

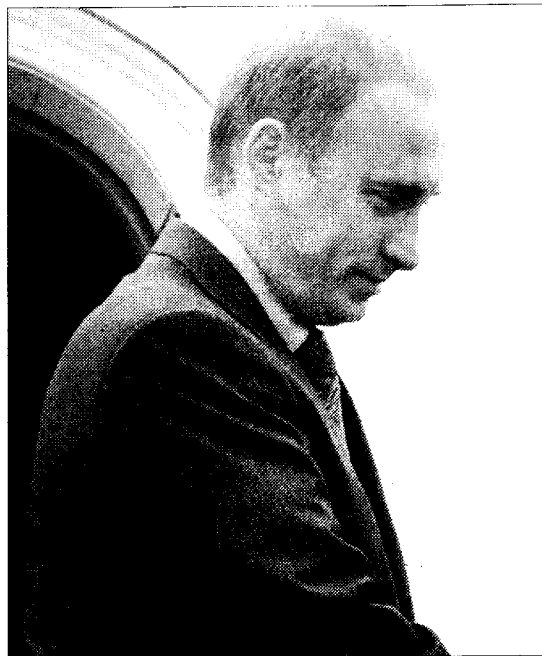
# China-Russia treaty

SF-9

29/7

WIDE ANGLE

SALMAN HAIDAR



*To its makers, the signing of the Sino-Russian treaty between Vladimir Putin and Jiang Zemin strengthens international stability and order — AP/PTI*

THE visit of President Jiang Zemin to Moscow, his meeting with President Putin and the clinching of a 20-year, China-Russia Friendship Treaty is a major development with significance that extends beyond the bilateral sphere of the two countries involved.

In India, the event was overshadowed by the Indo-Pak summit and so received less attention than it rightly merits. This is the first such treaty between these two vast countries since the Stalin-Mao days.

It puts firmly behind them the ups and downs that earlier marked their relations, in favour of stable friendship and cooperation. In a political statement issued at the same time, the two protagonists stress the continued importance of the Anti-Ballistic Missile treaty that the USA would like to scrap and oppose the National Missile Defence that the USA is developing. The challenge to the US-led perception of the emerging world order is obvious.

Yet, unlike the 1950 Mao-Stalin pact, and notwithstanding a consultation clause with a distinct security inflection, this is no treaty of alliance.

The consultation clause does no more than bind the parties to take counsel with each other in case either faces a threat of aggression, something remarkably similar to the comparable provision of the Indo-Soviet Friendship Treaty of 1971.

This feature may be designed more for the benefit of China than Russia, and in practice it may not amount to a great deal, but it does address China's abiding fear of external attack, especially on account of Taiwan.

The Moscow treaty calls for strengthening military cooperation between the two countries. Russia's role as armourer to its friends and source of sophisticated weaponry is conspicuous and should now develop further.

Ever since the Gulf War of more than a decade ago, China has been engaged in the modernisation of its armed forces. Study of the Gulf operations showed China its own limitations relative to the capacity of the American army and its allies, and it set out in full earnest to upgrade its military strength.

For this, it continues to need better weapons than it can produce for itself, and virtually the only available source of supply is Russia. High performance Russian aircraft, similar to those acquired by India, have been inducted into the Chinese air force since the

early 1990s and Russia has a comparable role in both countries as supplier of sophisticated weapons.

Through these acquisitions, the qualitative advantage that Taiwan once enjoyed may be reduced if not eliminated, and we can expect to see the balance continue to shift in China's favour. Reinforced Russian political support for China on Taiwan is significant in this

context.

The two signatories have made the point that the treaty they have just signed is not directed against anyone. This disclaimer would have been necessitated by the tacit questioning of US policy in their opposition to the NMD and the support for the ABM.

No revival of Cold War-type bloc structures was attempted. But these two large countries

also showed that they are not merely going to line up obediently and acquiesce in whatever is projected from Washington as the future global security arrangement.

China, in particular, has consistently opposed a unipolar world, and has called for multi-lateralism in the ordering of relations between states. To its makers, the Sino-Russian treaty strengthens international stabi-

lity and good order.

The emphasis it places on nuclear non-proliferation will be of considerable interest in South Asia. Its unequivocal backing of the nuclear Non Proliferation Treaty is certainly far removed from the positions of India and Pakistan.

While striking an independent note, each country would have been under no illusion about how far their partnership could realistically take them in today's circumstances. A firmer political relationship can help but it can hardly provide the basis for either of them to handle their many political and economic problems. Exclusivity is no feature of the treaty, as indeed was illustrated by Mr Putin's participation in the G-8 meeting at Genoa soon after the Moscow event.

There, he showed a growing rapport with President Bush, with whom he succeeded in finding common ground on some delicate security questions. Even the NMD was the subject of exchanges that left both Russia and the USA reasonably satisfied. The Moscow meeting can have significance for the future, especially in Asia. Quite how and in which direction is yet to be seen.

No Sino-Russian axis is in the shaping, so there should be no exaggerated expectations. What does emerge is that Russia is not going to be part of any design aimed against China.

Containment of China is an impractical aim anyway, and current hawkish US attitudes are likely to be temporary. A more accommodating approach through dialogue and active cooperation, such as is embodied in the Moscow treaty and as Asean has pursued successfully for years, will serve a better purpose.

What also emerges is that the situation is evolving and the Asian region is in a considerable flux. Several of the important tendencies would have been visible in the recently concluded Asia Regional Forum meeting in Hanoi. Coming hard on the heels of the high level meetings at Agra and Moscow, as well as the Genoa G-8 gathering, it was an occasion of more than ordinary significance. A galaxy of foreign ministers from the ARF countries were present.

After a considerable struggle, India has found a place in this group which provides it with an important entry point and a role in South-east Asia.

*(The author is a former Foreign Secretary.)*

## 100 YEARS AGO

### TODAY

JULY 29, 1901

#### EDITORIAL NOTE

THE announcement made by Sir Francis Maclean in his speech

at the dinner given the other evening by the members of the Calcutta Bar to Mr Justice Stanley on the occasion of his transfer to the Allahabad High Court, may reasonably be regarded as constituting an assurance that another additional Barrister Judge will be appointed to the Calcutta High Court at an early date. We believe, that is, that the terms of Sir Francis Maclean's recommendation in the matter are such that the Government of India cannot decently refuse to support, or the Secretary Of State to act on it.

We wish we felt equally confident that the new Judge would be selected from the Calcutta Bar, for not only has that body the strongest claim to

the appointment but it alone can supply all the qualifications which it is more than ever necessary at the present moment that a new Judge should possess. On that head, unfortunately in view of a recent appointment of the kind, we cannot be said to possess any assurance; though the very fact of the claims of the local Bar having been thus repeatedly ignored ought, from the standpoint of either justice or expediency, to constitute such an assurance.

For the rest, we are strongly of opinion that the state and prospects of business of the High Court would have abundantly justified Sir Francis Maclean in recommending the appointment of two additional Judges instead of one.

## Russia vows to defend China's interests

By Vladimir Radyuhin

**MOSCOW, DEC. 18.** Moscow has reassured Beijing that its interests will be taken care of in a new strategic security framework Russia is negotiating with the United States.

Russia and China called today for a new strategic arrangement to take into account, not only the interests of Russia and the U.S., but also the interests of "all other countries."

A statement issued after Russian-Chinese consultations on strategic stability in Moscow on December 17 said the sides "shared views on the consequences" of Washington's unilateral withdrawal from the 1972 Anti-Ballistic Missile Treaty. The sides stressed the "crucial importance of preserving the international system of arms control and disarmament" in the new situation.

Russia and China pledged to "continue coordinating their foreign policy efforts to prevent destabilisation of the international situation" and "build a reliable system of strategic stability based on international legal mechanisms."

The sides "stressed the pressing need to carry forward the Russian-American dialogue and to evolve early a new strategic framework that will take into account their mutual interests as well as the interests of all other countries and include a legally binding Russian-U.S. accord on further radical, verifiable and irreversible reductions in strategic offensive weapons," the Russian statement said.

# China's next leader steps onto world stage

**MOSCOW, OCT. 27.** Mr. Hu Jintao, the mysterious heir apparent to the Chinese President, Mr. Jiang Zemin, arrived in Moscow on Saturday in his first ever visit to Russia and western Europe, offering a rare glimpse of the next leader of the world's most populous nation.

With less than a year for Mr. Jiang to retire as head of the Communist party, precious little is known inside or outside China about his anointed successor — except that he likes dancing and table tennis and is said to have a photographic memory. His two-week trip to Russia, Britain, France, Germany and Spain, beginning on Saturday, was a choreographed attempt to establish his credentials as a world leader, analysts say. Mr. Hu's performance could have a major impact on his political destiny in China, analysts say. He should appear statesman-like, but must be careful not to upstage Mr. Jiang.

"Before you become the number one person you have to keep a low profile to avoid unnecessary battles," said Mr. Cheng Li, professor of government at Hamilton College in New York. "Hu is in many ways far more capable than Jiang Zemin," said Mr. Cheng, author of "China's Leaders: the New Generation. There are obvious tensions between them."

Mr. Jiang is due to retire as party leader at a five-yearly party congress next year and as State



**The Russian President, Mr. Vladimir Putin (right), shakes hands with the Chinese Vice-President, Mr. Hu Jintao, during their meeting at the Kremlin in Moscow on Saturday. — AFP**

President at the annual meeting of the National People's Congress, or Parliament, in 2003. Mr. Hu, now ranked fifth in the party's seven-member Politburo Standing Committee, was anointed Mr. Jiang's successor by the late Paramount Leader, Deng Xiaoping. He is the youngest member of the Standing Committee, Vice-Chairman of the Central Military Commission and head of the Communist Party School. But China has had a string of anoint-

ed heirs who never made it — including two of Deng's.

Mr. Jiang is also thought to favour Mr. Zeng Qinghong, head of the party's powerful organisation department, and wants to cling to power "behind the curtain" after the congress by staying on as head of the Central Military Commission.

"This is something of a coming out party for Hu, an introduction on the world stage," said Mr. Jo-

seph Fewsmith, professor of international relations at Boston University. "He will be thrust into the spotlight. This was probably going to be the case anyway before Sept. 11, but that certainly ups the odds."

The trip, planned before the Sept. 11 suicide hijacking attacks on the United States, has taken on added significance as Washington builds a global coalition against terrorism. Mr. Hu will be under pressure to speak out against terrorism and may face fierce protests over China's attempts to link terrorism to separatists in Xinjiang and Tibet, where he crushed pro-independence protests as regional party chief in 1988-89. While he has travelled extensively in Asia, Mr. Hu has never been to Russia and western Europe, the Foreign Ministry said. The decision to visit Russia first emphasises a new strategic relationship with Moscow, which Beijing fears is leaning closer to Washington since the Sept. 11 attacks, diplomats say.

Mr. Hu will be the third Chinese leader to visit Russia in four months. Mr. Jiang signed a friendship pact with Russian President, Mr. Vladimir Putin, in Moscow in July. The relationship was based largely on mutual opposition to U.S. plans for a missile defence system and to international intervention in other countries' affairs. — Reuters

THE HINDU

23 OCT 2001

## Russia, China to boost trade

By Vladimir Radyuhin

**MOSCOW, SEPT. 5.** Russia and China will sign a deal to build an oil pipeline from Siberia to northeastern provinces of China. A general agreement to prepare a Detailed Project Report for the 2,500-km pipeline will be signed during a visit by the Chinese Premier, Mr. Zhu Rongji, to Moscow later this week. The deal, estimated to be worth \$1.7 billion, was finalised at a meeting between Russia's Energy Minister, Mr. Yuri Yusufov, with a delegation of the China National Petroleum Corp. on Wednesday, the RIA Novosti news agency reported.

The two countries will also sign an accord for the purchase by China of Russian TU-204 airliners. Russia's Deputy Prime Minister, Mr. Ilya Klebanov, who chaired a meeting of the joint commission in Moscow on Wednesday, the new deals will help redress a disbalance in bilateral trade in favour of China.

THE HINDU

6 SEP 2001

# Sino-Russian treaty clauses set India thinking

By Seema Guha  
Times News Network

NEW DELHI: The new treaty of neighbourliness, friendship and co-operation between Russia and China has got Indian officials down to reading the fine print of the document. The treaty, a culmination of the growing warmth between the two former Communist states, is a comprehensive document taking in all aspects of bilateral ties between Russia and China. Officials say it goes much beyond the Indo-Russian Friendship Treaty which served New Delhi well during the Cold War era.

The new Sino-Russian treaty was signed by Russian President Vladimir Putin and Chinese President Jiang Zemin in Moscow on July 16. Indian officials are divided over its long term implications. One section believes it is a pointer to a New World order— an attempt by Russia and China to carve out a new strategic balance in international affairs.

It is being seen in the long term as a means of restraining U.S. domination. China and Russia as well as India and France have long talked of a multipolar world. This section believes if the

Sino-Russian treaty works well, it could at a future date affect New Delhi's close ties with Moscow.

However, there are also those within the government who believe that India's ties with Russia are durable and will not be affected by Moscow's new found friendship with China. "India-Russia links go back a long way. Our defence supplies and trade are inextricably linked and cannot change overnight," one official said.

"This treaty is a mutual reassurance by Russia and China not to harm each other's interests. The fact remains, despite their current bonhomie, Moscow and Beijing are still suspicious about each other's motives," a senior official said. Moscow and Beijing were working closely for a year to finalise the treaty to coincide with Jiang Zemin's visit to Moscow.

"It suits both China and Russia at the moment to close ranks against the United States. But they also realise that, in the short term at least, neither can afford to go against Washington," the official explained.

Article nine of the treaty is worrying one sec-

tion of the government in New Delhi. This clause has to do with security threat or aggression against either China or Russia. The clause says if this occurs, the two countries will immediately hold consultations "with the aim of removing the threat." Does this mean that Russia and China will join hands militarily to remove the threat? It is not clearly spelled out.

The natural question is what happens if China and India have a run-in? What would be Russia's role? During the short India-China 1962 border war, Russia despite its friendship with India had refused to come to India's aid, saying India was a friend but the Chinese were brothers.

Another cause for anxiety in future is the clause about "facilitating efforts to create in regions adjacent to their territories multilateral mechanisms of collaboration on questions of security and cooperation ..." This could well apply to Kashmir. Though both Russia and China now concede India's point about bilateral solution to Kashmir, a time could well come when either China or Russia or both work against India's interest in Kashmir.

THE TIMES OF INDIA

THE TIMES OF INDIA  
THE STATESMAN

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## Faraway in Moscow

Comparisons don't always work, and yet it would be difficult not to be struck by how differently the two recent summits were handled. Both between traditional rivals, both with the potential to change the paradigms of international affairs. Courtesy of the hype over the summit between subcontinental foes India and Pakistan, the expectations were that a treaty of the proportion of Versailles would be signed. This, when reality dictated that hope be tempered with caution, given the bitterness of the past. By contrast in Moscow, two genuinely big countries reached, to use an overdone cliché, a historic understanding quietly and faraway from the media spotlight. So, how important really is the China-Russia treaty? Common wisdom would see this as a rather naive attempt by a failed superpower and an undemocratic, truculent nation to form a countervailing force to the US. After all, the truncated Russia of today is hardly a match for the world's sole superpower, not even in combination with China. However, there is another aspect to the treaty that binds the two countries for 20 long years. An alliance between China and Russia makes good economic sense for both. The Russians are acknowledged experts in military technology and today their principal markets are India and China. The cash-surplus Chinese are always on the look-out to beef up their military hardware and Russian goods are a cheap and readily available option. Whether the Beijing-Moscow treaty, the first after the Mao-Stalin pact, will evolve into something more threatening for the US will depend really on how Russia plays its cards.

Undoubtedly, their cooperation has taken on a certain urgency in the wake of the US's belligerence on the nuclear defence missile. That Russia was extremely uncomfortable with the US's threatening posture was evident at the Bush-Putin meeting. However, in the case of Russia, the US has adopted a subtle strategy of containment. The US has enthusiastically supported Russia's entry into the European Union in the calculation that once Russia comes in, it can exert its overweening influence over the Union to keep it in check. Mr Putin's dilemma is that while he would want Russia to be part of the wealthy and powerful Union, he is quite clearly discomfited by the idea of a British-type chorus boy role vis-a-vis the US. A treaty with China could jeopardise Russia's entry into the Union but for the moment, Russia seems to want its cake and eat it too. Where does this leave India? In their joint statement, Beijing and Moscow have spoken of a "rational and just international order" which will bring new stability to Asia. That does not remotely mean that a China-Russia-India axis is about to happen. The Chinese will quite clearly not accept any major role for India. China does not even acknowledge India as an emerging power which could eventually form part of a troika with it and Russia to create a southern countervailing force to any northern power bloc. So, for the moment the focus is firmly on China and Russia. The consistent and painstaking preparations preceding the Moscow treaty suggest that both sides are trying to craft a new and more visible role for themselves in the changed international paradigm.

# Russia, China sign friendship treaty

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ASSOCIATED PRESS

MOSCOW, July 16. - Russia's President Vladimir Putin and his Chinese counterpart Jiang Zemin today signed the first post-Soviet friendship treaty between the two nations, consolidating their decade-long partnership.

The treaty marked Russia's and China's desire to offset the growing US influence in the world and their joint concern about US missile defence plans.

In a joint statement issued today in the Kremlin, Mr Putin and Mr Jiang said they aspired for a "just and rational new international order." Yet their friendship treaty made it clear that the two giant nations had no immediate plans to form a closer union.

"The friendly relations of the two countries are inter-state relations of a new type. They are based on non-conclusion of a union, the lack of confrontation character and are not directed against third countries," it said.

The treaty is the first such document since 1950, when Joseph Stalin and Mao Zedong created a Soviet-Chinese alliance that later soured into bitter rivalry by the 1960s.

Since the collapse of the So-



Chinese President Jiang Zemin (left) and Russian President Vladimir Putin embrace each other in Moscow on Monday. - AP/PTI.

viet Union in 1991, Moscow and Beijing have put their disputes behind and forged what they call a "strategic partnership."

China is the biggest customer for Russia's struggling defence factories, rich in expertise and advanced weapon designs but short on orders from Russia's own impoverished military. Together, the two countries oppose US plans for a national missile defence and alleged US attempts to dominate world affairs.

Mr Jiang arrived yesterday for a four-day visit on the heels of the International Olympic Committee decision at its Moscow meeting to award the 2008 Olympics to Beijing, and met with outgoing IOC President Juan Antonio Samaranch.

"We saw the jubilation of Beijing residents on television and we rejoiced together with you," Mr Putin told Mr Jiang in the Kremlin before proceeding to the "many important

## 'DISBAND NATO'

ROME, July 16. - Russian President Vladimir Putin said today that NATO should be disbanded and replaced by a pan-European security body that included Russia.

In an interview with the *Corriere della Sera* newspaper, Mr Putin said Nato expansion eastward towards Russia merely prolonged Cold War divisions of the continent.

"The problem should be simple. In the West, everyone says: 'We don't want new divisions in Europe, we don't want new Berlin walls. Good. We completely agree,'" he told the *Milan Daily*. - Reuters

questions" he said were on the agenda.

Jiang's visit also follows the successful test Saturday of a missile interceptor by the USA - a step forward in its quest to build a national missile defence system.

US plans appear to violate the ABM treaty, which limits the extent to which Russia and the USA are permitted to provide themselves with defences against strategic ballistic missile attack.

THE STATESMAN

JIANG'S VISIT / FRIENDSHIP TREATY SIGNED

HD-14

# Russia, China swear by ABM treaty

By Vladimir Radyuhin

MOSCOW, JULY 16. Russia and China have signed a landmark friendship treaty today and reiterated their unwavering support for the 1972 Anti-Ballistic Missile treaty.

The 20-year treaty of good-neighbourliness, friendship and cooperation was signed by the Presidents of Russia and China, Mr. Vladimir Putin and Mr. Jiang Zemin, in the Kremlin after bilateral talks. The two leaders also signed a political statement, which called for preserving intact the ABM treaty, which bans the U.S. and Russia from building national missile defences.

"Russia and China stress the basic importance of the ABM treaty, which is a cornerstone of strategic stability and the basis for reducing offensive weapons, and speak out for maintaining the treaty in its current form," said the joint statement.

The two leaders called for international talks to curb nuclear proliferation and make space weapons-free.

"Russia and China will step up their cooperation in nuclear non-proliferation including efforts to



The Chinese President, Mr. Jiang Zemin (left), and the Russian President, Mr. Vladimir Putin, embrace each other in Moscow on Monday. — AP

encourage all members of the international community to join the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty," said the declaration.

Moscow and Beijing have called for an international pact to ban the placing of weapons in outer space. They proposed setting up a special committee in the

framework of the disarmament conference to prevent militarisation of space. They also urged the establishment of a global regime for non-proliferation of missile technologies on an "equal, non-discriminatory basis".

The political treaty signed today declares Russia and China

"friends forever, enemies never". In contrast to their previous friendship treaty, which expired in 1980, the two countries made it clear their new pact does not amount to an alliance or axis.

"The friendly relations of the two countries are interstate relations of a new type built on the basis of not forming an alliance, non-confrontation and not being directed against third countries," said the joint statement.

According to Russia's Foreign Minister, Mr. Igor Ivanov, the new Russian-Chinese treaty states the two sides have no territorial claims to each other and vow to respect the inviolability of their borders and territorial integrity.

Speaking to the press after the talks, the two leaders voiced confidence that outstanding border issues would be settled shortly. Mr. Putin said the border was "90-per cent" demarcated and the two sides are determined to wind up work on the remaining "two small sections".

To further cement bilateral ties, Mr. Putin will visit China some time next year.





The Chinese President, Mr. Jiang Zemin (right), and the Russian Deputy Prime Minister Mr. Ilya Klebanov, look on while an honour guard returns a salute during a welcome ceremony for the former at Moscow's airport on Sunday. — AP

## China, Russia to sign friendship pact

By Vladimir Radyuhin

**MOSCOW, JULY 15.** As China's President, Mr. Jiang Zemin, arrived in Moscow on Sunday to sign a landmark friendship treaty, senior Russian officials emphasised unwavering opposition the two countries shared towards the U.S. National Missile Defence (NMD) plans.

Russia and China take "identical and unchanged positions" in favour of retaining the existing system of arms control accords, strengthening non-proliferation regimes and keeping outer space free from arms, the Interfax news agency quoted the Foreign Minister spokesman, Mr. Alexander Yakovenko, as saying.

A highly-placed Foreign Ministry official denied any split between Russia and China on the 1972 Anti-Ballistic Missile Treaty, which the U.S. wants to scrap.

"We take a common position on missile defences and will pursue coordinated and concerted action on the issue," the official, who asked not to be named, told foreign reporters in Moscow.

Joint opposition to the proposed U.S. missile shield is believed to be a driving motive behind the 20-year treaty of "good neighbourliness, friendship and cooperation" the Russian and Chinese Presidents will sign on Monday. However, Russian officials have maintained the pact is not directed against any other country and is solely designed to lay a solid long-term basis for bilateral cooperation. "The treaty will formulate principles of Russian-Chinese relations to guarantee their stability and continuity for generations to come," the Russian Foreign Ministry official said.

"Stability and continuity" are key notions in the Russian-Chinese treaty. China, which had earlier rebuffed repeated Russian proposals to sign a political treaty to replace the Soviet-Chinese friendship pact which expired in 1980, now wants a bilateral treaty to ensure that its interests do not suffer as Russia seeks economic and political integration with the

West. Beijing is also keen to have Russia on its side in a likely future showdown over Taiwan, which would pit China against the U.S.

Media reports said the treaty commits Russia and China to coordinating their policies, not only to uphold the independence and sovereignty of the two countries, but also to defend their "legitimate interests in the world arena".

For Russia, the treaty is important as a guarantee that the two countries will not revert to hostility and border conflicts that marred their relations in the 1960s and 1970s.

Under their new treaty, Russia and China will renounce territorial claims to each other. "This is very important in view of the 4,000-km border between our two countries, and considering the tortuous history of border delimitation talks that have dragged on for the past several decades," the highly-placed Russian diplomat said.

To date, Russia and China have demarcated 98 per cent of their border, but are still at logs over three strategically placed islands in the mouth of the Amur river in the Far East. In 1969, the two countries came close to a full-fledged war, when China attempted to take by force the Damansky Island on the Amur.

Russia is also worried about massive illegal migration of Chinese to its sparsely populated Siberia and the Far East. Some Russian analysts believe that China's traditional expansionism, aggravated by its population boom and a growing shortage of resources, poses a direct threat to Russia.

"America's military threat to Russia is purely mythical, whereas China's military threat is patently obvious, but for some reason there is a taboo to debate it in this country," Dr. Alexander Sharavin of the Institute of Political and Military Analysis wrote in the influential *Izvestia* daily on Saturday. "China's territorial claims to Russia have been consistent and unrelenting."

THE HINDU

# Summit to figure in Jiang-Putin talks

PRESS TRUST OF INDIA (11) *5/16/97*

BEIJING, July 15. — The Indo-Pak summit and US missile plan will figure in talks between Chinese President Mr Jiang Zemin and his Russian counterpart Mr Vladimir Putin in Moscow beginning tomorrow.

"President Mr Jiang, during his visit to Russia, will have an extensive and in-depth exchange of views on a number of important regional and international issues of common concern, with his Russian counterpart," Chinese foreign ministry spokeswoman Ms Zhang Qiyue said when asked whether the Indo-Pak summit would figure during their talks. The Chinese President arrived in Moscow today.

Beijing and Moscow, key players in south Asia, are keenly watching the outcome of the Agra summit, diplomatic sources said, adding it is "quite natural" for them to review the outcome of Indo-Pak talks which would have an important bearing on regional as well as global peace and stability.

Moscow will be the first stop in Mr Jiang's 11-day five-nation tour that would take him to Ukraine, Belarus, Moldova and Malta.

Mr Jiang who left for Moscow today, is accompanied by his wife Mrs Wang Yeping, Vice-Premier Mr Qian Qichen, minister in-charge of the state development planning commission Mr Zeng Peiyan, minister of foreign trade and economic cooperation Mr Shi Guangsheng, vice-foreign minister Mr Zhang Deguang and other senior officials.

China and Russia will sign a treaty on bilateral good-neighbourly friendship, cooperation and a joint statement on 16 July, a senior Chinese foreign ministry official told reporters.

"The major purpose of this visit is the signing of the treaty between Mr Jiang and Mr Putin, which will legalise the concept of peace of the two sides featuring a friendship from generation to generation and never target each other as enemies," a senior Chinese foreign ministry official said.

THE STATESMAN

## Russia, China 8/7 to sign HP-12 political treaty

By Vladimir Radyuhin

**MOSCOW, JULY 7.** The Chinese President, Mr. Jiang Zemin, will pay on official visit to Russia from July 15 to 18, the Kremlin announced on Saturday.

The sides will discuss topical bilateral and international issues and sign important political documents, the Kremlin press service said in a terse announcement.

Russia and China are expected to sign a new basic political treaty for a period of 20 years.

According to the Russian President, Mr. Vladimir Putin, the treaty defines the principles of interaction between China and Russia as friendly countries in the main areas of cooperation: border issues, strategic interaction in global security, humanitarian spheres, as well as defence and economic cooperation.

A senior Russian diplomat said last week the Russian-Chinese treaty will have no secret clauses that could worry other countries.

He also defended Russian arms sales to China.

Everything is being done to avoid disrupting the current balance of military potentials and stability in the region, the Deputy Foreign Minister, Mr. Alexander Losyukov, said in an interview.

"If we did not sell weapons to China, it would buy them elsewhere."

summit in Shanghai. (AP)

# Putin, Jiang join forces

15/6  
summit

FROM JEREMY PAGE

Shanghai, June 14 (Reuters): Chinese President Jiang Zemin and his Russian counterpart Vladimir Putin showed a united front today against US plans to build a national missile defence (NMD) system.

But Jiang sounded a conciliatory note on sensitive China-US ties, calling for a "constructive" relationship with Washington, according to Igor Ivanov.

Jiang and Putin met in Shanghai to kick off a six-nation summit aimed at combating Islamic militancy in Central Asia just days before Putin is due to meet US President George W. Bush in Slovenia.

The Shanghai Five — China, Russia, Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan and Tajikistan — and the group's new member Uzbekistan are ex-

pected to join forces against Bush's missile defence plans as he heads into a summit with the European Union.

"President Putin reiterated Russia's principled position on that matter and China stated that it will continue to support Russia in its efforts to maintain the global equilibrium," Chinese foreign ministry spokesman Zhu Bangzao told a news conference. Jiang's meeting with Putin was the first of three planned for this year as Moscow and Beijing, former rivals for leadership of the Communist world, forge a new alliance based largely on fears of Islamic separatist unrest and on opposition to US policies.

On NMD, Ivanov said: "Our views on this fully coincide with China." But he added that Jiang and Putin had discussed the Russian leader's coming meeting with Bush. "The Chinese side attaches great importance to its relations with the US for international stability," he said. "The Chinese leadership intends to pursue a constructive policy in its relations with Washington."

Kremlin officials said yesterday Bush's NMD plan posed a threat to global security, backing up China's frequent warnings that the plan could trigger a new global arms race. Moscow and Beijing also share common ground in seeking to offset growing US influence in oil-rich Central Asia, where the Russian and British empires jostled for power in the 19th Century, analysts say.

THE TELEGRAPH

# Sino-Russian treaty on defence

By Vladimir Radyuhin 110-16

14/6  
MOSCOW, JUNE 13. A Sino-Russian political treaty to be signed in Moscow next month will cover, among other things, cooperation in defence and global security, the Russian President, Mr. Vladimir Putin, has said.

The new treaty is "a very important document which can shape relations between the People's Republic of China and Russia over a long-term perspective," Mr. Putin said in an interview to the Chinese media on the eve of his trip to Shanghai to attend a summit meeting of the Shanghai Five group on June 14-15.

The Sino-Russian political treaty "defines the principles of interaction between China and Russia as friendly countries in the main areas of our cooperation: border issues, strategic interaction in global security, humanitarian spheres, as well as defence and economic cooperation".

Mr. Putin ranked interaction in promoting global security as the topmost area of bilateral cooperation. Both countries maintain that U.S. plans to build a missile shield will destroy global security, which, according to them, hinges on the 1972 Anti-Ballistic Missile Treaty Washington wants to scrap.

"We are paying major attention to coordinating our efforts in the sphere of global security, establishment... of a multipolar world," the Russian leader said. "... This is the first and foremost area of our

interaction." By emphasising the defence and security aspects of Sino-Russian cooperation, Mr. Putin signalled the readiness to play the China card on the eve of his crucial talks with the U.S. President, Mr. George W. Bush, in Slovenia on June 16. Moscow has hinted at supplying advanced missile and space technologies to China if the U.S. goes ahead with its missile defence plans.

Mr. Putin said the Shanghai Five group, set up five years ago, had emerged as a "highly effective" mechanism of confidence-building along the borders between China and four former Soviet states. Now the group should expand its activities to fill a "power vacuum" left in Central Asia in the wake of Russia's withdrawal from the region after the breakup of the Soviet Union, Mr. Putin said.

"This vacuum has begun to be filled by religious extremists and terrorist organisations," he said. "This region remains problem-ridden and conflict-prone. Joint measures that are being taken make it possible to control the situation" in such areas as religious extremism, terrorism, organised crime, illegal drug and arms trafficking.

Mr. Putin confirmed that Uzbekistan will join the Shanghai Five "as a full-fledged member" in Shanghai. He also said that "other countries show marked interest" in joining the regional organisation, which currently comprises China, Russia, Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan and Tajikistan.

HD-12  
A/B

# Shanghai-Five and the U.S.

By P. S. Suryanarayana

**T**HE SHANGHAI-Five, a forum led by China and Russia, is beginning to make rapid strides as a sentinel in Central Asia. Its primary purpose at the moment is to try and insulate Central Asia as also Russia and China from the negative influences of Afghanistan's Taliban. But a prime issue is how long will the U.S. refrain from openly opposing a Sino-Russian concert of power in Central Asia?

The Foreign Ministers of the Shanghai-Five have, at the conclusion of their recent meeting in Moscow, gone beyond the forum's conventional concerns. China and post-Soviet Russia have emerged as the prime movers in seeking to protect a wide arc of Eurasian territory from the external effects of terrorism which emanates from Afghanistan. Most dramatically, the new concerns of the Shanghai-Five pertain to the global strategic interests of Russia and China. The smaller constituents of this Eurasian entity, namely Kazakhstan and Tajikistan besides the Kyrgyz Republic, do not obviously share the global interests of either Russia or China. Yet, the Shanghai-Five, which will hold a summit soon, has now expressed itself on the plans of the United States for a missile defence shield. According to the forum, "a chain reaction of missile and missile technology proliferation" will result from the current American move to "undermine" a relevant U.S.-Soviet treaty of 1972. Even the smaller states of the Shanghai-Five have joined the Sino-Russian chorus in praise of the Anti-Ballistic Missile Treaty's utility as a diplomatic insurance (not technological guarantee) against the current U.S.' move to create a new global strategic architecture.

The Shanghai-Five has underlined the "significance" of "preserving and developing the system of treaties and agreements on control over arms and disarmament". An established policy promotive of worldwide stability is said to be rooted in the concept of "reduction" of "strategic offensive arms". Most importantly, the Sino-Russian orchestrated "conviction" is that the "world community" possesses the "ability" to adopt

"political-diplomatic measures" to "counter the danger of missile and missile technology proliferation". Outwardly, Washington need not worry about these formulations, which amount to a polemical criticism and not a detailed critique of the latest U.S.' move to build missile defences with or without the support of its friends and allies. It is a different matter how far the changing political dynamics on Capitol Hill might impinge on the U.S.' move itself. Yet, if some Central Asian countries with little or no global profile have chosen to join Russia and China in opposing the U.S. in this manner, the reason is not far to seek.

The U.S. has not so far brought the Central Asian states under its commanding influence. This is somewhat surprising because the U.S. had by about the mid-1990s appeared poised to fill the

dorsed by those inclined to oppose it.

For Russia and China, though, a multipolar political order is desirable, so that they too can share power with the U.S. in determining how the world should be governed. Beijing and Moscow have, as two nuclear powers, been able to use the Shanghai-Five to affirm multipolarity as a creed. The Chinese President, Mr. Jiang Zemin, has firmly given up his original, even if tentative, visions of creating a tri-polar world. As China-watchers like Willy Wo-lap Lam point out, Mr. Jiang had around 1997 envisioned a futurist tripolar world consisting of the U.S.-led Americas, Europe and an Asia led by a resurgent China. If China has now given up the dream of a tripolar world, the reason has much to do with the U.S.' move to become the first invulnerable power.

Two reasons account for the relative

## *How long will the U.S. refrain from openly opposing a Sino-Russian concert of power in Central Asia?*

power vacuum created in Central Asia by the disintegration of the Soviet Union. In contrast, as the diplomatic rationale of the Shanghai-Five will indicate, China and Russia have for the present managed to keep the U.S. somewhat on the strategic sidelines of Central Asia. Will the U.S. consider the latest pronouncements of the Shanghai-Five a wake-up call?

For the U.S., which is being increasingly viewed even by some European states as a virtual or potential "hyper-power", the quest for a new global strategic order is not entirely defined in a Sino-Russian idiom. China and Russia tend to see Washington's latest move as being symptomatic of a desire to perpetuate the dominance of the U.S. as the sole super-power. Washington, however, tends to characterise a unipolar world as nothing more than a dispensation in which the U.S. leads as the pre-eminent power. The idea simply is that the U.S. expects its supremacy to be openly acknowledged by its "friends and allies" and tacitly en-

failure of the U.S. so far to position itself as a key strategic player in Central Asia, more precisely between Russia and China, in a bid to make them feel an American "presence" at their very doorsteps. First, as keen Asian diplomats point out, the U.S. has remained somewhat slow to have anticipated Russia's bid to re-establish firm strategic control over the Central Asian states. They were in any case constituents of the former Soviet Union. Surely, the new Russia, under its first leader (a U.S.-friendly Mr. Boris Yeltsin), chose to play second fiddle to Washington in Central Asia. That would account for a certain initial leisureliness on the part of the U.S. in seeking to spread its strategic wings across an uncharted Central Asia. However, Mr. Yeltsin's successor, Mr. Vladimir Putin, has acted quite quickly to retrieve Central Asia as Russia's forward base.

The second factor, of course, is the present Bush administration's recognition of China, rather than Russia, as a potential

epicentre of anti-America sentiments in the future. A policy quest by the previous U.S. President, Mr. Bill Clinton, to engage China was, of course, preceded by his move for a firmer strategic clasping of an ally like Japan. So, the U.S.-China engagement until last year was balanced by America's practice of placing a premium on its forward presence in East Asia. Not surprisingly then, Beijing saw itself as being constrained by the U.S. despite the hoopla over engagement. China's sense of constraint accounts for its initiative on the Shanghai-Five.

Alarming to China and Russia is the latest comment by the U.S. President, Mr. George W. Bush, that he wants to seek peace by redefining war on America's terms. While this doctrine of confrontation (as seen from Beijing) applies to the Asia-Pacific theatre, China and Russia will like to assess the U.S.' will in regard to Central Asia in particular. China and Russia have already positioned themselves as the warriors against Islamic fundamentalism that could spew out of Afghanistan. For the U.S., which does not discount Central Asia as a reservoir of conventional energy sources, the importance of this theatre is heightened by the Taliban challenge. Washington is keen that the Taliban hand over Osama bin Laden. Mr. Bush may want to lead a war against international terror, too, on America's own terms. Yet, the Shanghai-Five's consensus on a strict implementation of the U.N. arms embargo and other sanctions against the Taliban can only suit the U.S. too. The question, therefore, is whether the Taliban challenge — political terror and narco-terror — can bring the U.S. closer to the Shanghai-Five. Elsewhere, India and several others are keen on engaging or associating themselves with this forum. However, much will depend on how far the Shanghai-Five will seek to coordinate the military strategies of its constituents in containing Islamic fundamentalism. Russia is forming an unrelated rapid-reaction force for this purpose in conjunction with some of its Soviet-vintage fellow-republics.

THE MIND

# Russia, China talk NMD, say global stability in danger

Moscow, May 22: Moscow attacked US plans for a missile defence system on Tuesday, saying both Russia and China believed it would jeopardise 30 years of strategic stability.

Both countries restated their strong opposition to the proposed US missile shield at a meeting in Moscow on Monday, the Russian foreign ministry said in a statement.

The two sides swapped views after hearing from US officials who toured Europe and Asia this month to drum up support for the project.

President George W. Bush insists the National Missile Defence system is needed to defend the US from "rogue states" like North Korea and Iraq.

Russia has said it understands US concerns but believes steps to head off potential threats should not destroy the 1972 Anti-Ballistic Missile Treaty, which Moscow sees as the cornerstone of non-proliferation.

"Russia and China again asserted that they oppose plans for deployment of a global anti-missile defence system, banned under the 1972 treaty, and do not find convincing the reasoning and arguments of the plan's supporters," the Moscow statement said. After meeting Mr Bush in Washington last week, foreign minister Igor Ivanov backed more talks and cooperation about the plan. (Reuters)

## Saddam says sanctions will be rejected

BY NADIM LADKI

Baghdad, May 22: President Saddam Hussein said that Iraq would reject US-British proposals to liberalise sanctions against Iraq and demanded a complete lifting of the 11-year-old embargo.

"We have nothing new but to tell all our friends and brothers our opinion that we will reject the so-called 'smart sanctions,' which are more stupid than the (current) sanctions," Mr Saddam was quoted on Monday by the official Ina news agency as telling a Cabinet meeting.

"They have failed, but what is the alternative?... The alternative... Is for the sanctions to be lifted."

It was the first time Mr Saddam had expressed a clear view on US-British proposals to ease the sanctions.

Key members of the UN Security Council were to discuss the new proposals later on Monday, although Russia and China expressed doubts that a resolution could be adopted before the next six-month phase of the UN-Iraq humanitarian oil-for-food programme begins on June 4. (Reuters)

THE ASIAN AGE

23 MAY 2001

# High stakes poker

**R**USSIA AND China's plan to clinch a political pact next July and the U.S. decision to begin deploying a national missile defence, announced in the space of several days last week, set the stage for a new global game with far-reaching implications for international relations.

Merely two years ago a friendship treaty between Russia and China appeared impossible. In 1979 China refused to renew its treaty of "friendship, union and mutual assistance" with the Soviet Union and has since made it a rule not to conclude any political pacts with other countries. The situation changed after NATO unleashed a missile war on Yugoslavia and the U.S. "mistakenly" bombed China's embassy in Belgrade. Moscow readily responded to Beijing's initiative of drafting a new friendship treaty as both saw the U.S.-led aggression against Yugoslavia as a harbinger of the new world order where the world's only superpower will dictate its will to other countries, relying on naked force.

These fears were reinforced by the American plan to build a sophisticated missile shield that should give the U.S. absolute security, denied to other countries. Both Russia and China feel that the claptrap about moving away from Cold War nuclear postures and the mutual assured destruction (MAD) doctrine conceals the American bid to win unilateral strategic advantage. Russia, for one, is determined to prevent this from happening and to maintain its capability to hit American territory, even if this requires scrapping arms accords with the U.S. China in its turn has vowed to build a missile potential capable of penetrating the planned U.S. defence shield.

Although the text of the proposed Russian-Chinese treaty has not been published yet, it is believed to have been drafted along the same lines as Russia's treaties with a number of other countries, including India. Russia hopes the treaty will be an added guarantee of amiable relations with its giant and overpopulated neighbour and promote bilateral cooperation in combating terrorism and extremism in Central Asia. However, in contrast with the Indo-Russian treaty, Russia's treaty with China has an underlying motive of opposition to the U.S. designs at global domination. The treaty will not contain any mutual defence commitment, but may pave the way to closer military cooperation.

*Russia has to tread carefully to be a player rather than a card in the U.S.-China game.*  
**Vladimir Radyuhin**  
*on the implications of the attempt by Moscow and Beijing to draw closer.*

Russia and the U.S. are already locked in a proxy arms race between China and Taiwan. To counter Russian supplies of Kilo-class submarines and Sovremenny-class destroyers to China, the U.S. provided Taiwan with submarines, sub-hunter airplanes, and Kidd-class destroyers. China is now planning to buy Russia's newest stealth-technology warships, while the U.S. said that China's continued naval buildup would force it to sell Taiwan the Aegis radar-equipped destroyers, the only American weapons system designed to counter Russian anti-

ship missiles available to China. The strategic significance of China's growing military might is that it may discourage the U.S. from coming to Taiwan's rescue in the event of a military confrontation with China.

Two months ago, China's Deputy Chairman of the Central Military Council, Mr. Zhang Wannian, signed a new defence agreement in Moscow, following which the then Russian Defence Minister, Marshal Igor Sergeev, said the two countries could strike new defence deals during the scheduled visit by China's President, Mr. Jiang Zemin, to Russia in July.

Analysts say the friendship treaty the two countries are planning to sign could well be complimented with secret memorandums on defence cooperation. Media leaks here suggested that Russia could sell strategic weapons and technologies to China if the U.S. goes ahead with its missile shield plan. Russia may help China build anti-satellite weapons and missiles capable of penetrating the American missile shield.

At this stage such reports may be mainly designed to serve a

warning to the U.S. President, Mr. George W. Bush, that he would be wrong to write off Russia as a global player and ignore its concerns. So far Washington has rebuffed all Russian attempts to start talks on strategic arms and missile defence. But Moscow has found a way to make the U.S. pay attention. Washington could not easily brush aside Russia's threat to supply strategic technologies to China, which the U.S. has cast for the role of its main rival in the 21st century.

Mr. Bush's offer of talks on strategic stability last week was welcomed in Moscow as an opportunity to seek security for all, rather than for one country only. China had earlier also called for talks with the U.S. on strategic issues. The ball is now in the American court. The big question is whether the U.S. will not be carried away by its unshakeable belief in the American technological superiority and in Russia's ultimate weakness. A day after Mr. Bush vowed to build a national missile defence, Russia pointedly carried out a successful test of its newest high-precision

anti-missile rocket.

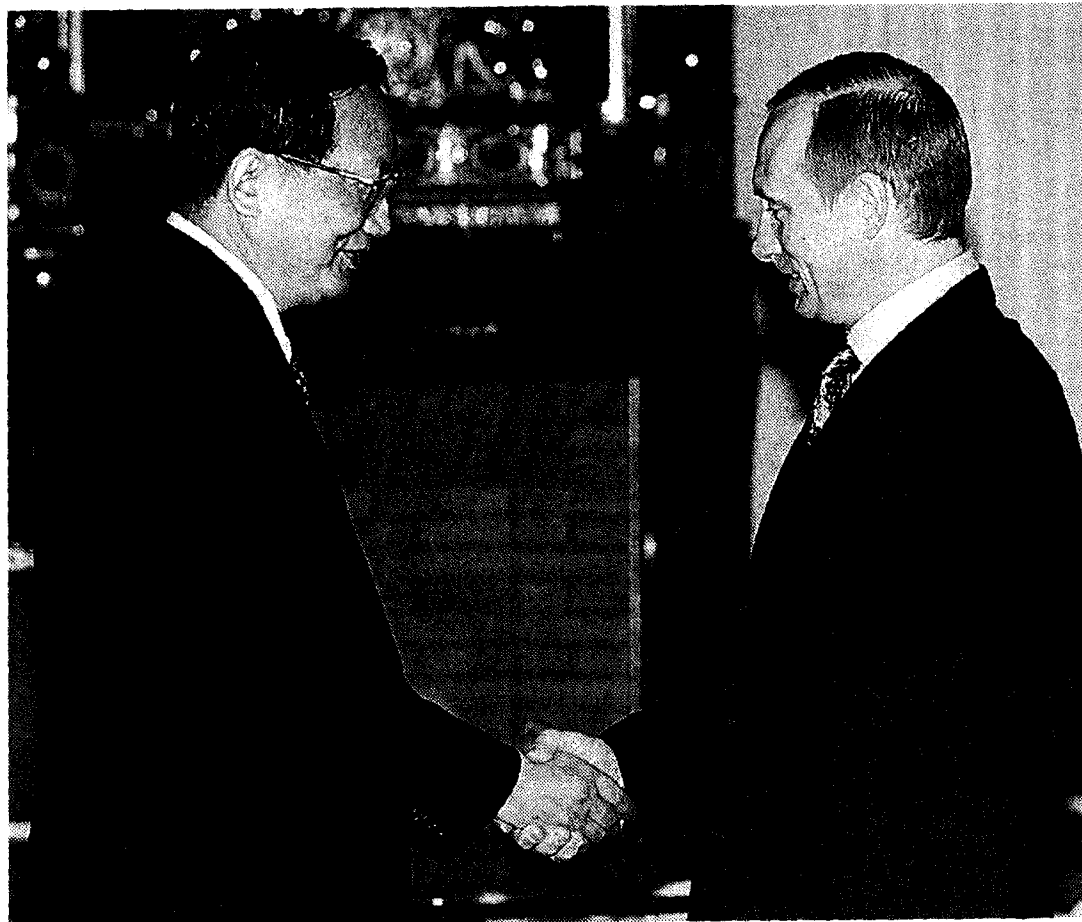
The new strategic game unleashed by the U.S. is fraught with great dangers for global security. Washington may be hoping to repeat the success of the early 1980s, when it played the China card against Russia. Mr. Ronald Reagan's bold move to build closer economic and defence ties with China sent the Soviet Union into a frantic attempt to deal with conflict scenarios in the West and the East. The effort wrecked the Soviet economy and contributed its downfall as a superpower. But in a longer-term perspective the U.S. victory looks less convincing, as its investment facilitated the rise of China, which it now sees as a future threat. Also the collapse of the Soviet Union removed a potential counter balance to China.

Russia, which is a pale shadow of the erstwhile Soviet Union, has to tread very carefully and wisely to be a player, rather than a card in the U.S. and China game. Suspicion of China's motives is strong in Russia. Two years ago, the then Secretary of the Russian Security Council, Mr. Sergei Ivanov, warned that China could use Russian weapons against its neighbours, including Russia. Moscow has refused to sell China an in-depth production licence for its SU-27 and SU-30 jets, making China dependent on supplies from Russia.

Russian analysts take note of the fact that despite the near-complete demarcation of the 4,300-km border with China, Chinese historians continue to denounce it as unfair and foisted on China by Russia in the 19th century. Russia is also worried by illegal Chinese immigration to its sparsely populated far east, which according to some estimates varies from one million to three million.

China's current foreign policy doctrine calls for "relying on the north (Russia), stabilising the west (India), and concentrating on the east (Taiwan) and the south (Spratly Islands)", says Mr. Vladimir Skosyrev, a long-time student of China. But Russian analysts warn that China could well push to the north once it achieves its goals in the east and the south, or if it meets too strong resistance there.

However, if it is forced to choose between losing the strategic equations game to the U.S. today and arming a potential future opponent next-door, Russia may well prefer to deal with the immediate threat first and pray for the future.



Russia's President, Mr. Vladimir Putin, welcomes China's Foreign Minister, Mr. Tang Jiaxuan, to the Kremlin... opening a new front.



**A** FRIENDSHIP Treaty between Russia and China is to be concluded this July when President Jiang Zemin is on a visit to Moscow. This development revives old memories. These two were the stalwarts of the Communist world whose strategic alliance once put its own stamp on global politics.

But the close ties between them unravelled fairly rapidly under the pressure of their divergent national interests. And after the celebrated secret visit of Dr Henry Kissinger to Beijing in 1971, the two former allies became strategic rivals.

Over the last several years, there has been a slow warming in their bilateral relations. The border alignment has been sorted out, trade has expanded, Russia has supplied sophisticated arms to China, high-level exchanges have taken place. Practical cooperation on security issues in groups like the Shanghai Five has been instituted.

Now with the Friendship Treaty on the anvil, it seems that they have come full circle, back to the days of strategic partnership. One of the triggers for this fresh development could be the disappointments each has faced in its dealings with the USA. For Russia, the new, evolving American nuclear doctrine is a matter of unconcealed anxiety. The Anti-Ballistic Missile Treaty, cornerstone of its nuclear policy, is under threat in America where it seems to have lost crucial support in the ruling party.

Plans for a National Missile Defence threaten to disturb the present nuclear balance and to take the nuclear argument into an area of technology where Russia can no longer afford to compete. Russian anxieties do not seem to have made much of an impression and America does not seem inclined to listen.

As for China, there is an all-round deterioration of its ties with America. The nuclear plans of the new administration are seen as destabilising and China opposes them vigorously, with no greater effect than Russia. Nearer home, the re-arming of Taiwan by America is a great Chinese concern. The general prickliness in the relationship was brought out by the spy plane incident, which continues to drag on.

To rub in the point that Sino-US relations are entering a

tough new phase is the word from Washington that new targeting of its nuclear weapons would aim more of them at China while reducing the numbers aimed at Russia.

Russia and China may now be on a convergent course but they have traversed very different paths since the end of the Cold War.

Initially, Russia put virtually all its eggs in the western basket.

With its economy in free fall, it was persuaded that only a closer association with the West could provide it with the sustenance it needed to re-shape itself. The east-west political argument seemed to be over, ideology was dead or dying, even history, according to some, had come to an

#### HOCKEY IN CALCUTTA

##### Beighton Cup: Final Calcutta VS RI Rifles

**T**HE venue of the final tie for the Beighton Cup was on the Calcutta ground when the home team met the Rifles. As was expected a very large attendance of spectators were present, and a fast and exciting game was witnessed, the result being a victory for the Military by three goals to love. The visitors were fully represented while, on the other hand, Calcutta were without the services of Coxon and Sidey, and this of course was a severe handicap and considerably

weakened the forward line. The Rifles had certainly the best of the exchanges during the first half, and at the interval led by three goals to nil, this being all, the scoring done during the match. After changing ends, the home forwards did most of the attacking, and it was only the brilliant goal-keeping of Edmondson that prevented Calcutta from scoring. Ismay had no fewer than half a dozen shots at the Irish goal, only to see Edmondson run out and save. The game started at 5.30, the Rifles playing with the wind in their favour.

**Y**ESTERDAY, before the Deputy magistrate of Alipore, one Nobin Naskar and three others, of Bullupnagore, were charged with having trespassed into the cutchery house of their zemindar and assaulted some employees therein. The complainant had recently brought rent suits against all the accused and got decrees in the execution of which they were ejected from their respective holdings. On this the accused were so enraged that they in a body committed the offence. They were sentenced to three months' rigorous imprisonment and to pay a fine of Rs 15 each..

(The author is a former Foreign Secretary.)

# Russia and China come closer

## WIDE ANGLE

SALMAN HAIDAR



Russian President Vladimir Putin, right, welcomes Chinese Foreign Minister Tang Jiaxuan in the Kremlin, on Sunday. — AP/PTI

## 100 YEARS AGO

### TODAY

MAY 6, 1901

#### CONVICTION OF REFRACTORY RYOTS

accelerated economic progress without suffering from any associated political turmoil.

Also, notwithstanding the close ties that it rapidly developed with the USA, China always remained careful in its dealings with the only remaining super power. Even as it acknowledged the realities of global power, it took a stand against hegemony and in favour of multi-polarity.

It tried to revitalise the precepts of Panch Sheel, the Five Principles of Peaceful Coexistence, especially as it applied to developing countries. It thus maintained a more traditional view of its international relationships despite its opening to the West. The Treaty that is being fashioned between these two countries will naturally reflect the realities of today. One can hardly expect it to have anything to do with the earlier pact between them. There will be a temptation to see more than meets the eye in the coming together of these two large and powerful countries.

Anti-US rhetoric, especially in China, will encourage such a belief. Some might even be tempted to hear an echo of the bloc politics of the past. But if there were even the most distant echo, many countries, including India, would have reason to be uncomfortable. However, the emerging strategic Sino-Russian partnership is unlikely to be directed against anyone or to disturb the present order.

It can be an encouragement to others to find their voice and to look to each other much more than they are accustomed to do. Inevitably, the question is raised whether there is any place for India in this emerging group. We already have an important strategic partnership arrangement with Russia. Is there any prospect of this developing into a strategic triangle?

A new grouping which would re-shape global politics? One can permit one's fancy to roam, but there is little to encourage such a belief. There is insufficient common ground between the three. Moreover, none of them has shown any wish to enter into an arrangement that would complicate the already convoluted international situation with which they have to cope.

end. As it sought to make common cause with its one-time enemy, Russia had less time for its traditional friends, including India. This was a disconcerting development and it took a couple of years and a change of personnel in top places in Moscow to restore the balance.

By contrast, China was cautious and measured in its actions. It pursued economic liberalisation before venturing into the sort of political liberalisation that could jeopardise party rule — indeed, it is yet to take anything like the plunge that Russia took with *glasnost* and *perestroika*. Caution has paid off, in that China has been able to enjoy the benefits of

WEDNESDAY, MAY 2, 2001

## THE SINO-RUSSIAN ENTENTE

MAKING COMMON CAUSE of a perceived need to overcome similar strategic adversities, Russia and China have now agreed to sign a friendship treaty next July. For post-Soviet Russia under the current presidency of Mr. Vladimir Putin, its historical exchanges with China have really spanned a full circle. The former Soviet Union's original treaty of amity with the fraternal Chinese communist state eroded rapidly after the onset of an ideological-political rift in their relationship. It finally lapsed in 1979, but the collapse of the Soviet state by the early 1990s did not immediately lead to any major review by its successor-state, Russia, regarding the ties with China. In fact, Russia's initial enthusiasm, under Mr. Boris Yeltsin's presidency, for a new strategic coexistence with the United States left the post-Soviet Kremlin leaders with few options about the rest of the world. China as also India (for altogether different reasons, though) did not really go off new Russia's diplomatic radar screen. However, it was not until recently that Mr. Putin's Russia managed to redefine its independent ties with India and China. The latest move by China and Russia for a fresh treaty, in particular, acquires meaning in a larger strategic context that is dominated by the U.S. in its aggressive pursuit of absolute security.

Russia's cheerful response to the Chinese initiative for a new document of amity should be seen in the light of a major joint statement of bonhomie that was issued at the conclusion of Mr. Putin's visit to Beijing last July. By then, the U.S. had sufficiently made clear its intentions of inventing and deploying fail-proof defences against possible missile attacks on it by 'rogue states' or countries of 'concern'. At the same time, Washington began a parallel diplomatic exercise, which is under way to this day, to assure both Russia and China that they were not at all being viewed in the category of 'rogue states'. Yet, Moscow and Beijing lost no time to figure

out (with some obvious congruence of self-interest) that the American plans for a national missile defence system could only destabilise the prevalent strategic balances across the world. It was in that context that Mr. Putin and his Chinese counterpart, Mr. Jiang Zemin, agreed to oppose the "unilateral military and security advantages" that the U.S. was beginning to seek. Their transparent gameplan was to start a campaign for a multipolar world. From that accord on a virtual strategic coordination to the present decision to blueprint a Sino-Russian treaty, the progress has been very quick indeed.

China's sense of strategic vulnerability is more acute than Russia's, although Moscow has made no secret of its current frustration with Washington. The new Sino-Russian entente engulfs their perception, too, that the old U.S.-Soviet Anti-Ballistic Missile (ABM) Treaty of 1972 cannot be trifled with in a manner evident in the American pronouncements. The present Bush administration in Washington has not only slighted the strategic value of the ABM Treaty but also identified China separately as a potential regional rival. The U.S.' plans for a theatre missile system in East Asia and the latest Sino-American tussle over a spy plane incident seem to have convinced Beijing of the urgency to woo Moscow as a friend in need. It is said that the prospective Sino-Russian treaty, reflecting a strategic partnership as distinct from an alliance, will lay down principles for border amity as also sovereign rights and for their fight against separatism within their respective frontiers and international terrorism. On an entirely different plane, Russia had entered into a strategic partnership with India last October. Consistent with the qualitative difference between the India-Russia ties, on one side, and the Moscow-Beijing link, on the other side, a question is whether the notion of a strategic triangle involving them will now gain renewed currency.

# Beijing rules out triangular alliance with Delhi, Moscow

By Vladimir Radyuhin

**MOSCOW, APRIL 30.** China supports gradual involvement of trilateral cooperation with Russia and India but rules out a triangular alliance, the Chinese Foreign Minister, Mr. Tang Jiaxuan, said after his talks with Russian lead-

ers on Sunday. "We should move step-by-step, in a planned, gradual manner towards identifying common interests," Mr. Tang, who is in Moscow to prepare a visit by the Chinese President, Mr. Jiang Jemin, in July, and finalise a new political treaty with Russia, to be signed at the coming summit, told presspersons.

Describing reports about Russia, China and India forming a triangle as untrue, he said "as far as I know, China has no such intention, neither does Russia, and it is unlikely that India has such plans."

Moscow's proposal for triangular cooperation between the three countries was reiterated by the Russian Foreign Ministry Chief Spokesman, Mr. Alexander Yako-

venko, in an interview to *The Hindu* over the weekend.

However, Mr. Tang came out against Government-level contacts in trilateral format 'at this stage.' "Time has not come yet to involve Government agencies in setting up some sort of mechanism (for trilateral cooperation)... At this stage, our foreign policy scholars could hold a symposium to discuss these issues," he said.

It was announced earlier this month that experts from Russia, India and China would meet in September in Moscow to discuss trilateral ties.

## Uzbekistan to join Shanghai Five

Uzbekistan, not Pakistan, was likely to join the Shanghai Five —

regional security grouping set up five years ago by Russia, China, Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan and Tajikistan, Mr. Tang said.

Uzbekistan's entry had been discussed at a meeting of the Foreign Ministers of the Shanghai Five in Moscow last week.

"We have reached a consensus on the issue," the Minister said. He did not reveal the nature of the consensus but it is understood that the five member-States of the Shanghai Five had approved Uzbekistan's admission.

Contrary to earlier reports, Pakistan's admission to Shanghai Five was not discussed in Moscow because Islamabad had not formally applied, Russian sources said.

THE HINDU

• 1 MAY 2001

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TANG VISIT / DRAFT FRIENDSHIP TREATY FINALISED

# Russia, China to sign pact

By Vladimir Radyuhin

**MOSCOW, APRIL 29.** Russia and China have announced plans to sign a new treaty this year and intensify their political dialogue.

The Russian President, Mr. Vladimir Putin, said the two countries had virtually no problems affecting bilateral relations. Receiving China's Foreign Affairs Minister, Mr. Tang Jiaxuan, in the Kremlin on Sunday, Mr. Putin said Russian-Chinese relations were developing vigorously in the positive vein and had shown very good dynamics.

The Russian leader also pointed out that trade with China had risen by 40 per cent, reaching a record volume of \$8 billions. Mr. Tang is in Moscow to prepare for a visit by the Chinese President, Mr. Jiang Zemin, in July, when the new treaty is expected to be signed.

The Foreign Ministers of Russia and China on Sunday finalised the new friendship treaty, signing a protocol on the agreed draft. It will be the first political treaty China has signed with any foreign country for years. After a friendship treaty with the former Soviet Union expired in 1979, China

vide direct military aid to each other in case of war.

Mr. Losyukov described Russian-Chinese relations as acquiring all traits of strategic partnership. In February, Russia and China signed a new defence cooperation accord which, according to some reports, may result in the doubling of Russian arms sales to China currently valued at about \$1 billion. Russia also appears to be lobbying for China's participation in the International Space Station (ISS) project.

Last week, the head of the Russian aerospace agency Rosaviasmos said preliminary talks were underway on this issue.

This year, Russian-Chinese contacts will see an unprecedented intensity. Mr. Putin will attend a Shanghai Five summit in China in mid-June, Mr. Jiang Zemin will pay an official visit to Moscow in July, and the two leaders will meet a third time at an Asia-Pacific Economic Council summit in China in the autumn. China's Prime Minister, Mr. Zhu Rongji, is also due to visit Moscow in September.



**The Russian President, Mr. Vladimir Putin (right), welcomes the Chinese Foreign Minister, Mr. Tang Jiaxuan, during their meeting in Moscow on Sunday. — AP**

made it a rule not to conclude any political pacts with other countries. However, last year Beijing itself proposed signing a new treaty with Russia after the U.S. declared China America's chief adversary in the 21st Century.

The new political treaty will define basic principles of Russian-Chinese relations in such areas as

frontiers, mutual support in matters of sovereignty, the fight against terrorism, extremism and separatism, according to the Russian Deputy Foreign Minister, Mr. Alexander Losyukov, who helped draft the pact. Defence experts said the treaty being drafted would not contain pledges to build a strategic alliance or pro-

# Russia may sell China arms

By Vladimir Radyuhin

**MOSCOW, FEB. 24.** Russia may sell strategic weapons and technologies to China if the United States goes ahead with its missile shield plan.

Commenting on this week's visit to Moscow by Mr. Zhang Wannian, deputy chairman of China's Central Military Council, the *Vremya-MN* daily said today that "the two countries are ready for cooperation in strategic armaments".

During his two-day visit to Russia, China's Number Two in the military establishment met all the top Russian leaders, including the President, Mr. Putin, and signed a defence agreement with the Russian Deputy Prime Minister, Mr. Ilya Klebanov.

Details of the accord and the talks were not revealed but the Russian Defence Minister, Marshal Igor Sergeev said after

his talks with Mr. Zhang Wannian that further arms deals could be reached during the forthcoming visit to Russia of the Chinese President, Mr. Jiang Zemin, scheduled for July. During the coming summit the two countries are also expected to sign a comprehensive friendship treaty.

Until now Russia defence supplies to China have been confined to non-strategic conventional weapons, but the American "Star Wars" could push Russia to beef up China's strategic potential, the *Vremya-MN* newspaper said.

"This will above all involve joint development and production of weapon systems capable of penetrating the American missile shield and destroy its space, air and ground-based components," the paper said.

The daily said the Russian President, Mr. Vladimir Putin, had given the green light for

closer defence cooperation with China last year, when he signed a joint statement with the Chinese President, Mr. Jiang Zemin, in Beijing criticising the U.S. missile defence plan.

"If Russia and China decide to move from words to deeds, they will give priority to joint development of various anti-satellite weapons (lasers, interception missiles), and improving the accuracy of Chinese nuclear missiles by linking them to the Russian Glonass space-based navigation system."

The *Vremya-MN* also said China could get Russian nuclear submarines with long-range cruise missiles, TU-22M3 nuclear-capable bombers and MIG-31 long-range fighters. However, today's report may be part of the war of words between Moscow and Washington in the run up to their talks on the U.S. missile shield and the fate of the 1972 Anti-Ballistic Missile Treaty.

THE HINDU

25 FEB 2001

# China's presence in Iraq disturbing: Bush

By Sridhar Krishnaswami 19-16

WASHINGTON, FEB. 23. The President, Mr. George W. Bush, has said that he is disturbed by reports of China assisting Iraq to have a more sophisticated and effective defence. "It is troubling that they (the Chinese) be involved in helping Iraq develop a system that will endanger our pilots," Mr. Bush told reporters at the White House.

It was Mr. Bush's first full-fledged press conference after assuming office last month and the President touched on a wide range of domestic and international issues. "We are concerned about the Chinese presence in Iraq," Mr. Bush said, adding that his administration was sending the "appropriate response" to Beijing. The State Department said no reply had been received so far from Beijing in this regard.

Iraq is expected to be high on the agenda of the talks between Mr. Bush and the visiting British Prime Minister, Mr. Tony Blair, tomorrow. Mr. Blair is in Canada today on a State

visit. He will have separate meetings with the Secretary of State, Gen. Colin Powell, prior to the latter's departure to West Asia and the President at Camp David. The Bush-Blair talks take place ahead of the Iraqi Foreign Minister's visit to the U.N. next week. The Secretary-General, Mr. Kofi Annan, will try and persuade Baghdad to cooperate on weapons inspectors returning to the country. Iraq has said that this is not on the agenda of the New York meetings slated for February 26 and February 27.

Britain and the U.S. are perhaps the only major powers among the permanent members of the Security Council in favour of the Security Council sanctions on Iraq continuing. Now Washington and London are toying with the idea of "smart sanctions" or punitive measures that will primarily target Mr. Saddam Hussein but spare the people of Iraq.

Mr. Bush also spoke about Gen. Powell's upcoming visit to West Asia, which among other things is to consult with allies on the Iraq policy. "The Secretary of State is going to listen to our allies as to how best to affect a policy, the

primary goal of which will be to say to Saddam Hussein, "We won't tolerate you developing weapons of mass destruction and we expect you to leave your neighbours alone," the President remarked.

The President spoke of Iraq on the same day that American and British planes hit anti-aircraft artillery sites in Iraq near Mosul for the second time in less than a week. This time around, the Pentagon is calling the strikes "more routine" and less extensive than what it was last Friday. "The strike is consistent with the way we have been doing business for the last couple of years," a spokesman for the Pentagon said. Meanwhile, Mr. Bush has expressed satisfaction with the effectiveness of last week's air strikes. The Pentagon has maintained that less than half of the targeted radars were damaged. "We had two missions. One was to send a clear message to Saddam. The other was to degrade the capacity of Saddam to injure our pilots. I believe we succeeded in both those missions," Mr. Bush responded.

THE HINDU

24 FEB 2001

# China backs Russia's missile plan

PRESS TRUST OF INDIA

BEIJING, Feb. 22. - China today cautiously welcomed the Russian proposal for a European missile defence system.

"We maintain any proposal that is conducive to safeguard the global strategic balance on the basis of abiding by the ABM treaty and promoting the common security of all countries merits serious discussion and study," Chinese foreign ministry spokesman Mr Zhu Bangzao said.

On whether China would also establish its own missile defence system following US plans to deploy national missile defence system, Mr Zhu said "China will not engage in an arms race." "At the same time, it will take necessary measures to ensure its own national security."

China has taken note of the Russian proposals. "Without the details, it is difficult for us to comment", Mr Zhu said. He, however, reserved comments on the Russian missile defence proposal to the USA.

The Russian proposal calls for a defensive system with mobile elements placed at points most threatened by missile attack. Beijing and Moscow share common Opposition to the US NMD programme saying it makes them more vulnerable.

Meanwhile, Russian defence minister Mr Igor Sergeyev on Tuesday offered a proposal to visiting Nato general secretary Mr George Robertson for protecting Europe from possible missile threats.

Mr Zhu said vice chairman of the Chinese central military commission Gen Zhang Wannian had discussions with the Russian side on the NMD in Moscow. Gen Zhang discussed bilateral issues and ways to further promote the Sino-Russian strategic partnership with President Mr Vladimir Putin, Prime Minister Mr Kasiyanov and defence minister Mr Igor Sergeyev.

Mr Zhu defended the Sino-Russian military cooperation, saying China's purchase of weapons from Russia was not aimed at a third country but for self-defence.

## N Korea on US deal

North Korea said today it would not observe "indefinitely" its agreement with the USA not to launch long-range missiles, reports Reuters from Tokyo.

"We will not remain a passive onlooker to the things which only hamstring our scientific and technological development," a Korean News Agency quoted a foreign ministry spokesman as saying.

THE STATESMAN

23 FEB 2001

# Europe watching Sino-Russian camaraderie

By Batuk Gathani

BRUSSELS, JAN. 19. European analysts of geopolitical trends are displaying much interest in the final shape of the proposed first post-Cold War political treaty Russia and China are negotiating.

The treaty is rated as the first "positive development" after both the countries signed the ill-fated 'peace and friendship pact' in the heydays of the Cold War.

With the advent of the Bush administration in the U.S. this week and in the background of its avowed policy of building a missile defence shield, Russia and China are seen again united, since the collapse of the Soviet Union and end of Cold War 11 years ago.

In major European capitals, the two countries are seen as sharing a new-found commonality of purpose and strategy to counter American role in world affairs. For example, both the powers oppose the new U.S. administration's proposals for building a missile defence shield.

Though a senior Chinese official was quoted as saying that the proposed treaty would be 'nothing special', most Europeans remain perplexed and uncertain about its political and strategic consequences. The treaty could be signed in the middle of this year during the Chinese President, Mr. Jiang Zemin's visit to Russia.

The first initiative to accelerate the pace was taken when the Russian President, Mr. Vladimir Putin, visited China in July. In December, Foreign Ministers on both sides talked about "high level of cooperation in key spheres". Russia is in the process of consolidating its 'East Asia' policy highlighted by Mr. Putin's recent visits to China, North Korea and Japan.

As China is in the process of modernising its economy and defence capability, it is also keen to reduce its dependence on the U.S.

Analysts, however, note that Russia and China have yet to 'clear up' lingering uncertainties over border disputes. Both share common perceptions about the spread and consequences of Islamic fundamentalism within their borders and also in the Central Asian region, where it is widely rated as a destabilising factor. Russia is also passing through an evolutionary phase as it tries to rebuild and modernise its traditional Soviet-style economy. Russia has been selling China weapon systems which include advanced fighter jets, submarines, anti-ship missiles worth billions of dollars every year.

The E.U. has larger investment, trading and defence stake in China than Russia. Germany and France are leading suppliers of key defence equipment and systems. The E.U.'s trade with China is four times more than Indo-E.U. trade which hovers around \$ 19 billions. The current volume of Sino-Euro trade is likely to exceed \$

60 billions. China has emerged as the sixth largest trading partner of the E.U. India sadly lags behind at the 19th rank below Turkey and Malaysia. China's mercantile profile in the E.U. has enlarged at an impressive pace as more E.U. companies are now looking towards China to launch their new ventures in Asia.

The general view in the European business circles is that the decision-making process in China is more pragmatic and faster. Indian business and industry also need to put in more effort to sell it as a trading and investment base, because in the final analysis India has more plus points — ranging from wide use of English to commonality of legal, banking and mercantile institutions with their European counterparts.

On the Sino-Indian front, the visit of Mr. Li Peng, former Chinese Premier and current Chairman of the National People's Congress and number two in the Chinese political hierarchy has evoked some interest in the European media, with prospects of 'marked improvement' in the relations. This is happening after

"decades bedevilled by suspicion and intrigue" and as one commentator puts it "China's evident disdain for India's pretensions".

The European Commission has proposed closer political and economic ties with China, highlighted by annual E.U.-China summits to boost European trade and investments in China. India has now acquired the same status.

A recent E.U.'s policy paper on China notes that "economic reform has changed the structure of China's economy beyond recognition". Collective, private and foreign-funded companies produce and sell will over half of China's industrial goods.

While over 80 per cent of China's industrial output was subject to mandatory planning, only 10 years ago, the figure is now 10 per cent. China's microeconomic performance since the launching of reforms "can only be described as remarkable". But, the E.U.'s investment profile in China is still modest and only represents less than half the investment of either the U.S. or Japanese companies.

THE HINDU

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