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# India, China exchange greetings

**NEW DELHI, MARCH 31.** China today said Sino-Indian relations have entered a "new stage" of improvement and growth and Beijing hoped to further strengthen cooperation, promote mutual understanding and work for common development. India reciprocated by warmly greeting China.

In a message to the President, Mr. K.R. Narayanan, on the occasion of the 50th anniversary of the establishment of diplomatic relations between China and India tomorrow, the Chinese President, Mr. Jiang Zemin, said Beijing has all along attached great importance to friendly and good neighbourly relations and cooperation with India.

"We are pleased to see that China-India relations have entered a new stage of improvement and growth... I believe that a healthy, stable and friendly China-India relationship not only serves the interests of the two peoples but also benefits world peace and stability," he said. Mr. Zemin added, "Since the establishment of diplomatic ties 50 years ago, despite twists and turns, good neighbourliness

and friendship have been the mainstream in bilateral relations."

In a message to the Chinese President, Mr. Narayanan said both countries should work together for the prosperity and for peace and stability in Asia and in the world. "I am confident that through our joint efforts, we can build a long-term and stable relationship of constructive cooperation based on the five principles of peaceful coexistence in the 21st century. That future beckons us both."

The Chinese President said the five principles of peaceful coexistence jointly initiated by China and India "still have a great validity till this day".

## Message to PM

In a message to the Prime Minister, Mr. Atal Behari Vajpayee, his Chinese counterpart, Mr. Zhu Rongji, said India and China shouldered an important responsibility in building a new, fair and rational international political and economic order.

He recalled Chinese leader Deng Xiaoping's

remarks that "only when China, India and some other neighbouring nations are well developed will the real Asia-Pacific century or Asian century come".

In his message to Mr. Rongji, Mr. Vajpayee said India attaches importance to the development of a friendly, cooperative, good neighbourly and mutually-beneficial relationship with China on the basis of 'Panchsheel'.

The Chinese Foreign Minister, Mr. Tang Jiaxuan, in a message to the External Affairs Minister, Mr. Jaswant Singh, said "Sino-Indian relations are holding out a beautiful prospect for development". The Chinese Minister recalled Mr. Singh's visit to China last year, saying it had helped in the improvement of bilateral ties.

In his message Mr. Singh told his counterpart that the two countries were engaged in the common endeavour of bringing prosperity to the people. "We must persist with this even as neighbours, we address ourselves to unresolved issues, for this is our joint responsibility to the future," he said. — PTI

THE HINDU

1 APR 2000

## India, China reaffirm Panchsheel

STATESMAN NEWS SERVICE

NEW DELHI, March 31. — India and China have reaffirmed their commitment to the principles of Panchsheel on the 50th anniversary of the establishment of diplomatic relations between the two countries.

In messages exchanged between the President, Mr KR Narayanan and his Chinese counterpart, Mr Jiang Zemin, Mr Atal Behari Vajpayee, and the Chinese Premier, Mr Zhu Rongji, and between Mr Jaswant Singh, and the Chinese foreign minister, Mr Tang Jiaxuan, the two countries have emphasised the need for peaceful co-existence and stressed the importance of Panchsheel in the conduct of inter-state relations.

The messages exchanged between the top leadership has emphasised the need for New Delhi and Beijing to work together for stability in Asia as also to fashion an equitable international political and economic order.

India has been at pains to emphasise to China that its growing closeness to the USA is not at the cost of its relationship with other countries.

The need for a stable relationship between India and China finds mention in the messages which have scant reference to the differences between the two countries. President Jiang Zemin's message only mentions, in passing, that friendship had been the mainstream of bilateral relations "despite twists and turns".

THE STATESMAN

- 1 APR 2 00

# China squanders change for closer ties with India

By M.D. Nalapat

NEW DELHI: Despite the fact that the oceans have been the frontier from which the most intractable of India's invaders — the European powers — could enter the country and subdue large parts of it, the "landlocked" mentality of the political leadership has thus far prevented the expansion of the Indian Navy that alone can secure this largest of India's frontiers. Only since George Fernandes became defence minister in 1998, has some attention been paid to the service, with the planned commissioning of (mainly Russian-built) undersea and oversea vessels, the belated changing of the guard at the crucial nuclear submarine project, and faster development of a sea-launched nuclear-capable missile system.

Beijing has the most at stake in this "blue water" expansion of the Indian Navy. Thanks to the Clinton administration's policy of encouraging Beijing's strategic monopoly in Asia by trying to choke off India's own programmes. The Chinese navy has emerged as

the most powerful in Asia, though it is still at least a decade away from building sufficient capability to drive away the U.S. from the China seas. Despite efforts by Washington to build up a Japan-Australia condominium to serve as NATO's surrogate in Asian waters, the reality remains that only India has the potential to emerge as the second "tiger on the high mountain", after China.

Were India and China to enter into a strategic partnership, together they would dominate the sea lanes in Asia within the next decade.

## NEWS ANALYSIS

However, for this to take place, the Peoples Liberation Army (which includes the Navy and Air Force) will need to move away from its longstanding subservience to protecting not just the interests but also the fragile egos of their counterparts in Pakistan. Apart from the ties forged by the substantial flow of conventional and strategic weaponry from Beijing to Islamabad the Pakistan armed forces have established business links with sections of the PLA that are defying President Jiang's order for the PLA to get out of business, es-

pecially the lucrative trade in narcotics headquartered in Xiamen and Macau. As a result, Pakistan has substantial leverage with China.

Analysts say that it is this informal Pakistan "veto" which prompted China reject an Indian invitation to participate in the Navy's International Fleet Review, scheduled in February 15-19. Thus far, 27 of the 29 major navies have accepted the invitation to participate, and the offer to China is seen as a goodwill gesture that sought to bury memories of the 1962 conflict and the history of tensions between the two Asian giants.

Pakistan, which was pointedly not invited, was further angered that the review would take place on the west coast rather than the east, a location that it saw as provocative. While Beijing has claimed that "financial stringency" and "scheduling commitments" made it impossible to accept the Indian Navy's invitation, observers discount such excuses. "The fact is that China is unwilling to abandon its linkage with Pakistan's aggressive posture against India and is continuing

to see itself as a reliable "rear" area for that country," said a senior officer in the armed forces. While on record the Navy has accepted the Chinese explanations on its face value, the officers are more forthcoming unofficially. At a recent discussion in the capital, C.V. Ranganathan, a former ambassador to Beijing who has tirelessly worked to bring the two countries together, was sharply questioned by the attending naval officers when he argued that it was truly economic hardship that stopped the PLA Navy from attending the review.

By the decision to reject the Indian invitation, while China has gained further appreciation in Pakistan, it has lost substantial goodwill in India. The review will witness the coming together of the navies of India, the US, France, the UK, Japan and Australia, besides India's traditional friends Indonesia, South Africa, Malaysia and the Arab states. What could have been a bridge between China and India may become the kernel of a future combination in Asia that excludes China, a country with a system at odds with the rest of the world.

THE TIMES OF INDIA

30 DEC 2000

# BJP welcomes Li Peng visit

By Our Special Correspondent

NEW DELHI, DEC 27. The number of high level visits between India and China in recent months was a pointer to "our determination to build bridges and resolve all outstanding issues, including the border dispute," the BJP stated today even as it extended a warm welcome to Mr. Li Peng, chairman of the standing committee of China's National People's Congress, who will be coming early next year.

Although the party did not spell out its stand on the sensitive border demarcation issue, certainly a shift from the past inflexible position could be discerned. Mr. Jana Krishnamurthi, senior vice-president of the BJP and party spokesperson, indicated India's willingness to sort out all outstanding issues, noting with satisfaction that diplomacy between the two countries was on the "fast track."

He said that during the recent visit of the President, Mr K.R.Narayanan, to China, "maps of the central portion of our border with China were exchanged." He said that talks to settle the border dispute were a continuing process.

He hoped the visit would lead to better understanding between the two countries on international affairs as well as bilateral issues, while adding that a Chinese delegation had also had talks with party leaders here, and there was the possibility of party-to-party contacts between the BJP and the ruling party there being taken forward in the near future.

Recently, there have been a spate of high level contacts. After Mr. Narayanan's Beijing visit the Chinese Foreign Minister, Mr. Qian Qichen, made a short visit to New Delhi. This is now being followed by Mr. Li Peng's trip. Early next year could see the External Affairs Minister, Mr. Jaswant Singh, going to China, which is expected to be followed by the visit here of the Chinese Premier.

Mr. Krishnamurthi admitted that the perception here that China was supplying nuclear know-how and sophisticated missile technology to Pakistan was an irritant — and this had been brought up during the various contacts. But he was hopeful that the two countries would be able to stabilise their relationship and develop "genuine friendship based on mutual trust."

## Baluchistan group's claim

NEW DELHI, DEC. 27. An obscure organisation which calls itself the Baluchistan National Army has claimed responsibility for the rocket attack on the Command and Staff College building in Quetta, Pakistan, on the night of Christmas.

A spokesman for the organisation telephoned BBC last night to say that his organisation was responsible for the attack.

"The Pakistan army was the main enemy of the people of Baluchistan and if the attitude of the army did not change, the BNA would attack army establishments outside Baluchistan as well," he warned.

The rocket, believed to have been fired from a nearby hill, landed on the terrace of the college library causing negligible damage. There were no casualties or injuries.

This attack was one in a series on military establishments in Quetta.

The latest, according to the BBC, could have been provoked by the imprisonment of Khair Bux Mari, the chief of the Mari tribe, on charges of killing a High Court Judge.

Mari's plea for bail was recently rejected by the Baluchistan High Court. — UNI

THE HINDU

218 DEC 2000

# China's fast track diplomacy

By P. S. Suryanarayana

**C**HINESE LEADERS have long been expected to step on to a fast track of diplomacy to enhance Beijing's claim to a role in shaping the post-Cold War global order. Till very recently, the conventional wisdom was that the catalyst would be the issue, almost fully settled at present, of China's entry into the World Trade Organisation (WTO). However, Beijing has now chosen the sensitive political question of missile non-proliferation to signal a categorical intention of traversing the diplomatic fast track. China obviously has sought to assert its credentials as an aspiring global player and confirmed regional superpower with a definitive East Asian orientation.

Now, with the WTO-welcome coming into focus, Beijing can hope to accelerate its diplomatic activism. Given this prospect, China is keen on warding off any potential shocks to its eventual goal of sovereignty over Taiwan. As home to the forces that had lost to the Chinese communists on the mainland in 1949, the island of Taiwan, a U.S.-blessed 'entity' since then, is still outside Beijing's control. The paramount objective of securing Taiwan, albeit at some time in the future, is the motive force behind the latest diplomatic urgency evinced by the leadership— the President, Mr. Jiang Zemin, and the Prime Minister, Mr. Zhu Rongji. China's new initiative on missile non-proliferation has been determined, at least in part, by the Taiwan issue. More precisely, this relates to Beijing's perceived suspicion that the U.S., if not humoured, may put in place sooner than later a theatre missile defence system, which has already been masterminded with some direct protective benefit intended for the Taiwanese leadership.

The key question raised not long ago at a major hearing by the U.S. Senate sub-committee on international security was the perception of China's activities "at the centre of a worldwide proliferation web". Under scrutiny was China's transfer of M-11 ballistic missile-related equipment and technology to Pakistan as confirmed by a top U.S. administration official. It was an open review of the State Department's

view on China's nuclear weapons-related assistance to Pakistan as also Iran besides, of course, its suspected transfer to Iran of some dual-use precursors that could be diverted for the manufacture of chemical weapons even while being supplied for civilian purposes. Beyond the maze of technical details, some positive signs were also recognised by the U.S. China accord to the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty in 1992 and later supported the U.S.-led efforts to perpetuate the document as a permanent repository of the "international norm" of non-proliferation. China's signature on the Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty and accession to the Chemical Weapons Convention were also commended. Yet a puzzle, then as indeed now, is the per-

## *Beijing has chosen the issue of missile non-proliferation to signal a categorical intention of traversing the diplomatic fast track.*

ceived "disconnect" between China's commitments and its actions based on "national security" considerations.

As sinologists Andrew J. Nathan and Robert S. Ross argue, successive leaders have consistently felt that their "national security" will be enhanced by varied proactive policies. These include the augmentation of Pakistan's military strength, India's potential as an international player is a factor in such Chinese thinking. China's overall post-Cold War geopolitical calculus at the moment is shaped by four other major considerations: (1) the possibility of Japan re-emerging as an assertive power over time; (2) Beijing's compulsion to hold its own on the maritime and land zones of Southeast Asia and the South Pacific in the face of a pronounced U.S. military presence; (3) China's desire for an honourable political equation with Russia and (4) the perceived need for a Sino-American strategic dialogue if not a partnership. Its dealings with Europe and the Islamic world may somewhat be peripheral extensions of these essentials, but those contacts too figure prominently in

the global compass as viewed in Beijing. It is in this context that China, old "Middle Kingdom", has now pledged to refrain from making significant "contributions" to the development of nuclear-capable ballistic missiles and their deployment by any country. China's overall sweeping pledge of restraint, which will cover its export of dual-use equipment and knowhow, is in tune with the guidelines of the multilateral Missile Technology Control Regime (MTCR). It is not an "MTCR-partner", and a Western theory is that the major powers have not been very keen on bringing Beijing under the MTCR purview for fear of having to take China into confidence about the secrets of their own ballistic missile programmes.

A logical question is why China should now seek to commit itself to abiding by almost the entire spectrum of dos and don'ts of the MTCR. In 1994, Beijing agreed, at the U.S. behest, to follow the MTCR guidelines on restraint in exporting missiles but not the parallel injunction against the transfer of related knowhow. It is a different matter whether China has fully translated that commitment into reality in respect of Pakistan. The doubts are indirectly confirmed by the reassuring tone of China's latest plenary pledge. A quintessential Western view is that any scaling up of American military supplies to Taiwan has often prompted China to "retaliate" by extending proliferation-related support to Pakistan and Iran in an arc of the U.S. interests. The reasoning is rooted in the Western intelligence assessment that China's M-11 missile-related transactions with Pakistan began in the context of the U.S. decision to sell a huge consignment of F-16 fighter bombers to Taiwan in 1992. It stands scrutiny in this sub-context that the Chinese leaders, who have consistently equated Taiwan with Hong Kong as Beijing's rightful piece of geopolitical real-

estate, should also want to mould the post-Cold War global politics.

Not surprisingly, China's latest declaration manifesto — an abstinence from fostering missile-proliferation worldwide — acquires meaning as an invitation to the U.S. for a diplomatic bargain. The benign statement followed a China-U.S. summit on the margins of a multilateral conference. Given the manifest Taiwan factor in China's missile-related diplomacy, it is conceivable that this new charter is designed to induce Washington to reciprocate suitably. Beijing wants the U.S. to abandon or suspend its plans for building a post-modern 'great wall' of defence against China, namely a theatre missile system in East Asia.

Now, unlike in the case of the U.S. plans for a national missile defence system with a global reach, China cannot easily bring itself to make common cause with Russia in opposing Washington's theatre-specific ideas. Moscow already possesses the means to counter Washington's missile gamesmanship in East Asia. This does not, however, diminish Russia's strategic imperative of joining hands with China in sketching out plans for a multipolar global order in the 21st century. Viewed thus, another high-profile aspect of China's new fast track diplomacy pertains to statesmanship in the Asia-Pacific region. Besides weaving a network of agreements with Southeast Asian states for enhanced bilateral cooperation, China is zeroing in on ways to liberate itself from the gravitational pull of any particular geopolitical zone. The Association of Southeast Asian Nations' Regional Forum (ARE) and groupings such as the ASEAN+3 have given China ample scope for casting its strategic net wide. The WTO will be a global field for economic diplomacy. China's comprehensive strategic agenda cannot be dismissed as a cosmic dream. Beijing has already begun to knock at the door of the Group of Eight, consisting of major industrialised powers and a strategically important Russia, besides wanting a say in the emerging international arms control institutions. It is a question of how China and the West can accommodate each other.

# TIES WITH CHINA

## The Need For A Flexible Approach

By JK DUTT

AG Noorani while analysing the Sino-Indian border problem has remarked, "A strategic dialogue with China will demand a rigorous intellectual exercise to define clearly our concept of security ... and the concessions that our interlocutors can legitimately expect from us". His prognosis proved true because India and China recently for the first time ever exchanged maps of the central sector in order to come to grips with each other's point of view pertaining to the layout of the Line of Actual Control along the border between the two countries in this sector. Both sides also expressed hope that similar exchanges should take place in relation to the Western and the Eastern sectors. While this is definitely an encouraging step — that too a primordial-cum-tangible one — in resolving the contentious border dispute, India needs to take a hard and realistic look at the crux of the entire matter.

Each of the three sectors possesses a strategic content which has a bearing on the aspect of security. The Aksai Chin highway connects western Tibet with southern Xinjiang

in the western sector, making the Central Asia Republics (CAR) that much more accessible; the Kalapani issue is intrinsic to Indo-Nepal relations, besides China, in the central sector; and the sensitive China-India-Myanmar trijunction in northeast Arunachal Pradesh looms large in the eastern sector.

### KEY FACTORS

Thus each sector provides adequate scope for gerrymandering. However, as far as China is concerned, the most important out of the three security related enumeratives is the vital Aksai Chin highway.

This highway, which helps China reduce substantial traffic circumvention, has been the principal thorn in Sino-Indian relations dating back to the late fifties through 1962-63, when this connector was actualised. The quantum of the area under Chinese occupation here is some 34,000 square kilometres. This is also the most hyper topic for India's politicians and apparently a Lok Sabha resolution exists to the effect that all the territory under China's control will be regained although no timetable has been set for this "reconquest". This rhetoric acts as a good vote carrot for all our political parties even though realities are far removed.

The central sector also includes Nepal in the dispute by default because India and Nepal have a problem over a region named Kalapani, a problem that featured from the very inception of the Indo-Nepal Friendship Treaty of 1950. Both India and Nepal claim Kalapani which is located in the vicinity of India-Nepal-Tibet meeting point and incidentally falls on the pilgrim route from India to Mansarovar Lake and Mount Kailash in Tibet. China has a division sized military garrison opposite Kalapani at Taklakot to maintain a watching brief over Kala-

pani as well as Barahoti close by, the latter being the hub of the border dispute between India and China in this sector. Hence Barahoti and Kalapani are interlinked in as much as unless the former is resolved first, the latter cannot be settled. India's position in the central sector is rather delicate because of this trilateral complication. More, Nepal expects India to take the initiative for sorting this out amicably among all three countries.

The eastern sector has the longest span of the dispute, viz., from the Sikkim-North Bengal-Bhutan salient thrus-



ting into India to the full length of Arunachal Pradesh up to the Myanmar trijunction, barring Bhutan in the middle. The Sumdurong Chu ridge in west Arunachal Pradesh whose shoulders virtually reach up to the strategic Mishmi Hills in the far east part of the state, pose the maximum headache for us because of the innumerable approaches into our territory that a series of mountain crests offer to Chinese troops. This apart, the trijunction area just across the state's boundary to the east is of great import to New Delhi since the political proximity between Beijing and Yangon is very close and cordial.

The question is, what should India do to reconcile this immense border nettle with China? We realise that it would indeed be a good thing if two birds, i.e., China as well as Nepal, could be killed with one stone as the cliché goes. How? On balance, it would be astute for us to practise, sans emotion, of course, a bit of what our country is credited with — casting profound philosophy of life. The doctrine of statecraft so dexterously formulated by Kautilya and seconded by Sun Tzu of China, stipulates that boundaries are never sanctified in inter-state relations: what is of the essence is the sanctity of the interests of the concerned states. An electric introspection of our history proves the precept.

### ICE DESERT

During the early days, mainland India comprised the total subcontinent, complete with Burma and Ceylon of yore plus slices of Afghanistan and Tibet thrown in for good measure. Today, in the very same geographical spread, we have three separate nations in the main along with peripheral ones with their own physical extents. Further, Tibet joined up with China and the original Afghanistan is fighting a losing battle with the Taliban.

Adjacent to the subcontinent lies the newly formed CAR,

being a breakaway lot from the redoubtable Soviet Union of yesteryear. The contention to accept is, a country's territorial outline of date is never sanguine: it has to change in keeping with developing political frames and their commitments. This leitmotif of "fission oriented extentionalism", to quote Carl von Clausewitz, should be our beacon in arriving at a solution in respect of the current border dispute.

We have to exercise consummate *realpolitik* in dealing with China. We should offer to cede Aksai Chin to them and as a *quid pro quo*, they should completely disengage from the central and the eastern sectors.

This will mean our having to redraw the Sino-Indian border in the western sector, perhaps along the general line south of the Karakoram Pass to the Chip Chap river, thence on to the Chushul-Spanggur area and finally to Demchok. Pakistan should have no objection to this since it handed over a large chunk from northern PoK to China when the Chinese highway was being built and consequently, this portion of PoK is already under

Chinese suzerainty.

Our Parliament has to be persuaded to bolster our case with the clincher that the area that we are ceding to China is nothing but an ice desert, akin to Siachin and Bilafond and has no strategic or productive value for us. At the same time, it can be turned into a huge utility value if we pursue our earlier decision to explore oil and natural gas in the CAR.

### NO INTEREST

We can conveniently set up a pipeline through this area to say, Leh. Our previous efforts to arrange such a conduit through Pakistan came to nought. The only thing that can be visualised to come in the way of this argument will be our ersatz ego! We have to of necessity shed such false pretences. Partisan attitudes must make way for larger national interests. In one fell swoop our Himalayan borders will become fully secure, if we play our cards right.

In fact, soon after Chinese President Jiang Zemin's path-breaking address to the 15th Congress a few years ago, the highly respected Director of the Chinese Institute of Strategic Studies, Gen Xu Xin, had discoursed that much in the same vein of "give and take" by which China had resolved its land border problem with contiguous Russia, Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan and Tajikistan (known as the famous "Four Plus One Talks"), China was quite willing to negotiate with India. As usual, we showed no interest. Neutral Asia observers like Dr Philip Cohen have also conveyed similar suggestions at various fora with nary a response from New Delhi.

The new millennium has witnessed India renovating its foreign policy by installing a welcome break from our dogmas and Utopian beliefs. Let us boost the momentum of this renovation by adopting a key implement of international relations, flexibility. The dividends will be amply rewarding.

The author is Lt. Col. (retd.), Indian Army.

# Li long march via Mumbai

FROM PRANAY SHARMA

New Delhi, Dec. 17: China has finalised the date of National People's Congress chairman Li Peng's visit, which is being described as a "big step forward" in the process of normalising Sino-Indian relations.

Li, second in the Chinese pecking order after President Jiang Zemin, will come to India on January 9 for a week-long official tour of Mumbai, Bangalore, Agra and Delhi.

He will be the senior-most leader from Beijing to come to Delhi since the nuclear tests of May 1998, which had seriously strained bilateral relations. He had visited India earlier in 1991 as China's Prime Minister.

Li arrives in Mumbai to meet

representatives from India's financial capital. He will visit the Taj Mahal in Agra — a *de rigueur* on any visit to India — and before leaving, spend some time in the country's information technology hub, Bangalore. Most of his meetings at the political level will be held in Delhi.

Li is coming here on the invitation of Lok Sabha Speaker G.M.C. Balayogi and protocol-wise, he will be treated as the vice-president of China. But unlike his Indian counterpart, he is a political heavyweight in Beijing.

That he had to be accommodated as the NPC chairman when Jiang brought in Zhu Rongji as Premier, shows that he continues to enjoy considerable support among party members.

In Delhi, Li is scheduled to

meet President K.R. Narayanan, Prime Minister Atal Behari Vajpayee and foreign minister Jaswant Singh. Besides Balayogi and vice-president Krishan Kant, he will also meet leader of the Opposition Sonia Gandhi.

But Vajpayee will be on a tour of Vietnam and Indonesia when Li arrives. A meeting between the two can be held only after January 14, when the Prime Minister returns.

Relations between India and China took a nosedive following Pokhran II, when defence minister George Fernandes identified China as India's prime threat. Vajpayee in his letter to US President Bill Clinton a few weeks later repeated the observation as the main reason behind the tests, straining bilateral

ties further.

In the following months, China not only became one of the worst critics of Pokhran II, but also took the lead in creating international pressure to get both India and Pakistan to dismantle their nuclear and missile programmes and sign the Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty (CTBT) and the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty.

However, in the past one-and-half years, the two sides have made serious efforts to patch up. The process began with Jaswant Singh's visit to Beijing in May last year, followed by President Narayanan's sojourn this May.

The Chinese reciprocated by sending foreign minister Tang Jiaxuang in July and set in motion the move to identify contentious issues and settle them.

THE TELEGRAPH

13 DEC 1998

## BRIDGE TOO FAR <sup>10</sup>

The forthcoming visit to India of Mr Li Peng, chairman of China's National People's Congress, should help to give a significant boost to bilateral relations. The Chinese leader will be the highest official to visit New Delhi since the dip in Sino-Indian relations in May 1998, after India conducted a series of nuclear tests. Relations continued to be frosty for nearly a year until Mr Jaswant Singh, the minister for external affairs, visited China in 1999. Since then there has been the successful state visit of the Indian president, K.R. Narayanan this May, and the Chinese foreign minister, Mr Tang Jianxuan made an equally important visit to India in July this year. It is clear that both India and China have introspected and come to a common understanding that it is vital to forge stronger ties. The most significant factor accelerating bilateral ties is the desire for a multipolar world order. Both New Delhi and Beijing are deeply apprehensive about the manner in which American foreign policy is increasingly taking recourse to unilateral actions to deal with situations that are thought to be threatening international peace and security. For instance, China and India were particularly incensed by the air strikes carried out by the North Atlantic Treaty Organization, under the leadership of the United States, in former Yugoslavia. Similarly, both China and India face a common threat from international terrorism, especially of the kind being spread by radical Islamic groups that derive ideological and material support from forces in Pakistan and Afghanistan.

Yet, the warming of bilateral ties cannot hide the differences over a number of critical issues and should not prevent a frank dialogue on these. New Delhi's most serious concern is with Beijing's disturbing record of transfer of nuclear and missile technology to Pakistan. There is growing evidence that despite routine assurances by China, cooperation between Beijing and Islamabad on the nuclear and missile front has been growing in clear violation of Chinese acceptance of the guidelines of the missile technology control regime and its legal commitment to the nuclear nonproliferation treaty. While Beijing has only recently assured the United States that nuclear and missile cooperation with Islamabad has stopped, it is vital that New Delhi too secures a clear commitment on this score.

India also wants a clear delineation of the line of actual control on the India-China border. This will not mean a settlement of the border dispute, which admittedly is more complex, but merely an agreement on actual positions occupied by the two sides on the ground. While the Chinese foreign minister, Mr Jiaxuan, during his last visit, assured India that the "process would be accelerated" to clarify the line of actual control, there was no commitment. The progress is being limited to the middle sector, rather than in the really contentious eastern and, especially, the western sector, where the bulk of the problems occur. China needs to be made aware of Indian sensitivities and concerns on these issues. New Delhi also wants a recognition and acceptance of India's status as a state with nuclear weapons. However, China is the only nuclear weapons state that continues to adopt a hard line towards India's nuclear policy. While the other nuclear states have, more or less, come to terms with India's new nuclear status, following the nuclear tests of 1998, it is Beijing alone that keeps harping on the United Nations security council resolution 1172. A healthier and firmer Sino-Indian relationship, it is clear, can only be built if both countries do not shy away from addressing the issues that have derailed ties, time and again.



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# No proof of China role in insurgency: Panja

Syed Sajjad Ali  
Agartala, December 11

**U**NION MINISTER of State for Foreign Affairs Ajit Panja said here on Monday that Union Government does not have any specific information suggesting China's hand behind the insurgency in India. He was reacting to a question as to whether recovery of Chinese made arms in security operations in Tripura confirms China's hand in the unrest.

"No definite information on China's involvement in any manner has been found", he said. He also said recovery of arms bearing "made in China" mark does not



India's relation with China has improved a lot. Vested interest forces are trying to drive a wedge between the two friendly nations

really mean anything. The minister alleged anti-India forces might have started supplying arms to the militants with Chinese mark.

Panja said India's relation with China has improved a lot. Vested interest forces are trying to drive a wedge between the two friendly nations. The ISI has been hatching

conspiracy against India and is involved in dispatching narcotic drugs to the militants to spread them in the country.

Reiterating the blame on the ISI for working in cahoots with the extremists in the North-east, Panja said that rebels of the region have their hideouts across the border. When asked he said Bangladesh has taken

some measures against the rebels, but did not elaborate.

He pleaded ignorance when asked to react on reports suggesting that rebel leaders have invested million of rupees in trade and commerce in Bangladesh. "But if this is so they (rebels) ceased to be militants".

THE HINDUSTAN TIMES

12 DEC 2000

## 'India's development no threat'

**BEIJING, NOV. 30.** China today said it did not perceive India's fast-paced economic growth a threat to Beijing and that the two countries must work hard to develop their economy. "China's development does not constitute any threat to any country, including India. We are confident that India's development, similarly, does not constitute a threat to China," Chinese Foreign Ministry spokesperson, Ms. Zhang Qiyue, said here.

"India and China are both big developing countries. We must both work hard to develop the economy and raise the living standards of the people," Ms. Zhang said while viewing positively the remarks made by the Defence Minister, Mr. George Fernandes, on China's fast-paced economic development in the past 20 years.

In a related development, in New Delhi, amid reports about dumping of Chinese goods in India, the Chinese Economic and Commercial Counsellor to India, Mr. Du Chengping, said his country has initiated anti-dumping measures against companies indulging in such practices.

Mr. Chengping admitted that there were reports about dumping and said China has initiated action against companies involved in the unfair practice. He emphasised that China was against dumping, but added that it was also the duty of India to check dumping.

**'LAC situation stable'**

*Qnd China*

On the defence front, on reports that India plans to buy Israeli Unmanned Aerial Vehicles (UAV) to monitor troop movement along the India-China Line of Actual Control (LAC) as well as the Line of Control (LoC) between India and Pakistan, the spokesperson in Beijing merely said the situation along the LAC was largely stable.

Asked whether Beijing is ready to welcome Mr. Fernandes, whose remarks in 1998 that China was "India's number one enemy" had angered China, Ms. Zhang said, "China's big door is wide open and we welcome people from various countries and circles to visit China and understand the real situation." — PTI, UNI

THE HINDU

1 DEC 2000

# The Northeast & China

By Wasbir Hussain

YEAR 2000 is not 1962. Yet history cannot be brushed aside or forgotten. The disaster that was Operation Leghorn — meant to push the Chinese further behind the McMahon Line along the border with Arunachal Pradesh (then the North-East Frontier Agency) — is still fresh in the minds of the surviving old guard in the Northeast. After all, in that bloody battle in the winter of 1962 (October-November), the Chinese Frontier Guards virtually overran Arunachal Pradesh, taking even Bomdi La, within reach of the garrison town of Tezpur, in northern Assam.

Whether it was because the then Prime Minister, Jawaharlal Nehru, and his Defence Minister, Krishna Menon, wanted to go with 'popular public opinion' or because of the ill-conceived determination of some generals to push the Chinese back and carry ahead India's 'forward policy' on China, the fact remains that India suffered a major defeat. Had it not been for Nehru's stature, the Government would have perhaps fallen. Post-mortems revealed that the country was at a disadvantage, both militarily and logistically, to take on the Chinese at that time. While the Chinese had a road-head within three hours' trekking distance of Thag La, the main war theatre, the Indian side had its nearest road-head more than 48 hours of foot-march away.

In the 38 years that followed, India has advanced by leaps and bounds and has become a nuclear power. We now have a highly modern and, as always, a committed Army. But, geography has not changed. The terrain along the 1,030-km-long heavily-wooded border that Arunachal Pradesh shares with China's Tibet region continues to be as inhospitable as before. During the monsoon every year, large parts of Arunachal Pradesh remain cut off due to landslides snapping the tenuous road links.

Taking into account history and geography, how does one react when the Chief Minister of Arunachal Pradesh, Mr. Mukut Mithi, says during a formal on-camera interview that the Chinese Army was violating the Line of Actual Control (LAC) by crossing over into Indian territory? Of

course, extremely seriously. Mr. Mithi said in an interview to a visiting journalist in mid-October (repeating his statements a few days later during an interview to PTI) that the Chinese had been crossing the LAC and that this had to be stopped, even if the former had been making the incursions without really knowing where the LAC stood. He added that the Indian Army and intelligence had recently discovered a Chinese-built mule trail in Kaila Pass in the State's Dibang Valley district. This, he said, went to prove that incursions by the

statement should not be misread as Chinese occupation of Arunachal Pradesh territory. "Incursions and forceful occupation are two different things. I never said the Chinese had occupied our territory, but only mentioned that they (Chinese troops) are crossing our border and thereby violating the LAC." He added: "The Defence Minister may have denied the charges as the Chinese have not occupied our land and there is not much of evidence to prove the incursions."

Mr. Mithi's words cannot and should

*Efforts to improve (India-China) relations are one thing but turning complacent in the belief that these have already started having the desired results is another. The Northeast, perhaps, is more sensitive to the China issue than New Delhi.*

Chinese were taking place "repeatedly". Mr. Mithi even stated that in view of the incursions, the entire border was not safe.

Mr. Mithi's statements got maximum media play, with Beijing quickly denying any intrusions. Now what was the Indian Government's reaction? A statement came from the Defence Minister, Mr. George Fernandes, that he was concerned at Mr. Mithi's revelation. "After all, if such a statement comes from a Chief Minister, he must certainly have some basis for saying so," Mr. Fernandes said.

Then Mr. Fernandes visited the frontier on October 29. After meeting Army commanders, the Chief Minister and the Governor, he flatly denied that there had been any incursions by the Chinese and declared that the border was safe. In Guwahati, later that day, he stated that there was no immediate need for any bilateral dialogue with Beijing in the wake of Mr. Mithi's statements as the "Sino-Indian border was absolutely normal".

Now, where does Mr. Mithi stand in the wake of Mr. Fernandes' outright denial of any intrusion? Quite significantly, he reiterated his position even after Mr. Fernandes' denial. Mr. Mithi said his

not be brushed aside as some odd political ploy of a shrewd politician. Because, the Chinese may not have occupied any Indian territory but could well have been making forays and then going back. If this is what is happening, it is a matter serious enough to merit proper appreciation. First, Mr. Fernandes said that if a Chief Minister makes such a statement, there ought to be some basis for it. Then, having visited the frontier, he gave a clean chit to the Chinese. If the Chinese have not intruded into Arunachal Pradesh, it is well and good. But if Mr. Fernandes or the Government is trying to play down the issue so as not to antagonise Beijing with the hope of improving Sino-Indian ties, then God help the Northeast. The same Mr. Fernandes had stated only recently that China was India's "enemy number one", which put New Delhi to considerable embarrassment.

Mr. Mithi could well be engaged in a deliberate campaign to create some sort of a war psychosis to attract New Delhi's attention to the lack of basic infrastructure, such as roads and bridges, in this far-flung frontier. In fact, his concern with regard to vital infrastructure, such as roads, has

been echoed even by Mr. Fernandes, who during his October 29 visit brought along the Director-General of the Border Roads Organisation. Possible motives aside, a revelation such as incursions by soldiers of a neighbouring nation that had once waged a bloody war on India should not be taken lightly. After all, even now the odds are against India, in so far as the terrain is concerned. Even a dam burst in China's upper reaches is capable of creating immense devastation in Arunachal Pradesh and further down in the Brahmaputra plains. This is exactly what happened in June this year. A Chinese dam burst on the Tsangpo river (Brahmaputra in Assam) in the vicinity of Yiong (beyond the Namcha Barwa Hill) and caused sudden flash floods in upper, lower and east Siang districts of Arunachal Pradesh. The toll: 30 dead, 3,000 people hit, 15 important bridges washed away and hundreds of cattle perished. The Arunachal Pradesh Government put the damage at Rs. 100 crore with Mr. Mithi rushing to New Delhi for aid. China confirmed the dam burst but said it was not an artificial dam but a natural one, 60m-high and 2.5-km-wide, that had burst.

The Chinese military's Chief of Staff, Gen. Fu Quanyou, visited India in April 1998. The very next month, Mr. Fernandes made the famous statement of China being India's "enemy number one." But India quickly undertook damage control exercises with the External Affairs Minister, Mr. Jaswant Singh, visiting Beijing in June 1999. To take the friendship further, the President, Mr. K. R. Narayanan, visited China this May.

Efforts to improve relations are one thing and turning complacent in the belief that these have already started having the desired results is another. The Northeast, perhaps, is more sensitive to the China issue than New Delhi. After all, the region has not yet forgotten Nehru's virtual farewell speech in November 1962 when he said, "My heart goes out to the people of Assam".

(The writer is Editor, The Northeast Daily, Guwahati.)

# Map swap with China

FROM PRANAY SHARMA

New Delhi, Nov. 4: India and China are likely to exchange maps on the border for the first time since the armed conflict of 1962, finally putting on paper their respective positions on the boundary dispute.

The maps are expected to be swapped at the forthcoming meeting of the Experts Group in Beijing on November 13 and 14, when the two sides will try for a set of confidence-building measures to ensure peace and tranquillity along the Line of Actual Control (LAC). In the past, India and China have exchanged maps only once — way back in 1960.

The two sides are likely to make a modest beginning by concentrating on the 2,000-sq km mid-

dle-sector along the LAC, between Uttar Pradesh and Himachal Pradesh. This is a clear indication of the growing urgency, at least in Delhi, to find an early settlement to the border dispute.

The government, particularly Prime Minister Atal Behari Vajpayee, will have to start a consultation process with the main Opposition parties soon to rally the nation on this sensitive issue. The issue came up for discussion at yesterday's Cabinet committee on security chaired by Vajpayee.

Defence minister George Fernandes, who visited Arunachal Pradesh following charges by chief minister Mukut Mithi about incursions by Chinese troops, said he found no cause for alarm. There was nothing to suggest that Chinese troops had crossed over

the LAC to the Indian side, he added.

The defence minister's assurance strengthens the thinking in the Indian establishment that the border dispute with China must be settled as early as possible.

Significantly, the change in Delhi's attitude is taking place at a time when Vajpayee is the Prime Minister. As India's foreign minister, he had taken the initiative in bringing about a thaw in Sino-Indian relations, which had gone into a deep freeze after the 1962 conflict.

China, on its part, has resolved its border disputes with Vietnam and Russia and the country's leadership will look forward to an amicable and "mutually satisfying" solution to the boundary dispute with India.

THE TELEGRAPH

5 NOV 2000

# Defining India's China border

By V. R. Raghavan

## The joint delineation of the LAC is a first essential step to settling the boundary with China.

INDIA'S BORDER with China is once again in the news. The Arunachal Pradesh Chief Minister, Mr. Mukut Mithi, was categorical in stating last month that the Chinese have been violating the Line of Actual Control (LAC). His contention is that the Chinese have been making incursions across the LAC. New Delhi's response to this has been quite spectacular. The Defence Minister, Mr. George Fernandes, first averred that the Chief Minister must be having some basis for saying it. He then visited Arunachal Pradesh for a briefing by the Army after which the Sino-Indian border was declared to be absolutely normal. The Army Chief is scheduled to visit the State soon. Aerial reconnaissance and helicopter surveillance would have by now been put into place. Some military-cum-police patrols would also be on the way to get an on-the-spot assessment. This development is like a replay of earlier incidents, and does not augur well for maintaining peace and tranquillity on the disputed border.

While the Chief Minister's comments pertain to Arunachal Pradesh, the pattern of Chinese activity referred to has also occurred in the past in the Uttar Pradesh-Tibet and Ladakh sectors. This is part of the Chinese determination to put into place 'improved border management' on the Sino-Indian borders. This translates into greater presence on the border through increased frequency of Chinese patrols. It also manifests as a not infrequent display of defiant attitude, by the Chinese patrols closing up to areas on the LAC. There are many doubts on the alignment of the LAC. The Chinese do this to establish a pattern of visits which can later be used to justify a claim on territory. This is undertaken through military patrols, cattle grazers, armed civilians on horseback, etc. This is a pattern used against India and others including Bhutan.

In 1986, a police patrol came upon clear signs of the Chinese having camped in Indian territory in Arunachal Pradesh. The Indian reaction was swift and unambiguous when the Army occupied the heights on the Hathongla-Lungrola ridge north of monastery town of Tawang. The

Chinese response was hostile and violent. The People's Liberation Army came up and occupied posts within shouting distance of Indian positions and demanded that the Indian army withdraw. The PLA went on to build tracks, barracks, helicopter landing sites etc., as demonstration of its strength. Indian political resolve and military positions were strong, and before long the Chinese agreed to negotiate on reducing the risks of a military conflict in the area by a mutual pullback. 'Better border management' by the Chinese grew out of that Arunachal Pradesh experience.

The Chinese prefer to call the traditional boundary in Arunachal Pradesh the 'illegal' McMahon Line since they do not recognise its official status. If that is illegal what is legal in that difficult and distant area? The Chinese are willing to accept the LAC which of course is the product of their invasion in 1962. Nevertheless, the Chinese are unwilling to settle the alignment of the LAC, claiming that both sides know where it is! The LAC remaining undelineated allows the Chinese to interpret it as they like it.

It is to prevent this potentially dangerous situation getting out of hand that the two countries signed and implemented the Agreement to maintain peace and tranquillity on the border. The agreement signed in 1994 envisaged procedures to be followed by patrols to avoid giving cause for armed action. It put into place a number of measures by which confidence can be built and sustained, and provided for high level military contacts on a periodic basis. The agreement has worked well and has in fact led to pullback of some forces from the border/LAC. However in the absence of the delineation, neither side can be sure of a deliberate or accidental incursion across the LAC by the other.

The Sino-Indian border therefore has two faces. One is of the border as claimed differently by the two countries. The other

if they are militarily indefensible. On the other hand, defending a disputed border always demands the possession of defensible areas. That was the underlying reason for the stand off which occurred in Arunachal Pradesh in 1986.

In the Selected Works of Jawaharlal Nehru, Volume 27, recently published by the Nehru Memorial Fund (page 19), some new light is thrown on the genesis of the border problem. In his Beijing talks of 1954 with Nehru, Chou En-Lai talked of border maps. "It is a historical question and we have been mostly printing old maps. We have made no survey of the borders and not consulted with our neighbouring countries and we have no basis for fixing the boundary lines."

This was in the context of China's boundary with Burma, but also implied a similar outlook on the Sino-Indian boundary. In retrospect, the Indian position was no different either. India however insisted on China honouring the boundary with Tibet as marked by the British, which in fact was the product of the latter pushing the border outwards for reasons of empire. That had let slip the opportunity to settle the boundary with its largest neighbour.

India and China both need to once again evaluate their outlook on the border dispute. This would involve moving away from old inflexible positions. It would also mean a political consensus on revisiting the Indian Parliamentary resolution on regaining all lost territories. Territories are meaningful if they provide security and homelands to people, or, vital resources to the nation. When neither is involved, the border settlement should be viewed in the strategic context of ending the prospect of conflict and building lasting partnerships.

There are tricky matters of detail on the border issue, which cannot be underestimated. They will however be made easier to manage, if the strategic purpose is better understood. The Indian people would be willing to accept a border based on pragmatism, and one which eliminates the prospect of a future conflict.

40-12

8 NOV 200

# 10-1 Sino-Indian border talks next week

By C. Raja Mohan

**NEW DELHI, NOV. 10.** India and China will hold talks next week in Beijing on their boundary dispute amid signals of a new political commitment on both sides to quicken the pace of negotiations.

Officials from the Ministry of External Affairs and the Ministry of Defence will confer with their counterparts in the bilateral expert group for two days starting Monday. There are indications here that the two Governments may now be ready to exchange maps on their boundary for the first time.

The eighth round of expert group follows the agreement earlier this year between the two countries to accelerate the talks on the clarification of the Line of Actual Control (LAC) on their disputed border. The exchange of maps, if it does indeed take place, could facilitate a detailed discussion of the ground alignment of the LAC and inject some purposefulness into the nearly a decade-long talks on figuring out where exactly the line of separation lies on their long and contested border.

lomatic sources are unwilling to speculate on how the talks may proceed in Beijing next week. But there is an air of cautious optimism on the eve of the talks.

Unlike the Indo-Pak. Line of Control in Jammu and Kashmir, which has been delineated by the two sides, there is no agreement between India and China on the LAC alignment. It is widely believed in India that the clarification of the LAC is the first necessary step towards a resolution of the vexing boundary dispute. India has been pressing China over the last 18 months to impart some life into the stalled bilateral talks on the clarification of the LAC. The President, Mr. K.R. Narayanan, took up the issue with

the Chinese leadership during his visit to Beijing last May. When the Chinese Foreign Minister, Mr. Tang Jiaxuan, came here in July, the two sides had agreed to accelerate the talks on the LAC delineation, and chose the middle sector of their boundary for attention.

Until now the expert group has been meeting just about once a year. The External Affairs Minister, Mr. Jaswant Singh, and Mr. Tang had suggested that the group may now meet more frequently to proceed at a greater speed towards a clarification of the LAC. Sources here suggest that if the latest round of talks go well, the expert group could meet at least twice or thrice every year. The clarification of the LAC will allow the two na-

tions to implement the earlier agreements of 1993 and 1996 to bring peace to the border.

The differences on the LAC alignment have frequently led to charges in India of Chinese military intrusions into Indian territory. The Chief Minister of Arunachal Pradesh, Mr. Mukut Mithi, has recently raised an alarm over Chinese incursions. But both the Ministry of External Affairs and the Defence Minister, Mr. George Fernandes, have downplayed these charges.

An agreement on the LAC, analysts here say, will lessen bilateral military tensions and promote a better management of the border pending the resolution of the boundary dispute itself.

THE HINDU

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# INTRUSION

Indo China

(Continued from page 1)

■ In the Central sector, a quieter area, armed People's Liberation Army troops and nomads frequently enter the Barahoti Plains, which is supposed to be a demilitarised zone. Four areas here are disputed. These are Kaurik, Shipki La, Neelang-Jadhang and Barahoti-Lapthal. Kaurik, the northernmost spot, is north of the Sutlej, while Barahoti, is the southernmost, nearer to the Indo-Nepal border and close to Dehra Dun.

■ There are larger problems in the Eastern sector, mainly Arunachal Pradesh over the Line of Actual Control. In the Kameng division area, near

Bhutan, is the Sumdorong Chu Valley, the most famous case of intrusion. In 1986, the Chinese deployed a platoon (about 40 soldiers) but later increased forces to company level (about 150 soldiers). Then, two more outposts were established. That, and the induction of more PLA forces into Tibet, forced Indian troops to take up a forward posture. The Hathong La-Lungro La ridge lines south of Sumdorong Chu were occupied.

■ China occupied the nearby Thag La ridge in May 1987 after the Indian troops occupied Hathong La. According to sources, the PLA have constructed a few helipads and tried to link the posts to Le,

the PLA's administrative base in the area. There is a Chinese battalion (800 troops) here, supported by artillery.

■ Chinese troops are also active in the Subansiri Division, patrolling the Asaphi La area and building up in the Maza-Bisa area. In the late eighties, the Chinese built a motorable road and a bridge. This area is held by two PLA companies.

■ In Lohit, the easternmost part of Arunachal Pradesh, the PLA built a permanent camp at Tatu, and later, placed a battalion there. The area is close to the India-Myanmar-China borders. Even in this area, there have been intrusions, with the Chinese using the Malinja pass to enter.

## Chinese intrusion quite regular

SRINJOY CHOWDHURY  
STATESMAN NEWS SERVICE

51A

### BORDER AREAS DISPUTED

15/11

Indo China

NEW DELHI, Nov. 14. — Though India and China are holding talks about the Line of Actual Control, there appears to be differences in the points of view of the two countries. The different perceptions have led to Chinese troops intruding into Indian territory with fair regularity, according to sources.

There are eight major areas of contention in the Western sector and six in the Eastern sector. China and India differ about the border in some parts of the Central sector too.

In the Western sector (East Jammu and Kashmir), the Samar Lungpa area, between the Karakoram Pass and the Chipchap river, is contentious, with Chinese maps showing the LAC to be south of the Samar Lungpa. This is the northernmost part of the border, far to the

north of Leh. But while the Indo-Tibetan Border Police operates north of the line the Chinese claim to be the border, they remain south of the Lungpa.

South of the Chipchap river are the Trig Heights, comprising Points 5495 and 5459. Chinese troops frequently enter the area and in fact, they have a name for Point 5459: Manshen Hill.

The area, south-east of Trig Heights, called Depsang Ridge is also contentious. Differences were found when Chinese small-scale maps were interposed on large-scaled Indian ones.

■ There is also a difference of opinion in the area between the Galwan river and the Kongka Pass. India claims the LAC runs along the eastern hot spring area, the Chinese maintain it is along the western hot spring. India believes the LAC to

be to the east of the pass.

■ There are big differences in the strategic Chushul-Spanggur area. Chushul is an important military post south-east of Leh and to the east of the Indus. The "India Gate," a temporary monument built to repatriate Indian soldiers taken prisoners by the Chinese in the 1962 war. China thinks the LAC is 800 metres west of India Gate and wants the LAC to be in the Murdi Naga area.

■ The Chinese also believe that Rezang La, east of Chushul airfield should be Chinese territory. India disagrees, pointing out that fierce battles for possession were fought here in 1962. The Chinese have also established a post in the nearby Dumchele area, claiming it is on their side. India also believes that Demchok is on the Indian side as Indian troops patrolled the area before 1962.

■ See INTRUSION: page 8

THE STATESMAN

THE STATESMAN

15 NOV 2000

# Disquiet along the McMahon Line

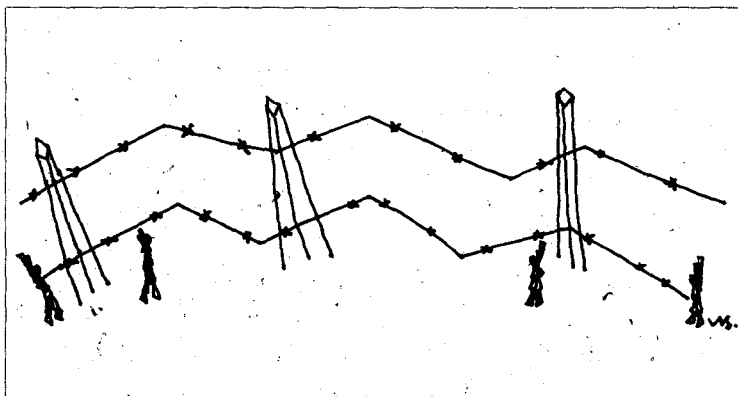
HIMMAT SINGH GILL

98-6 15/12 ✓

**C**HIEF MINISTER of Arunachal Pradesh Mukut Mithi having drawn a blank with George Fernandes on the question of the alleged Chinese intrusions along the Line of Actual Control (LAC) in the Lohit, Dibang, Upper Subansari and Tawang divisions of his border state, has now taken up the matter with Home Minister L.K. Advani for an early resolution. Irrespective of the authenticity of the intrusion reports, the entire question of the sanctity of the LAC with the Chinese in Tibet needs to be reexamined afresh.

It is essential that as the Sino-Indian boundary dispute talks get underway in Beijing, readers understand the issue, Mithi has stated that a Chinese-built mule trail had been found at Kaila Pass in the Dibang valley. That certainly is news since I can clearly recollect that when I was commanding a Mountain Brigade in the same sector from 1982 to 1984, I had found no such mule trail during the course of field reconnaissance carried out in the same area. The present position needs to be reconfirmed from all available ground sources.

Even otherwise, extensive ground reconnaissance and Joint Working Group meetings in the field held between the army delegates of both India and China have provided a clear indicator of the need for constant vigilance along the McMahon Line at all times. Have intru-



sions taken place in these areas? The over 1000-km long border with China in the Northeast has not been delineated and, therefore, certain areas of dispute can always be the cause for a flashpoint incursion or military clash. In addition, the hundreds of grazers who move to and fro with their flock can also be the cause of a "silent" incursion, which can sometimes go undetected. Such a grazing party, especially if it is partly composed of regular troops not in uniform, can pose a serious security and intelligence hazard, even if it is mobile and does not set up camp permanently at any one place. Effective and rigorous patrolling in all seasons is the only answer. The civil administration and the various border agencies and outposts will also have to correlate their intelligence efforts

with the local Army Commander so that no grey areas in our defences are left out.

The other major area that needs a careful look is that having "thinned-out" or reduced our troops on the border consequent to the Confidence Building Measures (CBMs) instituted by India and China a few years ago, the Indian Army must ensure that no blind spots remain on our security screens along the entire India-China front. We have to ensure that all costs, that no foreign activity, be it grazers, hunters, helipad and track construction or enemy long range patrols (LRPs), is permitted and early warning measures instituted for a quick response from our side. On a macro level, the minimum force levels necessary for our Eastern Command, to take care of an effective defence in their area of responsi-

98-6 ✓

bility, (which incidentally also covers Myanmar and Bangladesh), must always be available at short notice. Some reduction of our forces has taken place in the Northeast to make up for the augmentation required for the Western sector.

It has to be accepted that the rugged, inhospitable and high altitude LAC held by the Indian troops in this region continues even today to be not so well connected by an all-weather road network from the rear areas. This magnifies the logistic and operational deployment problems for the Indians and provides the Chinese a quicker troop and material buildup infrastructure in a shorter time frame.

The defence minister has denied that there have been any incursions, but it is the persistence of the chief minister that worries me at times. Why has he now gone to the home minister and the Press on this issue? There are also reports in the Press that draft maps of the middle sector are expected to be "shown and exchanged" between the two sides in Beijing. It might be better that all the areas of dispute along the entire LAC are discussed and resolved in their entirety, and only then the maps exchanged. This will help in bringing to an end the long-standing cold standoff between these two Asian giants.

*The writer is a retired major general*

INDIAN EXPRESS

15 NOV 2000



# Top priority for engagement with China

16/12  
By C. Raja Mohan 40-13

NEW DELHI, NOV. 15. After engaging with the United States for about a year, India is getting ready for a diplomatic *pas de deux* with China. Highly-placed sources in the Government say that a new engagement with China is now at the top of India's foreign policy priorities.

India and China are both beginning to deal with each other, if only warily. Given the burdensome history of the relationship, it will be a while before the two Asian giants are locked in an embrace. But the indications are that India and China have begun to cautiously court each other.

The Government is carefully assessing political signals emanating out of China that Beijing may be in the middle of a serious review of its recent approach towards India.

Pointing to the "noticeable difference" in the tone and tenor of recent Chinese pronouncements, a senior Government official said, "it is almost as if they are taking a new look at India".

Recent statements from senior Chinese interlocutors and the commentary in official media suggest that the expanding Indian relationship with the U.S. and its allies as well as the renewal of the old ties with Russia may have made an impression on Beijing.

The Chinese leaders may no longer be able to avoid the conclusion that India

has successfully wriggled out of the international isolation which it faced after the nuclear tests in May 1998. There are hints from China that it may be ready to acknowledge the reality that India is now a nuclear weapon power.

The slow but steady expansion of the Indian economic potential, and the advances in the field of information technology may also have helped re-shape Chinese perceptions of India.

New Delhi's "big power diplomacy" — as some in China are calling the recent Indian initiatives with the U.S., Europe, Japan and Russia — is being seen in Beijing as having the potential to alter the geopolitics of Asia.

The signals from India are that it has no desire to replay the Cold War games in Asia and is ready for a productive engagement with China. Senior officials here insist India "will not follow anybody else's agenda on China" and hopes to develop Sino-Indian relations on their own merit.

Conscious of the new signals from China, India would like to see the Chinese leadership arrive at a definitive assessment of India and is ready to move forward without "losing sight" of India's long-standing concerns in its relations with China. These relate to the long-standing boundary dispute, the continuing reluctance in China to acknowledge the accession of Sikkim to

India, and the enduring strategic cooperation with China. On the border issue, India and China have agreed to expedite the clarification of the Line of Actual Control that separates the two nations on their disputed border. At a meeting of a bilateral Expert Group in this week, it has been reported that the two sides have exchanged maps on the border for the first time.

Indian officials are still evaluating the results from these meeting. If the assessment is positive, it can be hoped that the experts will meet more frequently and negotiate with greater purposefulness.

India's concerns on Sino-Pak. nuclear and missile cooperation are being discussed in a structured security dialogue between the two nations. The second round of the security dialogue is expected to take place in the coming weeks in Beijing.

Meanwhile, with China's likely entry into the World Trade Organisation and the new liberalised rules taking effect from next April will significantly increase Chinese economic presence in India. Indian manufacturing industry is anxious about competition from its Chinese counterpart, and the Government is under some compulsion for the first time to come to terms with a whole new economic dimension to Sino-Indian relations.

THE HINDU

16 NOV 2000

# Beijing's Brinkmanship

## How to Deal with Dragon's Teeth

By MANOJ JOSHI

RELATIONS between India and China have a unique choreography, based no doubt on the history of their difficult relationship. The latest *pas de deux* took place in Beijing recently where an expert group of officials exchanged maps of the Sino-Indian border along the Himachal and Uttaranchal states. Laudable though the progress is, it would be prudent to recognise that it is related only to the boundary question between the two countries. It does not address the larger issue of security arising out of the strategic asymmetry between India and China which is being redressed only after the Indian decision to go nuclear in 1998.

Seven years ago, in a major breakthrough, the two countries signed an agreement that not only committed them to resolve their 4,056 km boundary through 'peaceful and friendly' consultations, but to 'reduce their military forces along the line of actual control'. To implement the working of the agreement, the India-China Joint Working Group on the boundary issue created an expert group of diplomats and military officials to oversee the working of the agreement. In 1996, the two sides signed a follow-up agreement to put in place an ambitious set of confidence-building measures to prevent any tension on the LAC.

But there has been a problem in operationalising these agreements. Neither side accepts completely the other's version of where the Line of Actual Control, actually runs. Indeed, the 1993 agreement was designed to resolve this problem. Till now, there had been no movement on its critical mandate that "when necessary, the two sides shall jointly check and determine the segments of the line of actual control where they have a different views as to its alignment." The exchange of maps of the relatively less controversial central sector is the first step in determining a line of control that will be accepted as such by both sides.

The chances of a conflict over the border have been receding over the years. Between 1962 when China humiliated India in a short border war and today, there has been a sea change in India's military capabilities in dealing with a cross-border attack. Technical means enable India to track any build-up of Chinese forces on the Tibetan plateau months in advance.

The 1993 and 1996 agreements serve at best a limited purpose for

China and India. The detailed clauses on the latter agreement prevent the kind of surprise that rattled the Chinese in the wake of exercise Chequerboard in 1987. As far as India is concerned, a tranquil border enables it to maintain one-third of its Army in combating counter-insurgency.

The 1993 and 1996 agreements were signed at a time when India adopted an ostrich-like approach and delinked the border issue from the wider question of the manner in which Chinese aid to Pakistan was undermining Indian security in a much more fundamental fashion. Coincidentally, since 1993, the year of the signing of the first agreement, the extraordinary and irresponsible Chinese support to Pakistan's nuclear and missile programmes has been revealed, principally through leaks to the *Washington Times*. Since Pakistan makes no

yet to make a final determination as to whether the missile in question is indeed the M-11. Privately some candid Chinese officials say that what they are doing for Pakistan is no different from what the Russians are doing for India.

This argument is nothing but sophistry since neither the Russians, nor the Soviets before them, breached the NPT as China has in the case of Pakistan. In the early 1980s, before the Russians had ever heard of the MTCR, India could have acquired any number of highly capable surface-to-surface missiles from the Soviet Union, but it did not. Instead, it has its own sputtering programme. On the other hand, the Chinese have used every trick in the book to bypass their own commitments to the NPT and the MTCR to provide Pakistan material for making nuclear weapons.

The chances of a Sino-Indian cross-border war may have been reduced by the 1993 and 1996 agreements, but they have not been eliminated. The disputed border offers a myriad opportunities for conflict. On September 19, 1965, when the tide of the war began turning against Pakistan, the Chinese issued an ultimatum demanding an end to some entirely fictional Indian military activities on the Sikkim-China border and the return of a number yaks and sheep seized by Indian forces there. During the Kargil war, Chinese forces visibly enhanced their presence on their side of the LAC in Ladakh and Arunachal Pradesh. In the recent past, Chinese road construction activity in the Ladakh region has been stepped up for reasons that are difficult to discern.

Using or threatening force has been a factor in Chinese policy since the inception of the People's Republic. The Americans learnt this in Korea in 1950s, the Indians in 1962 and 1967, the Vietnamese in 1979 and the Taiwanese as recently as 1996 when China lobbed nuclear capable missiles into the sea off Taiwan.

Having failed to corral India after Pokhran, China has decided to readjust its strategy. While helping Pakistan against India remains a key element in its strategy, it is trying to show a more accommodative posture by moving on the 1993 and 1996 agreements. The challenge to Indian policy-makers, who got into the game late, is to effectively mesh Indian security planning with diplomacy. Otherwise, they will come out second best.

### IN BRIEF

- Neither India nor China accepts completely the other's version of where the Line of Actual Control actually runs
- Chances of a conflict on the border have receded over the years
- Chinese help to Pakistan's missile and nuclear programme is aimed at India
- Indian policy-makers must mesh security planning with diplomacy when dealing with Beijing

bones about the fact that its nuclear and missile capacity is aimed at India, China has, in fact, been a critical actor in perhaps fundamentally undermining Indian security. Besides providing Islamabad scores of missiles capable of carrying nuclear warheads and reaching principal Indian cities, the Chinese have helped fabricate the shield behind which Pakistan prosecutes its proxy war against India.

Chinese officials publicly deny that they have provided any assistance to Pakistan. Even the US, which has access to detailed information on Chinese nuclear and missile proliferation, has been afraid to act. The most ludicrous example is that of the Chinese M-11 missile transfer to Pakistan. This should have triggered off tough Missile Technology Control Regime (MTCR) sanctions against China, but the US has, for the past seven years, taken the view that it is

THE TIMES OF INDIA

20 MAY 2001

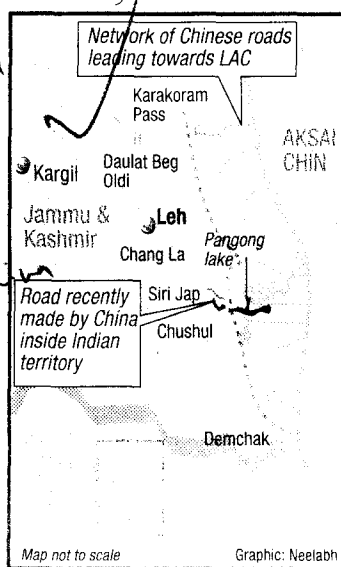
# China breaches trust, builds road on Indian side of Aksai Chin

By Dinesh Kumar  
The Times of India News Service

NEW DELHI: In blatant violation of the confidence-building measures chalked out by India and China in 1993, Beijing has constructed a road stretching almost five kilometres into the Indian territory across the Line of Actual Control (LAC) in Ladakh.

The road, running along the northern shore of the 158-km-long Pangong Tso Lake, extends from ahead of Srijap located almost on the LAC. According to defence sources, the road will help the Chinese to improve their communication network and also strengthen their territorial claims in future negotiations.

The local unit of the army, soon after the completion of the road, had lodged a protest with their Chinese counterpart during the bi-annual brigade-commander level border point meeting held on



October 20, 2000, at Chushul.

Interestingly, south block mandarins have been downplaying the issue. According to them, the

Chinese have only extended the road up to the LAC. The difference in Indo-Chinese perception concerning the LAC in this sector translates into nearly four to five kms on the ground. Such differences are precisely what complicates the territorial dispute between the two countries, experts say.

The Chinese, who maintain four infantry battalions and a mechanised battalion in Aksai Chin, have an extensive road network along the LAC in Aksai Chin. Moreover, while the Chinese hold higher ground, the Indian side is handicapped by harsh terrain and am unable to observe any of the Chinese roads in the area.

On the other hand, much of the lone Indian track from Chushul to Demchok comes easily under Chinese observation. Informed sources reveal that during the Kargil war the Chinese had stepped up patrolling along the

LAC in Aksai Chin, made incursions and also built a 23-km road opposite Daulat Beg Oldie, in the portion of Pakistan occupied Kashmir (PoK) which Islamabad illegally ceded to China. "Although this road is built in their area, the nature of Chinese military activities on ground along the LAC cannot be perceived as friendly," says a top defence source.

The 'Agreement on Maintenance of Peace and Tranquillity along the LAC', signed between the two sides in September 1993, was the first major confidence-building measure after the 1962 War. The agreement, binding the two countries to a peaceful solution to the border issue, requires that "...the two sides shall strictly respect and observe the LAC" and "when necessary, the two sides shall jointly check and determine the segments of the LAC where they have different views as to its alignment".

THE TIMES OF INDIA

20 NOV 2000

# Sino-Indian ties look up: Jaswant

By Our Special Correspondent

**NEW DELHI, NOV. 24.** New Delhi today announced a forward movement in Sino-Indian relations with both countries exchanging maps, for the first time, on the 545-km Line of Actual Control (LAC) in the middle sector.

Winding up a discussion in the Rajya Sabha on the international situation, the External Affairs Minister, Mr. Jaswant Singh, informed the House of the 'significant' development. HD-1

Both sides had now delineated maps on an agreed scale in the mid-sector starting from Himachal Pradesh to a tri-junction on India, China and Nepal in Uttarakhand.

The next step would be comparing the maps and identifying the differences over the LAC. A similar exercise would be later carried out on the Western and Eastern sector of the border.

The formal exchange of maps took place at the eighth meeting of the Sino-Indian expert group

held in Beijing earlier this month. In a communication to his Chinese counterpart in May, Mr. Singh had suggested that the clarification of the LAC be completed in a time-bound manner by end of next year.

He said the Sino-Indian border had been largely peaceful and that New Delhi was looking forward to improving relations.

Today, in an hour-long reply to the discussion he initiated, Mr. Singh reiterated that India was willing to talk to Pakistan provided the environment was conducive, free of violence, tension, cross-border terrorism and killings.

New Delhi was not willing to concede that violence could be used as an instrument of negotiation or as a 'pre-dialogue negotiating tactic'. The Minister said he would appeal to Pakistan to come to terms with 'history and geography'.

**'N-tests were for striking a balance Page 13**

THE HINDU

NOV 24 1997

SATURDAY, NOVEMBER 25, 2000

## CHINA'S PLEDGE OF RESTRAINT

HD-12  
CHINA'S STRATEGIC DECISION to desist from helping other countries to develop ballistic missiles, which could be used to deliver nuclear weapons, is a salutary pledge. If honoured, its beneficial spinoff will have deep international implications. Not surprisingly, Washington has warmly reciprocated this by viewing Beijing's new diplomacy as a window of opportunity to advance the U.S.' global agenda of non-proliferation. In a sense, Beijing has now impliedly addressed New Delhi's assertive belief, too, that China has been masterminding Pakistan's missile acquisition programme over a long period. Speaking of "transfers to countries that are developing ballistic missiles", China says that it "will exercise special scrutiny and caution". The stated Chinese aim is to "prevent significant contributions" to unspecified countries. However, Pakistan, Iran and North Korea are often suspected to be the recipients of China's missile-related munificence. Overall, the punchline in China's statement is that the new norms will apply even to those items not specifically covered under Beijing's existing ban on exports. Moreover, China will "further improve and reinforce" its "export control system" now defined by its own "missile non-proliferation policy". The sweeping array of commitments includes an unprecedented ban on the export of dual-use items with military applications. This catalogue of do's and don'ts deserves to be commended. Resonant is the Chinese theme of restraint in eschewing overt and clandestine support for the missile plans of any country. Yet it is certainly not easy to devise a litmus test to assess Beijing's sustainable good faith.

India cannot therefore be faulted for being guarded or even sceptical in its own evaluation of Beijing's latest manifesto of abstinence from missile-proliferation. New Delhi's strong suspicion about China's past transfers of missiles or parts thereof to Pakistan has often been confirmed by Washington's independent findings. The saga of Pakistan's perceived acquisition of

M-11 missiles or components thereof from China sometime ago, besides perhaps the know-how too, is still a critical factor in India's long-term thinking on this subject. New Delhi has already highlighted its China-related concerns to Washington and the new entente with the United States would probably provide a context within which strategic information, including the China-Pakistan arms transfers, will be more easily exchanged. Yet, more importantly, India must seek to preserve the momentum of its strategic dialogue with China. A matter of some positive ambience for India in this context is the American decision to retain and enlarge its current sanctions on civilian and military 'entities' in Pakistan as also Iran that had in the past received China's help for their missile programmes. Although Iran is not akin to Pakistan in New Delhi's calculus, the obvious message from the U.S. is that these two countries should clear their stables in this sensitive sphere.

The U.S. tends to assume that its own diplomatic goading of China has had a desirable impact. The timing of Beijing's announcement within days of a U.S.-China summit on the sidelines of an Asia-Pacific conference is not insignificant. Yet the question is whether China is seeking a trade-off by promising to hold its hand over international missile proliferation so that Washington could review its plan for a theatre-missile defence system (TMD) in the Asia-Pacific zone. China sees the TMD as a ploy to encircle it strategically. Moreover, China has already hinted at making common cause with Russia in opposing the U.S.' now-deferred plans for a national missile defence system (NMD). As seen by Beijing, the NMD may catapult the U.S. to a new military apogee. So, Washington's considered offer of civilian space collaboration with China, as a reward for its good intentions on the missile front, is a move to try and keep Beijing within bounds on its anti-NMD front.

THE HINDU

25 NOV 2000

G1-10

## Lines and Shadows 2/11

At first sight, there should be little objection to the Chinese road construction activities in Western Tibet. After all, India is, or hoping, to do the same in Ladakh. For over 50 years this region, one of the most inhospitable in the world, has remained mired in poverty. The construction of roads will promote trade and tourism and better the life of the hardy people who inhabit the place. The problem, however, arises when reports come in that the Chinese have constructed roads across the Line of Actual Control and have undertaken action that could be construed as militarily disturbing to India. Since 1996 there has been a mechanism to prevent such occurrences, but there seems to have been a glitch in its functioning and the local Army commanders have been unable to get the Chinese to stop. What is noteworthy is that South Block does not seem to be too inclined to take up the issue with their counterparts either. At one level, this could mean that New Delhi does not want to do anything that would offend Beijing's sensibilities. This is intriguing, considering the generally muscular approach of the Vajpayee government to security issues. Perhaps South Block has lost focus on the border issue, ever since the 1993 agreement on the maintenance of peace and tranquillity along the Line of Actual Control was signed. The agreement, which committed the two sides to define the LAC wherever there were doubts about its location, was seen in South Block as having frozen a tangled border question till there was an opportune moment to resolve it. Unfortunately, it seems that the opportunity sought has more to do with allowing the Indian public's memories to fade rather than any diplomatic room for manoeuvre.

Though the Chinese have been insistent in pressing their claims, they have not quite been consistent. In this area, there have been several versions of the Line of Actual Control. One was the 'true line of actual control' as of November 1959, which is considerably west of the present line claimed by China. Even the present line has had several variations. There was one line that was put forward in 1956 and affirmed by Chinese premier Zhou Enlai in 1959 which passed through Khurnak Fort, some 10 km east of Siri Jap on the Pangong Tso lake, and excluded the Galwan and Chip Chap river valleys. Then there is the 1960 claim line which the Chinese pushed to in their October 1962 invasion and the one they claim today. In the featureless wastes of the Aksai Chin, it is impossible to figure out just who was where and when. Unlike the eastern sector, Indian forces fought the Chinese tenaciously in Rezang La and Chushul in the 1962 war. However, in the larger context, India suffered a humiliating defeat. This encouraged the Chinese to expand their claim to the present Line of Actual Control, which was certainly not what they really held at that time. The Chinese have by their activity reminded us that the Sino-Indian border problem remains, and that much more will have to be done before it can be resolved. The most important thing is that New Delhi need not be diffident about pressing its claims in Aksai Chin. At the least, the Indian case is as good as that of China — or as weak.

THE TIMES OF INDIA

27 NOV 2000

## EXIT THE DRAGON

Industry targets Chinese imports

YOU wouldn't have known about the restrictions on Chinese imports while attending the World Economic Forum gala in Delhi where captains, netas and babus schmoozed at glitzy briefing sessions. But that bizarre policy, and not the polished talk of investment constraints and gentlemanly criticism of the fiscal deficit, is the real demonstration of government-industry interaction. North Block has ordained, after being lobbied furiously by domestic industry, that 131 items imported into this country must carry, first, Bureau of Indian Standards certification and, second, information on maximum rupee retail prices. Chambers of commerce and their friends in the ministries will explain that this restriction seeks to protect not only Indian manufacturers, who were apparently being swamped by Chinese imports, but also the Indian consumer, who was — shock, horror — being lured into buying poor quality stuff. Both arguments are examples of ingenious hypocrisy. The facts are simple. More Chinese goods are coming into Indian markets now than when quota restrictions were in place. But the rise, in terms of China's share in Indian imports, is one-tenth of a percentage point, from 2.6 per cent in 1998-99 to 2.7 per cent in 1999-2000. Trends available for the first two quarters of 2000-2001 do not indicate a huge change. Consider next the composition of Chinese imports. If consumer items were predominant, there would still be some substance to the industry argument. The bulk of Chinese imports however comprises of chemicals, coal and byproducts and silk. Yet it is the Indian producers of consumer goods who are screaming blue murder.

Now look at the second argument, the consumer/quality angle. Chinese bicycles, batteries, toys, etc are supposed to be of inferior quality. So are hundreds of Indian manufactured products, but has there ever been concerted lobbying by domestic industry against those? Yet arguments have been made that Chinese bicycles do not conform to Western standards. How many Indian products do? Applying that criterion to Indian manufacturing will shut down large sections of business empires. The simple point is that if some consumers are opting for Chinese battery cells over branded Indian ones it is because they are finding the price differential sufficiently attractive to ignore quality drawbacks, assuming they exist. Indian industry is no stranger to the phenomenon. Much of its exports to the West is based on the same principle of acceptable low quality/ price combination. The real question for industry barons is how China can manufacture basic consumer goods and electronic items at such price advantages, given that India, too, has the flexibility provided by relatively cheap labour. There are lessons to be learnt from discovering how battery cells manufactured in China can be priced at Rs 2 for Indian markets, while domestic producers charge Rs 7. That is what the government should have told industry lobbyists. It should have also pointed at Indian exports to China, which have been increasing recently. If we blackball Chinese imports, the Chinese will almost certainly retaliate. Bilateral trade will suffer, and so will competition. Industry is shortsighted enough to not want to see that. Shockingly, so is the government.

THE STATESMAN

2000

# Threat perception over imports from China

*Apprehensions abound in Indian industry over the consequences of Chinese products entering the country. Ranmath Subbu takes a look at the evolving scenario.*

INDIAN INDUSTRY claims that low cost products from China are finding their way into the homes of Indian consumers and hurting Indian producers, but what is not known is how widespread this phenomenon is. The groups which are most vocal and most affected are the small and medium scale units.

Allegations of dumping are being made in an environment where consumer goods are subject to quantitative restrictions (QRs) and tariff levels remain high. With remaining QRs likely to be phased out in the next few months, if tariff levels are not raised significantly significantly large scale could dent the Indian small scale manufacturers further. The complaints are specifically about cheaper Chinese imports that are coming in the form of tyres, bicycles, dry cell batteries, fibres, ferro alloys, edible oils, chemicals and consumer electronics and components.

There has been allegedly a quantum jump in such imports since April 2000. According to a Federation of Indian

Chambers of Commerce & Industry (FICCI) study, imports have since jumped more than three-fold for some items like batteries. In the case of items such as shoes or electronic components also, the increase has also been significant.

Initial reaction from the Indian industry has tended to be one of excessive caution. The position on tyres and plastics are cases in point. The FICCI study states that "on rough and ready estimates" Chinese tyres "already" a one per cent market share. "On the face of it, this is not large," the report says, but adds that a delegation from Indian tyre-makers to China felt that "China could pose a big threat to the Indian tyre industry" in view of price advantages.

It is not surprising that China chose the Indian market as an export destination as the size and proximity to China are two attractive propositions.

The Chinese economy has several inherent advantages over many other countries: exports are growing rapidly — the annual growth of exports in-

creased from 11.5 per cent in the 1980s to 14.5 per cent in the 1990s. Amazingly, China's trade surplus with the U.S. is comparable to India's total export turnover.

At a recent meeting of the 'Track China' cell of the Confederation of Indian Industry (CII), Mr. Ravi Sinha, CEO, SRF Ltd., and chairman of the cell, said China can be seen from three perspectives: as a role model, as a potential competitor and as a partner for India.

China is undertaking its third generation reforms but it suffers from severe regional disparities. Unlike India, however, China has seen the World Trade Organisation (WTO) as a catalyst for restructuring its industry and has undertaken amalgamations and placed a renewed focus on productivity.

A 1997 World Bank study, 'China 2020' shows that China will become the world's second largest exporter by 2020 after the U.S. Currently 40 per cent of Chinese exports are in electronics. Further, China's success can be attributed to having an export culture in each and every sphere.

There is no doubt that cheaper imports from China have had an impact on the smaller scale manufacturers here. Recognising this, the government has initiated steps towards correcting the situation and the Customs Preventive Department has conducted raids

on several importers of Chinese goods and seized items worth several lakhs of rupees. There is a blueprint to rescue the domestic industry from the spectre of cheap imports.

## Indian initiatives

First, the government has increased the basic duty on imports of edible oils. The duty on refined palm oil and RBD palmolein has been increased from 35 per cent to 65 per cent. According to the Soyabean Processors Association of India (SOPA), "The 10 per cent hike in crude and refined oils other than palm oil and RBD palmolein would put a stop to the unbridled import of cheaper edible oil into the country and regulate the imports to the gap between the demand and supply. This would also enable the domestic edible oil industry to get a remunerative price for their produce."

Second, the government has ordered anti-dumping investigation into select Chinese imports and is laying down the standards for imported goods. This is the first time that the anti-dumping mechanism has been activated against consumer goods.

Third, the introduction of compulsory licensing for imports. This is permitted under WTO norms and while the government would not deny a licence, it would require information and prior notice. It is making licensing compulsory for all imports. The special import licence idea is based on the Singapore model where all imports are subject to compulsory licensing. This mandatory licensing would help in collection of detailed data on all imports and would allow easier interpretation of import trends.

Lastly, the government has imposed BIS (Bureau of Indian Standards) norms on the import of 131 goods. This regulation for making imports adhere to BIS standards and compulsory printing of retail price was cleared by a high-powered committee constituted by the Prime Minister to monitor imports. While the printing of retail price would help check under-invoicing, the adherence to BIS standards would prevent inflow of sub-standard goods.

According to the order, which came into effect last week, an exporter has to register himself with the BIS. The products imported would have to comply with all conditions listed in the Standards of Weights and Measures (Packed Commodity) Order of 1977 which is currently applicable on items produced

## THE CHINA FACTOR

Several apprehensions persist about the impact of Chinese goods on the Indian market. Lower prices and better quality of Chinese products are seen as major causes of concern for Indian manufacturers.

### Allegations by Indian Industry

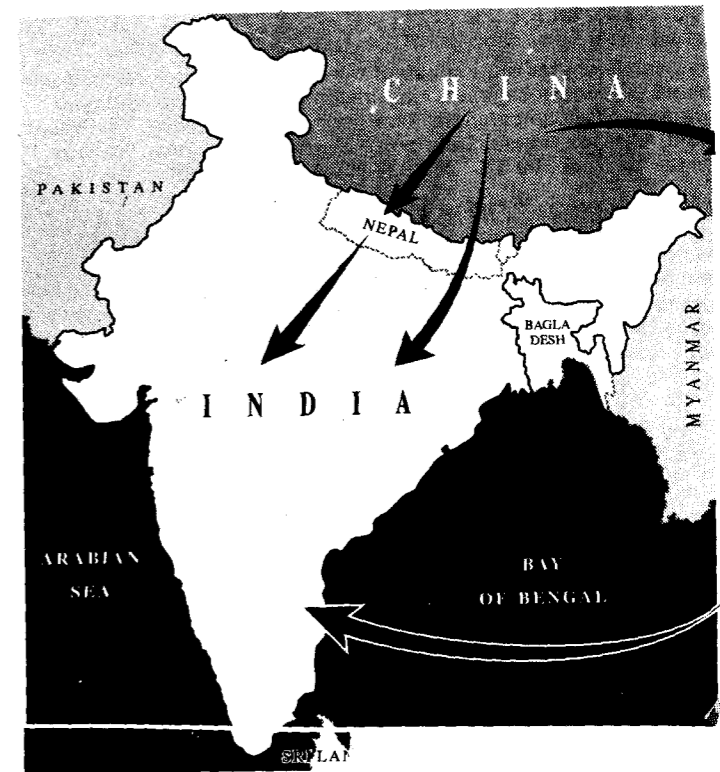
Products 'dumped' by China include batteries, tyres, bicycles, fibres, edible oils chemicals, transistors, CD players, stereos, calculators and electronic toys.

### Routes taken by Chinese products

- Dumping
- Smuggled through land and sea routes
- Re-exports through Nepal

### Steps by Indian Government

- Procedure for anti-dumping investigations.
- Mandatory BIS certification.
- Compulsory licensing for all imports.
- Enforcement of Packaged Commodities Rules.



pulsory for all imported goods to carry the name and address of the importer. A notification to this effect was issued by the Directorate General of Foreign Trade (DGFT) last week.

Also, the printing of maximum retail price would help as it should include all taxes, freight, transport charges, commission, advertising cost, delivery, packaging and forwarding expenses.

But there are critics of the steps initiated by the Government. According to Mr. Venugopal Dhoot, managing director, Videocon International, a leading player in consumer goods and electronics, "The government's reaction is wrong in this matter. It is not possible to over-value Chinese goods coming in. As a signatory of the WTO India should not impose such restrictions. We will have to take the competition head-on. Indian labour is the cheapest in the world and we have to show by performance that we can compete with any product coming from anywhere."

A segment that has taken a hit has been the domestic electronic component industry. According to Mr. B. S. Sethia, Honorary Secretary, Electronic

more than 50 per cent of electronic accessories and equipment come from the unorganised sector. Products from China are either grossly-under-invoiced or smuggled and they are priced 10-15 per cent lower than in the domestic market."

Earlier, the duty on finished components was at a maximum of 45 per cent and that on raw material was between 5 and 25 per cent. But in the last two years, the duty on raw material increased to 35 per cent and that on finished components came down to 15 per cent.

The total requirement of components is around Rs. 10,000 crores, while local production of components is Rs. 5,500 crores. There have been no fresh investments in the electronics component industry except in colour TV specific components which are not affected by the grey market as CTVs are mainly manufactured by the organised sector which pays excise duty and avail CENVAT. However, according to Mr. Sethia, most other equipment such as audios, B&W TVs, electronic accessories and small gadgets are manufactured by the



# China hopes visit will lead to peace in region

Beijing, October 2

CHINA HAS expressed the hope that the visit of Russian President Vladimir Putin to India beginning today would lead to peace and stability in the region.

"We hope that the development of India-Russia relationship will be beneficial for preserving regional security, peace and stability," Chinese Foreign Ministry spokesman Sun Yuxi said here.

"Both India and Russia are our close neighbours and friendly nations. We want to see the relations between the two countries develop," Sun said.

India and Russia will sign historic declaration on partnership during Putin's four-day state visit.

China and Russia have already established a strategic partnership of cooperation and during Putin visit to Beijing in mid-July the two sides agreed to work together in the international arena to promote peace and stability.

Meanwhile, the Chinese official media has given prominent pre-visit coverage to Putin's comments on relations between Russia, China and India.

The official Xinhua news agency as well as People's Daily and China Daily highlighted Putin's com-

ments in which he has called for joining of forces between Russia, China and India to defend Asia's common interests on the principles of "openness and transparency."

"Putin calls for an Asian partnership," China Daily said in a front-page report.

"It is impossible to establish a new architecture of international relations as a whole without the participation of Russia, China and India," the paper added.

"It is impossible to

establish a new architecture of international relations as a whole without the participation of Russia, China and India," the paper quoted Putin as saying in an interview with the Russian rtr television on the eve of his visit to New Delhi. Though China has not openly supported the establish-

ment of a 'strategic triangle' between Moscow-Beijing-New Delhi as suggested by former Russian PM Yevgeny Primakov, senior Chinese Foreign Ministry officials are of the view that there is scope for enhancing understanding on important global issues.

"Three countries have broad consensus on new international order, opposing neo-interventionism and promoting multipolarisation in the world," one official said.

## Putin in India

THE HINDUSTAN TIMES

3 OCT 2000

# India's security and China

By P. R. Chari

*The real threat from China, if it can be so designated, has a larger political and economic content; the contest is for power and influence in Asia and the international system.*

10-17 SA 16

**I**S THE Chinese threat real or imaginary? Opinion is fairly divided in India on this question. Sino-phobes believe Pakistan is the persistent threat, but China is the long-term security threat that India cannot ignore. Why? China is plainly expansionist and has used force to assert its irredentism, as it did in Tibet and parts of India. China is a blatant proliferant and the chief supplier of nuclear and missile technology to countries of proliferation concern such as Pakistan, North Korea and Iran. Examples of its casuistry are legion; China says one thing and does the opposite.

Further, the Chinese threat to India primarily arises from its close political and military nexus with Pakistan and is plainly directed against India. This policy is explicable by Chinese strategic calculations; this requires the boxing of India into the geographical confines of South Asia to stultify its stature as an emerging global power. Since the United States, too, is interested in bolstering the entity of Pakistan, despite its drift into social chaos and financial bankruptcy, an axis of powers — Pakistan, China and the U.S. — with palpable anti-India compulsions is visible. In brief, Mr. George Fernandes is not wrong in identifying China as the major future threat to India, despite much confusion being created thereafter about this accusation.

Sino-philes, on the other hand, argue that Indian obduracy largely occasioned the border conflict in 1962 that resulted in humiliating defeat. The primordial suspicions that have persisted thereafter inform India's placing the worst possible construct on China's legitimate pursuit of its national self-interests. Its achievement of global status and challenge to U.S. supremacy was possible due to two decades of hard work and sacrifice; India would do well to trim its flaccid political and economic system and emulate China if it wishes to compete successfully with it.

Indubitably, China has developed a close relationship with Pakistan since 1965; this was largely designed to restrain Soviet expansion into the Indian Ocean via Afghanistan. Sino-Pakistan cooperation has manifested itself by the transfer of conventional weapon systems; they are basically vintage Soviet-coopted systems

like the whole series of MiG aircraft but are hardly a match for India's latest generation weapons systems acquired from both Soviet (Russian) and increasingly now from Western sources. The jury is still out on the extent of military nuclear assistance China has provided Pakistan, but this has been greatly exaggerated by the CIA, which seems to be the main source of Indian intelligence on Sino-Pakistan military and nuclear linkages. In short, the Chinese threat has been considerably inflated by vested interests in India to promote their own agendas.

How is the Chinese threat perceived officially? The latest (1999-2000) Annual Report of the Ministry of External Affairs blandly notes "we (India) seek friendly, cooperative, good-neighbourly and mutually beneficial relations with China", "we seek a long-term stable relationship in which both sides are responsive to each other's concerns", and "we remain committed to the process of dialogue to build a constructive cooperative relationship...". There is no hint of concern vis-à-vis China. The latest Annual Report of the Ministry of Defence is less euphemistic. Whilst noting that "the border areas have remained largely peaceful", and that both countries "wish to seek a reasonable and mutually acceptable resolution of the boundary question through peaceful dialogue", it highlights China's improvement of its long-range missile force, the likely entry of Chinese nuclear submarines into the Indian Ocean, and its growing trans-border military capabilities due to improved mobility, firepower and inter-service coordination.

Earlier, Ministry of Defence reports pinpointed China's assistance to Pakistan's nuclear weapons programme and the transfer of missiles and missile technology to Pakistan. But attention was also drawn to the India-China agreements of 1993 and 1996 that envisage maintenance of peace and tranquility in border areas

and support the several insurgencies in the Northeast? There is ample evidence that it pursued this policy by providing moral and material support to the Naga and Mizo insurgents during the 1950s and 1960s. This policy, conceived within China's then guiding philosophy of supporting 'wars of national liberation' worldwide, has long been abandoned.

By this process of elimination the only threat from China arises now from its policy of transferring nuclear and missile technology to Pakistan. It is another matter that China's strategic objectives from this policy are incomprehensible. How does it serve China's interests to provide India with the perfect rationale for weaponising and deploying its nuclear capabilities? This has affected Chinese security adversely; it is plainly evident that the strategic direction of India's missile programme is against China, and that India's current nuclear posture of "creeping proliferation" would eventually include China. India could also profitably re-evaluate its policy of dealing with Taiwan in the present gingerly fashion and deepen its relations with Vietnam as part of an extra-regional strategy, apart from engaging China to mitigate the negative aspects of their bilateral interaction. That would be wiser than moaning about China's military and nuclear assistance to Pakistan.

The real treat from China, if it can be so designated, has a larger political and economic content; the contest is for power and influence in Asia and the international system. India cannot compete with China unless it puts its own house in order. It needs to accelerate its reforms process by tackling hard issues such as reducing subsidies, disciplining the civic and civil services, restructuring the public sector, curtailling budgetary deficits and so on. It also needs to display the will to govern; abject surrender to hijackers and kidnappers and trade unions are not the attributes of a nation aspiring for global status. The real threat from China arises therefore from its ability to make sacrifices to meet such challenges to its economy and social order without succumbing to the siren-lure of populism.

(The writer is Director, Institute of Peace and Conflict Studies, New Delhi.)

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## 'India, China defence on par'

BY OUR SPECIAL  
CORRESPONDENT

New Delhi, Oct. 9: Force modernisation programmes being undertaken by India's neighbours, especially China and Pakistan, necessitate India matching their preparedness, especially in view of the increased threat of limited war with a nuclear overhang, defence minister George Fernandes said at a seminar on Monday.

"India must maintain parity with China and other neighbours in the context of force modernisation programmes being undertaken by them," he said.

Mr Fernandes, however, added that India's defence modernisation programme was in no way inferior to that of China. "It is actually running parallel with

■ Turn to Page 2

THE ASIAN AGE

10 OCT 2000

Presented by the CBI.

## India, China defence

18/10 2A-2 ✓  
■ Continued from Page 1

China," he said. Delivering the keynote address at a seminar on "Air Power in India's Security" organised by the Institute for Defence Studies and Analyses, he said, "Many changes are taking place in our neighbourhood which will affect the future power balance. These changes naturally raise many questions. What, for example, will be the implications of the Chinese modernisation for us in the next decade or so?" The country needs to be prepared to tackle any introduction of new technology in the region, Mr Fernandes said. The defence minister later told reporters the recent agreement with Russia to manufacture Sukhoi-30 aircraft would boost India's defence preparedness. The agreement includes building futuristic avionics for the multi-role jet fighters in India and developing weapons systems. "This will give India the needed technological edge," he said. IDSA director Air Commodore (Retd) Jasjit Singh said by 2007, China, with indigenous production of Su-27s, will have 300 of them and pose problems for India's outdated eastern air fleet. Air Commodore Singh said the Chinese, after the signing of the 1993 agreement with Russia, had access to the Russian weaponry design base to bring about a "substantive and qualitative changes in its weapons technology base." Together with building a hi-tech air force, the Chinese had since the early 1980s embarked upon a planned programme to build up a professional officer cadre and the next few years would see most of these young officers occupying top posts in the Chinese Army, he said.

Meanwhile, addressing a Territorial Army Day parade, Mr Fernandes said India hoped to increase its Defence Budget to three per cent of GDP by next year or the year after. He, however, said the forces were not facing a cash crunch at any level at present.

Free Notes

THE ASIAN AGE

2000

# Beijing objects to Indian Navy in S-China sea

GAURAV C SAWANT  
NEW DELHI, OCT 13

CHINA has objected to the presence of the Indian Navy in the South China sea, claiming that the responsibility of patrolling the sea was of the Chinese Navy. The protest was made just before the visit of two Indian ships INS Kora and INS Delhi to the port of Shanghai though a "warm welcome" was accorded to the Indian navy.

The two ships subsequently visited Japan and presently are on their way back to India after visiting Korea and Indonesia. "China does not have a very large navy but has embarked upon an ambitious plan to modernise its fleet and attain a blue water status. Of course the country will take over a decade

to do so and therefore feels threatened by the presence of any navy in the South China sea which they feel are their territorial waters," an official at the naval headquarters said. China's protests are not India centric. "The Chinese have protested any navy carrying out exercises in the South China sea, whether it is the US Navy, Japan or Singapore. We told them that we are passing through and would even visit them and carry out Passex (exercise) and they received us warmly," Rear Admiral SCS Bangara, assistant chief of naval staff (operations) said. In fact the navy was "touched" when the Chinese released a first day cover to com-

memorate the visit of the Indian fleet, the third ever.

But China's protests have made the navy re-think about its area of operations. No longer does the navy talk of patrolling the seas from north Arabian sea to the south

## IN TROUBLED WATERS

China sea. "Actually patrolling the seas is only to curb piracy on the high seas. And being the largest navy in the region we are looked up to prevent it. But the choke points are in the Malacca Straits and we shall be patrolling only till the Malacca Straits," sources said.

The navy hopes with the acquisition of *Admiral Gorshkov*, the Russian aircraft carrier it will take a quantum leap in attaining blue wa-

ter status. The navy plans to have three aircraft carriers - *INS Viraat* which will become operational after retrofitting by early next year, *Admiral Gorshkov* and the air defence ship which will take around eight years to build at Cochin.

"Goodwill visits like these to China, Japan, Korea and Indonesia are to strengthen ties. India's moves are not aggressive or motivated with territorial designs" an official said. Former chief of naval staff Admiral R H Tahiliani said that the Chinese protests only amounted to "pressure tactics" and were not alarming.

China too is trying to make inroads into the Indian Ocean region and is warming up to the Myanmar navy to make a base at the Coco Islands.

INDIAN EXPRESS

14 OCT 2000

## ME A mum on Mukut claim

NEW DELHI, Oct. 16. — The defence and foreign ministries chose to keep silent on the Arunachal Pradesh chief minister's claim that the Chinese were intruding along the Line of Actual Control.

The MEA not only refused comment, it passed the buck on the defence ministry. "The issue is related to the border situation," a spokesman said. The ministry had "no details" on Mr Mukut Mithi's claim that a Chinese-built mule trail has been found in Arunachal.

The MEA spokesman said: "I really cannot say if the matter has been taken up diplomatically. I am not in a position to confirm or deny it."

— SNS

## 'Insiders involved in Saki killing'

HYDERABAD, Oct. 16. — Two people at the Nehru Zoological Park were involved in the killing of 13-month-old tigress Saki, senior IAS officer Mr AVS Reddy, inquiring into the incident, said today.

Meanwhile, the park's chief curator, Mr B Trinadha Rao, has been transferred.

Mr Reddy pointed out encroachments near the safari park and called for improved security. — UNI

THE STATESMAN

17 OCT 2000

# Sino-Indian economic ties

By K. Venkatasubramanian

THE HISTORY of India-China interaction is almost as old as the two civilisations themselves. From the mid-1920s, Indian interest in China took a different turn when the Indian National Congress (INC), particularly Jawaharlal Nehru, began articulating a world view from an Indian perspective in an anti-imperialist context. In 1947, India won freedom from the British and in 1949 the Communist Party of China (CPC) came to power in the newly-proclaimed People's Republic of China. Since then in the regional context, India-China relations have held the key to stability and development.

Major economic reforms from 1978 onwards created conditions for rapid growth and structural changes in China. Growth in Special Economic Zones and inflow of foreign direct investment helped in increasing productivity. Increasing use of market mechanism, private property, development of small enterprises and freeing of foreign trade aided growth on an unprecedented scale, helping per capita income rise by over 6 per cent per annum for 20 years. Even though China is still a low-income country, it is estimated that by 2015, it will match the U.S. in total GDP.

Analysis of the relative position of China and India measured by ratio of outputs of commodities prior to the launching of their planned economic development in 1952 indicate that China was clearly ahead of India in agriculture. Historically, relative to India, China had made greater progress in agriculture during 1870-1952. India, however, was ahead in industry and transport. On the whole, India's per capita income measured in PPP (Purchasing Power Parity) dollars in 1952 was about 54 per cent, higher than China's. During 1952-80, although China outstripped India in terms of the physical output of 19 key industrial commodities, the two grew at about the same GDP rate because the sluggish growth of the Chinese agriculture and service sectors levelled its fast-growing industrial sector. Chinese and Indian per capita incomes in 1980 were thus approximately at the same level. Under the leadership of Deng Xiaoping, in 1978 China initiated economic reforms (a decade earlier than India) and as a consequence its economy

grew at double the rate of growth of India during the 1980s and the early 1990s.

Since 1993 there has, however, been a consistent slowdown in Chinese growth rates whereas in India since 1991 there was an acceleration, although during the three years before 2000 there has been deceleration in growth rate in both countries. The gap in per capita income has been growing between the two countries, partly because of differences in growth rates and partly because China's population is growing at one per cent a year while India's is expanding at 1.9 per cent. The higher growth rate in China has been primarily due to a much greater investment effort. India cannot close the per

practice by de-centralising the trade apparatus.

After 14 years of negotiations, China now appears to be on the verge of joining the WTO for which it is restructuring its service sector, opening up some segments to foreign investors. However, access to several key markets, such as financial and telecommunications services, has been highly regulated or prohibited. Liberalisation of these services can be seen as the litmus test for the sustainability of China's open economy reforms in the coming decade. The country will have to diversify and upgrade its export profile towards more human capital and technology intensive products to sustain

## India and China need to jointly establish a sub-regional trade cooperation community.

its open-door policy. To this end, the development of a more viable and dynamic service sector is of crucial importance. Shielding domestic service industries from international competition is not a policy prescription for stimulating growth and creating new productive jobs.

Since the 1990s, Sino-Indian economic cooperation has made progress. But, problems remain. In the past decade, trade between China and India increased nine times. In the early 1990s, the volume was about \$200 million and in 1999 it increased to \$2 billion. Compared with the aggregate value of their foreign trade, the trade volume between the two countries is indeed small. In 1999, China's trade with India was only 1.3 per cent of its total foreign trade. It constituted 2.5 per cent of India's total trade. Besides, trade between the two countries is not well diversified, they have rarely conducted any trade of high technology products. Also their cooperation in the sphere of science and technology is still in its infancy. Developing border trade between northeast-

ern India and western China is an idea worth pursuing. With the Chinese Government announcing preferential investment policies and pumping money into its Western provinces, this could be the right time for Indian traders and investors to explore the opportunities and for the Government of India to develop infrastructure to facilitate such trade.

While expanding trade and economic cooperation, the two countries will also be able to solve differences in accordance with WTO rules. Once China becomes a WTO member, the two countries could also make a joint effort to establish a new international trade order. India may benefit from China's entry into the WTO as this would facilitate formalising significant amounts of illegal trade, particularly dumping of industrial goods in the Indian market. The two countries should attempt to create a mechanism of confidence that may have a binding force on their political behaviour and reduce the impact of unexpected events, and thus establish a state of complete normalisation. Today, China has more confidence in Indian potentials and information technology. This will surely help in establishing new channels of economic cooperation.

The first priority should be given to transport infrastructure. Sino-Indian trade relations will depend heavily on the construction of trade routes including China-Myanmar-India highways and railways. The two countries also need to jointly establish a sub-regional cooperation community. This proposed cooperation community could embrace China's Yunnan province, north Myanmar, Bangladesh and eastern and northern India. By constructing transport lines, all the big cities in these regions will be linked, and the regions will eventually be turned into a unified growth area. While promoting economic cooperation, the four countries could also search for support from major international organisations.

In the coming years, India should pave the way for an Asian Common Market like its Europe counterpart. In this, China and India have to play major roles not to mention Japan and the ASEAN. Perhaps this will take a long time as it is very difficult to get together equals and to decide who is *Primus Inter Pares*. But as a first step, we can have a cooperative community structure embracing certain parts of China adjacent India, north Myanmar, Bangladesh and the Seven Sisters of the Northeast. China and India together will be invincible in more senses than one. (The writer is Member, Planning Commission of India).

# Gamble on China, Mr. Vajpayee!

By C. Raja Mohan

GAMBLING IS part of the social custom in north India during the festival of lights. In the run-up to Diwali, middle class families in north India gather for the ritual gambling with their friends. It may be a strange way of worshipping Goddess Lakshmi, but there it is. We do not know if the Prime Minister, Mr. Atal Behari Vajpayee, is playing cards tonight. But as he recuperates from the knee surgery, Mr. Vajpayee has ample time to reflect on the many political gambles of his tenure at the top over the last two and a half years. The most dramatic was the decision to test nuclear weapons and risk international opprobrium. Equally important was the move to board the bus to Lahore and seek peace with Pakistan.

Both these have served Indian foreign policy well. With his luck appearing to hold, the time is now for Mr. Vajpayee to gamble on a new relationship with China. The conventional advice for the Prime Minister will be to move slowly and with abundant caution in dealing with China. But it is possible to argue that Mr. Vajpayee could come up the winner if he rolls the diplomatic dice with Beijing. The Vajpayee regime can pat itself on the back for the many achievements of Indian diplomacy over the last two and half years. The immediate fallout from the nuclear tests was contained effectively. New Delhi has circumvented the much-feared international isolation that many thought would follow its nuclear tests. This year, India successfully normalised its relations with the United States, Japan and the European Union. Its old relationship with Russia has been revitalised. For the first time in decades, India's relations with all the key power centres of the world are in good shape.

For good or bad, Pakistan has been put on the back-burner after the excitement of Lahore and the anger generated by the Kargil aggression. For more than a year, Pakistan has ceased to be at the front and centre of India's diplomatic activity. While the problem of Pakistan is unlikely to disappear, international circumstances

*It is in India's interests to begin fixing boundaries and fences. With his domestic standing at a high, Mr. Vajpayee is in a position to gamble for a deal (with China) on the LAC.*

have allowed India to postpone dealing with it at least for a while. Mr. Vajpayee will be tempted to rest on recent diplomatic laurels and begin to treat foreign policy as routine business. Unexpected developments in West Asia, where the peace process lies shattered, and in East Asia, where a historic rapprochement between the U.S. and North Korea is under way, till demand serious attention from India. The developments in these historically volatile regions will have a significant impact on India's future security environment. While coping with the unfolding radicalisation of politics in the Middle East and the potential geopolitical discontinuities in the Far East, India cannot afford to give up on the various foreign policy objectives it needs to pursue. Minimising the impact of unforeseen crises is only part of the diplomatic task. That should not come in the way of following a pre-determined set of policy goals.

If there is one gap in India's recent foreign policy strategy it is the continuing wariness in its relationship with China. During the last two years, India has done well to undo the diplomatic damage from the letter that Mr. Vajpayee sent to the U.S. President, Mr. Bill Clinton, immediately after the first round of nuclear tests on May 11, 1998. Mr. Vajpayee's indirect references to China in his justification of the nuclear tests elicited a furious reaction from Beijing, and bilateral relations went into a tailspin. Since then India and China have limped back to a normal state. The Bharatiya Janata Party and the Chinese Communist Party too have resumed their bilateral political contacts. The visit by the President, Mr. K.R. Narayanan, to Beijing last May helped inject some warmth into the bilateral relation-

ship. Preparations are on for a visit by the Chinese Prime Minister, Mr. Zhu Rongji, to India early next year, and that could open the door for a trip by Mr. Vajpayee to China some time later. India and China could use these incipient exchanges in two ways. They could either stick to the present line of seeking incremental advances in the relationship or take bold new steps to radically recast it.

There are many issues that bedevil Sino-Indian ties, but at the bottom of the uneasy relationship is the unresolved boundary dispute and the bitter legacy of the 1962 border war between the two nations. The attempts to sidestep the issue and move the relationship forward have not really succeeded over the last two decades. Can the two countries, as they look towards a more prosperous future and enhanced role in international affairs in the new century, pick up the courage to find a final resolution to the boundary dispute? In the last few years, India has signalled a new interest in finding an early solution to the boundary problem. During his visit to China in June 1999, the External Affairs Minister, Mr. Jaswant Singh, stressed on accelerating negotiations on the delineation of the Line of Actual Control on the border.

## WORLD VIEW

While the strategic value of an LAC agreement with China is widely understood in India, sceptics will question whether China is interested in such an outcome. But Mr. Vajpayee has nothing to lose and everything to gain by making an effort to get such an agreement. If China does not respond, India will continue to live with the present situation. But if Beijing does, the benefits are immeasurable. In that sense, Mr. Vajpayee's overture to China will be less of a gamble and more of a test of Beijing's real intentions towards India.

When he was in Beijing last May, Mr. Narayanan argued against leaving the boundary dispute for future generations and emphasised India's desire to resolve it now. Since then, India and China have agreed to quicken the pace of talks on the clarification of the LAC, and have chosen the middle sector of their border to begin the process. The expert group on the LAC is expected to meet for another round of talks in the coming weeks. The success of these talks would depend on the political will

in both the capitals. That precisely is where the political gamble by Mr. Vajpayee comes in. While India cannot go forward unilaterally, it is necessary for Mr. Vajpayee to signal that his Government is ready to make decisive moves on the clarification of the LAC. Mr. Vajpayee should consider sending a special envoy to Beijing to communicate to the Chinese leadership the importance India attaches to the early delineation of the LAC.

While committing India to a purposeful negotiation with China, Mr. Vajpayee must make a special effort at home to get the national security bureaucracy to accept a credible delineation of the LAC. Even a clarification of the LAC would involve minor territorial adjustments, and this calls for a domestic consensus across the political spectrum. This would also entail a substantive exercise to make the political class aware of the issues involved and the importance of an early understanding with China on the LAC. The delineation of the LAC is the first essential condition for the two sides to begin to deal with the boundary dispute. This would permit the implementation of the bilateral agreements of 1993 and 1996 on maintaining peace and tranquillity on the border. Good fences make good neighbours. Unresolved territorial disputes with Pakistan and China have hobbled India too long. It is in India's interest to begin fixing boundaries and fences. With his domestic political standing at a high, Mr. Vajpayee is in a position to gamble for a deal on the LAC.

While the strategic value of an LAC agreement with China is widely understood in India, sceptics will question whether China is interested in such an outcome. But Mr. Vajpayee has nothing to lose and everything to gain by making an effort to get such an agreement. If China does not respond, India will continue to live with the present situation. But if Beijing does, the benefits are immeasurable. In that sense, Mr. Vajpayee's overture to China will be less of a gamble and more of a test of Beijing's real intentions towards India.



# China chill awaits Atal warmth

FROM PRANAY SHARMA

New Delhi, Oct. 26: India, which had played down reports of alleged Chinese incursion in Arunachal Pradesh, has decided to thrash out the issue at next month's meeting of the Experts Group in Beijing.

The meeting, likely in mid-November, comes amid growing opinion that Prime Minister Atal Behari Vajpayee should take the initiative in settling the decades-old border dispute with China.

According to sources, the Experts Group will try to come up with suggestions on confidence-building measures that could help maintain peace along the Line of Actual Control (LAC) and normalise bilateral ties.

Efforts are also on from both sides to arrange a visit by Chinese premier Zhu Rongji to India early

next year. If he agrees, the visit will be the first by a Chinese Prime Minister in over seven years and the first highest-level trip from Beijing to Delhi after the 1998 Pokhran nuclear tests.

Experts here feel Vajpayee should place China high on his priority list. As foreign minister in the Janata Party government in 1977, Vajpayee had taken the lead in bringing about a thaw in Sino-Indian relations. They point out that his historic bus-ride to Lahore paid off as Pakistan was isolated in international circles following the Kargil intrusion.

Vajpayee also went out of his way to mend fences with Washington. If he can build bridges with China and, at least, remove the air of suspicion, it would go a long way in consolidating the Centre's foreign policy gains, they said.

It was Arunachal chief minis-

ter Mukut Mithi who recently claimed that a Chinese-built mule trail had been found at Kaila pass in Dibang Valley district, which proved that the Chinese army had made "repeated incursions" along the LAC.

While Beijing refuted the charges, South Block played safe, saying a mechanism was already in place to tackle such developments. A few days ago, defence minister George Fernandes announced that he would visit the Northeast to verify the charges.

Indications are that the incursion issue will come up at the meeting of the Experts Group, likely to be headed by Nalin Suri, joint-secretary (East Asia) in the ministry of foreign affairs.

But going by the present mood and judging by Delhi's reaction to Mithi's charges, it is unlikely that India would indulge in

China-bashing in public.

The session is important. Its inputs go into the Joint Working Group meeting — which is headed by the foreign secretaries of the two sides — due early next year. Complaints of either side are thrashed out at the experts' meeting, scheduled twice a year. The two sides have also started a security dialogue from last year to help them appreciate each other's security concerns.

Both Delhi and Beijing have shown a willingness to settle the border problem, a keenness reaffirmed during Chinese foreign minister Tang Jianxuan's July visit. Following a meeting with his Indian counterpart Jaswant Singh, the two sides decided to start the delineation process of the LAC in the middle-sector — between Uttar Pradesh and Himachal.

THE TELEGRAPH

27 OCT 2000

# Sino-Indian ties: changed perspectives

By V. V. Paranipe

**T**HIS YEAR marks the completion of 50 years of Sino-Indian diplomatic relations. If this had brought India and China closer together and made them more friendly then it would have deserved a celebration. Unfortunately, it has not and this calls for introspection. Those genuinely interested in the improvement of Sino-Indian relations have cause for concern.

In recent years there has been an increasing exchange of visits by officials and VIPs invariably attended by flowery tributes to friendship which create an impression that Sino-Indian relations are now normal. But the hard facts seem to belie such an assumption. There has been hardly any substantive improvement. On present indications, we have not come closer but seem to be drifting apart. A friendly China would have spontaneously supported our quest for a seat on the U.N. Security Council. But it has not. A friendly China might have quickly distanced itself from Pakistan; instead China has made it clear that it will not forsake Pakistan to improve ties with India. China also seems to have reservations on the Dalai Lama's presence in India and its effect on their control of Tibet. No wonder the Chinese have been furiously fortifying Tibet with ultra-modern weapons. According to a French research scholar from the French Institute of Strategic Studies, China's suspicions of India go even further. In a recent visit to New Delhi, the scholar shocked her Indian audience with the opening statement that "China regards two countries as her enemies: Japan and India". The remarks fell on sceptical ears and many questioned her source. According to her, this was the view expressed in many PLA publications. We do not know how correct the statement is, but that such an impression should at all exist does not speak well of Sino-Indian relations.

Two important problems (viz Sino-Pakistan collusion and the border dispute) that have bedevilled our relations for the past four decades still remain unresolved.

Unless we take the bull by the horns and solve these problems there can be no real improvement in our relations. But today we only tend to skirt or ignore them. On both questions the Chinese attitude seems to show some change. Initially, China was rather sensitive and shy about its tilt towards Pakistan but now is stridently open about it. China's tilt towards Pakistan started in the late 1960s. Mao was opposed to the sale of arms but his successor, Deng, introduced the profit motive and the very lucrative military sales made Pakistan China's very dear and 'time-tested' friend. The situation

press for a solution, but to keep up appearances the talks are held and postponed without much progress. Therefore, there is little except procrastination. The Indian side procrastinates because of lack of political will. The Chinese procrastinate because of a strong political will.

Events marring our relations with China were a chain reaction and started by us. We adopted an unreasonable attitude on the border issue and used provocative language and propaganda and thus brought on ourselves the 1962 Chinese attack. In turn, this led to India freezing relations with China and China's tilt to-

***Nehru at least had thought of a good China policy but he wrecked it by relying on wrong advice. Today, we are floundering in a vacuum because the BJP has virtually no coherent China policy.***

wards Pakistan. With a little prudence and tact we could have prevented the chain reaction and averted the series of adverse developments thereafter. In 1980 when Mr. Atal Behari Vajpayee visited Beijing as Foreign Minister, Deng suggested a 'basket' solution of the border but Mr. Vajpayee paid no attention. When the BJP Government came to power in 1998, instead of trying to mend relations with China, the Government unwisely and unnecessarily cited China as a reason for the Pokhran II blast. This infuriated the Chinese and the Government had to send Mr. Jaswant Singh to assuage feelings. Nehru at least had thought of a good China policy but he wrecked it by relying on wrong advice. Today, we are floundering in a vacuum because the BJP has virtually no coherent China policy. One day we call China aggressor, another day describe her as enemy No. 1 and the third day we send our President on a pleasure trip to enjoy Chinese hospitality.

In the meantime, over the last 50 years, both India and China have undergone a sea-change in strength and status — China for the better, India for the worse. In

1950 India was the leader of the Non-Aligned Movement and a force in international affairs. China was then a poor country surrounded by a hostile world. Today the position is reversed. Mao made China strong, Deng made it rich. China has now emerged as a strong and rich superpower wooed by the mighty and feared by the weak. With a \$350 billion trade, a large nuclear arsenal and a permanent membership of the U.N. Security Council, it has become a world power.

The Indian President's recent visit to China in some ways illustrates the changed perspectives and pattern of behaviour. It showed that India lacks a clear China policy. The Indian attitude seemed casual and low-key while the Chinese were polite but firm. The visit showed little political purpose. On official admission, the President held no serious discussions on matters affecting Sino-Indian relations! Subsequent efforts by the Government and his well-wishers to inject some political significance into the visit fell flat. Some argued that the visit was to improve the "atmospherics" but had not Rajiv Gandhi and Mr. Jaswant Singh with their handsome personalities and flair for public relations already done a good job? If the atmosphere itself needed improvement would it be correct to inflict a jumbo-load of guests on a foreign host? The Ministry of External Affairs stated as an afterthought that the "president prevailed on China to speed up border talks". The President and the Government should both be aware that the border talks are stalled not by China but by India itself.

The question, therefore, arises whether such a visit which, at best, could be called a sight-seeing, pleasure trip for the President and his whole family at a huge cost of several crores of rupees, was justified. Unless, of course, the BJP Government has some secret agenda of using VIP visits to disburse political patronage and to keep journalists and potential political trouble-makers on the right side.

## Yoshiro Mori's visit to India

# A yen for change

9B-8  
9/9

**J**APANESE Prime Minister Yoshiro Mori was in India from August 21 to 25. Any assessment of the significance or prospects of Indo-Japanese relations should be made within the ambit of Japan's world vision. Japan has had to redefine the terms of reference of its foreign and strategic policies at the end of the Cold War, specially in the context of the detente between the USA and the Russian Federation, the substantive expansion of US-China relations, and the success of the Chinese experiment in economic liberalisation.

India's priority in Japanese foreign policy is determined by these factors. We are not Japan's primary area of political, strategic or security attention. We have, perhaps, a higher priority in the Japanese scheme of things in selective areas of technology and exports and to a lesser extent as a market for investment. We must also remember that Japan continues to distinguish between South-East Asia and South-West Asia. The former unidimensional focus on South East Asia is gradually undergoing change because of India's economic reforms. Japan increasingly acknowledges the potentialities of Indo-Japanese economic relations for mutual benefit. But this acknowledgement does not transcend Japan's basic assessment that the relations can achieve their full potential only if India falls in line with the broader strategic economic and technological orientations of the advanced democracies of the world that constitute the Group of 7, though cosmetically Russia is also an additional member of the group.

This was the first visit by a Japanese prime minister to India after a gap of nearly a decade. It is also the first visit after India's nuclear weapons tests of 1998. Notwithstanding the fact that Japan remains profoundly critical of the nuclear weaponisation of the subcontinent, Mori's coming to India perhaps signals the fact that Japan is willing to deal with India on a more practical basis, acknowledging the realities of India's security concerns,

political motivations and evolving technological capacities. His visit indicates Japan's inclination to get down from the high political horse of its condemnatory political stance against India during the first year or so after the Shakti series of tests at Pokharan in May 1998.

The decisions taken and agreements reached during Mori's visit must necessarily be seen in the context of some substantive aspects of Indo-Japanese relations. Japan used to be the largest donor of aid to India during the decade of the 90s of the last century, averaging half a billion dollars per annum. This assistance was totally choked off in retaliation to India's nuclear weapon tests. The

third of total Japanese projects of investment in India, the approved value of which is Rs 9,000 crore.

The emerging picture is of both India and Japan being convinced about the potential for more substantive bilateral relations, in the technological and economic fields. But Japan still has some political conditionalities and economic in-

hibitions about India and the efficiency and speed of economic reforms. India feels that Japan is not fully responsive to India's desire for enhanced multi-faceted bilateral cooperation.

During his visit to Bangalore, Mori suggested institutionalised cooperation in the Information Technology Sec-



J.N. DIXIT

### Mutuality of political and security interests, in countering terrorism and safeguarding shipping routes, must reinforce India-Japan economic cooperation

end of the Cold War and India's improved ties with the US created a positive atmosphere for Indo-Japanese relations. Since 1992, about 215 Japanese companies are operating in India. Most of them are trading companies with the total volume of trade between the two countries estimated at Rs 18,000 crore.

In comparative terms, Indo-Japanese commercial relations remain a marginal phenomenon in the overall bilateral trade activities of both countries, Japan accounting for about six per cent of India's external trade and India for only 0.05 per cent of Japan's external trade. Direct investment from Japan, the important example of Maruti underpinned by Suzuki, and Toyota, Honda, and Mitsubishi commencing their operations in India, the total value of investment from Japan is only around Rs 2,500 crore — less than one-

tor between India and Japan. In Delhi, he stressed the importance of technological cooperation. While direct Japanese aid would remain suspended till India signs CTBT, there are reports that Japan may remove some of the restrictions on assistance and flows of investment and technology to some of the projects in the pipeline, the Delhi metro railway project and the Simhadri power project in Andhra Pradesh.

Overall, Japan seems to realise that economic and technological sanctions are not going to make India compromise on its security interests and that India remains an attractive economic partner, not to be neglected for impracticable political considerations. India, on the other hand, has shown its continuing interest in economic partnership with Japan. The primacy of a mutuality of interest in a strong

economic relationship is not denied, but this must be underpinned by a mutuality of political and security interests.

Japan continues to insist that India must sign the CTBT and accept international regimes on non-proliferation. Mori chaired the G-8 summit at Okinawa in July. The Okinawa statement on regional issues said: "The level of tensions between India and Pakistan remains a cause of international concern. We call on the two countries to resume dialogue as soon as possible in the spirit of Lahore in order to realise sustainable peace in the region. We call on both India and Pakistan to join international efforts to strengthen the non-proliferation and disarmament regime. While welcoming those positive statements and steps that have been made, we reiterate our call for them to carry out fully the concrete measures set out in the United Nations Security Council Resolution 1172, including the signing and ratifying of CTBT." There is a basic difference between Indian and Japanese approaches to arms control, disarmament and international security.

There are, however, possibilities of security and strategic cooperation in some spheres, like countering international terrorism, narco-terrorism, safeguarding shipping routes from the Straits of Hormuz to the Straits of Malacca through the Arabian Sea and the Indian Ocean where piracy is a continuing threat. There are possibilities of cooperation between India and Japanese navies in this matter. India and Japan can develop a bilateral security relationship within the broader framework of the Asian Regional Forum, the strategic and security arm of the ASEAN, in which India has been an active and regular participant over the last five years.

Though Mori and Vajpayee did not announce any grand strategies and sign any major bilateral agreements, his visit signifies a positive shift in Japan's policies towards India in the right direction. The message from Japan seems to be its acknowledgement that Indo-Japanese relations should not be predicated on or subject to the single issue of non-proliferation.

# China blames India for slow progress

Beijing, September 10 *HP-13*

**C**HINA HAS blamed India for the scant progress in Sino-Indian border talks and stressed on the need for "mutual accommodation" in the protracted parleys on the sensitive issue affecting bilateral ties.

"What is important is that the two sides should have the sincerity and show mutual accommodation instead of one-way accommodation," Chinese Assistant Foreign Minister Wang Yi said in an interview to a group of visiting Indian journalists.

"Of course in the negotiation process for the border areas, we need to have the two sides approach each other instead of one party approaching," he said, blaming India for the scant progress in border talks.

On China's position on the vexed Sino-Indian border negotiations, Mr Wang said that it would be "dif-

ficult if some people in India believed that the Indian position should be adhered to strictly without taking into account the Chinese position at all."

Mr Wang claimed that the Chinese side had been making specific proposals to India since 1996 to resolve the boundary issue and build mutual trust and confidence.

"The response of the Indian side is always that it is too early for us to have such measures like the delineation of the border," Mr Wang said.

"It is our hope that the Indian side could agree to have common efforts of building up mutual trust in the military field in the area of the Line of Actual Control (LAC)," he said.

Denying the charge that China was not interested in settling the border issue with India, Mr Wang said the Chinese attitude towards resolving the border issue with

India had always been positive.

"I think there is some misunderstanding on this issue," he said while detailing the Chinese initiatives so far.

He said that it was as early as 1980s that Chinese leaders had taken the initiative to approach Indian leaders.

Also, in 1993, at the Chinese side's initiative, the two countries signed an agreement for maintenance of peace and stability in the border area.

In 1996, on the eve of Chinese President Jiang Zemin's State visit to India, China and India agreed to build confidence in the military field along the Line of Actual Control, Mr Wang said, adding China is "very active and positive on those efforts."

"There is no change on that point," he said, adding "Of course, such a process will take time. We

are willing to work together with the Indian side."

Mr Wang also touched upon Chinese Foreign Minister Tang Jiaxuan recent visit to India during which he and External Affairs Minister Jaswant Singh agreed to step-up efforts to clarify the LAC issue.

He said China has proposed that the two sides should have more than one meeting at the experts level to discuss the boundary issue, adding "I am very glad that the Indian side has accepted this proposal. So I hope the clarification process will be faster and faster."

India says China is illegally occupying 43,180 sq kms of Jammu and Kashmir, including 5,180 sq km illegally ceded to Beijing by Pakistan under the Sino-Pakistan boundary agreement in 1963. On the other hand, China accuses India of possessing some 90,000 sq km of Chinese territory.

## Border Talks

(PTI)

THE HINDUSTAN TIMES

1.1 SEP 2000

# India-China Track II dialogue planned in Manipal from Nov 1

By M.D. Nalapat

BEIJING: The first major non-official dialogue between India and China will take place at Manipal. An 11-member Chinese delegation will be led by Shen Wei-ping, Vice-President of the China Association for International Friendly Contact (CAIFC), will hold three days of mainly closed-door discussions with Indian interlocutors from November 1.

The Chinese team includes Pei Yuan-ying, a former envoy to India, as well as experts from both the think-tanks of the Peoples' Liberation Army, the National Defence University and the Academy of Military Science. Two noted India-watchers, Ma Jia-li of the China Institute of International Studies and Ye Zheng-jia of the China Institute of International Studies have also been included, as also researchers at both the Centre for Peace and Development Studies and Xinjiang University.

Xinjiang province in north-western China shares with some parts of India the problem of manifestations of religious extremism. Fittingly, the Indian side may have counter-terrorism experts such as K.P.S. Gill and Major-Gen(rtd.) Afsir Karim, expected to be present, together with Lt-Gen (rtd.) Satish Nambiar of the United Services Institution.

In view of the importance of economics in current geopolitical debates, the Indian delegation will include top business leaders from Gujarat and Maharashtra. While trade between India and China accounted for only \$ 2 billion last year, experts say that the potential

over the next five years is ten times this figure. India can export knowledge skills and high-value consumer items and China can build infrastructural facilities in India at prices lower than those quoted by European companies.

The 1999 Kunming Initiative stresses the possibility of eastern India forming a co-operative economic zone with south-west China, Myanmar and Bangladesh.

After the Kosovo episode, Beijing appears to have shed its earlier allergy towards New Delhi. The Indo-U.S. bonhomie and the warmth shown by France and now Japan to New Delhi appear to have created momentum in Beijing for closer ties with the other Asian giant. "If India and China form an alliance, no outside power will be able to establish hegemony in Asia", said a strategic analyst in a Beijing think-tank, in an allusion to the U.S.

Experts warn that ticklish problems remain, that could delay if not thwart entirely efforts at an entente between the two Asian giants.

These include information in India about Chinese support to Pakistan's nuclear and missile programme, and misgivings in Beijing about New Delhi's hosting of a substantial Tibetan community on its territory.

An Indian commended the the Manipal meeting and added that "economics can prove the prime mover, in case the Chinese decide to bid for airport, road and port projects in India, and allow more Indian goods and services to flow into their huge market".

THE TIMES OF INDIA

22 SEP 2000

A measured approach towards China is more desirable than a jingoistic one

# Beijing on our mind

By J. N. Dixit

**CHINESE FOREIGN MINISTER Tang Jiaxuan was in Delhi from July 21 to 24.** Apart from substantive discussions with Foreign Minister Jaswant Singh, he called on Prime Minister Atal Behari Vajpayee, Sonia Gandhi and did something which Chinese Foreign Ministers normally do not do in India: he gave a news conference.

His coming to India, following the visit of our President, our Foreign Minister and our Minister of Commerce and Industry to China over the last ten months, signals the fact that Sino-Indian relations are on the mend. They seem to be getting back on rails after the substantive disruption in the normalisation process which occurred between July and November 1998 in the aftermath of India's nuclear tests and related political pronouncements.

At the formal level, the linear continuity of the normalisation process which began with Rajiv Gandhi's visit to Beijing in 1988, stands revived. What one should analyse and speculate on, however, is the prospects of Sino-Indian relations in terms of emerging realities not only in the bilateral context, but also in terms of China's economic policies, security concerns, military capacities and patterns of China's defence cooperation with other countries in our region.

China's power structure acknowledges that China would face problems of imbalances in development and levels of prosperity between different parts of China by the year 2025. This would include problems of migration from less developed parts to more prosperous parts of China, and also prospects of large-scale unemployment.

Concerns about energy security has led China to undertake investment and cooperation arrangements in the energy resources sphere with countries of Central Asia, in the Gulf and even in distant regions like South America. The most critical political strategic dimension of this exercise is China's territorial claims in the South China Sea, the Spratley Islands, and so on, which has introduced tension in China's relations with important ASEAN countries like Indonesia, Malaysia, Philippines and Vietnam.

In terms of internal and external security concerns, China's expectations and aspirations regarding Taiwan remain not only challenged but these challenges stand somewhat augmented with the new Government in Taiwan which is more commit-

ted to Taiwan's independence. Political and strategic controversies related to Taiwan and other security considerations have made Japan and the United States move towards deploying Theatre Missile Defence which is perceived by the Chinese as a substantive strategic threat to its security.

Apart from diplomatic and political initiatives taken by China, to oppose this prospect, China has taken an initiative for expansion and modernisation of its armed forces by domestic efforts as well as large-scale cooperation with the Russian Federation. Between 2000 and 2004, China is planning to obtain arms and defence technologies of the value of \$ 20 billion from the Russian Federation. This includes armour, aeroplanes, submarines, uranium centrifuges and the creation of joint production facilities of defence equipment in China.

Moving down from this macro-level strategic and security exercise, China has created and nurtured defence and security cooperation arrangements with two of India's proximate neighbours, Pakistan and Myanmar, to meet its regional strategic objectives. This is significant in the context of India's adversarial relationship with Pakistan and somewhat distant relationship with the military Government of Yangon — given India's concerns and commitments about democracy.

China's defence cooperation with Pakistan and Chinese military presence in the Bay of Bengal and in the northern portions of the Indian Ocean based on defence cooperation with Myanmar is a matter of legitimate security concern to India. It is in this broad strategic context that one should take note of the question of Sino-Indian relations and the ground affecting Sino-Indian relations.

China remains concerned and doubtful about India's policies on Tibet. This concern is heightened by the incremental support that the Dalai Lama is getting from the international community. Despite the interim and indirect signals given by China between 1991 and 1994 about China recognising Sikkim's integration with India, Beijing is so far unwilling to formally acknowledge Sikkim being



a part of India. The dozen or more sessions of the Joint Working Group held since 1989 indicate that the Chinese are in no hurry to address the substantive question of the demarcation of the Sino-Indian boundary.

The original impetus given and policy orientations initiated by Deng Xiaoping, Rajiv Gandhi, Li Peng and Narasimha Rao has lost momentum. The fact of the matter is that the Chinese seemed reluctant to take even the interim step necessary to move towards a solution of the boundary question, namely, to delineate the Line of Actual Control in the seven segments where there is a difference of opinion between India and China about the LoAC. The Experts' Sub-Group, dealing with this issue has not been able to make any substantive progress since 1993. This predicament particularly contradicts the expectations on the basis of which the Sino-Indian Agreement on the maintenance of Peace and Tranquillity on the Line of Actual Control was signed in September 1993 — as also the expectations on which the 1996 Confidence Building Measures proposals were agreed upon.

While there have been no major tensions or military incidents on the LoAC over the last seven years, there are reports that China is steadily improving road communications and logistical facilities all along their side of the LoAC 'as perceived by them'. They have also quantitatively increased patrolling in those areas on which the LoAC lies. The frequency of such patrols is also on the increase, which can become the basis for the Chinese claiming jurisdiction in these areas as they did in the period preceding the Sino-Indian conflict of 1962.

The Chinese power structure should also take note of certain broader strategic perceptions in certain segments of the Indian establishment that while China desires a normal relationship with India, they seem insistent about having this normalisation on their terms. There is also an Indian view that Chinese relations with Pakistan and Myanmar could be an exercise for creating a Chinese 'cordon-santaire' around India.

The results of Foreign Minister Tang's visit to New Delhi have to be assessed in this background. The most important decision taken by Mr Tang and Jaswant Singh is that the Joint Working Group should accelerate the process of settling the differences of opinion on the LoAC. It was also agreed to underpin this process by making institutional arrangements for more regular exchanges on issues related to security, including a military relationship.

It is expected that the exchanges of military delegations and discussions on security and strategic issues would commence from this autumn as a result of Mr Tang's visit. If a balance sheet is drawn up about the current state of Sino-Indian relations, it could be this:

■ The Sino-Indian border is relatively peaceful and stable despite the lack of agreements on the Line of Control and the boundary question.

■ Some of the operational confidence building measures have been put in place since 1993, but the CBMs agreed upon in 1993 and 1996 can be fully implemented only after problems affecting the LoAC are settled. There is a gradual expansion of economic and cultural cooperation. The high tension created after India's nuclear tests has abated.

■ Differences of opinion on the LoAC still remain unresolved. Now there would hopefully be a forward movement.

■ China has no inclination to resolve the boundary question. China remains opposed to India's nuclear weaponisation and missile programmes. Chinese defence cooperation, particularly with Pakistan, remains a major security concern of India to which there has been no satisfactory Chinese response.

■ Establishing a long-term, stable cooperative relationship with China remains a complicated task which will take time and patience. High-level visits, like that of Mr Tang and Jaswant Singh's visit to Beijing, could contribute to the process. The success of this exercise will also depend on India remaining alert about the realities of Chinese intentions and policies of becoming economically, technologically and militarily strong to cope with China.

■ A measured and practical approach towards China is a more desirable option than agitation or jingoistic confrontation with this neighbour of ours.

# A Small Step Forward

## Measured Approach Towards China

By C UDAY BHASKAR

CHINESE foreign minister Tang Jiaxuan's visit to New Delhi concluded last week along predictable lines. The symbolism inherent in the visit and the substantive impact on Sino-Indian relations warrant scrutiny, though paradoxically it is the areas not covered or mentioned that may yet prove to be more relevant to India's comprehensive security interests in the long run.

The political significance of the visit lay in the fact that Mr Tang Jiaxuan was the first high ranking official from Beijing to visit India after the May 1998 nuclear tests that had led to glitches in the bilateral relationship. It is a reflection of India's credibility and determination that it has been able to stabilise its relationship with both the US and China in under two years, though gray areas still remain.

The Sino-Indian relationship is embedded in many correspondences, complexities and contrasts. As large proximate civilisational states, the impress of history and the distillation of this experience in terms of their colonial interface has left certain indelible influences in their respective elite. Paradoxically while being neighbours, India and China know little about each other. The most striking contrast is the nature of the political system since their emergence as modern nations — a brief 50 odd years.

Related to this is their distinctive strategic culture — the behavioural characteristic of society and elite in harnessing their existing military and economic power and related potential in pursuing a collective goal. Within this matrix both are grappling with the compulsions of modernity in the political, economic, military and societal dimensions as evidenced in the post-Cold War years. At the bilateral level, a contentious territorial and border dispute remains to be resolved, while the nuclear-missile issue remains equally intractable. Two-way trade between India and China is minuscule and hovers at US \$2 billion or about half a percentage point of the total \$400 billion external trade of both nations.

The only tangible advancement in the Tang visit was the declaration that both sides would intensify bilateral engagement and inject some dynamism into the moribund talks on the boundary and territorial issues. The Joint Working Group set up in 1988 to deal with the matter has little to show and perhaps

they will meet more often than once annually to address the issue. However, an increase in the number of such meetings may not necessarily translate into substantive gains and for this the answer lies elsewhere.

While there is no doubt that the tenor of the Sino-Indian relationship has improved palpably, certain core issues cannot be swept under the carpet. China for its own reasons has entered into an abiding strategic relationship with Pakistan and what induces deep insecurity in India is the nature of the nuclear-missile transfers and co-operation between the two nations. Mr Tang explained this away as "part of normal trade, sovereign, and state-to-state relations."

Population apart, where they are the exclusive members of the billions plus club, asymmetry is the leitmotif of Sino-Indian indices. The political contrast between a

ic/fiscal and military contrast relegates India to being an uneasy subaltern vis-a-vis China.

But it is the socio-political asymmetry that may yet be the Achilles heel for China. Can Beijing sustain the current trajectory of economic liberalisation and vibrancy with a political straitjacket that stifles dissent and democratic aspirations? In a way this is question that will shape the stability and security of the region and the world at large. Deep insecurity about these issues explains Tiananmen of 1989 and the Falun Gong more recently and Beijing's prickliness over human rights issues.

Civilisational states are better comprehended through the filter of their collective cognitive consciousness and related ruling elite responses; In 1995, Amartya Sen had coined an interesting formulation to contrast the Sino-Indian socio-economic and political experience. The Indian trait was described as 'postponability of social change and human development' or POSH. The Chinese experience was one of 'political unreadiness for speedy human rights' or PUSH.

Extending the Sen formulation to the realm of strategic culture and military capabilities, this analyst proposed a similar contrast. Historically, China's ruling elite has understood macro power as the 'centrality of military force in realising political objectives'. The Indian experience of which Kargil 1999 is the latest example may be described as 'reticence about military force in realising political objectives'.

Thus in the final analysis, the Sino-Indian dynamic as it unspools can be subsumed within the above framework and to a great extent, Mr Tang's visit is a manifestation of this pattern. For India, which is still ambivalent about how to position itself on the learning curve of major/great power status, deep introspection about how to define and pursue its core interests in the complexity of the post-Cold War world is an imperative.

Specific to China, the challenge is the equivalent of a "resengagement" policy — which is to resist where necessary, as for instance in the nuclear-missile realm and engage confidently as in the economic and political fields. India must acquire the requisite degree of quiet confidence that will prevent the Sino-Indian relationship from slipping towards either deference or belligerence.

### IN BRIEF

- The Chinese FM's visit was the first high-ranking one since Pokhran II
- The only gain was the decision to intensify bilateral engagement
- Militarily and economically, India is an uneasy subaltern vis-a-vis China
- India must be neither deferential nor belligerent towards China

fractious yet vibrant, plural democracy and a homogeneous, authoritarian communist regime has been already noted. The post-Deng economic vibrancy of China is a remarkable achievement and the contrast in the statistics is self-evident. For the 12-month period ending June, China's trade surplus widened to \$33.4 billion with a forex reserve of \$158.4 billion. (This does not include Hong Kong's reserves of \$97.1 bn). India, in comparison, had a trade deficit of \$9.4 bn and reserves of \$33.8 bn.

The military dimension is equally stark with the vibrant Chinese economy allowing for considerable investment in improving Beijing's trans-border capability. In the nuclear-missile field, China is in a completely different league in comparison with India's nascent and tentative post-Pokhran II initiatives. It stands to reason that the combined weight of this econom-

THE TIMES OF INDIA

- 3 AUG 2000

110-14  
2/8

# Indian naval ships to visit China

**BEIJING, AUG. 6.** As part of enhanced Indo-Sino military cooperation, a high-level Chinese military delegation will visit India this month and two Indian Navy ships will arrive on a "goodwill port call" next month, official sources said here.

The seven-member Peoples Liberation Army (PLA) team led by the vice-president of the Beijing-based Academy of Military Science, Lt. Gen. Tian Shugen, would visit India from August 18 to 23.

The delegation is scheduled to visit India's premier training institutions including the National Defence College, New Delhi, Indian Military Academy, Dehradun and College of Combat, Madhya Pradesh.

Meanwhile, two battle ships of the Indian Navy are scheduled to make routine goodwill port call at Shanghai Port in east China in mid-September.

These two battle ships would be part of a fleet of the Navy which are expected to make similar port calls in several South-East Asian nations, official sources said. — PTI

## Indo-French joint naval wargames

**PARIS, AUG. 6.** India's state-of-the-art warship INS Mysore is to participate in a major joint exercise with French naval vessels next

week, official sources said here.

The warship, which can operate under nuclear, chemical and biological attack, will carry out the exercises with French ships off Djibouti.

The 6,700-tonne indigenously built destroyer will arrive at Toulon on August 13 on a goodwill port call and would leave on 16th for the sixth Indo-French joint naval exercises. The joint naval exercises are aimed at strengthening ties between the two countries, enhancing service-to-service level cooperation and ensuring better coordination at a global level in peacekeeping, disaster management and operations against maritime piracy.

An advanced naval exercise between the two countries was held in February this year in the Arabian Sea when four French Navy ships including Foch, the conventional aircraft carrier and destroyers Duquesne and Tourville participated in the exercises with Indian warships.

The INS Mysore, built at the Mazagon Docks Ltd in Mumbai, was commissioned in June 1999 and recently took part in the International Naval Review 2000 in New York as part of the Independence Day celebrations in the United States.

The destroyer, which has a formidable 5000 mile range, is capable of performing anti-ship, anti-air and anti-submarine roles. — PTI

THE HINDU

27 AUG 2000

AUG 2000



# China providing arms to ULFA: ex-militant

HT Correspondent  
Guwahati, August 14

*9m/22*  
DROPPING A bombshell, a senior ULFA militant, who surrendered before the state government, stated that the militant outfit is being provided arms and ammunition by the Chinese government. Captain Lohit Deuri, the second-in-command of ULFA's General Head Quarters located at Deothang in Bhutan, stated that Black House, the Chinese external intelligence agency was providing the outfit with arms since 1991.

"There is a tacit understanding between Pakistan's ISI and Black House. And as we had close links with ISI, we were able to procure arms from the Chinese agency," said Deuri who was responsible for setting up several ULFA camps in Bhutan.

*15/8*  
The former militant also gave details about the way arms were transported from China.

Meanwhile, 288 militants including six women belonging to six outfits of Assam laid down arms before the Assam Chief Minister Prafulla Kumar Mahanta today.

The surrendered militants included several prominent leaders from United Liberation Front of Asom (ULFA), National Democratic Front of Bodoland (NDFB) and United People's Democratic Solidarity (UPDS). Militants belonging to Dima Haram Dauga (DHD), Rabha

National Security Force (RNSF) and Muslim United Liberation Tigers of Assam (MULTA) also laid down arms at the function.

Most of the militants who laid down arms today belonged to ULFA, who lost 242 of its cadres today.

A large quantity of arms and ammunition were also handed over by the surrendered militants to the state government. These included, 82 kilograms of explosives, 16 AK series assault rifles, Chinese rifles and several rounds of cartridges.

Chief Minister Mahanta welcomed the surrendered militants to the mainstream society and assured them all possible help to be rehabilitated. He also gave a brief outline of the various schemes undertaken by the State Government to help surrendered militants.

Following various incentives given by the State Government since April 1998, more than 2000 militants belonging to various militant outfits of Assam have laid down arms and joined the mainstream. The number of violent incidents in the State has also come down from 392 in 1998 to 182 in 1999.

In the past two years, villagers have killed seven militants who had gone to extort money from them. They also apprehended another 26 and handed them over to the police.

THE HINDUSTAN TIMES

15 AUG 2000

15 AUG 2000

# Understanding between India, China stressed

STATESMAN NEWS SERVICE

BHUBANESWAR, Aug. 29. — The President, Mr KR Narayanan's visit to China and the Chinese foreign minister, Mr Tang Jiaxuan's visit to India have underlined areas of mutual co-operation and understanding between the two countries, the Chinese ambassador, Mr Zhou Gang, said.

Friendly relationship with India is China's basic national policy, he said while addressing a goodwill meeting organised by Friends of China, Orissa chapter, here last night.

Stressing the need for strengthening Sino-Indian ties, he said it will not only serve the mutual interests of the two nations, but also promote peace, stability and development of Asia and the world at large.

The two most populous countries in the world are facing the common tasks of development and improving the quality of life, Mr Gang said, while expressing views on various international issues like multipolarisation, globalisation, human rights, environmental protection, population control and other such matters.

Referring to Mr Narayanan's visit to China, the Chinese

diplomat said the Indian President and the Chinese President, Mr Jiang Zemin, reached a consensus and laid down a basic framework for the development of Sino-Indian ties.

Mr Zemin put forth four proposals during his talks with Mr Narayanan for promotion of personnel exchanges, mutual trust and understanding, strengthening economic and trade cooperation, working for establishment of a new impartial and rational international political and economic order.

The Chinese foreign minister, Mr Tang Jiaxuan, also proposed speeding up talks on the boundary issue, carrying out military exchanges, upgrading security dialogue and announcing the establishment of "China-India Eminent Forum", the Chinese ambassador said, adding these proposals evoked positive response from the Indian side. Sino-Indian relations must be based on the consensus that neither side would regard the other as a threat, he said.

Presiding over the function, the Orissa Assembly Speaker, Mr Sarat Kumar Kar, said there were several areas of mutual co-operation between the two great nations.

THE STATESMAN

30 AUG 2000

30 AUG 2000

## Chinese Foreign Minister coming to firm up ties

By C. Raja Mohan

NEW DELHI, JULY 2. As part of the recent bilateral understanding to maintain high-level political contacts, the Chinese Foreign Minister, Mr. Tang Jiaxuan is visiting India later this month.

This will be the first trip to India by a senior Chinese official since bilateral relations nose-dived after India's nuclear tests in May 1998 and the harsh Chinese reaction to them.

Mr. Tang's visit could be followed by that of the Chinese Prime Minister, Mr. Zhu Rongji, in the near future.

During President Mr. K.R. Narayanan's intensive interaction with the Chinese leadership a few weeks ago in Beijing, it was agreed that the two sides will sustain a high-level political dialogue.

New Delhi and Beijing hope that frequent exchanges at the political level could help build trust between the two nations and allow them to better manage their differences that bedevil their ties.

Mr. Tang is expected to arrive in the capital at the end of the third week of this month and will have an intensive round of consultations with the External Affairs Minister, Mr. Jaswant Singh. He is also likely to call on the Prime Minister, Mr. A.B. Vajpayee.

The two Foreign Ministers are expected to review the regional

and international developments and the state of bilateral relations.

In the last couple of years, Mr. Tang and Mr. Singh have worked hard to salvage the bilateral relationship from the shock of Pokharan-II. They have met a number of times on the margins of multilateral conferences and enjoy a good personal rapport. It was Mr. Singh's visit to China in June 1999 and the talks with Mr. Tang that ended the post-Pokharan chill in Sino-Indian relations. Mr. K.R. Narayanan's trip that has brought back some warmth into the bilateral ties.

Both sides would be looking at ways to build on the success of Mr. Narayanan's visit and expand bilateral cooperation in a number of areas.

Since the President's visit to China, the Government has been hopeful that the extended negotiations on the boundary issue will acquire greater purposefulness and produce early results. Mr. Tang's talks in New Delhi could help clarify Beijing's approach to the vexed boundary question.

The two Foreign Ministers will highlight the common ground on international issues, in particular, their desire for a multipolar world. But they will also find it difficult to avoid sensitive questions on China's strategic relationship with Pakistan and Beijing's nuclear and missile cooperation with Islamabad.

THE HINDU

3 JUL 2000

# Chinese Foreign Minister to visit India, Pakistan

HT Correspondent  
New Delhi, July 3

**FOREIGN MINISTER** Tang Jiaxuan will be visiting New Delhi and Islamabad in the third week of July. Recent reports of Chinese support to Pakistan's missile programme have added a touch of controversy to this visit even though Indo-Chinese relations were officially described as "improving" by officials here.

Even before *New York Times* reported yesterday that the United States Government had definite intelligence reports about Chinese aid to Pakistan's missile development efforts, officials in the Ministry of External Affairs here were taking cognisance of a CIA testimony before the United States

Senate. The testimony revealed that China had developed M11 missiles for Pakistan.

Unconfirmed reports indicate that the Chinese Foreign Minister would be in New Delhi on July 22 for bilateral talks.

He would then leave for Islamabad for a "normal visit" on the invitation of General Parvez Musharraf, the military chief executive of Pakistan.

While here he would review bilateral relations, regional and international relations and discuss issues of mutual concern.

He would also call on Prime Minister Atal Behari Vajpayee.

India's anxiety over the "open secret" of Sino-Pak cooperation has been largely suppressed. Till now, the Ministry of External

Affairs has steered clear of making any remark which could throw the delicate relationship out of balance.

Even though a breakthrough in the long-standing border dispute was achieved in May when the two countries' Joint Working Group met to finalise plans of more focused discussion on the matter, bilateral ties continue to be frosty. This, the observers feel, is because of China's "active co-operation" with Islamabad in developing missiles capable of carrying nuclear payloads.

Mr Jiaxuan would be the highest Chinese Minister to visit New Delhi since the nuclear tests of May 1998, which led to sharp deterioration of relations between the two countries.

THE HINDUSTAN TIMES

4 JUL 2000

# India, China set for N-talks

FROM PRANAY SHARMA

New Delhi, July 5: India and China are preparing the ground for detailed discussions on the real issues concerning bilateral relations — the nuclear tests, Chinese help to Pakistan's nuclear and missile programme and an early end to the border dispute.

These subjects are likely to come up when Chinese foreign minister Tang Jiaxuan visits India later this month.

Tang, who arrives on July 20, is scheduled to hold wide-ranging talks with foreign minister Jaswant Singh to try and iron out

differences on key issues that afflict Sino-Indian relations.

Earlier, in May, both sides avoided raising the nuclear issue. President K.R. Narayanan showed diplomatic savvy when he deleted paragraphs from the prepared text of his speech. The Chinese responded by steering clear of contentious references.

But such niceties may not colour the Tang-Singh meeting. He will be the highest-ranking Chinese dignitary to visit New Delhi after President Jiang Zemin's 1996 trip.

Last June, at the height of the Kargil war, Singh had made a trip to China. It paid dividends. With-

in days, China made it clear that they did not support Pakistan's adventurism. It was during this visit that Singh invited Tang.

At the political level, the two sides have been holding joint working group meetings and interactions between experts, while security dialogues have started in the last one year. Most issues discussed by these groups are likely to be reviewed.

Officially, China hasn't given up demanding implementation of the United Nations resolution 1172. The resolution calls for immediate dismantling of Indian and Pakistani nuclear pro-

grammes and asks the two sides to sign the CTBT and the Nuclear non-Proliferation Treaty (NPT) without delay.

Delhi — which wants Beijing to acknowledge its sovereign right to develop a minimum credible nuclear deterrent — feels the stand shows China's lack of understanding of India's security concerns.

Chinese aid to the Pakistani nuclear and missile programme could also come up. Delhi maintains that since the Pakistani programme is India-specific, any help to Islamabad will continue to be an irritant in normalising ties.

THE TELEGRAPH

- 6 JUL 2000

## India, China sign MoU on IT tie-up

BEIJING, JULY 17. India and China today signed the first-ever Memorandum of Understanding (MoU) to strengthen bilateral cooperation in critical areas of Information Technology (IT) and to boost strategic business partnerships.

The MoU was signed by the visiting Information Technology Minister, Mr. Pramod Mahajan, and his Chinese counterpart, Mr. Wu Jichuan here.

"Under the MoU, the two Ministries would exchange policies and strategies on IT industry, encourage mutual investment, establish joint ventures and transfer technologies," Mr. Mahajan told PTI.

THE HINDU

THE HINDU

18 JUL 2000

# India, China sign MoU on IT co-operation

9/14  
18/7

BEIJING: India and China on Monday signed the first-ever memorandum of understanding (MoU) to strengthen bilateral co-operation in critical areas of information technology (IT) and boost strategic business partnerships.



**Pramod Mahajan**

The MoU was signed by visiting information technology minister Pramod Mahajan and his Chinese counterpart Wu Jichuan here.

"Under the MoU, the two ministries would exchange policies and strategies on IT industry, encourage mutual investment, establish joint ventures and transfer technologies," Mr Mahajan told reporters.

He said that the two sides have identified a number of areas for future co-operation, including in enterprise network, micro-electronic technology and integrated circuit, software and its application and

products.

Valid for five years, the MoU would enhance Sino-Indian co-operation in IT and encourage economic and technical co-operation between enterprises, research institutes and economic entities, he said.

Mr Mahajan, who is here on a five-day official visit, described the MoU as a breakthrough in Sino-Indian co-operation hoping that it would lead to enhanced science and technology co-operation between the two neighbours in the new millennium.

Earlier in the morning, Mr Mahajan held detailed talks with Mr Wu on India-China collaboration in it and issues of common concern. He also held wide-ranging discussions with Chinese government officials on strengthening bilateral co-operation, human resource development, research and development and institutional linkages for boosting ties between emerging new knowledge-based economies.

Mr Mahajan invited Chinese companies, which are highly advanced in the area of computer hardware, to set up manufacturing bases in India. At the same time, he said, the IT ministry would encourage Indian software giants to explore the huge Chinese software market and also team up with the companies here to bid for opportunities in third country markets.

"Our discussions for forging alliances between India's software exporters and Chinese hardware manufacturers seems bright," Mr Mahajan said commenting on his meeting with Mr Wu. The two sides also agreed to support the extensive economic and technical co-operation between related enterprises, research institutions and economic entities of India and China. (PTI)

THE TIMES OF INDIA

18 JUL 2000

# We want peace and stability in South Asia: Tang Jiaxuan

40-19 2/2

**NEW DELHI, JULY 21.** The Chinese Foreign Minister, Mr. Tang Jiaxuan is arriving here tonight for a round of consultations with the External Affairs Minister, Mr. Jaswant Singh, tomorrow. He is also expected to call on the Prime Minister Mr. Atal Behari Vajpayee. After his talks in New Delhi, Mr. Tang is travelling to Pakistan.

*In written answers to questions sent in by C. Raja Mohan, Mr. Tang covered a range of issues that have a bearing on Sino-Indian relations. The following is the text of the questions and answers:*

**C. Raja Mohan: How do you assess the direction of Sino-Indian relations after President K. R. Narayanan's visit to China at the end of May?**

**Mr. Tang Jiaxuan:** This year marks the 50th anniversary of the establishment of the diplomatic relations between China and India. The two countries have held a series of celebrations, among which the successful visit to China by President, K. R. Narayanan in May in particular, has brought the development of the bilateral relations to a new high. During the visit, the leaders of both countries reached broad consensus on the future developments of the Sino-Indian relations, thus enriching the good-neighbourly and friendly relationship between the two countries and laying a solid foundation for the further development of the bilateral relations.

The Chinese side has always maintained that China and India, both as important powers in Asia and developing countries in the world, share similar historical backgrounds and face same tasks today. Their commonalities far outweigh their differences. There is no reason why the two countries cannot live in amity, treat each other as equals, trust each other or seek common development. It is both the obligation and responsibility for China and India to make their contributions to peace and development of the world. We believe that the Sino-Indian relations will be further consolidated and developed in the new century, so long as both sides strictly

adhere to the five principles of peaceful co-existence, view and handle the bilateral relations in accordance with their long-term interests and strategic perspective.

**How do you see the opportunities for cooperation between India and China on the international and regional arena?**

As the two biggest developing countries in the world, China and India share common interests and similar views on many major international and regional issues. Both countries uphold the ways of development in conformity with their own national conditions. They oppose hegemonism, power politics and "neo-imperialism". They stand for promoting world multipolarity process, while opposing unipolar world, and are committed to the establishment of a just and equitable international political and economic order. Facing the complicated and changeable international situation today, it is not only possible but also necessary for China and India to strengthen coordination and cooperation in safeguarding the legal rights and interests of the developing countries and promoting world peace and stability.

**Can India and China cooperate in the worldwide battle against international terrorism and forces of extremism? Will China support India's Comprehensive Convention Against Terrorism at the United Nations?**

China has all along opposed and condemned international terrorism of any kind, opposed the use of terrorist activities as ways and means to reach political objectives and opposed all kinds of violent activities of terrorism by any country, any organisation, any group and any person in violation of the universally recognised international law and norms. China supports all the efforts by the world community to crack down international terrorism. As for any specific proposal against terrorism, China hopes it will be approved on reaching consensus after full consultations.

**What is your view on the offer of the Dalai Lama for unconditional talks with the Chinese Government?**

As for the issue of dialogue with the Dalai Lama, the Chinese Government has repeatedly reiterated its stand that the door of dialogue is always open only if the Dalai Lama abandons his demand for "Tibetan Independence", stops all his activities of splitting the motherland and makes a public statement recognising that Tibet is an inalienable part of the Chinese territory, that Taiwan is a province of China and that the Government of the People's Republic of China is the sole legitimate Government representing the whole of China. The problem we face today is that the Dalai Lama has never stopped his activities aiming at splitting the motherland and sabotaging the national unity. Therefore, it is the Dalai Lama who should be responsible for the dialogue that cannot start.

**India wants acceleration of the Sino-Indian negotiations on the delineation of the Line of Actual Control between the two countries. How, do you see the prospects for bilateral talks on the boundary dispute in the coming months?**

The Chinese side has along attached importance to checking and determining the alignment of the Line of Actual Control (LAC) and put forward a number of positive proposals and suggestions. During the 11th and 12th rounds of talks of the Joint Working Group (JWG) on the Sino-Indian boundary issue, the two sides have reached consensus on accelerating the process of checking and determining the alignment of LAC. I believe that this process will go smoothly as long as both sides follow the principles of "mutual understanding and mutual accommodation", strictly stick to the two agreements signed by the two Governments and conduct friendly negotiations, thus creating favourable atmosphere and conditions for the final just and reasonable solution of the boundary issue.

**There is deep concern in India at reports of continuing Chinese support to the missile programme in Pakistan. Is there any possibility of Beijing reconsidering this support for Pakistan?**

China and Pakistan enjoy normal relations between sovereign countries including the relations of military trade, which conform to international law and norms. Their relations are just like the relations India enjoys with some other countries. As a close neighbour of both India and Pakistan, what China wants to see is peace and stability, not arms race in South Asia. We hold the view that India and Pakistan should settle their differences through dialogue and by peaceful means so as to work together to promote peace, security and stability in this region.

**China is concerned about the development of the theatre and national defences by the United States. But it appears that the export of missiles and related technology by China may be providing a justification for TMD and NMD. What is your response?**

The developments of the TMD and NMD by the United States have caused widespread concern in the international community and met with opposition from a large number of countries. The United States has claimed that the main purpose of the developments of the TMD and NMD was to counter the missile threat from the so-called "countries of concern" such as the DPRK and others. But the recent situation in the Korean peninsula once again shows that the excuse of the United States are unfounded.

China has always taken cautious and responsible attitude towards the export of missiles and related items and exercised strict and effective export control. It is the first time that I heard the remark that China's export of missiles and related technology might provide a justification for the U.S. to develop TMD and NMD. If the remark does go round, it is nothing but an irresponsible gossip.



# China ready to speed up pace of talks on LAC

Ind. China

By C. Raja Mohan

**NEW DELHI, JULY 21.** China is prepared to quicken the pace of negotiations with India on the clarification of the Line of Actual Control (LAC) that separates the two nations, according to the Chinese Foreign Minister, Mr. Tang Jiaxuan.

In an exclusive interview to *The Hindu*, on the eve of his visit to India tonight, Mr. Tang hoped that the process of delineating the LAC would now proceed smoothly in a positive political environment.

Mr. Tang will hold wide-ranging consultations with the External Affairs Minister, Mr. Jaswant Singh, tomorrow. The first visit by a Chinese Foreign Minister to India in many years, it is part of a renewed high-level engagement between the two nations after they decided to end the post-Pokhran chill that froze bilateral relations in May 1993.

In written responses to ques-



Tang Jiaxuan

tions from this correspondent, Mr. Tang said that China had "long attached importance to checking and determining the alignment of the LAC and put forward a number of positive proposals and suggestions". Pointing

to the bilateral "consensus on accelerating" the talks, he said he believed "this process will go on smoothly" so long as both sides "conduct friendly negotiations" and "strictly stick to the two agreements signed by the two Governments" to promote peace and tranquillity in the border zone.

Under the agreements signed in 1993 and 1996, India and China are committed to respecting the LAC, pending an eventual solution to the boundary dispute. But there are differences on the exact location of the LAC in some areas, and the two sides hope to address them in the coming months.

An agreement on the alignment of the LAC, India believes, will be the first essential step towards resolving the long-festering boundary dispute. During his visit in May, the President, Mr. K.R. Narayanan, told the Chinese leadership of the Indian desire to find an early solution.

Text of interview: Page 14

THE HINDU

22 JUL 2000

49-1

FOCUS ON DELINEATION OF LAC ✓✓

# Sino-Indian JWG to meet often

By C. Raja Mohan 239

NEW DELHI, JULY 22. Signalling a political upswing in their relations, India and China today agreed to intensify bilateral engagement and inject some life into the long-stalled talks on the boundary dispute. At the end of their consultations here, the Foreign Ministers of the two countries declared that the efforts to clarify the Line of Actual Control (LAC) on their contested border would be pursued with greater vigour.

Addressing a press conference, the Chinese Foreign Minister, Mr. Tang Jiaxuan, and the External Affairs Minister, Mr. Jaswant Singh, said experts from both sides would now meet "more frequently" and focus on the delineation of the LAC in the middle sector.

Mr. Tang said he hoped that the two sides would now be able to "accelerate the process" of demarcating the LAC and "raise the efficiency" of the Sino-Indian Joint Working Group (JWG), that has dealt with the issue for more than a decade.

The "middle sector" refers to the border along Himachal Pradesh and Uttar Pradesh. It is believed that India and China should find it relatively easy to agree on the alignment of the LAC in the middle sector. This could be followed by a clarification of the LAC in the Western and Eastern sectors on the long border.

For India, speed is of the essence in these talks. Until now a



The Chinese Foreign Minister, Mr. Tang Jiaxuan, with the Prime Minister, Mr. A. B. Vajpayee, in New Delhi on Saturday — Photo: S. Arneja

bilateral experts group has met only once a year after it was constituted in 1991. The Foreign Office spokesman said, "the Experts Group will now meet as often as necessary".

Once they arrive at an agreement on where the LAC runs, the two sides will find it easier to maintain peace along the border and move towards a final settlement of their boundary dispute.

Deeply disappointed that the talks over the years on the clar-

ification of the LAC have gone nowhere, Mr. Singh had been pressing Mr. Tang in recent months to quicken the pace of the negotiations.

During his visit to Beijing in May, the President, Mr. K. R. Narayanan, told the Chinese leadership about the strong Indian desire to find an early resolution.

Officials from both sides indeed agreed at the last meeting of the JWG earlier this year in New Delhi to accelerate the talks on the LAC.

This decision now has the political endorsement of the two Foreign Ministers.

Expectations of an early movement on the clarification of the LAC come amidst the broader agreement between the two sides to bury the Pokhran hatchet and expand their mutual engagement. In an interesting development, the two sides announced today the resumption of high level military interaction. Indian naval ships will visit Shanghai in September and exchange visits by military chiefs of staff are on the cards.

But India's concerns at Chinese nuclear and missile transfers to Pakistan remain. Mr. Tang insisted that China's military trade with Islamabad was "part of normal, sovereign, and state-to-state relations" and that "it is not targeted against any third country".

Differences on this issue are being discussed in the security dialogue between the two nations, the first round of which was held in Beijing last March. The two Ministers agreed to raise the security dialogue to the level of additional secretaries.

Mr. Tang who is leaving for Pakistan, called on the Prime Minister, Mr. Atal Behari Vajpayee, this evening. The meeting lasted 35 minutes and was described as "very cordial". Mr. Vajpayee invited the Chinese Prime Minister, Mr. Zhu Rongji, and the President, Mr. Jiang Zemin, to visit India at their convenience.

THE HINDU

1997

# Latvians freed, Moscow welcomes decision

STATESMAN NEWS SERVICE

*Indo Russia*  
*5/1 20/2*  
CALCUTTA, July 22. — The five Latvians arrested for involvement in the December 1995 Purulia armsdrop were released from Presidency Jail this morning following orders to the West Bengal government from the President, Mr KR Narayanan.

Mr Narayanan reportedly granted clemency to the Latvians under article 72 of the Indian Constitution after the Russian government appealed for clemency. The Latvians were escorted to the Russian consulate in the city amid tight security. No reporters were allowed near them. The Consul-General, Mr Zolotuhin, was not available for comment.

The Russian Ambassador to India, Mr Alexander M Kadakin, visited the convicts in jail on 14 April this year. The Latvians' release comes ahead of President Putin's scheduled visit to India in October.

The state government intimated the jail authorities about the presidential order and the

prisoners were handed over to a senior official from the Russian Federation Embassy in New Delhi this morning.

Mr Alexander Klichin, Mr Igor Timmerman, Mr Igor Moskvitin, Mr Oleg Gaidasch and Mr E Antimenko from Latvia, along with Mr Peter Bleach, a British national, had been sentenced to imprisonment for life and a fine of Rs 25,000 each, by the city civil and sessions court in February this year, on charges of conspiring to wage war against the state. They were also sentenced to seven years' rigorous imprisonment and fined Rs 10,000 each. The Latvians were all crew of the Russian aircraft which dropped arms over Purulia on the night of 17 December 1995.

Today, the state judicial minister, Mr NN Adhikari, read out a letter from the Union ministry of home affairs, which said Mr Narayanan had taken the decision after considering "the bilateral relations" between India and Russia.

THE STATESMAN

21/7

## Himalayan task

92-6

Keywords in India-China ties: 'transparency' and 'trust'

**C**HINESE foreign minister Tang Jiaxuan's arrival in Delhi over the weekend, and the meetings with his Indian counterpart Jaswant Singh and Prime Minister Atal Behari Vajpayee, have once more raised hopes about the improvement in relations between the world's two largest countries. Expectations are high on both sides, especially given the post-Pokharan chill that had, since May 1998, frozen bilateral relations between the two neighbours. The visit of Indian President K.R. Narayanan to Beijing this May marked the beginning of the thaw. And now the visit of the Chinese foreign minister — after several years — is expected to renew the high-level engagement between the two Asian giants. Tang, on his part, has already declared that part of the purpose behind the mission is to hasten the slow pace of negotiations between the two countries on the ticklish border issue. Fortunately, there is a consensus between the two countries on the subject. After all, the two agreements signed in 1993 and in 1996 commit each other to respect the common line of actual control (LAC). Proceeding onwards from there, with the two previous commitments as the basic framework for the talks, should bring about a qualitative transformation in India-China ties.

Yet major differences continue to persist on the exact location of the LAC in some areas, right from Aksai Chin in eastern Ladakh to Arunachal Pradesh in the east. Admittedly, the process of delineating the LAC is a Himalayan task, but it is

likely to proceed rather smoothly given the new environment of friendship being created by the visits of high-level dignitaries on both sides. The long-festering boundary dispute can only be sorted out if both sides display total trust and faith in each other, of that there can be little doubt. What has led to the weakening of that trust is the reported help China is providing Pakistan on the missile and nuclear front. News sources in the United States are replete with reports of such clandestine support.

In a private interview on the subject of Chinese support to the missile programme in Pakistan, Tang clarified recently that while China and Pakistan enjoy normal relations between sovereign countries, including the relations of military trade, which conform to international law and norms, his country — as a close neighbour of both India and Pakistan — "wants to see peace and stability, not arms race in South Asia". This is all very well, but Tang needs to realise that "peace and stability" in the region cannot be achieved by China surreptitiously supplying missile technology to Pakistan even as it continues to be vociferously critical of India's nuclear programme. Although hopes are high in New Delhi, with Tang's visit, for an improvement in bilateral relations, the Chinese foreign minister's visit to Islamabad is going to be carefully followed by observers, not just in this country but all over the world. The keywords in this engagement are really 'transparency' and 'trust' and, hopefully, the Tang visit would help towards realising them.

INDIAN EXPRESS

24 JUL 2000

## Five-point formula to ease tension

# Panchsheel parallel for China thaw

22/7  
FROM PRANAY SHARMA

New Delhi, July 22: In an attempt to return to the "Hindi-Chini bhai bhai" days, the neighbours have agreed on a five-point formula that would help iron out differences and improve relations.

To back this commitment, foreign minister Jaswant Singh and his Chinese counterpart Tang Jianxuan, on a visit to the country, today agreed on starting the delineation process of their borders along the Line of Actual Control in the middle sector that runs between Himachal Pradesh and Uttar Pradesh.

Tang is the highest ranking Chinese visitor since relations were soured in 1998 by the Pokhran nuclear blasts which Pakistan quickly answered with tests of its own. India has repeatedly accused China of helping Pakistan's nuclear and missile programmes.

Tang sought to assure India that China's "military ties with Pakistan were in no way aimed at Delhi". He also indicated that China was trying to come to terms with Delhi's nuclear status by not raising the issue of implementing the UN Security Council's resolution number 1172 which calls for immediate dismantling of India's nuclear programme.

The five-point formula, reminiscent of the Panchsheel pillars of the Nehru era, includes steps to enhance trade and economic cooperation, development of military-to-military contacts, upgrad-

ing security dialogue from the joint-secretary level to additional-secretary level, frequent meetings of the experts' group on the boundary dispute and setting up of an eminent persons' group.

The effort to engage with each other in non-political areas indicates that the countries are keen to broaden existing ties.

Enhanced economic and trade cooperation is part of the initiative, which proposes to include steps like setting up joint infotech projects and holding trade exhibitions in both countries.

The proposed eminent persons' group will help people-to-people contact in areas of commonality. The neighbours have also drawn up a number of confidence-building measures as part of which Indian naval ships will visit Shanghai in September.

But homilies apart, the fact that both nations have agreed to start serious work on the border problem shows their keenness on easing tension. It was not known whether the two sides have already exchanged maps emphasising their respective claims.

If China made concessions by not referring to the Security Council resolution, India, too, showed restraint by not raking up Beijing's nuclear help to Islamabad. The issue was raised "in passing" by Singh during talks with his guest from Beijing.

The Indians admit this is a sore point in relations but believe that improved ties would ensure that such cooperation detrimental to India's interests will stop.

THE TELEGRAPH

23 JUL 2000

HQ-14  
25/7

# China for talks to resolve Indo-Pak. disputes

By B. Muralidhar Reddy

**ISLAMABAD, JULY 24.** The Chinese Foreign Minister, Mr. Tang Jiaxuan, has expressed the hope that all differences between India and Pakistan, including the Kashmir dispute, would be resolved through dialogue and negotiations.

Mr. Tang, who is on a three-day visit here, made the observations in the course of two rounds of discussions during the day with his counterpart, Mr. Abdul Sattar, who briefed him on Pakistan's policy of resolving all outstanding disputes with India through negotiations.

An official statement said Mr. Tang appreciated readiness on the part of Pakistan to hold a dialogue on all matters "at any time, at any place and at any level".

"Mr. Tang said this demonstrated the sincerity of Pakistan for peace," it said. The Ministers reiterated the desire of the two countries to strengthen cooperation in all fields and to celebrate the 50th anniversary of the establishment of diplomatic relations.

The statement said talks were held in a cordial atmosphere "characteristic of the relations" between the countries and a wide-range of subjects were covered. These include further cooperation between the countries, the situation in South Asia, Afghanistan and in the Korean peninsula. At the end of the talks, the Ministers signed two agreements. Under the agreements, China will provide a 3 million yuan assistance to Pakistan and donate relief goods worth 2 million yuan for Afghan refugees.

Earlier, during his meeting with the President, Mr. Rafiq Tarar, Mr. Tang said China favoured a "comprehensive partnership of friendship and co-operation".

An official statement said that Mr. Tarar reciprocated the gesture of Mr. Jiang and expressed the confidence that their time-tested friendship would grow in the years to come. On his arrival on Sunday, Mr. Tang asserted that the Sino-Indian rapprochement would not come in the way of the strengthening of time-tested relations with Pakistan.

The Chief Executive, Gen. Pervez Musharraf, is hosting a lunch in the honour of Mr. Tang tomorrow. Gen. Musharraf visited China in January; it was the first non-Muslim country he visited after taking over the reigns of power last year.

THE HINDU

HD-14  
2/1

## Beidaihe meet to focus on Sino-Indian ties 3/17

**BEIJING, JULY 30.** China's top leadership, gathering at the seaside resort of Beidaihe, is expected to comprehensively review Beijing's relations with major and emerging powers, including India, diplomatic sources here said.

The Beidaihe conclave will also draw up plans to further consolidate Beijing's diplomatic influence in shaping world affairs in the new millennium, the sources added.

One of the major goals of this

year's conclave is to take stock of China's gains on the diplomatic front during the past one year, an Asian diplomat commented on the annual summer leadership meeting at Beidaihe.

Since the early 1980s, the Chinese leadership has held meetings at Beidaihe, 300 km east of Beijing, every August to plan economic, political and diplomatic strategies for the coming year.

Diplomatic sources say Sino-Indian ties are expected to figure in this year's diplomatic agenda

since the Chinese Premier, Mr. Zhu Rongji, is expected to pay an official visit to India later this year, which could put these relations on a firm footing in the new millennium.

Moreover, the Chinese Foreign Minister, Mr. Tang Jiaxuan, has just completed his first official visit to India during which he held wide-ranging talks with the Indian leadership on a number of bilateral, regional and international issues of common concern. — PTI

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7-12 ✓ EAST WIND 116

The week long visit of the Indian president, Mr K.R. Narayanan, to China formally marks the end of the two countries' post-Pokhran bitterness. The two countries went out of their way to stress issues in which they shared views. They skirted the many differences that bedevil their relationship. India's main policy goal since 1998 has been to ward off an incipient Asian cold war, a threat that followed New Delhi's letter to Washington blaming its nuclear tests on the need to deter a Chinese threat. The Chinese president, Mr Jiang Zemin, had publicly expressed surprise and dismay at this claim. The slow but steady improvement in ties that began with Rajiv Gandhi's 1988 visit was under threat. This presidential visit is designed to send the signal that India remains committed to the overall policy of normalizing relations with China. The hasty comments following Pokhran II notwithstanding, there are no reasons for hostile relations between New Delhi and Beijing.

China also put as positive a spin as possible to the visit. For the first time, it agreed with India on the need for greater international cooperation to combat terrorism. It would have been too much to expect it to agree to a specific mention of Pakistan. India iterated that Tibet was an integral part of China. Beijing expressed its appreciation of the tact with which New Delhi handled the *karmapa lama's* defection. The two countries also spoke of their common desire for a multipolar world. This was also more sentiment than substance. Neither country has shown the slightest signs of coordinating their respective policies against the United States. They also agreed the United Nations security council needed to be more representative. However, Beijing did not endorse India's permanent membership. This tentativeness is not a surprise. The two Asian giants have major bilateral differences that need to be bridged before they can claim to be strategic brethren. The two presidents spoke of their intention to find an amicable and mutually acceptable solution to the border problem. A greater concern, about which neither spoke publicly, is the degree and depth of China's military cooperation with Pakistan. This, even more than 1962, continues to cloud bilateral relations. India's letter to Washington represented a genuine school of thought in New Delhi, a school inspired by the Chinese connection in Pakistan's missile and nuclear programmes. There is no Sino-Indian honeymoon in the offing. The two countries barely even trade with each other. Mr Narayanan's visit was about the two once more agreeing that while they did not have too much in common, their differences were not too great either. And that both countries were agreeable to moving forward on the common concerns rather than the differences.

THE TELEGRAPH

21 JUN 2000



# China mum on India's Security Council bid

11/6 India  
China  
PRESS TRUST OF INDIA

BEIJING, May 31. — China today agreed to work with India for the much needed UN reforms, but was non-committal on backing New Delhi's candidature for a permanent seat in the restructured Security Council.

President KR Narayanan and Chinese Premier Zhu Rongji during their meeting here also agreed to enhance economic cooperation, especially in the information technology sector, between the two countries.

The two leaders discussed the need for UN reforms and restructuring of the Security Council, foreign secretary Mr Lalit Mansingh later told reporters.

Mr Narayanan told the Premier about India's claim for a permanent Security Council seat, but Mr Zhu, did not give any indication of support.

The President had raised the matter during his talks with his Chinese counterpart Mr Jiang Zemin, but his response was also quite similar to the one expressed by Mr Zhu.

China has also clarified that not discussing the South Asian nuclear issue with the President did not mean that its stand on the issue has softened. "We're unwilling to see a new round of nuclear arms race in South Asia and this policy has not changed," a Chinese foreign ministry official told reporters.

Mr Zhu lauded India for the significant progress it had made in different fields, and said China could learn from its advancement in IT. Mr Narayanan said India would be happy to extend all help.

He reminded Mr Zhu of his long-pending visit to New Delhi, which would possibly electrify Indians like it did during the visit of Chou En Lai. Mr Zhu responded saying he could at best be a harbinger of peace.

Officials said the Chinese foreign minister would be visiting New Delhi shortly.

THE STATESMAN



# China still cool to backing India's claim to UN seat



SEEKING COMMON GROUND: President K.R. Narayanan with Chinese Prime Minister Zhu Rongji in Beijing on Wednesday AP

D.D. Gupta  
BEIJING 31 MAY

CHINA, ON Wednesday, agreed to work with India on the much-needed UN reforms, but was noncommittal about supporting New Delhi's candidature for a permanent seat in the restructured Security Council.

President K.R. Narayanan and Chinese premier Zhu Rongji, during their meeting in Beijing, also agreed to enhance economic cooperation, especially in the information technology sector. During the parleys, the two leaders discussed the need for UN reforms and a restructuring of the Security Council to give developing countries full responsibility, foreign secretary Lalit Mansingh said.

Mr Narayanan told the Chinese premier about India's

claim for a permanent seat in the Security Council, but Mr Zhu, without giving any indication of support, agreed with him that a restructuring of the UN was needed and Beijing was willing to work with New Delhi to usher in reforms. Mr Narayanan had raised the matter during his talks with his Chinese counterpart Jiang Zemin on Monday but his response was also quite similar to the one expressed by Zhu.

Soon after his talks with Zhu, the president left for industrial city of Dalian on the third day of week-long state visit to China.

Stating that in the last few years Sino-Indian relations had been "very good," the Chinese premier stressed the need for further consolidating the ties through enhanced economic and trade cooperation. — PTI

The Economic Times

7 1 JUN 2000

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# China not to sacrifice ties with Pakistan for Sino-Indian relations

Beijing, June 1

CHINA HAS indicated that it will not sacrifice its "all-weather" relationship with Pakistan while attempting to improve and develop Sino-Indian relations.

"The development and improvement of the Sino-Indian relations will not have any adverse impact on the friendly relations and cooperation between China and Pakistan and vice-versa," a senior Chinese Foreign Ministry official said yesterday.

At an informal briefing on President K R Narayanan's talks with the Chinese leadership here this week, the official, seeking anonymity, said the two sides discussed the tense situation in India-Pakistan relations.

"The Chinese Government pursues a friendly and good-neighbourly relationship with India and hopes that Sino-Indian relations will constantly improve and develop. China pursues a similar policy towards Pakistan," the Foreign Ministry official said.

China and Pakistan enjoyed a traditional friendship, and Chinese policy was to "further consolidate and develop" its relations with Islamabad, the official said.

"Sino-Indian relations are conducive to the development of Sino-Pakistani relations and the Sino-Pakistani relations are also conducive to Sino-Indian relations," the official said. The Foreign Ministry official said visiting Indian President briefed his counterpart on New Delhi's present policy towards Islamabad and Chinese President Jiang Zemin in turn stressed that Beijing hoped to see the settlement of existing differences between the two neighbours through dialogue so that peace and stability is restored in the region.

(PTI)

THE HINDUSTAN TIMES

2 JUN 2000

SATURDAY, JUNE 3, 2000

## 376 ROAD AHEAD FOR SINO-INDIAN TIES 12

AS INDIA AND China mark the completion of half a century of diplomatic engagement, looking back on the lost opportunities during most of the past five decades, there must be genuine hope that the next 50 years will see greater mutually-beneficial cooperation between the two Asian giants. The transparent warmth with which the President, Mr. K. R. Narayanan, has been received in Beijing and the expressions of goodwill from the Chinese leaders signal that the bilateral relationship has finally emerged from the dark days of the summer of two years ago following Pokhran-II, even justifying optimism over the direction in which the ties are moving. The Chinese President, Mr. Jiang Zemin's repeated highlighting of the need for the two countries to take a long-term strategic perspective of the bilateral relations as much as Mr. Narayanan's significant description of cooperation with China as a historical necessity underscored the desire on both sides to move the ties forward. For the two countries to "scale heights", as Mr. Jiang wanted, there are opportunities in the bilateral sphere and in the fast-evolving global situation provided there is a willingness to jettison the baggage of the past.

On the long-standing boundary question, China again counselled patience while the President conveyed India's eagerness for imparting a sense of urgency to the bilateral effort to find acceptable solutions. Each country had its reasons, but as Mr. Narayanan said such "inherited" problems must not be left over for history. Mr. Jiang's expression of appreciation for the way India handled the arrival of the Karmapa Lama and his decision not to raise the nuclear issue despite continuing differences were the diplomatic red carpet that Beijing rolled out for Mr. Narayanan. They give rise to the hope that China may one day be ready to give up attempts to keep India in the South Asian straitjacket and acknowledge its arrival on the international arena. The President's visit must simultaneously

have served to remove whatever misgivings Beijing might have harboured over the decision of India and the U.S. to enter a new strategic relationship. Far from joining any real or imaginary plan to encircle China, India is interested in exploring ways of working with China and other like-minded countries to build a new international order and end the instability of the present unipolar world.

If there are opportunities, there are also persisting irritants. Two issues on which gaps in perspective remain are the result of a continuing Chinese failure to rid the bilateral relations of the millstone of third country ties. The first relates to the fight against international terrorism. While ready to come out forcefully against terrorism, China has been reluctant to join India in condemning Pakistan for terrorist acts. Its all-weather friendship with Pakistan also ensured that China refrained from extending support to India's claim to a permanent seat in the United Nations Security Council while it readily agreed with India on the need for reforming and restructuring the world body. China's continued deference to Pakistan, which wants allotment on a rotational basis, and Beijing's reluctance to come out in support of India are inexplicable, especially in the context of the open declaration by two of the five big powers, Russia and France, in favour of New Delhi's candidature and the urgency of democratising the U.N.

The diplomatic engagement between the two neighbours began half a century ago on a note of high expectancy. The first decade of Hindi-Chini bhai bhai gave no hint of the impending catastrophe of the border war. It has taken three decades and more for the scars to get erased and a new beginning to be made. As the bilateral relations remain on the threshold, the most enduring impression from the historic Presidential visit is one of a desire on both sides to widen the interaction between the two peoples at different levels for mutual benefit.

THE HINDU

3 JUN 2000

# President commends idea of road, rail links with China

By C. Raja Mohan

*9nd. China*

**KUNMING, JUNE 2.** Sino-Indian relations have entered a positive phase and cooperation between the two countries will now gather momentum, the President Mr. K.R. Narayanan, affirmed here today.

The President, now on the last lap of his week-long State visit to China, was reflecting on the results of his talks with the Chinese leadership over the last few days.

In an interaction here with the scholars from the Yunnan Academy of Social Sciences, Mr. Narayanan said he had the "sense that Sino-Indian relations have reached criticality". "From now on," he added, "cooperation between the two countries will acquire both speed and intensity".

The President was responding to proposals under the so-called Kunming initiative for regional economic integration between Eastern India, South Western China, Bangladesh and Myanmar.

The Institute for South Asia Studies here in the capital of Yunnan province has been promoting ideas for road, rail and air links across the region to facilitate

*40-1* trade and tourism among the four countries.

The case for regional cooperation has got broad support from the academic communities of India, Bangladesh and Myanmar at a conference last year at Kunming. The Governments of the four countries are considering the implementation of various proposals.

Welcoming the Kunming initiative, Mr. Narayanan said he was "happy to be present at the beginning" of this important process. The success of the process, he said, would "depend crucially" on the movement in Sino-Indian relations. Recalling that the late Prime Ministers of the two countries, Jawaharlal Nehru and Zhou Enlai, had discussed transport links between India and China, Mr. Narayanan said he was pleased those ideas were now being revived. He believed that "all material conditions are now present" for the exploration of innovative ideas in bilateral ties.

Congratulating the Yunnan scholars for thinking up the Kunming initiative, Mr. Narayanan said there was a "real opportunity now to inject economic

and technical content to our age-old relations".

The Yunnan province, witnessing rapid economic growth, wants to emerge as a bridge between the subcontinent and South East Asia. Beijing is said to be actively supporting the initiative by the provincial authorities.

Mr. Narayanan is also meeting tonight the Governor of Yunnan, Mr. Li Jiting.

Among the merits of the initiative, Mr. Narayanan said, are the focus on some of the backward regions in India and China, and the attempt to draw in Bangladesh and Myanmar, both looking for a quicker pace of economic growth.

According to Mr. Narayanan, the initiative "will have long-term consequences for Sino-Indian cooperation as well as immediate impact on peace, stability and progress" in the region. But it is unlikely to go very far, unless there is greater commercial interest within the Indian business community and a bolder political vision in New Delhi to pursue what appears to be a promising opportunity to recast India's neighbourhood to the East.

THE HINDU

JUN 2 1990

## India, China yet to agree on yatra route

NEW DELHI, JUNE 4. The Union Home Minister, Mr. L.K. Advani, today said India had attempted to persuade China to allow the use of Ladakh route for the annual Kailash Mansarovar Yatra but failed.

"Kailash Mansarovar, which lies in Tibet, is witnessing an increasing traffic of pilgrims. We had tried to make China agree that the pilgrims use the Ladakh route," Mr. Advani told presspersons here.

"However, there has been no agreement on this so far," he added, while taking a view of a photo exhibition 'Indus in India' which coincided with the 'Sindhu Darshan' festival getting underway in Ladakh this week.

The Ladakh route for Kailash Mansarovar is considered less hazardous and less time consuming than the present passage through Uttar Pradesh.

The Jammu and Kashmir Government has been pleading that the pilgrims be sent through Ladakh so that the tourism potential of the mountainous region could be exploited further.

Talking about Sindhu Darshan, Mr. Advani said the fourth annual festival was significant this time as it was the first since the Kargil conflict which had brought the region to world focus.

The festival will help enhance tourism activity in the region besides highlighting the culture of the mountain-locked region, the Minister said. — PTI

THE HINDU

25 JUN 2 1980

# China ready to expedite talks on LAC delineation

By C. Raja Mohan

NEW DELHI, JUNE 4. India and China are ready for a mature relationship after the President, Mr. K. R. Narayanan's talks with the Chinese leadership last week.

Mr. Narayanan's six-day trip to China, which ended yesterday in the south-western city of Kunming, was aimed at regenerating a warm and friendly atmosphere between the two nations. There is satisfaction here that the visit succeeded in realising this goal.

Highly-placed sources in the delegation that accompanied the President said the visit created a basis for intensifying bilateral cooperation and a commitment to address long-standing differences over the boundary question. With China and India on the path of rapid economic development, both sides are convinced that all objective conditions are now present for injecting greater commercial content into bilateral relations.

There is a recognition in both

capitals that the big missing element in the age-old ties between the two societies has been substantive economic cooperation.

Following Mr. Narayanan's visit, more frequent high level political exchanges are likely to take place between the two nations. The Chinese Foreign Minister, Mr. Tang Jiaxuan, and the Prime Minister, Mr. Zhu Rongji, are expected to visit India in the coming months.

In his talks with the Chinese leadership, Mr. Narayanan had

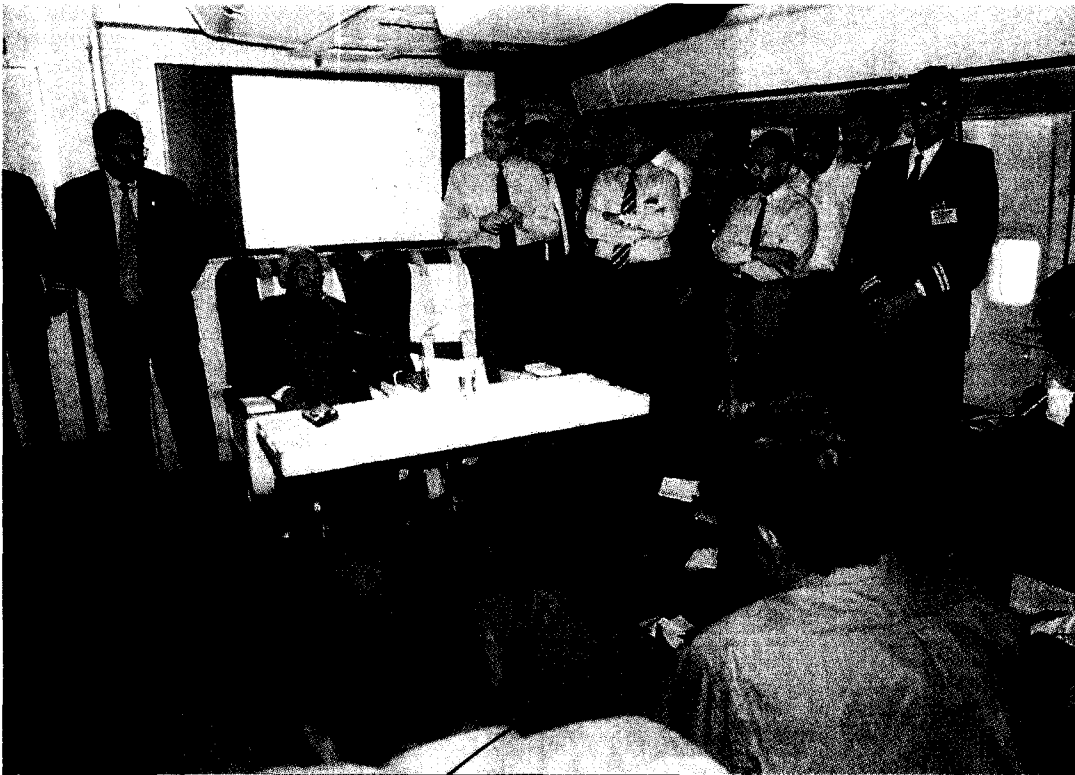
insisted that the boundary question, on which negotiations have drifted along for the last decade, cannot be left for future generations and must be addressed with seriousness. Mr. Narayanan's talks did not involve any detailed discussion of the boundary question. The President's emphasis was on conveying India's keen desire to get an early resolution of the dispute.

The immediate objective is to impart some speed to the negotiations on delineating the Line of Actual Control that separates the two nations on their long border. The alignment of the LAC is itself in dispute in many areas. The actual talks on the contentious border issue will follow later.

The Chinese leaders now appear ready for more purposeful negotiations on the clarification of the LAC. The impact of the new willingness to expedite the process will be reflected in the tone and tenor of the next round of meetings between the expert groups from the two sides.

The decision by the Chinese leaders not to raise the nuclear issue in the talks with Mr. Narayanan is being seen here as significant. Sources in the delegation argue that this does not mean there is a basic change in the Chinese position on India's nuclear weapons programme.

What it does signify, however, is that China may no longer want to make the nuclear issue a point of dispute in bilateral relations. Like many other countries, China too is very impressed by the Indian advances in the software sector. The Chinese leaders are keen to see greater bilateral cooperation in science and technology, particularly in the IT sector.



The President, Mr. K.R. Narayanan, addressing mediapersons on board the aircraft while returning from China.

THE HINDU

5 JUN 2000

President sets stage for friendship talks

# Delhi reality test for China high

FROM SANKARSHAN THAKUR

New Delhi, June 4: The indubitably excellent atmospherics through President K.R. Narayanan's visit to China notwithstanding, South Block mandarins are sounding caution on reaching hasty conclusions about the positive air impacting Sino-Indian relations.

"China's keenness to stress commonality and avoid differences was only too apparent during the President's trip, as was a palpable sense of friendliness, but whether there is any real change in their attitude can only be tested on the bilateral negotiating table," said a well-placed foreign office source at the conclusion of the six-day tour.

The superscript of the visit was, of course, the complete Chinese silence on the Pokhran blasts of May 1998 and the subsequent signals emanating from New Delhi that the essential reason for the nuclear tests was squaring up to the Chinese threat. That the Chinese leadership chose to avoid mention of the nuclear tests is being seen as a sign that Beijing does not want any more to make it "an issue of dispute" with India and seeks to take bilateral ties ahead regardless.

For Rashtrapati Bhavan, this would perhaps be a source of both satisfaction and achievement. The President's visit became the platform for the first Chinese demonstration of willingness to talk friendship since Pokhran II.

But the view from South Block is that the road to normalisation of relations could yet be long and tortuous. As one foreign office source said: "The President's visit was significant for the signals it sent out but the Chinese have not committed themselves to any-



WHAT'S THE TUNE?  
A Chinese folk dancer. (PTI)

thing new. Even on the nuclear question, they were silent, which does not necessarily mean there is a change in their outlook."

Apart from expressions of intent on strengthening bilateral ties — political and cultural exchanges will probably go through a phase of spate beginning with Chinese foreign minister Tang Jiaxuan's visit later this year — the Chinese gave no assurances even on specific and repeated urgings of Narayanan. No response to his pleas for speeding up the delineation of the Line of Actual Control, not a hint that China would even consider supporting India's case for permanent membership of the UN Security Council. What the Chinese leadership kept repeating was that it was "for making the Security Council more representative with the inclusion of nations from the developing world". On the LAC, the consistent Chinese response was that "great amount of work still remains to be done and the boundary question needs to be ap-

proached with patience".

There is a perception, in fact, that the Chinese may not have raised the nuclear issue purely on "ceremonial" grounds. The Indian President is a nominal head of state and added to that is the fact that the Chinese do consider Narayanan an "old friend" because of his long association with China. Beijing did not see the point in "unnecessarily ruining" a ceremonial visit by throwing up prickly issues. These may also have been the reasons why the Chinese refrained from factoring Pakistan — Beijing remains quite unabashed about its multi-pronged support to Islamabad — into the discussions.

Official sources, of course, underlined that given the nature of his office, the President himself had not approached his China visit with any illusions about achieving a major breakthrough or even discussing the nitty-gritty of bilateral ties. The talks were essentially general rather than particular, leaning on the atmospherics rather than the specifics. There was no detailed discussion, for instance, on the boundary question, the most troublesome and long-standing dispute.

What the trip did fetch, according to them, is the creation of an atmosphere in which Sino-Indian relations have the potential to take off, specially in the context of economic ties. It is not for nothing that accent on building economic relations was the constant refrain of Narayanan throughout the trip.

In the context of China's unbridled leap ahead and India's own efforts to open up, the President feels the strong impulses for economic growth in both China and India will become the propellants of a new era in ties.

THE TELEGRAPH

5 JUN 2000



## India-China economic ties: new dimensions

*'Flag follows trade' has been an age-old maxim. With Beijing's membership of the WTO on the horizon, and given the far-reaching changes it is set to usher in the international economic scene, India and China are faced with a situation in which economic necessities would have to be accorded their long-overdue importance, write R. Gopalakrishnan and V. S. Sambandan.*

INDIA AND China, two of the largest economies outside the Club of the Rich — the OECD — are trying to give a new impetus to bilateral, especially economic, relations.

Given the political complexities of the relations between the two countries, the importance of bilateral commercial ties was emphasised by the Indian President, Mr. K.R. Narayanan, during his recent visit to China who saw a "real opportunity to inject economic and technical content to our age-old relations."

The question that is relevant to the future is to what extent the Asian giants have synergies conducive to cooperation compared to the potential for competition or indifference in the emerging world of globalisation. The implications of Sino-Indian economic synergies gain further relevance given that China is practically on the threshold of entry into the World Trade Organisation (WTO) on a much stronger base of agricultural, industrial and human development — and a much bigger share of the world trade — than India (Table I)

The bilateral trade agreement reached this February had been preceded by a few substantive though halting steps in the past two decades. Under the latest accord of February 22, 2000, China agreed to grant India on a non-reciprocal basis (as part of its pre-WTO entry signals) tariff concessions on a number of items of substantial interest to India, including rice, fruits, vegetables, marine products and pharmaceuticals. These will be effective from the time of China's accession to the WTO.

### Breakthrough in trade

Trade between the two countries had earlier achieved a breakthrough when they signed an agreement in December 1984 providing for mutual grant of the most-favoured-nation (MFN) treatment, which normally is a part of obligation of GATT/WTO members.

The setting up of a Joint Economic Group at the ministerial level, subcommittee on science and technology, agreements on cooperation in coal mining and non-ferrous metallurgy, a civil aviation agreement on direct services (1997), a cooperation agreement



The erstwhile silk route that has a history of being a business link between India and China.

ing 1998-99 following severe recession in the Asian markets, there has been a revival since then to double digit growth.

Traditionally, marine products, iron ore and oil meal have led Indian exports to China. In 1997-98 and 1998-99, marine products exports to China totalled, respectively, \$115 million and \$50 million, iron ore \$98 million and \$87 million, and oil meal \$188 million and \$31 million.

Organic chemicals and electronic goods (several of which are made by multinational corporations in their ventures in China) and coke/coal have been dominating China's exports to India. In 1997-98 and 1998-99, China exported organic chemicals worth \$ 177 million and \$166 million, electronic goods worth \$ 108 million and \$153 million, and coke/coal/briquettes etc \$185 million and \$86 million. Inorganic

cent of India's exports to the People's Republic of China (Table II).

As for PRC's exports, organic chemicals account for 16 per cent of Indian imports of the category, and 15 per cent of Indian import of electronic goods is from China.

According to an Export-Import Bank of India study, a matter of concern is that the share of manufactured goods in India's exports to China has declined from 53.5 per cent in 1992-93 to 35.6 per cent in 1998-99, while the share of agricultural and allied products increased from just 1.6 per cent to 27 per cent, with marine products emerging as a major item.

In contrast, in the case of imports from China, the share of raw materials and intermediate goods declined while that of manufacturing goods increased almost three-fold during this period. "China's (global) import structure is

basket is a result of the increasing foreign direct investment in China, by both non-resident/Hong Kong Chinese and OECD (Japan, Europe, U.S.) companies, using that country as a production base for the world market.

### Non-tariff barriers, major hurdle

According to official sources, major problems in expanding India-China trade include, apart from a huge information gap and language barrier, factors like China's non-tariff barriers including import licensing arrangements, commodity inspections and quantitative regimes, export-import balancing requirements and testing and certification procedures.

Opacity of rules in China is also cited as a frequent impediment. "The legal system (in China) is embryonic and even where detailed rules do exist, there is often a lack of transparency

(following an earlier agreement with the U.S.) as part of its pre-WTO entry bilateral pacts should throw some light on its possible priorities as a member of the global fraternity.

Though its terms relate to more value-added and high-tech products/services like automobiles and insurance/telecom, they are relevant to countries such as India to the extent that multinational corporations could use India too as a base for global operations and to the extent that MFN treatment is obligatory under WTO for goods and investment.

Major components of the China-EU agreement are: China's import tariffs over 150 leading European exports such as machinery, ceramics and glass, textiles, clothing, footwear and leather goods, cosmetics and spirits will be reduced to around eight to ten per cent; European carmakers will have greater flexibility to choose the types of vehicles to build and approval thresholds of provincial authorities will be raised from \$30 to \$50 million; specific joint venture restrictions on large department stores and chain stores to be removed.

Market access will improve for key EU agricultural products such as rapeseed oil, dairy products, pasta, wine and olives, while an EU sanitary and phytosanitary (SPS) agreement will ensure China's application of the WTO SPS agreement and resolve a number of bilateral issues.

China has also granted higher market access in banking and insurance and the time-table for opening up telecommunication has been accelerated by two years.

While it is not yet known whether China will enter the WTO as a devel-

Seshadri, Joint Secretary in the Commerce Ministry, India's share of FDI flow to developing countries was 0.79 per cent in 1993, 1.86 per cent in 1995, 2.19 per cent in 1997 and 1.36 per cent in 1998. The corresponding figures for China are 37.88 per cent, 33.93 per cent, 30.42 per cent, and 27.40 per cent.

The total FDI flow to developing countries during these four years was \$72.6 billion, \$105.5 billion, \$148.9 billion and \$165.9 billion.

The cumulative Chinese investment in India approved between 1991 and 1999, according to the Union Commerce Ministry, was Rs. 711 crores — a mere 0.3 per cent of the total approvals (Rs. 205,187 crores).

The actual inflow was Rs. 1.89 crores — 0.27 per cent of the FDI approved. A total of 75 foreign collaborations were approved — a paltry 0.16 per cent of the total approval (16,367) for all countries.

There could be some catching up by India in future and some slideback on the part of China, thus narrowing the gap. On the one hand, the increasing awareness abroad about India's potential and advantages and the plans for Special Economic Zones (SEZs) announced by the Union Government might accelerate the flow of FDI to India, including diversion of some of the capital invested in China.

On the other, some believe that the discrepancy between China's economic and political policy regimes would sooner or later create a problem and even unrest, that could slowdown the flow of foreign investment.

Whatever be the substantial differences between India and China in terms of their potential to compete in the world market for goods, services and investment, and despite the odd

### I: India - China Economic Profiles

Indicator	India	China
Area (mn.sq.km)	3.29	9.56
Population (mn)	944.6	1232.1
Population/sq.km	287	128
Urban population (%)	27	30
Human Development Index	44.6	62.6
Adult Literacy (%)	51.2	80.9
GDP (\$ bn)	358	906
GDP / capita (\$)	380	750
Share in GDP (%)		

### II: Top 10 in Bilateral Trade

Major Indian Exports to China	Major Exports by PRC to India
■ Iron ore	■ Organic chemicals
■ Marine products	■ Electronic goods
■ Other ores and minerals	■ Coal, coke & briquettes
■ Cotton yarn, fabrics and made-ups	■ Medicines & Pharmaceuticals
■ Drugs, pharmaceuticals and fine chemicals	■ Inorganic chemicals
■ Oil meal	■ Textile yarn, fabrics, made-ups

Indo-China

## President's visit to China

# On terra firma

96-18  
17/6

**P**RESIDENT K.R. Narayanan was invited to visit Beijing in 1999, while China commemorated the 50th anniversary of the establishment of the People's Republic. He could not accept the invitation because of various political reasons, most important of which was the Government of India desiring to make a comprehensive assessment of Sino-Indian relations. I was told during my visit to Beijing in October 1999 that the Chinese were looking forward to the visit of Narayanan for two reasons: First, India was the first among the countries which gave recognition to the People's Republic. Secondly, he is held in esteem by the Chinese due to the tact and political sensitivity with which he discharged his role as India's Ambassador in Beijing.

This was a presidential visit to China after a gap of eight years. President Venkataraman had visited Beijing in May 1992. The political context in which the visit took place is also significant. While there is no dilution of China's critical stance on India's nuclear weaponisation, its stridency had abated because of non-ratification of the CTBT by the USA, the US stand on Theatre Missile Defence in the Western Pacific and, most importantly, the US announcements at the review conference on non-proliferation in New York about its inclination to dilute the anti-ballistic missile treaty. There was tangible normalisation in interaction between India and China after Foreign Minister Jaswant Singh's discussions with his Chinese counterpart Tang Jiaxua. The Indo-Chinese Joint Working Group on the boundary question and related issues had met, a general agreement had been reached for having an institutionalised security dialogue with China and there were indications that Sino-Indian economic relations should be brought back on track after the hiccups of 1998 and early 1999.

Though our President does not exercise executive responsibilities, the Chinese were conscious of his personal background which they knew would have an impact on India's foreign policy. Ap-

art from his foreign service background of three decades and more, he has specialised knowledge about China. Apart from being Ambassador to China, his comprehension of issues affecting Sino-Indian relations and China's foreign policy was rooted in his having served in South East Asia as Ambassador. He was also Ambassador to the US when Sino-US relations commenced their positive orientations.

The President's week-long visit to China was in every sense more than a ceremonial visit. The programme reflected this dimension. Narayanan had discussions with President Jiang Zemin, Prime Minister Zhu Rongji and



J.N. Dixit

as well as international issues like terrorism, human rights, UN reforms and problems related to international regimes affecting trade, transfer of technologies and developmental processes. There is a certain parallelism and convergence of interests between India and China on this latter category of issues.

Having said this, one has to acknowledge that both sides assiduously avoided any detailed discussion on issues about which there are basic differences between China and India. The Chinese did not hold forth on India's nuclear weaponisation and avoided polemics on the issue. Measured reticence was practised on issues

### While China shared India's anxieties about international terrorism and the need to counter it, discussions on the boundary question remained anodyne

also with former Prime Minister Li Peng, who with Narasimha Rao brought qualitative changes in Sino-Indian relations between 1991 and 1995. He was invited to speak to the faculty and students of Beijing University. It was, perhaps, the first time that an Indian President addressed the university.

Most significantly, instead of being taken to visit places of cultural and historical interest outside Beijing, he was invited to visit Kunming in Southern China, capital of the Yunnan Province, an area abutting our Northeastern states with which prospects of economic and commercial relations are being examined by policy planners, both in China and India. Reports indicate that our President had wide-ranging discussions with the Chinese leadership on issues affecting bilateral relations, regional security and economic problems

related to India's concern about the formal Chinese stance on Sikkim and China's concern about Tibet rooted in the activities of Dalai Lama's followers in India. While China shared India's anxieties about international terrorism and the need to counter it, discussions regarding the most fundamental issue affecting Sino-Indian relations, namely, the boundary question remained anodyne. The general conclusion reached was that the Joint Working Group should continue its efforts to expeditiously resolve the pending issues related to the implementation of the 1993 agreement on maintaining peace and tranquility on the Line of Actual Control, that further progress should be made in implementing confidence-building measures to enhance mutual and equal security between the two countries, and that the resolution of

substantive issues related to the demarcation of the boundary between the two countries, will be a gradual process, and that it should not stand in the way of expansion and consolidation of Sino-Indian relations.

President Narayanan's strong conviction about the international community cooperating to counter unipolar trends in international relations are shared by the Chinese leadership.

What then were the concrete results of this important visit to China? The Indian presidential visit signifies the end of a critical phase in Sino-Indian relations which commenced after India's nuclear weapon tests in 1998. The visit has resulted in a high-level first-hand assessment being made by the leaders of the two countries about each other's perceptions and policy orientations. The visit resulted in an agreement to bring Sino-Indian relations fully back on track in those areas where there is agreement and mutual parallelism.

It was agreed that the differences of opinion on some very basic issues while, being acknowledged, should not stand in the way of moving forward in other areas where relations can be expanded. It is clear that China is not inclined to address the Sino-Indian boundary issue expeditiously. Nor is there any likelihood of China diluting its defence and defence supplies cooperation arrangements with Pakistan, despite its concerns about cross-border terrorism and the spread of Islamic centrifugal forces in certain areas of China. These realities should underpin our China policies despite the generally positive impact of the presidential visit.

The over-arching reality which we should keep in mind is the asymmetry between India and China. The larger military and economic strength of China compared to that of India, should caution India that Sino-Indian relations should aim at generating a stabilising atmosphere to remedy the above imbalances and to temper those dimensions of China's policies which should be of political and strategic concern to India.

China engages, yet contains India. New Delhi must pursue a similar approach with Beijing

# Two timing China

BY BRAHMA CHELLANEY

**B**EHIND THE pomp and ceremony that greeted President K.R. Narayanan during his recent state visit to China was an important message: Beijing wishes to strengthen its engagement with India but not at the cost of its containment strategy. The Chinese used the largely ceremonial visit of a constitutional figurehead, whom they call an "old friend" of China, to send out clear signals on where they stand on Pakistan, terrorism, Tibet, a permanent seat for India at the UN Security Council, and the border issue. On the eve of Narayanan's arrival, they presented a rude demarche on Ranivilas Paswan's alleged visit to Taipei.

While Narayanan deferentially clipped a passage explaining India's 1998 nuclear tests from a pre-released public speech, the Chinese seized the visit to publicly stand by their "all-weather" ally, Pakistan, and to lash out at the exiled Dalai Lama in a manner vicious even by their standards. Not only were the "foreign forces" behind the Dalai Lama denounced, the Tibetan leader was called an "arch-criminal" and held responsible for rape, murder and child cannibalism during the failed 1959 uprising against the Chinese occupation of Tibet. This came from a state with the most shocking human rights record of the past half-century.

In his gentle, diplomatic way, Narayanan drew the attention of the Chinese leaders to the need to resolve the outstanding bilateral problems. But, repeatedly, the Chinese leaders laid stress on atmosphere-building, not on dispute resolution. That was hardly a surprise. To China, atmosphere-building actually facilitates containment. It not only fulfils the Indian establishment into a sense that things are moving in the right direction, it also allows Beijing to continue playing its games against India without having to give up any of its cards. Take the case of the 4,004-kilometre Himalayan frontier, one of the longest inter-state borders in the world and the only one not defined, let alone demarcated in maps or delineated on the ground. By not keeping their promise to define the Line of Control, the Chinese are not only helping Pakistan by tying up large numbers of Indian troops along the Himalayas, they also retain the option to mount direct military pressure on India through border incidents if it attempted to play the Tibet card.

In Sun Tsu-style strategy, China does not give up any card, it only builds new cards so that the situa-

tion and agenda change overwhelmingly in its favour. Only a clueless India tamely surrenders its cards, as it did on Taiwan (1949), Tibet (1954) and China's WTO entry (2000). Even as India seeks to moderate Chinese behaviour on one issue, Beijing has already moved on to building another tool of leverage.

Chinese weapons of mass destruction (WMD) aid to Pakistan and Coco Islands activities are old though continuing stories. The Chinese have taken on additional means: Building at Gwadar, Pakistan, a deep-water naval base protected by cliffs from three sides that would make an Indian aerial attack extremely tricky; setting up Myanmar as their back-door to India; and significantly upgrading their firepower, communications and mobility on the Tibetan Plateau. As Eric Margolis says in *War at the Top of the World*, this "confronts India with the spectre of simultaneously facing serious strategic threats on its western, northern and eastern borders".

Having sowed the wind, whether by arming Naga and Mizo rebels or providing Pakistan WMD aid, China watches India reap the whirlwind while it chisels its next tool. India's northeast has never recovered from the original Chinese destabilisation. If the situation there were to even begin to stabilise, China has the option to stir up trouble anew. Barrren atmosphere building has served Chinese interests marvellously ever since the *Hindi-Chini bhai bhai* era.

Narayanan's visit was a classic exercise in ritualistic atmosphere building, with the ambience good and the Chinese uncompromising. India's egotistical leaders, however, never return from an overseas visit without achieving success or a breakthrough. So we had Rajiv Gandhi's 'historic' 1988 visit to China and Narasimha Rao's 'ground-breaking' 1993 trip, although no one asked how Rao signed the 'momentous' pact to maintain peace and tran-

quillity along a frontier not defined and yet called the Line of Actual Control. Now, we have Narayanan boasting that, "From now on, cooperation between the two countries will acquire both speed and intensity."

In practice, India pursues atmosphere building with obeisance paying. It is always India that makes the first offering to China's Communist deities before they deign to smile. Remember how a smile Mao supposedly flashed at Brajesh Mishra at a 1970 reception caused such orgasmic delight in the Indian establishment that many read it as a signal that China wanted to befriend India again?

After diplomatic ties were restored, Vajpayee visited Beijing in 1979 before the Chinese foreign minister condescended to come to India. It was Rajiv Gandhi who paid his respects in Beijing before a Chinese premier made a return visit.

Again, it was President R. Venkataraman who did a curtsy in Beijing long before Jiang Zemin came here, only to show his disdain for India by going to New Delhi to his country's regional surrogate, Pakistan. Now, Narayanan, while opposed to any global-village headman, has begun a new round of obeisance paying.

One would think from this entire obeisance paying that it was India, not China, that committed naked aggression in 1962 or gobbled up Tibet in 1950. The *maatha tekru* of Indian officials at the Temple of Beijing has been shown well by two pilgrims, Jaswant Singh and Murasoli Maran. Jaswant Singh went with folded hands, chanting "*Om shanti, Om shanti*", when China was still abusing India for its nuclear tests. Maran, modelling himself as a home-delivery boy, personally delivered a made-to-order agreement on WTO entry to Beijing, pizza-style.

When Jaswant Singh can be a chaperon to freed terrorists, why can't Maran act like a pizza boy?

If India continues to make offerings to the Beijing deities, a Chinese premier will finally return Rao's visit, and Jiang (or the next despot) will return Narayanan's visit. Jiang can tour India and Pakistan together, but Narayanan reverentially travels only to China, as if going to Tirupati, with not even a brief stop in Hanoi, Tokyo or elsewhere.

It is high time Indian foreign policy absorbed realism. The Chinese formulation, repeated to Narayanan, that the border issue can be resolved when "conditions are ripe" really means when the balance of power has shifted in China's favour as it did vis-à-vis a weak Russia and Central Asia. China drops atmosphere building and becomes business-oriented with declining states, not rising powers.

Also, as long as Pakistan survives, China will use it to counter India. That problem will disappear only when Pakistan disappears. If Taiwan is a renegade province of China, Pakistan is a renegade, terrorist province of India. India has a much better claim to Pakistan than China has to Taiwan if one goes by history and the demographic invalidation of the two-religion, two-nation theory. Had China been in India's place, it would have by now — along the Sino-Pak model — armed Taiwan with missiles and nuclear weapons.

To Beijing, terrorism is not a problem when it is exported to India; it becomes a problem if it creeps into Xinjiang. China's courtship with terrorist forces is evident from its defence-cooperation agreement with the Taliban, and the dinner meeting its ambassador in Pakistan had with Maulana Fazlur Rehman Khalil, chief of the Harakat ul-Mujahideen — an issue India took up officially.

If India is not to get further cornered, it has to shift from a single-track approach to twin tracks on China, blending engagement with containment in Chinese style. Engagement itself will have to move beyond atmosphere building to achieving tangible results. Strategic partnerships with East and Southeast Asia are a must.

India's "Look East" policy will never be taken seriously by Asian states if it lacks strategic content. The decision to hold joint naval exercises with Vietnam and South Korea and efforts to promote maritime cooperation with Japan are sensible first steps. India, with a nuclear shield, can prove to a more self-confident, pragmatic and balanced policy on China under Vajpayee.



# India-China ties

By K. K. Katyal

*The restoration of normalcy in India-China relations is a positive development. The goodwill exuded during the President, Mr. K. R. Narayanan's visit is a happy augury for the future. The climate is propitious for talks, including on difficult subjects.*

140-12  
19/5

WHAT NEXT after the President, Mr. K. R. Narayanan's China visit — fruitful from all accounts? The question is relevant for several reasons chiefly because, as he put it, India-China relations had reached the stage of criticality and could only pick up speed and gain in intensity. It is all the more important, therefore, to translate the gains of the visit into action programmes, with emphasis on implementation rather than on rhetoric. The chill that set in the bilateral field in early 1998 is a thing of the past. Mr. Narayanan's trip, on the one hand, completed the reversal of the negative trend, and, on the other, was a great facilitator for future substantive interaction.

Mr. Narayanan commanded great respect in China because of his past association — he, as India's ambassador in Beijing in 1976-78, played a crucial part in repairing a fractured relationship — and his recent role in the "undoing of the knot" in the bilateral ties. In the last few months, China had shown considerable enthusiasm in his visit — and for the occasion, 50 years of diplomatic relations — but surprisingly our official publicity outfits were slow in warming up to it, slow in bringing out its potential for investing stability in a major relationship.

The discussions in Beijing were notable both for the subjects that were taken up and that which were not. The issues relating to India's nuclear tests did not figure in the talks. Not that there was any softening up in China's stand against Pokhran-II or a narrowing of the gap in the positions of the two sides, but because Beijing did not want the shadow of this contentious issue to fall on an exercise that was intended to strengthen bilateral relationship and, thus, weaken its beneficial effect. China sticks to the tough line, enunciated, among other fora, by the U.N. Security Council, calling upon India (and Pakistan) to de-weaponise and give up development of missiles. India and China recently initiated the dialogue on this issue at the technical level and it will, mainly, remain the concern of officials, though discussions at the political level, at some stage, are not to be ruled out.

The compartmentalised approach is significant, suggesting as it does the mutual desire to concentrate on the area of agreement and not to let this process be derailed by an exhibition of divergences and disagreement. This approach was useful in India's dealings with the U.S.

India and China tried the compartmentalised approach in the past as well — to the boundary dispute. The discussions took a leisurely course and even though India was not happy with the lack of progress on this matter of great concern to it, care was taken to ensure that there was no disruption of contacts on other issues. Had a similar approach been tried between India and Pakistan, the subcontinental could have been spared the tragedies that befell it in the last five decades.

The restoration of normalcy in India-China relations is a positive development. The goodwill exuded during Mr. Narayanan's visit is a happy augury for the future. The climate is propitious for talks on various subjects, including the difficult ones. Equally heartening are the prospects for continued high-level exchanges and plans for trade boost. But this does not mean solutions would come easily. That the agenda is formidable is to be recognised — not to do so would be a gross self-delusion.

The two countries have not reached a stage where the risk of misunderstanding — and of a consequent disproportionate damage — has been obviated. Take the latest case of reports in the Taiwanese press that Mr. Ram Vilas Paswan, Communications Minister, represented the Indian Government at the inauguration of the new President in Taipei. New Delhi has scrupulously avoided any step that could be even remotely construed as establishment of diplomatic, state-to-state

relations, though there have been contacts at the commercial level — in the same way or, perhaps, on a much smaller scale than that obtains between mainland China and Taiwan. The report of Mr. Paswan's presence in Taiwan was completely baseless — and the position was clarified at a briefing by the Foreign Secretary as also by the foreign office to the Chinese Embassy. But it had not been possible to dispel the erroneous impression caused by the Taiwanese press reports.

Another example. China was not happy with the activities of the Dalai Lama and often complained to New Delhi. India was emphatic in its explanation — that it treated him as the religious leader of Tibetans and permitted only such actions as were in keeping with that role. This did not always carry conviction with the Chinese who stuck to the contrary belief. Perhaps, the Dalai Lama's activities outside India — in Europe and the U.S. — which, no doubt, were political were confused with what he did in India. About the presence of a young Lama, Karmapa, also Beijing drew conclusions which were regarded as unwarranted by New Delhi.

On its part, India misunderstood some Sikkim-related matters — for instance, the description of Sikkim as an independent entity on the Chinese website — it appeared before Singapore in the list of independent countries. According to the Chinese, their government does not control most of the websites and, as such, could not be held responsible for the entries.

This problem would not have arisen had Beijing not indulged in prevarication. China says it has not been mentioning Sikkim among the areas claimed by it but has been no clear, categorical statement recognising Sikkim as part of India.

The stand of the Chinese that their position on Sikkim was flexible or was in the process of evolution does not assure India. Beijing's suggestion for a border trade arrangement, with Sikkim treated as being on the Indian side, is regarded as an implicit, not explicit, recognition. China's help to Pakistan, especially in missile technology, is a major sore point with India.

In an interview to me on November 29, 1996 (during his visit to India), Mr. Jiang Zemin, responded to a question on the main boundary issue and the Line of Actual Control thus:

"The boundary question is one left over by history. The leaders of the two countries reached an important consensus that the boundary question shall be resolved through negotiations and, pending that, the two sides shall make joint efforts to maintain peace and tranquillity along the Line of Actual Control... The agreement on confidence-building measures (signed then) will help to speed up the process of clarification of the LOAC, further enhance peace and tranquillity in the border areas and create a favourable atmosphere for the ultimate resolution of the boundary dispute".

During his talks with Mr. Narayanan, Mr. Jiang spoke along the same lines — calling for patience in tackling a problem left over by history. There was a new ring of urgency in Mr. Narayanan's response — that the problems needed to be resolved, not to be left over to history again. The success of the talks would need to be measured in terms of tangible steps. If, for instance, a beginning is made with the middle sector of the boundary, where differences are the narrowest, the Indian side would feel reassured about Chinese plans. Similarly, an exchange of maps on the LOAC, followed by discussions on its clarification, would help in conveying a positive message.

There is a case for tangible movement, for an impetus to the Joint Working Group — for the sake of credibility of the efforts to carry bilateral relations "one storey higher", to use a line from a Chinese poem often quoted by Mr. Jiang.

THE HINDU

19 JUN 2000

# India, China discuss differences amicably

By K. K. Katyal

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**NEW DELHI, MAY 1.** The inside accounts of the recent meeting here of the India-China Joint Working Group confirm the stability of the bilateral relationship which enabled the two sides to focus on points of agreement and — more important — to discuss differences without causing rancour. The Group, primarily meant to find ways to resolve the boundary problem has, since its inception 12 years ago, considered matters of mutual interest, apart from the respective concerns. While the decision to resume contacts at the senior military level was a positive development, India would have liked progress on some of the issues of concern to it — terrorism, Sikkim and clarification of the Line of Actual Control, that separates the troops of the two sides in the border areas.

During the two-day meeting, that concluded last week-end, the JWG discussed at some length the proposed visit of the President, Mr. K. R. Narayanan, to China at the end of this month. Going by the statements from Beijing, the Chinese side showed far greater interest in the coming trip than what had been evident here. However, there is little doubt India regards the visit as the culmination of the confidence

restoration process, meant to remove the strains created by Pokhran II.

Even on the three issues, on which progress was slow, discussions, though animated, remained cordial. India wanted China to join it in denunciation of terrorist violence and would have liked a pointed reference in a joint statement at the end of the meeting. As explained by the Indian side, China had taken a firm position against terrorist activities of religious fundamentalists in various fora, especially during the meeting of the Shanghai Five — China, Russia and three Central Asian republics — in Kazakhstan in March and, at the bilateral level, with Turkey — during the President, Mr. Jiang Zemin's visit there, some ten days ago. China, too, was at the receiving end of the terrorist violence in the sensitive Sinkiang province, bordering Central Asia. Because of this, India thought Beijing would have no problem with a condemnatory joint reference to terrorism. However, China appeared unwilling to say in New Delhi what it had been saying in other capitals and at other fora. This was, obviously, because of its feeling that a terrorism-related formulation, emanating from New Delhi, would certainly be construed as directed against Pakistan. China was not

prepared to do anything that could, even remotely jeopardise its special relationship with a "friend of all weathers".

An insistent plea for a clear statement on Sikkim's status as part of India evoked a non-committal response — that China's stand was flexible, that its position was evolving. India was keen on a categorical declaration because of the confusion that might be created because of Sikkim's description as an independent entity on a Chinese website — it appeared there before Singapore in a list in the alphabetical order.

As regards the LAC, India made known its keenness on clarity so as to remove any chance of a mishap. Luckily the border has been quiet and the confidence-building measures, finalised in the early 1990s during the visit to Beijing of the then Prime Minister, Mr. P. V. Narasimha Rao, worked smoothly. Even during the period when bilateral ties were strained after May 1998, there was no adverse reaction in the border areas. However, China did not show matching keenness to specify the LAC on the ground. All that the JWG could agree upon was that officials from both sides would meet as often as required to discuss boundary-related issues, including the clarification of the LAC.

THE HINDU

2 May 2000

# Concern over Chinese infiltration

Gangtok, May 4

THE DENZONG Nang-Ten Sung-Kyob Tsongpa (DNST), an apolitical Sikkim Buddhist cultural protection organisation, has expressed concern over the alleged infiltration of Chinese agents posing as monks to the border Himalayan State.

DNST chairman Captain (Retd) S Yongda said on Wednesday that Chinese infiltration was a great threat to the security of the country, particularly to Sikkim.

He appreciated the concern expressed by Union Home Minister Lal Krishna Advani regarding infiltration into India from neighbouring countries. The minister visited the State early last month.

There have been a growing number of cases of thefts in Sikkim and valuable Buddhist religious artefacts and treasures have been stolen from monasteries and dharmas centres. "We strongly suspect that the Chinese infiltrators are committing these," Yongda said, hinting that the Chinese are bent on taking away the ceremo-

nia Black Hat of the late 16th Gyalwa Karmapa who passed away in 1981. All the 16th Karmapa's belongings are reportedly kept in a strong room at the Karma Kagyu sect of Tibetan Buddhism's headquarters in exile at Rumtek, some 24 km from here.

Incidentally, the DNST has been spearheading a campaign against the teenaged 17th reincarnation of the Karmapa, who escaped from Tibet in January this year. The DNST is a pro-Shamarpa

Rimpoche organisation. The Shamarpa is one of the four Rumtek regents opposed to the Tibet-born teenaged monk Urgyen Trinley Dorjee's claim to the sect's coveted Karmapa title.

The DNST maintains that Urgyen Trinley Dorjee's escape was totally stage-managed by the Chinese authorities. The Chinese now want to collect the Karmapa's religious artefacts and prayer instruments, including the coveted ceremonial *Vajra Mukut* or the Black Hat. The DNST chairman urged both the Central and State authorities to implement rigorous checks at all the entry points to the State. (UNI)

## Sikkim Border

# India and China — I

By Mira Sinha Bhattacharjee & C. V. Ranganathan

APRIL 2000 marked the 50th anniversary of the establishment of diplomatic relations between India and China. These 50 years had their high points and also saw, unfortunately, too long a period of strain and divergence which culminated in the war of 1962. This event cast deep shadows on the ties between the two states that began to lift only in 1988 after the path-clearing visit by Rajiv Gandhi to China. The process of dialogue had begun earlier, following the visit of Mr. A. B. Vajpayee, then External Affairs Minister, to Beijing in 1979. But the progress towards recovery of confidence had been slow.

Dialogue was sustained despite periods of turbulence as in 1986-87 and again a decade later, following the nuclear tests in South Asia. It continued despite changes of leadership in the two countries. Each time India and China not only pulled back from confrontation but, in fact, raised the level of interaction. Both have learnt their lessons from the past. The most important lesson is that the neighbours must make peace not war. This should be the fundamental guiding principle of India-China relationship in the new century.

The anniversary was celebrated by the armed forces of the two countries along the Line of Actual Control (LAC) with music, dance and good cheer. This celebration serves as a good symbol of the lessons learnt from the past which promise to convert the LAC into an arrangement that will help in building a new relationship. It also demonstrates that India and China have travelled a long way since the great chill of 1998 after a decade of growing confidence and expanding contacts. In the 10 years since the Rajiv-Deng summit of 1988, considerable progress had been made by both states following a dual track strategy. Contacts and exchanges at all levels of state and society were revived and strengthened. In addition, economic and trade exchanges grew from a meagre beginning to close to \$2 billion in 1997.

The events after Pokhran-II slowed, but did not disrupt, the process of normalisation. India responded sensitively to China's sense of 'hurt' at the references from various quarters to it as a potential 'threat' to India. The matter was cleared by the time of the visit of Mr. Jaswant Singh, External

Affairs Minister, to China for both sides to make public statements to the effect that neither considered the other a threat to its security. It thus became possible for the two sides, to add an important dimension to the ongoing dialogue. They agreed to conduct a security dialogue for the first time. The first round was held last month in Beijing.

Relations at the purely bilateral level have improved enough, both qualitatively and substantively, to clear the way for the establishment of a constructive and cooperative relationship for the 21st century. However, there are still some differences, on the nuclear question as well as on other sensitive issues of a bilateral nature. These need to be frankly and openly addressed in a spirit of understanding and accommodation. India's concerns relate primarily to the territorial issue; to the Chinese friendship with and assistance to Pakistan; and to

*The two neighbours must make peace not war. This should be the fundamental guiding principle of India-China relationship in the new century.*

China's perceptions of India's nuclear programme.

For both countries it cannot be a satisfactory situation to have *de facto* borders indefinitely; both should prefer to have firm, mutually acceptable borders, enshrined in a legally-binding and voluntarily accepted treaty. Both have, however, realistically accepted that such a final settlement is a most complex process, not likely to be completed in the near-future. As an interim arrangement, the two sides have therefore agreed to honour and stabilise the LAC in all sectors which came into being after 1962. In 1993 and 1996, India and China agreed to ensure that peace and tranquillity prevailed along its entire length. They agreed to smoothen out differences through negotiations and to put in place far-reaching confidence-building measures.

The territorial issue is still highly emotive in the public mind. Repeated references to large historical claims by the two sides only revive unhappy memories of the past. The 1993 and 1996 agreements specifically

mention that they were arrived at without prejudice to the positions of either side. It should be possible for India and China to agree to drop or limit the references to such claims to help consolidate the trust of the people. This would also go a long way in changing public images (and removing fears) of the other which are subliminally held, such as the Indian image of a China willing to use force, unable to accept equality, determined to seek hegemony in Asia and therefore to keep India confined to South Asia. Or the Chinese image of an India also hegemonistic, having imperial ambitions and lording it over smaller neighbours. Scholars can argue that these images are in the main false. But scholars do not and cannot have the same powerful influence in dispelling public images as harsh words, exaggerated claims or disregard of interests and sensitivities emanating at the official level have in confirming

them. China's continuing unwillingness to accept Sikkim as part of India is still regarded by the general public as an act of unfriendliness. India, on its part, has not resiled and will not resile from its acknowledgment that Tibet and Taiwan are parts of China.

From the Indian perspective, the three decades-long, all-weather friendship between China and Pakistan had begun to resemble a military alliance even in the nuclear field. Of late, observers of the China scene and policymakers had noted that Beijing was making significant re-adjustments in its Pakistan policy. They were greatly reassured by the statements the Chinese President, Mr. Jiang Zemin, made during his visits to India and Pakistan in 1996 that held out the promise of a more balanced and constructive Pakistan policy.

But as evidence of China's continuing support to Pakistan's nuclear programme became available, old memories and fears were revived specially after Pakistan's tests in 1998. These fears were not allayed even by China even-handedly calling on both to

roll back nuclear weaponisation, not to deploy nuclear weapons and to sign the CTBT and the NPT. In the main, the fears were revived because, over the years, no satisfactory explanation of the quality of this relationship had been offered by China. Nor does Beijing deny the fulsome support and backing that Pakistan claims it has from China for its nuclear and missile programmes. The quality of this relationship, therefore, continues to be cause for concern in India even as it welcomes signs of a rational shift in China's position such as its call, during the Kargil crisis, that the Line of Control (LoC) in Kashmir be respected and that the Lahore process be resumed.

Prior to 1965, China appeared to separate its position on Kashmir from its political relations with India and Pakistan. Thereafter, China began to support the Pakistan position on Kashmir; then it supported the right of self-determination for the Kashmiri people and, at official levels, promised that the 650 million people of China would 'stand by' Pakistan in defence of its independence and sovereignty. The right to self-determination for the people of Kashmir has sometimes been interpreted as the right to sovereign independence. If so interpreted on the basis of community or religion, it would vitiate secularism, fundamental organisational principle of the Indian state.

For multi-national states like India and China, the worldwide rise of sub-state nationalism demanding independence, based often on claims of smaller ethnic or religious community, can pose very serious challenges. Unfortunately, such claims receive wide public support especially in the West, in the name of democracy and people's rights. This, in turn, complicates the situation in Kashmir and Tibet, for example, and creates grave potential problems of 'separatism'. Recent developments as well as adjustments in China's Pakistan policy will, it is to be hoped, be followed by an open stand, in its own long-term interest, against militarism, terrorism and separatism everywhere. This development will help dispel the negative images of China in the minds of the Indian public.

*(The writers are Honorary Fellows of the Institute of Chinese Studies, New Delhi, and the article is based on a paper they presented at a recent seminar.)*

# India and China — II

By Mira Sinha Bhattacharjya & C. V. Ranganathan

40-12 9/5  
**T**HE ISSUE of the nuclearisation of South Asia has three aspects. On the one hand is the equal right of all sovereign countries to build nuclear weapons for self-defence. The second is the peace/war/stability/instability consequences of the exercise of this right any and everywhere. The third is to strengthen and pursue the goal of complete and universal nuclear disarmament. Since the Indian and Pakistani nuclear tests of 1998, China has focussed its reactions and responses on the second aspect of the issue, but in doing so it has, in calling for a rollback, weakened the first aspect of the nuclear issue somewhat, and has been silent on the third which cannot be equated only with the signing of the Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty (CTBT).

There has been criticism within India to these tests. The Government's declaration that it needs, and will confine itself to building, only a minimum nuclear deterrent, that it does not target any country and, like China, its commitment that it will not be the first to use nuclear weapons, has provided its critics with some reassurance. India has also reiterated its commitment to a non-nuclear world but, like all nuclear weapon states including China, it will need to be prodded in that direction from time to time. Perhaps the forum of the security dialogue will be the appropriate locus for an in-depth exploration by India and China of all the dimensions of the nuclear issue to broaden understanding, and find common ground for jointly pursuing the twin goals of preserving the peace in South Asia, and pursuing seriously the goal of universal nuclear disarmament.

Neither resolution of outstanding problems nor a serious movement in the direction of building a cooperative and constructive relationship will be possible without India and China recovering the visionary and holistic approach which coloured and shaped the making of foreign policy in the two countries in the formative years. Looking back, it becomes

evident that the friendship between India and China contributed to creating new hope and opportunities for the emerging countries and helped lessen regional and world tension.

Once again the two neighbours need to "stand tall and look far", to borrow a Chinese phrase. As the only two major powers to emerge in the post-World War II world, with a combined population of over two billion and a potential consumer class of at least that figure, India and China can no longer appear to be 'victims' on the international stage. Instead both have to urgently realise that between them they have the future capacity to deplete

***India and China can no longer appear to be 'victims' on the international stage... They have the duty to contribute to keeping the peace and ensuring the stability of all their neighbouring societies.***

the world of most of its resources. They will always have the capacity to destabilise their neighbours, their region, and the world, because of their sheer size and capabilities. They, therefore, have the responsibility and, in fact, in keeping with their cultural traditions, it can be said that they have a duty to contribute to keeping the peace and ensuring the stability of all their neighbouring societies. To do so, India and China have as their first task the mending and stabilisation of bilateral relations.

The present is a critical period of transition from the unipolar world of the post-Gulf War era to a new more democratic and multipolar world order, both economic and political. It is inevitably an equally critical period of change and transition of domestic systems within states where voices that had not been heard before need to be heard and their needs/demands accommodated without bloodshed and without grave disruption of social and state cohesion. This is a period in which power, states and Governments

need to be tamed or constrained by the voluntary acceptance of new norms of governance and of state behaviour. This was the real significance and message of the *Panchsheel* or the Five Principles of Peaceful Coexistence that India and China announced jointly in 1954. These principles and the need for peaceful coexistence of states are acknowledged all over the world, even though states find it difficult to live up to them. Sadly, even India and China failed to do so. Yet it is a testament to the objective relevance and validity of these principles that they have survived. Today, both India and China consider them, once again, as the founda-

tion on which state interaction should rest.

The changing world is also throwing up new challenges. Additional principles are needed to guide us through the uncertainties that lie ahead. India and China should together evolve new guiding principles based on their experience in dealing with each other and taking into account the changed circumstances of the evolving international situation in the 21st century. These principles are proposed on the understanding that though the state will continue to be the only recognised legitimate unit-actor on the international stage, it will nevertheless have to adjust to globalisation and the rise of sub-state and non-state actors. The principles proposed here are not exclusive to India and China. Like the *Panchsheel* they can have universal relevance, with India and China taking the lead.

The following principles are also based on the experience derived from the last five decades of Sino-Indian relations and take into account, the changing condi-

tions in India, in China and in the world at large. The Ten Principles of Constructive Cooperation or the Ten Cs listed below are based on a reaffirmed commitment to the Five Principles as the foundational norms for inter-state relations:

1. Commitment that existing state limits, either *de jure* borders or *de facto* arrangements, will not be disputed by force.

2. Concern for the stability of states and societies especially in times of domestic unrest. Each state has the responsibility to resolve domestic problems by peaceful means.

3. Concern and respect for the legitimate interests of all states.

4. Commitment to no alliances or military arrangements directed against third states, and no use of the territory of one state to threaten, interfere with or commit aggression against another state.

5. Concern for the human rights of smaller or disaffected minorities, which can be taken up by and with Governments on a bilateral, non-intrusive basis.

6. Commitment on no-first-use of nuclear weapons against all states, as a first step to universal nuclear disarmament and a non-nuclear world.

7. Commitment to not supporting militarism, terrorism, interventionism and separatism.

8. Commitment to greater transparency and information sharing in military and security matters.

9. Commitment to encourage non-exclusive regional cooperative and sharing arrangements and to collective action to safeguard the interests and concerns of developing nations through the reform of the U.N. and other multilateral institutions.

10. Cooperation in the fight against drugs, disease, and environmental degradation and for an enhanced relationship in diverse fields such as trade, investments, exchanges in science and technology and culture.

(Concluded)

E 9 MAY 2000



# Alarm at China frontline road

FROM CHANDANNANDY

New Delhi, May 16: The Chinese People's Liberation Army (PLA) was busy building an upmetalled road track heading towards the Line of Actual Control (LAC) across Arunachal Pradesh last month even as the joint working group was trying to thrash out solutions to the lingering border dispute.

A note from the Arunachal government to the army headquarters on April 17 said Chinese personnel had been spotted laying the track opposite Asaphila area in the Tawang district.

Prior to this, security agencies had reported explosions, suggesting roadheads were being opened up by blasting rocks.

Government sources said army units stationed in the area began collecting intelligence and were "quite astounded" to find that the unmetalled track was barely six to seven km from the LAC where Indian troops are holding positions. The road runs along the Yune Chu river across the LAC and, according to army intelligence reports, is between eight to 10 feet wide.

Army headquarters also got

in touch with Research and Analysis Wing (RAW) so that sorties of the Aviation Research Centre could be flown to carry out air surveillance.

Sources said the RAW reports have confirmed the army's worst fears. Army headquarters has now asked the foreign ministry to lodge a protest with Beijing and point out that the laying of the track so close to the LAC violates Article VII of the Agreement on Confidence Building Measures.

Intelligence reports indicate that construction work has approached a place called the Yune Chu-Tadang Siko junction, and to make the track road operational, the Chinese army now has to only build a bridge over the river at Tadang Siko which, sources said, "will not be very difficult for the PLA to construct", especially since they are operating within their own territory.

However, the situation could become alarming once the

Chinese get close to the LAC," the sources added.

In the mid-Eighties, the PLA had occupied the Sum-Durong Chu yak-grazing pastures in Tawang and continues to hold the territory which both China and India claim as theirs.

The road work across the LAC opposite Arunachal Pradesh is not an isolated incident. Over the past two years, there has been an increase in construction activity in Chinese-held territory close to the LAC.

A network of metalled roads and mule tracks has been laid by the PLA for bringing in military and communication hardware and rations.

Indian army officials read ominous signs in the hectic activity and regular supplies to the Chinese posts all along the LAC.

Even in the western sector, in Ladakh's disputed Aksai Chin area, the PLA has intruded into Indian territory and built a network of metalled roads and bunkers within a 25 sq km area

just behind a strategic point called 'K' Hill northeast of Trijunction near the Chip Chap river.

The Telegraph had reported on February 1 that these roads from the LAC lead up to grid references 5459 and 5495 within which the piece of land had been "occupied". The roads were built between June and August 1999, at the height of the Kargil war.

Besides this, there were 75 instances of PLA personnel intruding into Indian territory for long durations last year. This year, there have been at least 15 such cases.



President Narayanan visits Beijing when China has effectively tamed the Vajpayee Government

# NO SPRATLY SENTIMENT, PLEASE

BY BRAHMA CHELLANEY

**A** THE hub of the power dis-equilibrium in Asia is an increasingly powerful and assertive China that successfully keeps India boxed in on the subcontinent and compels New Delhi to pay obeisance to it. Since the time China began pouring extraordinary venom on India after the Shakti tests, a stream of senior Indian officials — the Foreign and Commerce Ministers included — have paid their respects in Beijing, with President K.R. Narayanan now getting ready to go there. But no Chinese Cabinet-rank official has deigned to come to New Delhi. A feeble Indian foreign policy is demonstrating that China is indeed the Middle Kingdom.

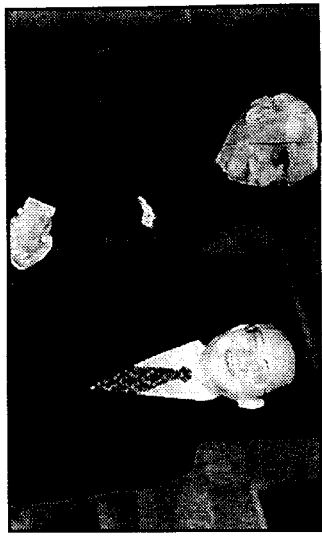
This fecklessness is best exemplified by the way the Chinese Foreign Ministry spokesman periodically harangues India on various issues, be it proliferation, Tibet, defence expenditure, Kashmir and relations with Pakistan. In sharp contrast, the MEA press briefings maintain a studied silence on China-related matters. China suggested a strategic dialogue with India, and the MEA deferentially sent its team to Beijing for such a dialogue. At the end of the dialogue, China publicly kicked India in the teeth, with its spokesperson widely quoted in international media as demanding that New Delhi roll back its nuclear-weapons programme.

China needed to reach agreement with major countries including India to make possible its WTO entry. It didn't take much to reach an accord with India: Murasoli Maran himself went to Beijing to obsequiously sign the agreement. While the US and EU negotiated hard with Beijing to wrest major concessions, New Delhi was content with the lollipops it was offered, making no effort to reverse China's opposition to India's entry into APEC and other organisations. On his way back, Mr Maran stopped in Hong Kong where he mushily reminisced about the footprints of the first Tamil travellers to China! While China thinks in geostrategic terms, Indian thinking flows from sycrupy sentiment.

China chides India for raising its defence spending, but when Beijing increases its already large military outlays, India stays mum. Beijing regularly sermonises New Delhi on Tibet, but the MEA never asks China to stem the flow of Tibetan refugees to India or to hold negotiations with the Dalai Lama. China time and again advises India to resolve all disputes with Pakistan peacefully, but New Delhi does not provide similar advice even when China's Leninist rulers threaten to use force

against democratic Taiwan. Nor has India ever asked Beijing to resolve the Spratlys dispute in a peaceful manner with Manila, Hanoi and others. Beijing, pretending to be an outside party on Kashmir, advises India to settle that problem with Pakistan, but India does not remind China that it is a third party in the dispute, occupying one-fifth of J&K. China misses no opportunity to throw Security Council Resolution 1172 at India, but New Delhi is loath to publicly remind Beijing of UN Resolution 1723 on Tibet or ask it to abide by its non-proliferation commitments. To this day, China flouts its NPT legal obligations on non-transfer of weapons-related technology.

Not only does China chastise New Delhi, it consciously employs such scoldings to discipline India. Beijing knows from experience that putting pressure on a weak-willed India works. Even the Vajpayee government has been tamed. When self-proclaimed nationalists begin to propitiate Beijing, the success of the Chinese strategy becomes self-evident. The Vajpayee government has swung from one extreme to the other. It began on a note of bravado, with George



Jaswant Singh, a hardliner on China, travelled to Beijing last June to pay his respects, declaring from Chinese soil that China is no threat to India

Fernandes distinguishing himself by becoming the first Cabinet member since the 1962 humiliation to speak up on China and Mr Vajpayee himself stating the obvious on Beijing in a letter to G-7 heads of government. The unprecedented torrent of invective that Beijing unleashed turned the tough-talking Indian leaders into lambs. The pompous Jaswant Singh, a hardliner on China, travelled to Beijing last June to pay his respects, declaring from Chinese soil that China is no threat to India!

Effectively silenced by the Chinese vitriol, the Vajpayee government adopted a good-boy approach towards Beijing although, as China expert David Shambaugh wrote in *International Security*, "the PLA has seemingly found a new

adversary in India". Even as the PLA increased its deployments opposite India, stepped up its forays into Ladakh during the Kargil war, and acted provocatively near Taiwan last autumn, New Delhi did not utter a word in public. Nor did it react to President Jiang Zemin's mocking references about India in a meeting with a European head of state. Official Chinese organs still fret about Indian "regional hegemony".

New Delhi's see-no-evil, hear-no-evil, do-no-evil policy on China has inexorably strengthened Indian fixation on Pakistan. While Pakistan is the source of at least 50 per cent of India's security problems, the way to deal with that terrorist-minded foe is through a quiet punitive strategy to haemorrhage the Pakistani state, not by publicly pitting India against the much-smaller neighbour. The latter approach only plays into the hands of China, which has built Pakistan as a counterweight to the India south of the Himalayas. Lamentably, India's present China policy does just that. Bill Clinton's India trip passed with plenty of references to Pakistan but none to China, although what makes potential Indo-US strategic cooperation attractive is the China factor.

President Narayanan's May 28-June 3 China visit should be seen against this background as well as the meagre returns India has got from its policy of rapprochement with Beijing. That policy was kicked off by Mr Vajpayee as foreign minister, formalised by Indira Gandhi through border talks, and moved forward by Rajiv Gandhi. Look at its results:

After 19 years of border negotiations, China refuses to define even the line of control, let alone make progress on the territorial disputes. It rebuffs any effort to define the line of control even in sectors where there are no differences. The Chinese

objective is to keep New Delhi under strategic pressure and pin down large numbers of Indian troops along the Himalayas so that India enjoys no significant military superiority against Pakistan. It was in the period when India was actively seeking rapprochement, especially after Rajiv Gandhi's 1988 visit, that Beijing began transferring missiles to Pakistan and helped build the Khushab plutonium-production reactor and Fatehjung missile factory there.

Again, it was in this period when New Delhi was cooling that China opened another strategic front against India through Myanmar. China remains the only country to treat Sikkim as an independent nation. Its maps also show Arunachal Pradesh as part of China, and J&K as disputed but not the China-occupied Kashmir (CoK). A process is only a means to an end, not an end in itself. But India got so carried away by the process of rapprochement that it forgot that what mattered were concrete results. China has clearly employed engagement with India for accelerated containment. Instead of India's security improving, "rapprochement" has brought it under greater strain, with China helping Pakistan to equal Indian nuclear and missile capabilities.

The key lesson for India is that without leverage it cannot change Chinese behaviour. After having dissipated its leverage, India has to reclaim it. Just as China presents three Indian states outside India, New Delhi will have to show Tibet and Taiwan not as part of China but as disputed. But before such a policy shift becomes possible, India must echo the international community's view that China needs to respect the Tibetans' cultural and religious rights and forswear the use of force against Taiwan. India should also build close informal ties with Taipei.

During his state visit, Narayanan would do well to avoid any gratuitous statements on Tibet and Taiwan to please his Chinese hosts. Nor should he, as is the Indian presidential norm, discuss any controversial bilateral issue. The Chinese would like to milk his visit for their ends. They regard Mr Narayanan "a key friend of China", as Foreign Minister Tang Jiaxuan told some Indians, including this writer, at a banquet he hosted. A widely respected President, Mr Narayanan has to his view his visit in the context of the cold strategic realities, not the schmaltziness of the 50th anniversary of diplomatic ties with China.

# India, China resume military ties

Beijing, May 21

THE ARRIVAL of a delegation from India's National Defence College (NDC) today signals the resumption of military-to-military ties between India and China, which were suspended in the aftermath of the Pokhran-II nuclear tests in May 1998.

The visit of the NDC delegation to China indicates restoration of military-to-military relations between New Delhi and Beijing, an official source told PTI here.

The visit of the NDC delegation also comes a week before the State visit of President K R Narayanan to China.

While the Chinese People's Liberation Army (PLA) had cancelled the visit of the NDC team to China in May 1998, the Chinese delegation from the National Defence University (NDU) did not go to India in May, 1999.

Thus, with the arrival of the 15-member NDC team, led by Major

General P R Renjen, India and China would resume exchange of delegations from their military training institutions.

China had strongly resented India's reference to the Chinese threat to justify its decision to conduct the nuclear tests in May, 1998.

The Chinese military establishment was particularly vociferous in its condemnation of the Indian nuclear test, which came shortly after the chief of staff of People's

role in the overall improvement in Sino-Indian relations.

Pla, which is the world's largest standing army, has downsized its strength by 500,000 to 2.5 million. It is currently concentrating on developing the capability to "win local wars in high-tech conditions."

The NDC delegation, which would interact with Chinese military think-tanks and visit the PLA's premier training institute here, National Defence University. They would also call on a

## NDC team in Beijing

Beijing.

The delegation is also to visit Shanghai City in east China and visit military facilities.

On their way to Hanoi, Vietnam, the delegation would visit Hong Kong and study the operation of the unique one country, two systems principle under which China exercises sovereignty over the former British colony.

(PTI)

THE HINDUSTAN TIMES

22 MAY 1999

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# Narayanan visit to boost India-China ties

## STATESMAN NEWS SERVICE

NEW DELHI, May 22. — The celebration of the 50th anniversary of the establishment of diplomatic relations between China and India will add special significance to the President's forthcoming visit to that country from May 28 to June 3. Mr Narayanan will be responding to an invitation from President Jiang Zemin who had been here in 1996.

It will be after a gap of eight years that an Indian President will be in China. Mr R Venkataraman had been there in 1992. Mr Narayanan is no stranger of the People's Republic.

His most recent trip was in 1994, when he was the Vice President.

Ceremonials apart, the two Presidents will have discussions spread over two days in Beijing, and it is expected that a Sino-Indian eminent persons group may be set up thereafter to give a wider, non-official dimension to the bilateral relationship.

Mr Narayanan will present a bust of Tagore to Peking University and address a gathering of scholars, academics, officials and students. He will also visit the cities of Dalian (Liaoning Province) and Kunming (Yunnan Province).

China is placing much importance on Kunming developing as base of trade with

South Asia and would hope that the President's visit might result in re-opening the Ledo-China or "Stilwell" Road to provide a link through Arunachal Pradesh to India, Bangladesh and Myanmar.

The road built by "Vinegar Joe" during World War II would thus provide a route for transporting commodities of a vastly different kind than it originally did.

The President will be accompanied by Mrs Usha Narayanan, the Minister for Heavy Industries & Public Enterprises, Mr Manohar Joshi, senior officials and a parliamentary delegation comprising Mrs Sushma Swaraj, Mr S Ramachandran Pillai, Mr Somnath Chatterjee and Mr Sushil Kumar Shinde.

# Replace Mahendra Chaudhry, Fiji chiefs urge Mara

May 25

Fiji's TRADITIONAL chiefs today urged the President to replace his democratically elected Prime Minister and pardon the gunmen who have held the latter hostage for nearly a week. Sitiveni Rabuka, Chairman of the island's Great Council of Chiefs, said it had recommended a council of advisers be appointed to run an interim government. "It's bad for Fiji, one way or the other," he told a news conference. "What we have done is to assess which is the least damaging of the bad cases." Rabuka said he had recommended a council of advisers be appointed to run an interim government. "It's bad for Fiji, one way or the other," he told a news conference. "What we have done is to assess which is the least damaging of the bad cases." Rabuka said he had hoped the hostages would have been released earlier this afternoon, but the plane did not land. He pointed out to the Great Council of Chiefs, it is better for the plane to be released in daylight, he said. "There would be a lot of con-

fusion at night and accidents can happen."

Mr Speight led the gunmen into Parliament on Friday, taking ethnic Indian Prime Minister Mahendra Chaudhry and several MPs hostage and claiming power in the name of indigenous Fijians. The chiefs, who represent indigenous Fijians, reprimanded Mr Speight and asked him to submit to Mara's rule, but he refused, prompting them to come up with today's plan.

New Zealand Foreign Minister Phil Goff earlier called the proposal "worrying", warning it could spark Fiji's removal from the 54-nation Commonwealth group of mostly ex-British colonies.

"That would be utterly unacceptable to New Zealand and most other democratic countries," Mr Goff told Parliament. Independent website [www.fijilive.com](http://www.fijilive.com) reported that the chiefs had sent a delegation to Fiji's sprawling thatched-roofed Parliament complex to talk to Mr Speight.

"Mara is expected to appoint an interim Prime Minister tomorrow, following the release of the hostages at Parliament and the resignation of Prime Minister Chaudhry," it said.

The website, run by local journalists, said it was unclear if Mr Speight would accept the decision and that much depended on who was proposed as the new Prime Minister. The resignation of Chaudhry would be sought on his release, it added. Mr Mara is understood to have briefed the UN and Commonwealth envoys on the chiefs' decision, the website said.

(Reuters)



A security officer waves people away from a hijacked airplane on a flight from Davao City to Manila.

## Armed hijacker jumps out of plane, leaving passengers, junior

Manila, May 25

AN ARMED man with marital problems on Thursday hijacked a Philippine Airlines (PAL) Airbus carrying 291 people but bailed out when his demand to have the plane diverted was rejected, officials and the airline said.

The aircraft was on its way from Davao city to Manila. The hijacker demanded the plane fly back to Davao. When told the plane did not have enough fuel, he asked for money. The crew collected money from the passengers and gave him three bundles of cash. The hijacker then jumped out of the aircraft wearing a parachute.

The whereabouts of the hijacker,

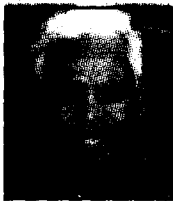
descended, wearing goggles, spoiled their flight. The hijacker fired 300 rounds, said a passenger. The hijacker and other passengers involved in the hijacking were seen on a television screen.

# Sino-Indian ties satisfactory, <sup>India</sup> <sup>China</sup> says Narayanan

Beijing, May 26

HC 14

PRESIDENT K R Narayanan has said that New Delhi is satisfied with the current state of Sino-Indian relations with peace and tranquillity prevailing along the disputed border.



2775  
"Current relationship between India and China is satisfactory," Narayanan told Delhi-based Chinese journalists in an interview, ahead of his six-day State visit to China from Sunday.

"There is peace on the border; we have signed agreements with China — peace and tranquillity agreement on border and agreement on confidence-building measures," he was quoted by Xinhua news agency.

"We have also been engaged in talks with China at various levels," he said. (PTI)

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# Narayanan arrives in China to strengthen ties

BEIJING: President K.R. Narayanan arrived here this evening for a six-day state visit to China to strengthen Sino-Indian relations and re-fresh contacts with the top Chinese leadership.

"What I expect from this visit is to increase the goodwill and friendship between the two countries and to create a greater mutual understanding," Mr Narayanan had said ahead of his visit to China, the first by an Indian President in eight years.

The special Air India flight arrived at 6.00 p.m. local time (3.30 p.m. IST) at the new Beijing International Airport. The president and his entourage were warmly welcomed by Chinese vice foreign minister Yang Wenchang, Indian ambassador to China V.K. Nambiar, senior officials and the Indian community. Mr Narayanan is accompanied by his wife, Usha Narayanan, and a high-powered delegation that includes the minister for heavy industry Manohar Joshi and foreign secretary Lalit Mansingh.

A delegation of MPs, including Sushma Swaraj (BJP), Sushil Kumar Shinde (Congress-I) and Somnath Chatterjee of the CPM are also

accompanying the president.

Mr Narayanan, a former Indian ambassador to China, who played a key role in steering India-China ties after the two Asian giants clashed in a brief border war in 1962, is regarded highly by the Chinese leadership.

Mr Narayanan's visit, at the invitation of Chinese President Jiang Zemin, is expected to open a new chapter in India-China relations in the new millennium, especially when the two Asian giants are celebrating the 50th anniversary of the establishment of diplomatic relations which fell on April 1.

Official sources said that they hoped that Mr Narayanan's interaction with top Chinese leaders in the next three days in Beijing would reduce the mutual mistrust and forge a long-term good-neighbourly relations with China.

Though no breakthroughs are expected on contentious matters like the border dispute and the nuclear issue, the President's visit is the best opportunity for both sides to rework their relations taking into account their own sensitivities, an official source said.

Mr Narayanan would start his visit officially on Monday with Jiang, also general secretary of the ruling Communist Party of China, welcoming him at an official ceremony with a guard of honour at the Great Hall of the People at the world-famous Tiananmen Square.

Jiang will host a banquet in his honour on Monday night, after which a "very special cultural programme" would also be held. Indian violin maestro Dr. L. Subramaniam and the Beijing Symphony Orchestra will jointly perform before an Indian-Chinese audience.

Mr Narayanan would also meet with the chairman of the National People's Congress (the Chinese Parliament) Li Peng, Prime Minister Zhu Rongji and chairman of the Chinese Peoples Consultative Congress (the top advisory body) Li Ruihuan during his stay here.

Mr Narayanan's talks with the Chinese leaders are expected to cover a wide range of bilateral, regional and international issues. He will also interact with Chinese scholars and address the academic community at the Beijing University, China's premier institute of higher learning. (PTI)

# Narayanan looks forward to talks with Jiang

By C. Raja Mohan

**BEIJING, MAY 28** Hoping to impart a sense of trust and confidence to Sino-Indian relations, the President, Mr. K. R. Narayanan, will begin an intensive round of consultations with the Chinese leaders tomorrow.

Mr. Narayanan, who arrived here this evening to a brief reception at Beijing airport, would be formally welcomed by the Chinese President, Mr. Jiang Zemin, in the Great Hall of the People at the historic Tiananmen Square tomorrow.

The talks with Mr. Jiang are expected to be the highlight of Mr. Narayanan's interaction with the Chinese political leadership in the next few days in Beijing. Mr. Jiang, who has emerged as the most powerful Chinese leader since the days of Deng Xiaoping and Mao Zedong, concurrently holds all the top positions in the Chinese political hierarchy. He is the President of the People's Republic of China, general secretary of the Chinese Communist Party (CCP) and chairman of the Central Military Commission.

Mr. Narayanan met Mr. Jiang twice before, in 1994 when he travelled to Beijing and when the Chinese President visited India in late 1996. On both occasions Mr. Narayanan was the Vice-President.

Highly-placed sources in the Indian delegation say the two leaders have a good personal rapport, and Mr. Narayanan is said to be looking forward to his engagement with Mr. Jiang. The two leaders are scheduled to meet for nearly two hours in the morning, initially with just a few aides and later with full delegations.

Senior officials travelling with the President are unwilling to speculate on how the conversation between the two leaders will unfold. But they do expect all major bilateral, regional and international issues

to come up for discussion. The emphasis will be on finding common ground on as many issues as possible.

India and China find themselves in similar circumstances on a number of global issues, and their common perspective is likely to be underscored by the two leaders. The question of building a more pluralistic and multi-polar world is also likely to come up.

Mr. Narayanan and Mr. Jiang are unlikely to brush aside uncomfortable subjects. There are any number of them, including China's support to Pakistan's nuclear and missile programmes. The conversation is likely to be honest and could help lift the veil of distrust that has fallen over Sino-Indian relations in recent years.

Mr. Narayanan's talks with Mr. Jiang in the forenoon will be followed by a banquet in the evening by the Chinese President. The talks between the two leaders would hopefully bury the hatchet of Pokhran-II and help the two nations look to a more cooperative future.

The Indian decision to name China as one of the reasons for its nuclear tests in May 1998 was seen by Mr. Jiang as a personal snub. In an interview to a Western news agency after the Indian tests, a bewildered Mr. Jiang said he had a very successful visit to India in 1996, and wondered why New Delhi had cited China as a threat.

Since the bitterness of Pokhran-II and harsh Chinese reaction to it, New Delhi and Beijing have limped back to more civil exchanges. The visit of the External Affairs Minister, Mr. Jaswant Singh, in June 1999 had restored a sense of normalcy to bilateral ties. And Mr. Narayanan's visit could mark the return of some warmth to the Sino-Indian ties.

29 MAY 2000



# China skirts N-issue, harps on Dalai Lama

PRESS TRUST OF INDIA

BEIJING, May 29. — India and China today favoured a "fair and reasonable" settlement of the boundary dispute and decided to set up an eminent persons group to improve bilateral ties.

President KR Narayanan, here on a week-long state visit, met his Chinese counterpart, Mr Jiang Zemin, to discuss India's policy towards Pakistan and other bilateral, regional and international issues of common concern.

The two leaders skirted the nuclear and Taiwan issues. That China did not harp on India's 1998 nuclear tests showed there was greater acceptance and understanding, Mr Lalit Mansingh, foreign secretary, told reporters.

The Chinese President raised the "political activities" of the Dalai Lama and the 17th Karmapa. Mr Narayanan told him they wouldn't be allowed political activities. The Karmapa had been merely allowed to stay in India; it was up to him to decide his future.

Mr Jiang expressed fears that the "Dalai clique" and anti-China forces might exploit the situation. But he praised New Delhi for "prudent and proper handling" of the Karmapa issue.

Without naming Pakistan, Mr Jiang told Mr Narayanan that China was opposed to all kinds of terrorism. Mr Narayanan told him there is no change in India's Tibet policy.

THE STATESMAN

30 MAY 2000

# U.S. shadow over Sino-Indian talks

By C. Raja Mohan 40-15

BEIJING, MAY 29. You can run, but cannot hide. As President, Mr. K.R. Narayanan, confers with the Chinese leadership here, there is no way of shaking off the shadow of the United States.

Predictably, the question of building a multipolar world, or finding an alternative to the current American dominance of international affairs, was at the front and centre of the talks between Mr. Narayanan and the top gun of Chinese establishment, Mr. Jiang Zemin.

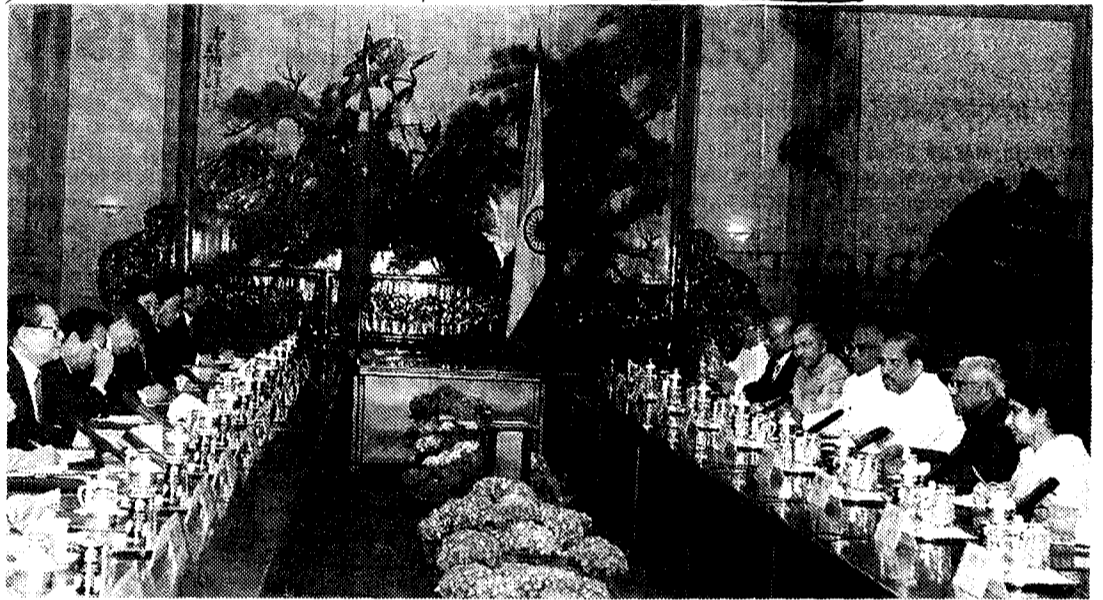
India and China want a more pluralistic international order; at the same time they also recognise the importance of engaging the U.S., the sole superpower. Both are greatly concerned about the others relations with Washington. In the last few decades, India was very troubled by the convergence of American and Chinese geopolitical interests in Asia. Now it is China's turn to worry about Indo-U.S. relations, particularly after the visit of the U.S. President, Mr. Bill Clinton, to India last March.

While the Chinese Government has not come up with any public negative assessment of Indo-U.S. relations, academics and policy wonks from the think tanks here make no secret of China's concern that the U.S. may draw India into its future ring of containment against Beijing.

But it was only two years since India strongly protested against the proclamation of a Sino-U.S. strategic partnership when Mr. Clinton visited Beijing in June 1998.

The Indian Government burst out in a great rage, when U.S. and China issued a statement criticising Indian nuclear tests during the Clinton-Jiang summit.

Much water has flowed under the bridge since then. Just a year after the Clinton visit, the U.S. bombed the Chinese mission in Belgrade during the Kosovo war.



The President, Mr. K.R. Narayanan, along with delegates during the talks with China in Beijing on Monday. PTI

And Chinese students began to stone the American mission here last May. And the Sino-U.S. strategic partnership lay in a shambles.

Which side is the U.S. on now? It is on neither side. It is important to remember that Indo-U.S. relations are improving after a very long time and from an extremely low base. Sino-U.S. ties

## CHINA DIARY

have entered an uncertain phase, but are founded on a very strong commercial relationship. Indo-U.S. relations are a long way from acquiring the density and depth of Sino-U.S. ties.

Instead of worrying about the prospects of the other sides alliance with Washington, it may be sensible for New Delhi and Beijing to begin to reduce bilateral tensions, address outstanding disputes, and find more common ground.

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That precisely is what most major powers and regional ac-

tors are doing to build partnerships with whoever they can in order to increase their individual leverages with Washington. As a consequence, there is a proliferation of strategic and other partnerships.

It is not just India that is now on a spree of announcing natural partnerships with other nations. China, too, is down the same road. And it is running out of different names for these special relationships.

With the U.S. China had announced a constructive strategic partnership; with Russia a strategic cooperative partnership; with European Union, a long-term strategic and constructive partnership; with the ASEAN, a partnership of good neighbourliness.

The latest variation on the theme came up in today's talks between the President, Mr. K.R. Narayanan and Mr. Jiang.

The Chinese leaders recipe for Sino-Indian relations is a constructive partnership for cooperation in 21st century. Whatever the slogan might be, it is the sentiment that matters. On that the

two leaders had it right by suggesting they are not political rivals.

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At the banquet that Mr. Jiang had this evening for Mr. Narayanan, the two leaders were in an intense conversation.

The high table was unusually laid out, with the two leaders and a few dignitaries sitting on one side of the long table. Seated across were a couple of interpreters.

Mr. Jiang can speak a smattering of English and that lets him have small talks with guests. At a press conference in Washington a few years ago, he even began to answer a question in English.

An electrical engineer by profession, Mr. Jiang is believed to have told Mr. Narayanan that he really drifted into politics rather late in his life.

But he has done rather well in consolidating his power and presiding over a prosperous phase in China's recent history. Mr. Narayanan congratulated him for engineering social and economic change in China.

THE HINDU

30 MAY 2000

30 MAY 2000

# China puts nuclear issue on backburner

BEIJING: China on Monday put on backburner the contentious nuclear issue, which was a serious impediment to bilateral relations with New Delhi for the last two years, but raised its concern over the presence of the Karmapa, who along with the Dalai Lama in India could trigger anti-Chinese activities in the region.

The anti-Chinese forces would exploit their presence on Indian soil to carry out a campaign against Beijing, Chinese President Jiang Zemin told the visiting Indian President, K.R. Narayanan, during the delegation-level talks here on Monday.

Mr Zemin said China considered the Dalai Lama as a person heading a clique, a political leader, and not a mere religious head. He, however, expressed his government's appreciation over the prudent manner in which India had handled the arrival of the Karmapa, when he fled Lhasa earlier this year.

Responding to Chinese concerns over the Dalai Lama issue, Mr Narayanan reiterated India's stand that it considered Tibet as an autonomous region of China and that neither the Dalai Lama nor the Karmapa would be permitted to indulge in any political activity detrimental to Chinese interests.

The nuclear issue, the bone of

contention between the two countries since Prime Minister Atal Behari Vajpayee wrote to U.S. President Bill Clinton citing Chinese nuclear power in the neighbourhood as the reason for India's conducting the tests, however, did not figure during Monday's meeting of the heads of both the countries. This is in tune with the latest Chinese thinking to delink the nuclear issue from bilateral relations, despite differences in perception.

India and China agreed in principle to set up an eminent persons' group to supplement governmental efforts to enhance bilateral relations, with Mr Narayanan mooted the proposal and Mr Zemin giving his nod. Details would be worked out later.

Proposing the setting up of the group, Mr Narayanan cited similar groups India had set up with various countries including France and Germany.

Describing the 40-year-old boundary dispute between the two countries as a legacy of history, Mr Zemin gave three slogans for resolving it—mutual accommodation, mutual understanding and mutual settlement. Once these parameters were accepted by both the countries, a fair and a reasonable settlement was possible to end the dispute. (Agencies)

THE HONOURABLE MEMBER OF PARLIAMENT

THE TIMES OF INDIA

# President in Panchsheel pitch

FROM SANKARSHAN THAKUR

**Beijing, May 30:** President K.R. Narayanan drove to the sylvan Peking University campus today to renew the call for stronger Sino-Indian bonding to fight off what he called efforts to impose a "uniform monolithic system" the world over.

"I hold that in the new century, cooperation between India and China is a historical necessity... theories of globalisation extinguishing national sovereignties are unsustainable and destructive of a democratic world order... the appropriate code of conduct for a globalised world would be the Five Principles of Peaceful Coexistence jointly offered to the world by China and India, and not overlordship by any one nation or group of nations," Narayanan told a hall packed with faculty members and students of the university.

The end of the Cold War and economic liberalisation, the President said, offered both Asian neighbours an opportunity to "regulate their relations in the tradition of their age-old friendship and brotherhood" and pleaded that the opportunity be grabbed. "At this new stage there is much that India and China can exchange with each other, learn from and cooperate on with each other. Along with other countries of the region developing fast, that cooperation would usher in the true Asian Century that Deng Xiaoping had visualised and that our leaders dreamt of in the 1950s," the President held.

It was perhaps indicative of the direction Narayanan visualises Sino-Indian relations is taking that his 45-minute speech dwelt at length on the rich past of cultural and political relations between the two countries and referred to irritants only briefly, though bluntly. "It is perhaps inevitable that there would be differences between neighbours. Between India and China, too, there are differ-



President KR Narayanan unveiling the Rabindranath Tagore bust at Peking University. (AP/PTI)

ences, but that does not mean these differences cannot be resolved," he said, adding that apart from the history of good relations, the "compulsions of the present and the vision of the future drive us towards cooperation".

Just before he addressed the Peking University students, Narayanan paid tribute to one of the most vibrant symbols of Sino-Indian cultural friendship: Rabindranath Tagore, who came to this campus to interact with Chinese scholars and students in 1924 and who remains, to the Chinese, the greatest overseas man of letters, a cultural icon almost. Unveiling a bust of Tagore in the foyer of Peking University's spanking Library Building, the President expressed the hope that Tagore's vision of a "mutual con-

tact of hearts and minds" between China and India would become a reality. "Tagore laid the seeds of a new understanding and friendship between our two countries in the modern age... Let me wish that the memories of the life of this great poet and his writings will inspire the two countries".

Narayanan recalled that both India and China had waged sustained struggles to break free of colonial clutches and were not only inspired by each other during their independence movements, but also came to each other's aid whenever the opportunity arose.

He, in fact, went on to emphasise that India had stood by China despite the Cold War "distorting the outlook of nations and peoples everywhere, sowing distrust and

suspicion in their minds". In this context, he referred to India's instant recognition of the Peoples' Republic of China and her "principled one-China polity without any sort of reservation or equivocation".

President Narayanan's stress on India's consistent support to China is perhaps an articulation of the deeply-felt sense on the Indian side that China has not reciprocated in good measure India's gestures through the years.

Delhi would particularly like China to support its case for a permanent seat in the UN Security Council and — although that remains a hope more than tinged with scepticism — a greater balance in China's relations with Pakistan and India.

'COOPERATION WITH CHINA A HISTORIC NECESSITY'

# Let us make it a friendly border, says Narayanan

By C. Raja Mohan

BEIJING, MAY 30. Declaring that cooperation between India and China is "a historic necessity", the President, Mr. K.R. Narayanan, urged the two nations to overcome differences and make their border a peaceful and friendly one.

Conveying a new sense of Indian urgency on the resolution of the boundary dispute with China has become one of the principal diplomatic tasks of Mr. Narayanan who is here on a week-long state visit.

He had pressed the point on Monday with the Chinese President, Mr. Jiang Zemin. In his address today to the students and faculty of the prestigious Peking University, Mr. Narayanan returned to the theme. He argued that India and China "should persevere in our joint efforts to seek a fair, reasonable and mutually acceptable settlement of the boundary question within the framework of national interests and sentiments of both our peoples".

As Sino-Indian talks on the dis-

pute meandered over the years, the Government has been signalling Beijing that it desires a more purposeful and result-oriented negotiations on the clarification of the Line of Actual Control that separates the two nations.

India hopes that a clarification of the alignment of the LAC, which is itself in contention in many places would help both sides to begin addressing the more fundamental dispute over the boundary.

A meeting earlier this month in New Delhi of the Sino-Indian Joint Working Group had agreed that experts from both sides will meet more frequently in an attempt to expedite the negotiations.

Mr. Narayanan is now making the Indian case, both publicly and in his conversations with the top Chinese leadership, for more productive talks on the dispute.

Echoing the sentiments expressed by the late Chinese leader, Deng Xiaoping, Mr. Narayanan was insisting that Asia would not realise her destiny unless India and China learnt to cooperate and prosper. "That is

why," Mr. Narayanan said, "I hold that in the new century cooperation between India and China is a historical necessity".

Reiterating India's commitment to develop good relations with all its her neighbours, Mr. Narayanan said it was inevitable that there would be "some differences" between India and China.

Calling for the political will to resolve the dispute, Mr. Narayanan said India and China "should strive together to make the border one of eternal peace, friendship and cooperation".

The boundary question also came up in Mr. Narayanan's meeting with Mr. Li Peng, who was a former Prime Minister of China and currently the Chairman of the Chinese parliament, the National Peoples Congress.

Mr. Jiang had suggested on Monday that both "time" and "patience" were needed in resolving the long-standing boundary dispute. Mr. Li Peng today is believed to have told Mr. Narayanan that "substantive work" remained to be done before the dispute was resolved.

The Indian message on the im-

portance of an early resolution of the dispute appears to be getting through.

Whether there is an immediate shift in the Chinese negotiating position or not, Indian officials are indeed optimistic after Mr. Narayanan's consultations with the Chinese leadership in the last couple of days.

The positive tone of Mr. Narayanan's talks with Mr. Jiang and Mr. Li, Indian sources believe, signals a possible Chinese recognition of the need for a change of attitude on the border question in the context of the search for a more cooperative relationship between the two Asian giants.

The President had a productive meeting with Mr. Li Ruihuan, head of the Chinese Peoples Political Consultative Committee, and will continue the discussion tomorrow with the Prime Minister, Mr. Zhu Rongji.

There is a quiet satisfaction on the Indian side that Mr. Narayanan's meetings have gone off well, and a similar assessment is being signalled by his Chinese interlocutors.

MAY 2000

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## India, China hold border talks

**GANGTOK, APRIL 1.** Indian and Chinese Army authorities held a commemorative border meeting in East Sikkim's Natu La Pass today on the occasion of the 50th anniversary of the establishment of diplomatic ties between the two countries.

The meeting was represented by a 10-member delegation each from Yatung Garrison of China's People's Liberation Army (PLA) and the Natu La Brigade of the Indian Army.

Welcoming the Chinese delegation at the snow-covered Pass, located at a height of 14,200 ft., Brig I.N. Rai, who led the Indian delegation, said "relations between the two countries in the last 50 years have grown from strength to strength," a defence release said here.

Both had lived as "good neighbours" on the path of peace shown by Jawaharlal Nehru and Zhou En Lai adhering to 'Panch-sheel'. He said under the leadership of the late Prime Minister, Rajiv Gandhi, and the Chinese

President, Mr. Jiang Zemin, relations had improved considerably.

Sources at the 17 Mountain Division here said, the meet was "different" from the "routine" conference held every May and September. "There was no agenda in today's programme. It was for cultural exchange," they added.

The meeting lasted an hour. A cultural programme was organised for the entertainment of the visiting Chinese military delegation.

### Cover released

In Beijing, the two countries today jointly released a first-day cover to mark the anniversary of diplomatic relations and expressed their desire to forge friendly bilateral ties in the new millennium.

The first-day cover, depicting the national flags of the two countries, and the recently-released postage stamps became an instant hit with Chinese stamp collectors.

Addressing the gathering, the Chinese Vice-Foreign Minister, Mr. Yang Wenchang, recalled that India was one of the first countries to establish diplomatic relations with the Peoples Republic and that China valued its relationship with India.

He said the coming State visit of the President, Mr. K.R. Narayanan, to China would provide an opportunity to boost friendly relations, which he said was crucial to maintaining regional and global stability.

The Chinese Foreign Minister, Mr. Tang Jiaxuan, told PTI that despite odds, Beijing and New Delhi had maintained good neighbourly ties and friendly exchanges had been going on uninterrupted between the people of the two countries.

The Indian Embassy in Beijing brought out a special supplement highlighting the message sent by Mr. K.R. Narayanan and the Prime Minister, Mr. A.B. Vajpayee. — PTI

# Sino-Indian Army meet at Nathu La

Gangtok, April 1

INDIAN AND Chinese Army officers met in east Sikkim's Nathu La today to commemorate the 50th anniversary of the establishment of diplomatic ties between the two countries.

A 10-member delegation, each from the Yatung garrison of People's Liberation Army (PLA) and the Nathu La Brigade of the Indian Army represented the two countries.

Brigadier I N Rai, leader of the Indian delegation, welcomed the Chinese group on the snow-covered pass, 14,200 ft above sea level. According to a defence release, he said relations between the two countries in the last 50 years have grown from "strength to strength".

Both countries have lived as "good neighbours" on the path of peace as enshrined in the Panchsheel by India's first Prime Minister Jawaharlal Nehru and the then Chinese Premier Zhou En Lai.

Under the leadership of late Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi and Chinese President Jiang Zemin, the relations have improved further, Brig. Rai said.

Sources at the 17th Mountain Division here said the meet was "different" from the "routine" conference held every May and September. "There was no agenda in today's programme. It was just cultural exchange." The hour-long

meeting wound up with a cultural programme organised for the visiting Chinese delegation.

**Meeting with BJP:** A delegation of the Communist Party of China has told the BJP in New Delhi that relations with India have nothing to do with its relations with Pakistan. It called on BJP president Kushabhau Thakre yesterday. BJP vice-president Jana Krishnamurty told reporters today they had reservations regarding China's extensive military cooperation with Pakistan, particularly in the nuclear and missile areas.

(PTI)

THE HINDUSTAN TIMES

- 2 APR 2000

## 'Sino-India border meets held regularly'

HT 20  
THE INDIAN Army today informed that border personnel meetings (BPMs) were being held regularly along the India-China border at Spanggur in Eastern Ladakh, Natu La in Sikkim and Burn La in Arunachal Pradesh to discuss "issues of local nature."

According to the Army spokesman, as part of celebrations to commemorate the 50th anniversary of the establishment of diplomatic relations between India and China, special BPMs were held between April 1 and April 3. While India hosted special BPMs at Spanggur and Natu La, the Chinese played the hosts at Burn

La. As the special occasion did not involve any formal discussions, a cultural programme was organised by the Indian side at Spanggur and Natu La with Indian troops displaying country's varied cultural heritage.

Reciprocating with similar bonhomie and enthusiasm, the Chinese did a song and dance sequence on popular Hindi-pop song -- Made in India by Alisha Chinoy. The delegation leaders of India and China reiterated their resolve to maintain peace along the borders through interacting at various levels.

HTC, New Delhi

DEPARTMENT OF DEFENCE

APR 2001



# China seeks Indian support to foil U.S. <sup>Quinn Tamm</sup> <sup>6x 15/14</sup> <sup>6/15/14</sup> ~~censure~~ move on rights violations

BEIJING: China has sought India's support to foil U.S. attempts to censure the Communist regime's human rights policies, diplomatic sources here said.

China has sought India's support against the resolution tabled by the U.S. at the ongoing session of the United Nations Human Rights Commission in Geneva, a diplomatic source said.

Director-general of the Asian department of the Chinese foreign ministry Zhang Jihuan met the Indian ambassador, Vijay K. Nambiar, on Tuesday and briefed him about Beijing's stand on human rights seeking New Delhi's support to defeat the anti-China motion later this month, the source said.

Sources in the Indian embassy confirmed the meeting and said the mission would relay the Chinese message to New Delhi. They noted that India had been voting against similar motions against China at the Rights forum in Geneva.

With the help of developing

countries, China has defeated every Western attempt to censure it since the 1989 Tiananmen Square massacre, in which many pro-democracy activists reportedly died.

However, analysts say Washington looked upbeat about the prospects for putting China in the commission's dock this year due to a change in the 53-member commission's membership structure, this time due to U.S. President Bill Clinton's visit to India last month and an apparent tilt towards the country in Washington's South Asia policy.

U.S. secretary of state Madeleine Albright had gone to Geneva from India to make a 15-minute speech criticising China, Russia and Yugoslavia for their human rights policies and lobby for the U.S. resolution against China.

Ms Albright's speech was the first by a secretary of state to the UN human rights commission since it was established in 1946.

In her speech, Ms Albright had

urged the UN to confront China, one of its most powerful members, over Beijing's widespread denials of basic freedoms. (P7)

THE TIMES OF INDIA

6 APR 2000

## **'China is trying to encircle India'**

WASHINGTON: House of Representatives' International Relations Committee chairman Benjamin Gilman has warned against China's attempts to encircle India by amassing troops on the country's border in Tibet and arming Pakistan, Myanmar and Sri Lanka.

In a prepared statement at the hearing of his committee on Thursday, the Republican Congressman said China's increased military presence on India's northern border was part of the policy of the encirclement of its democratic neighbour. "Now that Beijing shares a long border with India," he pointed out, "it attempts to keep India off balance by transferring nuclear weapons to Pakistan."

"While Pakistan causes problems on India's western border, China has been currying favour with the Burmese military government on India's eastern border by selling them nearly \$2 billion (worth) of arms," he said.

At the southern tip of India, he added, "China overwhelmingly remains Sri Lanka's main supplier of arms."

Quoting author Eric Margolis' recently published book, *War at the Top of the World*, Mr Gilman said India's chief worry was "the steady increase of Chinese military power on the Tibetan plateau, which confronts India with the spectre of simultaneously facing serious strategic threats on its western, northern and eastern borders."

Of all China's military emplacements on the Tibetan plateau, Mr Gilman said, "The most alarming to India is an extensive series of missile bases and nuclear installations." (UNI)

THE TIMES OF INDIA

28

# Seminar speech irks Chinese diplomat

UNITED NEWS OF INDIA

NEW DELHI, April 14. — A senior Chinese diplomat stood up to protest against certain "anti-China" remarks by a panellist at a seminar here yesterday.

Ms Liu Jinfeng, political counsellor at the Chinese embassy, rebutted accusations that her country is a major security problem and argued

that Sino-Indian ties had "much improved" after Mr Jaswant Singh's Beijing trip last year.

Earlier, at the seminar on "Analysis and Assessment of President Clinton's Visit to South Asia", Prof. ML Sondhi of Jawaharlal Nehru University had described

China as a "major problem for world security in the coming years". Prof. Sondhi, a former MP, said China is no longer stable and is faced with severe economic problems. It has been encouraging Right-wing nationalism and playing up the Taiwan dispute to veer attention away from its internal problems.

Despite Indo-Chinese confidence-building measures, the professor argued Beijing has been treating New Delhi as a "younger brother" and denying it the position of a major power in a polycentric world. He emphasised that any discussion on Indo-US ties must take into account this aspect of Sino-Indian relations.

Ms Liu, an invitee to the sem-

inar, took strong exception to the "unwarranted attack" on her country. China believes in a stable, prosperous and peaceful South Asia, she contended, and wants the countries of the region to resolve their differences through dialogue.

China wants good neighbourly relations with India, she said. Bilateral relations are back on track and Beijing hopes they will improve further during President KR Narayanan's visit to China next month.

"I don't think the panellist's comments on China are any good. We do not think India's relations with the United States are targeted against China. At least, that is not the Indian government's policy."

THE STATESMAN

15 APR 2000

## India, China agree to resume cultural ties

BEIJING: India and China agreed to revive bilateral cultural exchanges and cooperation, which remained dormant in the wake of the Pokharan-II nuclear tests.

This was decided at a meeting between senior officials of the two sides here during the two day deliberations, official sources said.

At the end of consultations, India and China signed a triennial cultural agreement and chalked out plans to jointly celebrate the 50th anniversary of the establishment of diplomatic relations through enhanced cultural exchanges.

Under the executive programme for cultural exchanges for the years 2000-2002 signed on Tuesday, the two sides have decided to intensify exchange of visits and cooperation, the sources said.

This document is expected to create conditions for an increase in exchanges between India and China in the field of culture, education, mass media, social sciences, youth affairs and sports, secretary, department of culture, Dr R.V. Vaidyanatha Ayyar said.

Earlier, Mr Ayyar and his Chinese counterpart, vice minister of culture, Ai Qingchun held talks and signed the executive programme for cultural exchanges.

During their talks, the two sides discussed cultural cooperation since the signing of the cultural agreement in 1988.

The two sides reviewed the implementation of triennial executive programmes under this cultural agreement and discussed

ways of maximising implementation of items in future, official sources said.

They said that bilateral cultural cooperation and exchanges were few in the recent past, especially after the near freeze in Sino-Indian relations in the aftermath of India's nuclear tests in May 1998.

During their talks, Mr Ayyar and Mr Ai also discussed reciprocal exchanges of cultural troops to mark the 50th anniversary of the establishment of bilateral relations between China and India which was celebrated on April one.

The Indian delegation included the director general of the Indian council for cultural relations, Himachal Som, the assistant director general of the Archaeological Survey of India, S.B. Mathur and the Sahitya Akademi secretary K. Satchidanandan.

Meanwhile, leading Chinese scholars have stressed the need for increased cooperation between India and China in the cultural field to enhance people-to-people relations.

Cultural exchanges could promote the development of literature, art, philosophy and religion of both sides and contribute to the prosperity of science and technology of the two parties concerned, according to Prof Ji Xianlin of the Peking University. "If we want to give an example of how cultural interflow has benefited both sides in the entire history of the world, we can find none better than that between China and India," Mr Ji said. (Agencies)

MINISTRIES OF INDIA

1 APR 2000

## Anti-China remarks countered by envoy

9/2/74  
FD-4

**NEW DELHI, APRIL 14.** Taking exception to certain "anti-China" remarks of a panelist at a seminar here, a senior Chinese diplomat rebutted allegations that her country was a major security problem and added that Sino-Indian ties had "much improved" after the Foreign Minister, Mr. Jaswant Singh's visit to Beijing last year.

The Political Counsellor at the Chinese Embassy, Ms. Liu Jinfeng, was among the invitees at the seminar on "Analysis and assessment of President Clinton's

visit to South Asia", where Prof. M.L. Sondhi of the Jawaharlal Nehru University (JNU) described China as a "major problem for world security in the coming years". Stating that China was on shaky ground internally, Prof. Sondhi, a former MP, claimed that the country was no longer stable and was facing severe economic problems.

He charged Beijing with encouraging right wing nationalism and playing up the Taiwan issue to divert attention from its internal problems. — UNI

15 APR 1974

# China thanks India

By C. Raja Mohan

**NEW DELHI, APRIL 27.** China has thanked India for its support in defeating an American-sponsored resolution criticising the Chinese record on human rights in Geneva recently.

In a letter to the External Affairs Minister, Mr. Jaswant Singh, his Chinese counterpart, Mr. Tang Jiaxuan, has expressed Beijing's appreciation of the valuable Indian gesture at the United Nations Human Rights Commission.

Beating back the U.S. resolution on human rights became a major political objective of China at a time when Sino-U.S. relations are passing through a difficult phase.

Mr. Tang's letter adds to the improving political atmosphere between the two countries, on the eve of the 12th meeting of the Sino-Indian Joint Working Group on the boundary question which opens here tomorrow. A series of bilateral exchanges since Mr. Jaswant Singh travelled to China last

June have begun to put the bilateral relations back on track.

Sino-Indian relations went through a tail spin after India had conducted the nuclear tests in May 1998.

The Chinese delegation to the JWG is being led by the Vice-Foreign Minister, Mr. Yang Wenchang, and the Foreign Secretary, Mr. Lalit Mansingh, heads the Indian team.

Senior Government officials say that the new positive atmosphere in bilateral relations "makes for easier discussion of the outstanding issues". But it remains to be seen whether the mood of optimism will translate into any movement in the resolution of the many bilateral problems.

Over the years, the JWG has become a forum for reviewing the overall relationship and the developments in the region and beyond. The two sides will also discuss the President, Mr. K. R. Narayanan's trip to China next month.

THE HINDU

26 APR 2000

# President's China visit discussed at JWG

By C. Raja Mohan  
**NEW DELHI, APRIL 28.** India and China hope the President, Mr. K. R. Narayanan's visit to Beijing next month would give a big boost to bilateral relations that have been on the upswing in the recent months.

Senior Indian and Chinese officials met here today at the 12th round of the Joint Working Group (JWG) and considered the substantive issues relating to Mr. Narayanan's trip to China at the end of May.

Mr. Narayanan's visit is being seen as an opportunity for intensive consultations at the highest political level for the first time since India conducted nuclear tests in May 1998.

At the JWG, which concluded its deliberations today, the Chinese side was led by the Vice Foreign Minister, Mr. Yang Wenchang, while Mr. Lalit Mansingh headed the Indian team. Mr. Yang today called on the External Affairs Minister, Mr. Jaswant Singh.



**The Chinese Vice-Foreign Minister, Mr. Yang Wen Chang (right), with the Foreign Minister, Mr. Jaswant Singh, before the official talks began in New Delhi on Friday. — AP**

Resolving the long-standing boundary dispute has been the principal objective of the JWG, that was set up in 1988. But the pace of talks on the boundary questions has been glacial. There was no official comment on the talks today from the Foreign Of-

ice. The JWG has become a forum for exchange of views on a broad range of issues and in particular, matters of mutual concern.

It was expected that China would raise concerns about what it calls the "splittist activities" of the Dalai Lama, spiritual leader of the Tibetan people. India does not allow political activity by the Dalai Lama.

India has its concerns about Beijing's continuing reluctance to acknowledge Sikkim as an integral part of India. Chinese sources say their position on Sikkim is "evolving and flexible". Last week the Government told Parliament it would take up with China its official depiction of Sikkim as an independent country.

India is also deeply concerned about China's support to Pakistan's nuclear and missile programmes. The issue had figured at the first round of security dialogue between the two countries at Beijing last month. India was expected to take up the issue again at the JWG today.

# India, China to resume military ties

By C. Raja Mohan

**NEW DELHI, APRIL 29.** In an attempt to revive confidence and trust between their armed forces, New Delhi and Beijing have agreed to resume senior level military contacts which were suspended after India's nuclear tests in May 1998.

The Foreign Office spokesman said India and China would soon exchange delegations from their military training institutions. He was briefing reporters here on the results of the 12th round of the Sino-Indian Joint Working Group which concluded its deliberations last night.

The renewal of military contacts is expected to complete the normalisation of relations that were disrupted after Pokhran-II.

The leadership in Beijing strongly resented India's reference to the "China threat" in its decision to conduct the nuclear tests. The bitterness was deepest in the Chinese military establishment.

The chief of the People's Liberation Army

(PLA), Gen. Fu Quanyou, had come to India at the end of April 1998 to strengthen military interaction. India's nuclear tests which followed just a few days after the visit deeply disturbed the PLA leadership. The resumption of military contacts now could help put behind that bitterness.

In another important development, India and China also agreed to step up efforts to clarify the Line of Actual Control which separates the two armed forces on their disputed border.

Reiterating their commitment "to seek a fair, reasonable and mutually acceptable settlement of the boundary question" which has long hobbled bilateral relations, India and China have decided to accelerate the negotiating process.

In a statement here, the Ministry of External Affairs pointed to the agreement that officials from both sides "would meet as often as required to discuss boundary-related issues", including the clarification of the Line of Actual Control (LAC).

An Expert Group (EG) set up by the two sides in the early 1990s has met at least once a year. But the negotiations have been painfully slow. The hope now is that the EG will meet more frequently and that the talks would be more purposeful.

The External Affairs Minister, Mr. Jaswant Singh, told the visiting delegation about the importance India attaches to result-oriented negotiations.

The leader of the Chinese team and Vice-Foreign Minister, Mr. Yang Wenchang, called on Mr. Singh on Friday and conveyed greetings from the Chinese Foreign Minister, Mr. Tang Jiaxuan. Reciprocating the greetings, Mr. Singh renewed his invitation to Mr. Tang to visit India.

Discussing next month's trip to China by the President, Mr. K. R. Narayanan, the Foreign Office statement said "both sides agreed that the visit would enhance mutual understanding and cooperation". New Delhi also hopes that the Chinese Prime Minister, Mr. Zhu Rongji, would be able to visit India soon.

THE HINDU

9 APR 29 1998



# India sore over Chinese advice to U.S.

HO-13 2/3

By K. K. Katyal

NEW DELHI, MARCH 1. India has conveyed to China its disappointment over Beijing's advice to the U.S., on the eve of the President, Mr. Bill Clinton's visit here, to be firm with New Delhi on nuclear non-proliferation issues.

China, according to information available to India, had made this point during the U.S. Deputy Secretary of State, Mr. Strobe Talbott's trip to Beijing last month. Mr. Talbott was reminded of the U.S. obligations under the various non-proliferation regimes as also the strategy worked out, along with other powers, in the wake of India's nuclear tests.

New Delhi's unhappiness, as made known to the Chinese side, was based on various factors. One, China's 'get-tough' exhortation to the U.S. was not in tune with the understanding shown by India as regards Beijing's problems with Washington on human rights and the World Trade Organisation. Two, such a step did not fit in with the spirit of amity in India-China relations. Three, it was somewhat unusual for a third power to interfere in the bilateral dealings of others. Four, the advice on the nuclear non-proliferation issues coincided with Beijing's plea to the U.S. to include Pakistan in Mr. Clinton's South Asia itinerary.

India was aware of China's tough stand on issues arising from India's nuclear tests. Beijing, it was known here,

did not treat the dialogue of the External Affairs Minister, Mr. Jaswant Singh, with Mr. Talbott as a model for its interaction with India on security matters. The chill that had set in Sino-Indian relations after Pokhran-II was a thing of the past now, as was evident from contacts at various levels, notably Mr. Jaswant Singh's visit to Beijing and the activation of the Joint Working Group.

In pursuance of the decision taken during Mr. Singh's discussions, the officials of the two sides have scheduled a two-day meeting in Beijing from March 6 — the first exercise of this type in the aftermath of the nuclear tests. Each of the two sides could be counted upon to spell out its concerns and explain its position on security matters.

China's "advice" to the U.S. came in the wake of indications that though Mr. Clinton would be talking about non-proliferation and India-Pakistan problems, this would be in the nature of "sub-text and not of banner headlines". New Delhi's stand on Mr. Clinton's trip was outlined in the President's address to the two Houses of Parliament last week thus: "We expect that President Clinton's visit to India next month will pave the way for a broad-based and multi-dimensional expansion of our bilateral relations." This was preceded by a reference to India's engagement with the U.S. "in a serious dialogue on security, non-proliferation and disarmament issues

predicated on India maintaining a credible minimum nuclear deterrent" as also to the "significant outcome of this dialogue — the decision to set up a Joint Working Group to deal with cross-border terrorism which is a menace to the whole world".

From the manner New Delhi had projected Mr. Clinton's plan for the India visit, Beijing perhaps feared a dilution of the U.S. emphasis on non-proliferation matters.

As maintained by officials here, on the strength of briefings from the American side, the visit was intended to cement new relationship in the post-Cold War era on the basis of common ground not about differences. The American side, it is pointed out, had told New Delhi that this "visit was about India wherever else Mr. Clinton may go" and the thrust would be on the vision for the future.

This did not mean that issues like non-proliferation and the situation in South Asia would be shut out of discussions, but it did mean that the two sides would mainly focus on the development of bilateral ties, especially in the economic field, energy, information technology and environment. India, it is reaffirmed, regards the decision on the visit to Pakistan as Washington's sovereign right but if he goes there, "there will be public reaction in India and the message in regard to the U.S. commitment to democracy would be diluted."

5-6  
3/3

# Nuclear policy to dominate talks between India, China ✓

India China

STATESMAN NEWS SERVICE

NEW DELHI, March 2. — The first ever meeting of India and China, setting into motion the security dialogue, will see some tough talking on both sides, coming as it does in the wake of China expressing concerns about India's nuclear proliferation, recently.

While India is also expected to make clear its concerns regarding the support extended by China to Pakistan's missile programme, it will also attempt to allay Chinese concerns by stressing on the commonalities in the nuclear doctrine of the two countries, namely the no-first-use policy.

China and India, sources point out, are the only two countries to have a no-first use policy, a principle that Pakistan has not adopted on the grounds that it would provide India with the advantage in conventional warfare.

The meeting, to be held at the level of joint secretary of the Ministry of External Affairs, will take place in Beijing on 6 and 7 March, implementing the decision on holding a security dialogue that was taken during the visit of the External Affairs Minister, Mr Jaswant Singh, to China in June last year.

China had recently taken up the issue of India's nuclear proliferation with the USA, reminding it of the obligations of the P 5, under the UN Security Council resolution 1172, shortly after the nuclear tests.

The USA, which for some time has pared down its wish list of demands vis-a-vis India's nuclear proliferation, was told to pursue the concerns articulated by the P 5 during the visit of the US President to India.

India's stand, vis-a-vis the face-off between the USA and China over the Taiwan issue, may play a key role in determining the outcome of the dialogue.

While India is keen to project the initiation of the security dialogue as an added facet of the improved relations between the two countries, a section of opinion believes the two countries are moving towards rivalry and a deterioration in relations.

Prof Thomas W Robinson, president of the American Asian Research Enterprise in McLean, Virginia, predicts a race between the two countries and deteriorating relations.

In India on the last leg of his Asian tour, Prof Robinson says that while China does not want to enter into an actual scrape with India, the rivalry was likely to increase with the emergence of India in global politics.

The USA, he said, was also attempting to improve its relationship with countries neighbouring China since it viewed China as its rival in security matters.

THE STATESMAN

- 3 MAR 2000

110-  
**Sino-Indian  
talks on  
security today**

**BEIJING, MARCH 5.** The first-ever India-China security dialogue here tomorrow will provide both sides an opportunity to understand each other better and strengthen bilateral relations further, official sources said.

The talks were intended to discuss threadbare each others' concern in a frank manner, they said.

"We are approaching the dialogue in a focused manner," an Indian official said and hoped the Chinese side would be willing to discuss the nitty-gritty and address New Delhi's concerns, especially the Sino-Pakistani relations, which impinged on India's security.

Official sources said holding talks was important, considering the stress in India-China relations after the May 1998 Pokhran nuclear tests. They said the two sides were expected to review the international and regional security situation. The nuclear issue was also expected to figure prominently.

While China is unlikely to soften its stand on the South Asian nuclear issue, it may be willing to listen to India's nuclear policy, sources said.

The dialogue is also significant as it comes two weeks before the U.S. President, Mr. Bill Clinton's maiden visit to India, an event carefully monitored by Beijing. — PTI

## ***Sino-Indian talks will build mutual trust***

By Anil K. Joseph

BEIJING: The first-ever security dialogue between India, China here on Monday will provide both sides an opportunity to understand each other better and further strengthen bilateral relations, official sources said.

The bilateral security talks are intended to discuss threadbare their mutual concern in a frank manner, they said. "We are approaching the dialogue in a focused manner," an Indian official said here.

He hoped that the Chinese side would be willing to discuss the nitty-gritty of bilateral ties and address New Delhi's concerns, especially the Sino-Pakistani relations, which impinged on India's security.

Official sources said holding of the discourse itself was important, considering the stress India-China relations underwent in the wake of May 1998 Pokhran nuclear tests. They said the two sides are expected to review the international and regional security situation. The nuclear issue is also expected to figure prominently.

While China is unlikely to soften their stand on the South Asian nuclear issue, they may be willing to listen to India's nuclear policy, sources said. The dialogue also assumes significance as it is taking place just two weeks before US President Bill Clinton's maiden visit to India, an event carefully monitored by Beijing.

Meanwhile, top Chinese analysts are of the view that the India-China dialogue augurs well for bilateral ties, regional stability and world peace and development. "I believe that the significance of the first-ever India-China security dialogue is beyond the scope of security issues," Du Youkang of the Shanghai Institute for International Studies said.

Through the talks, the two sides will have more chances to dispel suspicions and distrust, enhance mutual understanding, build mutual confidence, and increase mutual co-operation, which are the basis for building a constructive and co-operative partnership oriented towards the 21st century, Mr Du said. (PTI)

THE TIMES OF INDIA

- 6 MAR 2000

## India-China security <sup>HW 2/4</sup> dialogue opens

Beijing, March 6 <sup>7/13</sup>

THE FIRST-EVER Sino-Indian security dialogue opened here today with the aim of understanding each other's stand on bilateral issues and major regional and international topics of common interest.

Official sources said they hoped the dialogue would provide both sides an opportunity to understand each other better and help provide more depth in India-China relations.

"The talks are intended to understand each other and discuss threadbare the concerns of each other in a frank manner," one source said.

The Indian side is being led by Joint Secretary (Disarmament) of External Affairs Ministry Rakesh Sood, while the Chinese side is headed by Director-General of Asian department of the Ministry for Foreign Affairs Zhang Jiuhan.

A senior Indian diplomat said he hoped the Chinese side would be willing to discuss the nitty-gritty of bilateral ties and address New Delhi's concerns, especially the Sino-Pakistani relations. (PTI)

## Give up n-programme, China tells India

BEIJING, MARCH 7. Maintaining its tough stand, China today asked India to renounce its nuclear weapons programme as the two countries concluded their first-ever security dialogue here.

New Delhi should implement in "real earnest" the United Nations Security Council resolution 1172 which asked India and Pakistan to stop their nuclear weapons programme, the Chinese Foreign Ministry spokesman, Mr. Zhu Bangzao, told presspersons at the end of the two-day dialogue.

"As big countries in Asia, China and India bear important responsibilities for the maintenance of

regional peace and stability," he said. The dialogue was "conducive for the enhancement of understanding, expanding consensus and promoting cooperation between the two sides". The Indian side was led by the External Affairs Ministry's Joint Secretary (disarmament), Mr. Rakesh Sood, and the Chinese side by Director-General of the Asian Department of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Mr. Zhang Jihuan. Asked to comment on Mr. Vajpayee's comments that India would not renounce its nuclear deterrence, Mr. Zhu restated the Chinese position on the South Asian nuclear tests of May 1998 asking India to implement the

U.N. resolution. Indian official sources acknowledged that differences existed in Sino-Indian relations, especially on the nuclear issue. India explained its nuclear policy and "the Chinese side listened."

India clearly told China that the resolution violated India's sovereign right to decide on its own security, a senior official said. However, at the Foreign Ministry news conference, the Chinese spokesman declined to say whether the nuclear issue was taken up but said the two sides covered a wide range of regional and international matters of mutual concern. — PTI

THE HINDU

- 8 MAR 2000

# India rejects China's call for rollback

HT Correspondent  
New Delhi, March 8

INDIA HAS rejected China's call for a rollback of its nuclear weapons programme, advising Beijing in turn to appreciate the reasons for the overt nuclearisation in May 1998.

The first-ever India-China security dialogue held in Beijing on March 6-7 was at best less than a non-starter because in essence the two sides agreed to disagree on the principal issue before them -- India's nuclearisation and the security environment in South Asia.

China on its part disagreed with India's concern over its "assistance" to Pakistan's nuclear and missile programme. India had said that Chinese assistance had an adverse impact on regional stability, triggering in turn its decision to go nuclear and that it had responded to the security threat only in a "responsible and restrained" manner.

The happy news is that the security dialogue will be continued and the next meeting will be held in India at a mutually convenient date.

Both sides agreed that the differences should not be an impediment to dialogue, which was the "only" means for their resolution.

China reiterated its demand that New Delhi honour United Nations Resolution no. 1172, calling for a roll-back of the nuclear programme by both India and Pakistan. The official spokesperson for the External Affairs Ministry said that in response, India conveyed its views on the UN resolution and emphasised that sen-

## **N-weapons programme**

sitivity to each other's security concerns was necessary for a productive dialogue.

The Security Council resolution was modeled on the G-8 resolution adopted after the Pokhran tests. Adopted on 6 June 1998 without permitting India to argue its case, the resolution called upon New Delhi and Islamabad to immediately "stop their nuclear weapon development programmes, refrain from weaponisation or from the deployment of nuclear weapons and cease development of ballistic

missiles capable of delivering nuclear weapons". It asked the countries not to export equipment, materials or technology that could contribute to weapons of mass destruction or missiles capable of delivering them". The Indian position to the resolution was that the tests were not directed against any country. They were carried out as a "defensive measure to protect India in a global environment where nuclear disarmament was making no headway and against grave and growing challenges to its security from nuclear weapons in the lands and seas bordering the country".

New Delhi said the right to take measures in self-defence was an "inherent right of member states under the UN Charter".

Both sides characteristically fell back upon the Five Principles of Peaceful Co-existence to buttress their positions. India emphasised the importance of the principles that involved "being sensitive to each other's sovereignty, including the sovereign right of a country to determine its security needs and to take whatever measures essential for its national security requirements".

THE HINDUSTAN TIMES  
- 9 MAR 2000

# India, China to talk despite differences

By C. Raja Mohan

**NEW DELHI, MARCH 8.** India and China have agreed to continue their just-initiated security dialogue despite deep differences over nuclear non-proliferation and arms control.

A spokesperson of the Ministry of External Affairs here said India and China have decided that these nuclear differences "should not be an impediment to dialogue which is the only means for their resolution".

The spokesperson was briefing the press here on the first-ever nuclear consultations between India and China that concluded on Tuesday in Beijing. The talks, according to him, took place in a "frank and cordial" atmosphere.

However, when it comes to the nuclear question, the Sino-Indian

divergence is deep enough for some plain-speaking from the Indian side. Two issues are of great concern to India — China's attempt to pressure India into giving up its nuclear weapons programme and Beijing's long-standing assistance to Pakistan's nuclear and missile programmes.

The Government is certainly not pleased about Beijing's continual references to the United Nations Security Council Resolution No. 1172, passed in June 1998 following the Indian and Pakistani nuclear tests. It calls on New Delhi and Islamabad to renounce their programmes to build nuclear weapons and missiles.

Although most of the great powers, including the U.S, have stopped focusing on this resolution, China continues to harp on

it. While the U.S. is looking for a way to reconcile India's nuclear security interests with the imperatives of global non-proliferation regime, China seems to be calling for an Indian submission to the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty (NPT) regime.

New Delhi has also been disappointed by the frequent Chinese calls on the Clinton administration to be firm on nuclear issues with India. Questioned on the Chinese position, the spokesperson said the Indian delegation "conveyed to the Chinese side its views" on the UNSC Resolution 1172, and "emphasised that sensitivity to each other's security concerns was necessary for a productive dialogue".

Rejecting the demand of the

UNSC Resolution, the spokesperson said it is the "sovereign right" of a country to "determine its own security needs and take measures essential for its national security requirements".

India, according to the spokesperson, also strongly conveyed its concerns that China's assistance to Pakistan's nuclear and missile programmes had an "adverse impact" on regional stability to which India has been "obliged to respond in a responsible and restrained manner".

The Indian delegation to the talks was led by the Joint Secretary in the Ministry of External Affairs, Mr. Rakesh Sood. The delegation also called on Mr. Yang Wenzhang, a Vice-Minister in the Chinese Ministry of Foreign Affairs.



## China warns India on Karmapa issue

BEIJING, MARCH 9. China today cautioned New Delhi against attempts by the Dalai Lama to "split" China by using the 14-year-old Karmapa, who fled to India early this year.

"We are firmly opposed to any attempt by any person to use the Karmapa issue to engage in political activities aimed at splitting China," Chinese Foreign Ministry spokesman, Mr. Zhu Bangzao, told reporters here.

He was responding to the Dalai Lama's comments in a television interview that some Indian officials have indicated to him that New Delhi would allow the

17th Karmapa to remain in the country. Mr. Zhu said, "the Dalai Lama clique and some other forces abroad always wanted to use the 17th Karmapa for their purpose." However, India has not conveyed any such decision to China, Mr. Zhu said. "I don't have any confirmation from the Indian side," he said.

China has "indicated on many occasions" to the Indian side that New Delhi should "keep in mind the five principles of peaceful co-existence and handle the issue with prudence in the overall interest of bilateral relations." — PTI

THE HINDU

10 MAR 2000

# Beijing warns Delhi on Karmapa

STATESMAN NEWS SERVICE

NEW DELHI, March 9. — Barely a day after the conclusion of the first round of the Sino-Indian security dialogue for "a better understanding", there is another outburst of diplomatic hostility. China today reminded India that the UN Security Council resolution on India's nuclear tests was not a Chinese resolution and warned India of the Dalai Lama using the Karmapa issue to carry out splittist activities.

In an apparent response to India's statement on China's stand on UNSC 1172, whereby India had stated that it reserved the sovereign right to decide its security policy, China today said all permanent members of the UNSC were bound to implement the resolution.

## DALAI USING BOY LAMA TO SPLIT CHINA

China also cited reports of the Dalai Lama's comments in a TV interview where he said he had been assured by his friends in the external affairs ministry that Karmapa Ugyen Thinley Dorje would be allowed to stay in India.

India has maintained that China has not communicated with it after it sought information on the circumstances of the Karmapa's departure.

China, however, reacted sharply even as the Dalai Lama issued a message today on the eve of the 41st anniversary of the Tibetan National Uprising Day, calling for international pressure on China.

The Chinese foreign ministry spokesman said China is firmly

Lama said the human rights situation in Tibet has taken a critical turn and there is little change in China's ruthless political objective. Accusing China of making demographic changes in Tibet through Chinese settlers, the Dalai Lama said the steps taken by China amount to cultural genocide.

In the absence of any positive response from China over the years, the Dalai Lama said: "I am left with no alternative but to appeal to the members of the international community. It is clear now that only increased and concerted international efforts will persuade Beijing to change its policy on Tibet."

He stressed that expressions of international concern were essential for creating an environment for the peaceful resolution of the Tibetan problem.

THE STATESMAN  
10 MAR 2000

## China values friendly ties with India

BEIJING, MARCH 10. China today emphasised that despite some differences, it valued good-neighbourly relations with India and said the two neighbours did not pose a threat to each other.

"Of course, there are some disagreements between China and India which are reflected in some outstanding issues. But generally speaking, China and India does not pose a threat to each other," Chinese Foreign Minister, Mr. Tang Jiaxuan, told reporters here.

"China and India are both influential nations of Asia with considerable influence. China and India are also neighbours," Mr. Tang said. He said there were some differences between China and India, including some major

issues calling for urgent solution, but did not elaborate on them. These differences cannot be turned into threats to undermine the bilateral relations, he said.

"Our agreement far outweighs our disagreements," Mr. Tang said, emphasising that China expected to promote its relations with India on the basis of the five principles of peaceful co-existence (Panchsheel), jointly initiated by the leaders of the two countries in the 1950s.

"China values its good neighbourly and friendly relations and cooperation with India," Mr. Tang said noting that the Indian President, Mr. K.R. Narayanan, would make a State visit to China in May.— PTI

THE HINDU  
11 MAR 2000

## 'China and India are not a threat to each other'

BEIJING: China emphasised on Friday, that despite differences, it valued good-neighbourly relations with India and said the two neighbours did not pose a threat to each other.

"Of course there are some disagreements between China and India which are reflected in some outstanding issues. But generally speaking, China and India do not pose a threat to each other," Chinese foreign minister Tang Jiaxuan told reporters.

"China and India are both influential nations of Asia with considerable influence. China and India are also neighbours," Mr Tang said.

He said there were some differences, including major issues calling for urgent solution, but did not elaborate. These differences cannot be turned into threats to undermine bilateral relations, he said.

"Our agreements far outweigh our disagreements," Mr Tang said, emphasising that China expected to promote its relations with India on the basis of the five principles of peaceful co-existence (Panchsheel), jointly initiated by the leaders of the

two countries in the 1950s.

"China values its good-neighbourly and friendly relations and cooperation with India," Mr Tang said, noting that Indian President K.R. Narayanan would make a state visit to China in May.

He also noted that China and India would jointly celebrate the 50th anniversary of the establishment of diplomatic relations between them on April 1, an opportunity which would be used by Beijing "to further advance bilateral relations".

"We hope that the joint celebrations of the 50th anniversary of diplomatic relations will provide us with a new opportunity to move our relations forward on the basis of the five principles of peaceful co-existence," Mr Tang said.

Mr Tang also briefly referred to the near-chill in Sino-Indian relations after India conducted nuclear tests in May, 1998. He noted that since last year, bilateral relations had entered a new phase of gradual improvement and development, an obvious reference to external affairs minister Jaswant Singh's visit to China June last. (PTI)

## Indo-China security talks productive, say officials

BEIJING: Despite differences over the nuclear issue, the first-ever India-China security dialogue has been described by both sides as "productive" in enhancing mutual trust and cooperation.

The very fact that the two countries held a security dialogue itself is significant, official sources here said while pointing out that both sides have agreed to continue the process by holding the next round in India.

While acknowledging that there was no common stand on the South Asian nuclear issue, both sides agreed that these differences should not be an impediment to dialogue which is the only means for their resolution. Chinese foreign ministry sources said they consider the security dialogue useful in enhancing mutual understanding between the two major countries in Asia, who are responsible for peace and stability in the region.

"The dialogue has helped improve mutual understanding, enlarge consensus and increase cooperation," a Chinese official said.

It has raised common understanding on major regional and international issues of common concern, he commented on the two-day security dialogue between officials from the two foreign ministries, held here last week. At the same time, he asserted there is no change in the Chinese stand on the nuclear issue.

India used the dialogue to engage the Chinese side for the first time on New Delhi's nuclear policy and strongly conveyed the message that it was the sovereign right of a country to determine its own security needs and take measures essential for its national security requirements.

We cannot expect instant results, a senior Indian diplomat said when asked to comment on the nuclear issue. At the same time, he emphasised India is unhappy with frequent Chinese public statements on the South Asian nuclear issue and advice to the U.S. to be "firm" with India.

"We emphasised that sensitivity to each other's security concerns is necessary for a productive dialogue," the Indian official said.

Meanwhile, Chinese foreign minister Tang Jiaxuan has expressed hope that the 50th anniversary celebrations of the establishment of Sino-Indian diplomatic relations on April 1 would give an opportunity to push forward bilateral ties.

"We hope the joint celebration of the 50th anniversary of establishment of diplomatic relations would provide us with a good opportunity to move our bilateral relations forward on the basis of the five principles of peaceful coexistence, which, after all, were jointly initiated by the leaders of China and India in the 1950s, Mr Tang said on Friday at his annual news conference. (PTI)

THE TIMES OF INDIA  
13 MAR 2000

The Sino-Indian security dialogue is in both countries' interest

# Neighbourhood talkie

Indian and Chinese delegates met in Beijing from March 6 to 8 in their first exchange on security issues. Senior officials from India's ministry of external affairs and China's foreign office led the respective delegations.

This security dialogue is separate from the discussions being held under the Sino-Indian joint working group on the boundary question. The two sides differed on nonproliferation and other nuclear issues during the talks. The Indian delegation affirmed its objections to China's criticism of India's nuclear and missile weaponization.

India's nuclear weapon tests of 1998 and the statements by the prime minister and defence minister that one reason for India's acquiring nuclear weapons was a perceived Chinese threat, triggered a crisis in Sino-Indian relations. The political and security dialogue being held at an informal level was discontinued.

Resuming the security dialogue, separately from the joint working group, was one of the most significant results of the discussions that India's foreign minister, Jaswant Singh, had with his Chinese counterpart, Tang Xijuan.

The importance of the March 6 to 8 meeting needs to be assessed in the context of China's broader strategic thinking. Notably, this is the first security dialogue held since the nuclear tests. It took place despite strong criticism by Beijing of India's nuclear weapons programme. And despite India's objections to China's longstanding defence cooperation agreement with Pakistan.

Another backdrop is the Sino-Indian boundary dispute which remains unresolved.

China is also critical of the United States-Japan security arrangement and proposals for a theatre missile defence system in east Asia. Taiwan remains a major source of tension in the region. Beijing's assertiveness is also causing apprehension among southeast Asian countries. Some thought is being given to evolving countervailing strategic equations in south and southeast Asia.

The very first day of the Sino-Indian dialogue, the Chinese authorities announced a 12.7 per cent increase of their defence expenditure. But this has more to do with the US moves to set up a mis-

## The author is former foreign secretary of India

sile defence system and the tensions surrounding Taiwan. China's finance minister, Xiang Huaicheng, said the defence budget would be \$14.5 billion, about 1.4 per cent of gross domestic product and 8.2 per cent of budgetary expenditure. There are reports China will allocate more money to buy high technology weapons and improve its nuclear missile arsenal.

Most of this equipment will come from Russia, a fallout of the Sino-Russian strategic partnership that followed Jiang Zemin's visit to Moscow in 1998. Given the US's overarching political and military power, China is also engaged in restructuring its strategic and security equations with important powers.

Beijing's attitude towards south

J.N. DIXIT

14/3

## China is concentrating on economic development. It thus seeks a practical and cooperative relationship with neighbours

Asian and southeast Asian countries are drawn from China's current perceptions about likely developments in regional politics and power equations. Its views are inevitably influenced by China's own military and technological capacity.

At present, China is concentrating primarily on domestic political consolidation and economic development. Its focus is inwards. It is China's assessment that an atmosphere of stability and peace in its vicinity is necessary if it is to meet its priority objective of economic development.

China, therefore, seeks a practical and cooperative relationship with all its neighbours and other power centres like the US, Russia, the European Union and Japan.

This approach does carry a rider: that China shall not compromise its territorial, strategic and security interests.

The Chinese have a deep and unarticulated conviction that they are destined to be citizens of a superpower. Beijing will therefore concentrate on its defence capacities to counter external challenges from technologically superior countries.

An additional objective is to prevent any of the existing nuclear powers from dominating the world scene and also prevent, if possible, the emergence of additional nuclear powers in its neighbourhood.

The asymmetry between the greater military and economic strength of China when compared to India should caution India that the security and strategic dialogue is not based on complementarities but aimed at generating a stabilizing atmosphere to remedy the above imbalances.

The dialogue is also aimed at counter-potentialities of tension and conflict in the context of differences of opinion on the boundary question between the two countries. Another aim is to create an incremental environment of trust which could lead to the resolution of the boundary question. The bilateral exchange of views could also serve the purpose of removing misunderstandings about India's nuclear and missile programmes and structuring a political and strategic understanding on nonproliferation and arms control.

The dialogue could also serve to evolve an understanding between India and China on issues affecting south and southeast Asian security in general, and perhaps reducing Indo-Pakistani tensions. Stable security relations and understanding between China and India will temper Pakistani adventurism and extremism, despite the Beijing-Islamabad link.

These are all not only desirable objectives but also of immediate relevance. The security discussion between India and China is, by all accounts, a positive and strategic development of importance to the region.

HD-1  
1713

# China for peace along LoC

By Atul Aneja *China*

**NEW DELHI, MARCH 16.** Rejecting the use of force as a means to change existing boundaries in Jammu and Kashmir, China today said India and Pakistan should maintain "peace and tranquillity" along the Line of Control.

Responding to questions at the Press Club of India, the Chinese Ambassador to India, Mr. Zhou Gang, expressed the hope that New Delhi and Islamabad would resolve their differences on Jammu and Kashmir through peaceful negotiations. Asked to comment on the coming visit of the U.S. President, Mr. Bill Clinton, to India, he hoped the "very important" trip would encourage "peace and stability" in the region.

China watchers here are reading meaning into Mr. Zhou's comments and say that these observations coincide with U.S. per-

ceptions on the subject. Pointing out that India and Pakistan had acquired nuclear weapons, the U.S. Secretary of State, Ms. Madeleine Albright, on Wednesday made it explicit that Washington was opposed to the use of force to alter the LoC.

The Chinese envoy, however, reiterated that Beijing had "excellent" relations with Pakistan and was involved in building "good relations" with India. China, he said, wanted a "constructive and cooperative partnership with India in the new millennium".

According to Mr. Zhou, the visit to China by the External Affairs Minister, Mr. Jaswant Singh, was "a big step forward" in improving Sino-Indian relations.

**THE HINDU greets its readers on the occasion of BAKRID**

**THE HINDU**  
**17 MAR 2000**

# India calls for resolution of differences with China

✓  
11-16  
2/17

BEIJING: India has called for resolution of the pending differences with China with "maturity and statesmanship" and said that New Delhi and Beijing work together to build a more complete relationship in the new millennium.

"As two neighbours, we must work together to enhance our co-operation based upon our many common interests, to resolve our few differences with maturity and statesmanship, build trust and remain sensitive to our respective sovereign concerns," Indian ambassador to China Vijay K. Nambiar said.

Speaking at a banquet hosted by the Indian embassy here on Wednesday night to celebrate the upcoming 50th anniversary of the establishment of India-China diplomatic relations, Mr Nambiar noted that in the past 50 years, Sino-Indian relations have seen ups and downs. However, he said, India attached importance to the development of friendly, cooperative, good neighbourly and mutually beneficial relations with China on the basis of Panchsheel (the five principles of peaceful co-existence).

Referring to the establishment of Indo-China diplomatic relations on April 1, 1950, Mr Nambiar said India's decision to establish diplomatic relations with the people's republic at that time was a difficult one in the light of the prevailing international environment.

"The international situation did not favour the early establishment of formal diplomatic relations," he said and paid tributes to "the courage, wisdom and commitment" of the leaders of that period in taking the decision. The ambassador also referred to the forthcoming state visit to China by Indian President K R Narayanan and hoped that it would be a symbol of a shared wish for a new and more complete relationship.

Chinese vice foreign minister Yang Wenchang hoped for further promotion in Sino-Indian relations and predicted that Mr Narayanan's visit in May would be a complete success. Mr Yang, on behalf of vice premier Qian Qichen, noted that India was among the first countries to forge diplomatic ties with China, and the two countries enunciated hand-in-hand the world-famous five principles of peaceful co-existence in the 1950s.

"We are confident that China-India relationship, which is based on the five principles of peaceful co-existence, will continue to move forward and that the upcoming visit to China by President Narayanan will be a complete success," he said.

"We note with pleasure that in the past 50 years since the establishment of our diplomatic relations, thanks to the efforts of both sides, China-India relations have seen marked improvement and development," Mr Yang said. (PTI)

THE TIMES OF INDIA

31 MAR 2000



# China builds bunkers in Kargil replay

FROM CHANDAN NANDY

New Delhi, Jan. 31: The Chinese People's Liberation Army has built a permanent road network and set up bunkers five kilometres into the Indian side of the Line of Actual Control (LAC) in Ladakh's Aksai Chin area.

Air reconnaissance near Trijunction, a strategic location in Aksai Chin, revealed that the Red Army has constructed a network of metalled roads from the LAC leading to grid references 5459 and 5495. These are located behind a point called "K" Hill, northeast of Trijunction near the Chip Chap river.

What has set off alarm bells is

that several bunkers have also been spotted. "The situation can no longer be described as alarming but dangerous," an army official said.

The operation is similar to the mid-Eighties incursion in the Northeast when the Chinese entered Indian territory in the Tawang sector of Arunachal Pradesh and occupied the Sumdorong Chu yak-grazing pastures during winter. China continues to occupy the land.

Officials believe that the network of metalled roads was built between June and August, 1999, during and just after the Kargil war. Defence security agencies came to know of it only about a week ago though preliminary re-

ports had mentioned "sound of explosions" from the LAC, indicating dynamite blasts for road-building. The latest foray in the area occurred last week.

**The Telegraph** reported on July 4 last year how the Red Army had "violated" the LAC 500 km from the Kargil front. On July 1, a strong contingent of Chinese troops, along with a convoy of six heavy, medium and light armoured vehicles, stepped into the Trijunction

but also in areas in Arunachal, and stayed on for up to two hours and, in some cases, even more.

These reports have been confirmed by transcripts of a conversation — intercepted by Indian intelligence — between Chinese President Jiang Zemin and another head of state. Jiang reportedly disclosed that his army had breached the LAC to test India's defence readiness.

Apart from the roads, the Red

Army has also built an elaborate network of mule tracks from within Chinese territory leading up to the LAC.

Army officials here believe this has been done to supply material for road construction as well as arms and ammunition to the PLA personnel stationed on the Indian side of the LAC.

Air reconnaissance discovered that the PLA has deployed a battalion — around 900 soldiers — in the region. These men have been strategically spread over 10 well-armed defence posts. The soldiers are regularly relieved by fresh men.

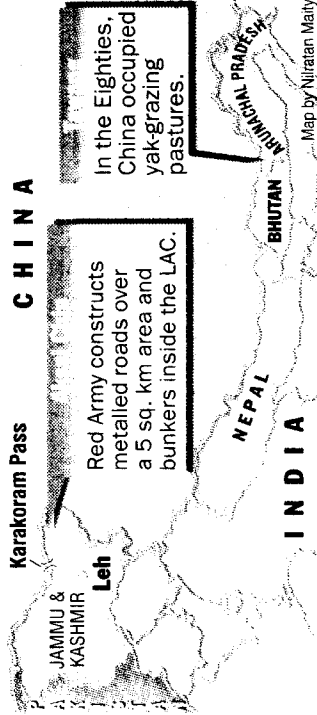
India has a strength of only two companies — one from the Indo-Tibetan Border Police and

the other from the Ladakh Scouts — which are posted several kilometres away from the encroached area.

After coming to know of the incursions, the army airlifted a one-tonner vehicle and a light jeep, which are not enough to act even as effective deterrent.

The army believes that its newly-created 14 Corps for Kargil and Ladakh and a separate Unified Headquarters for areas north of the Zoji La are enough to scare the Pakistanis and the Chinese from attempting to enter Indian territory.

But, as one official said, "What is lacking is the actual presence of troops close to the LAC both in the western and eastern sectors."



# Sino-Indian relations unaffected by the escape of Karmapa Lama

BEIJING: Sino-Indian relations have not been impaired by the dramatic escape of the 17th Karmapa Lama to India and the bilateral ties have, in fact, acquired much-required stability and maturity in the year, diplomatic sources here said.



Karmapa Lama

"We are satisfied with the response of the Indian government on the Karmapa Lama issue," a Chinese foreign ministry source said. "The Karmapa Lama issue has not affected our bilateral ties. In fact, both sides are making active preparations for the celebration of the 50th anniversary of India-China diplomatic relations in April this year," a senior Indian diplomat said.

Indian diplomatic sources said that both governments have handled the sensitive issue in a cool-

headed manner and reiterated their desire to have good-neighbourly relations based on Panchsheel (the five principles of peaceful co-existence) jointly initiated by India and China in the 50s.

The state-run Chinese media has kept quiet on the dramatic escape of the 14-year-old 17th Karmapa Lama, the third highest-ranking religious figure in Tibetan Buddhism after the Dalai Lama and the Panchen Lama.

According to the official Chinese version, Ugyen Trinley Dorji left Tibet temporarily to collect some religious relics. He arrived in Dharamsala in India on January 5. Dorji's "escape" has been seen as a major embarrassment for the Chinese government, which had touted the boy lama as a model patriot in Tibet.

While echoing the official Chinese stand on the Karmapa Lama issue, former Chinese ambassador to India Cheng Ruisheng told reporters that both China and India have handled it cautiously and not allowed the issue to impede their

bilateral relations.

"Up to now, both sides have handled this issue in a very cautious way. I think that is much appreciated (in China). If we continue the present approach, the Karmapa Lama issue will not impede Sino-Indian relations," Cheng said.

Meanwhile, India and China have decided to jointly organise functions to mark the 50th anniversary of the establishment of diplomatic relations, official sources said. They said experts from the foreign ministries will also meet soon for the first-ever security dialogue aimed at deepening mutual trust and confidence.

Chinese foreign ministry spokesman Zhu Bangzao said the two sides were holding consultations to decide a convenient date for the security dialogue, agreed during the visit here by external affairs minister Jaswant Singh in May last year, which normalised Sino-Indian relations in the aftermath of the May 1998 Indian nuclear tests. (PTI)

# Maran to talk trade with China

By P. S. Suryanarayana

*India China* *HD-13*  
**BANGKOK, FEB. 17.** The Union Minister of Commerce and Industry, Mr. Murasoli Maran, today left Bangkok for Shanghai to begin a visit to China, the first by an Indian political leader since the recent flight to India by the Tibetan Karmapa, Ugyen Trinley Dorjee. Mr. Maran's China visit is, however, being projected by the Indian side as purely a trade-related event without any political connotation.

Mr. Maran will lead the Indian delegation to the two-day sixth session of the India-China Joint Economic Group (JEG) to be held in Beijing from February 21. The panel was constituted in December 1988 during the historic thaw-setting visit to China by the then Prime Minister, Rajiv Gandhi. The fifth session of the JEG was held in New Delhi in June 1994.

On the political question concerning the seventeenth Karmapa, Mr. Maran said that he would, if at all asked by his Chinese hosts, spell out the Indian stand. He did not, however, wish to engage in public diplomacy over this by talking about the Indian line ahead of his parleys in Beijing. All the same, he noted that trade and political issues were not inter-linked in bilateral ties. In this sense, he indicated that there was no cause for any political interpretation of the timing of the convening of the JEG.

While a "protocol" on the deliberations of the JEG would be signed after its prospective meeting in Beijing, India and China may also discuss certain agreements to be signed by them in the context of Beijing's proposed entry into the World Trade Organisation (WTO). However, this exercise was linked directly to China's diplomatic mood and methods at this stage. One obvious question in this regard would be a normal trading relations (NTR) in the bilateral sphere or the earlier equivalent of a most-favoured nation (MFN) status.

The JEG's planned meeting assumed importance in the overall context of keeping up a continuity of political-level contacts over commercial ties, given the need to expand the volume of trade, it is said.

The two sides may also review the progress in the implementation of an Agreed Programme of Cooperation that was concluded in Beijing in May last

year when the bilateral Science and Technology Sub-Committee met there.

## Treaty on WTO accession

PTI reports:

India will sign an agreement with China pledging its support to Beijing's accession to the WTO during the upcoming joint economic group meeting, Mr. Maran said here today.

Mr. Maran said that China's accession would further 'strengthen the hands' of the developing countries. He dispelled fears that this would marginalise India's position in the multilateral body.

THE HINDU

18 FEB 2000

## Beijing, New Delhi to give boost to bilateral trade

HD-13  
21/2 ✓

**BEIJING, FEB. 20.** India and China are likely to boost their bilateral trade ties further, during the meeting of the India-China Joint Economic Group (JEG) beginning here on Monday.

The two countries are looking into trade relations, which have not received the required Governmental guidance in recent years, a senior official said, ahead of the Ministerial-level talks here.

After over five years, the India-China JEG on Economic Relation and Trade, Science and Technol-

ogy would be meeting here to identify areas to enhance trade and explore avenues for mutual investment. The Commerce and Industry Minister, Mr. Murasoli Maran, who is leading the Indian delegation, said he was looking forward to the JEG and also the Joint Business Council (JBC) meeting of the Indian and Chinese industrialists on Tuesday.

Mr. Maran is scheduled to hold talks with the Chinese Minister of Foreign Trade and Economic Cooperation (MOFTEC), Mr. Shi Guangsheng, and other senior of-

ficials. The two countries may sign an agreement on India's support to Chinese accession to the WTO during Mr. Maran's stay in Beijing.

A Memorandum of Understanding (MOU) on consultations between departments of steel on ferrous metals will be signed by

the two sides. An arbitration agreement will be signed between the China International Economic and Trade Arbitration Commission and the Indian Council of Arbitration. —PTI

THE HINDU  
21 FEB 2000

# Sino-Indian WTO agreement today, China negotiates with EU

'Vast Chinese market for Indian goods can be opened up'

Beijing, February 21

SINO-INDIAN agreement on China's accession to the WTO and providing for the much required political push to bilateral trade ties will be signed here tomorrow, even as Beijing today intensified efforts to clinch deals with European Union members to join the multilateral body.

Commerce and Industries Minister Murasoli Maran said that India is ready to sign the agreement with China tomorrow with both sides concluding negotiations on major issues.

"Our negotiations with China were devoid of any bickering," Maran said in an obvious reference to long-drawn out negotiations between China, the US and the European Union.

Official sources here said Beijing today resumed negotiations with the European Union with hopes to conclude separate deals with its members this week.

China must reach agreements with all WTO members before it can join the WTO that sets rules for global trade. The Sino-Indian agreement would be a significant event in relations between the two countries at the start of the new millennium, Maran said after a meeting with Chinese Foreign Trade and Economic Cooperation Minister Shi Guangsheng here.

"I consider this as a great leap forward in India-China relations with regard to trade and economic cooperation," Maran, who co-chaired the sixth session of the India-China Joint Economic Group (JEG) meeting, said.

"It is a milestone in the new millennium," he said, adding that the JEG could spur Sino-Indian trade which hovered around two billion US dollars in 1999.

Asked whether China has given concessions to India, Maran replied that both sides were satisfied with the agreement to be

inked tomorrow.

"India believes in a rule-based multilateral trading system and is very keen that the rules should be fair and just," Maran said.

"We hold the view that the interests and concerns of the developing countries should be addressed by the WTO," he said.

Responding to Indian support for China's accession to the WTO, Shi said Chinese Government highly appreciates India's stand and agreed with New Delhi's stand that the WTO should address the interests and concerns of developing countries.

He also said China's accession to the WTO would also open up the vast Chinese market for Indian goods. Murasoli Maran hoped that bilateral trade could double as soon as possible with both governments adopting concrete measures to boost trade and economic cooperation.

(PTI)

THE HINDUSTAN TIMES

22 FEB 2000

# India, China sign WTO agreement

Beijing, February 22

INDIA AND China today signed a key bilateral trade agreement, which would facilitate Beijing's early entry into World Trade Organisation (WTO) and provide greater access for Indian exports to the vast but restricted Chinese market.

"It is a significant step in India-China relations, especially in bilateral trade relations," Commerce and Industry Minister Murasoli Maran said after the signing ceremony at the Chinese Ministry of Foreign Trade and Economic Cooperation (MOFTEC).

Maran, leading a high-powered Indian delegation, said that New Delhi fully supports Beijing's entry into the WTO and expressed confidence that both the countries could work in tandem to push for the rights of developing countries.

After China enters the WTO, we will cooperate on issues of mutual interest. China's entry into the WTO would strengthen the world trading system and also world trade," he said.

An Indian diplomat said on condition of anonymity China has agreed to a series of tariff reductions on Indian goods.

"China has agreed to lower general tariff rates for a range of agricultural, industrial and marine products from about 20 per cent to 10 per cent," he said.

With today's agreement, China has just one major hurdle, its largest trading partner EU with whom it must sign a similar trade agreement to pave the way for its entry into the world body. China has to sign bilateral trade pacts with all 135 WTO members before its 14-year bid to enter the world body come through. (PTI)

THE HINDUSTAN TIMES  
23 FEB 2000

## NARAYANAN SEEKS SUPPORT FOR U.N. SEAT.

# Fillip to Sino-Indian ties

By C. Raja Mohan

BEIJING, MAY 31. The President, Mr. K.R. Narayanan, concluded an important round of consultations with the Chinese leaders today with the conviction that Sino-Indian relations have acquired a new warmth and maturity.

The President's meeting today with the Chinese Prime Minister, Mr. Zhu Rongji, capped three days of interaction with the political leadership here. Mr. Narayanan's talks ended with a renewed commitment on both sides to tap the huge unrealised potential of political and economic cooperation between the two Asian giants.

Senior officials travelling with the President are more than pleased with the results of Mr. Narayanan's talks with the Chinese leaders. Briefing the press here, they said the President had injected "a sense of movement" into the bilateral relations, which "can only get better" now.

Mr. Narayanan left Beijing this afternoon to the north eastern city of Dalian, fully satisfied that the two countries may have turned yet another difficult corner in their complex and volatile relationship over the last 50 years.

Nearly a year ago, the visit of the External Affairs Minister, Mr. Jaswant Singh, to Beijing had helped end the post-Pokhran chill in relations. Mr. Narayanan has now succeeded in committing both sides to a more productive engagement. Indian officials are pointing to four important aspects of Mr. Narayanan's consultations. One, the Chinese leaders have demonstrated genuine



The President, Mr. K.R. Narayanan, holding talks with the Chinese Prime Minister, Mr. Zhu Rongji, (right) in Beijing on Wednesday.

—Photo: AP

warmth towards the President. Two, there appears to be a Chinese acceptance, if only implicit and indirect, of India's new economic and political standing in the international arena. Comments from the Chinese leaders suggest Beijing may be prepared to take India more seriously than in the past. The Chinese approach to India might have begun to form the traditional regional template to a global one.

Three, there seems to be a new openness among the Chinese leaders to address the difficult areas in ties, in particular the long-standing boundary dispute. According to Indian officials, when Mr. Narayanan pressed the Chinese leaders on the importance of dealing with the issue more seriously, they were "willing to listen and respond positively".

And finally, Chinese leaders appear to have consciously chosen to avoid needless polemics on such issues as India's nuclear policy. It may be a while before Beijing acknowledges the reality of India's nuclear weapons. But like the other major powers, China, too, might have begun a process of readjustment.

In praising Mr. Narayanan as an "old friend" of China and in making it explicit that they hold him in special esteem, the Chinese leaders appear to have found a way out of the blind alley that ties found themselves in after Pokhran-II.

The positive symbolism that the Chinese were attaching to his visit gave Mr. Narayanan an unique opportunity to insist that a resolution of the boundary dispute can no longer be left to fu-

ture generations. Utilising the Chinese interest in greater cooperation on global issues, Mr. Narayanan sought China's support for India's candidature for a permanent seat in the United Nations Security Council, and tried to draw them into a common front against global terrorism.

Although it will be a long time before this diplomatic effort will bear fruit, India has made a significant move through Mr. Narayanan. As part of the new understanding to sustain high-level political contacts, both the Chinese Foreign Minister, Mr. Tang Jiaxuan, and Mr. Zhu have agreed to visit India in the near future. During the visit the two sides agreed to widen the political interaction by facilitating contacts between parliamentarians and set up an 'eminent persons group' to give an intellectual fillip from outside the formal governmental structures.

PTI reports:

The Foreign Secretary, Mr. Lalit Mansingh, told presspersons that during the parleys, Mr. Zhu agreed with Mr. Narayanan that the restructuring of the United Nations was needed and that Beijing was willing to work together with New Delhi on this but did not give any indication of support for India's candidature for a permanent seat in the restructured Security Council.

A senior Chinese Foreign Ministry official told presspersons that not discussing the nuclear issue did not mean China had softened its stand and added that its "consistent policy has not changed".

Pak. factor: Page 13

THE HINDU

1 JUN 2000

# Great escape puts Delhi on Tibetan tightrope

FROM OUR SPECIAL CORRESPONDENT

New Delhi, Jan. 7: India tiptoed on tricky diplomatic terrain after a teen-aged but pivotal Buddhist leader escaped from a Chinese-monitored monastery in Tibet and trekked across to Dharamshala.

Fourteen-year-old Urgyen Trinley Dorje is the most important Tibetan figure to "defect" since his predecessor, the 16th Karmapa, and the Dalai Lama fled following the abortive anti-Chinese uprising in 1959.

The young Karmapa, head of the rich and powerful Kagyu lineage of Tibetan Buddhism, ranks third in the spiritual hierarchy behind the Dalai Lama and Panchen Lama.

Realising that the issue could create a fresh strain in relations with China, foreign ministry spokesman R.S. Jassal said he would not comment "either directly or indirectly" until he had the facts. Some Indian officials have reportedly gone to Dharamshala to talk to Dorje, who is also the heir apparent to the Rumtek monastery in Sikkim, headquarters-in-exile of the Kagyu sect.

The Tibetans' role in India is not well-defined. Though Delhi has allowed them to set up their government-in-exile, it has refused them political rights. But this has not stopped Tibetan protest marches aimed at highlighting the "brutalities" being committed by Beijing in Tibet.

Senior lamas have confirmed that the 17th Karmapa, accompanied by a small group of monks, slipped past his guards at Tsurphu monastery on December 28. They walked across rugged moun-

tain terrain to reach Dharamshala yesterday. "He has come," said Desang, cabinet secretary in the exile administration of the Dalai Lama.

If the Karmapa has indeed fled, it will be a deep embarrassment for the Chinese and a major setback to Beijing's campaign to divide Tibetan allegiances. In 1992, Chinese leaders installed Dorje as the head of the Kagyu order and used him as a symbol of their rule over Tibet. He was enthroned at Tsurphu, traditional



Urgyen Trinley Dorje, the 17th Karmapa. (AFP)

seat of the Karmapas, in an elaborate ceremony sanctioned by the Chinese authorities.

China's State Council Information Office acknowledged that the Karmapa had left his monastery in central Tibet with a "small number of followers", the Xinhua agency said.

The Xinhua report said the Karmapa had gone abroad to get musical instruments and the black hats used by his predecessors for the Buddhist mass and cited a letter saying he did not

mean to "betray the state, the nation, the monastery or the leadership".

India cannot gloat over the "defection" until it ascertains whether the Karmapa has taken exile here or has come to visit the Dalai Lama for a short period. If Delhi welcomes him, it will be a shift in its stand as India had earlier contested his claim as the Rumtek heir.

In private, however, officials here said Dorje's presence could help India as the Dalai Lama will get enough time to "de-indoctrinate" him from the Chinese influence. He can take over as the head of Rumtek only after he is 21.

The Kagyu sect, known as the Black Hats, was once Tibet's most politically powerful. It has built a global organisation and is said to be worth millions of dollars.

The 16th Karmapa, Gyalwang, died in 1982 without announcing his heir, triggering a bitter race for succession between two groups, one led by his disciple Tai Saitupa and the other by his nephew Shamar Rinpoche.

Saitupa, with the backing of some other monks, found Dorje in 1992 — then nine years old — in Tibet and claimed he was the heir. But Rinpoche tried to prop Tenzin Chenstse, an 11-year-old Indian boy, as the real heir.

Saitupa then worked with the Chinese to see the boy installed at Tsurphu. He has been living there since, under constant surveillance.

India, which had opposed the Chinese move, was cut up with Saitupa for his links with Beijing. Previous governments had barred him from entering the country. But he was allowed entry in 1998 by the BJP government.

THE TELEGRAPH

- 8 JAN 2000



# India and China play down Karmapa Lama's defection

HTC and Agencies  
New Delhi, January 8

THE "ESCAPE" of the 17th Karmapa Lama from Tibet to India took a curious turn today, with a key monastery questioning his legitimacy and warning India not to fall into a "Chinese trap." India and China themselves reacted cautiously, while the Tibetan Government-in-exile denied having a hand in his flight.

The Karmapa Lama, Ugyen Trinley Dorje (14), arrived unexpectedly in McLeodganj on Wednesday after an "arduous" seven-day trek across the Himalayas. He is third in the Tibetan Buddhist hierarchy after the Dalai Lama and Panchen Lama.

An external affairs ministry spokesman said the Government was "enquiring into the circumstances and consequences of his arrival in the country." A reticent China, on its part, has not denounced the Lama, and has apparently left open an option to reclaim him.

The plot thickened with the second-ranking lama of the Kagyu lineage, which the Karmapa Lama heads, disowning the boy. The Regent of Sikkim's Rumtek Monastery, Shamarpa Rimpoche, claimed Thaye Dorje of Kalimpong, West Bengal, was the genuine reincarnation of the 16th Gyalwa Karmapa.

He alleged that Ugyen Trinley Dorje's flight was stage-managed by the Chinese to claim the "Black Crown" and other belongings of the Karma Kagyu school, presently in the care of Thaye Dorje. He cautioned the Indian Government not to get embroiled in a "Chinese game" to earn legitimacy for the "usurper".

However, in McLeodganj, the Karmapa met the

Dalai Lama for about 30 minutes. He was confirmed and recognised by the Dalai Lama on June 3, 1992.

In Beijing, Chinese authorities claimed he had left a letter saying he was going abroad to collect some "religious instruments".

The London-based Tibet Information Network commented, "The guarded response from the Chinese authorities and the fact they have not denounced him, suggests they wish to keep open the option that he might return."

With the exception of the English-language China Daily, the official Chinese media was totally silent. "Living Buddha simply went abroad," said the paper, reiterating a brief comment issued yesterday on the official Xinhua news agency's English service.

Western observers believe the escape has ruptured Chinese plans to control incarnations and undermine support for the Dalai Lama. The Karmapa's reincarnation was the first to be recognised by China, making him a key figure in its propaganda war over Tibet. He has been received by some of its highest officials, including President Jiang Zemin.

**McLeodganj:** Ugyen Trinley Dorje was reportedly helped to reach here by Tai Situ Rimpoche, a disciple of the 16th Karmapa, who was instrumental in confirming him as the 17th reincarnation.

The Tibetan Government-in-exile said Dorje reached McLeodganj with two lamas and four other Tibetans, including his 24-year-old sister. "We were caught by surprise," Mr Tashi Wangdi, Minister of Religion and Culture of the Tibetan Government, said. "Right now, our main concern is his health. He is exhausted."

See also page 11



Ugyen Trinley Dorje, the 17th Karmapa who escaped from China, outside his hotel in Dharamsala on Saturday. Photo: AFP

## Plots and sub-plots

AA - 6 10/1  
Whoever thought that destiny and inheritance were manifestations associated with some forgotten era needs to have a close look at how one 14-year-old boy, considered the "Living Buddha" by his followers, has two international giants eating out of his tiny little hands. Neither India nor China can quite afford to either humour or antagonise the young one's followers beyond a point, because involved with him are vexed issues of geopolitics, diplomacy, territorial rights, myriad freedoms, their violations and so on. The 17th Karmapa Lama's "escape" from Tibet to Dharamshala where he had a meeting with the Dalai Lama therefore acquires high dramatic value. There are several unanswered questions: Is the whole drama a Chinese ploy, a Beijing subterfuge, to deflate the Tibetan struggle for freedom as it has come to be symbolised by the Dalai Lama? Or, has the Tibetan government in exile itself authored the plot? Perhaps, the answer to these questions will never be available in objective terms. For one, it has been a time-held tradition, it may be ethically right or otherwise, that the faith of the faithful should never be questioned. Much of the violence and strife that has been part of human history has been because of this abiding truism. Then there is the question of the official Indian viewpoint which has always been that Tibet does not constitute a separate country, which in diplomatic parlance means that for New Delhi, Tibet is a part of China. Tibetans are thus regarded as persons in the conveniently ambivalent, stateless category. It is high time that the Indian position is enunciated categorically on Tibet, because there is no reason why there should be further dithering on the issue. In various influential circles in India, a pro-Tibetan freedom stand continues to be adopted; some within Mr Atal Behari Vajpayee's cabinet itself have been known sympathisers of the Tibetan cause, the way they deem fit to define it, that is. Thus, in any Sino-Indian dialogue to resolve outstanding issues, the Tibetan issue has always formed an uneasy backdrop and will continue to be so as long as ambiguity continues to be the bottomline of New Delhi's approach to it. The matter needs to be first resolved between Tibet and China; or more specifically, the whole gamut of issues between the two that evidently are of a deeply sensitive nature, can be best resolved between their operative leaderships. How much and how far the question of autonomy or freedom can be mutually negotiated, without rancour or bitterness intervening in the process, constitutes the core of the issue, and that can be best resolved through dialogue under terms which are mutually acceptable. Long lingering disputes are often taken for granted; their existence is, that is. But merely looking the other way cannot be recommended as a corrective by any stretch of the imagination. There has been a strong and stringent lobby seeking that India should issue an order to Shamar Rinpoche to leave the country. The latter is variously described, but to the Dalai Lama's followers, he is a "Chinese agent." This lobby over the last few months has believed that Mr Rinpoche and others have hatched a plot to enthrone this 14-year-old "child of Beru" as an impostor of sorts. The incumbent Union home minister received one such representation from this lobby almost as soon as he took charge. Emotions run very high in this drama in which the stakes too are very high; responsible governments are expected not to let emotional exigencies or extremities determine their course.

THE ASIAN AGE  
10 JAN 2000

# No request yet for asylum to Karmapa

STATESMAN NEWS SERVICE

NEW DELHI, Jan. 10. — The Centre today said it hasn't received any formal request to grant political asylum to the 17th Karmapa, who arrived in India last week from Tibet.

(Urgyen Trinlay Dorji, 14, who left McLeodganj's Chinari guest house before dawn on Sunday, has been put up 17 km away at Gyuto Rampoche temple, Sidhbari, adds SNS from McLeodganj.)

(Tibetan minister-in-exile for religion and culture, Tashi Wangdi, said the Karmapa was shifted to ensure he gets enough rest. Security staff at the temple, however, suggested the lama was moved out because his life was in danger.)

The Tibetan government-in-exile has been banking on India's political sensitivity, hoping it would forestall any move to send the Karmapa back to China. But the external affairs ministry here stonewalled all questions relating to the lama's arrival, saying the government was still inquiring into its circumstances and it would be premature to say anything now.

The MEA spokesman refused to give details of talks between external affairs and home ministry officials and the government's contacts with Chinese authorities on the subject.

He, however, said the US coordinator for Tibet is in India in connection with her role as assistant secretary of state for population, refugees and migration, and that she would visit Tibetan refugee camps as she had visited those of Afghan refugees. Ms Julia Taft, however, will not meet the Dalai Lama.

Sources confirmed that to save India any embarrassment, the US official's visit had been mandated on the understanding that it would take place when the Dalai Lama is on his annual retreat. Ms Taft had already met the Dalai Lama several times

## KARMAPA:

(Continued from page 1)

in the USA, and it wasn't necessary to have a meeting in India that would offend the Chinese.

The visit, they said, was arranged nearly two months ago and it is only an embarrassing coincidence that it comes just when the Karmapa has arrived in India.

Ms Taft's visit, however, assumes importance in the context of a third possibility: that the Karmapa is offered political asylum or refugee status by a third country, getting India out of a tight corner.

The final decision, sources said, would be determined by the pressure and counter-pressure exerted on the Indian government by the Tibetan refugee population, domestic pro-Tibetan opinion and the Chinese government.

The MEA spokesman said Ms Taft had made a courtesy call on the foreign secretary, but revealed no details about the discussions. He said Ms Taft had also met other officials and discussed the rehabilitation of refugees and bilateral cooperation.

■ See KARMAPA, page 6

THE STATESMAN  
11 JAN 2000

# Keep bilateral ties in mind, China tells India

## Beijing calls Karmapa's escape a 'departure', not a defection

BEIJING: China on Tuesday advised India to keep relations between the two countries in mind when dealing with a senior Buddhist leader who escaped to India from Chinese-ruled Tibet.

Foreign ministry spokesman Zhu Bangzao stopped short of warning India against granting asylum to the teenaged Karmapa, but reminded New Delhi that it recognised Beijing's control over Tibet and had promised not to let the Dalai Lama, Tibet's exiled leader, engage in political activities there.

"We hope that the Indian side will strictly honour its own commitments on relevant questions so as to make China-India relations continue to improve and develop," Mr Zhu told journalists.

Asked what India's commitments were, and whether they would prevent it from granting the Karmapa asylum, Mr Zhu said, "The Indian side has said in explicit terms that it recognises Tibet as an inalienable part of Chinese territory and the Dalai Lama cannot engage in political activities in India.

"I think that the Indian side will handle this matter in the light of the principles that I had outlined," Mr Zhu added.

The 14-year-old Karmapa's defection along with that of five followers, including his 24-year-old sister, a Buddhist nun, is the most significant exodus since the Dalai Lama and tens of thousands of Tibetans departed from their homeland after a failed 1959 uprising against Chinese rule.

The Dalai Lama's government-in-exile in India said on Monday that it had not asked New Delhi to grant asylum to the Karmapa, but added that asylum would be accepted if offered.

The seventeenth Karmapa's defection is a huge embarrassment for Chinese leaders because they had approved his enthronement in 1992 and had used him as a symbol to project their tolerance of Tibetan Buddhism. He is the only high Lama whose accession had been agreed upon by both the Chinese authorities and the Dalai Lama.

Mr Zhu, the Chinese spokesman, called the Karmapa's escape a "departure" rather than a defection and, in deflecting reporters' questions, he referred to a letter the Buddhist leader had reportedly left behind at his 800-year-old Tsurphu monastery in central Tibet when he fled on December 28.

## It's up to the Karmapa to ask for asylum, says Dalai's representative

The Times of India News Service and Agencies

MCLEODGANJ (H.P.): The Tibetan 'government-in-exile' said on Tuesday that it was up to the 14-year-old Karmapa Rimpoche, who has arrived here after escaping from Tibet, to decide whether he wanted to seek political asylum in India.

Briefing the Kashag, the Tibetan 'parliament-in-exile', Tashi Wangde, minister for religion and culture in the Dalai Lama's set-up, said a request for asylum had to be made by the person concerned. He said his government had no intention of politicising the issue. It only wanted to help the Karmapa as a religious leader. Mr Wangde told reporters later that so far, the government-in-exile had not made any formal request to the Indian government to grant political asylum to the Karmapa. "The Indian government is aware of his presence at Dharamshala and is looking into the whole issue. We are sure it will take the right decision in its wisdom," he said.

Asked what the response would be of the Tibetan government-in-exile if the Union government were to drag its feet on the issue, Mr Wangde said the matter would be considered at the appropriate time.

However, for the third day running, the government on Tuesday continued to assert it was still to take a decision on the status in India of the seventeenth Karmapa, saying there was still no formal request for political asylum from the boy monk.

"I don't know how long it would take," an external affairs ministry spokesman said, replying to a volley of queries from newsmen on what steps the government was contemplating for the third highest Tibetan spiritual leader who recently defected from Tibet. The spokesman also declined to comment on a veiled warning by China to India not to give political asylum to the 14-year-old boy monk.

Chinese foreign ministry spokesman Zhu Bangzao had earlier indicated in Beijing that granting political asylum to the Karmapa would be violative of the Panchsheel principles which, he said, formed the basis of bilateral relations between New Delhi and Beijing. The external affairs ministry spokesman said the government was "not aware" of any such communication from China so far. He refuted media reports of any pressure being exerted on India by Western nations to grant political asylum to the Karmapa.

THE TIMES OF INDIA

12 JAN 2000

# UK Army chief's visit to Pak upsets India

Apratim Mukarji  
New Delhi, January 11

THE BRITISH Government's decision to send its seniormost military officer to Pakistan has sent shock waves in Indian Government circles.

Commander-in-Chief of the British Army Sir Charles Guthrie will be visiting Pakistan during January 13-15, aiming to establish "high-level contacts with Gen Pervez Musharraf without endorsing his takeover."

The feeling in New Delhi is that Sir Charles' visit will definitely put

the stamp of legitimacy on the military regime which has for all the practical purposes refused to bow down to the Commonwealth demand (in shaping which the UK played a major role in the Durban summit) for an immediate restoration of democracy in Pakistan.

The military regime is certain to exploit the visit to its advantage, endeavouring to establish that the stigma of illegitimacy is no longer valid and that the world is ready to do "business as usual" with it.

On the same day that the British Army chief arrives, a four-member US Congressional delegation led

by Senate Democratic leader Tom Daschle will also land in Islamabad to discuss "the (Pakistan) military's plan for a return to democratic government," to quote a US Embassy official in the Pakistan capital. The Congressional team's visit will be followed on January 16 by another important arrival that of Senator Sam Brownback.

External Affairs Minister Jaswant Singh, who left for the UK today, is expected to raise the serious Indian reservations over the British move in his talks with the British Government. His main business in London will, however,

be the next round of talks with US Deputy Secretary of State Strobe Talbott.

It appears that the Indian Government is much more cut up with the British action than with the US. For one thing, Washington has maintained right since the October coup by Gen Musharraf that it would like to persuade the military ruler to restore democracy in the quickest possible time through a dialogue.

THE HINDUSTAN TIMES

12 JAN 2000

# China cautions India

BEIJING, JAN. 11. China today urged India to tread carefully over the issue of a high-ranking Tibetan Lama who trekked to India last week and may seek asylum there.

The Foreign Ministry spokesman, Mr. Zhu Bangzao, also repeated China's official explanation that the 14-year-old Karmapa left Tibet to collect symbolic ritual implements, leaving the door open for his return.

Beijing also showed no sign of softening its policy towards the Dalai Lama, and the State media quoted the Prime Minister, Mr. Zhu Rongji, and another top official calling for stricter implementation of religious policies.

Mr. Zhu said China had not yet received official confirmation that the Karmapa was in India.

But he urged New Delhi to stick to the terms of bilateral agreements concerning the Dalai Lama who has lived in exile in India with thousands of Tibetan refugees since 1959.

"The Indian side has said in explicit terms that Tibet is an inalienable part of China. It has also stated that the Dalai clique cannot carry out political activities in India," Mr. Zhu said.

"We hope the Indian side can strictly honour its commitments on the relevant question so that bilateral relations can improve and develop," he said.

Asked why the boy had left Tibet, Mr. Zhu said the boy had left Tibet to collect black hats and musical instruments that belonged to the previous Karmapa Lama.

## Official stance unchanged

The official Chinese reaction to the boy's escape indicates that Beijing would be happy for him to return despite two meetings with the Dalai Lama, vilified by China as a violence-supporting "splittist".

Mr. Zhu gave no indication of any softening in Beijing's policy towards the Dalai Lama, but repeated its long-standing conditions for negotiations with him.

## Another 'living Buddha'

Meanwhile, a December 31 report in the *Tibetan Daily*, seen in Beijing today spoke about the discovery of the reincarnation of a "living Buddha" who had played a role in the administration of Tibet in the 1930s as well as the search for the present Dalai Lama. It said religious authorities in Tibet had found the seventh reincarnation of the Reting Rinpoche (reincarnated Lama) of northern Tibet's Reting monastery in "accordance with divination and governmental instructions." — Reuters, AFP

## No threat from China: Panja

STATESMAN NEWS SERVICE

NEW DELHI, Jan. 12. — The government today denied reports of differences between New Delhi and Beijing on the Karmapa issue.

Nothing in the Chinese foreign office statement yesterday constituted a threat to India, minister of state for external affairs, Mr Ajit Kumar Panja, told **The Statesman**.

"The principle of peaceful coexistence is one I too would refer to. How can the mention of *Panchsheel*, a principle of peace, be a threat?"

The minister refused to spell out India's precise position on the issue. But he said the government was yet to receive a request for political asylum for the boy monk.

(Lama Urgyen Trinlay Dorji had "expressed no desire to move from where he is," PTI reported, quoting an external affairs spokesman.)

Mr Panja said the Karmapa had been given full security. He was not a threat, India needn't jump to a decision on him.

**US call:** The USA has called upon China to resume dialogue with the Dalai Lama following reports of a crackdown on the monastery from which the Karmapa fled, adds PTI.

THE STATESMAN

13 JAN 2000

# Tibetan leader urges India to counter Chinese pressure

Our Political Bureau

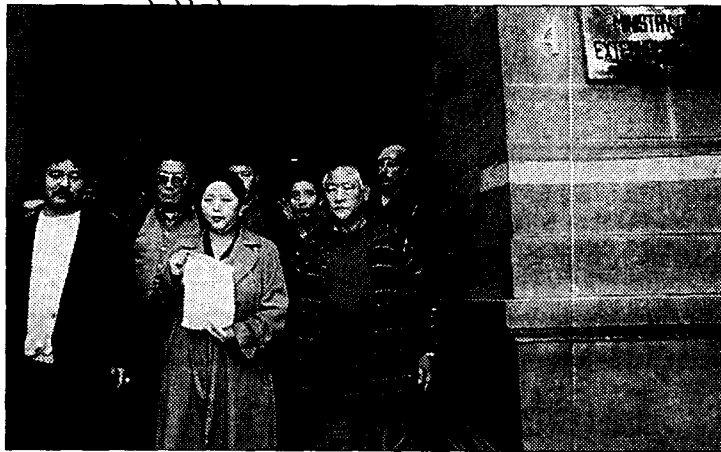
NEW DELHI 13 JANUARY

WITH THE government insisting there has been no "formal request" for granting asylum to the 14-year-old Karmapa, a "personal application" by a member of the Tibetan Parliament, Dolma Gyari received great attention on Thursday.

Ms Gyari left a request to the Indian government to grant asylum to the Karmapa at the offices of the ministry of external affairs this morning. She urged India not to fall for the "pressures" of Beijing and deport the young rimpoche and his entourage.

It was a day of communications, as the young Karmapa's maternal uncle too showed up in Dharamshala and asked the young monk to return to Tibet so as to save the family from further harassment by the Chinese authorities. China has reportedly already cracked down on the Tsurphu monastery and arrested some monks.

Although the Indian govern-



**FOR MERCY'S SAKE: Tibetan exiles at the ministry of external affairs with a memorandum requesting India not to deport the Karmapa in New Delhi on Thursday**

AFP

ment's delay in making an official statement is regarded by most quarters as being terribly annoying, some moves are apparently being made to recognise the Karmapa as a simple Tibetan refugee like the 130,000 others that live in this country.

Since the Karmapa was

anointed by the Chinese government, any attendant embarrassment is for the Chinese to handle, not India, sources said.

At the most, India can look forward to definite law and order problems in Dharamshala and in Rumtek where a third claimant to the Karmapa has now emerged.

**The Economic Times**

14 JAN 2000



Karmapa flight ties China in knots

# Delhi prolongs Beijing agony

FROM PRANAY SHARMA IN  
NEW DELHI AND SUJAY GUPTA  
IN McLEODGUNJ

Jan. 13: India is trying to extract maximum diplomatic advantage from the Chinese dilemma over the Karmapa's flight by delaying a decision on how it wants to treat the Buddhist leader though Beijing today asked Delhi to inform it about his presence here.

While China has asked India not to grant political asylum to the 14-year-old Urgyen Trinley Dorje, at the same time, it maintains that the Karmapa has not fled Tibet but gone abroad to buy musical instruments and black hats required for the Buddhist mass.

Delhi wants to take advantage of this contradiction and await an official request from Beijing to discuss the controversy. "How can the Chinese ask us not to grant him asylum when they themselves don't believe he has escaped to India and is here to buy musical instruments and black hats?" a foreign ministry official asked.

In a statement this evening, a spokesman for the Chinese government reiterated that the Karmapa had gone to India to

make purchases and "by doing so, he did not mean to betray the state".

The statement, however, asks India to inform China of his arrival. "It is reported that the 17th Living Buddha has arrived in India. But as far as I know India has not informed the Chinese side about this matter," the statement said.

Foreign ministry spokesman R.S. Jassal still maintains that Delhi is trying to "look into the circumstances of the Karmapa's sudden arrival". That this has been the official line for more than a week indicates that South Block is in no hurry to make an announcement on the Karmapa.

Delhi is treating the teenage religious leader as a Tibetan refugee but will not show its cards until the Karmapa makes a statement on why he fled Tibet. "We are in no hurry to talk about it till China approaches us formally on the issue," a foreign ministry official said.

Amid the tussle for diplomatic brownie points, the Dalai Lama's administration beefed up security around the Gyoto Rinpoche temple near Dharamshala where the Karmapa is staying.

"His presence here has been noticed and reported. We have to

be even more careful because we are not inclined to move him from here till we know of India's decision," a minister in the exile government said.

Tibetan officials who are keen to shift the Buddhist leader to the bigger Sherab Ling monastery in Baijnath, about 30 km from Dharamshala, conceded that the Karmapa's stay at the Gyoto temple could be longer. "We understand India's position. India cannot go completely against the Chinese and at the same time we are dependent on Indian support," said a minister.

However, a member of "Tibetan parliament-in exile" has requested India to grant asylum to the Karmapa. Submitting a personal memorandum to the foreign ministry, Dolma Gyari asked Delhi "not to fall under Beijing's pressure for deportation of the 14-year-old boy".

But South Block is not taking this appeal too seriously. "We receive hundreds of petitions daily. The memorandum submitted by the Tibetan lady is also being seen in that context," an official said.

A 10-member team from Rumtek monastery — headquarters-in-exile of the Kagyu sect — called on the Karmapa today.

■ Another report on Page 6

THE TELEGRAPH

14 JAN 2000

# India asks China for details of Karmapa journey

STATESMAN NEWS SERVICE 1571

NEW DELHI, Jan. 14. — India today formally told China that the 17th Karmapa had arrived in Dharamshala, and asked for specific details about his departure from Tibet and the route he had taken to reach the Himachal Pradesh town.

Ten days after the boy lama's arrival, India and China engaged diplomatically over the subject this evening. The Chinese ambassador, Mr Zhou Gang, met the joint secretary (East Asia) in the ministry of external affairs, Mr TCA Rangachari.

Tight-lipped ministry officials in New Delhi maintained that the meeting had been requested by China. The reluctance with which both sides have engaged in diplomatic contact over the issue, with exchanges so far limited to those through the media, indicates the diplomatic difficulties.

After today's meeting, the MEA spokesman said that India had informed China that the lama, accompanied by six others, arrived in Dharamshala on 5 January. "He and his entourage are currently at a monastery near Dharamshala. They are in good health. The lama is being provided appropriate security cover."

India's request for details about the Karmapa's departure from China indicates that New Delhi still doesn't have a clear understanding of the circumstances under which he left, something the government has been maintaining that it

has been inquiring into for over a week now.

That the two countries were unable to get beyond the preliminaries in this meeting also suggests that the decision on the lama will be delayed as both countries play for time in order to ensure greater consonance in their positions.

The desire not to let this issue cloud bilateral relations came through loud and clear at the end

of the meeting, with the external affairs spokesman saying: "Both countries have noted with satisfaction the sound momentum in bilateral relations and the process of improvement and development of these relations on the basis of Panchsheel by the concerted efforts of the two countries."

Sources said India's attitude has the Tibetan administration worried. While the 'government-in-exile' has kept a low profile over the issue to ensure that the Indian government is not embarrassed, Tibetan officials are worried that India might sacrifice the Karmapa's future to its relations with China.

The comments of the minister of state for external affairs on the contention that the Karmapa had

come to India to collect the instruments he needed, have not gone unnoticed and have been perceived as an indication that the government is accepting the Chinese logic.

The Himalayan Committee for Action on Tibet held a meeting in Raj Ghat today at the culmination of their march from Kargil to Delhi in support of the Tibetan cause.

## DALAI MEETING

DHARAMSHALA, Jan. 14. — The 17th Karmapa today called on the Dalai Lama for their second meeting since the boy monk arrived in India. Details of the meeting were not disclosed.

The 14-year-old Karmapa was taken in a motorcade to the Dalai Lama's palace at McLeodganj this morning under tight security. It was snowing at McLeodganj when the Karmapa reached there. Due to landslides near the temple, he had to walk up to the palace. — SNS

THE STATESMAN

15 JAN 2000

## ASYLUM IN ORDER

518 Karmapa flees socialist motherland 11

SHOULD India be cowed down by Beijing over what looks like a human rights issue? The answer is no. As details filter out of the reasons for Ugyen Thinley Dorji's flight from Tibet and whether he wants to stay here, it becomes clear that there are no grounds for refusing him asylum. He was said to be close to Chinese authorities who described him as a "living Buddha" and recognised him as the 17th Karmapa of the Karma Kagyu, "loyal to his socialist motherland". His mentor, the Tai Situ Rimpoche, is said to be close to Chinese authorities. The boy himself has left behind a letter saying he did not wish to betray "the state, the nation, the monastery or the leadership". Independent Tibetan organisations say the letter was addressed to monks in the monastery and its contents are being falsified by the Chinese, besides which Tsurphu, is said to be surrounded and detention of monks begun. The bottom-line is that this is a slap on the face of the Chinese and their attempts to promote a happy Tibetan Buddhist clergy, living in harmony with the Communist party. The Chinese are admitting this themselves, implicitly, through bland warnings issued to the Indian government. It is inconceivable that the Dalai Lama's establishment is involved in a Chinese plot to take possession of ritual objects left behind at the Rumtek monastery by the last Karmapa, as alleged by the rival Karma Kagyu faction. The entire Chinese strategy in Tibet is aimed at undermining the authority of the Dalai Lama.

Nothing is being said about specific problems that the Karmapa may have had with the Chinese authorities, though freedom of travel and the right to teach may have something to do with it. The Karmapa is supposed to have said that his requests for a visa had been turned down repeatedly. All this fits in with the pattern of repression in religious matters that has been reported from China. A Panchen Lama has been forcibly installed and according to the annual report of the Tibetan Centre for Human Rights and Democracy, more than 1,432 monks and nuns have been expelled from different monasteries; the "Strike Hard" campaign to bring the clerical order in line with the views of the party continues apace. The only reason for denying this boy asylum would be a threat to internal security. There is a rival faction within the Karma Kagyu sect, there have been violent clashes in the past. A tussle over control of Rumtek is anticipated, but the bureaucracy in Dharamshala says the monastery is firmly in the hands of elements sympathetic to the Karmapa recognised by the Dalai Lama. There is a threat to the boy's life. Under no circumstances must India be seen to be giving the impression that compromises on human rights can be considered. The Chinese do not respect those who kow-tow to them.

THE STATESMAN

15 JAN 2000

# India asks China how did it happen

HT Correspondent

New Delhi, January 14

Tibet  
KFA

IN A neat diplomatic manoeuvre, India today passed the ball on to China's court, so to speak, by asking it to explain how the 17th Karmapa Ugyen Trinley Dorje managed to travel the long arduous route to Dharamsala.

"The Chinese side has been asked to share with us specific details regarding his departure from Tibet, the route taken and other relevant details," the official spokesman for the External Affairs Ministry said.

The request to share China's knowledge about the sensational arrival of the third highest ranking Tibetan Buddhist monk in India was made when Chinese Ambassador Zhou Gang called on Joint Secretary (East Asia) T. C. R. Rangachary in the Ministry.

The prolonged period of introspection by India thus came to an

end today with a substantive move. Ever since the story of the great escape broke, the Ministry had endeavoured to stay away from elaborate statements by sticking determinedly to a single-sentence reaction saying that it was inquiring into the circumstances of the boy-monk's arrival.

This impressively circumspect position was maintained even in the face of a veiled threat issued by China that granting political asylum to the Karmapa would be violative of the Panchsheel. New Delhi simply refused to be drawn into a verbal encounter with Beijing.

By asking for an explanation of how the 14-year-old boy, by all accounts a highly prized instrument in Beijing's hands, managed to escape from his virtual confinement in a severely secured and inhospitable country, New Delhi

has introduced a new phase into the episode.

The implications of the seemingly innocuous Indian request are obvious: since the Chinese position is that the Karmapa has not escaped but gone merely on a pilgrimage in search of "the musical instruments of the Buddhist mass and the black hats used by the previous Living Buddha," Beijing

should be in the full know of the circumstances

in which his journey was undertaken and its purpose. In that case, there should be no inhibition on its part to share such information with New Delhi.

India's next move will now await the Chinese response to the request for the relevant information. To that extent, it has gained valuable time and space for further manoeuvring. In short, the Karmapa episode is not in for a

quick and easy conclusion.

The Ministry spokesman said that in response to a request made by the Chinese Government, the Ministry today informed it that the Lama, accompanied by six others, arrived in Dharamsala on Jan. 5.

"He and his entourage are currently at a monastery near Dharamsala," he said. "They are in good health. The Lama has been provided appropriate security cover."

India and China also noted with "satisfaction" the sound momentum in the bilateral relations and the process of improvement and development of these relations "on the basis of the Panchsheel (the five principles of peaceful coexistence) by the concerted efforts of the two countries," the spokesman said.

## Karmapa 'Escape'

# Chinese piece in Karmapa jigsaw remains a puzzle

Brahma Chellaney  
New Delhi, January 16

**I**NTRIGUE, DECEPTION and air of mystery have made a Chinese-Tibetan puzzle difficult to fully decode: Did China's 14-year-old Karmapa Lama flee repression in Tibet, or did Beijing stage a defection as part of larger designs?

Preliminary official investigations do not show that the boy lama and his entourage slipped through the heavy Chinese security cover. On the contrary, the investigations suggest that they had a fairly smooth passage out of their Chinese-occupied homeland, indicating that Beijing may at least have acquiesced in the departure.

As the enigma's other aspects are deciphered, the early findings already make one thing certain: India, while letting him stay on, is unlikely to grant him political asylum any time soon or let him travel to Sikkim's Rumtek monastery. Publicly, India will remain circumspect as investigators try to get to the bottom of the labyrinthine

story about the lama's flight from the isolated but heavily guarded Tsurphu monastery near Lhasa.

What make this story especially intriguing are the unreliable accounts, probable motives and legendary traditions of the main players.

India has been caught in the middle of the plot involving the world's largest autocracy known for its Sun Tzu-style unconventional tactics, two rival Karmapa claimants backed by foreign interests and money, the Dalai Lama's politics, and a divided Tibetan exile community. China's Karmapa has to contend with a Kalimpong-based Karmapa supported by Taiwan.

Compounding matters are the traditions of rivalry and machinations among the four Tibetan religious orders, particularly between the Dalai Lama's Gelug, or "yellow hat" school, and the Karmapa's Kagyu, or "black hat" school. The Gelug gained ascendance over the Kagyu in the 17th century, while internecine power struggles left some child Dalai Lamas slain.

China has exploited such traditional differences and helped split the Kagyu order. At the centre of its Karmapa's selection, investiture, education and "escape" is a friend of China, Tai Situ Rinpoche, a Kagyu school regent who was expelled from India for nearly five years for alleged anti-national and criminal activities. His renewed externment could help untangle the puzzle.

Indian policy-makers face two sets of questions, one relating to China's possible motives and the other to the Dalai Lama's strategy.

If the boy lama was sent to secure the spiritually vital Black Crown and be installed at Kagyu's Rumtek exile headquarters, his presence in India could aid Chinese designs both on Sikkim and the Tibetan exile community. He who controls Rumtek also controls the school's \$ 1.2 billion worldwide wealth and commands influence over many Buddhists living in the strategically sensitive Indian Himalayan arc from Arunachal Pradesh to Ladakh.

Continued on page 8

## Karmapa episode

Continued from page 1

What undergirds India's concerns is the fact that China on its maps still shows Arunachal Pradesh as its territory, Sikkim as independent, and Jammu and Kashmir (other than the parts it occupies) as disputed.

The latest escalation of the Karmapa discord among Tibetan exiles, with opposing sides stepping up their propaganda war and publicly washing their dirty linen, can only please Beijing. The boy lama's arrival also has given rise to the spectacle of Indian lobbyists for China and Free Tibet unsuspectingly joining hands by championing the same Karmapa claimant. India has yet to figure out the

Dalai Lama's game. According to Tibetan customs, there is no role for the Dalai Lama in the Karmapa's selection.

The Dalai Lama's controversial 1992 endorsement of China's Karmapa was driven by purely political reasons.

To prevent Beijing from installing a lackey Dalai Lama after his death, he declared in 1997 that "my reincarnation will not be born under Chinese control"—a benchmark he has not applied in the Karmapa case.

With the two Karmapa claimants, the Black Crown, Kagyu headquarters and the Dalai Lama all in India, New Delhi holds the trump cards.

THE HINDUSTAN TIMES

17 JAN 2000

# Monk's stay won't hurt relations with China: Fernandes

The Times of India News Service and Agencies

NEW DELHI: Defence minister George Fernandes has said that allowing Karmapa Urygen Trinley Dorje to stay on in India will not violate the Panchsheel, the five principles of peaceful coexistence, between India and China.

The 17th Karmapa, the spiritual head of the Kagryu sect of Buddhists, arrived recently in Dharmasala, the seat of the Tibetan government-in-exile, with a few associates after fleeing from Lhasa.

"If people walk in and want to stay on for a while they can be allowed to stay. What is there?" Mr Fernandes told mediapersons when asked to comment on China's veiled warning that granting political asylum to the 14-year-old Tibetan monk would be a violation of the Panchsheel.

Mr Fernandes said he was not aware of "any veiled threat" issued by Beijing to New Delhi on granting asylum to the Karmapa. "This is not a matter on which threats can be made," he added.

"I don't think there is any need to look at this issue which can impinge on our relations," he said. However, the defence minister clarified: "As far as I know nobody has asked for political asylum."

He was speaking on the sidelines of a seminar on 'governance and social justice'. He said the Karmapa issue will not impinge on relations with China. "If one has come to our country and wants to stay there is no violation of anything. I don't think we should be upset over anything related to that," he added.

India has unwittingly become the chessboard of Sino-Tibetan politics due to the arrival of the 14-year-old Karmapa Rimpoche. It is

not known what the officials of the Tibetan government-in-exile headquartered at Mcleodganj have told the officials of the foreign ministry or the intelligence bureau, but the large doses of information being doled out to the press corps assembled at Dharamshala did not give the situation in black and white.

The main spokesman, 'minister of religion and culture' Tashi Wangdi told mediapersons that the Karmapa surfaced at hotel Bhagsu in Mcleodganj on January 5 and two hours later he went to meet the Dalai Lama with Tai Situ Rimpoche.

But, Tai Situ Rimpoche told this correspondent at his Sherabling monastery that he met Karmapa Rimpoche only towards the afternoon and after the latter had met the Dalai Lama. Now, who's telling the truth?

Again, Wangdi told the media that the Karmapa could not meet the press as he was recovering from his arduous trek to Mcleodganj. But the Karmapa was seen walking very easily and comfortably in ankle-deep snow when he went to meet the Dalai Lama on Friday.

Defending his position, Wangdi said that the Karmapa would meet the press only after his status in India was clear. But all questions pertaining to the issue were conveniently evaded.

Wangdi took the position that the Kashag was only informed of the arrival of the Karmapa at Mcleodganj and nothing else had been discussed. The fact is that the arrival of the Karmapa and its fallout has been deliberated at length, and also about what has transpired between the ministry of external affairs and the Tibetan government-in-exile.

# *Karmapa issue must not be allowed to hit ties: Chinese envoy*

**The Times of India News Service**

PUNE: Chinese ambassador to India Zhou Gang cautioned that the on-going controversy over the Karmapa lama "should not be allowed to have any negative impact on Sino-Indian relations."

Speaking at a news conference Mr Gang said that India and China were in the process of beginning a crucial security dialogue and also finalise diplomatic visits at the highest level. Bilateral negotiations on the forthcoming talks had progressed to an advanced level. "So at this juncture we hope that the meeting will take place and the 17th Karmapa's coming to India would not be used on Indian soil to do any political activity against China," Mr Gang said. He also hoped that the Karmapa's presence in India would not be allowed "to damage Sino-Indian relations."

Mr Gang did not give a categorical reply when asked to react to defence minister George Fernandes' statement that allowing the Karmapa to stay in India would not harm diplomatic relations with China.

Asked whether it would be acceptable to China if the Karmapa decides to stay in India, Mr Gang said that he did not wish to respond to hypothetical situations.

"The Chinese government is worried about the safety of the Karmapa because of the complexities here between the various Ti-

betan sects. We are only asking the Indian government to inform us of his whereabouts," he said.

Mr Gang who is here to address a seminar organised by a management institute said that the Karmapa, before leaving his monastery in Lhasa, had written a letter about his visit to India. "He had said that he wanted to come to India to get musical instruments for religious mass. He said that once he gets all this he will go back. The 17th Karmapa says in his letter that his going abroad does not mean betraying the country, the nation, the monastery as well as the leadership," Mr Gang said.

Mr Gang pointed out that the Chinese government had the right to be worried about the whereabouts of Chinese nationals and accordingly the Indian government was committed to inform the Chinese side. He said that India and China were in the process of finalising the schedule for the joint observation of the 50th anniversary of bilateral relations between the two nations. China wanted good relations with both India and Pakistan and peace and stability in the region, he said.

The Chinese ambassador said that the forthcoming bilateral security dialogue would address mutual security concerns, regional security issues, and exchange views on the global, political, economic and military security.

THE TIMES OF INDIA

19 JAN 2000

# #10-14 The Karmapa case wheels within wheels

**Ugyen Trinley Dorje's arrival in India appears to have triggered powerful and competing forces whose influence goes far beyond the insularity of the Buddhist religious order based in Tibet, writes ATUL ANEJA.**

FROM WHAT initially appeared to be a daring flight of a young Tibetan monk from Chinese "captivity", the defection of Ugyen Trinley Dorje, the 17th Karmapa has acquired much larger dimensions. His arrival in the mountains near Dharamsala appears to have triggered powerful and competing forces whose influence goes far beyond the insularity of the Buddhist religious order based in Tibet. The arrival of the Lama, nevertheless, has a powerful religious angle as it has precipitated a bitter power struggle for control over the five-million-strong Kagyu sect of Buddhism. The Kagyu sect has an influential following spread over 300 monasteries worldwide.

The Kagyu sect headed by the Karmapas, in the past, had also competed with the Dalai Lamas for influence, though the power struggle was seemingly settled around 350 years ago. Does the arrival of the Karmapa therefore threaten the Dalai Lama, who currently heads the Tibetan ecclesiastical order?

But more importantly, the defection of the teenage Lama has a larger political spin-off. His arrival, it is apprehended in Government circles, could engender a clash of geopolitical interests between China and India in the high Himalayas of eastern India.

One key question is: was the defection masterminded by a section of the Tibetan clergy alone or was it a conspiracy by China to embarrass India if not raise security concerns for it?

According to one view, the 14-year-old monk managed to arrive in India by evading a lax Chinese surveillance machinery. Advocates of this view, who do not see a Chinese hand in the defection, point out that the escape was possible because he had gone into "retreat" just before fleeing. According to the religious practices of the Kagyu sect, the monk during "retreat" can be met only by his tutor. Food also is not brought to him in person but is pushed into his room. Having secured his seclusion, the Karmapa planned his escape from the Tsurphu monastery near Lhasa and trekked into India through the mountains, undetected by the Chinese authorities.

A section of the Government here dismisses this view, though it is acknowledged that the Lama indeed had gone into "retreat" last month. According to sources, the 14-year-old did not trek into India, but travelled in a vehicle after descending from the third or the fourth

floor of the Tsurphu monastery where he resided.

According to them, a single road which is heavily pot-holed leads out of the monastery. For some distance, this road runs parallel to a river. But seven bridges, which are manned round the clock by the Chinese, have to be subsequently crossed before Tibet can be exited. The teenage Lama's escape without the full knowledge of, if not abetment by, the Chinese is therefore highly improbable if not impossible, they say.

Having left Tibet, the Karmapa then supposedly entered Nepal and after travelling a long distance in that country crossed into India somewhere near Gorakhpur in Uttar Pradesh.

In case the Chinese helped in pushing in the Karmapa, what is Beijing's larger design vis-a-vis India? Analysts here say that the presence of the Karmapa in India will naturally generate pressures for his transfer to the sensitive border State of Sikkim as the Kagyu sect is headquartered in the Rumtek monastery there.

Rumtek is not an ordinary monastery. It houses the treasures brought into India by the 16th Karmapa, who escaped with the Dalai Lama in 1959. Besides its riches, estimated at \$1.2 billions, the wealthy monastery houses the "black hat", the symbol of final authority of this sect. It also exercises a powerful influence over the political and economic elite of the border State.

To assert his undisputed authority over the five-million-strong diaspora of the Kagyu sect, the 17th Karmapa will have to take physical control of the "black hat" in Rumtek. If this happens, it could help China acquire a lever to influence events in Sikkim. As it is, China has not accepted Sikkim's merger with India in 1975. The Karmapa's installation in Rumtek will also encourage the to and fro movement of agent provocateurs disguised as pilgrims, it is ap-

prehended. The concerns of security planners here are enhanced as the State is not far from Arunachal Pradesh, whose status has also been disputed by China. The presence of Dorje can therefore affect India's eastern defences.

Not surprisingly, powerful forces are pushing for Dorje's transfer to Rumtek monastery. Its chief advocate so far has been the U.S.-educated monk, Tai Situ Rimpoche who resides in his monastery in Beed in Himachal Pradesh. He was one of the four regents in charge of selecting the 17th Karmapa after the death of the 16th in Chicago in 1981. The Chinese authorities, the Dalai Lama and the Tai Situ had accepted Ugyen Trinley Dorje as the 17th Karmapa. The Tai Situ has reportedly met the boy-monk several times since his arrival in India earlier this month. Incidentally, the Government of India had reportedly declared Tai Situ *persona non grata* in August 1994, but the restriction was subsequently lifted in 1998.

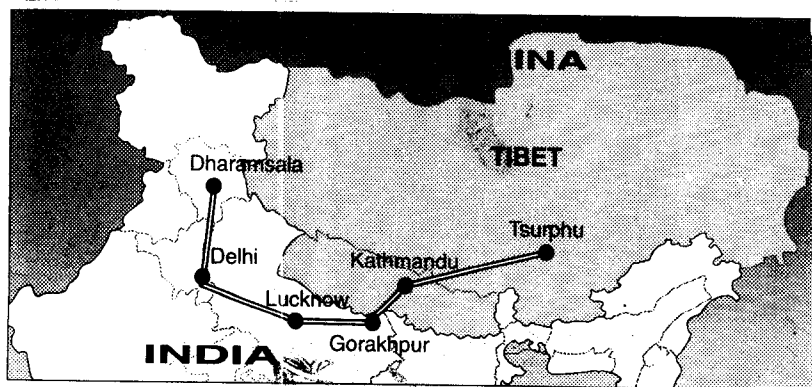
Pressure for Dorje's presence in Rumtek is also being mounted inside Sikkim. The Joint Action Committee (JAC) which is a conglomerate of several Buddhist organisations in the State threatens to take the demand for Dorje's presence in the State to the streets. Representatives of the Committee are reportedly travelling to Delhi to personally appeal to the Prime Minister for the Karmapa's installation in Rumtek.

China watchers here are also examining a possible U.S. angle in the affair. The presence of the U.S. special coordinator on Tibet, Ms. Judie Taft, at the time of the Karmapa's defection has raised eyebrows here. The Tai Situ's reported links with influential sections in the U.S. is also under scrutiny.

As the effort to see the 17th Karmapa installed in Rumtek intensifies, the fissures within the Kagyu sect are likely to deepen. Shamarpa Rimpoche, who has an impressive following and is also one of the four regents, hotly disputes the Tai Situ's claim. From his seat in Kalimpong in the Darjeeling hills he had six years ago declared 17-year-old Thaye Dorje the 17th Karmapa.

Thaye Dorje, whom he "discovered" as the reincarnation of the 16th Karmapa in Bhutan, was enthroned as the 17th Karmapa in a monastery in Delhi in 1994. It is apprehended that in case the Karmapa issue festers, it can result in street clashes between the divided followers of the Kagyu sect, with an impact which would echo well beyond Indian borders.

The presence of Ugyen Trinley Dorje in India has curiously put the spotlight on the Dalai Lama. In case Dorje is a Chinese "plant", it could mean that a future rival for the Tibetan spiritual order, however junior, may have been landed right into his lap. On the contrary, if the 14-year-old monk's escape is genuine, and is an act of defiance of the Chinese, the Dalai Lama may have won a major battle vis-a-vis Beijing. Analysts point out that in the absence of Ugyen Trinley Dorje — officially recognised as the 17th Karmapa by China — the legitimacy of Beijing's rule in Tibet, to that extent, gets compromised.





# Jiang Zemin ridicules India

Brahma Chellaney  
New Delhi, January 30

HP 20/1

CHINESE PRESIDENT Jiang Zemin has made some highly derogatory references to India in a recent meeting with the head of state of one of the world's major powers. Even by Chinese standards, the scorn Jiang poured on India and the warning he delivered were extraordinary.

For India, Jiang's truculent comments are a reminder that without a clearheaded, long-term China policy, it risks further trouble.

Over the years, India has bent backwards to court China, only to be taken in by its own rhetoric. This was true of Nehru's Hindi-Chini bhai bhai policy that led to the 1962 invasion, Vajpayee's pioneering but botched 1979 trip during which the Chinese attacked Vietnam, and Rajiv Gandhi's 1988-initiated rapprochement process that gave Beijing cover for a decade of accelerated containment of India. India still doesn't have a clear China policy. While Fernandes stated that China is "a bigger potential threat" than Pakistan, Jaswant Singh gave Beijing a clean chit by declaring from Chinese soil that it is "not a security threat to India".

Jiang's hitherto unrevealed comments make clear that despite New Delhi's efforts to mollify China, Beijing treats India as a country to be threatened, belittled and kept in check.

During the meeting with the foreign dignitary, Jiang on his own brought up Tibet and the 1962 war with India. He claimed that India "attacked" China but the aggression was repulsed. According to the meeting's

transcripts, Jiang said: "If India were to attack China again, we'll crush it this time."

He went on to tell the head of state that he decided last year to test out India's defence preparedness by sending Chinese military patrols across the line of actual control (LAC). This happened both in Ladakh while the Kargil war was raging and later along the Arunachal Pradesh frontier.

Jiang said he summoned governors of the two provinces adjoining India to Beijing and discussed India's military alertness and response capability. "Each time we tested them by sending patrols across, the Indian soldiers reacted by putting their hands up," Jiang said mockingly. It is correct that Chinese military patrols sporadically challenged the Indian Army

## Belligerence Unprovoked

in Ladakh while Pakistan was waging war in Ladakh's Kargil-Dras sectors. Later, the Chinese built up tensions at the other end of the Himalayan border with India through aggressive military manoeuvres in the Tawang sector last autumn.

By stepping up the intensity and frequency of its military forays across the disputed LAC in Ladakh during May-July 1999, Beijing conveyed that the Indian Army could not have its back to the Chinese as it defended Kargil and Highway 1A. However, Jiang's tone was so disparaging that even the foreign dignitary and his aides did not believe that Indian troops had meekly put their hands up. The fact is that the Chinese soldiers retreated whenever challenged by the Indian side, and in the Tawang area backed out only after a showdown. In the Ladakh region -- parts of which China occupies -- the Chinese military has maintained intensified border patrolling since last summer.

THE HINDUSTAN TIMES  
31 JAN 2000

## 'Karmapa issue must not be exploited'

By Our Staff Reporter

THIRUVANANTHAPURAM, JAN. 24. The Chinese Ambassador to India, Mr. Zhou Gang, has expressed the hope that the presence of the 17th Karmapa in India would not be politically exploited by those hostile to China.

Replying to questions after delivering an address on "Fifty years of China", under the auspices of the AKG Centre for Research and Studies, Mr. Gang said today an important covenant of China's foreign policy was to establish a long-term friendly relationship "to strengthen unity and cooperation".

"In spite of the ups and downs, bilateral relations have regularly returned to the track of restoration". In fact, April 2000 is being celebrated as the golden jubilee of diplomatic ties between the two nations with a series of events, he said.

The Chinese Ambassador underlined the need to strengthen coordination and collaboration between the two countries which had a big role to play in world arena as well as in promoting peace and stability in Asia. "Practice has proved that cooperation would benefit both countries", he said.

**THE HINDU**

25 JAN 2000

# Chinese envoy hopes Karmapa's presence will not be misused

THIRUVANANTHAPURAM: Chinese ambassador to India Zhou Gang on Monday expressed the hope that India would not allow political exploitation by "third forces" of Karmapa's presence in the country so that the issue would not damage Sino-Indian ties which had improved recently.

"We hope that his presence here on the Indian soil should not be used by any third forces unfriendly to us to do any political activities against China", Mr Gang said here.

Mr Gang, who was here to deliver a lecture on invitation from the CPM-sponsored A.K.G. Studies and Research Centre, said the Chinese embassy was in touch with the ministry of external affairs to know the details regarding the presence of the 17th Karmapa Ugyen Trinley Dorje.

"We have the channels of communication between the countries. Very recently I had been to your ministry of external affairs and had

talks with the official concerned. I told him that China and India had signed the Consult Treaty according to which the Chinese side has the right to ask about the whereabouts of the Chinese nationals abroad and the Indian side is committed to give the information. So we are still in contact", the ambassador said.

Meanwhile, leaders of various Tibetan organisations on Monday urged the Centre to grant permission for "permanent stay" of the 17th Karmapa in India and hoped "good sense" would prevail over Beijing and it would give religious freedom to the people in Tibet.

They strongly denounced reports of sharp differences among various Tibetan groups about the stay of the Karmapa in India to pursue his spiritual and religious education.

"We thank the government of India for giving adequate security to Karmapa Dorje and urge that he be given permission for permanent stay in India so that he could con-

tinue his spiritual education and spread the message of peace," Himalayan Buddhist Cultural Association president Lama Chospel Zotpa said at a special ceremony held in New Delhi to celebrate the arrival of Karmapa.

Lama Zotpa regretted speculations in media about "differences" among Tibetan groups and the law and order threat due to the arrival of the Karmapa in India.

Expressing happiness over the arrival of the Karmapa, member of the Tibetan Government-in-exile, Dolma Guiari, expressed confidence that the government would grant permission for his permanent stay.

She hoped the escape of the Karmapa from Tibet would be an eyeopener for the Chinese regime, giving it "enough wisdom" to grant religious freedom to the people in Tibet.

"Hope they (Beijing) will realise that religion and culture are the essence of Tibetan people's life," she said. (PTI)

THE TIMES OF INDIA

25 JAN 2000

# Walking a tightrope

HD 23/1

**T**IBETAN DEVELOPMENTS have always had the potential to rock the boat of Sino-Indian relations over the last five decades. Mindful of this, both New Delhi and Beijing have been trying to play down the unexpected arrival of one of the top religious leaders of Tibetan Buddhism in India. Both sides have invoked the importance of the five principles of peaceful coexistence that should guide the relations between the two nations.

Even as they remind each other about Panchsheel, both New Delhi and Beijing are aware of the enormous historical baggage on Tibet that could easily inflame, if there is a misstep by either side.

A whole range of highly speculative theories about the arrival of the 17th Karmapa are doing the rounds here, including one that argues that it could be a conspiracy by Beijing to destabilise the Tibetan community and put India in a spot. The argument is based on the assumption that it would have been impossible for the Lama to escape from China and undertake the hazardous journey in the middle of a cold winter without the connivance of the Chinese authorities at some level. A more simple and straightforward explanation could be that despite the best efforts of the Chinese Government, it has huge problems with the religious leadership in Tibet and that the escape of the Lama is just a reflection of that fact.

But the Government of India is determined not to rush to a

*While both India and China have so far managed to avoid any serious tensions on the Karmapa issue the danger is always there lurking below the surface, says C. RAJA MOHAN.*

judgment on how the 14-year-old Lama, Ugyen Trinley Dorje, managed to travel from China to India via Nepal. Sources in the Ministry of External Affairs say the Government has acted with a "great deal of caution and circumspection" in responding to the arrival of the leader of the Kagyu sect of Tibetan Buddhism. Sources in the Government say it has not made up its mind on what it would do with the third most important religious leader of the Tibetan people, and "will not be stampeded into a decision" on either granting political asylum or sending him back to China. The immediate focus of the Government is on finding the exact circumstances under which the Karmapa managed to travel from China to India.

Beijing has stated that the Karmapa has travelled to India to get valuable heirlooms associated with the leadership of the Kagyu sect now located at the Rumtek monastery in Sikkim, and that his decision was not meant to "betray" his nation.

Transparency on the Chinese part in explaining the circumstances of the Lama's departure could make it immensely easier for India to prevent the generation of any misperceptions between the two

countries. While both India and China have so far managed to avoid any serious tensions on the issue, the danger is always there lurking just below the surface.

As the cause for greater autonomy for the Tibetan people acquired a higher political profile in the West and the United States in particular, China is deeply suspicious of any perceived attempt to undermine its sovereignty over Tibet.

India, on the other hand, has historic links with the Tibetan people and has refused to push back refugees so long as they did not indulge in political activity against China on Indian soil. Given the deep divisions among the various Tibetan religious sects, and the conflicting claims for the succession of the Kagyu leadership the Government is conscious of the need for sophisticated handling of the situation.

India is also aware that the Karmapa's arrival is likely to create new political tensions in Sikkim, where there is a large following for the Kagyu sect. That China has not yet recognised the incorporation of Sikkim into India in 1975 adds another dimension to the Lama's arrival in India.

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mapa lamas have been historically responsible for identifying the Karmapa's legitimate reincarnation. Using the Kagyu school's traditional methods, I selected Thaye Dorje as the true reincarnation of the Karmapa.

I respect the Dalai Lama as the ruler of Tibet, but I do not give away the Karma Kagyu school's spiritual authority to his government-in-exile. For example, the Nyingma school faced competing reincarnations in 1992, which is the same year Situ appointed Ugyen Trinlay. At that time, the Dalai Lama backed one nominee as the reincarnation of Dujom Rinpoche, the highest Nyingma lama. On the other hand, Nyingma Chadrak Rinpoche recognised another candidate, and all Nyingma disciples followed their own school's choice. No harm was done to their lineage, because there was no traitor in their school.

Nevertheless, I have compromised with the Chinese Karmapa's supporters, and I am still willing to do so.

In 1995, I discussed a compromise with Drugchu Lachaungpa, a former Sikkim power minister and member of the Joint Action Committee, and Palden Lachaungpa, Sikkim's chairman of the Ecclesiastical Department. Both sought me out to resolve the Karmapa problem.

I said, "Tai Situ is a Buddhist

teacher, and so am I. We should both behave accordingly. Therefore, we should both respect each other's nominee, which would prevent any schism in the lineage." Drugchu, then, asked me as to who would own the Rumtek Monastery. I explained that since the Chinese government had authorised Ugyen Trinlay to take over Tsurphu, which was the Karmapa's traditional seat in Tibet, it was only logical to allow my nominee, the Indian Karmapa, to take the Rumtek monastery in India.

At that point, Drugchu asked how the Karmapa Charitable Trust will award ownership of the property. Answering in my capacity as a trustee, and not as spiritual leader, I stated that the Trust had no legal authority to determine who the legitimate Karmapa was.

According to the Trust's legal rules, it must hand over its assets to the Karmapa when he reaches the age of 21. Therefore, the Trust must hand over its assets to both the Indian and Chinese Karmapa when they are 21 years old. At that point, the Karmapas themselves must decide who owns what property. Obviously, I added the caveat that the Chinese Karmapa must be an Indian to own property in India.

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*The writer leads the faction that backs the rival to the Chinese Karmapa*

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