

India must preserve the autonomy of its nuclear programme

Keeping the pledge

BRIJESH D. JAYAL

The principles for nuclear non-proliferation were first enunciated by India in 1965, yet India refrained from becoming party to the nuclear non-proliferation treaty that came into force in 1970. India had reservations that the treaty only legitimized the continuing possession and multiplication of nuclear stockpiles by the few states possessing them rather than addressing the central objective of universal and comprehensive non-proliferation. Twenty-five years later, during the conference convened to review the NPT, the treaty was extended indefinitely, ignoring the earlier commitment towards nuclear disarmament.

While addressing the third special session on disarmament at the United Nations general assembly in 1988, Rajiv Gandhi argued, "We cannot accept the logic that a few nations have the right to pursue their security by threatening the survival of mankind...nor is it acceptable that those who possess nuclear weapons are freed of all controls while those without nuclear weapons are policed against their production. History is full of such prejudices paraded as iron laws: that men are superior to women; that white races are superior to the coloured; that colonialism is a civilizing mission; (and) that those who possess nuclear weapons are responsible powers and those who do not are not."

It was 1954 when Jawaharlal Nehru expressed commitment to a comprehensive ban on nuclear testing. Yet in 1995, India's external affairs minister had this to say at the UN general assembly, "Two years ago, the international community at last agreed to negotiate a comprehensive test ban treaty. We are glad that negotiations are in progress, but we also note that nuclear weapon states have agreed to a CTBT only after acquiring the know-how to develop and refine their arsenals without the need for tests."

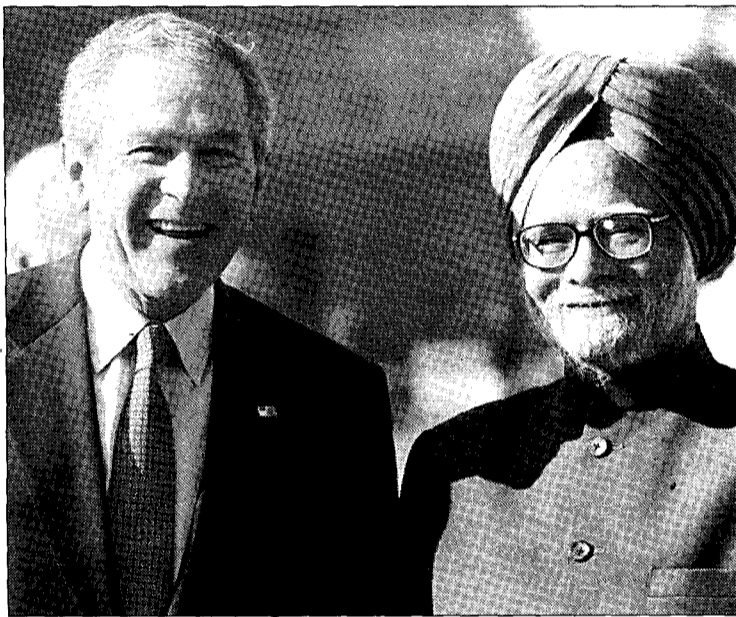
In our view, the CTBT must be an integral step in the process of nuclear disarmament. Developing new warheads or refining existing ones after a CTBT is in place, using innovative technologies would be as contrary to the spirit of CTBT as the NPT is to the spirit of non-proliferation. The CTBT must contain a binding commitment on the international community, especially the nuclear weapon states, to take further measures within an agreed time-frame towards the creation of a nuclear weapons-free world." Not surprisingly, India's voice went unheard and India chose to stay out of the treaty, which later even the United States of America refused to ratify.

With two discriminatory treat-

ties in their bag, the 'nuclear haves' are touting the fissile material cut off treaty to ban production of fissile materials for weapons as yet another major nuclear treaty to be negotiated by the forum conference on disarmament. With consistency, India considers such a treaty to be an integral part of the process of nuclear disarmament and believes that it should be a universal, non-discriminatory and verifiable treaty covering only materials for weapons, permitting production for civilian use. So far no progress has been made on this treaty, but history should teach us that a multilateral treaty of this type is a pipe dream.

In 1996, the World Court ruled

discussions in Washington on the proposed Indo-US nuclear deal, the foreign secretary said, "What we have at this point of time is an extremely carefully, delicately balanced understanding. Whatever legislation is passed must remain within those parameters. We have preserved all our basic positions. We have preserved our basic interests." It is ironical that while there is intense diplomatic effort to woo US Congressmen, the parliament and people of India are not privy to this delicately balanced understanding and what the basic position sought to be preserved is. Not surprisingly, there are grave apprehensions in the minds of some security analysts.



Evolving yet

that countries possessing nuclear weapons have an obligation to commence negotiations leading to nuclear disarmament and that the use or threat of use of nuclear weapons would be contrary to the principles of international law. Notwithstanding this, the US nuclear doctrine talks of the pre-emptive use of nuclear weapons. The United Kingdom and France have reserved their right to use nuclear weapons against non-nuclear states if attacked. Use of nuclear weapons remains an integral part of Nato's strategy and the earlier Soviet pledge of no-first-use has been discarded by Russia.

China has claimed a no-first-use pledge only against countries that are parties to the NPT or members of regional nuclear-free zones, which leaves out India. Clearly, when it comes to nuclear weapons and national security, some nations are more equal than others. Two decades on, Rajiv Gandhi's words still ring true.

What about India's national security compulsions? Unfortunately, this is an area that seldom elicits in-depth discussion. After recent dis-

in military power terms, India remains weaker-willed than many nations. Having embarked on the route to testing and declaring its overtly nuclearized weapon status, it declared a voluntary moratorium on further testing and a nuclear doctrine of 'no first use' with a minimum deterrent capability, thus imposing severe limitations on its own nuclear technological upgradation and strategic options. While the nuclear powers have spent decades in developing, testing and refining their nuclear arsenals, running into over 30,000 tests, and continue with new development programmes, we are content with five explosive tests and equally scant missile tests.

In his *suo motu* statement to parliament on the proposed US-India nuclear deal the prime minister had pledged, "However, this august House can be assured that the limits are determined by our overarching commitment to national security and the related issue of the autonomy of our nuclear programme. Our Government will take no step that could circumscribe or cast a shadow over either." Yet recent reports

emanating from various quarters are cause for concern.

India needs to acknowledge that military power today enables economic growth and prosperity and the only insurance against the very high technology war-fighting capability of some nations is provided through qualitative and quantitative nuclear capability. One only has to see how Iraq and Iran are treated while China can impound a US military aircraft and crew and get away with it. So far India has not been at the receiving end of such sabre rattling. But can anyone see the future?

There is little doubt that a growing strategic partnership between the US and India is a welcome change and will serve the interests of both. It would, however, be naïve to believe that the US will subsume its national interests to serve India's. The reverse must also be true. The recent Indo-US initiative towards cooperation in the field of nuclear energy is welcome, but the conditions being imposed and the methodology being adopted for its implementation are warnings that US commitment to the non-proliferation regime has not waned. Already doubts have been expressed about the ingenious ways in which efforts are being made to limit India's nuclear weapons capability, whether it be through placing indirect restrictions on future testing, producing fissile material or defining its minimum deterrent in quantitative terms. The waiver authority bill before the US Congress, if passed, will subject the nuclear deal perpetually to presidential certification regarding Indian compliance. In this ever-evolving scenario, India cannot be seen to be departing from its principled stand and strategic security autonomy sustained over decades.

Many anxious countries want to keep India's nuclear capability capped. One way of doing this is to limit India to an India-Pakistan zero-sum game. The other is to hold it to agreements woven into the nuclear energy deal. India must avoid this diplomatic minefield. Its nuclear capability must encompass all possible strategic options, which can only be achieved by testing and operationalizing thermo nuclear warheads along with intercontinental delivery systems. These need extensive tests and proving trials, as the nuclear haves have shown. The question of quantifying the minimum deterrent is related to an ever-changing international security scenario and India's threat perception. It cannot be open to negotiation or fixed in time. If, as is being feared, the evolving Indo-US deal compromises any of these even in an indirect way, then the delicate understanding and basic positions the foreign secretary talks about will jeopardize India's strategic interests and will be contrary to the spirit of prime minister's assurance to parliament.

The author is a retired air marshal of the Indian Air Force

Reactors that will come under safeguards identified

Updated plan for separating nuclear facilities tabled in Parliament

Special Correspondent

NEW DELHI: Tabling an updated version of the Indian separation plan for its civilian and military nuclear facilities in Parliament, Prime Minister Manmohan Singh on Thursday identified the specific thermal power reactors to be placed under "India-specific safeguards" with the International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA) between 2006 and 2014.

The "full and complete text of India's separation plan" also identifies the individual facilities within the Nuclear Fuel Complex (NFC), Hyderabad, which will be offered for safeguards by 2008.

Complete plan

According to the complete separation plan as tabled, the 14 reactors to be safeguarded are the following: TAPS 1 and 2 at



• Individual NFC facilities to be offered for safeguards by 2008 also identified

• 14 reactors identified for safeguards

Tarapur, RAPS 1 and 2 at Ratwadhata and Kudankulam 1 and 2 (all by 2006); RAPS 5 (by 2007); RAPS 6 (by 2008); RAPS

3 and 4 (by 2010); KAPS 1 and 2 at Kakrapar (by 2012); and NAPS 1 and 2 at Narora (by 2014). Of these, the first six are already safeguarded or committed to safeguards. RAPS 5 and 6 are under construction while the rest are currently operational and will run un-safeguarded till the date specified.

Thus, the current and planned reactors, which will remain un-safeguarded, are: MAPS 1 and 2 at Kalpakkam (both 220 MWe); TAPS 3 and 4 (both 540 MWe); and Kaiga 1, 2, 3 and 4 (all 220 MWe).

These are in addition to the fast breeder reactors currently operational and under construction, all of which will remain outside the purview of inspections by the International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA).

The NFC facilities to be safe-

guarded are: the Uranium Oxide Plant (Block A), the Ceramic Fuel Fabrication Plant (Palletising) (Block A), the Ceramic Fuel Fabrication Plant (Assembly) (Block A), the Enriched Uranium Oxide Plant, the Enriched Fuel Fabrication Plant and the Gadolinia Facility.

Further details added

When the Prime Minister had first tabled the separation plan on March 7, paragraph 14 (i) and (v) of that document had stated that further details would be added in regard to the specific reactors that would be offered for safeguards and phasing, and in regard to facilities of the NFC that would similarly be offered for safeguards.

"These details have now been added and the complete text of the same document is enclosed," a covering note states.

12 MAY 2006

N-rigised India walks into ITER

Signs up with six nations

Brussels, May 24

INDIA TOOK another major step on Wednesday in its quest for energy security by signing up with six partner countries here for the ITER (International Thermonuclear Energy Reactor) research project.

"This signifies the start of a major international effort towards developing an energy technology which provides virtually limitless energy", Anil Kakodkar, secretary in the department of Atomic Energy and chairman of the Atomic Energy Commission, said after initialling the agreement on India's behalf. The other signatories are the European Union, Russia, China, Japan, South Korea and the US.

Kakodkar said, "energy is an issue for the world but it is much more crucial for the developing world, particularly for India which has one-sixth of the world's population". Kakodkar said the "programme has the potential to provide access to a much larger quantum of energy", for India's galloping energy needs.

"Even if we are talking about 5,000 kilowatt hour per capita per year,



AP

Japan's vice-minister of science and technology Saburo Komoto (centre) signs the book along with India's atomic energy secretary and chairman of Atomic Energy Commission Anil Kakodkar (right) in Brussels on Wednesday.

which is nothing compared to the per capita energy consumption of Europe, even this very modest target would mean enhancing the electricity consumption in India by a factor of 11 or 12", the scientist added.

India is contributing 10 per cent in

scientific and technological feasibility of fusion as an energy source.

Fusion has several attractions as a large-scale energy source such as the abundance of basic fuels, no greenhouse gas emissions and no long-lasting radioactive waste.

IANS

24 MAY 2015

Hunt is on for new N-power plant sites

B.R. Srikanth
Bangalore, May 24

THE NUCLEAR Power Corporation of India is looking at sites to set up power plants as part of a strategy to scale up production to 40,000 MW over the next two decades.

Chairman-cum-managing director of the corporation S.K. Jain said here on Tuesday that the suitable sites — along the coasts and inland — would be short-listed soon.

"We are looking at coastal sites in Gujarat, Andhra Pradesh, Orissa and West Bengal. States like Rajasthan, Madhya Pradesh, Haryana, Uttar Pradesh and Andhra Pradesh have offered some inland sites.

"We will shortlist some of these for the expansion strategy. We plan to import 20 nuclear reactors and have started exploratory discussions with companies from USA, France and Russia. In all, we will have 62 nuclear reactors for generation of 40,000 MW by 2025.

With our own resources (uranium deposits) and with fast breeder reactors (plutonium driven), we can produce 15,000 MW by 2020, but beyond that we will have to depend on imported fuel (from USA)", Jain said.

Suitable locations

- Coastal sites in Gujarat, Andhra Pradesh, Orissa and West Bengal
- States like Rajasthan, Madhya Pradesh, Haryana, Uttar Pradesh and Andhra Pradesh
- Plan to import 20 nuclear reactors and have started discussions with firms from the US, France and Russia
- Can produce 15,000 MW by 2020
- The sophisticated equipment will facilitate loading of fresh fuel into the reactor and discharge of spent fuel automatically

He was in Bangalore to receive the first fuelling head machine from Avasara Technologies Ltd for installation at Rajasthan Atomic Power project (units 5 and 6).

This sophisticated equipment will facilitate loading of fresh fuel into the reactor and discharge of spent fuel automatically. On import of reactors, Jain said three categories — 1,000 MW, 1,350 MW and 1,650 MW — have been offered to his organisation.

20 MAY 2001

No N-cap, Iran stand shift: Delhi

Press Trust of India

Senate panel working on Bill

NEW DELHI, June 28: India today ruled out capping its strategic programme or diluting its stand on Iran but feels the "first and most important hurdle" in the implementation of the nuclear deal with Washington has been removed with last night's crucial voting in a committee of the US Congress.

Notwithstanding the bipartisan support a draft US legislation providing India-specific waivers received in the House International Relations Committee, officials were cautiously optimistic about last year's 18 July deal between Prime Minister Manmohan Singh and President George W Bush, crossing the last lap by August when the US Congress was expected to clear it.

"I won't say we are already there. There is still work

WASHINGTON, June 28: Senior members of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee were today fine-tuning a draft bill aimed at implementing the landmark Indo-US civilian nuclear deal before it goes for a debate and voting in the the committee tomorrow. The meeting of the committee, which was initially scheduled to be held today, was postponed by a day. Congressional sources said there was nothing extraordinary in the Senate panel postponing the hearing at the last minute on account of scheduling problems of lawmakers. ■ PTI

required to be done. This (House Committee vote last night) was the first and the most important hurdle. I can't say all hurdles have been crossed," an official said apparently trying to underplay the significant progress made last night.

He said the most important development in ensuring the success of the deal was to get the US Administration fulfil its commitments that includes a Presidential waiver to India to provide for civil nuclear cooperation that would also

involve fuel supplies to Indian reactors.

The draft law that was adopted by the House Committee last night and would go before the Senate Foreign Relations Committee tomorrow exactly provides for it, he said.

The US Atomic Energy Act of 1954 bars export of nuclear material, equipment and technology to nuclear weapon states other than P-5 nations and countries which have tested atomic devices and has a strategic programme unless

they have accepted full scale IAEA safeguards or signed the non-proliferation treaty.

The draft US law under discussion gives the President powers to invoke a waiver in the case of India which has committed itself to separation of civil nuclear facilities which will come under full-scale IAEA safeguards, unilateral moratorium on nuclear testing and to adopt an additional protocol with the IAEA on safeguards.

CPM fears over deal

The CPI-M has expressed "serious reservations and apprehensions" on the US-India Nuclear Cooperation Promotion Act presented before the US House International Relations Committee as it puts unfair "conditionalities" on India. The Bill said the Presidential waiver would cease to be effective if India conducts a nuclear test which is not acceptable, it said. ■ SNS

In US House, a big win for nuclear deal

Indrani Bagchi | TNN

New Delhi: The India-US nuclear deal got off to a roaring start in the US Congress on Tuesday. The House International Relations Committee, considered a tough cookie, endorsed the deal by an overwhelming 37 to 5 margin.

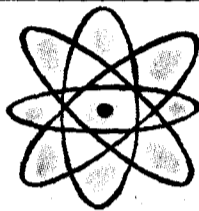
In the three-hour-long debate preceding the vote, the committee consistently turned down killer amendments proposed by opponents to the deal, many of them at the instance of Islamabad and Beijing.

The committee accepted four amendments, all minor. Significantly, it turned down an amendment carrying an Iran rider. Many of the amendments went down by convincing margins, while one asking the US president to certify that India would sign the NPT polled the highest of 36 negative votes. The House committee's action, which saw many sceptics of the deal turn around, was seen as a tribute to the sustained lobbying by the US administration and the Indian American community.

The victory margin was seen as an assurance that the Bush administration had lined up enough bipartisan support to get the deal past the barricades erected by non-proliferation hardliners. The final vote will coax open the doors of the US Congress to secure for India an exemption that allows it to access nuclear technology, equipment and knowhow from US and other countries.

The bipartisan support for the bill—now renamed 'US and India Nuclear Cooperation Promotion Act, 2006'—deter-

IN RIGHT ORBIT



- 37-5 victory in House panel a big jolt to critics
- Many killer amendments turned down, only four minor ones accepted
- Margin of defeat raises hope that deal has enough bipartisan support
- Senate committee to take up legislation on Thursday

mines its passage when it is put to a full-floor vote. A Senate version will be debated and put to vote on Thursday.

The US administration threw its weight behind the legislation, working on Congress to remove "deal-breaking" clauses, according to sources. Even President Bush personally met four top bosses of the Congress—Henry Hyde, Tom Lantos, Richard Lugar and Joe Biden—on Monday to push the deal. It came days after US vice-president Dick Cheney publicly rooted for the deal. It didn't deter the non-proliferation lobby in Washington though. On Monday, NGOs like Friends Committee for Nuclear Legislation were seen distributing tin cans on Capitol Hill with the words, "CAN the Indian nuclear deal".

- ▶ Tight deadline for bill, P 8
- ▶ Delhi irked by Iran rider, P 8

Nuclear deal: 'major hurdle' crossed

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HDI 29/6
Nuclear Energy
Paris

Bill still has to be passed by Congress and Senate

Special Correspondent

NEW DELHI: Upbeat about the endorsement on Tuesday of a Bill on nuclear cooperation with India by a key U.S. Congressional panel, senior officials here said a "major hurdle" in the implementation of the July 2005 nuclear deal had been crossed.

A senior official, however, cautioned, "We are not quite there yet," as the Bill still has to be passed by Congress and Senate. "But our estimation is that this will be the most difficult

stage — to ensure that the proposed change of law contains no conditions that we cannot accept. And we have managed that."

Barring a "killer" amendment on the floor of the House, the official said the "operational parts" of the Bill, in its current form, allow the U.S. President to waive restrictions on nuclear cooperation on the basis of a "template" that is consistent with India's obligations under the July 2005 joint statement and its subsequent plan for the

separation of civilian and military nuclear facilities.

The official conceded that the draft law also had other elements, including a statement by Congress on what the policies towards India should be. They include getting India to assist in isolating and even sanctioning Iran and to join the Proliferation Security Initiative.

"Certainly we find the language in the Bill intrusive and even offensive. But it is of little consequence as far as we are concerned. Whatever their expectations, we are not going to be bound by anything that goes beyond the July 2005 statement and the separation plan."

These "expectations" had been "tagged on" to the Bill to allow Congressmen feel that their "pet themes" have been included.

The official said it was significant that each of the amendments moved in the International Relations Committee of the House of Representatives were "quite handsomely defeated" and that the Bill sailed through with 37 votes to 5.

"Our expectation is that the vote in the overall House will reflect this broad bipartisan support. As for the Senate, the position there is generally expected to be even better."

Citing the vote as an evidence of the growing importance attached in the U.S. political and official circles to relations with India, the official said he was confident that both Houses would pass the law in its current form before they go into recess in August.

A right balance: Ackerman

WASHINGTON: Even as the landmark India-United States nuclear deal sailed through the 50-member International Relations Committee of the House of Representatives on Tuesday, supporters in the House termed it a defining moment in relations between the two countries.

The legislation was piloted by the Chairman of the House Committee, Henry Hyde, Ranking member Tom Lantos and the co-chairs of the India Caucus, Gary Ackerman and Ilona Ros Lehtines.

Mr. Ackerman called the Bill a "right balance" and one that deserved careful consideration. The New York Democrat argued that it was better to have India inside the non-proliferation system than outside.

"If you want to be treated like India, be like India," he said in an apparent reference to countries, which are critical to the deal.

A one time critic of India, Republican Dan Burton of



Gary Ackerman

Indiana said that the civilian nuclear agreement "has a lot of merit" and that India would be a greater ally of the United States and a good partner down the road. — PTI

More reports on Page 12

THE HINDU

U.S. Bill confirms our fears, says CPI(M)

"Adhere to foreign policy commitments"

Special Correspondent

NEW DELHI: The Communist Party of India (Marxist) on Wednesday expressed serious reservations about the United States and India Nuclear Cooperation Promotion Act of 2006 draft Bill presented before the U.S. House International Relations Committee.

In a statement, the Polit Bureau asked the Manmohan Singh Government to uphold India's sovereignty and not deviate from its stated foreign policy commitments and positions under U.S. pressure.

Sovereignty

Responding to media reports, the party said a more substantive response would be issued when full details were known. The Bill said the Presidential waiver would "cease to be effective" if India conducted a nuclear test. India's unilateral moratorium on conducting nuclear tests could not be subservient to such conditionalities. Its sovereignty on these matters could not be compromised, the CPI(M) said.

Secondly, the Bill made 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 seeking nuclear weapons. This clearly confirmed the party's apprehensions that

Bill 10-12
Bill
9
• "India's moratorium on nuclear tests cannot be subservient to U.S. conditionalities"

• Bill seeks to force India to comply with FMCT

through this nuclear deal, Washington would arm-twist India to change its foreign policy to kowtow to the U.S. strategic global designs.

Thirdly, the Bill sought to force India to comply with the Fissile Material Cut-off Treaty, which the country refused to sign in the past on grounds of its being discriminatory.

Contrary to assurance

Fourthly, the Bill said the U.S. President must first determine that India and the International Atomic Energy Agency "concluded a safeguards agreement requiring the application of IAEA safeguards in perpetuity." This, the CPI (M) said, ran contrary to the assurance given by the Prime Minister in Parliament that India would approach the IAEA for safeguards only after the U.S. endorsed the July 18, 2005 nuclear deal.

The CPI(M) said these apprehensions completely contradicted the assurances given by the UPA Government to Parliament and the country that India would not fall prey to the U.S. "carrot and stick policy."

Long-range cloud on nukke deal

NDA big guns send dissent letter to President, say 'cannot bind India in the future'

Pravara
to President

OUR SPECIAL CORRESPONDENT

New Delhi, June 21: Leaders of the NDA have claimed that the Indo-US deal "cannot bind India in the future" as it is not based on national consensus.

This amounts to a threat that any future non-UPA government would be free to abrogate the deal.

In a strongly-worded letter to President A.P.J. Abdul Kalam, signed by Atal Bihari Vajpayee, L.K. Advani, George Fernandes and Jaswant Singh among others, the NDA leaders have accused Prime Minister Manmohan Singh of "repeatedly" misleading Parliament and the people of India on the nuclear deal.

They claimed Parliament was not kept informed while the US Congress was fully briefed about the agreement and the inspection regime being negotiated with the International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA).

"The paradox is that while detailed discussions are taking place on the future of the Indian nuclear programme in the US Congress, Parliament of India is deliberately kept in the dark," the letter claimed.

It also claimed that the Prime Minister had misled Parliament as "it is clear now from the statements made by US officials before the US Congress that neither parity nor reciprocity will be made available to India under this deal".

The Prime Minister had assured Parliament after his US visit in July last year that actions of the two sides would be reciprocal and that India would get the same benefits and advan-

tages as other leading countries with "advanced nuclear technology, such as the US". This was also stated in the joint statement of July 18, 2005, issued from Washington DC.

The NDA leaders have dismissed this claim in their letter: "India will continue to be treated in a discriminatory manner, something we have been opposed to all along. Thus, even the limited comfort that there was in the agreement of July 2005 will now be denied to India."

Going a step further, they have questioned the fundamental basis of the agreement premised on separation of India's

▶ The paradox is that while detailed discussions are taking place on the future of the Indian nuclear programme in the US Congress, Parliament of India is deliberately kept in the dark

civilian and military nuclear facilities. They have said such a separation was "difficult, expensive and has implications for our strategic programme and is unwarranted".

Further, they have questioned the negotiation with the IAEA for an inspection regime and an additional protocol, claiming that this was "fraught with complex dangers".

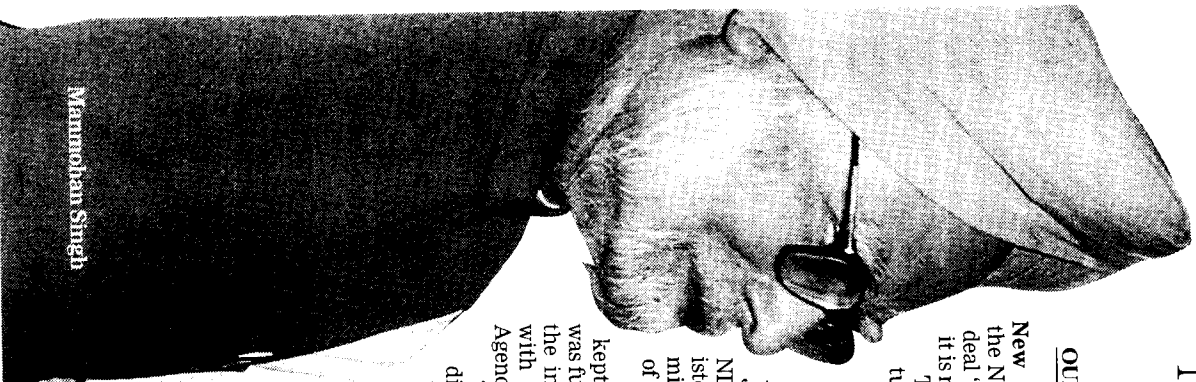
"Inspections by the IAEA will be intrusive and will rob our scientists of the freedom they have enjoyed all along," the letter says. Conditions more onerous than under

the Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty (CTBT) would be imposed on India under the Waiver Authority Bill introduced in the US Congress, the NDA leaders stated.

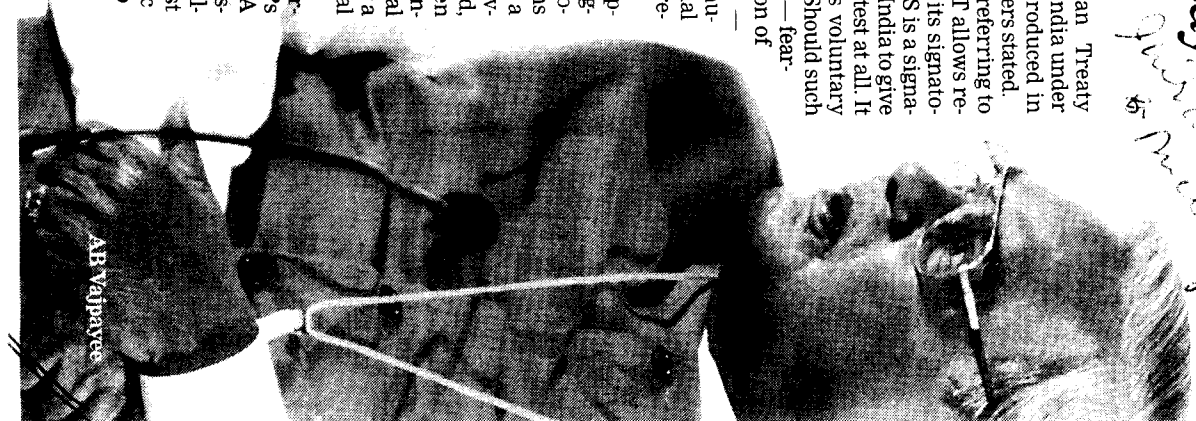
What the NDA leaders are referring to is the fact that while the CTBT allows resumption of nuclear tests by its signatories — neither India nor the US is a signatory — the US Congress wants India to give a bilateral commitment not to test at all. It is unwilling to accept India's voluntary moratorium on nuclear tests. Should such a commitment be given, India — fearing US sanctions and cessation of nuclear cooperation with it — would not be able to resume nuclear tests even citing "national interest". But the US would retain its freedom to test.

The NDA leaders have appealed to the President to recognise that India's nuclear programme, including its weapons programme, had "never been a single party's or only a one-government programme". Instead, they argue, it had always been "fully backed by national consensus and a strong national will". Today, there was neither a consensus on the nuclear deal nor an attempt to build one.

Claiming that "an overwhelming majority" of MPs were against the deal, the NDA leaders claimed that the present government could not be allowed to "undo the work of last 60 years, to cap our strategic nuclear programme and to also expose our nuclear scientists to undue interference in their work from sources outside India".



Manmohan Singh



Atal Bihari Vajpayee

Kakodkar to discuss safeguards with IAEA

MUMBAI: Anil Kakodkar, Chairman, Atomic Energy Commission (AEC), will visit Vienna this week for talks with the International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA) on a safeguards accord proposed under the India-U.S. nuclear deal to pave the way for resumption of nuclear fuel for Indian reactors.

Additional protocol

He will also discuss with IAEA representatives an additional protocol agreed in the deal.

The plan to separate India's civilian and military nuclear facilities provides for an India-specific safeguards agreement to be negotiated with the IAEA.

New Delhi has sought such an agreement since India is neither a member of the Non-proliferation Treaty nuclear powers comprising the P-5 countries nor does it come under the category of non-Nuclear Weapon States.

This is a process the AEC Chairman will be undertaking at

Vienna prior to tripartite arrangement with the United States.

This process would involve the understanding as well as putting forth India's stance on the nuances of the "India-specific" safeguards.

"This process is very essential as a preparation to deal with the Nuclear Suppliers' Group [NSG] from whom India is expected to buy its future nuclear plants to increase the electricity base capacity which will be put under

IAEA safeguards," a top Department of Atomic Energy official said.

Safeguards of the IAEA are to prevent diversion of nuclear material for weapon's programme. They are complemented by controls on the export of sensitive technology from countries such as U.K. and the U.S. through the NSG - PTI

IAEA's concern: Page 12

পরমাণু চুক্তিতে সংশোধনী এনে মানবে না ভারত

নয়াদিল্লি, ৪ মে: মার্কিন যুক্তরাষ্ট্রের সঙ্গে দ্বিপাক্ষিক পরমাণু চুক্তিতে কোনও সংশোধন বরদাস্ত করা হবে না, জানিয়ে দিল ভারত। বিদেশ দফতরের মুখপাত্র নভতেজ সারনা আজ জানিয়েছেন, ২০০৫-এর ১৮ জুলাই স্বাক্ষরিত যৌথ বোঝাপড়ায় থাকা শর্তগুলিই কেবল মেনে চলার অবস্থান নিয়েছে সরকার। নতুন কোনও প্রস্তাব গ্রাহ্য করা হবে না।

মার্কিন বিদেশসচিব কডোলিজা রাইস সম্প্রতি ওয়াশিংটনে ভারতের একটি সংসদীয় প্রতিনিধি দলকে বলেন, পরমাণু চুক্তিতে পরিবর্তন হচ্ছেই। তা মেনে নেওয়ার জন্য প্রস্তুত থাকতে হবে ভারতকে। যদিও ওই দলের সদস্য রাজ্যসভার সাংসদ শহিদ সিদ্দিকি জানান, খুব বড় ধরনের পরিবর্তনের ইঙ্গিত রাইস দেননি।

তবে চুক্তিতে পরিবর্তন হচ্ছে, এমন কথা জোর দিয়েই বলেছেন মার্কিন বিদেশসচিব। সারনা বলেন, রাইসের মন্তব্যের বিষয়টি সংবাদ-মাধ্যম থেকেই তাঁদের গোচরে এসেছে। কিন্তু পরমাণু চুক্তিতে কোনও পরিবর্তন ভারত মানবে না। ও দিকে, চুক্তিটি যে কবে মার্কিন কংগ্রেসে পাশ হবে, তা নিয়ে সংশয় দেখা দিয়েছে। কংগ্রেসে ভারতপন্থী সদস্যদের ধারণা, নভেম্বরে কংগ্রেসে নিবাচন না হওয়া পর্যন্ত কিছুই হবে না। —পি টি আই

05 MAY 2006

India acquires its second desi N-fuel device

TNN
TIMES NEWS NETWORK

Bangalore: Taking the nuclear technology a step ahead, the Nuclear Power Corporation of India (NPCIL) acquired its second indigenous nuclear fuelling machine head, manufactured by city-based Avasarala Technologies Limited.

The machine head is a critical component which is used to discharge spent fuel and load fresh fuel into a nuclear reactor, automatically.

The component, which will be installed at the Rajasthan nuclear power plant, was formally handed over to NPCIL chairman S K Jain by Avasarala MD and CEO T T Mani.

The first indigenous machine head was manufactured by a Hyderabad-based company. Until two years back, these had to be imported. It took Avasarala Technologies Limited two-and-a-half years to put the machine head in place.

Speaking on the occasion, Jain said the manufacture of machine head demonstrated India's self-reliance in the wake of a "draconian embargo" on nuclear technology.

Canada no longer retained monopoly in putting up or designing nuclear power plants or for that matter neither did Korea, China, Romania and Argentina, he said, adding that India could put up power plants at 10 times lesser cost than Canada. India had even cut down on the number of man-hours going into setting up a power plant, he said. Jain said the embargo no longer made sense because India's indigenous capacity in nuclear energy was self-evident.

Taps 3 power at Rs 2.5/unit

NPCIL chairman S K Jain has said that the third unit of the Tarapur Nuclear Power Station (Taps 3), which attained criticality recently, will start producing power by June and go commercial from July. He said electricity generated by Taps 3 would cost Rs 2.50 per unit in comparison to Re 1 per unit from the oldest plant in Tarapur. The average cost of nuclear power per unit, however, will be Rs 2.10, he said. TNN

The NPCIL chairman said India was looking to generate 40,000 MW of nuclear power, roughly 20 per cent of the country's electricity requirement, by 2025. He said the country currently produced 3316 MW of nuclear power and was looking to enhance it to 7,000 MW by 2008, 12,000 MW by 2012 and eventually to 40,000 MW by 2025.

He said India would be able to reach 15,000 MW by 2020, but the remaining 25,000 MW could only be generated through imported reactors. Besides, India would also have to import uranium as the current reserves in the country could only generate 10,000 MW.

Jain said to meet the target of 40,000 MW, India would have to import 62 reactors. India was planning to import 20 nuclear reactors of 1,000 MW each to generate 20,000 MW and negotiations have already begun at the company-to-company level between India, Russia, USA, France and Japan. "There have been proposals and large companies have been coming to India.

25 MAR 2005

Merkel softens to Indo-US deal

HANOVER, April 23: Germany, an influential member of nuclear suppliers group (NSG), today indicated its support to the Indo-US civil nuclear deal. "We will be following discussions (on the deal) taking place in the US Congress. US Congress has to support it. I have listened to the Prime Minister. The discussions will follow in the NSG," German Chancellor Ms Angela Merkel said a joint Press conference held after her talks with the Prime Minister here. "We are following the developments. We are on positive path," she said. Ms Merkel said Dr Singh had affirmed India's commitment to non-proliferation and this would make it easier for Germany. She said this commitment was important for Germany and if the process continued as it was in the US Congress, Germany is willing to cooperate. "We have not reached the end of the process," she said. Citing India's impeccable record of non-proliferation, Dr Singh said cooperation with New Delhi in civil nuclear energy "will not run any risk of unauthorised proliferation". ■ PTI

24 APR 2006

THE STATESMAN

পরমাণু-দুর্ঘটনা এড়াতে ভারত-পাক বৈঠক পরশু

ইসলামাবাদ, ২২ এপ্রিল: মার্কিন প্রেসিডেন্ট জর্জ বুশ ভারতের সঙ্গে পরমাণু চুক্তি স্বাক্ষর করায় ক্ষুব্ধ পাকিস্তান মরিয়া চেষ্টা চালিয়ে যাচ্ছে, যাতে আমেরিকা তাদের সঙ্গেও অনুরূপ কোনও চুক্তিতে আবদ্ধ হয়। আগামী সপ্তাহেই আমেরিকার সঙ্গে প্রতিরক্ষা সহযোগিতা বৈঠকে বসতে চলেছে ইসলামাবাদ।

তার ঠিক কয়েক দিন আগে, মঙ্গলবার থেকে এখানে শুরু হচ্ছে ভারত-পাক বৈঠক। আপাত ভাবে এই বৈঠক পরমাণু ও অন্যান্য ক্ষেত্রে পারস্পরিক আস্থা অর্জন নিয়ে। তবে মূলত, পরমাণু-দুর্ঘটনার আশঙ্কা এড়ানোর জন্য কী কী করা দরকার তা নিয়েই আলোচনা হবে অফিসার ও বিশেষজ্ঞ পর্যায়ের এই বৈঠকে।

সাধারণ কোনও ভুল থেকেও পরমাণু যুদ্ধ বাধার আশঙ্কা নির্মূল করার জন্য ভারত ইতিমধ্যেই সুনির্দিষ্ট কিছু প্রস্তাব খসড়া আকারে পাকিস্তানকে দিয়েছে। প্রস্তাবগুলি সম্পর্কে পাক

অফিসাররা তাদের অভিমত জানাবেন। এ ব্যাপারে একটি খসড়া চূড়ান্ত করার চেষ্টা হবে বলে আশা করা হচ্ছে।

উভয় দেশের নৌ বাহিনীর জাহাজ ও বিমানের নিরাপত্তার খাতিরে সমুদ্রে সামরিক তৎপরতা নিয়ন্ত্রণ ও পরস্পরকে ওয়াকিবহাল রাখা নিয়ে পাকিস্তানও কিছু প্রস্তাব দিয়ে রেখেছে ভারতকে। বৈঠকে এ ব্যাপারেও কিছুটা অগ্রগতি আশা করছেন ভারত ও পাকিস্তানের অফিসাররা। মাস কয়েকের মধ্যে পাকিস্তান দু'বার 'বাবর' ক্ষেপণাস্ত্রের পরীক্ষা চালিয়েছে। এই ক্রুইজ ক্ষেপণাস্ত্র পরীক্ষার বিষয়টিও ওই বৈঠকে ওঠে কি না সে দিকে তাকিয়ে রয়েছেন কূটনীতিক ও সামরিক বিশ্লেষকেরা। ইসলামাবাদে এই বৈঠকে ভারতীয় প্রতিনিধি দলকে নেতৃত্ব দেবেন অতিরিক্ত বিদেশ সচিব কে সি সিংহ। অপর পক্ষের নেতৃত্বে থাকবেন পাক বিদেশ মন্ত্রকের অতিরিক্ত সচিব তারিক উসমান হায়দার। — পি টি আই

23 APR 2006

4.21.06

সামরিক পরমাণু কর্মসূচিতে আপস নয়, বললেন প্রধানমন্ত্রী

জার্মানিগামী বিমান থেকে, ২২ এপ্রিল: আমেরিকায় গিয়ে যোজনা কমিশনের চেয়ারম্যান মস্টেক সিংহ অহলুওয়ালিয়া যখন ভারত-মার্কিন পরমাণু চুক্তি নিয়ে আশার কথা শোনানোছেন, সেই দিনই প্রধানমন্ত্রী মনমোহন সিংহ কিন্তু ফের জানিয়ে দিচ্ছেন, পরমাণু চুক্তির নামে অনর্থক খবরদারি মানবে না ভারত। জার্মানি ও উজবেকিস্তান সফরে রওনা হয়ে বিমানে বসে মনমোহন বলেন, আমেরিকা ভারতের সামরিক পরমাণু কর্মসূচিতে লাগাম দেওয়ার চেষ্টা করলে ভারত তা মানবে না।

মনমোহন স্পষ্ট করে বলেছেন, গত

১৮ জুলাইয়ের চুক্তিপত্রে যা বলা হয়েছিল, তার বাইরে এক পা-ও এগোবে না ভারত। ভারতের সামরিক কর্মসূচিতে লাগাম দেওয়ার কোনও চেষ্টাকে প্রশ্রয় দেওয়া হবে না। মনমোহনের কথায়, ভারত নিজেই পরমাণু অস্ত্রপরীক্ষা বন্ধ রাখবে বলে ঠিক করেছে। কারও কথায় নয়।

এবং মনমোহন আশা করেন, এই প্রক্ষে আমেরিকার সঙ্গে দরাদরি করতে হবে না। সঙ্গে সঙ্গে তিনি এ-ও বলেন, “আমি আশ্য করি। তবে জ্যোতিষী তো নই।”

ইরানের সঙ্গে ত্রিদেশীয় গ্যাসপাইপলাইন নিয়েও যথেষ্ট দৃঢ়

শুনিয়েছে মনমোহনের স্বর। আজ পেট্রোলিয়াম মন্ত্রকের তরফেও সে কথা জানানো হয়েছিল। ভারত-পাক সম্পর্ক যে উন্নত হচ্ছে, সে কথাও অকুণ্ঠ ভাবেই বলেন মনমোহন। মনমোহন জানান, তিনি ‘ঠিক সময়েই’ পাকিস্তানে যাবেন। তা বলে সিয়াচেন সমস্যা এক্ষুণি মিটে যাবে, এমন ‘ঘোষণা করার সময়ও আসেনি’। মনমোহনের সফর-সঙ্গী জাতীয় নিরাপত্তা উপদেষ্টা এম কে নারায়ণন অবশ্য আগে বলেছিলেন, সিয়াচেন সমস্যা মেটার মুখে। তিনি আজও বলেন, “দু’পক্ষেই রাজনৈতিক সদিচ্ছা রয়েছে। সেটাই বড় কথা।”-পি টি আই

বাম চাপেই রাতারাতি ভোল বদল ভারতের

প্রথম পাতার পর

করবে না যাতে মনে হয়, নেপালের উপরে কেনও কিছু চাপিয়ে দিতে চাইছে ভারত। সেই অনুযায়ী বিদেশসচিব আজ বারবার বলেন, নেপালের পুরোদস্তুর গণতন্ত্র কী ভাবে ফিরবে, তা নিয়ে ভারতের কোনও 'প্রেসক্রিপশন' নেই। তাঁর বক্তব্য, এটা পুরোপুরি নেপালের মানুষের উপর নির্ভর করছে। জার্মানির বিমানে সাংবাদিকদের একই কথা জানিয়েছেন মনমোহনও। তাঁর কথায়, "নেপালে সব পক্ষকে আলোচনায় আনটাই আমাদের লক্ষ্য।"

এই বক্তব্যের তাৎপর্য, শুধু কালকের কথা থেকে পিছিয়ে যাওয়ার মতোই সীমাবদ্ধ নয়। ভারত অনেক দিন ধরেই বলে আসছে, নেপালের সমস্যার সমাধান হবে বহুদলীয় গণতন্ত্র ও সাংবিধানিক রাজতন্ত্র— এই দুইয়ের সৃষ্টি সমন্বয়ে। কিন্তু আজ বিদেশসচিব যা বলেছেন, তার অর্থ, সাংবিধানিক রাজতন্ত্র থাকবে কি থাকবে না, তা নেপালের মানুষই ঠিক করবেন। কেন এ ভাবে তাঁরা মত বদলালেন, তা নিয়ে এক প্রশ্নের উত্তরে সারন বলেন, "আগে নেপালের নেতারা বলেছিলেন সমস্যার সমাধান হবে বহুদলীয় গণতন্ত্র ও সাংবিধানিক রাজতন্ত্রের মাধ্যমে। তাই আমরাও সে কথা বলেছিলাম। এখন নেপালের মানুষ যদি অন্য কিছু চান, তা হলে আমাদের তাতে আপত্তি করার কোনও কারণ নেই।"

নানা ধরনের চাপে পড়েই যে ভারত আজ উল্টো সুর গাইতে শুরু করেছে, তাতে সন্দেহ নেই। তার মধ্যে নেপালে কী প্রতিক্রিয়া হয়েছে, তা যেমন আছে, তেমনই আছে দেশের ভিতর বামদের চাপ। সরকারের সমর্থক সিপিএম এবং সিপিআই দুই দলই সরকারকে বুঝিয়ে দিয়েছে, নেপালের মানুষের ইচ্ছার বিরুদ্ধে গিয়ে রাজাকে সাহায্য করার চেষ্টা তাঁরা মোটেই ভাল চোখে দেখছেন না। সিপিএম পলিটব্যুরো এক বিবৃতিতে বলে, শুধু প্রশাসনিক ক্ষমতা রাজনৈতিক দলগুলির হাতে তুলে দেওয়ার ইচ্ছা প্রকাশ করে রাজা সেনাবাহিনীর নিয়ন্ত্রণ-সহ সমস্ত কার্যকরী ক্ষমতা নিজের হাতে রাখার চেষ্টা করেছেন। নেপালের সমস্ত রাজনৈতিক দল যা চায়, সেই অনুযায়ী নতুন সংবিধান রচনার জন্য গণ-পরিষদ গঠনের দাবিকে সমর্থন করে সিপিএম বলে, "কেন্দ্রীয় সরকার নেপালের মানুষের ইচ্ছাটা বোঝার চেষ্টা করলেই মঙ্গল।"

কলকাতায় এক সাংবাদিক সম্মেলনে দলের পলিটব্যুরো সদস্য সীতারাম ইয়েচুরি বলেন, "বাম, সমাজবাদী পার্টি, আরজেডি, এনসিপি-সহ বিভিন্ন দলের প্রতিনিধিরা চান, নেপালের জনগণের আন্দোলনকে পূর্ণ মর্যাদা দিয়ে রাজতন্ত্রের অবসান এবং বহুদলীয় সংসদের হাতে সেনাবাহিনী-সহ সব ক্ষমতা তুলে দেওয়ার জন্য ভারত যেন রাজার উপর চাপ সৃষ্টি করে।" নেপালি মাওবাদীরা অস্ত্র পরিত্যাগ করে বহুদলীয় গণতান্ত্রিক ব্যবস্থায় সামিল হওয়ার কথা বলেছেন বলে সিপিএমের দাবি। ইয়েচুরি বলেন, "এ ব্যাপারে ওদের দলে যথেষ্ট আলোচনা হয়েছে। তারপরেই ওরা সিদ্ধান্ত নিয়েছে। নেপালের মাওবাদী নেতা প্রচণ্ড জানিয়েছেন, যে ভাবে গত শতকে রুশ বা চীন বিপ্লব হয়েছে, সে পথে এই শতাব্দীতে বিপ্লব হবে না। গণতান্ত্রিক পথেই ক্ষমতায় যেতে হবে। সিপিএমও তাই বলে। সেই কারণেই অতীতে মাওবাদীদের সঙ্গে যে সম্পর্কই থাকুক, সিপিএম চায়, নেপালে সরকার গঠনের প্রক্রিয়ায় অবশ্যই মাওবাদীদের সামিল করতে হবে।"

তিনি ভারত সরকারের দূতের ভূমিকায় নেপাল যাবেন কি না সেই প্রশ্নে ইয়েচুরি বলেন, "ভারত সরকারের দূত হিসাবে কেন কাঠমাণ্ডু যাব? যদি নেপালের মানুষ তথা রাজনৈতিক পার্টির নেতারা চান, তা হলে নিশ্চয় মাওবাদী-সহ বিভিন্ন দলের নেতৃত্বের সঙ্গে কথা বলতে নেপাল যেতে পারি।" সিপিআইও বলেছে, নয়াদিল্লি যে ভাবে রাজাকে রক্ষার চেষ্টা করছে, তাঁরা তার বিরোধী। কারণ নেপালের মানুষ রাজতন্ত্রের উচ্ছেদ চাইছেন। রাতারাতি ভোল বদল করে সরকার বামদের মন রাখতে পারলেও সরকারের নতুন বক্তব্য অশুশি করতে পারে বিজেপিকে। প্রধান বিরোধী দল কিন্তু এখনও গণতন্ত্র-রাজতন্ত্রের সহাবস্থান এবং মাওবাদীদের বিচ্ছিন্ন করার পুরনো লাইনই আঁকড়ে রেখেছে। ছত্তীসগড়ে আজও সে কথা বলেছেন লালকৃষ্ণ আডবানী।

ANADABAZAR PAFIKA

India won't end N-tests, asserts PM

TNN AND AGENCIES

Washington: Prime Minister Manmohan Singh has categorically ruled out placing all of India's nuclear reactors under full scope safeguards and reaffirmed commitment on unilateral moratorium without predicting what the "distant future" holds.

"No. We would like the world to move towards universal nuclear disarmament," he said in an interview to *The Washington Post* published on Thursday, when asked if India would ever put all its reactors under full scope safeguards.

Some critics of the Bush administration have said that the US should have insisted on India placing all its reactors under full scope safeguards for the civilian N-energy cooperation between the two countries.

Given the circumstances, India needed a strategic N-arms programme, he said. "In our neighbourhood, China is a nuclear power and ... there is Pakistan which developed its weapons through clandestine proliferation."

He said that he could not imagine circumstances that would require India to re-

sume its nuclear testing. "Our scientists tell me they need no further tests. As for the distant future, I cannot predict forever, but our commitment is to continue our unilateral moratorium," he said.

Describing the US as the "pre-eminent" superpower in the world, Singh said the "lack of nuclear cooperation is the last remaining cobweb from our old relationship, and we can now sweep it aside... There are no other barriers to a more productive, more durable relationship with the US. The potential is enormous for our two nations."

He maintained that India's relationship with the US was not aimed at China. "...We are not developing our relationship with the US at the cost of our relationship with China, which is our neighbour and with which our trade is growing at a handsome rate... President Bush told me this is a sensible way to proceed, and that America will remain engaged with China, too," he said.

On Iran, he urged the US to allow time for the maximum scope for dialogue. But, he stressed that "we are very clear that we do not want another nuclear weapons power in the region."

'Our scientists tell me they need no further tests. As for the distant future, I cannot predict for ever, but our commitment is to continue our unilateral moratorium'



"No placing nuke reactors under full scope safeguards"

Manmohan points to unilateral moratorium

WASHINGTON: Prime Minister Manmohan Singh categorically ruled out placing all of India's nuclear reactors under full scope safeguards and reaffirmed commitment to a unilateral moratorium without predicting what the "distant future" held.

For global disarmament

"No. We would like the world to move toward universal nuclear disarmament," he said in an interview to *The Washington Post* published on Thursday, when asked if India would ever put all its reactors under full scope safeguards.

Some critics of the Bush administration have said that the United States should have insisted on India placing all its reactors under full scope safeguards for the civilian nuclear energy cooperation between the two countries.

'India needs it'

The Prime Minister said given the circumstances, India needed a strategic nuclear weapons programme. "In our neighbourhood, China is a nuclear power and on our western frontier there is Pakistan, which developed its weapons through clandestine proliferation."

Dr. Singh also said that he could not imagine circumstances that would necessitate India to resume its nuclear testing that many here had said was the country's sovereign right.

• Says India needs the strategic programme as China, Pakistan had nuke weapons

• Feels accord holds tremendous potential for both countries

• Asserts that ties with U.S. not at the cost of ties with China

• On Iran, he says India does not want another nuke power in that region

"Our scientists tell me they need no further tests. As for the distant future, I cannot predict forever, but our commitment is to continue our unilateral moratorium," the Prime Minister said.

Describing the U.S. as the 'pre-eminent' superpower in the world, Dr. Singh said the "lack of nuclear cooperation is the last remaining cobweb from our old relationship, and we can now sweep it aside... There are no other barriers to a more productive, more durable relationship with the United States. The potential is enormous for our two nations."

Ties in India's interest

He said it was in India's interest to have good relations

with the U.S. "as a very important partner in realising our development ambitions."

Dr. Singh suggested that one way of helping with development and environmental protection was for the U.S. Congress to approve legislative changes that clear the way for that country to provide civilian nuclear technology and supplies to India after a 32-year ban.

The historic nuclear cooperation deal, yet to be approved by the Congress, was finalised during President George W. Bush's visit to New Delhi last month.

Not aimed at China

The Prime Minister maintained that India's relationship with the U.S. was not aimed at China.

"...we are not developing our relationship with the U.S. at the cost of our relationship with China, which is our neighbour and with which our trade is growing at a handsome rate... President Bush told me this is a sensible way to proceed, and that America will remain engaged with China, too," he said.

On Iran, Dr. Singh urged Washington to allow time for the maximum scope for dialogue and discussions. "The Iranian regime may need some time to settle down."

But, he stressed that "we are very clear that we do not want another nuclear weapons power in the region." — PTI

21 APR 2005

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India rejects US condition

OUR SPECIAL
CORRESPONDENT

New Delhi, April 17: India today said it would not accept the US proposal requiring Delhi to give up the option of a nuclear test, but iterated its commitment to the unilateral moratorium on testing it has been following.

Responding to a report in **The Telegraph**, the external affairs ministry confirmed that Washington had sent to New Delhi a draft of what is called the "123 agreement" — named after Section 123 of the US Atomic Energy Act — the two countries will sign.

"The US had shared with India some weeks ago a preliminary draft agreement on Indo-US civil nuclear cooperation under Article 123 of the US Atomic Energy Act," a

spokesperson said.

One of the clauses of the 22-page draft, which is in possession of this paper, requires India to commit to forgoing the option to conduct further nuclear tests. If it were to violate this commitment, the Americans would stop civilian nuclear cooperation, which was agreed between Prime Minister Manmohan Singh and President George W. Bush on July 18, 2005.

India has told the US that these conditions are not acceptable, the spokesperson said. "In preliminary discussions on these elements, 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 ministry said.

It was reported in this paper yesterday that the bilateral agreement was in addition to Washington's attempt in the US Congress to impose the Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty (CTBT) on India through the backdoor.

The bill that is now before the US Congress contains the no-testing clause for India. The legislation will amend the US Atomic Energy Act, which is necessary for Washington to be able to implement the nuclear cooperation deal with India.

The external affairs ministry has reaffirmed India's position that it would sign the CTBT only if the treaty was made universal and all its signatories destroyed their nu-

clear arsenal. India's refusal to sign the CTBT is making the passage of the Indo-US nuclear deal through Congress tough.

Now, its refusal to agree to the no-testing clause in the bilateral agreement will make it even more difficult for the Bush administration to get Congress to clear the amendment.

By making the no-testing clause a part of the amendment bill, the administration has already in a way committed India's acceptance of it to Congress. With Delhi now declining the proposal, the draft agreement will enter a phase of hard negotiation.

Voices from the US have been causing discomfort in New Delhi. Foreign secretary Shyam Saran has said India will not accept any new conditions.

THE TELEGRAPH

8 APR 2005

Nuclear deal-I

Business Negotiation With Carrots And Sticks Attached

Once again, the Indian foreign policy establishment could not differentiate euphoria from the reality regarding the nuclear offer from the USA. The recent joy in India that the US is about to relax total ban of nuclear cooperation with India and will offer India nuclear power plants and F-16 aircraft is turning to disappointment.

The correct situation is that the USA is not offering anything at all. It has forced members of the Nuclear Suppliers Group, 45 countries of the world including Russia, not to supply anything at all to India regarding nuclear energy and related matters.

Russia, after India's nuclear tests in 1974, was India's only source of materials for nuclear energy, including weapons and nuclear power plants. The only exceptions are the USA, which has continued to supply fuels for the Tarapur nuclear plant for some years, and China, which has supplied fuel for the Tarapur plant after the refusal of the US to do so.

Russian supplies

Russia so far has supplied India heavy water plants, reprocessing plants, fast breeder reactors and two fresh nuclear power plants with the excuse that the contracts for these were signed between India and the Soviet Union, which Russia has to oblige. However, other member countries, particularly the USA, would not listen to that argument and have practically forced Russia to stop supplying new nuclear power plants or new supplies for India's nuclear industries unless India allows inspections by the International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA).

That would practically means that India has no choice but to abandon nuclear weapons programme and to accept full-scale safeguard from the IAEA so that in future India would not be able to produce any weapons grade nuclear materials either.

Owing to the objections raised by the USA, Russia is not interested in continuing to supply nuclear material or power plants to India. The sudden shift of Russia's position is the result of India's decision to ignore Russia and to buy

Dipak Basu

weapons systems, aircraft, submarines from Israel, Britain and France and India's growing interest to purchase aircraft from the USA.

Now the USA is suggesting that if India would purchase nuclear power plants not from Russia but from the US, these res-

surrender for India regarding its nuclear energy and weapons programme. If India buys nuclear power plants from the US, these would be under full-scale inspection of the IAEA, thus India cannot divert anything from these plants for the defence services. India will not get the re-



The nuclear offer of the US is not a friendly gesture to India but a process of surrender for India regarding its nuclear energy and weapons programme

trictions can be relaxed in case India can separate civilians power plants from those which can be even remotely utilised by the Indian defence establishments.

Both of these steps require massive financial investments. The purchase of nuclear power plants from the USA would mean paying possibly ten times more than the cost of corresponding Russian nuclear power plants. The recent offer of France has the same implication.

Thus, it is a kind of business negotiation with carrots and sticks attached to it. In practice, India has no other option but to accept the American offer. India's relationship with Russia is going downhill for the last few years as India is purchasing weapons at a much higher cost from France, Israel, Britain and will possibly buy from the USA, not from Russia. As a result, Putin is reluctant to support India anymore.

The nuclear offer of the US is not a friendly gesture to India but a process of

directly every type of weapons technology via Israel, France, Pakistan, and Turkey. The USA also made China as the permanent member of the UN Security Council as a counterweight against the Soviet Union.

However, the USA has no intention to use India in the same way because of some important reasons. There was no American investment in the Soviet Union in 1972, but the bulk of the foreign investments in China today are from the US and its allied countries. The Soviet Union did not have in 1972 massive amounts of US dollars as its foreign exchange reserve, as China has today. There was virtually no trade between the USA and the Soviet Union except during the late 1980s. However, China's exports and as a result its economy depends on the USA, the UK, Australia, Japan and Western Europe.

USA and China

If the USA wants to destroy China as a power, it can do so without firing a single bullet but by just not importing from China and asking its allies not to import from China. The USA had followed that policy in 1934 against Japan, but it has no intention to follow it against China, because that would undermine investments of large number of American companies and their profit. China can also retaliate against the USA just by selling its dollar reserve, which would mean a massive devaluation of the US dollar and destruction of the special status of the US dollar as the international reserve currency.

There is no need for the US to earn foreign exchange to pay for its imports or to pay for the American military bases all over the world in any other currency but in US dollar. This unique position would diminished if China suddenly exchanges its dollar holdings into Euro. That can destroy the American economy, as the USA would not be able to use dollar to get its imports. The USA would be unable to pay for the expenses of the American military bases as well thus, reducing the US to a regional power, not a world power. Close bilateral relationship through trade and investments has made the USA and China indispensable to each other.

(To be concluded)

বিস্ফোরণ সম্প্রীতি নষ্টের চেষ্ঠায়, সন্দেহ লঙ্করকেই

নিজস্ব সংবাদদাতা, নয়াদিল্লি, ১৫ এপ্রিল: জামা মসজিদের পরিস্থিতি আজ অনেকটা স্বাভাবিক হয়ে এলেও গতকালের বিস্ফোরণকে ঘিরে সাম্প্রদায়িক সম্প্রীতি যাতে ক্ষুণ্ণ না হয়, সেই ব্যাপারে সতর্ক রয়েছে কেন্দ্রীয় সরকার। আজ সন্ধ্যায় প্রধানমন্ত্রী মনমোহন সিংহ জামা মসজিদে গিয়ে শাহি ইমাম সৈয়দ আহমেদ বুখারির সঙ্গে দেখা করেন। বেরিয়ে এসে তিনি সাংবাদিকদের বলেন, “শাহি ইমাম গতকালই সাম্প্রদায়িক সম্প্রীতি বজায় রাখার জন্য আবেদন জানিয়েছেন। এটাই এই মুহূর্তে সব চেয়ে গুরুত্বপূর্ণ কাজ।” গত কাল বিস্ফোরণের পরে জনগণ যে সংখ্যম দেখিয়েছেন তার প্রশংসা করে প্রধানমন্ত্রী বলেন, “ঐক্যবদ্ধ হয়ে এই পরিস্থিতির মোকাবিলা করতে হবে আমাদের।” জামা মসজিদ ও বারানসীর সঙ্কটমোচন মন্দিরে বিস্ফোরণের সিবিআই তদন্ত চেয়েছেন শাহি ইমাম।

ইতিমধ্যে জামা মসজিদে বিস্ফোরণের পর টুকরো টুকরো তথ্য, প্রমাণ, সাক্ষ্য খুঁজে হামলার রহস্য মোচনের চেষ্ঠা চালাচ্ছে স্বরাষ্ট্রমন্ত্রক। আজ সকালেই তৈরি হয়েছে কেন্দ্রীয় গোয়েন্দা বাহিনীর বিশেষ দল। সকালে পুলিশ কমিশনার কে কে পলের সঙ্গে বৈঠক করেছেন কেন্দ্রীয় স্বরাষ্ট্র সচিব ভি কে দুগ্লল। বিস্ফোরণস্থল থেকে পাওয়া নমুনা পরীক্ষা করে ফরেনসিক বিশেষজ্ঞেরা দেখছেন সাধারণ বোমার মশলা ব্যবহার করা হয়েছে। এই ধরনের বিস্ফোরক জামা মসজিদের মতো স্পর্শকাতর ও গুরুত্বপূর্ণ জায়গায় কেন ব্যবহার করা হল, সেটাই গোয়েন্দাদের গবেষণার বিষয় হয়ে দাঁড়িয়েছে। স্বরাষ্ট্রমন্ত্রক সূত্রে জানা যাচ্ছে গোয়েন্দাদের অনুমান, খুব বড় ধরনের বিস্ফোরণ ঘটিয়ে বহু লোকের প্রাণনাশ করার (যা ঘটেছিল এর আগের দিল্লির বিস্ফোরণে) উদ্দেশ্য ছিল না দুষ্কৃতীদের। এক পুলিশ কর্তার বক্তব্য, “এই বিস্ফোরণের উদ্দেশ্য ছিল আতঙ্ক তৈরি করা। আরও নির্দিষ্ট করে বললে জামা মসজিদের মতো জায়গা বেছে নেওয়া হয়েছিল যাতে দেশে সাম্প্রদায়িক শক্তি মাথা চাড়া দেয়।”

গতকালের জোড়া বিস্ফোরণের ঘটনায় লঙ্কর-ই-তইবার জঙ্গিনেতা আব্দুল করিম টুভার দলের কয়েকজনকে জেরা

করছেন কেন্দ্রীয় গোয়েন্দারা। '৯৬ থেকে '৯৮ পর্যন্ত দিল্লিতে বেশ কয়েকটি বিস্ফোরণের ঘটনায় জড়িত ছিল টুভা ও তার দলবল। দিল্লির স্পেশাল সেলের যুগ্ম কমিশনার কর্নেল সিংহ বলেন, “আগেকার হানা-সহ বিভিন্ন দিক আমরা খতিয়ে দেখছি। তদন্ত চলছে।”

'৯৬ সালে দিল্লিতে যে বিস্ফোরণ হয়েছিল, গত কালের ঘটনায় একই ধরনের বিস্ফোরক ব্যবহার করা হয়েছে বলে গোয়েন্দাসূত্রের খবর। পুলিশ মূলত সেই কারণেই জামা মসজিদের ঘটনায় টুভার হাত থাকার সম্ভাবনা রয়েছে বলে

বুখারির কাছে মনমোহন



নিরাপত্তার ঘেরাটোপে জামা মসজিদ। — এ এফ পি

মনে করছে। ২০০৩ সালে সে বাংলাদেশে পুলিশের সঙ্গে সংঘর্ষে মারা গিয়েছিল বলে খবর রটে, কিন্তু পরে জানা যায় সে পাকিস্তানে পালিয়ে গিয়েছিল। গাজিয়াবাদের বাসিন্দা টুভা '৯৬-'৯৭ সালে একবার কলকাতায় গিয়েছিল বলেও গোয়েন্দাসূত্রের খবর।

বিস্ফোরণের চক্কিশ ঘণ্টা হতে চলল এখনও এই নাশকতার দায়িত্ব স্বীকার করেনি কোনও সংগঠন। যা তথ্য এর পর ছয়ের পাতায়

বিস্ফোরণ সম্প্রীতি নষ্টের চেষ্ঠায়

প্রথম পাতার পর

পাওয়া যাচ্ছে তা বিশ্লেষণ করে দেখা যাচ্ছে পটাশিয়াম ক্লোরাইড এবং সালফিউরিক অ্যাসিডের সংমিশ্রণ ঘটিয়ে সেই চূর্ণের মধ্যে লোহা, পেরেক, স্ক্রু মিশিয়ে বিস্ফোরণ ঘটানো হয়েছিল। এ বারের বিস্ফোরণের পিছনে বাংলাদেশের হকরত-উল-জিহাদ-আল-ইসলাম সংগঠনটিরও হাত থাকতে পারে মনে করছে পুলিশ। গোয়েন্দাসূত্র বলছে, আল কায়দার সঙ্গে যোগাযোগ রেখে চলছে বাংলাদেশের বিভিন্ন জঙ্গি সংগঠন। এই সংগঠনটি খোদ ওসামা বিন লাদেনের তৈরি বলেই খবর। কাশ্মীর এবং আফগানিস্তানে 'লড়াই' করার জন্য 'সেনা' তৈরির উদ্দেশ্যে এই সংগঠনটির জন্ম দেওয়া হয়েছিল। ভারতীয় গোয়েন্দাদের কাছে এই প্রমাণও রয়েছে ওইসব এলাকায় প্রচার-কৌশল তৈরির খসড়া নির্মাণের সময় লাদেন বাংলাদেশে পাঠিয়েছিল তার ব্যক্তিগত সচিবকে।

Saran strikes back over N-deal

No defining minimum deterrent

NILOVA Roy Chaudhary
New Delhi, April 8

DENYING ANY suggestions that the Indo-US nuclear deal had damaged the credibility of India's nuclear deterrent, foreign secretary Shyam Saran said India had preserved all its "basic positions". In an interview with Karan Thapar on CNN-IBN, Saran lashed out at critics of the deal, saying, "Why are we always so worried about screws being tightened on us?"

"As if someone can come and turn the screws on us and we just lie back and be screwed", Saran said in what was probably the hardest-hitting response ever to criticism of the deal.

Particularly irked by criticism from former Prime Minister Atal Bihari Vajpayee, who sought parity and an all-time waiver from Washington, as China had done, Saran said there was a "factual problem" with his contention. China was a recognised nuclear weapons state under NPT, while India was not.

"No, absolutely not. Hundred per cent no", he snapped when Thapar played 'devil's advocate' and asked if India's defence security had been sacrificed in finalising the deal on civilian nuclear energy cooperation.

Under the nuclear deal agreed upon with the US, India's decision on a moratorium on further testing remains, but there was no mention of a permanent ban. "What we've committed to is very apparent in the July 18 (2005) joint statement, where we have said India would continue its moratorium on nuclear testing", he said. "There's nothing legally binding. But it's a fact that there's a US law that is of a long-standing nature, which says that the US will be obliged to stop all cooperation with a country that explodes a nuclear explosive device", Saran said.

Simultaneously, in an interview to NDTV, Saran turned down US suggestions that it define its credible minimum nuclear deterrent, saying it had "no responsibility" to "declare" it.

**NUCLEAR
REALITY**



PAK VOICE

Pakistan indicated on Saturday it was open to a South Asian moratorium on atomic weapons' production but linked it to a "package" deal similar to the Indo-US pact, a foreign office spokesperson said in Islamabad, stressing on the package approach. Foreign minister Khurshid M Kasuri said Pakistan was trying to convince US to strike a package N-deal to maintain balance of power in South Asia. *PTI*

US team arrives in Delhi today

S. Rajagopalan
Washington, April 8

EVEN AS the US Congress has begun deliberations on the landmark nuclear deal with India, a delegation of senior lawmakers, led by Speaker Dennis Hastert, is on its way to New Delhi for discussions with the Indian leadership.

The eight-member group will call on Prime Minister Manmohan Singh, UPA chairperson Sonia Gandhi and other leaders during its April 9-12 visit that will focus on the nuclear pact and the transformed relations between the two countries.

With the US Congress going into a two-week Easter recess, lawmakers are heading in different directions. Besides the delegation led by Hastert, two other teams are set to visit India and they will include senior Senators Edward Kennedy and Chuck Hagel.

The visits are regarded as important at a time when Washington and New Delhi are keen on Congress putting the nuke deal on the fast track. US officials are still eyeing a vote by May or June, while some lawmakers have darkly hinted that the process could take several months.

Phulpur Cleric Was Alleged Mastermind of Blast From B'desh

6 Varanasi blast accused arrested

Times News Network

Lucknow: Six terrorists involved in the March 7 twin blasts in Varanasi were arrested in a joint operation of the Special Task Force (STF) and Varanasi police. They owe allegiance to Harkat-ul-Jehad-al-Islami (HUJI), a terrorist organisation of Bangladesh. One AK-47 assault rifle, three hand grenades of HE-36 make, 12 hand grenades, six kg of RDX, three kg of PETN plastic explosive, 10 detonator fuse, one .32 bore pistol with magazine and six cartridges were recovered from their possession.

Those arrested are Waliullah, a cleric from Phulpur, Allahabad, the alleged mastermind behind the Varanasi operation, Mahbuq Ali Mandal alias Mahboob of 24 Parganas, West Bengal, Syed Shoaib Hasan alias Hamza of Thakurganj, Lucknow, Moham- mad Rizwan Siddiqui of Amroha, Jyotiba Phule Nagar, Farhan of Saadatganj, Lucknow and Mo- hammad Shaad Ali alias Babbu alias Shaad of Amroha, Jyotiba

Phule Nagar.

Varanasi police, while probing the blasts, got information that some of the terrorists involved in the blast were in Haidergarh, Bara Banki. Waliullah was ar- rested on this information. S K Bhagat, SSP STF, formed teams to nab the remaining terror- ists. On the basis of information furnished by Waliullah, the other five were arrested. Their iden- tification by an in- former helped in nab- bing them.

Waliullah, a mem- ber of Jaish-e-Mo- hammad (JeM), used to give refuge to ter- rorists earlier. He was arrested in 2001 along with his two brothers (case no 104/2001) in Phulpur, Allahabad. After coming out of jail, he re- newed his contacts with JeM. In June 2004, he went to Bangladesh with the help of Bashir alias Bashiruddin, an

area commander of Harkat-ul- Jihad-al-Islami (HUJI). Bashir and Waliullah had studied to- gether in Deoband.

In Dhaka, Waliullah met Asadullah, commander of HUJI, who appointed him area com- mander of UP. Waliul- lah's job was to send young men to Dhaka, from where they were to be sent to Pakistan for training. Waliul- lah was to be given di- rections about the kind of work he was to give to these trained men. Waliullah came back to Phulpur after this meeting.

Waliullah sent Mahboob Ali, Syed Shoaib Hasan alias Hamza, Mohammad Rizwan Sid- dique, Mohammad Shaad Ali alias Babbu, and two boys by the name of Shahid who belong to Mau-Aaima in Allahabad and run a powerloom in Bhiwandi, to Bangladesh.

According to Waliullah, he at-

tended a meeting of Tablig Jamaat Ijtama on February 23 in Mau- Aaima (Allahabad). He was told that Asadullah will send some men from Bangladesh and he should get 'this side's job done through them as the other job (Del- hi blast) had already been done'.

On March 3, the three Bangladeshi men, Bashiruddin alias Bashir, Mustfeez, and Za- karia reached Waliullah's house with two bags, around 9 pm. Wal- iullah said that the three had studied with him at Deoband for many years. He arranged for them to stay in the rented house opposite his own house. This place was used for keeping goods belonging to the madrassa.

The three bought three pres- sure cookers from Allahabad on March 6. They made the bomb that very night, using the explo- sives they were carrying with them. On the morning of March 7, they boarded Bundelkhand Express for Varanasi. The ar- rested terrorists have confessed that they work for HUJI, which is an off-shoot of JeM.



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পরমাণু বিরোধে তেলকে অস্ত্র করা হবে না, সুর নরম ইরানের

জেনিভা, ১ এপ্রিল: ইরান আগের ছম্বকি থেকে সরে আসায় আন্তর্জাতিক বাজারে তেলের দাম কমল কিছুটা। দু'দিনের জন্য জেনিভা সফরে এসে ইরানের বিদেশমন্ত্রী মাদৌচের মোস্তাক্কি গত কাল ঘোষণা করেছেন, পরমাণু কর্মসূচি নিয়ে বিরোধের জেরে তারা তেলকে অস্ত্র হিসাবে ব্যবহার করবেন না। বরং আলোচনার মাধ্যমে পরমাণু কর্মসূচি নিয়ে সমঝোতার পথ তারা খুলেই রেখেছেন। তবে ইরান যে ইউরেনিয়াম শোধনের আইনি অধিকার ছাড়তে নারাজ সে কথাও প্পষ্ট জানিয়েছেন মোস্তাক্কি।

তেল নিয়ে ইরানের এই আপাত নরম সুর পেট্রোলিয়ামের বাজারকে সামান্য ঠান্ডা করলেও রাষ্ট্রপুঞ্জের পরমাণু নজরদারি সংস্থার প্রধান মহম্মদ এল বারাদেই সংঘত প্রতিক্রিয়াই জানিয়েছেন। তাঁর বক্তব্য, ভেঙে যাওয়া আলোচনা আবার শুরু করা যাবে কি না সেটা নির্ভর করছে ইরান তার জন্য কতটা অনুকূল বাতাবরণ তৈরি করছে তার উপর। ইরানকে আরও স্বচ্ছ হতে হবে তাদের পরমাণু

কর্মসূচির ব্যাপারে। ইরান, ব্যারবারেই বলে আসছে, রোমা তৈরি বা সামরিক উদ্দেশ্যে নয়, তারা পরমাণু শক্তিকে আনামরিক কাজে ব্যবহার করতে চায়। জেনিভাতে ইরানের বিদেশমন্ত্রী মোস্তাক্কি তারই পুনর্দাব্যক্তি করে বলেছেন, "যদি মনে করা হয় ইউরেনিয়াম শোধনের আইনি অধিকার ইরান ছেড়ে দেবে, সেটা ভুল। বাস্তবে সেটা কখনোই ঘটবে না।" 'তেলাস্ত্র' নিয়ে সুর নরম, কবান পাশাপাশি ইরান আরও একটি কাজ করেছে স্ক্রুবার। এ দিনই দেশীয় প্রযুক্তিতে তৈরি একটি ক্ষেপণাস্ত্র পরীক্ষামূলক ভাবে উৎক্ষেপণ করেছে ইরানের সশস্ত্র বাহিনী। ইরানের সরকারি টেলিভিশন জানিয়েছে, পরীক্ষা সফল হয়েছে। ক্ষেপণাস্ত্রটি রাডারের নজর এড়িয়ে লক্ষ্যে আঘাত হানতে সক্ষম বলে উল্লেখ করেছে তারা।

ইরানের এই ক্ষেপণাস্ত্র পরীক্ষা উপসাগরীয় এলাকায় মোতাবেন পশ্চিমী সলবারিভিনীর উজ্জ্বল বাজারে পলেই মনে করছেন সুরের বিশেষজ্ঞরা।

যদিও ইজরায়েলি ক্ষেপণাস্ত্র বিশেষজ্ঞ উজ্জ্বল কবিন একে খুব বেশি গুরুত্ব দিতে নারাজ। তিনি বলেন, "যে রকম বর্ণনা শোনা গিয়েছিল, তা মিলছে না। ইরান যেটা নিজেদের তৈরি বলে দাবি করছে, তার শব্দ কিন্তু রুশ ক্ষেপণাস্ত্র 'ইসকান্দার-ই'র মতো। ওরা স্বেফ ধাক্কাও দিতে থাকতে পারে।"

ইরান তাদের পরমাণু কর্মসূচির কথা প্রায় ২০ বছর ধরে আন্তর্জাতিক পরমাণু শক্তি সংস্থার আড়ালে রোপে এসেছে।

সে দেশে তিন বছর ধরে অনুসন্ধান চালিয়েও আন্তর্জাতিক পরমাণু শক্তি সংস্থার প্রধান বারাদেই নিশ্চিত করে পদক্ষেপে গ্যারেন্টি ইরানের পরমাণু কর্মসূচি সত্যিই শান্তিপূর্ণ কিনা। এ নিয়ে আলোচনা প্রক্রিয়াও ভেঙে যাওয়ার পর রাষ্ট্রপুঞ্জের নিরাপত্তা পরিষদ গত বৃহবার ইরানকে ইউরেনিয়াম শোধন বন্ধ করার জন্য ৩০ দিন সময় দিয়েছে। মুখে সমঝোতার রাস্তা খোলা রাখার কথা বললেও, ইরান অবশ্য এ ক্ষেত্রে নমনীয়তা দেখাচ্ছে না। — রয়টার্স

ইরাকে তুল হয়েচ্ছে, মানগেন কন্ডোলিজা

ব্রাকবার্ন, ১ এপ্রিল: ইরাক প্রসঙ্গে আমেরিকা অস্ত্রত হাজারখানেক নিতিগত তুল করেছে বলে মনে করেন মার্কিন বিদেশ সচিব কন্ডোলিজা রাইস। তবে সাদ্দাম হুসেনের স্বেচ্ছাচারিতা ও একনায়কত্বের অবসান ঘটিয়ে গণতন্ত্রের বীজ রোপণ করার অন্য কোনও রাস্তা ছিল না বলেও মন্তব্য করেছেন তিনি।

ব্রিটেনের বিদেশ সচিব জ্যাক স্ট্রয়ের আমন্ত্রণে ব্রাকবার্ন ও লিভারপুল সফরে এসেছেন রাইস। তবে তাঁর এই সফর তেমন মসৃণ নয়। ব্রিটেনের উত্তর-পশ্চিমের এই অঞ্চলগুলিতে তাঁর বিরুদ্ধে প্রতি পদে তুমুল বিক্ষোভ দেখিয়েছেন স্থানীয় অধিবাসীরা।

এখানকার বাসিন্দাদের অধিকাংশই মুসলিম সম্প্রদায়ের মানুষ। রয়েছে দক্ষিণ এশিয়ার অনেক লোকও। বৃশ বিরোধী স্লোগান ও প্লাকার্ড নিয়ে অসংখ্য লোক বিক্ষোভে সামিল হন। ব্রাকবার্নের একটি মসজিদেও যাওয়ার কথা ছিল রাইসের। কিন্তু বিক্ষোভ এমন পর্যায়ে ওঠে, যে তা বাতিল করে দেন নিরাপত্তা কর্মীরা। লিভারপুলে

শিশুদের একটি স্কুলে গিয়েও বড় বিক্ষোভের সামনে পড়তে হয় মার্কিন বিদেশ সচিবকে।

ব্রিটেনের খ্যাতনামা চ্যাথাম হাউস ফরেন পলিসি ইনস্টিটিউট-এ একটি সম্মেলনে অস্তুত ২০০ শিক্ষার্থী, অফিসার ও সাংবাদিকের সামনে বক্তৃতা দিতে গিয়ে কন্ডোলিজা রাইস কাল বলেন, "আমি নিশ্চিত, আমেরিকা প্রায় হাজারটা তুল নীতি গ্রহণ করেছে ইরাকে। তবে ২০০৩-এর মাঠে ইরাক আক্রমণ ওই তুলের তালিকার বাইরে। সাদ্দাম হুসেনকে গদিচ্যুত করে পশ্চিম এশিয়ায় উদার গণতন্ত্রের প্রতিষ্ঠা করার প্রয়োজনটা ছিল অনেক তাৎপর্যপূর্ণ।"

রাইসের এই বক্তব্য সমালোচকদের হাতে নতুন অস্ত্র তুলে দেবে সন্দেহ নেই। ঘরে-বাইরে বৃশ প্রশাসনের উপরে যুদ্ধ বিরোধী যে বিক্ষোভ ও চাপ চলছে, তাতে ইরান জুগিয়েছিল প্রাক্তন মার্কিন বিদেশ সচিব কলিন পাওয়ারের কিছু মন্তব্য। তার উত্তরসূরি রাইসের এই স্বীকারোক্তির ফল কী হয়, তা এখন নিয়েই জল্পনা তুলে। — এ এফ পি

Saran caution on N-deal change

S. Rajagopalan
Washington, April 1

INDIA HAS cautioned US lawmakers that seeking changes to the nuclear deal could upset the "delicate balance" of a pact hammered out after protracted and complex negotiations.

Foreign secretary Shyam Saran, wrapping up a three-day visit during which he called on several key lawmakers, told a news conference that the deal "should go ahead as it is" once the concerns on Capitol Hill are met. Saran's assessment is in line with that of the Bush administration that any re-opening or renegotiation of the pact at this point could prove to be a "deal-breaker".

"If you start making revisions and changes, the balance is likely to be upset," he said in reply to questions on indications by some lawmakers that the Congress could seek conditions, changes or improvements in order to approve the deal.

"What has emerged out of these negotiations is a very, very delicate balance. We've been through extraordinarily complex and

difficult negotiations. I should know because I have been involved with those negotiations. Therefore, I would very strongly hope that that balance is not disturbed," Saran said.

He acknowledged concerns on the Hill from a non-proliferation standpoint but commented, "If those concerns are successfully met and answered, I think the deal should go ahead as it is".

What will be the impact on Indo-US relations if the deal fails to go through? Replied Saran, "It's not as if everything will fall by the wayside." But he conceded that "there will be a loss in terms of expectations and enthusiasm which have been built up".

The foreign secretary, however, maintained that he was "quite encouraged" by the discussions he had with the lawmakers and administration officials. He spoke of the "widespread support" on the Hill for the new phase of bilateral relations which, he stressed, was the culmination of a process that had straddled both Democrat and Republican administrations.

At his meetings on the Hill, Saran advanced the view that nuclear pact should be seen in the overall context of new partnership. None of the lawmakers broached the issue of conditions or improvements.

Balance act

■ A delicate balance of the pact has been hammered out after protracted and complex negotiations

■ Any change will upset the balance

■ If deal fails, it will be a loss in terms of expectations



Tom Lantos, the Democrat from California, welcomes foreign secretary Shyam Saran to his Capitol Hill office.

'Iran fear misplaced'

HT Correspondent
Washington, April 1

FOREIGN SECRETARY Shyam Saran categorically rejected reports that India had provided training to Iran's navy personnel at Kochi last month. The reports are "completely misleading" and the apprehensions in certain quarters in the US are "completely misplaced", Saran said at a news conference here.

Tom Lantos, ranking Democrat on the House International Relations Committee, brought up the matter when Saran called on him on Thursday.

Making it clear that the Iranian naval vessel's port call was "one of several courtesy visits which take place from countries all over the globe", Saran said, "I pointed out to him that such apprehensions were completely misplaced."

It is the second time that Lantos had sought to bring the Iranian factor while

weighing the Indo-US nuke deal. Last September, he triggered an uproar in the House panel against India's cautious stance over referring the Iran nuclear issue to the UN Security Council. Once New Delhi backed the reference, he came out in strong support of the pact.

10 in India Caucus oppose nuke pact

S. Rajagopalan
Washington, April 1

THE INDIA Caucus on Capitol Hill—a part of it anyway—is becoming a cause for worry and embarrassment to sections of Indian supporters currently mobilising support for the nuclear deal.

Their apprehensions may not be without reason. For, 10 of the 18 Representatives who have tabled or co-sponsored a resolution against the deal are members of the India Caucus—all Democrats, except for a lone Republican, Fred Upton.

This curious development has prompted at least one Indian activist to wonder if it was time "to wind up" the Caucus. Or, perhaps, stricter admission standards should be enforced for membership of the caucus, says Ram Narayanan, known for his passion about India-related causes in the US. India Caucus is among the biggest of its kind on the Hill that boasts of over 180 members. But some observers feel that this size makes it an unwieldy set-up instead of being a source of strength. Quite a few are members of other caucuses as well, including the Pakistan caucus.

Upton has tabled the House resolution against the nuclear deal in association with Democrat Edward Markey, the most virulent critic of the pact and the legislation to grant India a special waiver.

Although 18 opponents to the measure in a House of 435 members may not portend a grim scenario, Indian circles concede the need for a step-up in lobbying to ensure that the trend does not catch on in the coming days.

Iran shadow over Indo-US N-deal

Delhi denies training Tehran troops, Saran meets senior American lawmakers

S. Rajagopalan
Washington, March 31

SENIOR US lawmaker Tom Lantos has once again brought up an Iranian dimension to the Indo-US nuclear deal, suggesting that India's alleged training of Iranian troops could affect Congressional support for the recently inked nuclear pact between India and the United States.

The Indian Embassy, however, promptly denied any such training. An official said the visit of two Iranian naval ships to Kochi earlier this month was a mere diplomatic protocol of a routine nature that did not involve any Indian training whatsoever.

Lantos, receiving foreign secretary Shyam Saran at his Capitol Hill office, indicated his own support for the deal, but emphasised the need for caution on

the Iranian front.

After the meeting, Lantos' office said he agreed with Saran that bilateral relations were "blossoming in many respects," but cautioned against "misunderstandings and conflicts" that could undermine support for the nuclear pact in Congress.

Last September, the ranking Democrat led an uproar in the House international relations committee against India's cautious stance at the time over referring the Iran nuclear issue to the UN Security Council. Once New Delhi backed the reference, he voiced his strong support for the nuke deal with India.

Saran held meetings with a number of key lawmakers on Thursday as part of the ongoing exercise to mobilise support for the deal by dispelling misgivings in some quarters.

Among others, he called on Henry

Hyde, the powerful chairman of the House international relations committee, and Joe Biden, ranking Democrat of the Senate foreign relations committee. He also met Representatives Gary Ackerman, Joe Wilson, Eni Faleomavaega and Senator Barack Obama.

Saran is understood to have dwelt on India's non-proliferation record, explaining the country's adherence to the guidelines of the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty (NPT), despite not being a signatory.

He is also believed to have referred to India's voluntary moratorium on nuclear testing and willingness to sing a multilateral fissile material cut-off treaty whenever it is ready.

The tone for Saran's meetings with lawmakers was set with his address earlier in the day to the Heritage Foundation, during which he dealt with as-

sertions that the nuke deal weakens the non-proliferation regime and encourages weapons ambitions of other non-nuclear weapons states.

"No other state has the responsible record that India does and is denied access to civil nuclear energy technology," he told the gathering, adding: "Surely a serial proliferator cannot warrant the same treatment as a law-abiding and responsible nation."

Ackerman, who is the Democrat co-chair of the India Caucus, said Congressmen should consider the deal in the overall context of US-India relations. He felt that much work remains to be done to ensure approval of the measure in both chambers.

He singled out the White House "for doing a terrible job in selling it to members of Congress and explaining it to the American people".

NUKE TALKS



Saran is believed to have referred to India's voluntary moratorium on nuclear testing and willingness to sing a multilateral fissile material cut-off treaty whenever it is ready

Over to IAEA for N-seal

NILOVA Roy Chaudhury
New Delhi, April 2

CHAIRMAN OF the atomic energy commission Anil Kakodkar will travel to Vienna this week to discuss India-specific safeguards with the International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA) and a formulation of the additional protocol. He will meet foreign secretary Shyam Saran, who returns from Washington on Sunday night, before his departure, to get a full brief on the way the Indo-US nuclear deal is progressing (or not) through the US Houses of Congress.

Kakodkar has been closely involved at every stage of negotiating the actual

civil nuclear agreement with the US and was instrumental in putting the separation plan (between civilian and military reactors) in place.

An India-specific set of safeguards will have to be negotiated with the IAEA according to the terms of the Indo-US deal because India will fall under a separate category. Though not a de jure nuclear weapons state, the agreement implies recognition as a de facto nuclear weapons power, which cannot be subject to the same safeguards as non-nuclear weapons powers.

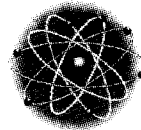
While passage of the deal through the

US Congress is proving tough, India will not accept changes to the "very delicately balanced" agreement that was agreed

upon when President Bush visited India. According to Saran, "If you start making revisions and changes, the balance is likely to be upset", and proposed changes could be a "deal breaker". US assistant secretary of state, Richard Boucher, who visited Vienna to brief

the NSG on the Indo-US deal, will visit New Delhi on Thursday to continue talks on how best the deal can be sealed with the NSG and the IAEA. He will hold detailed talks with Saran.

**TRACKING
THE DEAL**



02 APR 2008

THE HINDUSTAN TIMES

08 APR 2008

INDIAN EXPRESS

No defining N-deterrent: Saran

ENS/PTI
NEW DELHI | APRIL 8

R. Saran

ADAY after US Assistant Secretary of State Richard Boucher raised the issue of India defining the credible nuclear deterrent, Foreign Secretary Shyam Saran today said New Delhi had "no responsibility to declare" it.

In an interview to NDTV, Saran said "what our credible minimum deterrent would be is really for India to decide." He said India had, on various occasions, pointed out this to the US.

"Certainly there is no responsibility on part of India to declare what its minimum deterrent is," Saran said.

Amid concerns that the Congress could insert fresh



conditions on India in the civil nuclear Bill being debated in Washington, Boucher yesterday had made it clear that conditions requiring a renegotiation of the deal would not be accepted by the Administration but at the same time tried to address the concerns of dissenters of the deal in Washington by raising the issue of India defining its minimum credible deterrent. "We, and previous Administrations,

What our credible minimum deterrent would be is really for India to decide ...there is no responsibility on our part to declare what the minimum deterrent is

have pushed for India to further define its minimum credible deterrent and we continue that today," he had said during a talk at the CII.

Contending that India has done "rather well" in the negotiations, Saran said "we have preserved all our basic positions. We have preserved our basic interests".

"Why are we always so worried about screws being tightened on us... As if someone can come and turn the screws on us and we just lie back and be screwed," he said.

On concerns voiced by

testing remained but there was no mention of any "permanent ban".

He said India had taken a very conscious decision of undertaking nuclear tests in 1998 on the ground that it was important to take the step despite knowing what would happen (like imposition of sanctions). "In the future, it will be exactly the same".

Denying that he had received a "chilly reception" from Congressmen and Senators during his Washington trip, Saran said all of them agreed that the nuclear deal was an important element of the emerging Indo-US relations. The American lawmakers said there were questions that needed to be answered.

former Prime Minister Atal Behari Vajpayee who demanded that India should try to get an all-time waiver from Washington as was the case with China, he said there was a "factual problem" in this contention. He said while China was a nuclear weapons state under the NPT this was not so in India's case.

He was asked how India would respond if China and Pakistan carried out nuclear tests.

Saran said under the agreement, India's decision on a moratorium on further

Tarapur now has fuel for many years

Russia delivers low enriched uranium fuel for units I & II

T.S. Subramanian

CHENNAI: Low enriched uranium (LEU) from Russia to fuel the first two reactors at the Tarapur Atomic Power Station (TAPS) in Maharashtra has reached the Nuclear Fuel Complex (NFC) at Hyderabad.

According to highly placed sources in the atomic energy establishment, the nuclear fuel from Russia reached Hyderabad last week. The LEU, which was flown into the Andhra Pradesh capital in the form of pellets, was taken in trucks to the NFC. At the NFC, these pellets will be clad in zircaloy tubes and sent to TAPS 1 and 2, where they will be fed into the reactors.

The precise amount of fuel that has arrived by chartered flights could not be ascertained immediately. However, informed sources say Russia has agreed to give a total of about 50 tonnes LEU to fuel TAPS 1 and 2.

Since these two Tarapur reactors are under International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA) safeguards, the particular NFC facility where the imported fuel is converted into fuel bundles is also under safeguards.

Cheap power

TAPS- 1 and 2, built by General Electric, began generating electricity in 1969. They are light water reactors (LWRS), which use enriched uranium as fuel,

and light water as both coolant and moderator. The two reactors now generate 160 MWe each and the Nuclear Power Corporation of India Ltd. sells the electricity generated by TAPS 1 and 2 at Rs. 1.03 a unit to State Electricity Boards. Each reactor core houses 284 fuel bundles made of LEU. The bundles comprise the pellets. Each bundle is 12-foot long and weighs 182 kg.

Uranium is enriched to 2.5 per cent to generate electricity. But for nuclear weapons, it undergoes 95 per cent enrichment.

Under an inter-governmental agreement concluded between India and Russia in October 2000, Russia sent (in 2001) about 51 tonnes of LEU for TAPS-1 and 2. This fuel was adequate to run two Tarapur reactors until the end of 2007, highly placed sources in the atomic energy establishment confirmed. On March 14, 2006, Russia announced it would resume the supply of LEU to the first two units at Tarapur. It promised to send 50 tonnes of LEU and, with the consignment in hand, the two reactors can breathe easy till 2012.

France and China pitch in

Post-Pokharan I, the United States went back on its 1963 commitment to supply fuel to the two Tarapur reactors for 30 years. It cited domestic legislation, in particular the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Act of 1978, in justification. In 1982-83, France came in as a substitute supplier to meet the fuel needs of TAPS 1 and 2 for ten years, the balance period of the original agreement between India and U.S., which ended in 1993. Subsequently, China supplied 30 tonnes of LEU to the two safeguarded Tarapur reactors.

It is for U.S. to take the deal forward: Manmohan

Diplomatic Correspondent

NEW DELHI: Prime Minister Manmohan Singh said on Wednesday that the nuclear deal with the United States was with that country's Congress and the Bush administration had to secure its approval.

Speaking to presspersons on the sidelines of an official function at the Rashtrapati Bhavan, he also stated that Foreign Secretary Shyam Saran was on a "normal visit" to Washington.

Convincing Congress

Dr. Singh's comments come at a time when the Bush administration is engaged in convincing influential members of Congress that the

nuclear agreement is in America's interest.

On March 16, Under Secretary of State Nicholas Burns said the deal was good for both India and the United States.

"We've also been in touch with a lot of countries around the world, particularly those that are members of the Nuclear Suppliers Group."

"We do think that this deal can go forward — should go forward in the next several months. I know that there will be hearings on Capitol Hill and the Administration will be very happy to testify in those hearings. There'll be a series of briefings... you should expect that this is going to be a somewhat lengthy process," he said.

30 MAR 2006

THE HINDU

পরমাণু চুক্তি নিয়ে ভোট রাজনীতির অভিযোগ সনিয়ার

নিজস্ব সংবাদদাতা, নয়াদিল্লি, ২৭ মার্চ: ভারত-মার্কিন পরমাণু চুক্তি নিয়ে মুলায়ম ও বাম নেতৃত্ব যখন মনমোহন সিংহকে কাঠগড়ায় তুলতে চাইছেন, তখন সরকারের সমর্থনে প্রকাশ্যে মুখ খুললেন কংগ্রেস সভানেত্রী সনিয়া গাঁধী। তাঁর পাল্টা অভিযোগ, শ্রেফ 'ভোট রাজনীতির' স্বার্থে বিদেশনীতি নিয়ে প্রশ্ন তুলছে কিছু রাজনৈতিক দল।

তাৎপর্যপূর্ণ হল, বৃশ প্রশাসনের সঙ্গে পরমাণু চুক্তি নিয়ে সমালোচনায় সব থেকে সরব ছিলেন বাম নেতৃত্ব। এ ব্যাপারে সরকারকে কাঠগড়ায় তুলে তাঁরাই বারবার নালিশ জানিয়ে আসেন ইউপিএ চেয়ারপার্সন সনিয়া গাঁধীর কাছে। অথচ সেই সনিয়াই আজ পরমাণু চুক্তি নিয়ে মনমোহন সিংহের ভূয়সী প্রশংসা করলেন। সেই সঙ্গে 'ভোট রাজনীতি' নিয়ে পরোক্ষে অভিযোগের তর্জনী তুলে দিলেন বামদেদের দিকেই। পশ্চিমবঙ্গ ও কেরল-সহ পাঁচ রাজ্যে ভোটের আগে দলের কর্মী-সমর্থকদের উদ্দেশ্যে সনিয়ার এই বক্তব্য গুরুত্বপূর্ণ বলেই মনে করা হচ্ছে।

“ভারত-মার্কিন পরমাণু চুক্তিকে একটি ঐতিহাসিক ঘটনা বলেই দ্ব্যর্থহীন ভাষায় জানিয়ে দিয়েছেন কংগ্রেস সভানেত্রী। দলের মুখপত্র সন্দেশের সাম্প্রতিক সংখ্যায় তিনি বলেছেন, “পরমাণু চুক্তি করতে গিয়ে দেশের স্বাধীন ও সার্বভৌম নীতি জলাঞ্জলি দেওয়া হয়েছে বলে যারা মনমোহন সিংহ সরকারের সমালোচনায় নেমেছিলেন, তাঁদের জেনে রাখা উচিত, বৃশ প্রশাসনের সঙ্গে এই বোঝাপড়ায় বিজ্ঞান, প্রযুক্তি, কৃষি, এবং বাণিজ্য ক্ষেত্রে প্রভূত লাভ হবে ভারতের।” এরই পাশাপাশি কর্মসংস্থানের সুযোগ ও পরিকাঠামো বৃদ্ধির জন্য বিশ্ব অর্থনীতির সঙ্গে আরও সামঞ্জস্য করে চলার পক্ষেই মত দিয়েছেন সনিয়া।

বাম ও মুলায়মের বিরুদ্ধে সনিয়ার কটাক্ষ এখানেই থেমে থাকেনি। বৃশে: ভারত সফরকে ঘিরে সমাজবাদী পার্টি নেতৃত্ব ও সিপিএম সাম্প্রদায়িক উদ্ভাঙ্গি দিচ্ছে বলে আগেই সমালোচনা করেছিল কেন্দ্রে প্রধান বিরোধী দল বিজেপি সনিয়াও এ ব্যাপারে সমালোচনা করতে ছাড়লেন না। তাঁর কথায়, বিদেশনীতি: ওপর অহেতুক সাম্প্রদায়িক রঙ লেপে দিতে চাইছে কিছু রাজনৈতিক দল। কিং তাঁদের এই প্রয়াস সংখ্যালঘুদের অপমানের সমার্থক। কংগ্রেস তা কোনও দিন করবে না। কংগ্রেস কখনওই মনে করে না ধর্মীয় সংখ্যালঘুরা কোনও অংশে সংখ্যাগরিষ্ঠদের তুলনায় কম জাতীয়তাবাদী।

28 MAR 2005

ANADABAZAR PATRIKA

Nuke test ban via backdoor

K.P. NAYAR

Washington, March 17: India has undertaken not to test any more nuclear weapons as part of its deal with the Bush administration for access to civilian nuclear technology.

Tantamount to imposing the Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty (CTBT) on India through the backdoor, the contours of such an undertaking by New Delhi is at the heart of legislation moved in the US Congress yesterday to facilitate the nuclear agreement between President George W. Bush and Prime Minister Manmohan Singh.

By implication, India will also be required to support Washington's attempts to kill Iran's nuclear programme if the July 18, 2005, Indo-US deal is to go through.

Under section (b) clause (5) of the bill presented to Congress yesterday, the President will have to report to the Senate foreign relations committee and the House of Representatives international relations committee that "India is supporting international efforts to prevent the spread of enrichment and reprocessing technology".

Although couched in general terms of broad principles, this sentence in the bill is euphemism for stopping Iran's uranium enrichment efforts, at least in the present international context.

Pregnant with implications is also a provision in the bill that requires India to work "with the US for the conclusion of a multilateral Fissile Material Cut Off Treaty".

A commitment by India to do so was in the joint statement last year after the Prime Minister visited the White House. But when it becomes a



NUCLEAR FUSION

(Left) Manmohan Singh shakes hands with Prime Minister Mikhail Fradkov of Russia, which has agreed to supply nuclear fuel, in New Delhi on Friday. (Right) Singh with President George W. Bush after agreeing on a nuclear deal in July 2005. (Reuters)

legislative condition for the nuclear deal, it could well limit India's options at the Conference on Disarmament in Geneva, where the treaty will be negotiated.

If the bill in its present form becomes US law, American legislators could call for an end to the waiver for India from their Atomic Energy Act when the Indian stand in Geneva is at odds with that of Washington.

A waiver is the basis on

which the nuclear deal is going through and can be withdrawn if the US President determines that New Delhi is not "working with" Washington on any draft provisions of the treaty.

By far, it is the hidden provision about the CTBT that is likely to become contentious in India as the bill makes its way through the US legislative process. Robert Joseph, the US under-secretary of state for arms control and internation-

al security, has already told Richard Lugar, mover of yesterday's bill in the Senate, in writing that asking India to sign the CTBT or the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty would be "deal-breakers".

Joseph told Lugar that a "sound idea" would be to insist on "continuing India's unilateral moratorium on nuclear testing", a promise made by the Prime Minister at the White House.

That moratorium is, how-

ever, unilateral and voluntary: India could lift it any time and test another nuclear bomb, as many experts in the country's atomic energy establishment want to do in future for further weapons development.

But when non-testing in perpetuity becomes a condition under US law for Washington's help — and that of the Nuclear Suppliers Group — with civilian nuclear technology, it is tantamount to India agreeing to follow the CTBT

and limit further development of its nuclear arsenal.

The Indian government will insist that it has not given any commitment to Washington that it will carry out the objectives of the CTBT without actually signing it.

While that position may be true in letter, in spirit India would have accepted the CTBT with the bill now in Congress that makes the nuclear deal contingent upon no more testing.

Uranium delivery

GAUTAM DATT

New Delhi, March 17: The first consignment of nuclear fuel from Russia for the Tarapur atomic power plant is arriving by this weekend, as had been reported in The Telegraph earlier.

The low-enriched uranium fuel will be flown directly to Mumbai, sources said, as Prime Minister Manmohan Singh reinforces India's civilian nuclear relations with Russia even as he opens similar possibilities with the US.

Singh, who had talks for two hours with his Russian counterpart Mikhail Fradkov, thanked Moscow for the decision, hoping for expansion of cooperation in civilian nuclear energy.

Delhi had asked for 60 tonnes of uranium, which the Russians have agreed to provide. India is also believed to have requested Russia to hasten supply of material and equipment for the Kudankulam nuclear project.

The two sides signed several agreements today.

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18 MAR 2006

THE TELEGRAPH

Russia ready, US almost

India gains: Fuel on the way, law in the making

NILOVA Roy Chaudhury & S. Rajagopalan

New Delhi/Washington, March 16

RUSSIA AND the United States have both started to clear the decks for a boost to India's nuclear programme.

Russian Premier Mikhail Fradkov, who is in Delhi, will meet Prime Minister Manmohan Singh on Friday and seal a deal for the supply of uranium to the Tarapur Atomic Power Station (TAPS).

The US, on the other hand, prepared on Thursday to introduce a legislation on the eight-month-old Indo-US nuke deal. The bill seeks to amend the US Atomic Energy Act, 1954, to grant India a special waiver.

RUSSIA Premier Mikhail Fradkov and PM Manmohan Singh will finalise deal for uranium sale

WHO DOES WHAT

US Attempt to amend law to give special concessions so that Indo-US nuclear deal can be implemented

from the actual supply of fuel. "It's not a question so much of who, the French or Russians or Americans, supplies the fuel, but the process should not appear to be hurried and it should be completed as a process in totality," a source said.

India, however, insisted the sale would not violate any international law, as Russia has informed the Nuclear Suppliers Group it was making the sale under the safety exception clause.

Despite its keenness to facilitate its own deal with India, the US has reservations about Russia supplying 60 tonnes of uranium to TAPS 1 and 2 under the safety exception clause. Russia will nevertheless go ahead.

The US says it is important for India to first fulfil its obligations under the July 18 statement on civil nuclear cooperation. Diplomatic analysts say its reservations stem more from the process of going about it than

New Delhi needed urgent supplies of uranium fuel to enable Tarapur reactor to function in safe and reliable conditions, ministry of external affairs spokesman Navtej Sarna said. Otherwise, the plant was in danger of shutting down, he said.

India and the US had agreed earlier this month on a separation plan of Indian civilian and strategic reactors, and New Delhi will shortly begin discussions with the IAEA on an India-specific safeguards agreement.

If and when the US amends its law, Secretary of State Condoleezza Rice said, it would share its nuclear know-how and fuel with India to help power its fast-growing economy.

Continued on Page 2

“Reactors put under safeguards should get fuel from the international market”

Anil Kakodkar, Chairman, Atomic Energy Commission and Secretary, Department of Atomic Energy, says the eight indigenous Pressurised Heavy Water Reactors (PHWRs) that India will put under safeguards should get natural uranium as fuel from outside. Excerpts from an interview on March 12 in Mumbai:

T.S. Subramanian

What is the significance of India insisting that its Fast Breeder Test Reactor (FBTR) and the Prototype Fast Breeder Reactor (PFBR) at Kalpakkam should not come under safeguards?

The development of Fast Breeder Reactor technology and the development of its associated fuel cycle technology have to go hand in hand because breeders have to operate in a closed cycle mode. In the development of breeders, we have to go through evolution of several fuel cycle technologies, not one. For example, the PFBR will initially be on the mixed oxide fuel system. We will have to reprocess and re-fabricate the mixed oxide fuel. Then we want to take it to the next stage of development where we have to develop the metallic fuel. We then have to talk about the fuel cycle for metallic fuel. Later about the thorium fuel cycle. So there is an intimate link between the development of FBR technology and the development of associated reprocessing and refabrication technology. Our infrastructure for fuel cycle activities are rather small now. That is also intimately linked to the strategic programme. So the PFBR and the FBTR cannot be brought under safeguards because they are closely associated with the strategic programme through the fuel cycle linkage.

United States insisted that we should put the PFBR and the FBTR under safeguards. How did it give in?

We had made our position quite clear on this right from the beginning, even soon after the July 18, 2005, Joint Statement [by Prime Minister Manmohan Singh and President George Bush]. It was a logical position. In fact, there was no way it could have been compromised. I am glad we finally reached an agreement.

If everything falls in place, the U.S. adjusts its domestic laws and the Nuclear Suppliers' Group changes its guidelines to sell light water reactors (LWRs), enriched uranium and natural uranium to India, where do we go from here?

We have an on-going programme and that will continue as planned. In our programme, we also have kept a place for imported light water reactors as additionalities. Now there is a chance that this objective can be realised. If all goes well, we can even hope to have a much larger capacity of LWRs compared to what we had planned earlier.

What will be the capacity?

In the programme of 20,000 MWe of nuclear power by 2020, we had provided 8,000 MWe of LWRs capacity. Hopefully, that can be realised now and perhaps even a larger capacity.

Where do we stand now in terms of building of reactors and the supply of fuel?

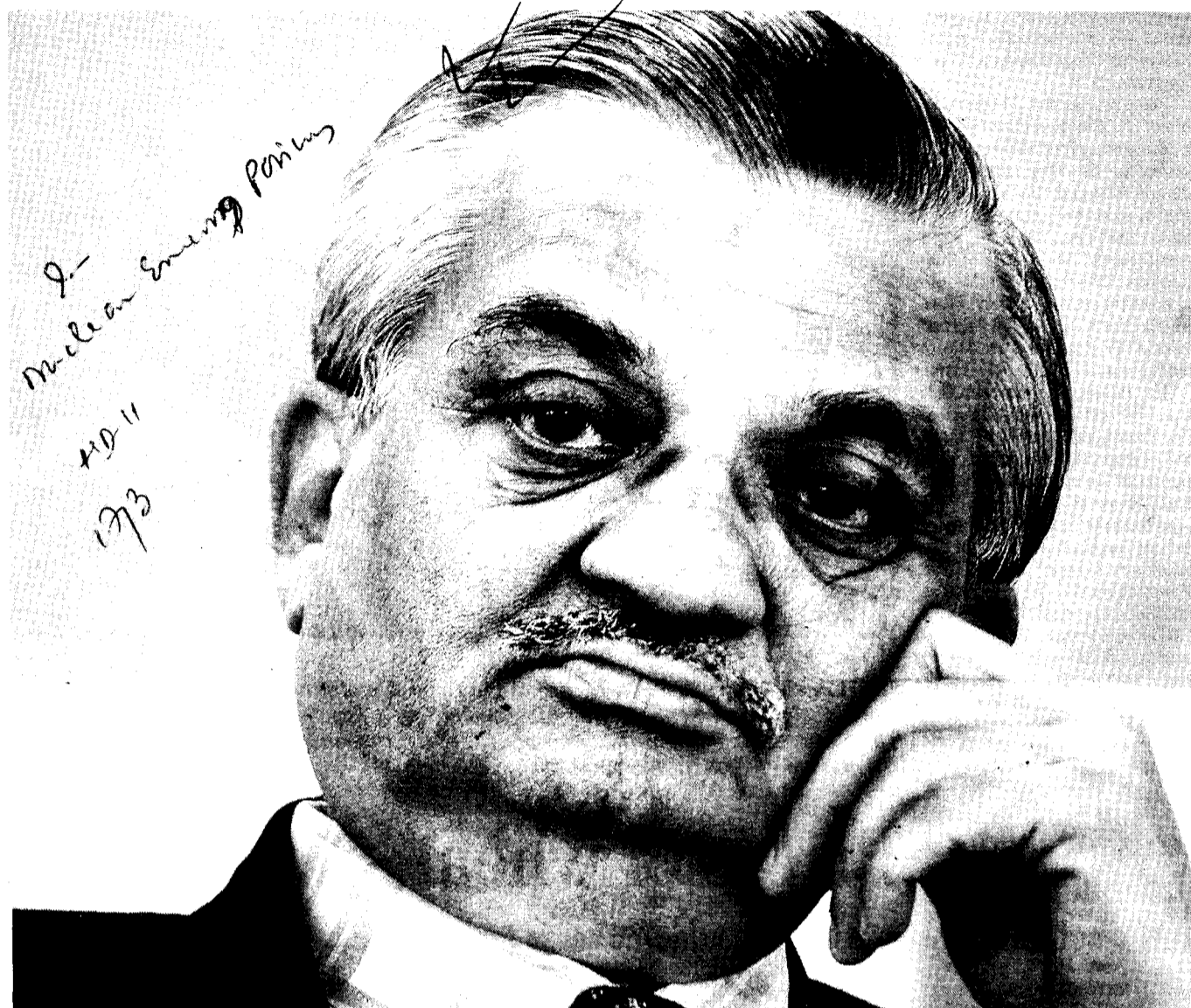
The domestic programme will continue. That means, we will continue with the construction of the PHWRs and the FBRs. Right now, we are constructing five PHWRs, one PFBR, and two LWRs. We also have to take up construction of more PHWRs as part of the pre-defined programme. After we are nearly complete with the PFBR, we will take up construction of more FBRs.

The construction of the 300 MWe Advanced Heavy Water Reactor (AHWR), which will use thorium as fuel marking the third stage of our nuclear power programme, has been delayed by three years. Why?

Since the AHWR has an innovative design, we wanted to make sure that it is peer reviewed by another group other than the group which designed it. That has been done. We also wanted pre-license regulatory review. The Atomic Energy Regulatory Board is in the process of carrying it out. Once that review is completed, it will be time for us to approach the Government for approval for construction of the project. It may still happen by the end of this year or next year. It is better to be sure of the design and safety in advance.

How will the separation of civilian nuclear facilities from their military counterparts affect the DAE's organisational structure?

There is no change in the structure. We are identifying specific plants as civilian and



Anil Kakodkar: “The safeguard arrangements of India will not be of the type which are applicable to the NPT states.” – PHOTO: MOHAMMED YOUSUF

they will be put under safeguards. Laboratories like BARC [Bhabha Atomic Research Centre] will be obviously on the strategic side. Like that, facility by facility is identified. There is no need for any change in the organisational structure. This obtains in all countries. Only one Government department looks after the entire atomic energy activity.

What will be the cost of the separation?

It is difficult to exactly quantify. Our programme is not at a standstill. As our programme grows, we have to expand our facilities. New facilities will have to be added. It will be our choice to define tomorrow which of the current facilities will be on the civilian side and that will be India's sole determination. You are talking about additional costs. If the programme is static and you have to separate, then you will have to build duplicate facilities. If the programme is growing, you can build additional facilities to meet the growth requirements. Whatever capacity we are setting up will be fully utilised at all times. To that extent, additional costs will be contained... There will be some costs. But I will imagine that it will not be excessive particularly because we are going to implement the separation plan in a phased manner over a period of time.

Why are we retiring CIRUS? It was refurbished only recently. Are we shutting it down because there were allegations that the plutonium for the 1974 Pokhran nuclear explosion came from CIRUS?

CIRUS has all along been a facility to support research for peaceful applications of atomic energy. As per our understanding of the July 18 Joint Statement, it has to be on the civilian side and placed under safeguards. But we cannot do that because it is located on BARC. And BARC is a strategic facility where we cannot allow external inspections. So it is a logical decision to complete the on-going research programme in CIRUS and shut it down in 2010.

Will we build more research reactors?

We always have plans to build more research reactors... Sometime ago, we had plans to build a multipurpose research reactor.

Similar newer ideas may come on the horizon. We have to think of new facilities. Research reactors are used for a variety of purposes. Production of plutonium [for strategic purposes] is only one aspect. Dhruva is a high-power reactor. We have several other reactors of smaller power, which support research activities. In that sense, Dhruva is an important system for both research and plutonium for strategic programmes...

Supposing we get natural uranium for the PHWRs we are building now or plan to in the future, will you put those reactors under safeguards?

Yes. I will put it this way. The reactors that we put under safeguards should get fuel from the international market.

Otherwise, you are not prepared to put them under safeguards?

The point is that any reactor put under safeguards should become eligible for full, civil cooperation, which means it also becomes eligible for external fuel supply. In the international market, natural uranium is cheap. If we get that natural uranium, electricity tariff will come down.

So will we insist that the eight PHWRs which we will put under safeguards or the future PHWRs that we will put under safeguards should get natural uranium from outside?

Yes. That is the understanding...

What is the sanctity of the dates “between 2006 and 2014” when we will put eight PHWRs under safeguards?

We have to do a lot of preparation. That is why we have said the separation will be done in a phased manner. The time indicates the duration for the phased manner.

Why did we agree to put our reactors under permanent safeguards? Why did we not insist that we should have a right to shift them from the civilian to the military domain?

We are outside the NPT [Non-Proliferation Treaty]. Certainly, therefore, safeguard arrangements of India will not be of the type which are applicable to the NPT States. We are a country with nuclear weapons and that has been accepted. ‘Nuclear

weapon states’ is NPT terminology. As far as we are concerned, we have to have our own India-specific safeguards. What has been done now is to ensure that the fuel supply for reactors placed under safeguards will be available for their full operating life. In that sense, we are talking about permanent fuel supply assurances. As long as fuel supply is permanent, there should be no problem in permanent safeguards... The new arrangement visualises several assurances to ensure that disruptions do not occur. That includes stockpiling for the full life of the reactor. There will also be a provision to take corrective measures if at all disruption takes place. It is a good practical arrangement.

The nuclear separation agreement talks about India-specific safeguards. What are they?

Our safeguards agreement cannot be like that of any NPT country. They are India-specific arrangements, recognising the fact that India has a nuclear weapon programme.

Ratan Tata has shown interest in private sector participation in building nuclear power projects. Will you welcome private participation?

Yes. But it has to be a specific proposal and it should lead to a larger capacity addition over and above what can be done with the present arrangements.

What is the basis for selecting Madras Atomic Power Station 1 & 2 reactors and Tarapur 3 & 4 reactors for exclusion from safeguards?

We need [a] certain minimum capacity for our strategic programme. So they will not come under safeguards.

Why did we choose to put the heavy water plants on our own at Tuticorin, Thal and Hazira under safeguards when it is not necessary to do so?

Civilian heavy water reactors can be fed from civilian heavy water plants. The strategic heavy water reactors can be fed by strategic heavy water reactors... Heavy water plants should also be eligible for international cooperation if they are in the civilian domain.

সার্বভৌম পরমাণু নীতি

মার্কিন যুক্তরাষ্ট্রের সহিত ভারতের পরমাণু চুক্তির নানা ফল ফলিতে শুরু করিয়াছে। ভারতের পরমাণু চুক্তির জন্য সমৃদ্ধ ইউরেনিয়াম সরবরাহ করিতে সর্বাগ্রে অগ্রসর মার্কিন যুক্তরাষ্ট্র নয়, রাশিয়া। রাশিয়া অবশ্য আগেও ভারতের তারাপুর পরমাণু কেন্দ্রের জন্য ইউরেনিয়াম সরবরাহ করিয়াছে। তবে সেটা ছিল ২০০১ সাল, যখন পরমাণু প্রসার রোধ চুক্তিতে স্বাক্ষর করিতে অস্বীকৃত ভারতকে পরমাণু প্রযুক্তি বা জ্বালানি সরবরাহে আন্তর্জাতিক নিষেধাজ্ঞা ছিল। মার্কিন যুক্তরাষ্ট্র সহ অধিকাংশ দেশই এই সে সময় মস্কোর তীব্র সমালোচনাও করিয়াছিল। এখন ভারত-মার্কিন পরমাণু চুক্তির পর পরিস্থিতি আমূল পরিবর্তিত। বুশ প্রশাসনের মুখপাত্র তাই রাশিয়ার এই সিদ্ধান্তের প্রখর প্রতিবাদ করেন নাই, কতকটা উদার দৃষ্টিভঙ্গিতেই বিষয়টি বিচার করিয়াছেন। যাঁহারা এই সে দিনও চুক্তিটিকে ভারতীয় স্বার্থের পরিপন্থী এবং আমেরিকার কাছে 'নির্লজ্জ আত্মবিক্রয়' বলিয়া প্রচার করিতেছিলেন, এ বার চুক্তিটির আন্তর্জাতিক তাৎপর্য তাঁহাদের অনুধাবন করা উচিত। অতঃপর কেবল মার্কিন যুক্তরাষ্ট্র নয়, পরমাণু শক্তিদ্র বা জ্বালানি সমৃদ্ধ সব দেশই ইচ্ছা করিলে ভারতকে প্রয়োজনীয় জ্বালানি সরবরাহ করিতে পারে।

বস্তুত, মার্কিন প্রেসিডেন্ট জর্জ ওয়াকার বুশের ভারত সফর ও চুক্তি স্বাক্ষরের কয়েক মাস আগেই রাশিয়া ইহাতে ইউরেনিয়াম সংগ্রহের ব্যাপারে নয়াদিল্লি যাবতীয় প্রস্তুতি সারিয়া ফেলিয়াছিল। মার্কিন মুলুকের চুক্তি-বিরোধীরা (যাঁহাদের মধ্যে মার্কিন কংগ্রেসের বেশ কিছু রিপাবলিকান ও ডেমোক্রাট রাজনীতিকও আছেন) বিষয়টিকে হাতিয়ার করিতে পারেন, করিতেছেনও। তাঁহারা ভারতকে পরমাণু শক্তিদ্র রপ্তানি বর্জন দিতে রাজি নন। ভারত-পরমাণু প্রসার রোধ চুক্তিতে স্বাক্ষর না করিয়াও মার্কিন পরমাণু প্রযুক্তি ও জ্বালানি পাইবে, ইহা তাঁহাদের অভিপ্রেত নয়। কেননা যাবতীয় রীতি উপেক্ষা করিয়া পরীক্ষামূলক পরমাণু বিস্তারণ ঘটানো এবং সামরিক প্রয়োজনে পরমাণু বোমার নির্মাণ ভারতকে এ ব্যাপারে নিষেধাজ্ঞার উপযুক্ত করিয়াছে। জর্জ বুশ যে চুক্তি করিতে গিয়া ঘোষিত মার্কিন নীতিও লঙ্ঘন করিয়াছেন, ইহা স্মরণ করাইয়া তাঁহারা হোয়াইট হাউসকে চাপে রাখিতে চাহেন। বুশ প্রশাসনকে কংগ্রেসে এ জন্য বিস্তর তোপের মুখে পড়িতে হইবে, এটাও ঠিক। হয়তো সে জন্যই মার্কিন বিদেশ দফতর ভারতকে রুশ ইউরেনিয়াম সরবরাহের বিষয়টিতে শোরগোল তোলার পক্ষপাতী নয়। তা ছাড়া, চুক্তির ফলে যেহেতু কেবল আমেরিকা নয়, পরমাণু জ্বালানি সমৃদ্ধ সব দেশই ভারতকে তাহা বিক্রয় করিতে পারিবে, তাই নীতিগত ভাবেও বুশ প্রশাসনের পক্ষে ইহাতে আপত্তি করার অসুবিধা আছে।

রুশ-ভারত পরমাণু সহযোগিতার ঘটনাটি দেখাইয়া দেয়, ভারত নিজের রণনৈতিক স্বার্থকেই অগ্রাধিকার দিতে শিখিয়াছে। আমেরিকার সঙ্গে চুক্তি তাহার পরমাণু প্রযুক্তি ও জ্বালানি আমদানির বাধা ঘুচাইয়া দিয়াছে। এখন সে কাহার কাছ হইতে তাহা আমদানি করিবে, সেটা সম্পূর্ণতই তাহার ব্যাপার। লক্ষণীয়, আমেরিকার সঙ্গে চুক্তির আগেই রাশিয়ার সহিত বোঝাপড়া সাজ হইয়া গিয়াছিল। সে জন্য অবশ্য ভারতকে গণধ্বংসের অস্ত্র নিষেধ ও ব্যবহারের প্রযুক্তি হস্তান্তর না-করা বিষয়ে একটি আইন সংসদে পাশ করাইতে হয়। তবে পরমাণু প্রযুক্তি হস্তান্তর তো ভারতেরও অভিপ্রেত নয়। বস্তুত, ইরানের পরমাণু বোমা বানাইবার উদ্যোগ যে এশিয়ায় ভারতের রণনৈতিক স্বার্থেরও পরিপন্থী, তাহা তো প্রধানমন্ত্রী সংসদে ঘোষণাও করিয়াছেন। তা ছাড়া, পাকিস্তানের মতো ভারত কখনও পরমাণু প্রযুক্তি হস্তান্তরিত করে নাই। তাই হস্তান্তর রোধে সংসদে প্রণোদিত হইয়াই আইন প্রণয়ন করা হইয়াছে, যাহাতে বিশ্বের পরমাণু শক্তিদ্রদের আশঙ্ক করা যায়। তবে মার্কিন যুক্তরাষ্ট্রের সমান্তরালে ভারত যে রাশিয়ার সঙ্গেও পরমাণু প্রযুক্তি ও জ্বালানি সরবরাহ বিষয়ে স্বতন্ত্র ভাবে আলোচনা চালাইয়া গিয়াছে এবং মার্কিন যুক্তির প্রক্রিয়া চলা কালেই রাশিয়ার সহিত রফা চূড়ান্ত করিয়া ফেলিয়াছে, ইহা ভারতের সার্বভৌম সামরিক নীতি ও পররাষ্ট্র নীতিরই পরিচায়ক। এই নীতি দেশের প্রয়োজন ও স্বার্থকে অগ্রাধিকার দিবার ভিত্তিতেই প্রণীত হয়, কোনও বৃহৎ শক্তিকে খুশি করার জন্য নয়।

তারাপুর নিয়ে বৃশ প্রশাসনকে প্রশমিত করছে ভারত

নিজস্ব সংবাদদাতা, নয়াদিল্লি, ১৬ মার্চ: তারাপুর কেন্দ্রে রাশিয়ার ইউরেনিয়াম সরবরাহ নিয়ে ভারত ও আমেরিকার মধ্যে জট খুলছে। আমেরিকার সঙ্গে অসামরিক পরমাণু সরবরাহ চুক্তির শর্ত পূরণের আগেই রাশিয়া ভারতকে কেন্দ্র করে প্রশংসা দিচ্ছে, তা নিয়ে সন্দেহিত দুই পক্ষের মধ্যে সায়যুদ্ধের পরিস্থিতি তৈরি হয়েছিল। কিন্তু ভারতীয় কূটনৈতিক মহলের তৎপরতায় পরিস্থিতি এখন অনেকটাই সহজ। কাল ভারত ও রাশিয়ার মধ্যে তারাপুর কেন্দ্রে জ্বলন্ত সরবরাহ এবং কুদানকুলাম পরমাণু কেন্দ্র তৈরি নিয়ে আলোচনা হবে।

তারাপুরে রাশিয়ার জ্বলন্ত সরবরাহ নিয়ে আগেও আপত্তি করেছিল মার্কিন প্রশাসন। এ বার আমেরিকার সঙ্গে চুক্তি রূপায়ণে সব শর্ত পূরণের আগেই রাশিয়া কী ভাবে পরমাণু কেন্দ্রে জ্বলন্ত দেয়, তা নিয়ে

সংশোধন করা হচ্ছে, ততক্ষণ বৃশ প্রশাসনের পক্ষে পরমাণু জ্বলন্ত সরবরাহ সম্ভব নয়। আবার অসামরিক পরমাণু চুক্তির বাস্তব রূপায়ণের আগে চুক্তির শর্ত অনুযায়ী ভারত অন্য কোনও দেশের সঙ্গে পরমাণু জ্বলন্ত চুক্তি করতে পারে না। এই পরিস্থিতিতে আমেরিকায় ভারতের রাষ্ট্রদূত রশেন সেন এবং ভারতীয় বিদেশসচিব শ্যাম সারন অনেকটাই নরম করতে সক্ষম হয়েছে।

প্রশ্ন তোলে বৃশ প্রশাসন। ভারত গোড়া থেকেই বলে আসছে, তারাপুর পরমাণু কেন্দ্রের জন্য রাশিয়ার কাছ থেকে ইউরেনিয়াম চেয়ে তারা কোনও আন্তর্জাতিক আইন লঙ্ঘন করেনি। তারাপুরে এখন অবিলম্বে পরমাণু জ্বলন্ত দরকার। আমেরিকার সঙ্গে যে অসামরিক চুক্তি হয়েছে, তাতেও এই প্রয়োজনের কথা উল্লেখ করেছে ভারত। কিন্তু যতক্ষণ না প্রচলিত মার্কিন আইন

পরমাণু চুক্তি নিয়ে নয় বিল মার্কিন কংগ্রেসে

ওয়াশিংটন, ১৬ মার্চ: অবশেষে ভারত-মার্কিন ঐতিহাসিক পরমাণু চুক্তি বাস্তবায়িত করার লক্ষ্যেই পরমাণু শক্তি আইনে সংশোধনী-সহ নতুন একটি বিল নিয়ে আসা হয়েছে মার্কিন কংগ্রেসে।

মার্কিন কংগ্রেসে এই বিল ওঠা নিয়ে মার্কিন বিদেশ দফতরের আভার সেক্রেটারি নিকোলাস বানস বলেন, পরমাণু অস্ত্র প্রসার রোধে এই চুক্তি নিঃসন্দেহে একটি বড় সাফল্য। তাঁর মতে, ভারত-মার্কিন সম্পর্কের ভবিষ্যৎ এবং

ওয়াশিংটন, ১৬ মার্চ: অবশেষে ভারত-মার্কিন ঐতিহাসিক পরমাণু চুক্তি বাস্তবায়িত করার লক্ষ্যেই পরমাণু শক্তি আইনে সংশোধনী-সহ নতুন একটি বিল নিয়ে আসা হয়েছে মার্কিন কংগ্রেসে।

মার্কিন কংগ্রেসে এই বিল ওঠা নিয়ে মার্কিন বিদেশ দফতরের আভার সেক্রেটারি নিকোলাস বানস বলেন, পরমাণু অস্ত্র প্রসার রোধে এই চুক্তি নিঃসন্দেহে একটি বড় সাফল্য। তাঁর মতে, ভারত-মার্কিন সম্পর্কের ভবিষ্যৎ এবং

আমেরিকার পক্ষে এই সমঝোতা খুবই তাৎপর্যপূর্ণ। এই চুক্তির মাধ্যমে আশ্বেরে ভারতকে 'পরমাণু অস্ত্র প্রসার রোধ' চুক্তির আওতায় আনা যাবে।

প্রসঙ্গত, বৃশ নিজে যতই আগ্রহী হোন না কেন, ভারতের সঙ্গে পরমাণু চুক্তি রূপায়ণ করতে গেলে মার্কিন কংগ্রেসের অনুমোদন ছাড়া গতি নেই। ফলে ভারতে মনমোহনের সঙ্গে পরমাণু-সমঝোতার পরে মার্কিন কংগ্রেস কী মনোভাব নিচ্ছে, সেটা ভারতের সাপেক্ষে গুরুত্বপূর্ণ।— পি টি আই

ভারত যে নিউক্লিয়ার ক্লাবের একমতা এবং পরমাণু শক্তি সরবরাহকারী গোষ্ঠী (এনএসজি)র নিয়ম ভাঙার কোনও চেষ্টাই করছে না, সে বাতীও বৃশ প্রশাসনের কাছে পৌঁছে দেওয়া হয়েছে।

মার্কিন বিদেশ মন্ত্রকের এক মুখপাত্র বলেছেন, “ভারতের যে অবিলম্বে পরমাণু জ্বলন্ত প্রয়োজন, তা আমরা জানি। এনএসজি-র মাধ্যমে তার নিয়মিত জোগান নিশ্চিত করার জন্য প্রতিশ্রুতিও দিয়েছি। তবে ভারতকেও নিজের প্রতিশ্রুতি রক্ষা করতে হবে।”

ভারতে আসার আগে এ নিয়ে মুখ খুলেছেন রাশিয়ার প্রধানমন্ত্রী মিখাইল ফ্রাডকভও। তাঁর কথায়, “ভারতকে পরমাণু জ্বলন্ত সরবরাহ করার প্রস্তাব এনএসজি-র নির্দেশিকার বিরোধী নয়।”

ভারত কালই বলেছে, বিশেষ প্রয়োজনে জ্বলন্ত সরবরাহের সংস্থান এনএসজি-র নীতিতেই রয়েছে। সেই নীতি অনুসারে তারাপুরে পরমাণু জ্বলন্ত সরবরাহ করা যেতেই পারে।

Russia pledges emergency fuel for Tarapur

60 Tonnes Of Uranium On Its Way

By Indrani Bagchi/TNN

New Delhi: After a virtual global shutdown against India's nuclear power sector, which prevented Russia from selling nuclear fuel to Tarapur, the India-US nuclear agreement—currently under consideration in the US Congress—has allowed Moscow to make an emergency supply of 60 tonnes of enriched uranium fuel to Tarapur 1 and 2 safeguarded reactors.

Tarapur, incidentally, is so low on fuel that it is likely to shut down in the next few months.

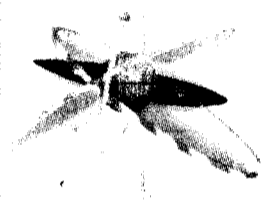
Russia recently informed the Nuclear Suppliers Group (NSG) that it intended to supply fuel immediately to Tarapur under its safety exception clause. Confirming this, MEA spokesperson Navtej Sarna said: "To India's request, Russia has agreed to supply a limited amount of uranium fuel for the safeguarded units 1 and 2 of the Tarapur Atomic Power Station and this supply of fuel will enable the plant to continue to operate in safety and provide much-needed electricity to the western power grid of the country."

The US state department has denied that the Russian supply has any connection with the nuclear deal, but it is significant that the Russian offer was announced in Washington. The safety exception clause in the NSG guidelines was used by Russia in 2001 to supply fuel to Tarapur, though in 2003, the same clause could not be used by Russia under pressure from the US. The India-US nuclear deal lifted the barrier to this emergency transaction.

The July 18 agreement with US said that until the US amends its own laws and works with NSG to amend its own guidelines, they would in the meantime sup-

Lifesaving Supply

- In 2003, Russia had to discontinue uranium supply under US pressure
- During PM's Moscow visit in Dec 2005, Russia said supply can be revived only after India's N-deal with US
- Soon after Bush left Delhi, PM talked to Putin and secured Russian commitment



ply fuel to Tarapur reactors.

The agreement was reportedly cemented during a conversation PM Manmohan Singh had with Russian president Vladimir Putin soon after Bush's departure. But before the Bush visit, foreign secretary Shyam Saran said: Our interpretation of in the meantime was until the above has been achieved there would be an effort made to supply fuel to Tarapur. There is a difference of opinion on that interpretation.

The US later informed India it would not be possible to make that exception without a change in the law because a supply of fuel to Tarapur without that law being changed would be illegal. Faced with this reality, India has been working overtime to arrange for fuel for Tarapur. MEA spokesperson Navtej Sarna said: India has had to seek this urgent and limited supply of uranium fuel to enable the Tarapur reactors to function in safe and reliable conditions.

তারাপুরের জন্য রুশ জ্বালানি নিয়ে অস্বস্তিতে আমেরিকা

নয়াদিল্লি ও ওয়াশিংটন, ১৫ মার্চ: পরমাণু সমঝোতার দু'সপ্তাহের মধ্যেই পরমাণু-প্রশ্নে স্নায়ুর লড়াইয়ে জড়াল ভারত ও আমেরিকা।

তারাপুর পরমাণু শক্তি কেন্দ্রের জন্য রাশিয়ার কাছ থেকে ভারত ইউরেনিয়াম পাওয়ার কথা বলতেই জ্ব কুণ্ঠিত হয়েছে আমেরিকার। মার্কিন বিদেশ দফতরের বক্তব্য, পরমাণু সমঝোতার সময় ভারত যে সব প্রতিশ্রুতি দিয়েছে, সেগুলি পূরণ করার আগে রাশিয়ার মতো কোনও দেশেরই পরমাণু জ্বালানি সরবরাহে আগ্রহ দেখানো উচিত নয়।

ভারত অবশ্য আমেরিকার আপত্তিতে আমল না-দিয়ে জানিয়েছে, নিউক্লিয়ার সাপ্লায়ার্স গ্রুপ (এন এস জি)-র সুরক্ষা সংক্রান্ত ব্যতিক্রম ধারা মেনেই রাশিয়া পরমাণু জ্বালানি দিতে চলেছে। এবং এতে অবৈধ কিছু নেই।

পরমাণু অস্ত্রপ্রসার রোধ চুক্তিতে সেই না-করায় এন এস জি-র কাছ থেকে পরমাণু প্রযুক্তি বা জ্বালানি সংক্রান্ত কোনও কিছুই পায় না ভারত। কিন্তু মার্কিন প্রেসিডেন্ট জর্জ বুশের সাম্প্রতিক ভারত সফরে দু'দেশের মধ্যে যে সমঝোতা হয়েছে, তাতে বলা হয়েছে, ভারত কিছু নির্দিষ্ট শর্ত মানলে এন এস জি তাদের আইনে প্রয়োজনীয় রদবদল এনে ভারতের জন্য পরমাণু

সংক্রান্ত সরবরাহের ব্যবস্থা করে দেবে। মার্কিন আইনেও প্রয়োজনীয় সংশোধনী আনার কথা এবং সে জন্য মার্কিন কংগ্রেসের কাছ থেকে পরমাণু সমঝোতায় সিলমোহর নিতে হবে।

সেই সিলমোহর পাওয়ার আগেই জ্বালানি দেওয়ার রুশ সিদ্ধান্তে খানিকটা অস্বস্তিতে পড়েছে আমেরিকা। মার্কিন বিদেশ দফতরের কার্যনির্বাহী মুখপাত্র অ্যাডাম ইরেলির কথায়, “ভারতের যে জ্বালানির দরকার, আমরা বুঝি। কিন্তু এই জ্বালানি দেওয়ার ব্যাপারটা এগোনো উচিত যৌথ তৎপরতার (সমঝোতা) উপরে ভিত্তি করে। ভারতের তরফ থেকে কিছু সিদ্ধান্ত নেওয়া উচিত, যেগুলো এখনও ওরা নেয়নি।”

অত্যন্ত নিরাপদে এন এস জি-র মাধ্যমে পরমাণু জ্বালানি সরবরাহের ব্যবস্থা করার জন্যই প্রেসিডেন্ট বুশ ওই সমঝোতা করেছেন বলে ইরেলি মন্তব্য করেছেন।

ভারতের বিদেশ মন্ত্রকের মুখপাত্র নভতেজ সারনা বলেছেন, “এন এস জি-র রূপরেখা কোথাও ভাঙা হয়নি। ওই রূপরেখার সুরক্ষা ব্যতিক্রম ধারার আওতায় রাশিয়া এন এস জি-র কাছে আবেদন করেছে।” তারাপুর কেন্দ্রের ১ ও ২ নম্বর ইউনিট চালু রাখতে ইউরেনিয়াম অত্যন্ত জরুরি

ছিল বলে সারনা জানিয়েছেন। রাশিয়া যে ৬০ মেট্রিক টন ইউরেনিয়াম দেবে, তা ব্যবহার করে ভারতের পশ্চিমাঞ্চল গ্রিডে অতি প্রয়োজনীয় বিদ্যুৎ দেওয়া যাবে। রাশিয়ার প্রধানমন্ত্রী মিখাইল ফ্রাদকভ আগামী কাল দিল্লি আসছেন। তাঁর সফরেই এই পরমাণু জ্বালানির ব্যাপারে আলোচনা হবে বলে খবর।

রাশিয়ার সিদ্ধান্তে আমেরিকার অস্বস্তির অন্যতম কারণ হল দেশের মধ্যে বিরূপ মত। বুশের সমালোচকেরা মনে করেন, মার্কিন প্রেসিডেন্ট ভারতের সঙ্গে এমন একটা সমঝোতা করে পরমাণু ক্ষেত্রে নিরাপত্তার দিকটাকে অগ্রাহ্য করে গিয়েছেন। মার্কিন কংগ্রেসের সদস্য ডেমোক্রেট এডওয়ার্ড মার্কির মতো কেউ কেউ মনে করেন, রাশিয়ার এই সিদ্ধান্তেই প্রমাণিত হচ্ছে যে, পরমাণু অস্ত্রপ্রসার রোধ সংক্রান্ত নিয়ম-কানুনকে অনেকেই আর তোয়াক্কা করবে না।

আর এই বিতর্কে রাশিয়ার আশা, অতীতের মতো এ বারেও পরমাণু জ্বালানি সরবরাহ এবং ব্যবহার হবে আইন মেনে। তারাপুরের জন্য ২০০১-এ ৫৮ মেট্রিক টন পরমাণু জ্বালানি দিয়েছিল রাশিয়া। — পি টি আই, রয়টার্স

কাদির খান চক্রের থেকে প্রযুক্তি কেনে ভারতও, অভিযোগ

ওয়াশিংটন, ১৫ মার্চ: আব্দুল কাদির খানের পরমাণুপাচার চক্রের সঙ্গে এ বার নাম জড়াল ভারতেরও।

পরমাণু শক্তির দুনিয়ায় যে অভিযোগে পাকিস্তান এখনও ব্রাত্য, সেই একই অভিযোগ উঠেছে ভারতের বিরুদ্ধে। প্রথম থেকেই ভারত-মার্কিন পরমাণু চুক্তির যারা বিরোধিতা করছে, মার্কিন যুক্তরাষ্ট্রের সেই পরমাণু অস্ত্র প্রসাররোধপন্থী মহলই অভিযোগ এনেছে। এবং তা এনেছে আমেরিকার সঙ্গে পরমাণু চুক্তি মার্কিন কংগ্রেসে পেশের আগেই! ওয়াশিংটনের সংস্থা ইনস্টিটিউট ফর সায়েন্স অ্যান্ড ইন্টারন্যাশনাল সিকিওরিটি-র (আইএসআইএস) সাম্প্রতিক রিপোর্টে দাবি করা হয়েছে, পরমাণু অস্ত্র পাচারে পাকিস্তানি বিজ্ঞানী কাদির খানের সহযোগীরা ভারতকেও গোপনে প্রযুক্তি বিক্রি করেছে।

মার্কিন কংগ্রেসে পরমাণু চুক্তি দ্রুত অনুমোদন করাতে ঘন ঘন বৈঠক করছেন

প্রেসিডেন্ট জর্জ ডব্লিউ বুশ। বিদেশ সচিব কন্ডোলিজা রাইসও সম্প্রতি বলেছেন, এই



আব্দুল কাদির খান

চুক্তি আমেরিকার ভবিষ্যৎ সুরক্ষিতই করবে। কারণ, এর ফলে কার্যত অস্ত্রপ্রসার রোধের এজিয়ারেই চলে আসবে ভারত। কিন্তু এ দেশে ভারত বিরোধী মত ও রিপোর্টের সংখ্যা যে ভাবে বাড়ছে তাতে সর্বস্বত্রেই আশঙ্কা, চুক্তি পাশ করিয়ে নিতে বিস্তর হেঁচট খেতে হবে বুশ প্রশাসনকে।

মার্কিন কংগ্রেসের একাংশের আপত্তি তো এত দিন ছিলই, এ বারে সেই তালিকায় যোগ হয়েছে আইএসআইএস-এর অধিকর্তা ডেভিড অলব্রাইট এবং কার্নেগি এনডাওমেন্ট ফর ইন্টারন্যাশনাল পিস-এর জোসেফ সিরিনসিওনের দু'টি রিপোর্ট। মার্কিন প্রশাসনের নীতি নির্ধারণে এই দু'টি সংস্থার মত যথেষ্ট গুরুত্বপূর্ণ।

আব্দুল কাদির খানের পরমাণু প্রযুক্তি পাচার চক্রের সঙ্গে ভারতের নাম জড়িয়ে দিয়েছেন অলব্রাইট। আর

সিরিনসিওন জানিয়েছেন, ১৯৭৪ সালে অসামরিক কাজের জন্য কানাডার দেওয়া পরমাণু প্রযুক্তি বিস্ফোরক তৈরিতে লাগিয়েছে ভারত। দ্বিতীয় রিপোর্টটির ফল মারাত্মক হতে পারে। পাকিস্তান সফররত কানাডার প্রধানমন্ত্রী স্টিফেন হার্পার বলেছেন, ভারতের সঙ্গে পরমাণু চুক্তি খতিয়ে দেখবেন তারা। মার্কিন প্রশাসন অবশ্য এই রিপোর্টগুলি নিয়ে মুখ খোলেনি।

কী আছে অলব্রাইটের রিপোর্টে? সুসান বসুর সঙ্গে রাষ্ট্রপুঞ্জের প্রাক্তন অস্ত্রপরীক্ষকের যৌথ রিপোর্টটি জানাচ্ছে, গ্যাস সেন্সিটিভিউজ কর্মসূচির জন্য কাঁচামাল সংগ্রহ করতে কাদির খানের পাচার চক্রের সাহায্য নিয়েছিল ভারত। সময়টা আশির দশকের শেষ ও নব্বইয়ের গোড়া। এই পুরো সময়টা ধরেই দক্ষিণ আফ্রিকা থেকে 'অসদুপায়ে' পরমাণু প্রযুক্তি এসেছে ভারতে। দক্ষিণ আফ্রিকার আদালতের নথিপত্র থেকে উল্লেখ করে

অলব্রাইটের রিপোর্ট আরও বলেছে, যে ব্যক্তি এই প্রযুক্তি পেতে সাহায্য করে ভারতকে, সে কাদির

খানের চক্রের সঙ্গে যুক্ত ছিল।

অলব্রাইটের দাবি, গ্যাস সেন্সিটিভিউজ প্রোগ্রামের জন্য ভারত এই পথে ফ্লো মিটার ইউনিট আমদানি করে। এই ইউনিট ইউরেনিয়াম গবেষণার কাজে ব্যবহারের জন্যই বিশেষ ভাবে তৈরি। পরে ইউনিটে গোলযোগ দেখা দেওয়ায় দক্ষিণ আফ্রিকার ওই সংস্থা বিশেষজ্ঞও পাঠিয়েছিল ভারতে।

অলব্রাইট তাঁর রিপোর্টে আরও দাবি করেছেন, শুধু ফ্লো মিটার ইউনিটই নয়, সেন্সিটিভিউজ প্রোগ্রামের জন্য সম্ভবত আরও কিছু প্রযুক্তি এই পথেই আমদানি করে নয়াদিল্লি। রাষ্ট্রপুঞ্জের প্রাক্তন অস্ত্রপরীক্ষক আশঙ্কা প্রকাশ করে বলেছেন, উন্নত দেশগুলির সহায়তায় উন্নততর প্রযুক্তি পাচ্ছে ভারত। এই পথ ধরেই অস্ত্র-প্রযুক্তি সরবরাহের বড় বাজারও হয়ে উঠছে ভারত।

One nuclear deal, two narratives

Vidya Subrahmaniam

CONSIDER THE paradox: The United Progressive Alliance Government signs a "historic" civilian nuclear deal with the United States, that, by most reckoning, is tilted in India's favour. Put simply, India's achievements are three-fold: It is now a *de facto* nuclear weapons power; it has demolished the technology denial regime in force since the first Pokhran tests of 1974, and it has fought and won its right not to subject its fast breeder programme to safeguards. Domestic reaction to the achievement ought to be euphoric. It is not. As the party that heads the Government, the Congress ought to feel elated. There is no evidence that it does.

Consider another paradox: The Government and the Congress Party are thought to be in a rush to woo Muslims. The Bharatiya Janata Party makes the alleged "minority appeasement policy" of the United Progressive Alliance the centrepiece of its plan to revive itself in Uttar Pradesh. But Muslims are not "appeased"; they are so sullen and angry that the Congress fears it has lost whatever little chance it had in Uttar Pradesh, indeed that the community has reverted to Mulayam Singh.

The two situations are related and flow from the same perception: Any deal with the U.S. cannot be to India's good. How did the Government manage to convey such an impression about an agreement that cold analysis reveals to be a huge success?

Critics who feared the Indian side would barter away vital security interests, concede Manmohan Singh & Co played their cards well. The breast-beating in the Western press dispelled any remaining doubt about who got the better of whom. *The New York Times* savaged both President George Bush's tour of the subcontinent and the deal with India. The visit was "spectacularly misconceived," while the "disastrously ill-timed" deal threatened to "blast a bomb-sized loophole through the Nonproliferation treaty."

In a cover story written on the eve of Mr. Bush's visit, *The Economist* bristled at the hard

That the Western media have savaged the Bush visit and the nuclear deal shows India acted in its national interest. Yet looked at another way, India is befriending a world leader seen to pursue an agenda against Muslim countries.

bargain India was driving, and argued that any compromise by the U.S. would be a "dangerous mistake." In a visceral follow-up edit, the magazine urged U.S. Congress to veto the nuclear deal with India: "Not only is nuclear-armed India being offered all of the civilian benefits available to countries that have accepted the NPT's anti-nuclear restrictions. It has also accepted few, if any, of the real obligations of the five official nuclear powers recognised by the treaty, America, Russia, China, Britain and France. All at least signed the treaty banning all nuclear tests; India declined. All have ended the production of plutonium and highly enriched uranium for weapons purposes (only China has yet to say so publicly); India flatly refused America's request to do likewise."

The unprecedented bad press forced U.S. Secretary of State Condoleezza Rice to set out the importance of the deal — as much to the U.S. and the world as to India — in a signed article in *The Washington Post*. It is accepted wisdom that when the Western media start hyperventilating about a country, that country can be presumed to have acted in its own national interest. Thus, far from compromising its independence, New Delhi clinched a good deal, perhaps a great deal, judging by *The New York Times'* killer last line: "Mr. Bush should have just stayed home."

Yet contrast the outrage abroad with the less than enthusiastic domestic reaction. Is the continuing Indian public suspicion around the deal just nuclear illiteracy? The BJP is miffed because Dr. Singh pulled off what the more-than-eager Jaswant Singh could not through several rounds of negotiations with Strobe Talbott. If

anything, the 1998-2000 talks centred on getting India to cap its nuclear programme — a point conceded ironically by Brajesh Misra, the National Democratic Alliance Government's National Security Adviser, in the course of a recent television discussion; the disclosure was intended as a warning that India could similarly be coerced on the civilian nuclear deal.

All the more reason for the Congress to have rejoiced in the Government's spectacular breakthrough. Had the BJP swung the deal, it would have been unrestrainedly joyous. In the Congress, the unease is palpable; hushed conversations about the deal stop short of insinuating a "surrender"; the anxiety is less about the specifics of the deal than about its likely impact on domestic politics. The huge Muslim presence at rallies protesting the Bush visit, in Delhi, Mumbai, and Kolkata, was a warning the Congress could not ignore. The Government's case that the nuclear pact was foreign policy not subject to shifting voter concerns was technically sound. Yet which Congressperson dared convey the foreign policy logic to the surging crowds that screamed for Mr. Bush's head? The beaming visitor, who threw a friendly arm around the Prime Minister, who seemingly granted India's every wish, though refusing to yield an inch in neighbouring Pakistan, was South Block's dream come true.

Another take

• Yet looked at another way, India was befriending a world leader seen to pursue an agenda against Muslim countries — Afghanistan, Iraq, and Iran, with Syria shortlisted for future

action. Distrust of Mr. Bush was strongest among Muslims but, as newspaper surveys revealed, even those welcoming the President felt he was bad for the world.

The irony was difficult to miss: Diplomatic India, with a direct stake in world affairs, wanted to pursue a U.S. policy uncluttered by the super-power's unforgiving conduct in Afghanistan, Iraq, etc. Domestic India, which ought to have felt remote from America's conduct in Afghanistan, Iraq, etc., was aggrieved by it.

President Bush's speech at the Purana Qila made Congresspersons cringe. If the deal was the Government's victory, the speech was the Congress' defeat. Mr. Bush invited India to partner him in the pursuit of freedom across the globe, "from North Korea to Burma to Syria to Zimbabwe to Cuba..." The world, he said, "needs India's leadership in freedom's cause." Iran was singled out for denying basic freedoms, sponsoring terrorism, and pursuing nuclear weapons.

The more the Government tried to keep the focus on the civilian nuclear deal, the more the visitors embarrassed it by speaking of a "deeper, longer" relationship with India not contingent on the success of the deal. *En route* to India, Ms. Rice sang the friendship tune: "This trip is not a civil nuclear power trip. This trip is about a very broad relationship that is deepening."

On the same day that Mr. Bush painted a merry picture of India and the U.S. spreading democracy hand-in-hand, Government sources clarified that the nuclear deal was not to be construed as a "paradigm shift." The strategic thinking of India and the U.S. did not necessarily converge, and the deal did not amount to endorsing all of the U.S.' foreign policy initiatives. But the damage was done. On the one hand, there was much American flaunting of the "broadening, deepening" relationship between India and the U.S.

On the other, there were stern, "or else" messages, such as the one on the Iran vote from Ambassador David Mulford. The signals converged to project a picture of Indian servility, of an India willing to partner the U.S. in all its crimes. More propaganda value came by way of other seemingly minor but nonetheless discomfiting details: Prime Minister Manmohan Singh's decision to break protocol and receive the visiting Head of State, the housing of presidential sniffer dogs in five-star comfort, their objectionable presence at India's holiest of holy sites — the Mahatma's samadhi.

The visit over, the Government tabled the nuclear separation plan in Parliament — again acknowledged by experts as being to India's advantage. Prime Minister Singh issued all the necessary clarifications — on the deal, on India's independent foreign policy, on its unwillingness to be a part of the U.S.' regime change plans. But as Congresspersons see it, the intervention came way too late.

The Congress' immediate worry is Uttar Pradesh where it was hoping to make some advance in the coming Assembly election. A crucial part of its calculation was the Muslim vote, now substantially with Mulayam Singh. The Bush visit, the party fears, has driven the community back to the Samajwadi Party, which for its part has done everything to stoke minority insecurity. In recent days, the U.P. Chief Minister has happily played to the gallery, deliberately permitting in-temperate elements like Yaqoob Quereshi to run away with the agenda. It does not help the Congress that the Muslim factor weighs equally with the Bahujan Samaj Party — and for a different reason with the BJP. Mayawati's party has registered phenomenal progress on the ground, and in the post-Bush situation, is the likely first choice of Muslims disillusioned with the Samajwadi Party. The BJP needs Muslims — but in order to gather Hindu votes. It is only by projecting the community as pampered and aggressive that it can achieve the objective. The loser in all this is quite evidently the Congress. On one side is the SP, determined to harness Muslim anger over the Bush visit. And, on the other, is the BJP, bent on raising the spectre of "Muslim appeasement". The villain in both schemes is the Congress. The party must hope and pray that the two opposing narratives neutralise each other.

CARTOONSCAPE



IAEA Safeguard Arrangements To Be Made Or Assured By Recipient Nation

Govt tightens norms on N-exports

PTI
NEW DELHI

INDIA has tightened the screw on export of nuclear equipments and technology in a move that seems to be a fallout of the recent deal with the US. Under the new guidelines, their export can be authorised only when "The International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA) safeguard arrangements are made or assured by the recipient country."

Further, "The Department of Atomic Energy (DAE) should be satisfied that the transfers will not contribute to the development of nuclear weapons or be diverted to acts of nuclear terrorism."

Each and every application for export shall be scrutinised on a case-by-case basis by DAE, the licensing authority. Licences are subject to recipient states having relevant IAEA safeguard agreements in force and agreeing to onsite verifications (by Indian inspectors).

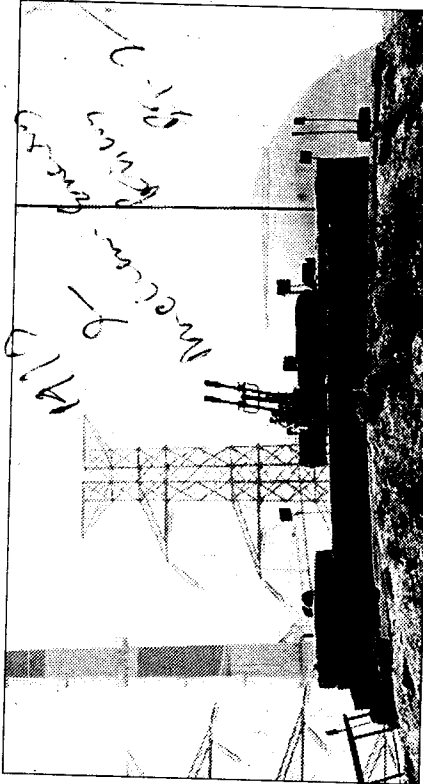
India also reserves the right to apply additional conditions of supply as a

facilities, heavy water production plants and tritium recovery plants."

According to the guidelines: "The Government of India shall exercise restraint in the transfer of sensitive facilities, technology and material usable for nuclear weapons or other nuclear explosive devices."

For instance, although enrichment facilities, equipment and technology are included in the list, there are "special controls" on their export. According to the guidelines: "The recipient nation should agree that neither the transferred facility, nor any facility based on such technology, will be designed or operated for the production of greater than 20% enriched uranium without the consent of the Government of India."

Enrichment is a process by which the content of energy producing uranium-235 is increased from natural ore stage by 0.7%. A low enrichment of 3% is enough for operating reactors to produce electricity. A bomb needs 90% enrichment or more. DAE operates an enrichment facility near Mysore.



of nuclear technologies developed by DAE in the last 40 years, including enrichment technology, can be exported if IAEA safeguards are applied to them by recipient nations.

The exportable items, listed under the guidelines, include "nuclear reactors, fuel reprocessing plants, fuel fabrication plants, uranium enrichment plants, uranium and plutonium conversion

matter of national policy. The consent of the Government of India should be required for any retransfer of export items or related technology.

The guidelines prohibit export of certain "prescribed" substances or technologies "when there is an unacceptable risk of their diversion to the development of a nuclear device." Otherwise, virtually the entire range

Left, BJP slam nuclear pact

Legislation on agreement to be introduced in two weeks

Special Correspondent

Prime Minister's clarifications "disappointing," says Left

NEW DELHI: The India-U.S. nuclear deal came in for sharp criticism in Parliament on Saturday with the Left parties accusing the Government of bartering the country's independent foreign policy for an unequal treaty, while the Bharatiya Janata Party (BJP) said India had emerged a junior partner of the U.S.

Both the parties pressed for evolving a political consensus on the nuclear and other agreements reached with the U.S. They wanted the Agriculture Knowledge Initiative and the CEO's Agreements to be tabled.

In Rajya Sabha, CPI-Marxist member Nilotpal Basu described Prime Minister Manmohan Singh's reply to the clarifications as "disappointing" adding that it did not address "serious concerns." Earlier, questioning the propriety of keeping Parliament in the dark about the various pacts, he sought the setting up of an all-party Special Parliamentary Committee to evolve a consensus on the nuclear deal and other agreements with the U.S.

In what he described as his last major intervention the

member, who is to retire soon, said India's goal for a nuclear weapon-free world was not captured in the new formulation of the nuclear world order. "We fundamentally differ that nuclear deterrent is any deterrent. We have no difference per se with the notion of the nuclear separation plan but the world should aim at creating a situation where nuclearisation does not take place."

Former chief of the Indian Space Research Organisation, K. Kasturirangan (Independent) lauded the nuclear deal as "historic" and said it was a welcome development particularly when India's nuclear programme was isolated for the last three decades. He said the nuclear and space deals were excellent opportunities for pushing ahead India's interests.

Initiating the discussion, BJP leader Murli Manohar Joshi said the March two Indo-U.S. joint statement far from protecting the "enlightened nation-

al interest," would make India dependent, not secure, in energy needs.

Dr. Joshi questioned the presence of multi-national companies (MNCs) on the Board of the Agriculture Knowledge Initiative and said, with this the country was moving towards privatisation of farm technology. "Food security is just as important as energy and strategic security and cannot be compromised," he said.

Defending the nuclear pact, Congress leader Karan Singh argued that all dealings with the U.S. must not be looked at through the "Iraq prism."

"This stand-alone agreement between two great powers marks a significant turning point of our growing stature as a global player."

Rupchand Pal (CPI-M) wanted to know the Government's position on U.S. "They will go on adding new conditions till you become a client State," he warned.

Manmohan: no cap on strategic nuclear programme

Multi- or emergency basis
12/3

“Our capabilities are widely recognised”

Amit Baruah

NEW DELHI: India could possibly associate with the United States-led global nuclear energy partnership (GNEP) only as an “equal partner” with other founding members in the capacity of a “supplier nation,” Prime Minister Manmohan Singh told the Lok Sabha on Saturday.

“I would like to emphasise this point. We will not forgo the three-stage [nuclear] programme which will enable us to use our vast thorium resources in future,” he said, replying to a debate on Indo-U.S. issues.

The GNEP was an issue distinct from the nuclear deal with the U.S. “Our comprehensive capabilities across the spectrum and mastery over all aspects of the nuclear fuel cycle are well-established and widely recognised.”

U.S. President George W. Bush said on February 22 that under the GNEP “America will work with nations such as Great Britain, France, Japan and Russia that have advanced civilian nuclear energy programmes to share nuclear fuel with nations like India that are developing civilian nuclear energy programmes.”

The deal with the U.S. was “basically a quest” to promote cooperation between India and the Nuclear Suppliers Group members to meet New Delhi’s requirements of commercial energy.

While complimenting the nation’s scientists, he said the nuclear energy programme had not advanced due to problems in availability of raw materials. Dr. Singh said there was no cap on the strategic nuclear programme. “I have taken full care of it. I had the advice of our atomic scientists and armed forces in working out the requirement of a critical minimum deterrent.”

He assured that fissile material and “other inputs” for the strategic programme would be available adequately.

The plan to separate civil and military nuclear facilities would

“not limit our option now or in the future to address evolving threat scenarios with appropriate responses consistent with our nuclear policy of restraint and responsibility”.

India would not accept a safeguards agreement with the IAEA as a non-nuclear weapons State.

The U.S. was a global power and its interests do not, all the time, converge with India’s interests.

“But there are opportunities ... when our interests do converge and I believe it is the duty of any Government of India to take advantage of all those opportunities ...”

How the separation idea evolved

Diplomatic Correspondent

NEW DELHI: Prime Minister Manmohan Singh had told U.S. President George W. Bush that it was “perfectly reasonable” that America and other members of the Nuclear Suppliers’ Group were “not going to help” India “build nuclear bombs”.

Dr. Singh revealed this on Saturday in the Lok Sabha.

The nuclear deal with the U.S. would “increase the manoeuvrability” of India in meeting the challenge of energy security by removing restrictive international

trading regimes.

“That is why when President Bush and I discussed this matter, he told me that this is one area where he recognised India needs a reversal of the U.S. attitude. But he also told me that the U.S. and other members of the Nuclear Suppliers’ Group are not going to help us to build nuclear bombs.

“I said that is perfectly reasonable, I do not expect the world to do so. So, that is how this idea of separation of the civilian [nuclear] sector and the strategic sector was revealed,” Dr. Singh said.

Going beyond separation

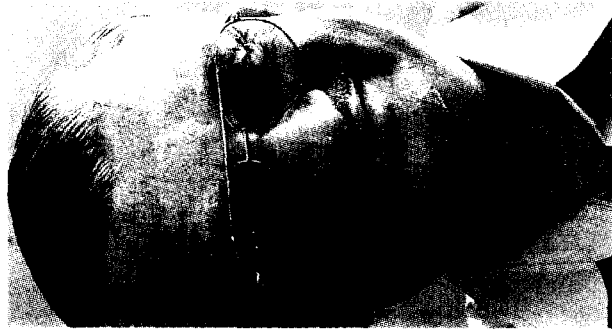
By making public the Government's plan for separating the civilian and military components of the India's nuclear energy programme, Prime Minister Manmohan Singh has allayed many of the fears expressed inside and outside Parliament about the implementation of the July 2005 nuclear agreement with the United States. In both qualitative and quantitative terms, the plan has struck a judicious balance between India's long-term energy and security interests and the international community's expectation that a substantial segment of Indian nuclear capabilities would be firewalled from any potential military application. Thus, 14 of the 22 nuclear power reactors will be placed in the civilian list, as will be a number of heavy water plants and research institutions. Since the whole deal is supply-related — 'no supply, no safeguards' — there will be nothing problematical or even new about placing these segregated civilian nuclear facilities under perpetual safeguards. As strategic hubs where key strategic or high-end nuclear research facilities are located, Trombay and Kalpakkam will be completely off-limits for inspectors from the International Atomic Energy Agency. (So will the third and fourth 540 MWe heavy water power reactors at Tarapur.) This means the fast breeder developmental programme as well as the research work needed on the country's three-stage civilian nuclear power strategy can proceed unhindered.

Prime Minister Singh, who is conversant with India's nuclear energy history and programme, must be commended for achieving this constructive breakthrough. In fact, a close study of the separation plan he tabled in Parliament reveals that the trade-off in the nuclear field is very much to India's advantage. It must be recognised, of course, that had it not been for the scientists and others who vigorously argued in favour of protecting indigenous R&D in the civilian nuclear field, the outcome might have been different. The external pressure on the breeder was tremendous and there was no shortage of 'experts' within the Government and outside, especially in the strategic affairs community, who favoured settling the issue on Washington's terms. This is an important point to bear in mind since there is one last battle to be fought. Aside from securing the approval of the U.S. Congress and the Nuclear Suppliers Group, the agreement must cross a final hurdle: a watertight safeguards agreement and additional protocol that will protect India from excessively intrusive inspections based on the principle of presumptive suspicion.

What is clear is that the July 2005 agreement and the separation plan settled in March 2006 do not 'cap' the Indian strategic programme in any unreasonable way, except in the Strangelovian imagination of ultra-hawkish sections of the strategic and political community. In effecting the separation, the Government has been obliged to move towards quantifying 'credible minimum deterrence.' This will of course be nowhere close to the arsenal levels of major nuclear weapon states, but the 1998 official stance that the 'minimum' was to be understood not as a definite number, to be pinned down, but as something 'flexible' is no longer sustainable. This will be all to the good. In this newspaper's editorial view, nuclear weaponisation in May 1998 (picking up from Pokhran-I of May 1974) was a huge, strategic mistake for a number of reasons. Deterrence theory is a completely discredited doctrine. Why? In any civilised world view, weapons of mass destruction are indefensible as instruments of state policy. This applies above all to nuclear weapons, the ultimate means of genocide. How then to justify the unjustifiable? It was to perform this task that the doctrine of deterrence made its appearance as the mainstay of arguments in favour of nuclear weapons. Often camouflaged by the trappings of science, deterrence theory rests on a number of assumptions that are either questionable or demonstrably false. For example, a fundamental flaw of the theory is the assumption that when both sides build up their nuclear arsenals to a threshold level, matters will stabilise. Continued acquisition of new technological capabilities puts paid to the idea. Until Pokhran-II, official and popular India ranged itself firmly and eloquently against the doctrine of nuclear deterrence, characterising it (in a memorial submitted to the International Court of Justice in 1995) as "abhorrent to human sentiment." But with Pokhran-II, the official position changed drastically. "The nuclear weapon," Prime Minister Vajpayee told the Rajya Sabha on March 15, 1999, "is not an offensive weapon. It is a weapon of self-defence. It is the kind of weapon that helps in preserving the peace. If in the days of the Cold War there was no use of force, it was because of the balance of terror."

There is no denying that the separation plan will, in the long run, raise the financial cost of maintaining or augmenting the country's nuclear arsenal. The voluntary retirement of CIRUS, the controversial research reactor supplied by Canada half a century ago, is a case in point. Building a replacement will cost money, not to speak of additional reactors that can produce fissile material above and beyond the breeder's 'laundered' output or the dirty plutonium that can be cranked out of unsafeguarded pressurised heavy water reactors. Perhaps for the first time, the Indian political class will be obliged to confront the true cost of the country's nuclear weapons programme since it will no longer be embedded within the civilian power programme. If getting a better sense of this cost can lead to a more prudent strategic posture, this will not at all be a bad thing. India's, and Pakistan's, nuclear weaponisation may be a process hard to reverse but much can be done to lower the risks and prevent a nuclear arms race in South Asia. It is quite possible that the act of making explicit the approximate size of the country's military nuclear programme will generate insecurities across the border. It becomes all the more important for New Delhi to prioritise the need to develop nuclear and conventional confidence-building measures with Islamabad. A bilateral understanding not to induct or deploy nuclear weapons, at any rate not to keep them on alert status, will be the responsible way to go. Finally, at the international level, India needs to dispel the impression that its nuclear weaponisation and impending incorporation at the nuclear high table has compromised its support for the cause of nuclear disarmament and arms control measures such as a ban on the weaponisation of space.

This is what we were looking for: Kakodkar



Anil Kakodkar

T.S. Subramanian
CHENNAI: "This is what we were looking for." This was how Anil Kakodkar, Chairman, Atomic Energy Commission, on Thursday described India's nuclear separation plan settled during U.S. President, George W. Bush's recent visit to India.

Asked whether the separation plan spelt a win-win situation for India, Dr. Kakodkar said from Mumbai: "This is a win-win situation for both. It is not a question of winning or losing. This is a good practical step forward."

According to the separation agreement, India will place under International Atomic Energy Agency safeguards between 2006 and 2014, 14 out of 22 thermal power reactors in operation or currently under construction in the country. This will include

the four safeguarded reactors (Tarapur 1 and 2, and Rajasthan 1 and 2), and Koodankulam 1 and 2 that are under construction in Tamil Nadu.

In addition, eight Pressurised Heavy Water Reactors (PHWR) of 220 MWe each, will be offered for safeguards.

Asked to specify the eight reactors that would not come under safeguards, Dr. Kakodkar said: "Tarapur 3 and 4 will be out [excluded from safeguards]. Madras Atomic Power Station 1 and 2 will be out." When pressed on the remaining four reactors, he responded: "We will work it out over a period of time."

S.K. Jain, Chairman and Managing Director of the Nuclear Power Corporation of India Limited (NPCIL), said the Tarapur Atomic Power Station-3 reactor would go critical next month. "We are all set for load-

ing the fuel into Tarapur-3." Tarapur-3 is an indigenous PHWR with a capacity of 540 MWe. It uses natural uranium as fuel, and heavy water as both coolant and moderator.

The natural uranium fuel bundles are fabricated at the Nuclear Fuel Complex, Hyderabad.

Mr. Jain added: "We have completely cleaned and dried the primary heat transport system in preparation for loading the fuel bundles into the reactor. We expect to get the clearance from the Atomic Energy Regulatory Board in the near future to start the loading of fuel bundles. We plan to make the reactor critical in April."

Tarapur-4, which also has a 540 MWe reactor capacity, was commissioned in March 2005.

Mr. Jain said he was "very happy" with the nuclear separation plan settled by India and the

U.S. "Our own indigenous PHWR programme will be supplemented by importing Light Water Reactors," he noted.

The Light Water Reactors (LWRs) use enriched uranium as fuel, and light water as both coolant and moderator.

Tarapur-1 and 2, which are LWRs imported from the U.S., have now gone through massive renovation, modernisation, and safety upgradation. They were reconnected to the grid on February 16.

They are of 160 MWe capacity each. "We have done a really wonderful job on these 37-year-old reactors. They have been brought to international levels of safety," Mr. Jain observed.

N-strategic plan will not be capped: PM

Says Separation Plan Ensures Adequate Fissile Material

New Delhi: Maintaining that the ability to have a minimum nuclear deterrent was intact post Indo-US deal, Prime Minister Manmohan Singh on Tuesday ruled out capping of the country's strategic programme under the nuclear separation plan but said the Cirus reactor in Bhaba Atomic Research Centre will be shut down in four years.

"I am in a position to assure (the House) that the separation plan will not not adversely affect our strategic programme. There will be no capping of our strategic programme and the separation plan ensures adequacy of fissile material and other inputs to meet the current and future requirements of our strategic programme based on our assessment of the threat scenarios," he said in statement in the Lok Sabha on the discussions with US President George W Bush on civilian nuclear energy cooperation.

He announced that India had decided to permanently shut down the 50-year-old 40 MW Cirus reactor, obtained from Canada for which US supplied heavy water, in 2010.

Singh said the government was prepared to shift Apsara reactor, purchased from France, from its present location in BARC and make it available for placing under safeguards in 2010. "We have decided to take these steps rather than allow intrusive inspections in our nuclear facility of high national security importance. We are determined that such steps will not hinder ongoing research and development," he said.

Spelling out the separation plan under the Indo-US nuclear deal, Singh said "In-

We have decided to take these steps rather than allow intrusive inspections in our nuclear facility of high national security importance. We are

determined that

such steps

will not

hinder

ongoing

research &

development



dia 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. This means that India will not be constrained in any way in building future nuclear facilities, whether civilian or military, as per our national requirements," he said.

The PM's announcement comes within days of India and the US reaching a landmark pact during the visit of President George W Bush here for implementing the July 18, 2005 agreement on civilian nuclear cooperation.

In his five-page statement, which he later also read out in the Rajya Sabha, Giving the salient elements of the plan to separate civilian and military nuclear facilities in the Rajya Sabha, Singh said India would identify and offer for IAEA safeguards 14 thermal power reactors between 2006-14. There are 22 thermal power reactors in operation or currently under construction in the country. Agencies

সংসদে চুক্তির ব্যাখ্যা দিলেন মনমোহন

নিজস্ব সংবাদদাতা, নয়াদিল্লি, ৭
মার্চ: অসামরিক প্রকল্পে পরমাণু
জ্বালানি সরবরাহ কোনও ভাবেই
ব্যাহত হবে না বলে ভারতকে আশ্বাস
দিয়েছে আমেরিকা। সে জন্য তারা
কী কী ব্যবস্থা নিচ্ছে, প্রধানমন্ত্রী
মনমোহন সিংহ আজ সংসদে তা
সবিস্তার জানিয়েছেন। পাশাপাশি,
দেশের সামরিক পরমাণু
প্রকল্পে এই চুক্তির কোনও প্রভাব
পড়বে না বলেও তিনি সাংসদদের
আশ্বস্ত করেছেন।

অসামরিক পরমাণু শক্তি
উৎপাদনকেন্দ্রগুলিতে পারমাণবিক
জ্বালানির জোগান সুনিশ্চিত করার
জন্যই ভারত ওই কেন্দ্রগুলিকে
আন্তর্জাতিক পর্যবেক্ষণের জন্য
উন্মুক্ত করে দিয়েছে বলে প্রধানমন্ত্রী
জানান। কিন্তু এই জ্বালানি
যে সব সময়েই পাওয়া যাবে, তার
নিশ্চয়তা কী—এই প্রশ্ন তুলেছে
বিভিন্ন রাজনৈতিক দল।

সে প্রশ্নে প্রধানমন্ত্রী আজ
বলেন, ভারত বিভিন্ন দেশ থেকে
জ্বালানি সংগ্রহ করবে। যদি কোনও
সময়ে জ্বালানি পেতে অসুবিধা হয়,
তা হলে মার্কিন যুক্তরাষ্ট্র জ্বালানি
সংগ্রহের ব্যাপারে সহযোগিতা
করবে বলে আনুষ্ঠানিক বোঝাপড়া
হয়েছে আমেরিকার সঙ্গে। সেই
বোঝাপড়া অনুযায়ী,

• ভবিষ্যতে শান্তিপূর্ণ উদ্দেশ্যে
পরমাণু শক্তি বিকাশের জন্য মার্কিন
যুক্তরাষ্ট্র উদ্যোগী হবে। জ্বালানির
জোগানের বিষয়টিও তারা ভাববে।

• আন্তর্জাতিক পরমাণু শক্তি
সংস্থা যাতে ভারতকে জ্বালানি
সরবরাহ সংক্রান্ত নিয়মবিধি আলাদা
ভাবে তৈরি করে, সে জন্য ভারতের
সঙ্গে একযোগে সংস্থা কর্তৃপক্ষের

সঙ্গে কথা চালাবে আমেরিকাও।

• ভারতীয় চুক্তিগুলি যাতে সব
সময় জ্বালানি পায়, সে জন্য ভারত
পরমাণু জ্বালানির একটি ভাণ্ডার
তৈরি করবে। এবং সে কাজে মার্কিন
যুক্তরাষ্ট্র ভারতকে সহায়তা করবে।

• এ সর্বের পরেও যদি জ্বালানি
সরবরাহ ব্যাহত হয়, তা হলে
আমেরিকা ও ভারত যৌথ ভাবে
রাশিয়া, ফ্রান্স ও ব্রিটেনের মতো বন্ধু
দেশগুলির সঙ্গে বৈঠকে বসবে।
উদ্দেশ্য, ভারতের জন্য জ্বালানি
সরবরাহের ব্যবস্থা করা।

দেশের পরমাণু অস্ত্র প্রকল্প যাতে
কোনও ভাবে ক্ষতিগ্রস্ত না হয়, সে
জন্য ভাবা পরমাণু গবেষণা কেন্দ্রের
৫০ বছরের পুরনো সাইরাস চুক্তি ৪
বছরের মধ্যে বন্ধ করে দেওয়া
হবে। আর অল্পরা চুক্তিকে
ওই গবেষণা কেন্দ্রের বাইরে
নিয়ে যাওয়া হবে।

উদ্দেশ্য, এই গবেষণা কেন্দ্রটিকে
আন্তর্জাতিক পর্যবেক্ষণের আওতার
বাইরে রাখা। মার্কিন প্রেসিডেন্টের
সফরে দু'দেশের মধ্যে কী বোঝাপড়া
হয়েছে, তা নিয়ে আজই প্রথম মুখ
খুললেন প্রধানমন্ত্রী।

সংসদে আজ তিনি যে বিবৃতি
দিয়েছেন, তার সিংহভাগই পরমাণু
চুক্তির কথা। ভারতের ২টি চুক্তির
মধ্যে ১৪টি অসামরিক তালিকায়
রাখা হয়েছে। ৮টি থাকবে
সামরিক তালিকায়।

প্রধানমন্ত্রী তাঁর বিবৃতিতে স্পষ্টই
জানিয়ে দিয়েছেন, “এই
পৃথকীকরণের ফলে আমাদের
সামরিক পরিকল্পনা কোনওভাবেই
ব্যাহত হবে না। আমাদের সামরিক
প্রকল্পগুলিকে কোনও ভাবেই
কাটছাঁট করা হবে না।”

Nuke deal won't affect R&D, PM had assured VP

EXPRESS NEWS SERVICE
NEW DELHI, MARCH 6

IN a communique sent two days before the Indo-US nuclear deal was signed, Prime Minister Manmohan Singh had assured former PM V P Singh that the deal will have no "negative impact on research and development in the n-field".

Allaying the concerns expressed by V P Singh, who had earlier supported the Indo-US nuke deal, the PM said the deal would create no "hindrance to the autonomous three-stage development of our nuclear programme which includes the use of our vast thorium resources". Singh, in his letter to the PM on February 17, had reminded the PM about the experience in Tarapur where the US had unilaterally stopped supplying fuel and argued that India should develop indigenous capabilities keeping its abundant thorium reserves in mind.

The PM wrote that "in undertaking the negotiations with the US, the government has been fully conscious of the imperative need that nothing should be done that can harm our national security interests or cast a shadow on the requirements of our Minimum Credible Nuclear Deterrent".

V P Singh had also expressed serious concern that "Dr Kakodkar, chairman of our Atomic Energy Commission, felt pressurised to the extent

that he had to make public his reservations".

"We are not aware of the government having made any efforts to consult senior scientists and engineers with nuclear expertise..." he had noted.



In response, the PM wrote, "The government is committed to undertaking the broadest possible consultations, and has taken on board the views of the Department of

Atomic Energy and the Atomic Energy Commission".

The PM also said the government would implement the "letter and spirit of the July Statement, according to the principle of strict reciprocity conditional upon actions taken by the US".

However, by the time the letter from the Prime Minister emerged, all the nitty-gritties had been worked out and the deal announced.

Australia may soften on uranium

Our Political Bureau
NEW DELHI

IN an indication that Australia might soften its rigid stand on the supply of uranium to India in the future, the two countries on Monday set up a group consisting of officials from both sides to look into the Indo-US civilian nuclear deal and examine how India and Australia can cooperate.

Prime Minister Manmohan Singh on Monday held wide-ranging talks with Australian Prime Minister John Howard where he took up the issue of uranium transfer. Mr Singh had expressed interest in buying uranium from Australia.

But for now, Australia is sticking to its stand of not selling uranium to countries that don't sign the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty. At a joint press conference, Prime Minister John Howard reiterated Australia's stand but expressed interest in the details of the landmark Indo-US deal.

Calling this 'a very signifi-



Australian Prime Minister John Howard with UPA chairperson Sonia Gandhi —Reuters

cant moment in the history of India', Mr Howard said, "Australia is certainly a friend of India. We would not sell uranium to a country that doesn't sign the nuclear non-proliferation treaty. We are very interested in the agreement," he said and added that he would not announce a policy change at a press conference.

He also added that they see the agreement in a 'positive light' and though it was a pact

just between US and India, it was a very 'significant development.' An official spokesperson said that the group of officials will understand and examine in which way India and Australia can cooperate. Australia has 40% of the world's uranium deposits and Mr Howard said that Australia is aware of India's energy needs.

India's position is that even though India is not a signatory

to the NPT, it adhered to most of its principles. "India may not be a signatory to the NPT but we abide by most of the disciplines. We have an impeccable record of not contributing to proliferation," said Mr Singh, and added that the world has to take note of that.

Mr Howard, in an earlier engagement addressing a business audience, had said the pact is a big step forward as for the first time a lot of India's nuclear capacity is going to be subject international inspections. The other issue taken up during the talks was of Australia supporting India when the Indo-US pact came to the Nuclear Supplies Group (NSG) for approval.

Mr Howard said Australia will study the pact and come to a decision after taking counsel. "As far as the NSG is concerned, that's an issue we will take counsel on. We have a long standing policy. We are not going to dramatically change that. We will have a look at everything and take counsel," he added.

N-deal finds critics and backers

Top guns in UPA satisfied

MANOJ JOSHI
New Delhi, March 5

THERE IS considerable satisfaction in the highest levels of the UPA government over the successful conclusion of US president George W. Bush's visit to India. While some of these feelings are about overcoming the domestic challenge posed by skittish scientists and Left-wing critics, in great measure it is about negotiating a complex arrangement that lets India have its cake, and eat it too.

Refusing to put a grand strategic gloss to the outcome, a source at the highest level said, "We have managed to increase the manoeuvre room for managing our energy needs, without affecting our military programme".

He emphasised that while the US implicitly recognised India's nuclear weapons programme, "its size, direction and future will be our decision". The separation plan that would keep some 8 of the 22 functioning and under construction reactors as well as the Prototype and the Test Fast Breeder Reactor outside the safeguards regime, has "protected the autonomy of our decision-making".

Another top-level source added that the separation plan was based on a detailed government assessment of the nuclear weapons programme today, as well as all possible future threat scenarios.

Asked the most difficult issue in the talks, the source replied, "Placing Indian reactors in safeguards in perpetuity".

Referring to the strict safeguards that non-nuclear weapons states under the NPT have with the International Atomic Energy Agency in Vienna, he said for India, the US agreed to create a new set of "India specific" safeguards.

Besides bilateral legal guarantees, the US was committed to working with the IAEA and the Nuclear Suppliers Group to ensure "uninterrupted supply of fuel" to India's civil nuclear programme.

On the political protests, the high-level source said, "I explained everything, but we didn't succeed." On the Muslim protesters, the government intends to explain the deal to top leaders. The Indo-US deal, the source maintained, is not an endorsement of the US war in Iraq.

Asked how comfortable India was in dealing with the US, the source noted that the government's aims were to enlarge India's options. India's larger strategic aim, he underlined, "was to change the world order".

As to the deal being motivated by commercial interests in the US, the source said once the civil programme was identified, there would be commercial opportunities for the US companies. But he was not sure if US companies, who did not have an active nuclear power industry could fulfill the needs. It is likely that Russian, French and other companies would pitch in, he said.

He also observed that the deal did not threaten China or Pakistan. "We have explained the July 18 deal to top Chinese leaders", the source said, "and have had no negative response."



The agreement would give India access to US's nuclear technology to meet its soaring energy needs.

RAJNATH SINGH
BJP president



The agreement is a compromise and poses a threat to national security. It is a shame for the country.

M. M. JOSHI
BJP leader

9
The agreement is a compromise and poses a threat to national security. It is a shame for the country.



Howard no to uranium sale

AGENCIES
New Delhi, March 5

AUSTRALIAN PRIME Minister John Howard on Sunday ruled out a uranium deal with India as he headed for New Delhi, hoping to expand his country's involvement in one of the world's most dynamic economies.

Howard is the third world leader to visit New Delhi in as many weeks, following French President Jacques Chirac and U.S. President George W. Bush, all looking to boost trade ties with India — with its billion-plus population and economy that has been growing steadily at about 8 per cent.

India wants to expand its nuclear power industry but Howard indicated there would be no uranium deal as the Asian country had not signed the United Nations treaty on the non-proliferation of nuclear weapons. Bush signed a landmark agreement ending India's nuclear-parallel status, promising to supply the energy hungry South Asian giant with nuclear fuel. But Australia was unlikely to follow. "We're certainly not going to suddenly change our policy just because the Indians and the Americans have reached an agreement", Howard said in Sydney before departing.

His comments echoed Australian foreign minister Alexander Downer who announced on Friday that Australia would continue to bar uranium sales to India until it signs the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty. Australia is one of the world's largest suppliers of uranium.

Downer welcomed the deal, in which India agreed to separate its military and civilian nuclear facilities and open the civilian ones to international inspections for the first time. Its military facilities would remain closed.

However, Downer said selling uranium to India would undermine the NPT. Neither Indian nor Australian officials in New Delhi would comment on whether the issue would be on the agenda when Howard meets Prime Minister Manmohan Singh on Monday. Instead Howard said he would focus on boosting trade.

BJP speaks in two voices

Rajnath lauds the agreement, Joshi finds discrepancies in it

HT Correspondent
Kolkata, March 5

THE BJP has not made up its mind on whether it wants to support the Indo-US nuclear deal or criticise it. Jaswant Singh says the government has surrendered to the US, but Rajnath Singh has lauded the deal and wants the NDA to take credit for it.

On Sunday, Murlidhar Joshi joined the list of critics, saying the deal was a compromise and threat to national security. Joshi said in Kolkata that it was a shame for the country and demanded that the Prime Minister should explain to the country the terms of the agreement in details.

Joshi's statement was in contrast to Rajnath Singh's statement on the nuclear deal on Saturday.

Terming it as a landmark deal, the BJP chief had said that the agreement would give India access to US's nuclear technology to meet its soaring energy needs. The BJP president had also said though true jubilation eluded him, he was satisfied at the way the deal had gone through.

Joshi had also said on March 1 that if the Prime Minister assured the nation that en-

ergy, strategic interest and sovereignty would not be compromised, then the deal was certainly in the interest of the nation.

Contradicting the BJP president, Joshi was totally different person in Kolkata on Sunday.

"He (Prime Minister) has been claiming that the agreement would be in line with his July 18 statement. But, we have found that there are a lot of discrepancies in it," the former Union human resources development minister, said adding, the treaty should had been based on reciprocity.

Confused with the terms and conditions of the nuclear treaty, Joshi said he was shocked by the statements of US officials that the country would be earning millions of dollars by supplying nuclear fuel to India. "US is also set to supply huge armament to India," he said.

"The agreement is a total gain for US, and we want to know how India would gain from it," the veteran BJP leader, said adding, it was unfortunate that India would no more continue to be a nuclear-weapon state.

Joshi expressed concern that even the civilian nuclear programmes would now be subjected to international inspections. "We

want to know whether India would continue to be a nuclear state, or would it be reduced to a client state," he said.

"Will India be able to continue with experiments on civilian and military nuclear programmes?" the BJP leader questioned.

Joshi said earlier it was decided that India would submit the plans of nuclear programmes to the International Atomic Energy Authority (IAEA). "But, the agreement has diluted it," he said.

However, the BJP leader said his party did not believe that the nuclear treaty would make China or Pakistan apprehensive. "I don't think there would be any arms race in the region," he said.

Joshi also said dependence on supply of nuclear fuel from US would not be prudent for India in the long run.

"The US may stop supply anytime which would affect the nuclear energy programmes. We have seen how our nuclear plant at Tarapur suffered," he said.

The BJP leader also said the agricultural deal with US would affect the economy of the country in future. "How much can we protect our seed market from the MNCs?" he wondered.

Chain Reaction

Leftist responses to nuclear deal reveal much about themselves

THE details of the nuclear pact are now clearer, and New Delhi can pat itself on the back for having negotiated a good deal. It gets us out of the nuclear doghouse, while leaving enough reactors outside the purview of IAEA inspections to pursue a minimum credible deterrent as well as research into nuclear fuel cycles that use thorium. Indian naysayers who cavil are now confined to three motley groups — the Left, assorted right-wingers and some disgruntled scientists. But AEC members, including chairman Anil Kakodkar who had been at the epicentre of earlier protests by nuclear scientists against the deal, have backed the agreement as it now stands. The Left's objections appear rooted in the idea that any dealing with the US makes us a vassal state. The nuclear pact itself is refutation of this idea, as New Delhi has enhanced Indian interests through the negotiations. The Leftist idea that India can never negotiate with western powers as an equal can only be explained in terms of a deep-seated inferiority complex, perhaps racial in nature — so much for their anti-colonialism. The BJP's opposition, on the other hand, can be attributed to the fact that it is in the opposition. But it could gather more political capital by saying it initiated the process that resulted in the deal.

Some reactions from neighbours have been interesting. Beijing has called on India to abandon nuclear weapons. To which New Delhi should respond, in best Lucknavi fashion, pehle aap. If Beijing can dismantle its nuclear arsenal and persuade allies in Islamabad to follow suit then New Delhi, on its part, will undertake to end its military programme and sign the Non-proliferation Treaty. Even more interesting is the Left's response, or lack of it, to Beijing's hegemonic demand. If Washington had made the same demand they would have hit the streets in protest by now, which exposes their double standards. Islamabad seeks a pact similar to the India-US deal. But New Delhi's non-proliferation record stands in sharp contrast to its own, and it knows it won't get this. The demand, therefore, could be a way of leveraging other requests, such as arms for the military and political support for Musharraf. New Delhi must urge Bush to tell Islamabad that American support will be forthcoming, provided Islamabad closes down its terror infrastructure that hurts both Indian and US interests.

04 MAR 2005

THE TIMES OF INDIA

Geopolitics changing, not the goalposts

Bush must tell US Congress about India's proven non-proliferation record, says K Subrahmanyam

The Indo-US agreement on the nuclear deal is largely a result of President George Bush's strong commitment to spread use of nuclear energy around the globe. He is committed to reducing dependence on fossil fuels, cutting back emission of greenhouse gases and to cut radioactive nuclear wastes. Bush's commitment came through from the way he passionately defended the nuclear deal when asked at the Hyderabad House press briefing whether he was sending a wrong message by rewarding India for conducting nuclear tests. He stressed that the world has to adjust itself to changes in the global order and civil nuclear power for India was in everybody's benefit.

The problem with doubters in India was their unwillingness to carry out an assessment of changes in attitudes and policies of the US leadership and their refusal to come out of the Cold War mindset. But the firm determination of Bush and secretary of state Condoleezza Rice helped to bring about a mutually acceptable agreement. Now almost all the demands of our nuclear scientists have been accepted. Therefore, there is no more cause to complain that "goal posts" are being shifted.

The ball is in the Bush administration's court to get this separation plan accepted by US Congress. Bush must powerfully argue about the need to bring India into the new global nuclear energy regime that he is en-

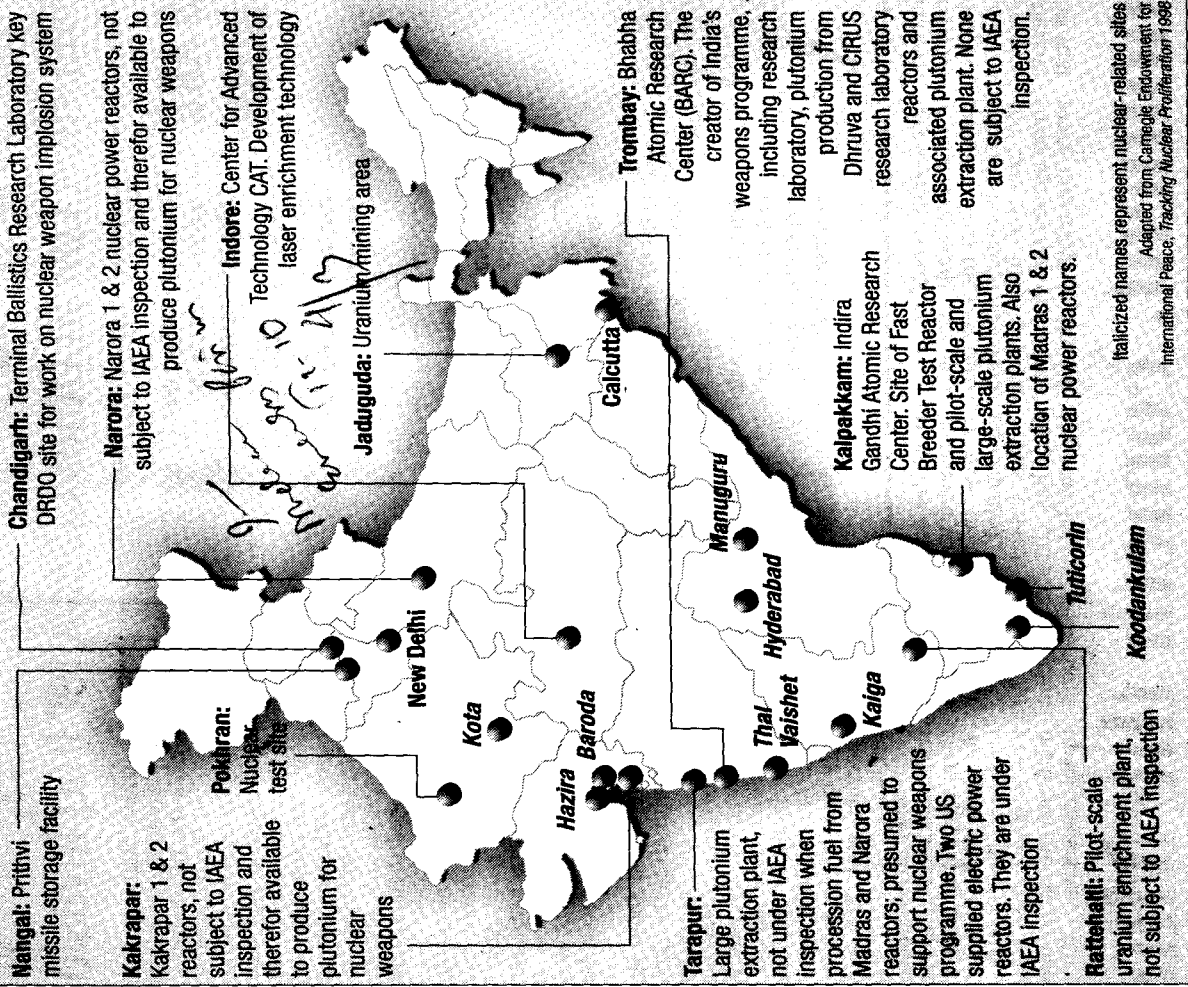
visaging along with other major advanced nuclear powers. He must also highlight India's proven non-proliferation record. Since he has campaigned hard on expanding nuclear energy globally he would have no difficulty linking that up with his move to make an exception for India on non-proliferation.

Both the US President and Rice would no doubt need all their powers of persuasion to convince US Congressmen about the separation plan. India has emphasised development of fast breeder reactors and thorium fuel cycle to counter claims it is building a massive nuclear arsenal. The fact that eight years after Pokhran II there is still so much talk about our nuclear arsenal falling short of a credible minimum nuclear deterrent should convince US Congress that India had not been stockpiling nuclear arms

India had not been stockpiling nuclear arms. Moreover, US is keen on rebuilding a balance of power in Asia, which necessitates India having a credible equation of deterrence vis-à-vis China and Pakistan. Thus, while US may not favour a rapid expansion of the Indian nuclear arsenal it is in its interest to have an India whose credible minimum deterrent has meaning in its neighbourhood.

In the absence of this there is an inadequate understanding among our political class, media and academia of US policies and strategy.

TOP SECRET: INDIA'S NUCLEAR SITES



N-deal paves way for pvt players

By Dinesh Narayanan & T Surendar/TNN

Mumbai: India's newly sealed nuclear pact with the US could cut open the way for private players to enter a turf that was until now zealously guarded by the state.

"Considering India's huge energy requirement, the government may allow private sector players to enter the nuclear energy space," said S K Jain, chairman of Nuclear Power Corporation (NPC), which runs 15 nuclear power plants in the country. Private sector majors such as the Tatas and Reliance, and public sector energy giant NTPC have let it be known in the past that if allowed, they would only be keen.

However, legal hurdles abound. To begin with, under current laws no private sector entity can dabble in the nuclear space unless the majority ownership is with a state-owned company. That is why all nuclear power plants that are coming up now are being built by NPC. It is constructing seven new plants that would be completed over the next two years. It is also doing the rounds of ministries to get various clearances for another four 700 MW power stations. To top them, NPC has plans to build another four power plants.

That is where other companies could find the initial opportunities. For instance Tata Power. "We have the expertise in developing peripheral technologies for nuclear power. Opening up of the sector will give us the first-mover advantage," said a Tata Power official. Similarly, NTPC, which has the expertise in generation could also benefit. "Some time ago NTPC had approached us and we had had some talks of cooperation. But those did not progress beyond pre-elimination," Jain said.

Being the only player in the nuclear field, the biggest opportunities could be opening up for NPC. Nuclear power becomes a compelling alternative to other kinds because of its manageable economies.

Americans to help build strategic fuel reserve to last lifetime of civilian reactors

Nuclear club of 4 to keep India fed

BHARAT BHUSHAN

New Delhi, March 3: A consortium of the US, Russia, France and the UK will ensure uninterrupted supply of nuclear fuel to India and the Americans will support the creation of a "strategic reserve" of nuclear fuel for the lifetime of Indian civilian nuclear reactors.

These are two of the conditions India has negotiated with the US as a part of its separation plan for civilian and military nuclear facilities.

Clearly, having experienced nuclear fuel supply disruptions at Tarapur, Indian negotiators did not want the spectre to haunt them again.

The emerging details of the negotiations show India insisted on not one or two but half-a-dozen assurances. Each has been built into the separation plan to ensure permanent international safeguards are co-terminus with permanent fuel supply commitments.

A declaratory assurance has been provided in the separation plan on "uninterrupted and continuous" supply of nuclear fuel for Indian civilian reactors under safeguards. This assurance is to be incorporated in a bilateral agreement to be signed between India and the US on civilian nuclear co-operation under Article 123 of the US Atomic Energy Act.

This would achieve two things — the assurance would become a part of US law; and it

would not be dependent on the vagaries of the US administration of the day.

In addition, the assurance on continuous supply would be incorporated in a trilateral agreement between India, the US and the International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA). Although the IAEA is not a fuel supplier, this agreement will help give international sanctity to the assurance.

However, even this was not sufficient to push the deal through. It was then decided to propose a consortium of friendly countries — the US, France, Russia and the UK —

which would commit itself, through an agreement, to ensuring continuous supply of nuclear fuel to India. A likely provision of the agreement will be that if there is disruption in fuel supply by one of them, others will step in.

India also expressed a desire to build lifetime reserves of fuel for its civilian nuclear reactors and managed to get the following assurance in the separation plan: "The US will support the creation of such strategic reserves for the lifetime of the reactors."

If all this fails, India would retain its "sovereign right" to take "corrective action" in the case of disruption in fuel supply. Such assurances and counter-assurances became nec-



President George W. Bush at the Acharya N.G. Ranga Agricultural University in Hyderabad on Friday. (AFP)

essary for two reasons: India's push for being recognised as close in status as possible to the five nuclear weapon powers; and the US desire that India ought to accept permanent or "safeguards in perpetuity" on the nuclear facilities it declared as civilian.

The IAEA has two kinds of safeguards (accounting procedures for nuclear fuel and material) and additional protocols (inspection regime) under the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty (NPT). The five nuclear weapon signatories "voluntarily offer safeguards" on their nuclear facilities and the non-nuclear weapon state signatories have no choice in the matter.

As a further confidence-

building measure, while the non-nuclear participants have to sign a "model" additional protocol allowing intrusive inspections by the IAEA, the nuclear "haves" negotiate an additional protocol depending on how much intrusiveness they accept.

India wants its de facto nuclear status to be as close as possible to a de jure status and to distinguish it from the non-nuclear weapon states.

However, the US demanded safeguards in "perpetuity". This could have been a deal breaker. India had no intention of putting a facility under safeguards and then withdrawing it. So it insisted that safeguards in perpetuity must come with fuel supplies in perpetuity and agreed not to the model additional protocol meant for the non-nuclear weapon states but to one it would negotiate with the IAEA.

INSIDE STORY

How the deal came close to getting unstuck over numbers, Page 8

Bush in India, Page 6

নিষেধাজ্ঞা থেকে সমঝোতার খতিয়ান

১৯৭৪ পোখরানে ভারতের প্রথম পরীক্ষামূলক পরমাণু বিস্ফোরণ। ক্ষুদ্র আমেরিকা-সহ একাধিক দেশ। ভারতের সঙ্গে পরমাণু সহযোগিতা বন্ধ।	১৯৯৮ পোখরানে দ্বিতীয় বার পরমাণু পরীক্ষা ভারতের। প্রাথমিক ভাবে ভারতের উপরে নিষেধাজ্ঞা।
১৯৭৮ পরমাণু সরবরাহকারী গোষ্ঠী তৈরির পরে তারাপুর পরমাণু কেন্দ্রে দু'দফায় জ্বালানি পাঠায় আমেরিকা। কিন্তু ১৯৮০-র পরে জ্বালানি আসা বন্ধ।	১৯৯৮-৯৯ ভারত-আমেরিকা দূরত্ব কমলেও ভারত পরমাণু পরীক্ষা নিষিদ্ধকরণ চুক্তিতে (সিটিবিটি) সই করতে নারাজ।
১৯৮০ ইন্দিরা গান্ধী ও রোনাল্ড রেগনের চেষ্টায় তারাপুর নিয়ে সমস্যার সমাধান।	২০০১ কৌশলগত অংশীদারিতে সম্মত অটলবিহারী বাজপেয়ী ও জর্জ ডব্লিউ বুশ। ক্ষেপনাস্ত্র প্রতিরক্ষা ব্যবস্থায় সহযোগিতার ইঙ্গিতও পাওয়া গেল।
১৯৮৪ ভারতকে প্রযুক্তি সরবরাহের ক্ষেত্র বাড়িয়ে দিল আমেরিকা।	২০০৪ ইসরোর উপর থেকে মার্কিন নিষেধাজ্ঞা প্রত্যাহার।
১৯৮৯ অগ্নি ক্ষেপণাস্ত্রের সফল পরীক্ষা। ক্ষেপণাস্ত্র প্রযুক্তি নিয়ন্ত্রণ কর্মসূচির আওতায় ভারতকে ক্ষেপণাস্ত্র উন্নয়ন বন্ধ করতে নির্দেশ আমেরিকার।	২০০৫ ভারত-মার্কিন অসামরিক পরমাণু সহযোগিতা চুক্তির খসড়া তৈরি। অসামরিক ক্ষেত্রে পরমাণু জ্বালানি পাওয়ার বিনিময়ে সব অসামরিক পরমাণু চুল্লিকে আন্তর্জাতিক নিরীক্ষণের আওতায় নিয়ে আসার শর্ত দিল আমেরিকা।
১৯৯৩-৯৫ পরমাণু নিরস্ত্রীকরণ কর্মসূচির সময়সীমা অনির্দিষ্টকাল করার বিরোধিতা করল ভারত। ভারত- মার্কিন পরমাণু আলোচনায় বাধা।	২০০৬, ২ মার্চ অসামরিক পরমাণু সহযোগিতা চুক্তির শর্ত নিয়ে ভারত-মার্কিন সমঝোতা।

03 MAR 2006

ANADABAZAR PATRIKA

IT'S A DONE DEAL

Statesman News Service

NEW DELHI, March 2. — India today agreed to open 14 of its 22 nuclear reactors to international safeguards under a last-minute deal clinched after intense discussions between the visiting US President George W Bush and Prime Minister Manmohan Singh.

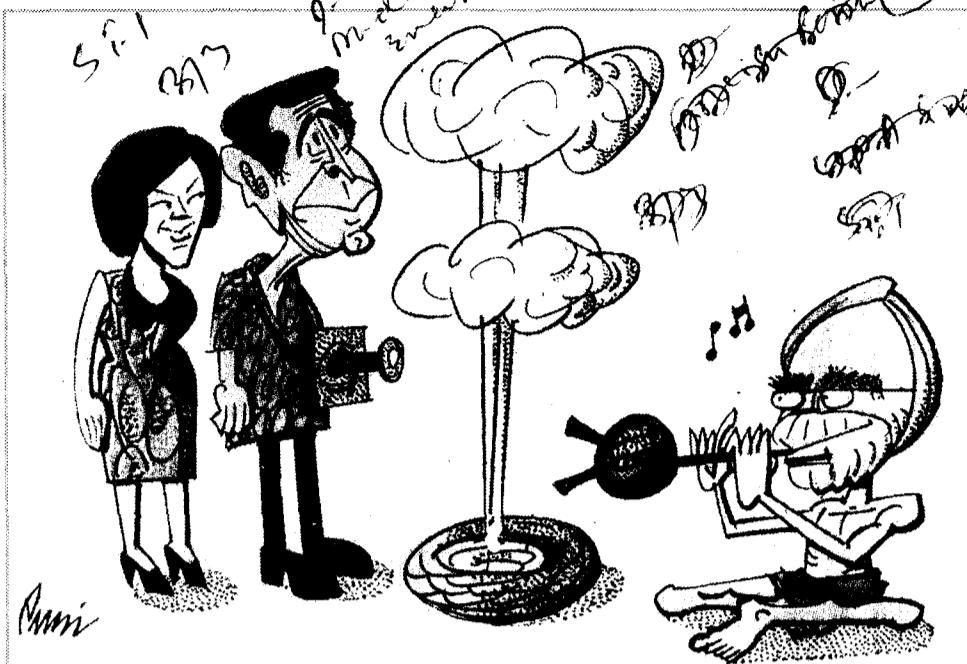
Capping days of hard-bargaining on a day marked by protests organised by Left parties and Muslim organisations in Delhi and elsewhere, the two leaders met for nearly two hours for one-on-one and delegation-level talks, to seal the landmark Indo-US nuclear deal of July last.

High-level sources said later that under the agreement India will not subject its military nuclear programme and fast breeder reactors to international safeguards. Classification of India's future nuclear reactors into civilian and military will be its sole decision and there will be "no debate" on these.

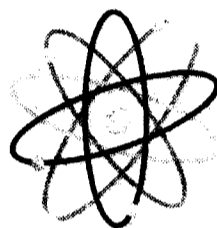
Announcing the deal, the Prime Minister told a joint press conference with Mr Bush that they had reached a "mutually-satisfactory understanding" on the implementation of the 18 July deal.

India has "successfully completed" preparation of a separation plan and will approach the IAEA for working out "India-specific" safeguards agreement and an additional protocol.

Mr Bush told him that he now would approach the US Congress to amend US laws. This entails guaranteed supply of nuclear fuel and reactors and lifting of restrictive



- 14 of 22 nuclear reactors to be placed under international safeguards
- Military nuclear programme and fast breeder reactors not to be submitted to international checks
- USA guaranteed supply of nuclear fuel and reactors



- No debate on classification of future nuclear reactors as civilian and military. The decision will solely be New Delhi's
- Nuclear separation plan completed. India to approach the IAEA for working out "India-specific" safeguards agreement and an additional protocol

régime with regard to trade in dual-use technology. The USA would also approach the Nuclear Suppliers Group (NSG) for adjusting its guidelines. Terming the agreement as "historic", Mr Bush 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." He, however, asserted that the deal was "necessary" and "in our interest" and expressed confidence that he "can sell this to our Congress." Mr Bush said civilian nuclear energy for India was essential to ease pressure on the world's oil and other fossil fuels due to increasing demands by India along with China and the US. Applauding Dr Singh for

his "courage" and "leadership", he said "India has charted a way forward".

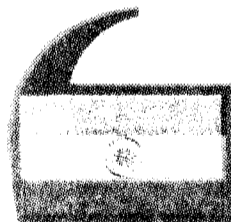
A joint statement issued after the talks said "this historic accomplishment will permit our countries to move forward towards our common objective of full civil nuclear energy cooperation between India and the USA and India and the international community as a whole." It also welcomed India's participation in the

International Thermonuclear Energy Research on fusion energy as an important further step towards the common goal of full nuclear energy cooperation. The two sides also entered into agreements on a wide range of areas for economic, scientific and technical cooperation in the fields of agriculture, space, education and health. The Prime Minister said: "There is no limit to Indo-US partnership." Condemning terrorism on a day when two bomb blasts rocked Karachi, killing five including a US diplomat, Mr Bush, who will leave for Pakistan tomorrow night, said it was important to talk to President Pervez Musharraf about continuing the fight against terrorists.

Referring to the Indo-Pak relations, the US President said the two neighbours have a "historic opportunity to work towards lasting peace. Prime Minister Singh and President Musharraf have shown themselves to be the leaders of courage and vision and I encourage them to continue making progress on all issues, including Kashmir." Mr Bush was earlier accorded a ceremonial welcome at Rashtrapati Bhavan.

The two leaders also addressed the CEOs Forum followed by the Prime Minister's lunch in honour of the visiting dignitary. While the Left leaders kept away from the lunch and President APJ Abdul Kalam's banquet, a cross-section of political leaders attended them.

Lok Sabha Speaker Mr Somnath Chatterjee was conspicuous by his absence; he was apparently unwell.



I am 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!

~ Dr Manmohan Singh at a luncheon banquet he hosted in honour of President & Mrs Bush

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.

~ President George W. Bush after the ceremonial reception on the forecourt of Rashtrapati Bhavan



US Congress may prove a tough nut to crack

Devirupa Mitra in New Delhi

March 2. — The ball is now in the court of the United States administration, but it may not be politically placed to put it through the hoop in the near future.

Now that India's separation plan for civilian and military nuclear facilities is complete, the US has to go to the Congress to get domestic laws amended to make a specific exception for India and to also convince the 45-member Nuclear Suppliers Group to change their guidelines. The US under secretary of state, Mr Nicholas Burns, today indicated that the administration had started briefing members of the US Congress after the announcement was

made. "I know Secretary Rice will be making phone calls. She hopes to call Senator Lugar and Chairman Hyde, the relevant committee chairs, and we'll call all the other members of Congress — and there are a lot of them who are interested in this pact," said Mr Burns.

In between the relief and euphoria of finally clinching the deal, it is also important to remember that the Bush administration is an embattled one, fighting domestic battles on several fronts. According to analysts, the capacity of the administration to push through the deal through Congress may be especially handicapped in an election year, with all the 437 Congress seats going to the polls in November. Further, the low ratings for Mr Bush

mean that his influence within his own party has been marginalised, with Republican Congressmen reportedly bailing out of a "sinking ship" that has taken a hit on multiple fronts — Iraq, domestic surveillance, et al.

"It is unlikely that the legislative proposal will be presented and passed before November," said eminent nuclear analyst, Brigadier Vijay K Nair, who was involved in recommending nuclear policy options in the nineties.

He argued that the India issue was "peripheral" even to pro-India legislators on Capitol Hill, even though there is no "substantive" opposition to the deal. Further, there were a slew of vested interests on the floor, therefore the opposition would not be anti-India, but

rather pro-Pakistan, pro-Israel or anti-Iran.

"The Democrats' strategy to regain majority in Congress hinges on discrediting President Bush's policies and stalling his legislative agenda, making any attempt to ask Congress to alter the nuclear non-proliferation Act to accommodate India at this point of time is an exercise in futility," said Brigadier Nair. While Mr Bush works with his Congress, the PM will have to make public the separation plan by issuing a statement in Parliament. The safeguarded "65 per cent" will include the four power plants in Rajasthan which are already under supervision, as well as the Cirus and Dhruva reactor.

Other reports on page 4

A NEW CLEAR DEAL FOR INDIA, US

Bush Promises To Sell Nuclear Agreement To Congress

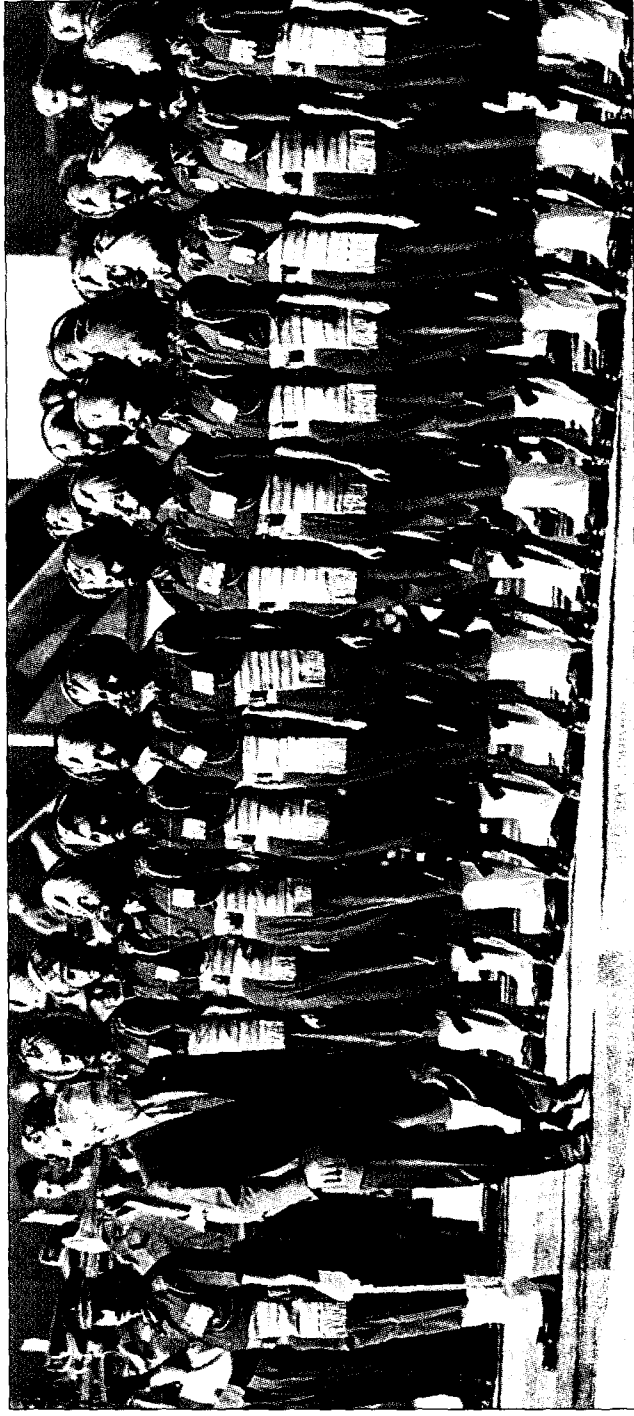
New Delhi: India and the US have reached an understanding on the implementation of the civil nuclear cooperation agreement last year. Prime Minister Manmohan Singh announced on Thursday.

Addressing a joint press conference with US President George W. Bush after their talks, Singh said the finalisation of identification of civilian facilities would begin. Discussions would be held with the IAEA on the guidelines for bringing the civilian nuclear reactors under its safeguards, he said.

The Prime Minister said the President has given an assurance that he would approach the US Congress for endorsing the deal.

Singh said the two countries have "arrived at a mutually satisfactory understanding with regard to carrying forward the process" that was reached on July 18 between him and President Bush. He said an important step forward is the preparation of a plan that separates civilian from nuclear military facilities and "it has been successfully completed."

"Now it is for the US government to go to the Congress and make necessary amendments to the laws (for implementing the deal) and to approach the Nuclear Suppliers Group (NSG) for working the deal," he said. India would also work with IAEA to workout the India-specific safeguards for its civilian nu-



US President George W. Bush inspects a guard of honour at the forecourt of Rashtrapati Bhavan in New Delhi on Thursday

clear facilities, he said. "We have made a very satisfactory progress and I thank President Bush without whose initiative it would not have been possible," the PM said.

Describing his discussion with Bush as "very cordial and productive", Singh said they reached a joint statement which underlines the significant progress in the relationship between the two countries.

"Many of the areas now covered are central to India's na-

tional development. They include energy, agriculture, science and technology, trade, investment and high technology, health and environment," the

SAHIL KUMAR
PAGES 10, 12 & 13

PM said. Singh also said a number of announcements and initiatives form part of the joint statement.

The Prime Minister said India and the US were working to-

gether increasingly on global issues which was not only good for the two countries but the entire world. Observing that he along with Bush reviewed the global situation during the talks, Singh said both countries have agreed to root out terrorism of which India has been a major victim.

In his remarks, Bush referred to sharing of common values and said that the two sides would work to combat terrorism, bring about the rule of law

and make the world a safer place to live.

Describing India as one of its largest trading partners, he emphasised on enhancing of trade between the two countries and recalled the growing military ties between them. Bush also thanked the Prime Minister for the aid given to the US after Hurricane Katrina struck its coast. The US President said the two countries stood for establishment of democracy world-wide. Agencies

N-DEAL: FBR will be kept out, some more DAE facilities may be added to civil list, Singh tells House

65% N-plants to be under safeguards: PM

EXPRESS NEWS SERVICE
NEW DELHI, FEBRUARY 27

DISCLOSING that "roughly 65 per cent of the total installed thermal nuclear power capacity" in the country have to be placed under IAEA safeguards under the nuclear separation plan, Prime Minister Manmohan Singh today "made it clear that we cannot accept safeguards on our indigenous Fast Breeder Programme".

Making a suo motu statement in both Houses of Parliament, Singh said some other Department of Atomic Energy (DAE) facilities may be added to the list of facilities within the civilian domain.

Observing that negotiations

on the Indo-US nuclear deal were "currently at a delicate stage", he said: "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 by anyone else".

He reminded the US about "reciprocity" agreed to by the two countries in July last year, saying "certain assurances" relating to supply of imported fuel for Tarapur made then "remain to be fulfilled".

Declaring the Government's "overarching commitment" to national security and related issue of autonomy of the nuclear programme, Singh said that in deciding the contours of the separation

on an adversary indulging in a nuclear first-strike", he said.

Singh's statement comes two days ahead of the visit of US President George W Bush and close on the heels of intense negotiations in New Delhi to wrap up a follow-up agreement between Foreign Secretary Shyam Saran and US Under Secretary of State Nicholas Burns.

The Prime Minister assured members that in preparing a separation plan, "there has been no erosion of the integrity of our nuclear doctrine, either in terms of current or future capabilities".

"Ours is a sacred trust to protect succeeding generations from a nuclear threat and we shall uphold this trust."



'Talks at very delicate stage'

plan, India has taken into account its "current and future strategic needs and programme after careful deliberation of all relevant factors, consistent with our nuclear doctrine".

This envisions a "credible minimum nuclear deterrent to inflict unacceptable damage

Efforts to clinch deal before Bush lands: Mulford
NEW DELHI: Admitting that talks on the nuclear deal were "complicated" as it entailed changing the "world architecture" in the field, US Ambassador David Mulford on Monday said "every effort" is being made to conclude the deal before President George W Bush arrives here.

"We are hoping we can reach the agreement by the time the President visits here and every effort is being made to do so, if the deal does not come through by the time of the visit, negotiations will continue after that," Mulford told reporters.

Asserting that the country's three-stage nuclear programme will "not be undermined or hindered by external interference", he said "we will offer to place under safeguards only those facilities that can be identified as civilian without damaging our deterrence potential or restricting our R&D effort, or in any way

compromising our autonomy of developing" the programme. Giving broad outlines for the first time on the proposed separation plan, Singh said it "entails identifying in phases, a number of our thermal nuclear reactors as civilian facilities to be placed under IAEA

CONTINUED ON PAGE 2

65% N-plants to be under safeguards, says PM

96 2
23/2

9
P.S. Bonin

safeguards, amounting to roughly 65 per cent of total installed thermal nuclear power capacity, by the end of the separation plan". A list of some other Department of Atomic Energy (DAE) facilities may be added to the list of facilities within the civilian domain, he said. On its part, India was committed not to divert any nuclear material intended for the civilian domain from designated civilian use or for export to third countries without safeguards, he said.

Recalling his statement made in Parliament on July 29 last year, he said India was committed to separating its civilian and strategic programme but this was to be "conditional upon, and reciprocal to the US fulfilling its side of the understanding".

"I had emphasised then—and I reiterate today—that no



part of this process would affect or compromise our strategic programme," he said.

Observing that the Government was not underestimating the difficulties that exist in the negotiations as complex issues were involved, Singh said it has been conveyed to US that while discussing the separation plan "there are details of the nature and content of our strategic requirements that we cannot share". "We will not permit information of national security significance to be com-

promised in the process of negotiations", he said. Stressing that the nation was proud of work done by nuclear scientists and the DAE in mastering all key aspects of the full nuclear fuel cycle, often under difficult circumstances, he said "we will ensure that no impediments are put in the way of our R&D activities".

An important reason why the US and other countries with advanced nuclear technologies were engaging India as a valued partner, he said, was precisely because of the high respect and admiration the scientists enjoyed internationally. The range and quality of the sophisticated nuclear programme the scientists have managed to create under most difficult odds "gives US confidence to engage in these negotiations as an equal partner," Singh said.

INDIAN EXPRESS

Reciprocity the key in nuclear deal, says PM

"India's strategic nuclear programme will not be compromised"

Diplomatic Correspondent

NEW DELHI: Prime Minister Manmohan Singh has reiterated that "reciprocity" holds the key to the implementation of the July 18, 2005 civil nuclear understanding with the United States. Recalling his July 29, 2005 statement in Parliament, Dr. Singh said on Monday: "I had stressed that reciprocity was the key and we expected that the steps to be taken by India would be conditional upon and contingent on action taken by the United States."

The Prime Minister assured Parliament that no part of this process would affect or compromise the country's strategic nuclear programme. According to him, the separation of the civil and military facilities was to be "conditional upon, and reciprocal to" the U.S. fulfilling its side of the understanding.

Stating that the nation was proud of the "tremendous work" of its nuclear scientists and the Department of Atomic Energy (DAE) in mastering key aspects of the nuclear fuel cycle, the Prime Minister promised that their "tremendous achievements" would not be frittered away.

"We will ensure that no impediments are put in the way of our research and development activities. We have made it clear that we cannot accept safeguards on our indigenous fast breeder programme. Our scientists are confident that this technology will mature and the programme will stabilise and become more robust through the creation of additional capability," he said.

According to him, this would create greater opportunities for future cooperation as well. "An

• Asserts that the nuclear scientists' work would not be frittered away

• Says there will be no impediment to research and development activities

important reason why the U.S. and other countries with advanced nuclear technologies are engaging with India as a valued partner is precisely because of the high respect and admiration our scientists enjoy internationally, and the range and quality of the sophisticated nuclear programme they have managed to create under the most difficult odds. This gives us confidence to engage in these negotiations as an equal partner."

Pointing out that the country's civil and military nuclear programmes were deeply intertwined across the expanse of the nuclear cycle, the Prime Minister said the maturity of the nuclear programme had made it possible to contemplate some changes.

"These are worth considering if benefits include gaining unhindered access to nuclear material, equipment, technology and fuel from international sources," he said.

Public recognition

According to the Prime Minister, the U.S. also implicitly acknowledged in the July 18, 2005 joint statement the existence of India's nuclear weapons programme. "There was also public recognition that as a responsible State with advanced nuclear technologies, India should acquire the same benefits and advantages as other States which have advanced nuclear technology, such as the United States."

Dr. Singh said the negotia-

tions on the civil nuclear deal had focussed on four crucial areas: the broad contours of a separation plan, list of facilities to be classified as civilian, the nature of safeguards to be applied on civilian facilities and the nature and scope of changes expected in U.S. domestic laws and Nuclear Suppliers Group guidelines to enable full civilian nuclear cooperation with India.

Economic progress

He said the July 18 statement was intended to expand the civilian nuclear energy capacities and pave the way for faster economic progress. "In seeking to achieve this objective, we appreciate the need for patience to remove misconceptions that abound."

"We believe that when implemented, the understanding contained in the [July 18] joint statement will give India its due place in the global nuclear order. The existence of our strategic programme is being acknowledged even while we are being invited to become a full partner in international civil nuclear energy cooperation," the Prime Minister said.

"I am aware that concerns have been raised over information being shared with outsiders, but not with our citizens. Members may be assured that nothing that could compromise our nuclear deterrent has been shared with anyone. On this aspect there is no reason for concern or doubt," he added.

28 SEP 2006

THE HINDU

The nuclear deal: what if it falls through?

Placid Rodriguez

THE INDO-U.S. nuclear deal is a great opportunity for both the countries. It offers India many advantages. The immediate benefit is that it allows the import of natural uranium thereby easing the hand to mouth existence with respect to fuel for our "INDU" pressurised heavy water reactors (PHWRs). A second benefit will be the import of enriched uranium required to continue to run the Tarapur boiling water reactors (BWRs) beyond 2006. Then there is the added attraction of the import of light water reactors from abroad (Russia, France, and the United States), which will substantially supplement our own indigenous nuclear power programme based on PHWRs and fast breeder reactors (FBRs).

In the context of many armchair strategists, columnists, and editors making it appear that the failure of the deal will be a great and devastating loss to India, we need to carefully analyse and ask the question: what if the deal fails? How devastating will it be? And at what cost and on what terms should we agree to the nuclear deal?

First and foremost, we need to recognise that the deal is mutually beneficial to India and the U.S. Secondly, if the deal doesn't come through the U.S. has more to lose than India. We also need to analyse the impact of the failure of the deal on the energy front for India and then prepare the nation, including its scientists and technologists, to be ready for the necessary R&D to ensure the energy independence of the nation. Energy independence and energy security are the key words or mantras.

What does energy security mean? It means that we should be assured and certain of meeting our energy needs. It is the endeavour of all nations that a major part of the energy requirement is met from resources within the country. That is why France went in for a high (over 70 per cent at present) share for nuclear in its energy production. Our own three-stage nuclear programme – first heavy water reactors using natural uranium fuel, followed by fast breeder

The U.S. has more to lose than India if the deal does not come through. America needs Indian scientists and technologists to revive its nuclear sector.

reactors using plutonium fuel, and finally systems for thorium utilisation – is based on the same principle of energy security.

I was one of the first to welcome the agreement soon after the landmark signing between Prime Minister Manmohan Singh and President George W. Bush (*Frontline*, Volume 22-Issue 16, July 30-August 12, 2005). But I also said there should be nothing in the deal that interferes with our indigenous three-stage nuclear programme. It also needs to be emphasised for the benefit of many who have not understood the nuances of separating civilian and military nuclear facilities, that as a non-NPT state and as a *de facto* nuclear weapons state, it is India's sovereign right to determine what facilities are to be excluded from the civilian list and not subjected to safeguards.

India's decision to classify a facility as 'military' does not necessarily mean that the facility is used for military purposes but India considers the facility crucial to its national security and interests. The R&D and design and engineering efforts related to fast breeder reactors and advanced heavy water reactors and other systems for thorium utilisation are crucial to our national security and interests.

These R&D programmes are at an "evolving" stage and involve advanced reactors and systems that are essentially what may well be called Generation IV type of futuristic systems. In these technologies, due to our own work, we are today at the cutting edge and sharing of all related information with others, including placing them under safeguards, could be examined only later, after all comparable facilities and systems in the nuclear weapons states are similarly placed. Or

at a possible future time when India also becomes a part of the Generation IV programme with these reactors and systems included.

What is the likely addition of LWRs from foreign suppliers to the Indian grid? A very optimistic estimate is about 13,600 MWe in the next 10 years and a total of 68,000 MWe between now and 2052. Even if there is no addition of LWRs, from our own PHWRs and FBRs, the total nuclear contribution to the Indian grid can be as high as about 207 GWe by the year 2052. That is only one fourth of the nuclear power in the country would come from and use imported uranium. The total electricity production in India by the year 2052 to meet the projected GDP growth rate is 1344 GWe. So the consequence of "no nuclear deal" is that the nuclear share to the total electricity production would be down to 15.4 per cent from a possible 20 per cent or so. Far from "devastating."

The World Energy Council has projected that if a global nuclear renaissance takes place, the total nuclear power in the world will increase to about 1120 GWe by the year 2050, a threefold increase from the current 400 GWe installed nuclear capacity. While a major part of the new nuclear power will be in Asia, mostly China and India, the "nuclear renaissance" is a global phenomenon. The energy needs of the U.S. itself is increasing at the rate of 1.8 per cent a year, which is low compared to the increasing demands in India and China. But even at this low rate, in actual terms the increase will amount to about 50 per cent addition of installed capacity every 25 years. The additional demand for nuclear power for the U.S. itself could be as high 400 to 500 GWe in the next 50 years. How is a country

whose nuclear power industry has been virtually frozen since the Three Mile Island accident in 1979, going to revive its nuclear capability?

According to the Nuclear Energy Institute of the U.S., currently there is a substantial shortage of engineers of all types at nuclear power plants and this shortage will only increase as new plants are built. For one, there has been no new construction of nuclear reactors in the U.S. since 1980. They have missed a whole generation of nuclear technologists. For another, interest of students in science and engineering has been on the decline in the West, including the U.S. Nuclear engineering departments in many universities have been closed down and enrolment of nuclear engineering students have gone down by more than half in the last decade. The gap between the demand and the supply of nuclear engineers in the U.S., which was 350 during the fiscal year 1999-2000 has increased to more than 500 in the fiscal year 2002-2003 and should have grown further in the last two years. Further, according to some experts, up to 30 per cent of the current nuclear engineering workforce could retire within the next five years.

On December 30, 2005, for the first time in six years, the Nuclear Regulatory Commission (NRC) certified the design of a new reactor – the 1000-MW Westinghouse advanced passive (AP) reactor. General Electric's simplified boiling water reactor is yet to get this certification and it will take many years for the construction of both these types to be licensed by the NRC.

The coming together of the French Nuclear Company AVERA and Constellation Energy of the U.S. to form a joint venture called UNISTAR, with Bechtel Power Corporation of the U.S. as the architect-engineer and constructor, to construct 1600 MWe European PWRs in the U.S. further reinforces my view of the current American status in the nuclear field. The lack of adequately trained nuclear scientists and engineers is going to hamper the nuclear renaissance in the U.S.

In many fora, related to nuclear technology and nuclear knowledge management, many of the American scientists have said they look forward to a large input of human resource of competent nuclear scientists and technologists from India to revive the nuclear power industry in the U.S. The Department of Atomic Energy should, therefore, plan for massive human resource development in the coming decades, not only to meet its own needs but the burgeoning demands of the whole world.

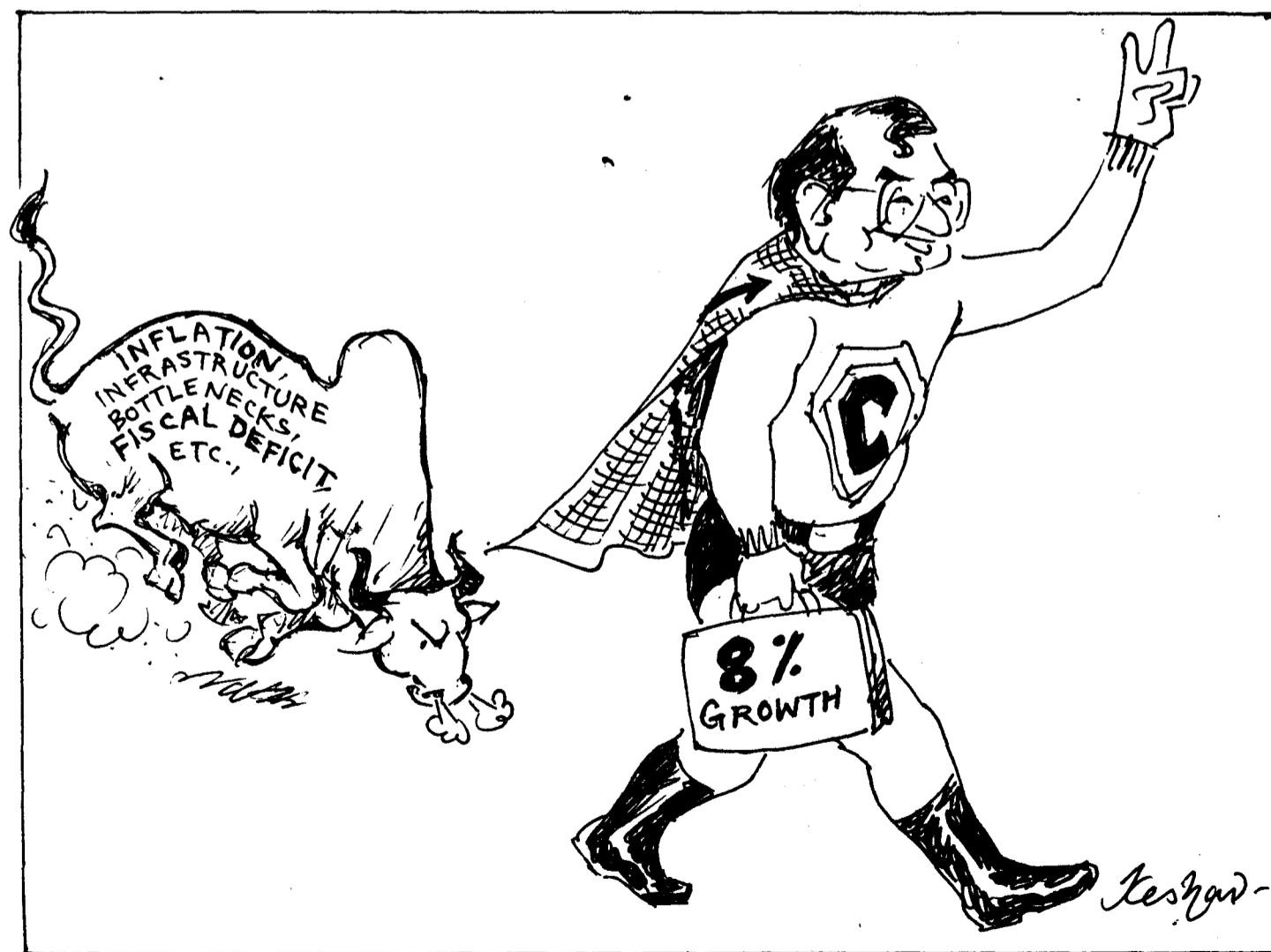
Yes, India is the place to look for the large number of technologists and scientists required for the nuclear renaissance in the West. From this perspective, it is in the interest of the U.S. to see the nuclear deal through and make India a competent force to reckon with in light water reactor technology also. It is not that we have remained unfamiliar with light water reactors. We have 40 years of experience with the boiling water reactors and we are building two LWRs of Russian origin. We have also mastered many involved technologies like that of steam generators, which are common to both LWRs and PHWRs.

Many so-called strategists, journalists, and editorial writers have written with venom and sarcasm, blaming the Indian scientists and technologists at this stage of the impasse in negotiations between India and the U.S. It would seem that they are more American than the Americans and they will sell their own country and its energy security for short-term gains.

Let there be no confusion: The success of the deal is important for both India and the U.S. If the deal fails, the U.S. has more to lose than India. And, most importantly, the "nuclear winter" never came to India. We have sustained our nuclear capability and are poised to play a leadership role in the "nuclear renaissance" in the Western world as an equal partner on our own terms and without in any way sacrificing our energy security and sovereign rights as a nation.

(The author is President of the Indian Nuclear Society and a former Director of the Indira Gandhi Centre for Atomic Research, Kalpakam. The views expressed are personal.)

CARTOONSCAPE



“We cannot accept safeguards on our indigenous fast breeder programme”

Prime Minister Manmohan Singh says the decision on what facilities may be identified as civilian will be made by India alone, and not by anyone else.

This is the text of the suo motu statement made in Parliament on February 27, 2006, by Prime Minister Manmohan Singh on Civil Nuclear Energy Cooperation with the United States:

“Mr. Speaker Sir,
“I rise to inform this august House of the status of discussions with the United States on civil nuclear energy co-operation. Substantive aspects of this are reflected in the Joint Statement of July 18, 2005 that U.S. President Bush and I agreed upon during my visit to Washington DC last year. I would like to use this occasion to outline the context and core elements of the Joint Statement, before detailing the status of the ongoing negotiations.

“Hon’ble Members are aware that our effort to reach an understanding with the United States to enable civil nuclear energy cooperation was based on our need to overcome the growing energy deficit that confronts us. As India strives to raise its annual GDP growth rate from the present 7-8% to over 10%, the energy deficit will only worsen. This may not only retard growth, it could also impose an additional burden in terms of the increased cost of importing oil and natural gas, in a scenario of sharply rising hydrocarbon prices. While we have substantial reserves of coal, excessive dependence on coal-based energy has its own implications for our environment. Nuclear technology provides a plentiful and non-polluting source of power to meet our energy needs. However, to increase the share of nuclear power in our energy mix, we need to break out of the confines imposed by inadequate reserves of natural uranium, and by international embargos that have constrained our nuclear programme for over three decades.

Breadth of vision

“Established through the vision of Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru and sustained by the commitment of scientists like Dr. Homi Bhabha, our nuclear programme is truly unique. Its uniqueness lies in the breadth of its overarching vision: of India mastering a three-stage nuclear programme using our vast thorium resources, and mastering more complex processes of the full nuclear fuel cycle. Consequently, our civilian and strategic programmes are deeply intertwined across the expanse of the nuclear fuel cycle. There are hardly any other countries in a similar situation. Over the years, the maturation of our nuclear programme, including the development of world-class thermal power reactors, has made it possible to contemplate some changes. These are worth considering if benefits include gaining unhindered access to nuclear material, equipment, technology and fuel from international sources.

“However, international trade in nuclear material, equipment and technologies is largely determined by the Nuclear Suppliers’ Group (NSG), an informal group of 45 countries. Members include the United States, Russia, France and the United Kingdom. India has been kept out of this informal arrangement and therefore denied access to trade in nuclear materials, equipment and various kinds of technologies.

“It was with this perspective that we approached negotiations with the United States on enabling full civilian nuclear energy cooperation with India. The essence of what was agreed in Washington last July was a shared understanding of our growing energy needs. In recognition of our improved ties, the United States committed itself to a series of steps to enable bilateral and international cooperation in nuclear energy. These include adjusting domestic policies, and working with allies to adjust relevant international regimes. There was also a posi-

tive mention of possible fuel supply to the first two nuclear power reactors at Tarapur. U.S. support was also indicated for India’s inclusion as a full partner in the International Thermonuclear Experimental Research Project and the Generation IV International Forum.

Weapons programme acknowledged

“But more importantly, in the Joint Statement, the United States implicitly acknowledged the existence of our nuclear weapons programme. There was also public recognition that as a responsible State with advanced nuclear technologies, India should acquire the same benefits and advantages as other States which have advanced nuclear technology, such as the United States. The Joint Statement offered the possibility of decades-old restrictions being set aside to create space for India’s emergence as a full member of a new nuclear world order.

“On our part, as Hon’ble Members may recall from my suo motu statement on July 29 last year, we committed ourselves to separating the civilian and strategic programme. However this was to be conditional upon, and reciprocal to, the United States fulfilling its side of the understanding. I had stressed that reciprocity was the key and we expected that the steps to be taken by India would be conditional upon and contingent on action taken by the United States. I had emphasised then, and I reiterate today, that no part of this process would affect or compromise our strategic programme.

“I now come to the negotiations that have taken place in the past few months. While these have been principally with the U.S., there have been discussions with other countries like Russia, U.K. and France as well. At the political level, I have maintained contact with President Chirac of France, President Putin of Russia, Prime Minister Blair of the U.K. I have also raised this subject with the Heads of State/Government of Norway, Republic of Korea, Netherlands, Czech Republic and Ireland — all members of the NSG. I also met President Bush in New York last September and discussed implementation of the July 18 statement. In the same period, several American Congressional leaders and policy-makers have visited India in the past few months, many of whom met me. We have amply clarified our objective in pursuing full civil nuclear energy cooperation for our energy security and to reassure them of India’s impeccable non-proliferation credentials.

Two teams

“At the official level, we have constituted two groups comprising key functionaries concerned with strategic and nuclear matters. They included the Department of Atomic Energy, the Ministry of External Affairs, the Armed Forces and my Office. These two groups were respectively mandated to draw up an acceptable separation plan, and to negotiate on this basis. The directive given to both groups was to ensure that our strategic nuclear programme is not compromised in any way, while striving to enlarge avenues for full civil nuclear energy cooperation with the international community. The negotiations by our officials have been extensive and prolonged. These have focused on four critical elements: the broad contours of a Separation Plan; the list of facilities being classified civilian; the nature of safeguards applied to facilities listed in the civilian domain; and the nature and scope of changes expected in US domestic laws and NSG guidelines to enable full civilian nuclear energy cooperation with India.

“Hon’ble Members may be assured that in deciding the contours of a separation plan,

we have taken into account our current and future strategic needs and programmes after careful deliberation of all relevant factors, consistent with our Nuclear Doctrine. We are among very few countries to adhere to the doctrine of “No first Use”. Our doctrine envisions a credible minimum nuclear deterrent to inflict unacceptable damage on an adversary indulging in a nuclear first strike. The facilities for this, and the required level of comfort in terms of our strategic resilience have thus been our criterion in drawing up a separation plan. Ours is a sacred trust to protect succeeding generations from a nuclear threat and we shall uphold this trust. Hon. Members may therefore be assured that in preparing a Separation Plan, there has been no erosion of the integrity of our Nuclear Doctrine, either in terms of current or future capabilities.

Separation plan

“The Separation Plan that is being outlined is not only consistent with the imperatives of national security, it also protects our vital research and development interests. We have ensured that our three-stage nuclear programme will not be undermined or hindered by external interference. We will offer to place under safeguards only those facilities that can be identified as civilian without damaging our deterrence potential or restricting our R&D effort, or in any way compromising our autonomy of developing our three stage nuclear programme. In this process, the Department of Atomic Energy has been involved at every stage, and the separation plan has been drawn up with their inputs.

“Therefore our proposed Separation Plan entails identifying in phases, a number of our thermal nuclear 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. A list of some other DAE facilities may be added to the list of facilities within the civilian domain. The Separation Plan will create a clearly defined civilian domain, where IAEA safeguards apply. On our part, we are committed not to divert any nuclear material intended for the civilian domain from designated civilian use or for export to third countries without safeguards.

“Mr. Speaker Sir,
“Negotiations are currently 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 by anyone else.

“At the same time, we are not underestimating the difficulties that exist in these negotiations. There are complex issues involved. Several aspects of the nuclear programme lend themselves in the public discussions to differing interpretations, such as the Fast Breeder Programme or our fuel-cycle capabilities such as re-processing and enrichment requirements. The nature and range of strategic facilities that we consider necessarily outside safeguards constitute yet another example. 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. We will not permit information of national security significance to be compromised in the process of negotiation.

“It is essential to recall that the July 18 Statement was not about our strategic programme. It was intended to be the means to expand our civilian nuclear energy capacities and thereby to help pave the way for faster economic progress. In seeking to

achieve this objective, we appreciate the need for patience to remove misperceptions that abound. I reiterate that India has an exemplary record on non-proliferation and this will continue to be so. All in all, one major achievement so far is that a change is now discernible in the international system. We believe that when implemented, the understandings reflected in the Joint Statement will give India its due place in the global nuclear order. The existence of our strategic programme is being acknowledged even while we are being invited to become a full partner in international civil nuclear energy cooperation.

“Mr. Speaker Sir,
“I must emphasise that the nation is justly proud of the tremendous work of our nuclear scientists and the Department of Atomic Energy in mastering all the key aspects of the full nuclear fuel cycle, often under difficult circumstances. The tremendous achievements of our scientists in mastering the complete nuclear fuel cycle — the product of their genius and perseverance — will not be frittered away. We will ensure that no impediments are put in the way of our research and development activities. We have made it clear that we cannot accept safeguards on our indigenous Fast Breeder Programme. Our scientists are confident that this technology will mature and that the programme will stabilise and become more robust through the creation of additional capability. This will create greater opportunities for international cooperation in this area as well. An important reason why the US and other countries with advanced nuclear technologies are engaging with India as a valued partner is precisely because of the high respect and admiration our scientists enjoy internationally, and the range and quality of the sophisticated nuclear programme they have managed to create under the most difficult odds. This gives us confidence to engage in these negotiations as an equal partner.

Indulgence of House sought

“As I said, many aspects of the proposed separation plan are currently under negotiation. It is true that certain assurances in the July 18 Statement remain to be fulfilled — the supply of imported fuel for Tarapur I and II, for one. Some elements, such as U.S. support for India’s participation in the ITER programme, have materialised. The issue of the nature of safeguards to be applied to facilities designated civilian also remains pending resolution. I seek the indulgence of this House not to divulge every single detail of the negotiations at this time. However, this august House can be assured that the limits are determined by our overarching commitment to national security and the related issue of the autonomy of our nuclear programme. Our Government will take no step that could circumscribe or cast a shadow over either.

“I am aware that concerns have been raised over information being shared with outsiders, but not with our own citizens. Members may be assured that nothing that could compromise our nuclear deterrent has been shared with anyone. On this aspect there is no reason for concern or doubt.

“Mr. Speaker Sir,
“As I said at the outset, our approach is defined by the need to utilize the window of opportunity before us, to find a solution to our energy deficit. We have also been guided by the need to dismantle international restrictions, which, when achieved, could unleash our scientific talent and increase commercial potential in the nuclear and related sectors. The nation will be kept informed, through this august House.

“Thank you.”

Manmohan's 'no' to curbs on FBRs

"All proposals judged on merits"

Amit Baruah

NEW DELHI: India cannot accept international nuclear safeguards on its fast breeder reactor (FBR) programme, Prime Minister Manmohan Singh asserted in Parliament on Monday. His *suo motu* statement in both Houses comes two days ahead of the United States President George W. Bush's arrival.

Referring to the "delicate" negotiations with the U.S. on separation of nuclear facilities under the July 18, 2005 joint statement, he said the "nature of safeguards" was a "pending" issue. Dr. Singh acknowledged that "certain assurances" in the statement, such as fuel for Tarapur, remained unfulfilled by Washington, but pointed out the U.S. support to New Delhi in joining the International Thermonuclear Experimental Reactor (ITER) project.

The Government had taken into account the country's strategic weapons needs. The nuclear doctrine, while adhering to the principle of "no first use," envisioned inflicting severe damage on an adversary going in for a first strike. "The facilities for this [dealing with a first strike] and the required level of comfort in terms of our strategic resilience have thus been our criterion in drawing up a separation plan. The three-stage nuclear programme would not be undermined by external interference," Dr. Singh said.

India would offer only the facilities that could be identified as civilian without damaging its de-

• Nature of safeguards a "pending" issue

• Strategic weapons needs taken into account

terrence potential or research efforts. The proposed separation plan entailed identifying, in phases, "a number" of thermal nuclear reactors, as civil facilities, amounting to roughly 65 per cent of installed nuclear capacity, by the end of the process.

Some other facilities of the Department of Atomic Energy "may also" be added. The separation plan would create a clearly defined civilian domain where the International Atomic Energy Agency's safeguards would apply.

"All proposals of the U.S. had been judged on merit. We will take the decision of classification of the facilities. It is essential to recall that the July 18 statement was not about our strategic programme."

Dr. Singh said he was not underestimating the difficulties that existed in the talks with the U.S. Pointing out that there were "differing interpretations" of the country's fast breeder programme and fuel-cycle capabilities, such as re-processing and enrichment, he said it had been conveyed to the U.S. that New Delhi "cannot share" the nature and content of its strategic requirements.

Text of statement: Op-Ed Page

THE HINDU

Manmohan Singh to address fears over nuclear deal

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Nuclear
Energy Form*

HOD 7

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To tell Parliament — there will be no cap on country's nuclear military programme

Harish Khare

NEW DELHI: Prime Minister Manmohan Singh is scheduled to make a statement in Parliament on Monday on the proposed controversial nuclear deal with the United States. According to official sources, the Prime Minister hopes to address the primary objection of the critics — political and within the strategic community — that the “deal” would cap India's nuclear military programme.

According to these sources, the Prime Minister is expected to state categorically that the deal has nothing to do with India's strategic programme, and that India would “reserve the right to build more ‘military plants’ over and above what may be declared ‘military’ in the proposed separation of the existing 22 nuclear plants into “civilian” and “military” categories.

‘No roll-back’

The Prime Minister is going to try to set at rest the well-articulated apprehension in the strategic community that the July 2005 agreement would cripple and eventually “cap” India's capacity to have the flexibility of updating and enhancing the size of its nuclear deterrence. Dr. Manmohan Singh's bottom-line, according to these sources, will be: “No cap, no roll-back” of India's nuclear military programme.

In recent days the officials

- To state that the deal has nothing to do with India's strategic programme
- Proclaim right to build more ‘military plants’ over and above what may be declared ‘military’
- To insist on new rules to dismantle the post-1974 nuclear regime
- Unlikely that his statement will ease parties' disquiet on Bush

have also been keen to explain that the “reciprocal” dimension of the July 2005 agreement would be applicable in letter and spirit. As one official involved in the negotiations with Washington explained, India would not move an inch (on its part of the bargain) till the Bush Administration is able to secure (as part of its side of the bargain) the requisite Congressional endorsement and put in place new laws and rules, which would dismantle the post-1974 discriminatory nuclear regime.

Cartoon angle

Dr. Manmohan Singh's statement, however, would not be able to ease the disquiet among the political parties on U.S. President George Bush. The Left and a number of political parties supporting the United Progressive Alliance have raised their voice of protest against Mr. Bush. The Congress Party itself is divided on how not to let the Muslim community's indigna-

tion over the Danish cartoon controversy spill over into anti-Bush sentiment.

The Prime Minister on Sunday morning gave an hour-long interview to an American television channel in which he focussed on the India-U.S. relationship in the context of the Bush visit.

The Prime Minister, according to his aides, argued that the U.S. has to rebuild its trust with India. This is pertinent particularly in the nuclear field where the Indian scientific establishment has been discriminated against and a whole generation of scientists has come into its own, without having access to research resources, which were available, say, to the Chinese nuclear establishment.

The onus was on the U.S. to walk the extra-mile to rebuild trust.

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THE HINDU

পরমাণু চুক্তির সমর্থনে কিছু ভারতীয় বিজ্ঞানী

নয়াদিল্লি, ২৫ ফেব্রুয়ারি: ভারত-মার্কিন পরমাণু চুক্তি নিয়ে স্পষ্টতই দ্বিধাবিভক্ত ভারতীয় বিজ্ঞানী মহল। অনিল কাকোদকরের মতো পরমাণু বিজ্ঞানীরা প্রকাশ্যেই এই চুক্তির বিরোধিতা করেছেন।

দিন কয়েক আগেও মনে করা হচ্ছিল, মার্কিন কংগ্রেসের মতোই ভারতীয় বিজ্ঞানীরাও চুক্তি চূড়ান্ত হওয়ার পথে বড় বাধা হয়ে দাঁড়াবেন। কিন্তু ছবিটা আর সে রকম একতরফা নেই। পরমাণু শক্তি দফতর (ডিএই) এবং ভাবা পরমাণু গবেষণা কেন্দ্রের একদল বিজ্ঞানী সাফ জানিয়েছেন, তাঁদের ভোট চুক্তির দিকে। এমনকী প্রয়োজনে মনমোহন সিংহ সরকারকে তাঁরা খোলাখুলি সমর্থন জানাবেন।

ডিএই-র প্রথম সারির এক বিজ্ঞানীর কথায়, “গত চার দশকে ভারতের অসামরিক পরমাণু শক্তি প্রকল্পের খুব সামান্যই অগ্রগতি হয়েছে। সামরিক প্রয়োজনটাই ছিল বড়। অসামরিক ক্ষেত্রে যেটুকু কাজ হয়েছে, সেটা মূলত সামরিক প্রকল্পগুলিকে আড়াল করার জন্যই। কিন্তু দেশের স্বার্থেই এই পরিস্থিতি বদলানো দরকার।”

একই সুর ভাবা পরমাণু গবেষণা কেন্দ্রের এক বিজ্ঞানীর গলাতেও। চিনের উদাহরণ টেনে তিনি বলেছেন, “ভারতের উচিত নয় এত বড় সুযোগ হাতছাড়া করা। চিন যেখানে কানাডা এবং অস্ট্রেলিয়ার কাছ থেকে ইউরেনিয়াম কিনছে, সেখানে ভারত পিছিয়ে থাকবে কেন?”

পরমাণু চুক্তি স্বাক্ষরিত হলে থোরিয়াম রিঅ্যাক্টর নিয়ে গবেষণা শিকয়ে উঠবে বলে ডিএই যে যুক্তি

দিয়েছে, তার কোনও বৈজ্ঞানিক ভিত্তি নেই বলেও দাবি করেন ওই বিজ্ঞানী। তাঁর মতে, ‘একলা চলো রে’ নীতি নিলে ফাস্ট ব্রিডার প্রকল্পের জন্য যথেষ্ট প্লটোনিয়াম জোগাড় করতে ভারতকে অন্তত ৩০ বছর অপেক্ষা করতে হবে। ভারতের বর্তমান রাজনৈতিক পরিস্থিতিও এ ধরনের চুক্তির সহায়ক। সুতরাং সরকারের এ ব্যাপারে আরও উঠেপড়ে লাগা উচিত। এই ‘বিরোধী’ বিজ্ঞানীরা নাম প্রকাশে অনিচ্ছুক। কিন্তু প্রয়োজনে যে তাঁরা প্রকাশ্যে মুখ খুলবেন, এমন ইঙ্গিতও মিলেছে।

হোয়াইট হাউসও আজ জানিয়েছে, হতাশ হবার কোনও কারণ নেই। মার্কিন জাতীয় নিরাপত্তা উপদেষ্টা স্টিফেন হ্যাডলি আজ বলেন, “পরমাণু চুক্তি নিয়ে এখনও পর্যন্ত দু’দেশের মধ্যে যে কথাবার্তা হয়েছে, তাতে এর ভবিষ্যৎ নিয়ে আমরা আশাবাদী। ভারতকে সামরিক এবং অসামরিক পরমাণু প্রকল্পের বিভাজনটা আরও একটু পরিষ্কার করতে হবে। প্রযুক্তিগত কিছু ব্যাপারে আরও স্বচ্ছতা প্রয়োজন। মার্কিন প্রেসিডেন্টের আসন্ন সফরে যদি এ নিয়ে কাজ এগোয়, ভাল। না হলেও আমরা চেষ্টা চালিয়েই যাব।”

সেই সঙ্গে হ্যাডলির সতর্কবার্তা, “জর্জ বুশের ভারত সফরকে শুধু পরমাণু চুক্তির প্রেক্ষিতেই দেখবেন না। বাণিজ্য, প্রযুক্তি, জ্বালানি, পরিবেশ-অনেক বিষয়ে কিন্তু দু’দেশের মধ্যে সাংগঠনিক সম্পর্ক রয়েছে। বুশের সফরের আসল উদ্দেশ্য, সেই সম্পর্ককে মজবুত করা।” ইরান নিয়েও ভারতের সহযোগিতা চায় আমেরিকা। তবে এই বন্ধুত্ব তৃতীয় দেশের শঙ্কার কারণ নেই বলে হ্যাডলি মন্তব্য করেন।

— পি টি আই, এ পি

2007/02/25 11:11:11 AM
INDIA

India, US still differ on nuclear deal clauses

Our Political Bureau
NEW DELHI

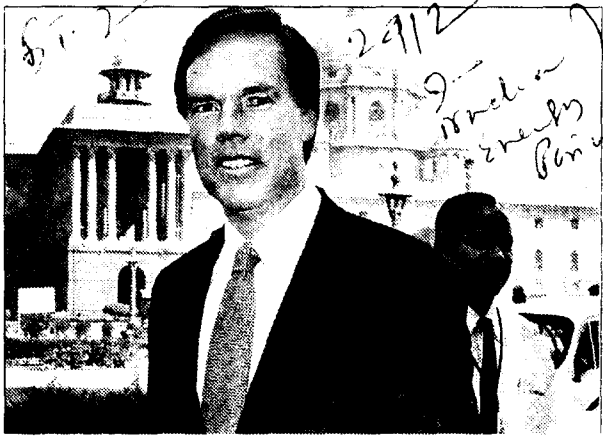
INDIA and the US on Thursday struggled to iron out differences in the Indo-US nuclear pact after the first day of talks between foreign secretary Shyam Saran and undersecretary of state for political affairs Nicholas Burns.

After the first round of talks in the afternoon, Burns sounded pessimistic about the deal being hammered out in time for president George Bush's visit early in March.

"We had a good conversation this morning but there are still differences. We simply don't know whether we will have an agreement before President Bush's visit. We are trying our best, both sides," Burns said.

Burns said that the differences between the two sides on the separation of India's civilian and military nuclear facilities remained. The difference of opinion between the two sides is on the number of reactors to be put on the civilian list, which will be subject to IAEA safeguards, and on putting fast-breeder reactors on the list.

"Both of us want to complete these negotiations but there are still some remaining differences between us and those differences need to be worked out. As President Bush said in his speech yesterday the plan must be credible and it must be transparent and so we are still working on these issues," he added. This is the crucial phase of the talks on the nuclear deal and both sides are keen to work out a deal in time for president Bush's visit. Burns and Saran held talks throughout the day but at the end of the day the differences remained over the number of reactors to be included in the civilian list. India is against opening up its Fast Breeder Programme and has stated that it is not likely to put fast-breeder reactors on the civilian list. But both sides have acknowledged that hammering out these differences is not going to be an easy task. Even president Bush in yesterday's speech said that implementing the agreement would require 'patience' from both countries.



MILES TO GO: US undersecretary of state Nicholas Burns in New Delhi on Thursday. — Reuters

Foreign secretary Shyam Saran met the prime minister in the afternoon and apprised him on how the talks went.

Tomorrow, a more 'detailed discussion' will take place during the formal meeting of the joint working group on how to implement the nuclear pact. Burns and Saran will lead the talks. The itinerary of the forthcoming visit of president George Bush along with possible outcomes of the visit was also discussed today.

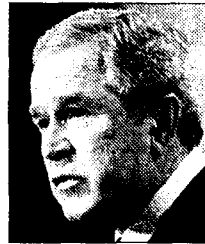
Meanwhile, an agency report from Washington has said that president Bush has said the

US supports a solution to the Kashmir problem which is acceptable to all concerned parties. "The role of the US, in our judgement, is one that will help lead to a settlement that is acceptable to all sides," Bush told Pakistani journalists here ahead of his visit to India and Pakistan next week.

The President clarified remarks made at the Asia Society earlier when he referred to the Kashmir problem having to be resolved by "both sides." "I'd like to make sure I clarify my statement for all to read. America supports a solution."

Bush, Chirac discuss India's nuke plans

AFP
PARIS



FRENCH President Jacques Chirac and US President George W Bush discussed the need for "international consensus" over India's nuclear energy activities by telephone, Mr Chirac's spokesperson said. Mr Chirac visited India on Sunday and Monday, and signed a declaration under which France and India will pursue nuclear energy cooperation "exclusively for peaceful purposes".

The declaration confirmed the two countries were in talks to strike "a bilateral cooperation agreement on the development of nuclear energy for peaceful purposes, subject to their respective international commitments and obligations". During his conversation with Mr Bush on Wednesday, Mr Chirac "stressed that France will push for an international consensus to allow India access to civilian nuclear technology."

Nuclear facilities separation "voluntary"

Anand Sharma tells Lok Sabha 'all relevant organisations' within Government consulted

Diplomatic Correspondent

NEW DELHI: India on Wednesday said the "separation" of civil and military nuclear facilities, now under discussion with the United States, would be a "voluntary" process, based on the national interest.

In a written reply, Minister of State for External Affairs Anand Sharma informed the Lok Sabha that "all relevant organisations" within the Government had been consulted on the issue.

Mr. Sharma's remarks come a day ahead of the talks here between U.S. Under Secretary for Political Affairs Nicholas Burns and his Indian counterpart, Shy-

amaran, on the implementation of the July 2005 nuclear deal. The separation of civil and military facilities is a key element in this.

Mr. Sharma said India and the U.S. had not signed an agreement on civil nuclear energy cooperation. "The two sides are continuing their discussions to fully implement the nuclear understanding. There are out-

- No civil nuclear energy cooperation agreement with U.S.
- Outstanding issues being addressed
- Burns to arrive in New Delhi on Wednesday night

standing issues that are being addressed." Asked whether several top nuclear scientists and military experts had expressed concerns about the Government's decision on the separation, Mr. Sharma said: "The Government has seen reports of nuclear experts and former diplomats expressing a wide variety of views on the extent and implications of the

separation." The American Embassy said Mr. Burns would meet Mr. Saran and "other senior government leaders" to discuss President George W. Bush's visit and "further implementation" of the initiatives agreed to in the July 2005 joint statement.

Mr. Burns is likely to meet National Security Adviser M.K. Narayanan and may call on Prime Minister Manmohan Singh. Apart from the question of separation of civil and nuclear facilities, the issue of "in perpetuity" safeguards being demanded by the U.S. is still to be settled. Just a few days ago, senior government officials said there

would be point in India holding talks with the U.S. if there was no convergence of views on New Delhi's separation plan. Of all the points contained in the July 18, 2005 joint statement, it is the nuclear deal, which has been the subject matter of debate.

Given that both Mr. Bush and Dr. Singh have invested a lot in the nuclear deal, failure on this front could well overshadow the presidential visit. Mr. Bush is arriving on March 1.

While the separation plan has been presented to the U.S., the Manmohan Singh Government has not shared its contents with the people of India.

9 March in Evening

India, France ink pact on civilian N-deal

India Will Place Its Future N-Plants Under IAEA; PM

New Delhi: India and France on Monday signed a landmark document on civilian nuclear cooperation and a defence pact with Prime Minister Manmohan Singh declaring that New Delhi would place its nuclear facilities acquired in "future" through international cooperation under IAEA safeguards. After extensive talks here, Singh and French President Jacques Chirac described the inking of the Declaration on Development of Nuclear Energy for Peaceful Purposes as an "important step forward" towards realisation of the objective of the two countries to conclude a bilateral agreement in this area.

The two countries "agreed to continue to work together towards the fulfilment of that objective," a joint statement issued after the talks said, while recalling the statement of September 12 last year in this regard.

Addressing a joint press conference with Chirac, Singh also made it clear that India was committed to honouring in "letter and spirit" the July 18 Indo-US joint statement issued after his talks with President George W Bush in Washington when the two sides signed the landmark civilian nuclear deal.

India and France signed an agreement on defence cooperation, with both sides noting it as an important element in the Strategic Partnership between the two nations, building upon and expanding cooperation in various areas, including procurement, production and research and development of defence material. Seven other pacts were signed in the field of space, commerce, education, tourism, environment, culture and civil aviation.

"I confirm that all facilities procured by India through international cooperation on civilian nu-



Manmohan Singh gestures during a joint news conference with Jaques Chirac in New Delhi

clear energy will of course be subjected to that (IAEA safeguards). I am talking about, if any facilities that may become available to India in future through international cooperation will be subjected to safeguards of IAEA," the PM said in response to a question.

Chirac strongly advocated the need for helping India in developing civilian nuclear energy, saying it was necessary to enable the country meet its growing energy requirements for its economic progress. "Our support to India is principled support.... India must be allowed to achieve its necessary economic development without facing the strangleholds of economic and energy constraints," he said, a gesture appreciated by Singh.

Noting that India was a "responsible country", the French President said it should be able to produce the energy it needs without having a negative fallout or impact on the world as a whole as a result of greenhouse gas emissions. Agencies

Nuclear U-boat

Time the project surfaces

Now that it has received the endorsement of the President, both Supreme Commander of the Defence Services and the country's most successful defence scientist, there would be valid reason to lift the ineffective wraps around the project to develop a nuclear-propelled submarine. That will facilitate harnessing top talents and resources to bring to fruition the project that has made only tardy progress in some 15 years or so. The secrecy surrounding the Advanced Technology Vessel has caused the development unlimited harm: note that Admiral Vishnu Bhagwat was slammed by the government for going public over delays, that Pranab Mukherjee was lightning-fast with a clarification/ contradiction about what many maintain was a rare flash of reality, and that even APJ Abdul Kalam stopped short of directly referring to the unmentionable. However, it required no deep insight into matters military to understand what he had in mind when he spoke of a requirement for submarines with long range and endurance and highlighted the importance of indigenous technological capabilities — nobody is going to sell us one.

For some moments last year there was hope that Russian assistance was being sought to boost the domestic endeavour; then the defence minister explained he was talking about conventional submarines. Not that we have much expertise in building the latter. The skills acquired when implementing the second phase of the HDW Type 1500 programme dissipated after, for essentially political reasons, the scheme was scrapped. For over a decade the submarine-building unit at Mazagon Dock has remained idle. Some work on the pressure hull for the nuclear boat is believed to have been undertaken by Larsen & Toubro while BARC is said to be developing a miniature reactor. But all of this is hush-hush. Clearly the man who led the way in developing the bomb is aware that a submarine launched ballistic missile is the most effective of the triad of delivery systems our nuclear doctrine advocates. Everyone who understands the importance of maritime power will appreciate Dr Kalam's backing for the ATV, just as they will applaud the Navy for another PR coup.

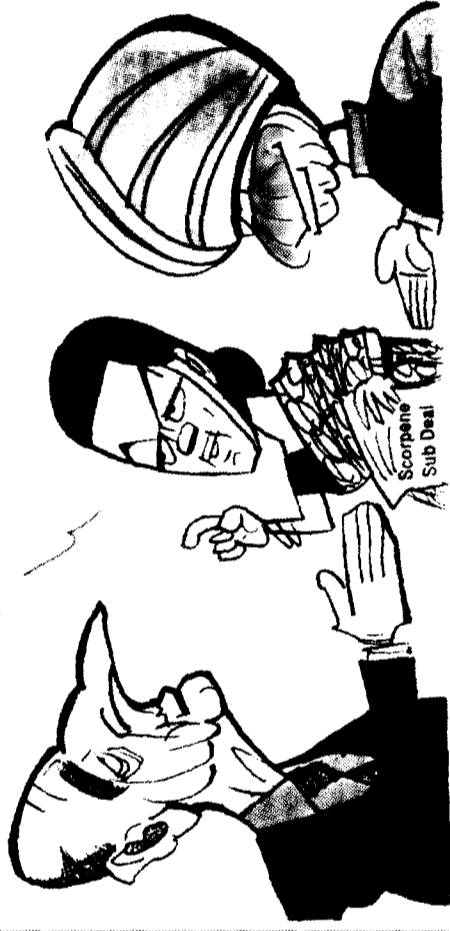
We will adhere to IAEA norms: PM

Statesman News Service

NEW DELHI, Feb. 20 — Prime Minister Dr Manmohan Singh today said all civilian nuclear facilities procured through international agreements would be subject to safeguards prescribed by the International Atomic Energy Authority. "I confirm that all facilities procured by India through international cooperation on civilian nuclear energy will, of course, be subjected to that (IAEA safeguards)," Dr Singh said, addressing a joint press conference with French President Mr Jacques Chirac. He said India was committed to honouring the Indo-US joint statement of nuclear cooperation in letter and spirit.

Mr Chirac said France was supportive of India in the field of cooperation on

See M. President —
a turban can have
great advantages!



use of civilian nuclear energy. He said France fully understood India's development needs and believed that it should be able to produce energy to meet its requirements. India and France also signed nine agreements, including a declaration on nuclear energy and a pact on defence cooperation. The Declaration on Development of Nuclear Energy for Peaceful Purposes

N-deal with USA almost sealed

WASHINGTON, Feb. 20. — Days ahead of President Mr George W Bush's visit to India, the under-secretary of state for political affairs Mr Nicholas Burns said the USA was "90 per cent of the way there" on formally working out a Indo-US civilian nuclear arrangement. Mr Burns also told Fareed Zakaria, editor of Newsweek magazine: "We've just got 10 per cent to go." — PTI

Mulford recall, page 4

was signed by Atomic Energy Commission chairman Mr Anil Kakodkar and French foreign minister Mr Philippe D Blazy.

But Sikh school children held a protest against the French ban on turbans in state schools, carrying placards urging exemption for Sikh pupils.

THE STATESMAN

Bush pitch for nuclear reactor sale

S. Rajagopalan
Washington, February 19

IT MAY just be a happy coincidence, but nuclear power is the flavour of the season for US President George W. Bush. He has made the coming week an "energy week" to aggressively promote the use of nuclear power — before he embarks on his India visit.

A day after his defence of the nuke deal with India, Bush used his weekly radio address to outline his ideas on supplying small-scale nuclear reactors to developing countries to help them cut their dependence on oil and other fossil fuels.



Bush made a strong pitch for his new initiative — the Global Nuclear Energy Partnership that is to be kicked off with a \$250-million allocation this year. The US plans to work with France, Russia and Japan on this and has hinted at co-opting India in due course.

"Together, we will develop and deploy innovative, advanced reactors and new methods to recycle spent nuclear fuel", he said adding that the US and its partners will be in a position to supply developing countries small reactors that are secure and cost-effective.

"We will also ensure that these developing nations have a reliable nuclear fuel supply", he said and then entered the caveat. "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".

As Bush sees it, the plan will help produce more energy "while dramatically reducing the amount of nuclear waste and eliminating the nuclear by-products

ENERGISED
Bush's sells nuclear pact with India through energy week

DEFENCE
The US will sell small-scale nuclear reactors to developing countries and help them cut dependence on fossil fuels

PLAN
US wants France, Russia, Japan and India on board

CAUTION
Clinton warns against exclusive focus on nuclear deal

TIMING
Experts see former US president's advice as hint of rough days ahead for the deal

that unstable regimes or terrorists could use to make weapons".

Bush and his Cabinet colleagues will tout his package on nuclear energy and other alternatives like solar and wind power to depleting fossil fuels this week. While Bush himself travels to Wisconsin, Michigan and Colorado, other top functionaries will promote it in a dozen states.

While pushing for this new initiative, the Bush Administration is keen to sort out the glitches facing the nuke deal with India ahead of Bush's visit. The US's point man, Undersecretary of State Nicholas Burns, is expected to visit New Delhi this week in a fresh bid to resolve the differences over the plan to separate civilian and military facilities.



BJP president Rajnath Singh at the concluding rally of 'Parivartan Yatra' in Guwahati on Sunday.

PTI

Nuke policy anti-national: BJP

DIGAMBAR Patowary
Guwahati, February 19

THE BJP president, Rajnath Siongh, on Sunday said the Centre's nuclear policy would demoralise the scientist community of the country. The Indo-US civilian nuclear cooperation, signed by Prime Minister Manmohan Singh during his US visit, was detrimental to India's interest as it would make India dependent on US forever.

Addressing a mammoth gathering on the conclusion of the BJP's "Paryabartan Yatra", Singh claimed that during the NDA's regime, then Prime Minister Atal Bihari Vajpayee had encouraged the country's nuclear scientists to make India a nuclear power country.

The BJP president said the US demand for separation of civilian and military reactors had hidden motives and was on the premise of disbelief in India as a responsible nuclear power.

"Our scientists have developed indigenous nuclear technology. If Indo-US nuclear deal is signed, India will have to allow outsiders to inspect our nuclear reactor. This will demoralise our scientists", added Singh.

Criticising the Congress, Singh said

the party was more responsible than Jinnah for division of the country on religious basis.

Terming Manmohan Singh as the weakest Prime Minister of the country ever, the BJP president alleged that the UPA government had failed in all fronts, from price-rise to terrorism. "The sugar price, which was Rs.12 during the NDA regime, is now Rs. 22. Similarly, all petroleum products' price has gone up", he said.

The BJP president said his party was in favour of a law banning religious conversion throughout the country. Singh alleged that religious conversions particularly in the tribal and reserve belts had assumed "dangerous proportion".

"There should be a law to stop the conversions and I have also instructed the chief ministers of BJP-ruled states to stop such practices", Singh said in his maiden visit to the state as BJP chief. "How can the Centre talk to the Ulfa when they are indulging in violence?" he asked.

"The infiltration of about 3 crore Bangladeshis has compounded the foreigner crisis and threatening to change the demographic profile of Assam", Singh said.

Minister leaves for Iran

TWO DAYS after Prime Minister Manmohan Singh explained why India voted against Iran at the IAEA, minister of state for external affairs E Ahamed on Sunday left for Tehran on a three-day tour during which the nuclear issue is expected to come up for discussion.

Ahamed's visit and his meeting with Iranian counterpart Mehdi Safari will mark the first high-level contact between the two countries since the February 2-4 IAEA meeting where India joined 26 other countries in favouring report of Tehran's nuclear programme to the UN Security Council.

"Although the minister is visiting Iran to attend a meeting of the Indian Ocean Rim countries, he will meet Safari and the nuclear issue is expected to figure in the discussions", diplomatic sources said.

With the Left parties breathing down the government's neck over its anti-Iran stance at the IAEA, the Prime Minister said the sensitive issue of Tehran's rights could be addressed through diplomacy.

Nuclear deal prejudicial to national interests: Joshi

Seeks full debate during Parliament session

Special Correspondent

NEW DELHI: Senior Bharatiya Janata Party leader and former Union Minister Murli Manohar Joshi has described the civilian nuclear agreement of 2005 between India and United States as "prejudicial to national interests."

In a letter to Prime Minister Manmohan Singh, he has demanded "a free and full debate" in the current Parliament session on the proposed deal.

According to Dr. Joshi, the agreement "puts onerous restrictions on India without any countervailing restrictions or restraints on the other high contracting party."

- 'Onerous restrictions on India'
- 'Attempts to make country sign NPT'
- Pakistan connection alleged in Iran issue

This, he argues, is "designed to emasculate Indian nuclear options — both in the military and civil sectors — and make India perpetually dependent on the United States for all initiatives in application of nuclear energy."

Dr. Joshi, who is chairman of the Parliamentary Standing Committee on Commerce, believes the deal is inherently tilted against India. "Transparent

attempts are being made to force India to be a virtual signatory to the NPT and CTBT, with the carrot of some modern nuclear technology for civilian power projects. India will then be forced to accept full-scope and ever newer obligations and restrictions imposed by the super power or IAEA. Indian nuclear power status will ever remain unrecognised."

Dr. Joshi suggests that the

UPA Government has not been sufficiently vigorous in seeing the Pakistan connection in Iran's nuclear profile.

"India should have raised, and should even now raise, the issue which is disturbing the international community; how the clandestine devices through which nuclear technology, including centrifuges and fissile material, have been transferred to Iran from Pakistan and several other countries have not been discussed by IAEA and steps not taken to prevent these deals. These deals and acquisitions are in violation of the commitments under NPT. One wonders why the UPA Government slept over this vital issue."

2006 HINDU

NUCLEAR ENERGY DEAL TURNS INTO A MAJOR HEADACHE FOR GOVERNMENT

France wants more concessions from India

Statesman News Service

NEW DELHI, Feb. 12.—With France clearly asking for more "concessions" from India, the civilian nuclear energy deal with foreign countries has turned into a major headache for the government, rather than the foreign policy triumph that it was always projected as.

Last week, the French

envoy, Mr Dominique Girard, told PTI that it had "preoccupations which are similar to those of the USA".

He was referring to the American press to bring at least two-thirds of the nuclear plants into the civilian list, and thereby under safeguards of the International Atomic Energy Agency.

France had been one of

the first countries that had welcomed the 18 July agreement with the USA, as it was interested in forging a relationship in the nuclear energy field with India.

The biggest obstacle, of course, was the guidelines of the 45-member Nuclear Suppliers' Group that stopped trade in nuclear energy with nations which had not signed the nuclear

non-proliferation treaty. The USA, along with France and Britain, had in the last meeting of the NSG in 2005 called for making an exception for India. But it faced severe criticism from the Scandinavian countries and Japan for not forcing India to make a firm commitment to cap production of weapons-grade material. There was also concern

over the separation plan of nuclear plants, with some members asserting that there should be a larger number in the civilian list to give it credibility.

"Clearly India has to make some proposals, some efforts acceptable to us, the Americans and all Nuclear Suppliers Group (NSG) countries," said Mr Girard and added: "The question of separation is

very important for everybody. Today that is where the most important hurdle is lying. It has to be addressed."

In the backdrop of this, it seems any agreement signed during the forthcoming visit of the French president, Mr Jacques Chirac, would be more of symbolism than having any substance to it.

In their last meeting in

September 2005, the Indian PM and the French President, also decided "to work towards a conclusion of a bilateral nuclear cooperation agreement."

The French wariness is not surprising as it has been all along following the American lead, at least, in dealing with the new path of civilian nuclear energy with India.

India refuses

SPT
26/1
to toe US

line on Iran

NEW DELHI, Jan. 25. — Just a week ahead of an IAEA meeting on the Iran problem, the USA today made it clear that if India did not vote against Teheran's nuclear programme, an Indo-US nuclear deal will come a cropper in the Congress. The initiative, it said, will "die".

Categorically rejecting US attempts to link the proposed Indo-US agreement on civil nuclear energy cooperation with a vote on Iran's nuclear issue, India today asserted that it would proceed on the basis of its own "independent judgment" and "national interests".

Washington feels that ideas put forth by India on a separation of its civilian and military nuclear establishments did not survive a "test of credibility" and that the negotiations 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, very important player in the world," US Ambassador to India Mr David C Mulford said in a wide-ranging interview here.

"If it (India) opposes Iran having nuclear weapons, we think they should record it in the vote," he said.

Mr Mulford's observations come amid intensified efforts by the USA and the EU-3 (Britain, France and Germany) to seek global support for the resolution to be placed at the 2 February 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 India that if New Delhi decided not to vote for the resolution, "the effect on members of the US Congress with regard to the (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...,," Mr Mulford said, five days after foreign secretary Mr Shyam Saran had held talks with US under-secretary of state Mr Nicholas Burns on the subject.

The Ambassador said this should be part of the calculations "India will have to keep in mind" while taking a decision. India voted in favour of the IAEA resolution against Iran in September, based on its judgment of its own national interests, he said. Mr Mulford said late tonight that his comments had been quoted out of context. A US official, Mr Sean McCormack, said in Washington today "We have an excellent relation with India" — PTI

Another report on page 2

THE STATESMAN

26 JAN 2006

Trouble over Iran rider for N-deal

HTC and Agencies
New Delhi, January 25

BJP wants all-party panel

DIFFERENCES BETWEEN India and the US, simmering under the surface over additional conditionalities imposed by the US on the Indo-US civil nuclear agreement of July 18, turned into a full diplomatic spat on Wednesday.

Always touchy about "stand-alone" issues being linked, spokesman of the ministry of external affairs Navtej Sarna "categorically rejected", with uncharacteristic speed, suggestions by US ambassador David Mulford that the deal would "die" unless India voted against Iran's nuclear programme.

"We categorically reject any attempt to link this to the proposed Indo-US agreement on civil nuclear energy cooperation, which stands on its own merits", Sarna said. "The position that India will take on this issue at the International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA) will be based on India's own independent judgment", Sarna curtly said.

A resolution seeking to refer Iran's nuclear issue to the UN Security Council has been readied by the US and European Union 3 for voting at the extraordinary session of the IAEA's board of governors in Vienna on February 3.

India is under considerable pressure, even domestically, with the Left parties threatening the government over a vote against Iran.

US piles on pressure

Earlier on Wednesday, the US 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'.

Washington also felt that the ideas put forth by India on separation of its civilian and military nuclear establishments had not met the "test of credibility" and the negotiation 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 India that we would very much like India's support because India has ar-

CRITICISING THE government for continuing to deal with the Indo-US nuclear agreement in a "hush-hush manner," former external affairs minister Yashwant Sinha on Wednesday sought that negotiations



should be overseen by a specially constituted all-party committee of Parliament.

Claiming that the US was insisting on additional

conditionalities including "putting pressure to bring the fast breeder programme also under safeguards," Sinha sought clarification on shifting the goal-posts. "The pressure, which the US is bringing to bear on India, would suggest that the separation of military and civil nuclear facilities is hardly voluntary any more," Sinha said. HTC

rived on the world stage and is a very important player in the world", US ambassador to India David C Mulford said. "If India opposes Iran having nuclear weapons, we think they should record it in the vote", he said.

Mulford's observations came 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 the February two meeting of the International Atomic Energy Agency for referring Iran's nuclear issue to the UN Security Council for action.

The US envoy said an "observation" had also been conveyed to India that if New Delhi decided not to vote 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, five days after foreign secretary Shyam Saran held talks with US under secretary of state Nicholas Burns on the subject.

Nuclear deal talks hit roadblock

By Indrani Bagchi/TNN

9/11 *24*
Indrani Bagchi
New Delhi: The India-US effort to work out an agreement on a separation plan for India's civil and military nuclear facilities hit a roadblock on Friday and raised serious doubts about whether the two sides would be able to wrap up the landmark nuclear deal before President George Bush's March visit.

The differences were significant, with both foreign secretary Shyam Saran and US undersecretary of state Nicholas Burns forced to acknowledge publicly after two days of "intensive discussions", that there were "difficulties".

While sources maintained that these

FRICION THEORY

FLASHPOINT: Differences over formulating separation plan, safeguards agreement and additional protocol

FUTURE TENSE: India, US can sign the bilateral civil N agreement only after 'difficult and unique' differences are ironed out

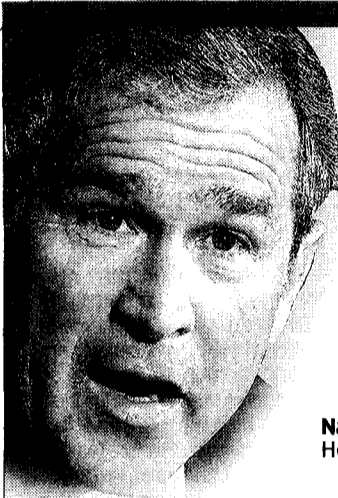
WHAT NEXT? As differences persist, experts feel only top political intervention can break impasse

were not insurmountable and the determination to achieve an agreement was pretty evident, government here

acknowledged that it may require political intervention at the highest levels to expedite the agreement.

The differences concern not just how to craft a separation plan, but the safeguards agreement and the additional protocol. According to sources, the US made several demands from India that Saran shot down. The divergence remained even after last-minute confabulations between Saran and Burns who on Thursday had held a quiet meeting with the national security adviser, M K Narayanan. It is only after these creases have been ironed out that India and the US can sign the bilateral civil nuclear agreement.

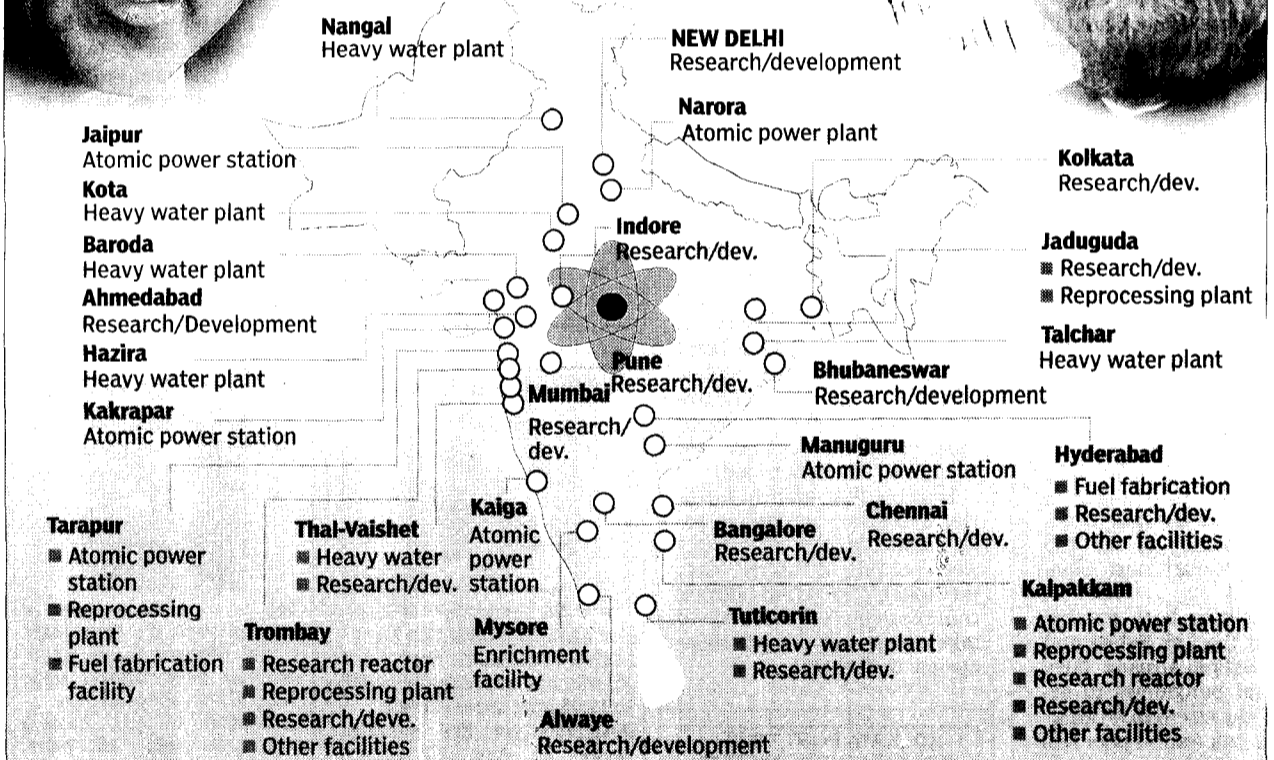
THE TIMES OF INDIA



MAPPING N-WEALTH

For three decades, Washington led the fight to deny India access to nuclear technology. In July, 2005, India and the US inked a pact which gives New Delhi access to N-technology

The agreement entails splitting of the country's civilian and military nuclear facilities. India will have to place its civilian reactors under the global scanner to reap the benefits of the treaty. Here's a bird's-eye view of the country's nuclear nodes



Source: Nuclear Threat Initiative

Research & Graphic: SANJAY KAPOOR

Saran, Burns hold talks on nuclear deal

Separation of nuclear facilities figures in discussions

Diplomatic Correspondent

NEW DELHI: Implementation of the July 18, 2005 civilian nuclear deal between India and the United States came up for discussion between Foreign Secretary Shyam Saran and U.S. Under Secretary of State Nicholas Burns here on Thursday.

Official sources said the two sides discussed India's plan to separate its civilian and nuclear facilities. Ahead of the current talks, Indian officials had said they expected the U.S. to react to the separation plan Mr. Saran presented to Mr. Burns in Washington.

Speaking to the press in Mumbai on Wednesday, Mr. Burns conceded that it was an enormously difficult task for India to separate its civilian and nuclear facilities.

"And that is at the heart of these negotiations, and I will be getting into details of that with my friend Foreign Secretary Saran tomorrow [Thursday] morning," he said in Mumbai.

There was no official word from the Indian side on the content and scope of the discussions. While the separation plan has been revealed to the Americans, there has been no information from New Delhi on what exactly the exercise entails.

Mr. Burns and the U.S. Ambassador to India, David Mulford, met Mr. Saran separately, before the two sides began delegation level talks. The talks lasted over four hours, the sources said.

Apart from the nuclear deal, the Americans want to discuss the Iran issue with India. With the Americans and the Europeans taking the lead in taking the

U
20/1
Diplomatic Correspondent
Saran Burns

- Separation is an enormously difficult task, admits Burns

- India shares concerns about the nature of Iran's nuclear programme, says German official

Iran issue to the United Nations Security Council, Washington would obviously want New Delhi to vote against Teheran again.

As Mr. Burns held talks with Mr. Saran, a visiting German official, on behalf of the "E.U. three" (which also includes Britain and France) said India shared concerns about the nature of Iran's "nuclear programme."

According to the official, a critical stage had been reached as far as Iran, and the "international community" was concerned. Michael Schaefer, political director in the German Foreign Ministry, told presspersons that the military option was not on the table and the "international community" did not want a confrontation with Iran.

According to him, the "E.U. three" wanted the Security Council to reinforce the "weight and the authority" of the International Atomic Energy Agency.

Dr. Schaefer, who claimed that the West did not want a confrontation with Iran, said the "E.U. three" and its partners were following a gradual approach vis-à-vis Teheran.

Photograph on Page 12

ভারতকে নিয়ে খুশি নন মার্কিন বিশেষজ্ঞেরা

ওয়াশিংটন, ১৪ জানুয়ারি:
সামরিক এবং অসামরিক পরমাণু
ক্ষেত্র আলাদা করার ব্যাপারে
ভারতের প্রথম খসড়া আদপেই সন্তুষ্ট
করছে না মার্কিন কংগ্রেসের
একাংশকে।

আগামী সপ্তাহে মার্কিন
উপবিদেশসচিব নিকোলাস বার্নসের
ভারতে যাওয়ার কথা। ভারতের
বিদেশসচিব শ্যাম সারনের সঙ্গে
চতুর্থ বৈঠকে পরমাণু চুক্তি এবং
ইরান প্রসঙ্গে আলোচনা হবে বলে
খোদ হোয়াইট হাউসের মুখপাত্রই
জানিয়েছেন। তারই মধ্যে ভারত-
মার্কিন চুক্তি নিয়ে মার্কিন কংগ্রেসের
সদস্য শ্যারন স্কোয়াসসোনির বক্তব্য
নতুন করে কিছু প্রশ্ন তুলে দিয়ে গেল
বলে মনে করা হচ্ছে।

শ্যারন মার্কিন কংগ্রেসের
জাতীয় নিরাপত্তা বিষয়ক গবেষণা
সেলের অন্যতম বিশেষজ্ঞ-সদস্য।
ভারত-মার্কিন চুক্তি এবং পরমাণু অস্ত্র
প্রসার রোধে তার তাৎপর্য নিয়ে এক
আলোচনাসভায় ভারতের পরমাণু
পদক্ষেপ সম্পর্কে বীতিমতো সন্দেহ
প্রকাশ করেছেন তিনি।

শ্যারনের বক্তব্য, “সামরিক এবং
অসামরিক পরমাণু ক্ষেত্র আলাদা
করার ব্যাপারে ভারত যে প্রাথমিক
পরিকল্পনা করেছে, তা বিশ্বাসযোগ্যও
নয়, সমর্থনযোগ্যও নয়।” উপরন্তু
“এই পৃথকীকরণের জন্য কী কী
সুরক্ষা নেওয়া দরকার, তা জানতে
এখনও অবধি আন্তর্জাতিক পরমাণু
শক্তি সংস্থার (আই এ ই এ) সঙ্গে
যোগাযোগ করেনি ভারত।” আসলে
কোন বিষয়গুলি আই এ ই এ-র
সুরক্ষাকবচের তলায় রাখা হচ্ছে,
সেটাই প্রশ্ন। শ্যারনের মতে, ভারত
এমন বেশি কিছু বিষয় ছেড়ে
রেখেছে, যেগুলো অনেক বেশি করে
সুরক্ষার আওতায় আনা দরকার।

অর্থাৎ, শ্যারনের অভিযোগ
দু’টি। প্রথমত তাঁর মতে, ভারত
পৃথকীকরণের যা বন্দোবস্ত করছে
যাচ্ছে, তা সন্তোষজনক নয়।
দ্বিতীয়ত, সেই বন্দোবস্তের উপযুক্ত
সুরক্ষার দিকটিও অবহেলিত হচ্ছে।
শ্যারনের মতো বিশেষজ্ঞেরা যদি
ভারতের পরমাণু পদক্ষেপ নিয়ে
এমন মৌলিক সন্দেহ পোষণ করেন,
তা হলে মার্কিন কংগ্রেস আদৌ
ভারত-মার্কিন চুক্তি অনুমোদন করবে
কি না, সে বিষয়ে আশঙ্কা থেকেই
যায়। অথচ কংগ্রেসের অনুমোদন
ছাড়া ভারত-মার্কিন চুক্তিটি রূপায়িত
হওয়াই সম্ভব নয়।

শ্যারন এটা মানছেন যে,
ভারতের সঙ্গে সম্পর্ক আরও মজবুত
করার ব্যাপারে মার্কিন কংগ্রেসে
কোনও দ্বিমত নেই। কিন্তু প্রস্তাবিত
ভারত-মার্কিন চুক্তি আমেরিকার গত
তিন দশকের পরমাণু নীতিকে উল্টে
দিতে চলেছে। ফলে এ ব্যাপারে
অনেক সাবধানে পা ফেলা দরকার।
চুক্তির সপক্ষে, বিপক্ষে দু’দিকেই
যুক্তি আছে। তবে শ্যারনের মনে
হয়েছে, চুক্তির খসড়া করার সময়
সেটি পরমাণু অস্ত্র-প্রসার রোধে কী
প্রভাব ফেলতে পারে, সেটা খুব
একটা মাথায় রাখা হয়নি।

মার্কিন কংগ্রেসে এমনিতেই
ভারত-মার্কিন চুক্তির বিরোধিতা করে
একটি প্রস্তাব পেশ হয়ে রয়েছে।
শ্যারনের কথাবার্তায় স্পষ্ট, বিষয়টি
নিয়ে ফয়সালা খুব দ্রুত হওয়ার নয়।
বিশেষত ইরান-বিতর্ক জট পাকানোর
পরে তো নয়ই। ফলে, “যারা আশা
করছেন, প্রেসিডেন্ট বুশ চুক্তিপত্র
সঙ্গে নিয়েই দিল্লি পৌঁছবেন, সেই
করবেন আর কংগ্রেস মাথা নেড়ে
সায় দেবে— তারা একেবারেই ভুল
স্বর্গে বাস করছেন।”

ওয়াশিংটন থেকে দিল্লি এখন

Kerry backs Indo-US N-deal

India Ready To Sign Fissile Material Cut-Off Treaty

New Delhi: Backing the Indo-US nuclear deal, influential opposition Democratic Party Senator John Kerry on Thursday said the agreement would have "enormous benefits" for the two countries besides having impact globally.

Kerry, who met Prime Minister Manmohan Singh here on Wednesday, said the latter had conveyed to him India's readiness to sign the Fissile Material Cut-off Treaty (FMCT).

"In principle, I support the (nuclear) deal. It is a great game, a positive game, for India, for the US and the global community," he told a press conference here about the July 18 agreement on civilian nuclear cooperation signed by Singh and US President George W Bush in Washington. He said the deal would have "enormous benefits" bilaterally for India and the US besides having implications at the global level.

The public expression of support for the deal by Kerry, who came close to defeating George W Bush in Presidential elections last year, assumes significance as his



John Kerry gestures during a news conference in New Delhi on Thursday

party will have a crucial role to play in ensuring the US Congress' endorsement of the agreement under which the US would lift sanctions on trade in dual use technology with India.

With regard to how Congress would approach the deal, he said it would depend on "the four corners of the agreement." The Senator said the deal could not be seen only in the bilateral context as it has "impact

broader than bilateral", involving the role of three important international bodies or agreements, particularly when "Iran and other compelling issues are on the table."

Explaining the global aspect of the nuclear deal, Kerry said it would entail endorsement of the 35-country Nuclear Suppliers Group (NSG), amendment of the Atomic Energy Advisory Board and adoption of the Fissile Technology Control Regime.

Asked whether implementation of the deal would mean grant of nuclear power status to India, he said "It 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."

On his meeting with Singh, Kerry said the latter had told him "clearly that India will sign Fissile Material Cut-off Treaty." Noting that India had passed a law on prevention of non-proliferation, he said the legislation should be a part of the Indo-US nuclear agreement. Agencies

India's deal with the US will inevitably affect what China does

Between two stools

PRATAP BHANU MEHTA

If you want to play the chess of power politics on a global scale, the first rule is this: you have to consider the position and the moves of every single piece on the chessboard. The big worry about making the United States of America central to India's orientation to the world was that it would render other power games being played invisible. India was pretending as if the Indo-US nuclear pact was a bilateral pact that would facilitate the development of India's civilian nuclear programme by easing restrictions on the import of uranium and nuclear technology. This was somehow supposed to facilitate India's further rise as a global power. But many of us had suggested that one of the consequences of this pact would be to make the subcontinent a frontline area in the global tussle between the US and China. India's great virtue was to have avoided becoming a frontline state in the last conflict between two global powers during Cold War. Every state that, like Pakistan, lets itself become a frontline state in that global conflict brought itself to the brink of ruin. To be sure, the Sino-US rivalry will not take the shape and form of the US-Russia rivalry. Nevertheless, these two powers are going to clash over their respective conceptions of the World Order, and India should tread its path with great skill and acumen. But the last thing India needs is to convert the subcontinent into the frontier of that rivalry.

It has now been reported that Beijing is going to sell Pakistan six to eight nuclear reactors at the cost of 10 billion dollars. This deal has been prompted, in all likelihood, by the Indo-US nuclear pact. By this deal Beijing is sending a number of signals. The first message is to the Bush administration: you cannot unilaterally decide the fate of the non-proliferation order. Washington's power around the world has always been overestimated; its own client states have routinely subverted its objectives. But China is now throwing down the gauntlet, that if Washington makes an exception for India, China will have every right to make an exception for Pakistan.

The second message is to India. If India enters into a very close strategic partnership with the US, China has the capacity to encircle us. It is already dangling the carrot of nuclear cooperation to both Pakistan and Bangladesh, and we will be powerless to respond. The third message is to the US congress,

that granting an exception for India will truly wreck the global non-proliferation regime.

It could be argued that Beijing would do what it is doing anyway; its past record on assistance to Pakistan contributed much to wrecking the non-proliferation order. But there is little doubt that the intensity of its engagement with Pakistan will increase dramatically as a result of the recent turn in Indo-US relations. Does this bode well for peace and stability in the subcontinent?

The second major problem with the Indo-US deal was that it has not been placed in the context a well-thought out nuclear doctrine for

ulous phrase on which there is little consensus, it is difficult to convince sceptics of the real cost of the deal.

On the other hand, we also spout the rhetoric of non-proliferation. And there is no doubt that our record on this matter, compared to countries like China and Pakistan, has been exemplary. However, the Indo-US nuclear deal, combined with the claim that we are still committed to our own independent deterrent, makes our authority on non-proliferation matters pretty dubious. How can we simultaneously say that we have a right to our own independent nuclear policy, including a minimal deterrent but others do not?

world are correct: if non-proliferation is in the world's best interests, then the deal is a bad idea. It will lead to an intensification of nuclear cooperation around the world, some of which will have spillovers into military developments. And India is going to pay the price right in its backyard. On the other hand, if we want to play the "independent nuclear strategy" game, then the deal cuts down your room for manoeuvre. I am not advocating this option, but a consistent strategic outlook would be right in asking: Why foreclose the option that you might want to sell nuclear technology to Vietnam one day, if the need arises? The trouble with the Indo-US nuclear deal was that it is based on a nuclear doctrine that is neither fish nor fowl.



India was pretending that the Indo-US nuclear pact would facilitate its civilian nuclear programme

It is in this context that the Indo-US deal was always going to have major consequences for nuclearization of the subcontinent. It was fatuous of us to think that this deal would not intensify the competition with both China and Pakistan. It was myopic to think that India can suddenly become a non-proliferation czar, taking exactly the same line as the US.

The real issue we need to confront is this: what kind of a world order do we want? Where are we willing to put in all our efforts? Critics of the Indo-US deal around the

But the time has come for India to choose what kind of power it wants to be. Does it want to play the nuclear game like the Big Boys did? In which case it needs to be more brazen and bloody-minded like China is. Or does it now want to be a force for non-proliferation? In which case, it should have the political courage, like South Africa and Brazil, to put a cap on its nuclear programme and leverage rather than putting pressure on Pakistan to do the same. But at the moment, we are mired in half measures and will get the worst of both worlds: we will neither reduce the intensity of nuclearization of the subcontinent, nor will we acquire such power as to seriously join the Big Boys. Given the character of our political establishment it is unlikely that we will ever become as brazen a power as China is; and this may not be a bad thing. But on the other hand, now that we have demonstrated to the world that we can be independent, create our own technology, is it time to get really serious about non-proliferation, and set an example by not falling into the trap of double standards that other great powers have? The Indo-US nuclear deal was always about India's identity as a great power; it is not about the technicalities of civilian energy programmes. But the identity it manifested was incoherent, vulnerable from all sides: from the realist side for not being tough enough; from the non-proliferation side, for acknowledging its consequences for nuclear stability around the world. And it forgot the basic lesson of international chess: a single move has ramifications for all other pieces on the board. You cannot pretend that what you do with the US does not have consequences for what China will do to you. We have to think through our options more carefully.

India, Japan focus on N-issue

TIMES NEWS NETWORK

New Delhi: Adding a new layer to their "strategic" relationship, New Delhi and Tokyo focussed on the nuclear issue during Japanese foreign minister Tarō Aso's maiden visit to the country.

During talks with Aso on Wednesday, India sought Japanese support to help the Nuclear Suppliers Group (NSG) relax N-curb on it. While Tokyo is yet to commit itself to supporting New Delhi, which might militate against its own nuclear history, there is a sense that Japan may take a more "realistic" stance after all.

As a prelude to Prime Minister Manmohan Singh's visit to Japan later this year, the two countries have rewired the foreign minister-level talks to have a more strategic perspective. The first such dialogue will be held in Japan.

According to a joint press release, the existing foreign office consultations will now focus on preparing for such a dialogue. "The High Level Strategic Dialogue, agreed upon during PM Koizumi's visit to India in 2005, will also be operationalised as soon as possible."

After a two-and-a-half-hour meeting with E Ahamed, minister of state for ex-

ternal affairs, the two sides also announced the start of a joint secretary-director-general level annual dialogue "for disarmament and non-proliferation for mutual cooperation". Japan has agreed to look at high-technology trade with India, which analysts consider to be a major movement forward.

A significant step forward was taken with both the countries exchanging notes to allow the Japan International Cooperation Agency (JICA) to carry out a feasibility survey of the multi-modal freight corridor that was agreed during the Koizumi visit.

Nuclear plan presented to Washington

U.S.' response on separation of nuclear facilities awaited

Amit Baruah

NEW DELHI: A plan to separate the country's civil and military nuclear facilities was presented by Foreign Secretary Shyam Saran during talks with his American counterpart Nicholas Burns in Washington last month.

Disclosing this, a top External Affairs Ministry official told *The Hindu* that a response to the plan was expected from the U.S. when Under Secretary of State Nicholas Burns came to New Delhi later this month for further talks.

The official said India's nuclear fast-breeder reactor programme was not included in the list of civilian facilities presented to the U.S.

Declaration with IAEA

The plan flows from the July 18, 2005 agreement between the two countries that requires India to separate its civilian and military facilities in a "phased" manner and file a declaration about its civilian facilities with the International Atomic Energy Agency.

According to the official, India has no problem if the U.S. side shared the separation plans with the U.S. Congress since it was a "transparent" exercise. However, details of the facilities to be classified as "civilian" are still to be made public in India.

Assurance to partners

During his visit to Washington, the Foreign Secretary made it clear that India could not accept safeguards on the non-nuclear stock model. "The objective of the safeguards is not to address India's strategic programme; it is to give our partners the assurance they legitimately expect, that, one, civil nuclear cooperation with India would not be diverted to assist India's

- **Fast-breeder reactor programme not included in civilian facilities**

- **India has no problem if the U.S. side shared the separation plans with the U.S. Congress**

- **Details of facilities to be classified as civilian not made public**

- **India did not want any more nuclear states, especially in its neighbourhood**

strategic programme, and, two, it would not result in diversion to third countries."

"Predictions have also been made that India would offer a minimal, even token, separation of its facilities. This displays a lack of comprehension of our objectives in entering into this understanding. India's energy security will be advanced by obtaining international cooperation on as wide a scale as feasible without accepting limitations on our strategic programme," he said at the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace.

Lifetime safeguards

On the issue of safeguards in perpetuity, Mr. Saran stressed on December 21: "Let me put it this way: As long as there is a guarantee of lifetime supply of fuel, I don't think India would have a problem with lifetime safeguards on such fuel."

In a veiled reference to Iran, the Foreign Secretary, addressing the concerns of those Americans opposed to the nuclear deal, said India did not want any more nuclear states, especially in its neighbourhood.