

U.N. DAY ADDRESS
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24TH OCTOBER, 2006

The Cold War with its bi-polar ambience, was when one found the two super powers competing with one another. It is not there any longer. Economic growth patterns in our world do not occur in, or attained only in Europe and the Americas, lands of industrial culture and white populations. These higher growth patterns and greater economic productivity have moved significantly to the larger, and growth-prone economies of Asia, of countries like China and India. Agricultural productivity, greater manufacturing activity, and growth prone, knowledge based services too are producing wealth at considerably faster rate in Asia than in the parts of the world inhabited by European ethnicities. China and India have grown into two huge economies. These two economies have been growing at much higher rates than the economies of any of the industrialized countries of Europe or the Americas.

2. For several years India was being lectured on the virtues of globalisation. We were being advised to drop tariffs and to allow cheaper Western products to flood our marketplaces. We used to plead that this could not but have disastrous effects on Indian industry and for Indian agriculture. If we pursue this course of action, of course, hundreds of our factories shall close down. We were then advised not to be short-sighted. We have since learnt to accept the mantras of globalisation as advised by our Western friends. We have allowed a number of our inefficient factories to close down, and a large proportion of our vanilla farmers go out of business. Indeed, we are now able to flow freely across the borders and we have realized that one principal natural resource we possess i.e. that of young, talented educated Indian is much cheaper than

anything in the West. Suddenly, the Western powers specially the Americans have started protesting that their jobs are getting Bangalored; Germans complain about the skills of Indian Information Technology experts, who do their jobs twice as quickly and at half the cost, and we have started wondering about what really happened to all the arguments favouring globalisation, which were being rammed down our throats. The arguments about economic efficiency having become all important. Why do all these arguments no longer find supporters pleading for greater productivity in India. And, now we are asked in an accusatory tone and continuously if we are aiming that India become an Economic Super power, all we can say is that the multiplicity of Super powers disappeared with the Cold War. The world today is closely and intimately inter-dependent in economic as well as political terms. The only Super power that matters today is the USA. It would be foolish, therefore, to talk about India as a Super power at par with the USA. The two Super powers of the earlier era were the USA and USSR, and the two aspiring Super powers for the future apparently are China and USA.

3. And in an overall sense, one finds that a close analysis demonstrates that in today's world there are no Super powers, only certain balancing powers and regions, which are centers of influence and balance, rather than centers or symbols of military and political and technological power. These acknowledged balancing powers are: USA, USSR, China, EU, India and Japan. None of these, except perhaps USA controls superlative military power, along side superlative technological-economic power. Thus it is clear that while all the other balancing powers may have a combination of power of economic productivity in terms that are military, technological and productive of wealth, including of armaments and military hardware, during the last eight years India has been able to maintain its growth rate between just around 8-9% per annum. Thus, when one is asked if India's educated middle-class could represent a threat to their Western counterparts, one needs to be honest and candid and say: Yes indeed, this factor does represent a potent threat to them. The next question invariably is; should one feel scared of the power of the young, talented, educated

Indian? The answer clearly has to be: Yes, they perhaps do need to be scared specially if they find that these Indians are about to storm into their productivity-and-wealth creating areas.

4. Today, as we celebrate the UN Day, this Speaker must confess that he is a hardened criminal, who has participated in the art and science of diplomacy, or jaw-jawing, for the last half a century and more. One must recall and list specific dates and issues and occasions just to convince oneself that one has not entirely wasted one's decades in the international arena and in the area of international law and practice.

5. It was on November 1, 1962 that I first disembarked from an Air India flight at the old Idlewild Airport of New York which within a year of that and as a result of President John F. Kennedy's assassination in November, 1963 was named, after him, as the JFK Airport.

6. That very afternoon, for the first time, I entered the lofty General Assembly chamber of the United Nations, and within a couple of days became acquainted with the Security Council's awe-inspiring premises; the various Committee Rooms which doubled up also as the halls used by the Trusteeship Council, the Economic and Social Council (ECOSOC); the Human Rights Commission Chamber; the smaller negotiating or consultation rooms to which we had to retire when it became impracticable to workout the commas and semi-colons, and the placement of phrases and expressions used in complexly worded Resolutions and Declarations!

7. Throughout that Session and even during the next one, the most important topic of discussion in the lobbies and corridors of the UN Headquarters was the 1962 China-India War and how these two major Asian countries had variously utilized the Panchsheel principles which they had worked out and finalized, just a few months ago at Bandung. At the height of the Cold war it was, and people were still commenting (mostly negatively) on the impractical idealism of Jawaharlal Nehru who had just one year

ago, in 1961 spoken in the UN General Assembly with such conviction on the concepts of Disarmament, and International Cooperation. It was a little later that India realized how fickle and disloyal many of its non-aligned friends and collaborators were becoming, attracted by China's muscle-power and her trade and money-power impressed by China's recent success against India in the field of battle. Of the non-aligned, Marshal Tito of Yugoslavia, Col Nasser of Egypt, Nkrumah of Ghana and Prime Minister Tafawa-Balewa of Nigeria alone remained backing India. Most of our close neighbours in South and South-East Asia found that they were too close geographically to China, and were attracted by the trade and aid opportunities offered by China, unable to ignore its power and pelf. Even Zambia and Tanzania were beguiled by China's offer to establish the attractive Tan-zam Railway system. The first lesson I learnt therefore, on entering the UN was that political strength and weakness was always a mix of a nation's military might plus its economic and trading power. The benefits that could be derived from one's neighbours and friends always tend to be a powerful attraction. The second lesson one soon learnt was derived from the manner and method in which our mighty and wealthy Anglo-Saxon friends (USA and UK) who were full of moral lectures on democracy and morality, ignored their own proclaimed principles and pursued concretely their national material interests. The dictatorship of Field Marshal Ayub Khan of Pakistan attracted them far more than the liberal, democratic principles of India! This lesson came though even more powerfully and vividly when in 1965, the Pakistani Army once again unsuccessfully tried to wrench the Kashmir valley out of India's control. I was in the Security Council chamber when one midnight, Pakistan Foreign Minister Zulfikar Ali Bhutto accepted the ceasefire that was imposed on India, as Pakistan's military debacle was nigh, and the ceasefire was meant to cover up the defeat of the Pakistani Armed Forces in the field of battle.

8. This was during the Cold War when the competition between the Capitalist model and the Socialist one was sharp, and bitter, raucous and garrulous. India along with most other truly non-aligned nations had the support of the Soviet Union, and the Eastern

bloc. It too remained mildly critical of the USA and her friends. This was the era when Americans and the British appreciated India's democratic principles; but in material terms backed up Pak dictatorship. Anglo-Saxon intellectuals and scholars had taken to calling India and the USA 'the two estranged democracies', a term that some continue to use even today.

9. This brings us to the late eighties, even early nineties, the years when the Cold War petered out in the defeat of the Socialist bloc and in a comprehensive victory of the USA. President Reagan was loud in proclaiming his personal victory over the entire Socialist ideology and philosophy. Indeed so it was. All the Soviets-both the original ones like Ukraine and Byelorussia and the comparatively new ones like the Baltic components, and Central Asia's Islamic republics, as well as the old East European republics like Romania, Bulgaria, and the Caspian Republics like Azerbaijan, Armenia, Georgia etc. either fractured away or melted away as if the entire edifice was a house of Cards. The Federal system of old and new Soviets (or Federal units) which had taken the makers of the 1917 Revolution, Lenin and Stalin, more than a half century building, disappeared in a couple of years. The Soviet Union returned and became once again the old Russian Federation with the same philosophy, and keeping the same shape as the Czarist Imperium, of All-the-Russias.

10. It was natural for India too, to start making adjustments to its foreign policy. Marshal Tito died; Yugoslavia disintegrated; President Nasser was succeeded by Hosni Mubarak, an enthusiastic admirer of the USA who soon became one of the largest aid recipients from the Capitalist world. Yasser Arafat was forced to vacate Lebanon and retire to Tunisia. India recognized Israel, and the two nations immediately exchanged Ambassadors. While India remained faithful to its friendship with the Islamic, Arab worlds, and with the Soviet Union, now Christened Russian Federation, the latter remained a faithful supplier of military hardware and technology to India but along with Russia's resource base, its capability in these fields too started dwindling. President Gorbachev of Russia on the advice of the late Prime Minister Rajiv

Gandhi, made surprising formal statements about his admiration for Gandhian philosophy and non-violence. The Chinese and the Russians got estranged and the USA was able to engineer the break up and discord between these two major Communist powers, China and Russia, thus achieving a major victory for the USA.

11. Capitalism and Communism as ideologies no longer retained their earlier relevance. George Bush got elected to the US Presidency and proceeded to woo India through a deal with Prime Minister Dr. Manmohan Singh by a de-facto recognition of India's nuclear weapon status. The era of non-proliferation treaty and the NPT system was getting erased. The two Houses of US Legislature, the Senate and the Congress, gave in to the gradual erasure of the NPT system reluctantly, only recently. The Nuclear Suppliers Group nations have not yet fully yielded. However, India and USA have remained estranged no longer. They have far better bilateral relations than ever before; and despite hiccups they seem determined mutually not to allow bilateral misunderstandings to develop between themselves. The process of building understanding is on, and likely to continue.

12. Despite this burgeoning friendliness India continues to have two specific peeves. One, that the USA does not yet appear ready to accept, India becoming a permanent member of the Security Council, despite all the current permanent members of the Council with the exception of China, having become committed to India's becoming a permanent member of the Council. The French, Russians and the UK are all committed to India's permanent membership. Also, recently, when India sponsored Shashi Tharoor as its candidate to be the next Secretary General of the UN, this eminent Indian author, intellectual and International Civil Servant got vetoed rudely and publicly by the USA.

13. The above analysis should indicate how the world has changed between the UN Day in 1962 when I had entered the UN's precincts and forty-four years later, today. Also how much India has changed in its economic strength, technological prowess; and political and strategic contexts. Today India's rate of annual G.D.P.

growth is one of the two highest amongst the economies of the world. Consistently, during the last decade or so India has been growing between 8 and 10% per annum.

14. The moral of all this is that prosperity or potential of prosperity makes a nation attractive, and economic and technological weakness renders it appallingly ugly, and its support undesirable. Even military power refuses to grow out of the barrel of a gun. It grows out of productivity of your agricultural fields, your industrial units and factories, but most of all through the power of knowledge, your talent in handling the computer and the instrumentalities of communications.

15. Many economists around the world including in India, are puzzled in answering the question how a noisy, chaotic democracy of a billion people could be transformed into a fast growing economy, as India has done. The recent high-growth per capita income gains for India have been major from 1980 when its income stood at \$1,178 to 2005 when in PPP terms it had risen to \$3,051. India has not been exporting labour-intensive, low-priced manufactured goods to the West; indeed India's economy is driven more by consumption than by investment; domestic markets more than exports; services more than industry and high-tech more than low-skilled manufacturing. India's is a people-friendly model, and this has resulted in our economy getting far more insulated from global downturns, and is far less volatile. Our GDP growth has been due to rising productivity rather than increases in capital and labour. It causes us another anxiety- how to move our vast army of people from the rural to urban areas? Another perplexing factor is that India is not rising with the help of the policies of the State. India's economic growth appears to occur in spite of the State. Clearly the Indian entrepreneur is at the center of our success story. We have highly competitive private companies, a booming stock market, and a modern well-disciplined financial sector. More than hundred of our companies have a market cap of over a billion dollars. Out of 500 Fortune companies 125 now have their R and D bases in India. The State in India is gradually stepping out of the way. The State had made a bargain on its side in 1991, to build more roads, provide

the people uninterrupted power and water, but that has not happened. Govt. Schools and Health Centres have remained unsatisfactory, even putrid. Accountability in India is impossible as our State is riddled with perverse incentives; and these too keep shifting and moving, plunging and ascending, our infrastructure construction remaining unsatisfactory.

16. India's problems with Pakistan persist despite our efforts to reduce these and ultimately erase them. The covetousness of the Pakistan military for our real estate in the Kashmir valley, stands in the way. Pakistan despite President Musharraf's commitment made in January 2004 not to allow Pak soil to be used for anti-Indian activities has refused to stop the ISI's operations and encouragement to Lashkar-e-Toiba persisting with its operation in India. The Indian P.M. has not been agreeable to re-draw new boundaries but short of that he has demonstrated a spirit of total cooperation in every way with Pakistan, in sorting out these problems. Let us see how we can convince Pakistan of our goodwill and understanding.

17. Pakistanis, including many of their Generals and Scientists revere Abdul Qadeer Khan as the father of Pakistan's nuclear technology, and their nation's saviour, who was responsible for ensuring that their country did not get reduced to a subordinate status vis-à-vis India in its Defence capability. India sees A.Q. Khan's role as that of the Proliferator-in-Chief of nuclear technology and weaponry in and from South-Asia. No nuclear scientist, he was a mere engineer who pilfered technology from Urenco while working in the Netherlands; a man without morality or principles, who was reconciled to murdering hundreds of thousands of human beings in South Asia; an Islamic fanatic prepared to aid and abet the quest of Iran, Iraq, Libya the Taliban, just because these were all Islamic Jehadi lands; an individual technologist ready to secure missile technology from North Korea and in exchange to provide that country the complex technology and equipment for uranium enrichment. He had the makings too of a free market entrepreneur, capable of starting a regular industry for clandestinely exporting equipment for uranium enrichment

equipment and technology to all the above mentioned countries, but, for a price. The money he made in this way helped him to start a commercial hotel or perhaps two, in Timbuktoo in distant Mali, in Central Africa. He also established a supply-line of yellow-cake, raw uranium for Pakistan, to make some money for his country, as also earn profits for his own business enterprise.

18. General Pervez Musharraf has always pleaded his innocence and that of other senior Generals of the Pak Army establishment; but by now there is overwhelming evidence to establish that he & his two predecessors, Army Chiefs Gen Abdul Waheed and Gen Jahangir Karamat too were fully au fait with these activities of A.Q. Khan, who was not alone in being the sole proliferator. The military machine of Pakistan, the bulk of Pakistani Armed Forces too were fully complicit in his nuclear business. It is, therefore, that Pakistanis have insisted with the USA not to investigate or cross-examine A.Q. Khan. Pakistan has been assisting North Korea in nuclear technology, and bomb and missile related work ever since 1997. From 1998 onwards, A Q Khan and his associates have been involved in supplying North Korea's orders for centrifuge components. Pakistani Scientists and Generals have been supplying North Korea drawings, sketches, technical data and uranium hexa-fluoride gas and feed stock for gas centrifuges. Pakistani Air Force planes and chartered flights were involved in maintaining the supply-line of all this material, without too many inhibitions. Benazir Bhutto the pro-American former Prime Minister of Pakistan, and daughter of Zulfikar Ali Bhutto has admitted to having been personally involved in these matters. As early as in July, 2002 Americans spy satellites had spotted a Pakistan Air Force SC-130 at the Pyongyang Airport. Its Cargo: missiles for Pakistan, that from North Korea to Pakistan where the North Koreans helped them establish production plants for missiles. In August 2005 General Musharraf himself admitted for the first time in an interview with Japanese media persons the export by North Korea of 10 Scud-B missiles to Pakistan. We need to remember that Pakistan has acquired the technology for mounting nuclear devices on ready-to-fire missiles. Thus irrespective of Pakistani excuses,

and those being trotted out constantly by the Americans, one can say to them both QED!

19. Dr. A.Q. Khan and his principal admirer Gen Musharraf have proved that they, and perhaps not even China, are the dearest friends the Dear Leader in Pyongyang ever acquired. The fore-sight for the cunning forward planning by the Chinese leadership in creating long-term problems for India needs to be acknowledged, if not admired. One wishes one's compatriots like the CPM leader Prakash Karat would also pay all these aspects some attention. Beijing has built major influence with Pyongyang in matters of military strategy and technology. The USA is in no position to blame Beijing for this as they have had to depend on Beijing, and they are continuing to do so for persuading Pyongyang not to be so bloody-minded in the matter of acquiring nuclear weapon status. Pakistan has been strategically conjoined to Pyongyang through establishing a barter system between Pakistan providing them uranium enrichment equipment and technology in return for Korean or North Korean missile systems. China has thus outsourced to Pakistan and North Korea the task of keeping India under serious pressure, threat, and serious anxiety.
