July 18 agreement, Mr. Kerry pointed out that India had passed a domestic law, which incorporated

much of the nuclear non-proliferation regime.

"It may be that [the Indian domestic law] could be part of the four corners of the agreement itself," Mr. Kerry stated, suggesting such a move would carry greater assurance. There were, he said, several avenues still open for exploration.

Asked whether the July 18 deal would not confer an implicit nuclear (weapons) power status on India, Mr. Kerry replied in the affirmative. "It would be disingenuous to suggest that if the agreement went through as currently defined it doesn't afford India that status."

Supporting the idea of India committing itself to safeguards in perpetuity, the Senator, however, found fault with the Bush Administration's approach towards non-proliferation - particularly with respect to China, Pakistan and the A.Q. Khan affair.

According to him, the U.S. actions on the issues had been less than full measure. "There is a need for the U.S. and other countries to renew the atmospheric," he stated.

According to him, U.S. non-proliferation efforts had fallen into disrepair in the past few years.

Linking the proliferation issue to the current standoff with Iran, Mr. Kerry said India had to join with the U.S., the European Union, Russia and China in taking the threat from Teheran seriously.

India's position on questions such as Iran, he seemed to suggest, had a link with the civilian nuclear deal.

THE HINDU

Myanmar declines gas

NEW DELHI, Jan. 10. — In a major blow to India's effort to ensure its energy supplies through transnational pipelines, Myanmar has refused to sell natural gas to New Delhi, preferring to do its business with China.

After beating Indian firms to overseas oil field acquisitions on three occasions in the past five months, Hong Kong-listed PetroChina has inked an agreement to purchase gas from A1 Block in the Bay of Bengal. "Mr Ajay Tyagi,

joint secretary (gas), ministry of petroleum and natural gas, had to cut short his trip and return after Myanmar authorities said they had finalised the gas deal with China," an industry official said.

India has been pursuing gas imports from Iran, Myanmar and Turkmenistan by dint of transnational pipelines to meet its growing energy needs as domestic production meets barely half of its requirement. — PTI

Photograph on page 4

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Indo-US talks on N-deal on track

Statesman News Service

NEW DELHI, Jan. 8. — India and the USA are set to hold the next round of their high-level parleys on the nuclear issue here later this month, even as the two countries are engaged in efforts to expedite implementation of the 18 July, 2005, Indo-US nuclear deal before the expected visit of President George W Bush to New Delhi by the next month.

The talks between India's foreign secretary, Mr Shyam Saran, and the US under secretary of state, Mr Nicholas Burns, on the issue will take place in the third week of January, official sources said.

During the upcoming meeting, New Delhi will expect response from the US side on the proposal given to them by Mr Saran over separation of India's civilian and

military nuclear facilities as required under the 18 July pact, clinched during the Washington visit of Dr Manmohan Singh.

The foreign secretary gave the "outline" of the proposal to the USA during his talks with Mr Burns in Washington last month along with the assertion that New Delhi would not place fast-breeding reactors in the civilian list. In the outline to the USA, India has specified as to what nuclear installations it proposes to put in the categories of civilian and military. "Now, the US has to react (to the outline) and we are awaiting that," government sources said.

The Indian plan in accordance with the July deal, would be presented before the US Congress which has to ratify the Bush administration's decision to ease sanctions on trade and civilian nuclear cooperation with India.

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