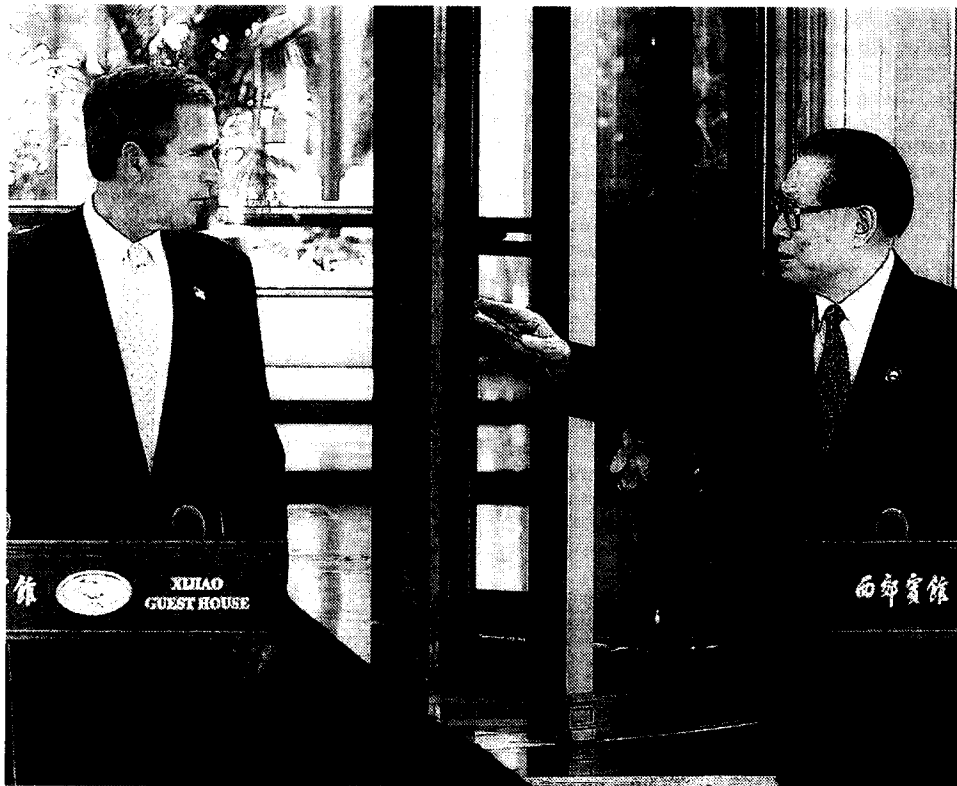


# Wary dragon



Friends or foes? Or, a bit of both?

STRATEGIC RELATIONSHIPS in the world are still evolving after the cataclysmic events of September 11 in the United States. With "Tora Bora" dominating the airwaves and the headlines until recently, the American decision to pull out from the 1972 Anti-Ballistic Missile (ABM) Treaty has hardly created a ripple.

That the U.S. President, Mr. George W. Bush, intended to pull out of the Treaty (signed with the then Soviet Union) had been made known by American officials. That it would come while the "war" in Afghanistan was going on came as a surprise.

Whether the Russians have acquiesced in the withdrawal or not, the U.S. decision has dealt a telling blow to the international arms control regime.

Any future American exhortation to sign the nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty (NPT) or the Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty (CTBT) or future arms control measures will only be seen as two-faced.

Just when the rest of the world was thinking that "coalition-building" in the American war against Afghanistan marked the end of unilateralist policies under Mr. Bush, the decision on the ABM Treaty has ended such a thought process.

The Americans will do as they please. If their interests require them to be seen building coalitions they will do so, if their interests require them to withdraw from treaties they endeavoured in the past to sign, they will do so.

A new and more dangerous world order is evolving after September 11. The checks

*The Chinese are very concerned about the American decision to abandon the ABM Treaty... Beijing and Washington also differ in their perceptions on terrorism, writes Amit Baruah.*

and balances which existed in the world before the collapse of the Soviet Union are being left by the wayside as the Americans move to secure their nation against future threats.

There is little doubt that given the state of its economy, Russia is hardly in a position to hold its own against the Americans. The Russian President, Mr. Vladimir Putin, made spirited remarks in the past about the need to preserve the ABM Treaty — but when it came to the crunch Moscow had little to say.

The Chinese, on the other hand, are very concerned about the American decision to abandon the ABM Treaty. Beijing has its own strategic concerns vis-a-vis the missile shield proposed by the U.S. and has repeatedly opposed American withdrawal from the Treaty.

Speaking after the U.S. announced its decision, the Chinese President, Mr. Jiang Zemin, said it was of "great importance" to maintain the international arms control and disarmament regime. China, he said, was ready to work with other countries in

the world to make its due effort to uphold world peace and stability.

In Beijing, a Foreign Ministry spokeswoman said: "China is not in favour of missile defence systems. China worries about the negative impact... we think the relevant sides should seek through a constructive dialogue a solution that safeguards the global strategic balance and doesn't harm international efforts at arms control and disarmament."

The official *People's Daily*, however, was forthright in its criticism. "The spread of the news (about withdrawing from the ABM Treaty) has stunned the world. This not only represents the U.S. withdrawal from an important international agreement for the first time since the end of World War II in 1945, but also implies the disintegration of the international mechanism for prohibiting strategic defence that has continued for almost 30 years."

In a commentary, the paper said: "... it is only three months after the occurrence of the September 11 incident when the international community is helping the U.S. in winning the Afghanistan war, the U.S. once again turns a deaf ear to the just voice of the international community.

"This cannot but once again generate a deep impression on the people about the U.S. international behaviour which is full of hegemonic air (sic)."

The paper was critical of Mr. Putin and said the U.S. decision had "discredited" the Russian leader, who had devoted considerable effort to improving relations with the U.S. "A reasonable explanation is that the Bush administration's present decision to choose withdrawal from the ABM (Treaty) actually is, in itself, the result of the U.S.-Russian anti-missile negotiation since the previous six months, as well as the result of the new development of U.S.-Russian relations after the September 11 incident," it said.

China and the U.S. also differ in their anti-terrorist perceptions. Beijing is piqued that the U.S. does not see its separatist problem in Xinjiang as "East Turkestan" terrorism.

Beijing has also made it clear it does not wish to see a long-term U.S. presence in Afghanistan even as it wants the Americans if not to support then at least ignore Chinese action against "East Turkestan terrorists".

China, as a huge economy, is a major player on the global stage. As its economic clout grows, so will its desire to play a bigger role in strategic affairs. Given the fact that the Chinese and the Americans are major trading partners, it remains to be seen whether there will be a real collision between their interests.

Beijing cannot but be aware of America's growing clout and the new assertiveness of Washington in world affairs since terrorists struck in New York and Washington. Is a long-term clash between the U.S. and China inevitable?

23 DEC 2001

# China slams U.S. trade curbs

By Bill Savadove <sup>W-10</sup>

BEIJING: The new WTO member China blasted proposed U.S. limits on steel imports and a cut in China's textile export quota on Friday, urging its second biggest trading partner to mend its 'mistaken' ways.

"Such a barrier would run counter to the policy of trade liberalisation advocated by the WTO," the Xinhua news agency quoted Foreign Trade Ministry spokeswoman Gao Yan as saying three days after China formally joined the World Trade Organisation (WTO).

"China has always objected to any form of trade protectionism and is unwilling to see normal international trade disturbed by improper trade policies and measures," Ms Gao said.

Last week, the U.S. International Trade Commission recommended increased import tariffs and quota restrictions for up to four years to help the struggling American steel industry regain its footing.

The trade panel will deliver its recommendations to President George W. Bush next Wednesday. That will begin a 60 to 75-day period for Mr Bush to make a final decision on what, if any, import restrictions to impose.

China hoped the United States would consider the views of other countries and handle the issue 'properly,' Ms Gao said.

<sup>W-10</sup> Besides China, top steel suppliers to the United States which could be affected include the European Union, Canada, South Korea, Japan, Mexico, Turkey, Brazil, Russia, Taiwan, South Africa, Argentina and Ukraine. Although the row predates China's WTO entry, Beijing had previously shown concern about a U.S. investigation into whether foreign imports posed a threat to its domestic producers.

The foreign trade ministry also labelled as unacceptable what it said was a recent cut in China's textile export quota due to allegations from the United States of illegal transshipment by Chinese firms, Mr Xinhua said in a separate report. The United States made the cut — which will affect Chinese goods worth \$28 million — without presenting clear evidence, spokeswoman Ms Gao was quoted as saying.

"The action by the U.S. government is a violation of the bilateral textile agreement and is unacceptable to the Chinese government," she said. "In the interests of Sino-U.S. economic and trade relations, China requests the United States correct its mistaken act."

However, U.S. trade officials said the action was consistent with the bilateral agreement, which allows the United States to reduce China's quota by three times the amount of illegal transshipments. (Reuters)

THE TIMES OF INDIA

15 DEC 2001

# China may allow FBI agents in Beijing

Reuters

BEIJING, Dec. 6. — China may allow the USA to post FBI agents in Beijing to bolster Sino-US cooperation in the war against terror, a US envoy said today.

"The Chinese government has agreed to give positive consideration to the establishment of a legal attache office in our Beijing embassy," the US state department special envoy for counter-terrorism, General Francis Taylor, told a news conference in Beijing.

"We anticipate posting FBI personnel to that office if approved, which will greatly improve the efficiency of our law enforcement cooperation," Gen Taylor said after two days of counter-terrorism talks with Chinese officials.

Gen Taylor said the attache office would be similar to Federal Bureau of Investigation offices set up in other countries, including Hungary and Hong Kong, and would facilitate information sharing and following leads in investigations.

Meanwhile, Islamabad has been given a list of six more Pakistani nuclear scientists by the CIA to investigate their suspected links with Osama bin Laden's Al-Qaida network.

The CIA has furnished six more names of Pakistan's nuclear scientists to probe their links with bin Laden as well as their association with two other retired nuclear scientists who were currently under detention, a report by Pakistan's *Online* news agency published in a local daily today said.

THE STATE DEPARTMENT

7-10-11

# Proliferation an issue with China: U.S.

By Sridhar Krishnaswami

WASHINGTON, JULY 28. The Bush administration has made it known in plain terms that while the United States' relations with China are important, Beijing will continue to be pressed on issues such as proliferation.

"...China's performance on proliferation is mixed. And we're going to continue to press China because so much of peace throughout the world depends on different nations not acquiring weapons of mass destruction and technology that is given as a result of weakness or mixed results on proliferation," the White House spokesman, Mr. Ari Fleischer, said on Friday. The White House was asked to comment on whether the administration had protested against China's continued export of missiles and related technology to Pakistan and other countries.

"The administration firmly opposes all Chinese transfers of missiles and weapons of mass destruction related technology to other countries. Non-proliferation is a key element in the United States' relations with China and the U.S will continue to make this an important topic in our discussions with China...The United States expects China to live up to its non-proliferation commitments and we will continue to press China to adhere to those policies," Mr. Fleischer said. The spokesman, however, did not refer to any particular country as the recipient of China's technologies and hardware. Generally, Washington has been quite wary of Beijing's dealings with such countries as Pakistan, Iran, Iraq and North Korea. In the recent past, the Bush administration has voiced concern about the possible military co-operation between China and Iraq, something that has been played down by Beijing.

China's track record on proliferation has been of concern even as there is the feeling in some quarters that the Clinton administration did not sufficiently press Beijing on this issue due to the so-called strategic engagement policy. During the Clinton period,

intelligence agencies had pointed out Chinese transgressions in the realm of nuclear weapons and missiles technologies — even shipping of missiles and components to countries like Pakistan. But the Clinton administration invariably did the routine investigation with no final determination.

Non-proliferation is on the Secretary of State, Gen. Colin Powell's talks with his counterpart in China, Mr. Tang Jiaxuan. Reports from Beijing speak of intense and serious discussions between the two senior officials. The U.S. is concerned that China may not be fully abiding by the November 2000 agreement on the export of missiles and related technology. Gen. Powell, prior to his arrival in China today, made the point that China's compliance with the November 2000 accord had been "mixed, some success and some areas that need improving" and that he would pursue this with the Chinese authorities. Senior Bush administration officials have not publicly commented on whether the U.S. felt that Beijing had transferred missile technology to countries in the suspect list.

After a rocky period in bilateral relations, the U.S. and China appear poised to enter a new phase that will hopefully be devoid of rhetorics. Relations hit an extremely bad patch this year after the April 1 spy plane collision with a Chinese plane over the South China seas. And then the President, Mr. George W Bush went along with an elaborate arms package for Taiwan, saying the U.S. would do "whatever it takes" to defend Taiwan in the event of a Chinese attack.

Washington refrained from taking sides in China's bid for the 2008 Olympics. The Republican administration has also said that it will co-operate in Beijing's bid to enter the World Trade Organisation; and China went along with the U.S. position on Iraq sanctions at the United Nations. The stabilisation of U.S.— China relations is critical not just for bilateral relations but for the Asia-Pacific as well.



Beijing clears hurdles to improve ties with Washington after months of tension

# China ready for smooth Powell visit

FROM PAUL ECKERT

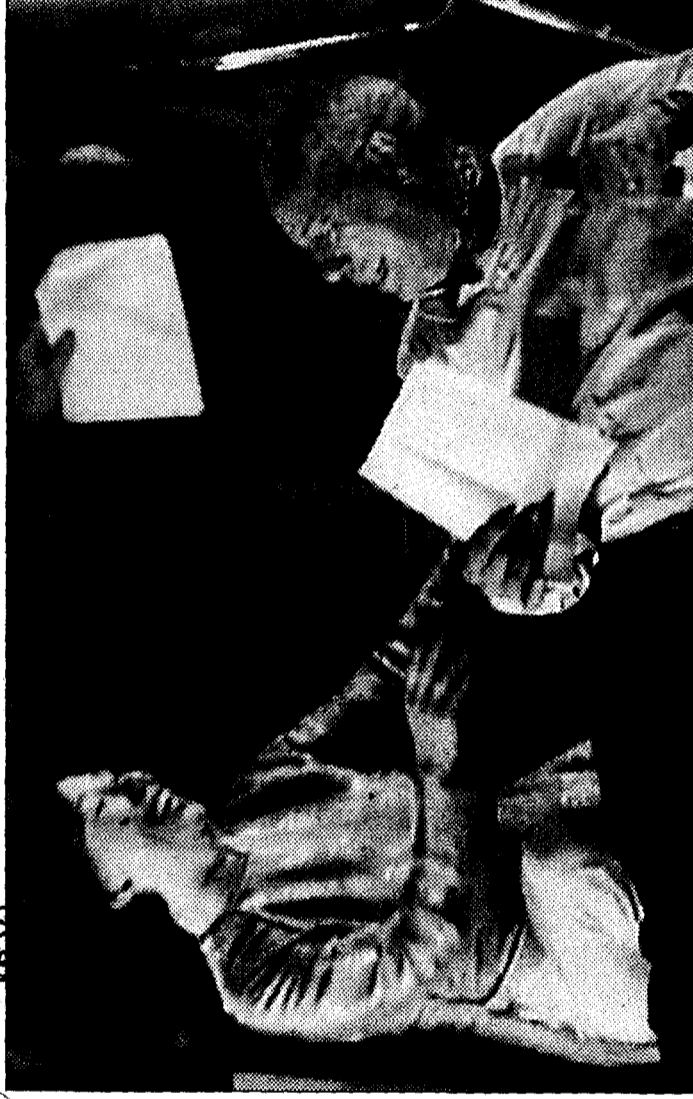
Beijing, July 27 (Reuters): US secretary of state Colin Powell flies into Beijing tomorrow after strenuous Chinese efforts to remove obstacles to smooth meetings with China's leaders and an improvement in ties after months of tension.

Powell's 24-hour stay in Beijing follows a flurry of releases and expulsions of US-linked Chinese scholars whose arrest and conviction on spying charges had clouded bilateral relations.

Hours after Powell held talks in Hanoi with Chinese foreign minister Tang Jiaxuan, China said it would give medical parole to two scholars, permanent US residents Gao Zhan and Qin Guanguang.

The expulsions began on Wednesday when academic Li Shaomin, a US citizen convicted of spying for Taiwan, was put on a flight to San Francisco just before the Powell-Tang talks on the sidelines of a regional security meeting. The three scholars were the most prominent on a list of Chinese-born, US-based detainees who Washington had been pressing Beijing to free for several months.

Beijing-based diplomats saw the release as a move by China to ensure smooth meetings between Powell and President Jiang Zemin, Premier Zhu Rongji and



US secretary of state Colin Powell and Japanese foreign minister Makiko Tanaka sing during a dinner in Hanoi on Thursday. (AFP)

other Chinese leaders. Powell's talks are designed to prepare for a visit to China in October by President George W. Bush.

Bush got off to a bad start with China because of the scholars and the April 1 collision of a US spy plane and a Chinese fighter jet, which led to an 11-day diplomatic

standoff that inflamed nationalist sentiment in both countries.

Bush then riled China by announcing a robust arms sales package for Taiwan and vowing to do "whatever it takes" to defend the island. But barring fresh incidents, diplomats predicted smooth sailing in bilateral ties at

least through Bush's trip to Shanghai for an Asia-Pacific economic summit, followed by a state visit in Beijing. "You can never rule out unpredictable incidents, but it does look like the two countries are striving to keep things on an even keel," said a Western diplomat in Beijing.

"There are lingering problems like missile defence or Taiwan, but neither requires immediate action, which reduces the likelihood of friction," the diplomat said. In addition to discussing the jailed Chinese scholars and proliferation, Tang and Powell focused on broad ties in their one-hour talks in Hanoi, which Tang described as a "prelude" to their meeting in Beijing tomorrow.

Both emerged from the meeting sounding upbeat, with Powell declaring an "upswing" in relations and Tang speaking of "new opportunities for progress".

The two diplomats did not discuss Bush's plan to build a missile defence shield, which China stridently opposes, and Tang did not attack the plan at the Asean Regional Forum in Hanoi. Powell told reporters he would explain the controversial US programme in Beijing. The US, while welcoming the scholars' release, has made clear it wants to discuss broader human rights issues.

After Gao and Qin were released, Bush said: "Perhaps China is beginning to realise that as she begins to deal with Western nations she has to make better decisions on human rights."

Galvanised by the scholars' release, human rights groups have stepped up lobbying on behalf of jailed Chinese dissidents, including Xu Wenli, 59, who was jailed for 13 years in 1988.

# Non-proliferation on Sino-US agenda

PRESS TRUST OF INDIA

BEIJING, July 28. — In an important breakthrough in Sino-US relations, China today "agreed in principle" to hold expert-level consultations on non-proliferation and resume dialogue on the sensitive issue of human rights.

The decisions were taken during an official-level meeting between Chinese foreign minister Mr Tang Jiaxuan and the visiting US secretary of state, General Colin Powell, Xinhua news agency reported.

"The two sides agreed in principle to hold an expert consultation on non-proliferation, and details will be discussed through diplomatic channels," it said.

The decision on non-proliferation follows strong US objections to Chinese transfers of missiles and weapons of mass destruction-related technology to countries like Pakistan.

"The two sides agreed in principle to resume dialogue on human rights between China and the US, and details will be discussed through dip-

omatic channels," the report said.

Gen. Powell's visit to Beijing comes days after Beijing deported two US-based scholars following convictions on charges of spying for Taiwan. Most received 10-year sentences.

He is the highest level official to hold talks with the Chinese after months of tension that began with the 1 April collision of a US spy plane and a Chinese jet over South China Sea. The US crew was held for 11 days.

The two sides described the meeting as "very positive and constructive," and held that the two countries should take the opportunity to jointly develop constructive cooperative relationship.

At today's meeting, Beijing and Washington also decided to hold the 14th session of the Sino-US Joint Economic Committee meeting this September, and the Sino-US Joint Commission on Commerce and Trade meeting at proper time this year.

The two sides agreed in principle to hold a special



The US secretary of state, Mr Co 'i in Powell (left) greeted by the Chinese President, Mr J 'i ang Zemin, in Beijing's Great Hall of the People on Saturday. — AP/PTI

meeting on enhancing consultation mechanism on military maritime safety, the report said.

"The US seeks no enmity with China but hopes to maintain good ties with it, he

said, adding as two great national interests and resolve disputes," Gen. Powell was quoted as saying.

The two sides also discussed China's accession to the WTO, human rights, non-proliferation, energy, environmental protection, and other international and regional issues, the report said.

This is the second meeting between Mr Tang and Gen. Powell in four days. The two leaders had met for the first time in Hanoi on 25 July on the sidelines of the Asean Regional Forum meeting.

"The two countries are facing important opportunities as well as challenges in developing bilateral relations," Mr Tang said, noting Chinese President Mr Jiang Zemin and US President Mr George W Bush will meet in Shanghai in October this year and Mr Bush will visit China later.

Although the two countries have differences, they have important common interests, the Chinese foreign minister said, adding both countries

enjoy broad prospects in expanding exchanges and cooperation, and should view bilateral relations in a comprehensive perspective, handle their differences carefully and appropriately.

Gen. Powell said he was in the city to promote friendly bilateral ties, and Mr Bush too was looking forward to his visit to Beijing.

Mr Tang pointed out the Taiwan issue was the most important and most sensitive core question in Sino-US relations, and the proper handling of the issue was the key to smooth development of bilateral ties.

Gen. Powell said the Bush administration, just as earlier governments, will abide by the "one-China" policy, and handle the Taiwan issue on the basis of principles of the three US-China joint communiqués.

Meanwhile, Gen. Powell also held talks with the Chinese President today. He told Mr Jiang Zemin that he was "enormously impressed" at the changes brought about in the country since his last visit.

Sino-US

# Doubting dragon

g.w. us

10-16 28/10

**T**HE KEY word for China is "temporary". As American forces begin operations in Afghanistan through Pakistan and Central Asia, China, while extending support to the "war" against terrorism, is concerned about the nature and outcome of this conflict.

Mr. Zhu Bangzao, spokesman for the Chinese Ministry of Foreign Affairs, briefing reporters last week in Shanghai on a meeting between the U.S. President, Mr. George W. Bush, and his Chinese counterpart, Mr. Jiang Zemin, said Mr. Bush had told Mr. Jiang that American military presence in the region was "only temporary".

China, for all the public support it is extending, will be extremely unhappy at a long-term American presence in Afghanistan, just across the border from its Xingjiang province, largely inhabited by the Uighur Muslim minority.

Mr. Zhu, to another question, made it plain that a "fundamental solution" to the Afghan issue lay with the Afghan people. Any future Government in Afghanistan, he said, should be broadbased and represent all ethnic groups. He also made it clear that a resolution of the Afghan questions should have "recognition" from the international community and must give "full play" to the role of the United Nations — a point stressed by Mr. Jiang in his talks with Mr. Bush.

The problem for Beijing, along with other regional players, is that no one is quite sure about the course of the military operations in Afghanistan.

So far, while there has been lots of "noise", there is no broad picture of what kind of Government will replace the Taliban. Or, even, the length and scope of the American military campaign in Afghanistan.

The Chinese, clearly, have played a role in the statement issued by last week's Asia-Pacific Economic Cooperation (APEC) summit in Shanghai. Language used by Chinese Foreign Ministry officials has found its way into the APEC statement on counter-terrorism. "(APEC) Leaders consider the murderous deeds as well as other terrorist acts in all forms



Are the smiles for the cameras only?

*China will be extremely unhappy at a long-term American presence in Afghanistan, says Amit Baruah.*

and manifestations, committed wherever, whenever and by whomsoever as a profound threat to peace, prosperity and security of all people, of all faiths, of all nations," the statement said.

Beijing, which took the lead in the formation of the Shanghai Cooperation Organisation (SCO) in June, has made it plain that there should be no double standards in addressing the issue of terrorism.

The SCO, it may be recalled, issued a strong denunciation of terrorism, separatism and extremism.

During a meeting with the Russian President, Mr. Vladimir Putin, in Shanghai last week, Mr. Jiang said a "sole standard" should be applied in

fighting terrorism and that "all forms" of terrorism should be "opposed and crushed".

According to the Chinese version of the meeting, both Presidents agreed that Chechen and "separatist-minded East Turkestan (Xingjiang)" terrorist forces were part of "global terrorism" and should be firmly opposed and smashed.

It's there in black and white. Separatism in Xingjiang by a section of the Uighur minority is part and parcel of "global terrorism" and must be dealt with as such.

So, if the Chinese support the U.S. action in Afghanistan against Al-Qaeda and the Taliban, a quid pro quo in the form of passive acquiescence, by the Americans in the Chinese battle against the "East

Turkestan" terrorists, is called for.

In the present scenario, the Chinese-led SCO, which groups Russia, Tajikistan, Kyrgyzstan, Uzbekistan and Kazakhstan, is not providing Beijing with much leverage. Crucially, the U.S., which now plays a dominant role in the region, had no role to play in the SCO.

A recent report in *The Asian Wall Street Journal* said: "A diplomatic realignment brought about by the hijack-attacks has left the Shanghai Cooperation Organisation as an onlooker, even though its chief mission is the fight against terrorism.

"At Beijing's repeated and urgent insistence, the group finally held one meeting, on October 11 in the Kyrgyzstan capital of Bishkek, producing a statement that didn't specifically mention the attacks against the U.S. and mostly repeated pledges to cooperate against terrorism.

"Plans to set up a permanent office in Bishkek to coordinate intelligence sharing and joint police operations among member-states of the Shanghai group have yet to get off the ground after two years of discussion. It should open sometime late next year..." the report added.

In Shanghai recently, a Chinese spokesman, however, said Mr. Jiang and Mr. Putin exchanged views on the SCO and an organisation charter would be put forward soon.

There is little doubt that China wants to be "in the picture" in Central Asia as the Americans fly their planes and drop bombs in Afghanistan. China, which has strong strategic interests in the region, also looks upon Central Asia as a major source of energy.

While China has agreed to cooperate with the U.S. in the field of intelligence, it has strong reservations about the unilateralist nature of the Afghan military campaign in a region strewn with strategic sensitivities.

Beijing would be happy if the Americans ended their "war" quickly, left the Afghans to form a Government and left the region "open" as before. On "East Turkestan", China would be happy if it could "smash" the terrorists there without much protest from the U.S. and the international community.

# China to try US engineer for spying

Beijing, October 20

CHINA WILL try an American power industry consultant on spying and bribery charges on Monday, his legal adviser said.

The trial comes after a meeting between US President George W. Bush and Chinese leader Jiang Zemin apparently failed to win Fong Fuming's release.

Fong's family had hoped China would set him free as a goodwill gesture around the time of the Bush-Jiang meeting, which came yesterday on the sidelines of the Asian Pacific Economic Cooperation forum in Shanghai.

Bush reportedly raised US concerns over human rights during the talks, but there was no word on whether any individual cases were discussed.

Today, Jerome Cohen, a New York lawyer who is advising the Fong family, confirmed the trial date. Family members claim that Fong, 66, is innocent and have been meeting with US State Department officials and members of Congress to apply pressure for his release.

Beijing more often than not times such releases to sweeten the atmosphere for important meetings with US officials.

China says it indicted Fong on September 14 in Beijing. It has accused him of illegally obtaining 43 secret Government documents.

AP

THE HINDUSTAN TIMES

21 OCT 2001

# Bush, Jiang shake hands on war efforts

By Robin Wright and Edwin Chen

SHANGHAI: U.S. President George W. Bush declared on Friday that China stands "side by side with the American people" during the U.S. military strikes in Afghanistan against Osama bin Laden and his followers.

At a news conference after conducting an initial meeting with Chinese President Jiang Zemin, Mr Bush told reporters that he was satisfied with Beijing's cooperation on intelligence-gathering and in pursuing the financial assets of terrorists. "There was no hesitation; there was no doubt they'd stand with our people during this terrible time," Mr Bush said. "We have a common understanding of the magnitude of the threat posed by international terrorism. All civilised nations must join together to defeat this threat. And I believe that the United States and China can accomplish a

lot," Mr Bush said.

He also said that the U.S. and China might not always agree, but "we will always deal with our differences in a spirit of mutual respect." He said he also told Mr Jiang that the counter-terrorism war "must never be used as an excuse to persecute minorities." For his part, Mr Jiang told reporters that he was "pleased to note that recently, there's been an improvement in our ties." The Chinese President told reporters that he and Mr Bush had reached a consensus on terrorism and U.S.-China ties.

The Bush-Jiang meeting here signalled a new era

relations that emphasises cooperation on the war against terrorism and formally puts to rest some tensions. Relations between



U.S. President George W. Bush and Chinese President Jiang Zemin in Shanghai on Friday.

Beijing and Washington had been difficult in the wake of the accidental bombing of the Chinese embassy in Belgrade two years ago and the emergency landing of a U.S. spy plane on a southern Chinese island this year.

Earlier, Mr Bush and Mr Jiang met in a conference room in the Western Suburb Guest House, one-time home of a Shanghai textile magnate that now serves as a private guest house for China's leaders.

The visit reflects the impact of

the Sept. 11 attacks in transforming American foreign policy. Just weeks ago, the Bush administration labelled China a "strategic competitor." The president served notice that the U.S. would do "whatever it takes" to protect Taiwan, which Beijing considers a rebel province.

Now China, which has closed its comparatively small border with Afghanistan, is firmly in the camp of allies fighting the war against terrorism. Besides sweeping security measures, China also addressed new concerns about anthrax by setting up checks in postal sorting rooms and at border crossings, Chinese officials announced.

This is Mr Bush's first trip abroad since the terror attacks. His only other trip to China was a six-week tour in 1975 to visit his father, who was then ambassador to China. (LAT-WFP Svc)

# U.S. move on war worries China

By Amit Baruah

**SINGAPORE, SEPT. 25.** The United States decision to take the war against terrorism into Afghanistan has raised concerns in China which has strategic interests in the Central Asian region.

China's "oil security" is one such strategic concern. The official Chinese *People's Daily* newspaper quoted Mr. Zhu Xingshan, deputy director in the Energy Research Centre, as saying that the September 11 terrorist attacks had provided the U.S. a "pretext" to "enter" Central Asia. Mr. Zhu said the American entry would "complicate" an "originally simple" environment.

This, he said, will be of far-reaching significance for the supply of oil to China. "China has to reconsider its strategy of oil security and stave off risks..." he said, pointing out that Beijing imported 46.2 per cent of its total oil requirements from West Asia in 1999. As much as 64 per cent of all China's oil purchases passed through the Straits of Malacca.

According to Mr. Zhu, in view of these "insecure factors", China had thought in terms of laying pipelines through Central Asia and an agreement for this had been reached with Russia. But since the

terrorist attacks, some "changes" may have to be made, he was quoted as saying. Countries like Tajikistan and Uzbekistan are well-placed to play a frontline role in the American campaign against terrorism and the forthright comments made by the Chinese official lay bare the issues of concern to Beijing.

Writing in the *International Herald Tribune* today, Mr. Robyn Lim, a scholar of international relations, argued that China had concerns which extended beyond Afghanistan.

"While China shares Russian fears of a fundamentalist spillover into Central Asia and Xinjiang, it is willing to dally with the Taliban to try and limit support for the Uighurs. China will not support any infringement on Afghanistan's sovereignty, mostly because it worries about precedents being set for Tibet and Taiwan," he argued.

"China must also be concerned that Pakistan is starting to rebuild its alliance with the United States. The original alliance in the early 1950s was pointed at China as well as the Soviet Union.

In particular, Beijing would not wish to see permanent U.S. access to Pakistan's Indian Ocean ports," Mr. Lim added. In a separate development, China has said that the

United Nations should "play an important role" in global efforts to "prevent and combat" all forms of terrorist activity. Speaking at the United Nations, Mr. Wang Yingfan, China's permanent representative to the U.N., referred to the Israeli-Palestinian conflict, which had "seriously undermined regional peace and stability".

"Rampant and unchecked activities by terrorists, separatists and the extremists have caused more and more damage and posed a new challenge to world peace and security," Mr. Wang was quoted as saying.

He argued that it was an "indisputable fact" that the overwhelming majority of today's conflicts took place in underdeveloped countries and regions. "Extreme poverty has put a strong grip on the economic development and social progress of those countries and regions, causing regional disturbances and even armed conflicts," he said.

"The international community, therefore, must strive to remove the root causes of these problems and make earnest efforts to help developing countries to solve the more fundamental issue of economic backwardness — a primary catalyst for conflicts," Mr. Wang maintained.

THE HINDU

26 SEP 2001

# China's stand on U.S. move is ambiguous

By Harvey Stockwin  
Times News Network

HONG KONG: China's reaction to the terrorist attack on the United States has been deeply flawed and highly ambiguous. Anti-American sentiments have been publicly aired, with official and unofficial statements of Chinese concern over the problem of terrorism.

There are signs that the Chinese leadership has belatedly recognised some of its missteps. It remains to be seen whether the visit of foreign minister Tian Jiaxuan to Washington, where he successively met vice-president Dick Cheney, secretary of state Colin Powell and President George W. Bush, has done much to improve matters.

Predictably, no Chinese leader has spoken directly to the nation concerning the international crisis and what brought it about. Chinese leaders continue to follow the archaic system of communicating indirectly with their people through media reports on what they do or say. Occasionally, they are heard speaking on late-night TV news bulletins. More often the news anchors tell the people what the leaders have said.

This leaves China with a problem of image. The only Chinese official voice seen on television outside China is foreign ministry spokesman Zhu Bangzhao. Mr Zhu seldom, if ever, smiles and generally looks as if he is delivering hardline statements, even when he is not.

During the crisis the Chinese media has not been free to tell the people how it is unfolding. The indications are that the media has

been officially instructed to play down the story and with a few exceptions has complied with this order. The highlight of Friday night television news was President Jiang Zemin's latest contribution to the Communist theory, ignoring President George W. Bush's speech to Congress and the Taliban response.

There has been a flowering of anti-American sentiment, notably on the internet chat rooms. One such contributor even went as far as to urge that China drop nuclear weapons on the U.S., if the U.S. attacked Afghanistan. This outpouring was such that a group of academics and professionals signed a statement deploring it and sympathising with America.

The Communist leadership has typically responded by attacking the symptom rather than the disease. Chat rooms have been purged of "offensive" comment by internet censors, while website owners have been warned to be more careful in monitoring content. While the press outside China has reported that Jiang made a sympathetic telephone call to Mr Bush, no sustained attempt has been made to tell the Chinese people why he expressed these sentiments on their behalf.

The unfolding crisis has exposed inconsistencies in China's foreign policies. Thus Chinese officials have been quick to express concern and even alarm about the possibility of U.S. forces engaging in combat in Afghanistan, so close to China's borders.

The fact that U.S. forces would be trying to defeat international terrorism that China ostensibly opposes has seemed to be brushed aside.

## China calls for wider consultation

By Amit Baruah

SINGAPORE, SEPT. 13. China said today that if NATO were to take military action outside Europe, in the wake of Tuesday's bloody attack in New York and Washington, then wider consultations were necessary. "NATO is a regional military organisation within Europe, so if action is taken beyond Europe, it will have implications. So, that's why I think consultation is needed," China's Vice-Foreign Minister, Mr. Wang Guangya, was quoted as saying in Beijing.

On the kind of assistance China would offer, Mr. Wang stated: "I think we will study the case when evidence is being presented. Our attitude towards international cooperation against terrorism is positive... it all depends on the final formula."

In a related development, the U.S. President, Mr. George Bush, spoke by telephone with his Chinese counterpart, Mr. Jiang Zemin. "China will increase dialogue and cooperation with the United States and the international community to crack down on all forms of terrorist activ-

ities," Mr. Jiang was quoted as telling Mr. Bush.

It would appear that China has reservations about the use of force by NATO outside Europe and prefers wider international consultation before possible retaliation by an America-led alliance. Here, Beijing might prefer any use of force to be authorised by the U.N. Security Council — which would ensure that China has its say on the issue before the go-ahead is given.

There are indications that other countries too may have reservations about the kind of action that Washington proposes to take in the wake of the terrorist attacks.

There is little doubt that the U.S.-led response to the terrorist acts will have wider acceptance if they have international support.

China is a key country, and the U.S. would do well to bring it in prior to any retaliation it proposes. On the other hand, given the current international consensus on the need for a response to the terrorist action, Beijing would hardly like to be the odd country out.

THE HINDU

14 SEP 2001



# Monitor Sino-US Ties

## Take a Nuanced Position on NMD

By K SUBRAHMANYAM

11-10-1099  
AFTER seven years of fudging, the Clinton administration finally came up with the finding that China did transfer missiles to Pakistan in 1992-93. Washington chose to impose sanctions against Pakistan but waived them against China. Now after a lapse of nine months, the Bush administration has, for the first time, imposed sanctions on China also besides Pakistan for repeated violations of assurance given in November, 2000. Mr Clinton's reluctance to impose sanctions on China was attributed to the damage it would cause to US-China trade and technology relations. Presumably, the Chinese felt that in the light of past experience with the Clinton administration, the US would not impose sanctions even if they violated their pledge not to proliferate missiles. President George Bush has now called China's bluff.

This has been done with only a few weeks to go before Beijing is to host Mr Bush at a summit-level meeting. Earlier this year, Sino-US relations went through a period of turbulence when a US spy plane landed in Hainan without permission after colliding with a Chinese MiG fighter jet which was buzzing it.

The proposed US plan to deploy the national missile defence (NMD) is a major point of contention between the two countries. The Chinese fear that the NMD is intended to degrade their deterrence vis-a-vis the US. The latest reports from Washington speak of the US attempting to get China's acceptance to the NMD. National security advisor Condoleezza Rice is quoted as saying: "We want to engage China on issues regarding missile defence". Ms Rice was in Moscow recently and the Russians are still to be persuaded that the NMD would not hurt their interests and that the unilateral abrogation of the anti-ballistic missile treaty by the US would not damage international stability. The Europeans too are sceptical of the virtues of the NMD.

Yet, the US is determined to go ahead. Its obsession with missile defence has generated fears that it might lead to a new arms race and a new cold war. It is clear that the US aims to establish its supremacy over outer space and through the NMD degrade Chinese deterrence and assert its unipolar dominance over the planet. However, it would perhaps be hasty to conclude that it

would lead to a cold war or an arms race.

The cold war was waged by the US against the Soviet Union when it maintained no economic relationship with the USSR and applied military pressure on it through a ring of military pacts and a tacit alliance with China which switched its support from the USSR to the US. Second, the cold war and arms race occurred when both sides had some approximation in military technology capabilities — in terms of nuclear weapons, long-range missiles, long distance bombers and ocean-going navies. That is not the situation between the US and China and the latter knows it. The two countries trade more than \$100 billion in goods. China does not hope to have the kind of military technology that the US has for decades to come. Its recent partnership with Russia might give it some advanced military technology but nothing that will compare with the US.

### IN BRIEF

- China fears that the NMD is intended to degrade its deterrence vis-a-vis the US
- But China will not challenge the US
- China's main concern is its transition to a pluralistic system
- India must not rush into any extreme stand on the NMD

The Chinese often emphasise that they have no intention of challenging the US. The Chinese are eminently pragmatic people. Their intention is to integrate increasingly with the international community in economic and technological terms and they are aware of the fact that antagonising the US will hurt them. China has built up a flourishing capitalist economy with the elite enjoying a high standard of living. It has no wish to confront the US with its enormous potential to cause problems for China.

China first allied itself with the Soviet Union and then with the US. It came out with extremist Maoist formulations vis-a-vis the US and the industrial world and switched them off when it allied itself with the US. China's basic aim was to build its industrial base and economy and itself as a power. It has lived with a separate Taiwan for 29 years after the Shanghai communique proclaiming one China.

China has been extremely careful not to use its veto in the Security Council in ways that would annoy the US. While Washington wants to keep China from becoming a challenger in the long run, there are no signs to indicate that China would confront US and not compromise with it on unequal terms. The present US administration is now engaged in probing the extent of Chinese flexibility and pragmatism.

However, in the last three decades, China has done extremely well with its non-ideological approach of exploiting the international system to its maximum advantage. India has to learn lessons from China in this respect. China has gone by the wisdom that there are no permanent enemies or friends in international relations. Therefore, it would be rash to assume that China is going to antagonise the US even if the NMD comes about. China's main problem is going to be how to transit peacefully in this information age from its pluralistic economic and authoritarian political order to a total pluralistic system. In this era of satellite TV, fax machines, Internet, mobile telephones, increasing trade links with the world and globalisation, China cannot escape becoming pluralistic. Transition to democracy is a more complex security issue for Beijing than the NMD.

In these circumstances, India has carefully to evaluate its stand on the NMD. India has made it clear that it does not approve of the unilateral abrogation of the anti-ballistic missile treaty. There are alternative types of missile defence like the boost phase interception which do not violate the ABM treaty and is supported by Russia. There are a number of eminent US scientists who doubt whether the NMD as now envisaged will be effective. In any case, the NMD cannot abolish nuclear deterrence which will continue to be operative. India would, however, look silly if eventually the Russians and Chinese accept the NMD in a compromise while India condemns it. The right strategy, to borrow a leaf from the Chinese notebook, is to look after our national interests and watch the ongoing Sino-US interaction carefully. Our effort should focus on deriving full benefit from the present alignment of international forces to advance our economic and technological interests and enhance our security.

MISSILES / RANGE COVERS WESTERN U.S. #10-16

# China to 'deploy' ICBMs

By Sridhar Krishnaswami #10-16

WASHINGTON, SEPT. 6. China is getting ready to deploy its first road mobile Inter-Continental Ballistic Missiles (ICBMs) with the range to hit some parts of the western United States, *The Washington Times* is reporting in its Thursday editions.

Quoting intelligence reports, the paper says that the first missile units equipped with Dong Feng 31 missiles were detected towards the end of July; and that the Pentagon has taken the position that the full-fledged deployment could come by the end of this year.

An intelligence official has said that the deployment was on a faster schedule than expected but another has disagreed with this assessment. Full-fledged deployment by the end of this year, according to the second official, is in the "realm of possibility" but not likely.

The Central Intelligence Agency has taken the position that China is modernising its strategic missile force by shifting reliance from long-range ICBMs to the development and deployment of mobile missiles.

"We project that Beijing is already on a course to increase its strategic warheads several fold by 2015 though to levels still well below those of the United States or Russia", said Mr. John McLaughlin, CIA Deputy Director.

*The Washington Times* report — which will be routinely brushed aside by Chinese officials on the grounds that the paper has an agenda — comes at a time when the Bush administration is facing a lot of questions on the kind of relations the U.S. hopes to have with that East Asian country.

The White House, the Pentagon and the State Department have been peppered with questions in the last few days on any "trade-offs" the administration may have in mind in return for China's backing of the President, Mr. George W. Bush's missile defence plan. *The New York Times* reported last Saturday that Washington may be inclined to look the other way while China modernises its nuclear and missile arsenals and may even give the nod for resumption of underground testing.

The White House soon went on the defensive with the President's top aides led by the National Se-

curity Advisor saying that no trade-offs have been thought of or were already in the works. On Wednesday, it was the turn of the Defence Secretary, Mr. Donald Rumsfeld, to deny media reports on trade-offs. Mr. Rumsfeld told members of Congress that no one in the administration had given the "green light" to China to proceed with its build-up of the nuclear arsenal.

The question that is being posed in some quarters, including the conservative ones, is the extent to which the Republican administration is going to take the issue of nuclear and missile build-up with the Chinese. The argument has been that the administration may not have given the "green light" to China; but the bottomline is the extent to which Washington may be inclined to challenge the Chinese on the build-up in the context of global and regional stability.

The Republican administration which started off gung-ho on China is down to facing realities — in the same manner as the Democratic administration under Mr. Bill Clinton came to terms with it in 1993.

THE HINDU

# Trade-off reports not correct: U.S.

By Sridhar Krishnaswami

WASHINGTON, SEPT. 5. The Bush administration is continuing with its defensive approach on China maintaining in the last few days that it is not looking for any trade offs to or from Beijing on the subject of Missile Defence. Senior officials at the Pentagon are saying that media reports on so-called trade offs were "not correct".

Over the weekend, a report in *The New York Times* quoting an unnamed senior administration official had said that the Bush administration, in search of a nod from Beijing on Missile Defence, is willing to allow for the modernisation of the Chinese missile arsenal; and perhaps even willing to allow for a resumption of underground nuclear testing so that the Chinese could address issue the verifiability of its stockpile.

That report was quickly downplayed by senior administration officials including the President's National Security Advisor, Dr. Condoleezza Rice, all of whom making the point that Washington will continue to raise the subject of a Chinese modernisation and buildup.

Senior officials at the Pentagon are saying that the United States continues to have concerns about China's development of long range nuclear capabilities; and are arguing too that the development and deployment of missiles with short range capability have not provided stability.

The Defence Department is making the point that Washington has enough concerns on China's intermediate range missiles as well.

If the administration is now on the defensive, it is not without a good cause — both Democrats and Republicans are riled but for different reasons.

The Democrats, senior law-makers especially, are simply outraged that the Bush administration will give a free pass to the Chinese on the subject of proliferation thereby undermining all the efforts of the last 50 years.

And Republicans were appalled that the administration is getting softer on China. Even those conservatives who were pushing for the Missile Defence plan were getting somewhat sceptical that the price was getting too high, from a political and a strategic point of view.

And overall there was this definite assessment that by giving the Chinese the go ahead on modernisation, Washington was just about setting off a reaction from countries in the region, notably India.

"The United States will not seek to overcome China's opposition to missile defence by telling the Chinese that we do not object to an expansion of their nuclear ballistic missile force. Nor will we acquiesce in any resumption of nuclear testing by China," a statement from the White House said.

In trying to come out clear on where it stands on China's modernisation plans and future testing, the Bush administration is also seeking to draw a fine line between the official position and its interpretation of what Beijing may do in the future.

At the same time, this Republican administration is making it known that it may not be in a position to influence Chinese policy on such critical issues as future nuclear testing.

After a rough patch in bilateral relations, it is getting quite obvious that neither Beijing nor Washington wish to rock the boat any more than it should be, especially with barely six weeks to go before the President goes to China for the meeting of the Asia Pacific leaders in Shanghai and an official visit to Beijing.

As a part of relationship being on the "mend", an official announcement is expected shortly that China will buy 36 Boeing planes valued at between \$1 and \$2 billions.

THE HINDU

# No deal with China over NMD, says U.S.

By Sridhar Krishnaswami

WASHINGTON, SEPT. 3. The Bush administration, stung by criticism from academic and political communities, has said that its plans to update China on the missile defence system does not amount to condoning Beijing's weapons build-up and modernisation plans.

"This is part of the administration's outreach to China and to other nations such as Russia to discuss with them the reason why we are developing a missile defence system and how it is designed to protect us from rogue nations or accidental launches," said the White House Press Secretary, Mr. Ari Fleischer. The senior White House official rejected the contention that the administration had made a trade-off in return for China's acceptance of the anti-missile shield plan: that Washington would agree to a weapons build-up or accept renewed nuclear testing. The U.S. policy, Mr. Fleischer said, remained unchanged about discouraging China and others from testing and building nuclear arsenals.

Over the weekend, there were media reports on the deal that the Bush administration may be inclined to do with China to get its backing for the missile defence system. *The New York Times* quoted a senior administration official as saying that in a bid to overcome Beijing's objections, Washington was prepared to tell China that it had no objections for its military build-up. It is thought that the Republican administration is prepared to go to the extent of allowing China to resume nuclear testing for verification and modernisation purposes. The understanding here is that the U.S. too will discard the unilateral moratorium on testing at a future date.

But by the time the Sunday talk shows were over, the administration had launched a damage control exercise to minimise the impact of what the National Security Advisor, Dr. Condoleezza Rice or other "administration officials" may have said on Saturday. "We have no plans to resume testing," Mr. Fleischer said. And Dr. Rice was quoted in *The Washing-*

*ton Post* as saying, "We assume that the modernisation (Chinese) is underway. We are not going to acquiesce in it". The statements of senior administration officials may have been intended to gauge reaction and the response from conservatives and liberals was harsh. The Democrats, led by the chairman of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, Mr. Joseph Biden, called the idea of abandoning the moratorium on nuclear testing "absurd" and Republicans too were highly sceptical of allowing China to build its arsenals.

"I intend to talk to White House officials about that when I get back after Labour Day, but I am very sceptical...I would not like to see them (China) become any more powerful in the nuclear line. I think we ought to formulate our policy in many different ways to try to avoid just that," the Republican Senator, Mr.

Arlen Specter, said. The Republican administration wishes to correct the impression that in its effort to "sell" the missile defence plan to allies, friends and adversaries, it has not taken China into confidence. Now the administration line seems to be one of wanting to share "information" on the anti-missile plan, including the planned tests.

In some ways, the administration has expanded the parameters of the missile defence debate on Capitol Hill as lawmakers return from their summer recess. On the one hand, the anti-missile shield itself will come under renewed attack given the funding and financial constraints. On the other hand, conservatives themselves are asking if in the pursuit of an anti-missile shield, the overall costs are too high.



A subway newspaper vendor in Shanghai holds a local newspaper "Global Times" with a headline saying in Chinese, "U.S. Top Official Gossips About China" on Monday. — AP

# US goes soft on China nuke stock

S Rajagopalan  
Washington, September 2

IN A controversial policy switch, the United States is apparently considering dropping its opposition to China's plan for modernisation of its nuclear arsenal, a quest that might necessitate resumption of underground nuclear tests.

The move comes after the US yesterday risked worsening relations with Beijing by sanctioning a Chinese firm that it said sent missile technology to Pakistan.

The new policy option, aimed at securing Beijing's nod for the US's own missile defence plan, did the rounds here on Saturday, the very day on which Washington slapped sanctions on a Chinese firm for selling missile parts to Pakistan.

Leading newspapers, including the *New York Times* and the *Washington Post*, today reported on the Bush administration's plans to actively engage China on the missile defence issue in preparation for President Bush's China visit next month.

While National Security Adviser Condoleezza Rice sought to refute the notion that the US was seeking a deal with Beijing by "acquiescing in the Chinese modernisation plan in order to buy China's acceptance of missile defence," another administration official differed.

The unnamed official was quoted as saying that the US would signal to China its recognition that both sides might want to resume nuclear tests. The US, the official said, had no plans for tests, but it reserved the right to conduct them for reasons of safety and reliability of its nuclear stockpile.

Rice herself acknowledged

## PAK FLAYS SANCTIONS

PAKISTAN'S AMBASSADOR to the US Maleeha Lodhi has termed as "unwarranted and unjustified" the new US sanctions against the country's National Defence Complex, (NDC) with the Chinese company for violating the missile technology control regime (MTCR). Lodhi criticised Washington for imposing a fresh set of sanctions even though both China and Pakistan have denied allegations about missile technology transfer. "Our cooperation with China does not violate MTCR guidelines to which neither country is a party. But Pakistan abides by these guidelines and there is nothing between China and Pakistan that violates the guidelines," she said.

PTI, Islamabad

that further nuclear build-up would not be good for peace and stability. "We believe that the moratorium should stay in place.

We don't believe that anyone has any reason to test," she said. But at the same time she sought to emphasise that the Chinese would not put an end to their nuclear modernisation even if the US were to abandon its missile defence plan.

There, however, is no mistaking the US plan to win over China on the missile defence issue. A move is afoot to offer China an advance look at plans for tests to allay fears that it might be threatened by the missile shield that is geared to take on "rogue states" like North Korea, Iran and Iraq.

THE HINDUSTAN TIMES

3 SEP 2001

# US doubts China pledge

13  
25/8

**Beijing, Aug. 24 (Reuters):** China said today it had stuck by its commitments to non-proliferation after talks with the US ended with Washington casting doubt over Beijing's pledge not to spread ballistic missile technology.

"The Chinese government has always taken a sincere and responsible attitude towards the question of non-proliferation and strictly abides by relevant policies," state radio quoted foreign ministry spokesman Zhu Bangzao as saying.

A US delegation led by deputy assistant secretary of state Vann Van Diepen held talks with Chinese counterparts yesterday but cancelled tentative plans to continue for a second day, a US embassy spokesman said.

The US state department said yesterday the talks in Beijing were inconclusive and US delegates wanted further consultations.

"We have not yet been fully satisfied in our discussions with them ... we need to have more discussions on the subject," spokesman Philip Reeker said in Washington.

"We will need to do additional work to clarify China's willingness to implement fully the terms of the November 2000 missile agreement, so that will continue to be a topic in our bilateral dialogue," Reeker added.

Washington has highlighted missile proliferation as a top issue as the US and China rebuild ties after clashes over defence and human rights in the first half of 2001. The US wants China to abide by the November 2000 commitment not to help any country develop ballistic missiles that can be used to deliver nuclear warheads and to stick to the missile technol-

ogy control regime — a voluntary accord that tries to limit missile exports to unstable regions.

President George W. Bush is under pressure to impose sanctions on certain Chinese companies following reports that they transferred missile components to Pakistan this year.

China says it has abided by the commitment and demands that the US lift a ban on licences for US satellite exports to China.

"The Chinese side urged the US side to implement the policies it announced last November and take timely and concrete measures to help Sino-US cooperation in the field of satellite launching to return to a normal track at an early date," Zhu said.

US officials say the White House is likely to delay indefinitely a decision to remove the ban until it is satisfied by China's assurances.

Both sides are keen to clear up the issue ahead of a planned summit in China in October, when President Jiang Zemin will meet Bush for the first time.

Two influential US Senators, including Senate foreign relations committee chairman Joseph Biden, urged the White House last week to impose sanctions on Chinese companies for transferring missile components to Pakistan this year.

The *Washington Times* had reported that the government-owned China National Machinery and Equipment Import and Export Corp sent a dozen shipments of missile components to Pakistan by truck this year, in violation of the November 2000 agreement.

China and Pakistan say the reports are untrue.

# Washington, Beijing discuss missile technology transfer

Beijing, August 23

US ARMS experts started talks in Beijing on Thursday on allegations that China violated a pledge not to spread ballistic missile technology, the US embassy said.

The US delegation, led by deputy assistant Secretary of State Vann Van Diepen, was likely to continue talks on missiles with Chinese counterparts on Friday, an embassy spokesman said.

Washington has highlighted missile proliferation as one of the top issues as the United States and China rebuild ties after clashes over defense and human rights in the first half of 2001. The United States wants China to abide by a November 2000 commitment not to help any country develop ballistic mis-

siles that can be used to deliver nuclear warheads, and to stick to the Missile Technology Control Regime, a voluntary international accord that tries to limit missiles exports to unstable regions.

President Bush is under pressure to impose sanctions on certain Chinese companies following reports that they transferred missile components to Pakistan this year.

China says it has stuck to its commitments on missile proliferation and demands that the US lift a ban on issuing licenses for US satellite exports to China in exchange. But the White House is likely to delay indefinitely a decision to remove the ban until it is satisfied by China's assurances, US officials say. Both sides are keen to clear up the issue ahead of a planned summit in China in October, when President Jiang

Zemin will meet Bush for the first time. The embassy said Thursday's US delegation would discuss "missile non-proliferation issues, including the implementation of the November 2000 missile non-proliferation arrangement."

Two influential US Senators, including Senate Foreign Relations Committee Chairman Joseph Biden, urged the White House last week to impose sanctions on Chinese "entities" for transferring missile components to Pakistan this year.

"Senior Chinese leaders have assured us that China will live up to its responsibility to uphold UN Security Council resolutions and has indicated the Chinese have taken steps to ensure that Chinese companies abide by these resolutions."

Reuters

THE HINDUSTAN

21 AUG 2001

# 'China, Pak. maintained contacts in n-field'

2078 By Amit Baruah HD-19

SINGAPORE, AUG. 19. Way back in June 1983, the United States had concluded that China was providing assistance to Pakistan's programme to develop a nuclear weapons' capability.

A declassified U.S. State Department briefing paper entitled *The Pakistan Nuclear Programme* of June 23, 1983, posted on the website of the National Security Archive of George Washington University (<http://www.gwu.edu/nsarchiv>) is unambiguous on China's support for Pakistan's programme.

"We have concluded that China has provided assistance to Pakistan's program(me) to develop a nuclear weapons capability. Over the past several years, China and Pakistan have maintained contacts in the nuclear field," the hitherto 'secret' document said.

"For some time, China's involvement was limited to aspects of the KANUPP power reactor at Karachi. We now believe cooperation has taken place in the area of fissile material production and possibly also nuclear fissile design," the paper said.

According to the paper, the U.S. had information that the Pakistani nuclear programme began soon after the 1974 nuclear test. "The work was given to an organisation within the Pakistani Atomic Energy Commission, which handled such topics as implosion hydrodynamics, neutronics, high explosives testing, and metallurgy, including packaging of high explosives."

"Subsequently, work was done on an electronic triggering circuit for nuclear device detonation, as well as experiments on conventional as well as shaped charges. This

work complemented the acquisition of re-processing and enrichment capability," it said.

"We believe that Pakistan has already undertaken a substantial amount of the necessary design and high explosives testing of the explosive triggering device for a nuclear explosive device and we believe Pakistan is now capable of producing a workable package of this kind. The nuclear explosive development programme has attempted to purchase cameras and camera equipment specifically for nuclear-related explosives work," the State Department said nearly 20 years ago.

The document also reveals that the State Department had precise information about Pakistani nuclear plans and actions and the Chinese connection in these.

"In enrichment, Pakistan is embarked on an effort to build a gas centrifuge facility capable of producing high enriched uranium. Development of a centrifuge enrichment facility in Pakistan was begun in earnest in 1975 and is now centred at Kahuta near Islamabad. The plant is to eventually house several thousand machines.

"The program(me) uses European technology (the designs for the machines were stolen by a Pakistani national) and has involved energetic procurement activities in various countries. The Engineering Research Laboratories (ERL), the organisation responsible for Pakistan's unsafeguarded enrichment program(me) has long relied on an international network of procurement agents and front organisations to purchase the equipment for use in its gas centrifuge plant...."

"We believe that the Pakistanis have experienced difficulty in making their centrifuge machines work and that the Pakistanis have not yet produced any significant quantities of enriched uranium. Because of these operational problems, the Pakistanis in the recent past sought help from the Chinese. We do not know what the present status of that cooperation is," the paper said.

In its introduction, the document said: "There is unambiguous evidence that Pakistan is actively pursuing a nuclear weapons development program(me). Pakistan's near-term goal is to have a nuclear test capability, enabling it to explode a nuclear device if Zia (ul-Haq) decides it appropriate for diplomatic and domestic political gains. Pakistan's long-term goal is to establish a nuclear deterrent to aggression by India, which remains Pakistan's greatest security concern."

The Chinese role in Pakistan's nuclear programme has been long suspected, but this declassified U.S. State Department document confirms that Washington has been aware of it for at least 20 years.

This document also reveals that the U.S., while being aware of the Pakistani programme backed by China, did not take any steps at the time to prevent Islamabad from acquiring this capability. Given the context of the CIA-ISI nexus and the 'Afghan jihad' against the then Soviet Union, Washington, obviously, had different priorities in the 1980s.

The then U.S. President, Mr. Ronald Reagan, was criticised for waiving laws that would have barred aid to Pakistan for importing certain technologies relating to nuclear weapons.

THE HINDU

19 AUG 2001



## U.S. show of force off China 19/8

*Silver 19  
HD-12*

**HONG KONG, AUG. 18.** Two U.S. aircraft carriers have held exercises in the South China Sea in what is believed to be a response to the Chinese army manoeuvres in the Taiwan strait, a newspaper report said today. The one-day exercise, which took place on Friday, involved two aircraft carriers and 13 warships and submarines, the Hong Kong based south China *Morning Post* reported.

The show of force took place as the Chinese army stages exercises around Dongshan island involving troops, fighters, warships and missiles. The exercises in the Taiwan strait began on Sunday and will continue into next week.

A spokesman for the U.S. Seventh Fleet denied that the U.S. exercise was designed to send a specific message to China and said it had been staged because of

the coincidence of two aircraft carriers passing through the same region. The USS Constellation is on its way to San Diego after a six-month deployment to the Arabian gulf and the USS Carl Vinson is on its way to the West Asia.

But London-based defence analysis, Mr. Paul Beaver, told the newspaper: "There are no coincidences around the Taiwan strait and the Americans would have been fully aware of the PLA's (People's Liberation Army) exercises when they planned this.

"They are demonstrating to the PLA that they have an interest in the future of Taiwan." Mr. Joanna Kidd, naval analyst, at the International Institute of Strategic Studies in London, told the newspaper: "It is a very obvious response to the (Chinese army) exercise." — DPA

19/8

19/8

# US-China row over spy plane again

PRESS TRUST OF INDIA  
BEIJING, AUG 13

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WITH China summarily rejecting the Pentagon's cheque for a paltry sum of \$34,576 for the services rendered during the US spy plane ordeal, the stage is set for further acrimonious exchanges and hard negotiations over the April one incident, analysts said.

"Anybody with common sense will know this sum is not reasonable," Zhu Feng, an associate professor at the Institute of International Studies of Peking University, said commenting on the US rejection of a \$1 million-claim by China.

China had submitted a bill for

\$1 million earlier this summer for its handling of the EP-3 plane that collided with a Chinese fighter jet over the South China sea on April 1.

China held the 24-member EP-3 crew for 11 days after the collision in a stand-off that strained Sino-US relations. Beijing forced the Pentagon to dismantle the spy plane and it had to be flown back to the United States in a chartered cargo aircraft on July 3. Describing as "unreasonably low", the Pentagon's cheque for \$34,576, Zhu told the official *China Daily* that such a low payment shows that the US officials wish to "confuse and blur" their responsibility in the incident.

Zhu noted that the payment is-

sue has been politicised within the US. Anti-China forces there already were angered by the Bush administration's apology for the collision saying the US should not pay anything to China. Remarks by US officials also show arrogance, Zhu said.

Pentagon Spokesman, Rear Admiral Craig Quigley, said the payment is "non-negotiable. That is the end of it." On Saturday, China said the so-called decision by the US side on its payment to China relating to the spy plane incident is unacceptable. "The so-called 'decision' is unacceptable to China both in its content and form," Chinese Foreign Ministry Spokeswoman Zhang Qiyue said.

INDIAN EXPRESS

14 AUG 2001

# China denies missile parts transfer

Beijing, August 7

CHINA ON Tuesday rejected the *Washington Times* report that a state-controlled Chinese firm supplied Pakistan with 12 consignments of missile components for its Shaheen range of missiles.

"This US newspaper always spreads groundless rumours which are irresponsible and slander china of undertaking proliferation," Chinese foreign ministry spokesman Zhu Bangzao said when asked to comment on the front-page report that appeared Monday.

"Reports like these are not worth commenting," Zhu added. According to the report, the

## WASHINGTON WANTS BEIJING TO STICK TO PACT

STATE DEPARTMENT spokesman Richard Boucher has said the US will carry out its part of bilateral agreements with China only if Beijing abides by its part. While refusing to speculate whether China did transfer missiles to Pakistan, Boucher said the US has been watching very closely the issue of Chinese missile transfers.

Termining the results of the Chinese implementing the agreements as mixed, Boucher said: We reached agreement in November 2000 that they would not assist any country in any way with missiles and missile technology development. We expect them to abide by that agreement. We intend to do our part of that agreement.

*Reuters, Washington*

state-run China National Machinery and Equipment Import and Export Corporation (CMEC) sent a dozen shipments of missile components to Pakistan in violation of "Beijing's

pledge in November 2000 not to support nuclear missile programmes of countries such as Pakistan."

The report, quoting US Intelligence officials, said the Chinese

company supplied missile components for Pakistan's Shaheen I and Shaheen II missile programmes.

A US spy satellite detected the latest shipment when it arrived by truck at the mountainous region on the China-Pakistan border on May 1. It was one of the 12 missile component transfers detected by US intelligence agencies since the beginning of the year, the report said.

On November 21, 2000, under the US-China agreement, China said it had no intention to assist in any way any the country in the development of ballistic missiles that could be used to deliver nuclear weapons.

PTI

THE HINDUSTAN TIMES

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# A warmer China sees advantages in ties with US

By ERIC ECKHOLM  
New York Times Service

Beijing, July 31: With secretary of state Colin Powell's visit here this last weekend, and in anticipation of President George W. Bush's planned visit in October, the Chinese have begun putting on their most charming face.

In recent meetings of all kinds, diplomats say, Chinese officials have suddenly sounded more accommodating — or more willing to talk seriously, at least, about sensitive subjects like sales of missile technology, human rights and America's plans for a missile defence. The shift in tone may appear surprising after

months of tension during which a US spy plane landed in China, and the Bush administration described the country as a "competitor," expanded its arms sales to Taiwan and pushed the missile shield.

In addition, strategists on each side have openly talked about the "threat" posed by the other.

But the new Chinese warmth, Chinese and Western experts say, reflects basic perceptions among Chinese leaders of their long-term interests and those of the ruling Communist Party. These interests will drive China's leaders to cultivate US goodwill, they say, despite what many here regard as US provo-

cations. "Even if the Bush administration hasn't always been so friendly to China, China is trying to do all it can to improve relations," explained Yan Xuetong, director of the Institute of International Studies at Qinghua University.

"The leaders firmly believe

## NEWS ANALYSIS

that a major political confrontation with the United States would undermine the broader international environment that is the basis for China's economic modernisation." Despite deep worries here about US intentions and what are perceived as the

hawkish tendencies of the Bush administration, such thinking about the need for global engagement, especially for close economic and technological ties with the world's only superpower, is nearly dogma in Beijing today. Both Chinese and American experts say that the Chinese can see development of an advanced and competitive economy as vital to China's future world standing.

They also know that rapid economic growth is the Communist Party's best hope for preserving its power as a restive population yearns for the good life of the West. "The Chinese leaders have made it clear that their concerns

are overwhelmingly internal," said Kenneth Lieberthal, a China expert at the University of Michigan who was chief Asia adviser in the Clinton White House.

China's rulers are now preoccupied with an imminent succession of the top leadership, with the economic dislocations that will accompany their entry into the World Trade Organisation, with unrest among laid-off workers and failing farmers and with their desire to pull off with panache the 2008 Olympics in Beijing. "You put all that together, and they don't need foreign policy distractions at this point," Mr Lieberthal said.

49-12

## A SINO-U.S. RE-ENGAGEMENT

CHINA'S NEW DETERMINATION to shape a futurist international order is becoming increasingly evident on two inter-related fronts. For several months now, China has made no secret of its policy of gravitating towards Russia to discover some common strategic space in the global arena. In a sense, this seems to have fetched Beijing some significant dividends already. Look at the "constructive" warmth in Washington's re-engagement with Beijing at this stage. Gen. Colin Powell, the U.S. Secretary of State, seems to have blazed a new trail in this connection during his latest visit to Beijing. His diplomatic style might largely account for the relative low level of rancour during this U.S.-China encounter — the first major bilateral political dialogue since the show-down last April between the two over a mid-air collision involving an American spy plane and a Chinese fighter aircraft. Unconcealed beyond Gen. Powell's politeness, though, is the obvious American gameplan of trying to let China see the potential benefits of a reasonably cooperative relationship with the United States. From the standpoint of the present Bush administration in Washington, the Chinese have already made much common cause with the Russians. The Sino-Russian concert is the strongest in fine-tuning a disapproval of the current U.S.' plans for a missile defence system, which might still leave the other major powers feeling vulnerable despite the relevant American assurances. It is this aspect of the trilateral equations among the U.S. and China as also Russia that should explain the new echoes in the Washington-Beijing dialogue.

The American ideas for a missile defence network still seem to constitute a theme song of the future. However, Gen. Powell's latest parleys in Beijing are significant for the questions he raised in respect of China's adherence to its own pledge to refrain from promoting the nuclear and missile development programmes of other countries. China made a sweeping commitment of

this order in November last year in the context of the pressure exerted by the previous Clinton administration in this sensitive sphere of global concern. A matter of direct concern to India is the extent of China's restraint in fostering Pakistan's nuclear and missile programmes. Gen. Powell has now made clear America's intentions of monitoring China's behaviour in the related realms of nuclear non-proliferation and restraint in transferring missile-related knowhow. Beijing has proved itself adept at raising the level of Washington's confidence in their bilateral dialogue. The related evidence can be found in the manner in which Beijing has been responding to Washington's concerns over the human rights of some of the U.S.-favoured persons who were convicted in China for alleged spying.

To manage the current international complexities with considerable freedom of action, the U.S. seems to have decided, at least for the present moment, to banish the images of a Second Cold War involving either China or even a post-Soviet Russia. Not surprisingly, therefore, Gen. Powell is now clearly seeking to redefine the future of the Sino-American re-engagement in terms other than a strategic "competition". The U.S. Secretary of Defence, Mr. Donald Rumsfeld, widely seen to be more hawkish than Gen. Powell in viewing China, is also saying that he has "no Rumsfeldian code" to describe the current upturn in bilateral ties. The U.S. is signalling, too, that the Chinese will be allowed a certain comfort level to find their feet on the international stage even as they enter the World Trade Organisation sooner than later. Yet, in a totally conventional style of keeping as many options open as possible, Washington has indicated its resolve to sustain its pressure on China in regard to the U.S.-reliant Taiwan. It is no less a sign of Beijing's dilemmas, as it prepares to organise the 2008 Olympics, that the U.S. will continue to watch China over human rights issues.

THE HINDU

- 1 AUG 2001

## China ridicules U.S. attitude to \$1m. invoice on spy plane

BEIJING: China's official media on Wednesday castigated the U.S. for its handling of the one million dollar bill given by Beijing for services rendered during the U.S. spy plane episode calling it an "arrogant and insulting behaviour."

"It is not simply a matter of money, but rather a matter of U.S. attitude on bilateral relations and accountability in the global community," the official *China Daily* said in an editorial.

"In fact, considering that China has lost a pilot and an aircraft, the one million dollar bill is just a drop in the ocean," it said.

The U.S. is still refusing to pay China the one million dollar demanded in payment for costs incurred by the unauthorised landing of its spy plane at a Chinese airfield in South China's Hainan island on April 1, it said.

The U.S., the wealthiest country in the world, has become too arrogant to accept the Chinese bill and has instead sent a non-negotiable cheque for \$34,576 to China, it said. It is perhaps absurd that the perpetrator is unilaterally setting the figure for the amount of compensation and imposing it on the victim, the paper said.

It does not take a maths genius to calculate the expense for taking care of the 24-member crew and plane. The cost of feeding and housing them, and the team of contractors that came in and removed the EP-3 reconnaissance plane,

adds to a lot more than \$34,000, the daily said.

China has already rejected the U.S. cheque though pentagon has said the amount was non-negotiable. "The so-called 'decision' is unacceptable to China both in its content and form," Chinese foreign ministry said in a statement on August 11.

"We urge the U.S. side to correct its erroneous decision, and take into consideration the reasonable request of the Chinese side for an appropriate settlement of the payment issue," the statement said.

The crippled U.S. spy plane landed on Hainan island after colliding with a Chinese fighter plane above South China sea. China forced the U.S. to dismantle the \$80 million plane into three parts and then allowed it to be flown back to the U.S. in a chartered cargo plane.

China held the 24 crew members for 11 days after the collision which resulted in a serious diplomatic stand-off between Beijing and Washington. The issue was resolved only after the U.S. apologised for the military accident in which a Chinese plane was lost and pilot killed.

Angered by the Chinese handling of the EP-3 episode, the U.S. house of representatives last month voted overwhelmingly to stall the use of funds from the state, commerce or justice departments of the U.S. government to pay any request or claim by China. (PTI)

THE TIMES OF INDIA

16 AUG 2001

# China no more a strategic competitor: USA

57-5  
3/17  
AGENCE FRANCE-PRESSE

CANBERRA, July 30. - In the lexicon of George W Bush's administration, China is no longer a "strategic competitor" - a phrase coined by the President during his campaign to describe US relations with Beijing.

But the Secretary of State, Mr Colin Powell, and the Defence Secretary, Mr Donald Rumsfeld, said here today that the jury is still out on the ultimate character of the critical Sino-US relationship.

In a rare joint appearance after Australia-US security meetings here, Mr Powell and Mr Rumsfeld were pressed to define US relations with Beijing - and denied that any gaps existed between them on the issue.

"My personal view is that the People's Republic of China's future is not yet written - they are evolving, our relationship with them is multi-faceted... what kinds of decisions they will make over the coming period I think is unclear," Mr Rumsfeld said.

He said he had never favoured the designation "strategic competitor" and quipped: "I haven't put any Rumsfeldian code words on it." The phrase was meant to differentiate the Bush regime's China policy from that of former president Bill Clinton's administration, which framed policy hoping that in time, Beijing could become a "strategic partner".

Mr Powell told reporters on his plane yesterday en route from Beijing to Australia that he had stopped using the term.

"The relationship is so complex with so many different elements to it that it's probably wiser not to capture it with a single word or a single term or cliché."

**US warning:** The US national security adviser, Mr Condoleezza Rice, has warned China that transferring weapons of mass



A person wears a gas mask in protest against the Nuclear Missile Defence plan, near the US consulate in Sydney on Monday. - AP/PTI

destruction to countries that are of security risk wouldn't be in the interest of developing Sino-US relationship to its full potential, adds UNI from Washington.

In an interview to CBS TV, Ms Rice said China needs to have a good relationship with USA to realise its full potential in the world arena and warned that "if China continues to behave this way" it would jeopardise its relationship with USA reaching its full potential.

"If China is transferring weapons of mass destruction and the means to deliver them to countries that are not responsible or to countries that are security risks, I think we are not going to have the kind of US-China relationship develop that we would like to have," she added.

Defending USA's recent rejection of a number of international treaties, Ms Rice said signing bad treaties wouldn't be sustainable with the US people.

THE STATESMAN

JUL 30 2001

# China 'frees' Gao before Powell visit

FROM MICHAEL BATTYE

Beijing, July 26 (Reuters): China today expelled a second US-based scholar convicted of spying and opened the door for the departure of a third ahead of fence-mending talks with the US at the weekend.

Gao Zhan boarded Northwest Airlines flight 088 from Beijing and headed for Detroit two days after she was sentenced to 10 years in jail for gathering intelligence for Taiwan. China granted her medical parole for a heart condition.

Shortly after Gao's plane took off, the Chinese foreign ministry announced medical parole had been granted to Qin Guangguang, also sentenced to 10 years in jail on Tuesday on charges of spying for Taiwan.

With US secretary of state Colin Powell due in Beijing at the weekend, there was no immediate word on when Qin, who works for a US medical group and is a visiting scholar at the University of Michigan, the University of Chicago and Stanford, would leave China.

Nor was there any word of progress on three other cases involving US citizen Wu Jianming, held for spying for Taiwan, and permanent US residents Liu Yaping, and Teng Chunyan.

Liu is being detained over a business dispute and Teng is in a labour camp for her participation in the outlawed Falun Gong spiritual movement.

Gao's husband, Xue Donghua told Washington television station WUSA-TV he was thrilled she was on her way home five months after being taken into custody as she was about to board a US-bound flight with him and five-year-old son Andrew.

"I'll just hand over Andrew to her and tell her 'Here you go, here's your boy,'" Xue said. "Andrew is very happy."

Gao's Beijing lawyer, Bai Xuebiao, said they had been notified that the sociologist had been granted



Gao Zhan with her son. (AFP)

medical parole.

A lawyer from his office went to the police station this morning and escorted her to the airport, Bei said.

The flurry of expulsions began yesterday when academic Li Shaomin, an American citizen convicted of spying for Taiwan, was put on a flight to San Francisco.

Only hours after Li, a management professor at City University in Hong Kong, flew out of Beijing, Powell met Chinese foreign minister Tang Jiaxuan in Hanoi, where they were attending a regional security meeting.

Washington had pushed the Chinese government — "at every level", according to US spokesmen — for Gao to be freed and a senior US official accompanying Powell said Gao and Qin were discussed in the talks with Tang.

Powell is due to hold more top-level talks in Beijing on Saturday and the expulsions point to a serious attempt by China to improve relations with the US administration of President George W. Bush, which got off to a rocky start earlier this year.

Powell said he was very pleased Gao was on her way home but he has also made clear several times over the past few days that Washington is upset at such arrests.



# U.S. must be ready 119-14 to face threats from China: Rumsfeld

By Sridhar Krishnaswami 2/27

WASHINGTON, JULY 25. The United States must have a strong military presence in Asia to deter future threats from China; and that "weakness" should never be a "first choice", says the Defence Secretary, Mr. Donald Rumsfeld, in an interview to *The Washington Times*.

Mr. Rumsfeld, a hawk in the Bush administration, argued that China faces an uncertain future, perhaps even unstable given the fact that it strives to move to the path of capitalism at the same time retaining a tight fist political control. "My view of China is that its future is not written and it is being written."

The Defence Secretary is a known hardliner on China but has chosen to pass off his perceptions as something as old fashioned realism. "I never believed that weakness was your first choice. I have always felt that weakness is provocative, that it kind of invites people to do things that they otherwise wouldn't think about doing," says Mr. Rumsfeld in the interview.

For a person who has some strong views on both conventional and non-conventional military force and posturings, Mr. Rumsfeld has made it plain that while the Pentagon may be getting ready for a new strategy for Asia, it did not mean that other regions of the world such as the Persian Gulf and Europe were being written off.

The new strategy for Asia is pinned on the thinking that that part of the world "is different from Europe in terms of distances, in terms of the kind of countries that are there and the nature of the political and economic systems", Mr. Rumsfeld argued.

The Pentagon, in his view, has to have different capabilities to deal with the different challenges of Asia. "... in the first instance for the purpose of deterring, and in the second instance, for the purpose of prevailing" in the event of a conflict, he said.

There have been quiet and yet serious discussions within the Bush administration on this new strategy for Asia that seeks to factor in both the short term and the longer term threats. One view is that the U.S. may have to move



more air and naval units closer to the region to deal with potential conflict spots in North Korea and Taiwan.

But the emphasis has also been on the longer term where the U.S. is keen on building and developing capabilities to meet threats. And the Bush administration has been making the point that Beijing has not only been involved in the area of missiles but is also investing in such areas as intelligence activities and information warfare technologies.

"They are looking at things that are not being looked at by a lot of other countries in the world," Mr. Rumsfeld has told *The Times*. That said the top Bush administration official also made it clear that there were limits to what it was that the United States could do to influence the scheme of things in China, or have any impact at all. "We as a country are not unimportant, but it takes an awful lot of countries behaving in a way that can conceivably moderate or affect the behaviour of a country of that nature, that size, that location, that history, that view of themselves," Mr. Rumsfeld pointed out.

Mr. Rumsfeld has not minced words on the 1972 ABM Treaty but has chosen to make the point in the interview that it is not that simple to walk away from the agreement. "... these things are complicated. Everyone has multiple audiences that they have to deal with and I am sure that they do there (Russia) and we do here...", Mr. Rumsfeld remarked.

# China jails US-based scholar for spying

Beijing, July 24

A CHINESE court sentenced US-based scholar Gao Zhan to 10 years in jail on Tuesday for spying, just days before a fencemending visit by Secretary of State Colin Powell.

Gao's lawyer, Bai Xuebiao, said the court did not order the expulsion of the academic — as it did for US citizen Li Shaomin following his conviction on similar charges — because she was still a Chinese national. But the lawyer said he had applied for medical parole for Gao, a permanent resident of the United States who was convicted of gathering intelligence for Taiwan and sentenced after a trial lasting just a few hours.

The Government has used

medical parole in the past to expel dissidents. Bai said he did not know whether it would be granted. "That's the court's prerogative. I have no way of judging," he said. But a leading Chinese academic said he expected Gao to be put on a plane home very soon. "I have a feeling that they will expel her within days," said Zhu Feng, professor of international studies at Peking University.

Gao one of several US-based scholars of Chinese origin detained in China earlier this year when Beijing's relations with the administration of President Bush were going through a very rocky start. She was arrested in February as she was about to board a flight with her family to the United States.

Reuters



APR PHOTO

Gao Zhan (right), a sociology professor at the American University in Washington, DC, with her husband Xue Donghua. She has been convicted by a Beijing court for spying and sentenced to 10 years in jail.

# Chinese scholar to be tried next week

Beijing, July 21

GAO ZHAN, a US-based scholar accused by China of espionage, will go on trial on Tuesday — just days before Secretary of State Colin Powell arrives in Beijing for a visit aimed at improving strained bilateral relations.

Bai Xuebiao, a lawyer for Gao, said Beijing's No. 1 Intermediate People's Court scheduled the trial to begin on Tuesday. The timing suggested China did not want Gao's case to cloud Powell's visit, his first as secretary of state.

"I head to China, confident that we can build a more stable, more constructive relationship with the Chinese," Powell said in Washington, adding that he will raise US concerns about weapons proliferation, human

rights and religious issues.

China's detention of Gao and other scholars and business people with US links have added to tensions between Beijing and Washington.

The trial will come one day after Clark Randt, the incoming US ambassador to China, takes up his post Monday.

Gao, a sociologist who works at American University in Washington, was detained on February 11 at Beijing's airport during a family trip to China.

Her detention caused a diplomatic uproar because Chinese authorities also temporarily held her 5-year-old son, a U.S. citizen, without notifying the US Embassy as required by treaty.

If convicted of espionage, Gao could face a prison sentence of three years to life imprisonment.

But Bai, the lawyer, said he was heartened by a court's decision on July 14 to deport rather than jail another scholar, Li Shaomin, convicted of spying in a case linked to Gao's.

"It will have an effect," Bai said. "These two cases are connected. The handling of Li Shaomin reflected how seriously the court regarded the case. It wasn't extremely serious."

Gao will be tried by the same court that tried Li. But Li is a US citizen while Gao is Chinese. She only has permanent residency in the United States of America. Her status does not make it clear whether the court could order her expulsion.

Prosecutors charged that Li spied for Taiwan, the self-governing island Beijing views as a renegade province. But Bai said

Gao's indictment does not mention Taiwan.

Bai and another lawyer from the Lu Tong United Law Firm will represent Gao in court.

They will visit Gao on Monday to determine how she plans to plead, Bai said. He said they would argue either that she is innocent or committed only minor crimes.

But a lawyer representing the scholar's family in the United States, Jerome A. Cohen, said Gao gave Li photocopied book and magazine articles about Taiwan and its relations with China. "She does not admit that she committed the crime of espionage but she does admit that she did some things. But she doesn't think that the things she did constitute a crime."

USA Today

THE HINDUSTAN TIMES

# China seeks \$1 million, but U.S. refuses to pay

11-11  
1977

By HARVEY STOCKWIN  
The Times of India News Service

HONG KONG: No sooner had all the parts of the U.S. Navy EP-3E 'spy plane' finally returned home for re-assembly, China presented the U.S. with a bill for \$1 million for services rendered while it detained both the crew and the plane on Hainan island.

The bill's presentation came just as both nations were talking about "putting the spy plane affair behind us" but the bill neatly illustrated that this will be easier said than done. Earlier, the Pentagon had indicated that it would be willing to reimburse China for certain limited expenses. But the excessive charges made by the Chinese has quickly resulted in the Americans compiling their own equally excessive bill for the damages

brought about by the Chinese F-8 jet, plus the additional cost of dis-assembling the EP-3E, instead of quickly repairing it and flying it back to the U.S.

"It is nice to know that the Chinese have a sense of humour" was one U.S. official's reaction to Beijing's bill. Given the American sense of humour, it will come as no surprise, when the U.S. bill is eventually presented to the Chinese, if it also totals \$1 million.

The bill is a small additional irritant, but there are many other reasons why the Hainan incident will not be easily forgotten and will almost certainly continue to rankle in both countries. The Americans will not quickly forget that their flight crew were held 'hostage' for 11 days after the EP-3E was forced to make its emergency landing at Lingshui air base in Hainan.

Those members of the China's People's Liberation Army, who lobbied the Beijing government to put the three U.S. pilots of the EP-3E on trial for their intrusion into Chinese airspace and their spying activities, will also find it difficult to be forgetful. This contrary perception underlines that while the incident may have nominally ended, the two nations continue to regard it in completely divergent ways.

The Chinese still blame the Americans for carrying out such spy flights along China's coast, insist that they are an infringement of Chinese sovereignty, and demanding that all such flights should cease. The Americans maintain that such surveillance flights in

international airspace are perfectly legal, and insist that they will continue.

The Americans still put the blame for the incident on the risky interception tactics practiced by the F-8 pilot who died when his plane crashed after colliding with the EP-3E. The Chinese still maintain, less plausibly, that it was the EP-3E which rammed the F-8 and Beijing continues to hail the pilot as a revolutionary hero. The Americans have urged that a Sino-American agreement be reached setting out rules for such aerial interceptions but so far the Chinese have refused.

China has again demonstrated its extensive claims to sovereignty over the whole of the South China Sea as its insists that reconnaissance flights infringe its sovereignty. U.S. reconnaissance flights continue because of China's military build-up along its eastern coast, and specifically because of China's basically belligerent stance towards Taiwan.

China has slightly toned down that belligerence recently but continues to verbally attack Taiwan's democratic development at every opportunity. But one unexplained reality is why the most aggressive Chinese fighter tactics were deployed off Hainan, rather than further north along the coast closer to

Taiwan, where U.S. reconnaissance flights are also frequent. All told, the contrary and hostile Chinese and American attitudes illustrated by the Hainan incident suggest that a quick end to the deterioration in Sino-American relations which the three-month-long affair brought about is very much in doubt. The EP-3E itself will remain a symbol of Sino-American discord. In a way reminiscent of the successful drive to return most of the battleships sunk at Pearl Harbour to active service, the U.S. Navy and Lockheed will strive to put the plane back together and into the air again.

As far as is known, U.S. reconnaissance flights along the China coast continue but to date no Chinese fighter has again pursued the same aggressive tactics of ultra-close interception. But another similar incident remains quite likely. Vice president Dick Cheney summed up the present situation in Sino-American relations as the EP-3E incident ostensibly draws to a close.

## - SPY PLANE AFFAIR -

**The Americans have urged that a Sino-American agreement be reached setting out rules for such aerial interceptions but so far the Chinese have refused**

# USA refuses to pay \$1m spy plane bill to China

AGENCE FRANCE-PRESSE

WASHINGTON, July 7. - The USA has no intention of paying the "exaggerated" \$ 1 million bill that China has presented for expenses incurred by a downed USA spy plane and its crew, an US official said today.

"They presented us with what we considered somewhat exaggerated charges," a senior US official said on condition of anonymity.

The final total was in "the order of \$ 1 million," the offi-

cial said.

Included are expenses of the 24-member crew, which was detained for 11 days after its EP-3 surveillance aircraft made an emergency landing on China's Hainan island on 1 April.

Other "repatriation" charges were also included, as well as expenses linked to the recovery of the aircraft, which finally arrived back in the mainland USA states in pieces on a cargo plane on Thursday.

"We will get back to them ...

In the spirit with which they presented it," the official said.

The US navy plane was forced into an emergency landing after a collision with a Chinese fighter jet, in which the Chinese pilot was killed.

Washington only secured the release of its crew when it said it was "very sorry" for the death of the Chinese airman.

But US officials refused to apologise for the incident which sparked a diplomatic crisis, saying its plane was flying in international airspace and did nothing wrong.

THE STATESMAN

# U.S. spy plane's fuselage flown out of China

By Harvey Stockwin  
The Times of India News Service

HONG KONG: When a dozen or so Lockheed Martin technicians fly out of Hainan on Wednesday at 8 a.m., it will nominally bring to an end the crisis in Sino-American relations which began when an EP-3E reconnaissance plane was forced to make an emergency landing on April 1, after colliding with a Chinese F-8 interceptor.

The final section, the fuselage, of the American EP-3E was flown out of Hainan's Lingshui Air Base on Tuesday afternoon at 4.45 p.m. by a Russian A-124 transport aircraft, ending the complex process whereby the plane has been disassembled prior to its return to the United States.

Indicative of the U.S. Navy's intention to put the disassembled plane together again as quickly as possible, the A-124 carrying the EP-3E fuselage will fly straight to a

Lockheed plant in the United States, via Manila and Honolulu. There it will be reassembled.

The wings, the engines, the tail section and other parts of the plane were earlier flown from Hainan to Kadena Air Force Base in Okinawa from where those parts will be taken to Lockheed's plant in U.S. Air Force transports. The use of the Russian Antonov aircraft was necessitated because the Chinese denied permission for any U.S. aircraft to land at Lingshui for the transport operation.

Whether the return of the EP-3E will quickly end the deterioration in Sino-American relations which the three month long affair brought about is very much in doubt.

The Chinese still blame the Americans for the incident while the Americans still blame the Chinese, notably in the risky close interception practised by the F-8

pilot, who died when his plane crashed, and was hailed as a hero in China. China retained the EP-3E crew for a fortnight before allowing their return, something that still rankles the Americans.

The Americans wanted to repair the plane and fly it out of Hainan. The Chinese refused to allow this and initially wanted it broken up into very small pieces which could never have been reassembled. Subsequently, Beijing compromised to the extent of allowing the disassembly now completed by Lockheed.

The Americans have urged that a Sino-American agreement be reached setting out rules for aerial interceptions but the Chinese have refused. Instead, Beijing demands that the U.S. ceases all reconnaissance flights off the Chinese coast, a demand which Washington rejects.

The U.S. maintains that its reconnaissance flights are in inter-

national airspace. China has once again demonstrated its extensive claims to sovereignty over the whole of the South China Sea as it insists that the U.S. plane infringed its sovereign airspace.

As far as is known, the U.S. reconnaissance flights along the China coast continue, but to date no Chinese fighter has again pursued the same tactics of ultra-close interception. Given all these realities it is unlikely that the incident will quickly be forgotten by either side, although each will remember it for different reasons.

Contacted by a Rochester, New York radio station Monday, on his first day back at work after his latest heart ailment, vice-president Dick Cheney summed up the present situation in Sino-American relations as the EP-3E incident draws to a close. "We are not enemies at this point (but we are) probably not friends either," Mr Cheney said.

# Li calls for friendly co-existence with Americans

By Anil K Joseph

BEIJING: Senior Chinese leader



Li Peng

Li Peng has advocated friendly co-existence between China and the United States, saying it would benefit the people of the two nations and help promote

world peace.

"China is the largest developing country and the U.S. is the biggest developed country, so the friendly co-existence of the two nations benefits the people and helps promote world peace and stability," Mr Li, chairman of the standing committee of National People's Congress (NPC), China's top legislative body, said.

Mr Li told a delegation from the U.S. House of Representatives here on Monday that the statesmen of the two countries, including the parliament members, should be "far-sighted".

"China and the U.S. indeed have differences, but they also share common interests, which transcend the differences," Mr Li, considered a hardliner, was quoted by Xinhua news agency as saying.

The U.S. delegation was led by representative Clay Shan and president of the U.S.-Asia foundation Richard Quick.

Mr Li said Beijing and Washington had the responsibility to safeguard the peace and stability of the Asia-Pacific region and promote regional economic growth and prosperity.

Mr Li, who ranked second in the ruling Communist Party hierarchy, said the two nations should work jointly to crack down on transnational problems like drug trafficking and terrorism.

"Such co-operation will become the foundation for Sino-U.S. relations of mutual benefit," Mr Li said.

Mr Li told the delegation that China valued the important role of U.S. Congress and hoped it would play a positive function in promoting bilateral ties.

Clay Shan said contact between the legislators of the two countries was beneficial for promoting mutual understanding and cooperation, which is the very aim of his current visit.

This was Mr Li's first meeting with a U.S. delegation since the mid-air collision between a U.S. spy plane and a Chinese fighter jet above the south China sea, which led to a sudden chill in Sino-U.S. relations.

Mr Li's remarks follow a telephone conversation between foreign minister Tang Jiaxuan and U.S. secretary of state Colin Powell on June 28 during which both leaders discussed bilateral ties and agreed to meet in Hanoi this month.

Mr Powell has also accepted Mr Tang's invitation to visit Beijing later this month.

Meanwhile, American technicians continued to disassemble the EP-3 spy plane, which made an unauthorised emergency landing on the southern Chinese island of Hainan on April 1, after a mid-air collision with a Chinese F-8 fighter jet. (PTI)

# China, U.S. close to deal on spy plane

By Sridhar Krishnaswami

WASHINGTON, MAY 29. China and the United States are on the verge of bringing to an end the return of the spy plane which has been sitting crippled on a tarmac of a military base in the Hainan Island. Agency reports from Beijing, quoting Foreign Ministry officials there, say that the EP-3E navy surveillance plane will be brought back to the U.S. in an AN-124 cargo plane.

Even last week, there were similar reports from Beijing promptly denied by the Pentagon and other official sources here. The underlying impression was that Washington was still hoping that the plane, about the size of a Boeing 737, could be repaired and flown out.

The Bush administration has consistently been demanding the return of the plane involved in a collision off the South China Sea on April 1. China detained the 24-member crew for 11 days before releasing them; and the subject of the plane's return has been the focus of some intense negotiations in the last several weeks.

Ideally, the U.S. would have wanted its technicians to fix the plane so that it can fly out — a proposition which was too much for the au-

thorities in China. It was bad enough for Beijing that the accident resulted in the loss of one jet fighter and its pilot. And allowing the military aircraft to take off on its own steam is something that the Chinese have been steadfastly refusing from the very beginning.

The fact that China has now apparently allowed a cargo plane to land in the Lingshui air base is in itself a major concession, if the initial stance was anything to go by. Beijing, for instance, has been saying that the EP-3E would have to be cut into small pieces and shipped out — a proposition that was unacceptable to Washington given that the \$-80 million plane would have to be consigned to the scrap heap.

The April 1 incident came at a time when the Bush administration was already setting in motion a so-called tough line vis-a-vis Beijing; and the collision and the aftermath only went to strengthen the hands of hardliners who have been pushing for a strident anti-China line for quite some time.

But there are those in the foreign policy establishment and outside who hope that the Bush administration will keep its focus on the larger aspects and the long term perspective in the relations with China.



# U.S., China reach deal over spy plane row

By Harvey Stockwin

The Times of India News Service

HONG KONG: China and the U.S. now appear to be within sight of a compromise which will finally bring the Hainan "spy plane incident" to an end, as Beijing accepts what U.S. defence secretary Donald Rumsfeld has called his second best option.

However, once again, as happened last week, China has unilaterally signalled agreement without waiting for a bilateral announcement with the U.S.

This unilateralism on China's part would seem to be a clear indication of Chinese concern lest further disagreement over the EP-3E continues to cloud the prospects for the Sino-American relationship.

The spy plane incident began on April 1 when a U.S. Navy EP-3E collided with a Chinese F-8 jet in international airspace off Hainan. The F-8 crashed and its pilot was killed, but the EP-3E made an emergency landing at Lingshui PLA Air Force base on Hainan island, where it has rested ever since.

Last week, on May 24, Chinese foreign ministry spokesman Zhu Bangzao announced that China had agreed to an American proposal that the 'spy plane' be broken up and returned to America. All that remained to be decided, Mr Zhu then said, was whether the 'pieces' of the aircraft would be sent home by cargo plane or ship.

The next day denials were quick in coming from Washington DC. No less a person than Mr Rumsfeld made it clear that he had not resigned himself to doing what the Chinese said the U.S. had agreed to do. "The plane is surely repairable and flyable and that would be our first choice," he then told journalists.

Mr Rumsfeld went on to clearly indicate that another American kowtow was not on his agenda, at least not yet. "The next choice is to disassemble the EP-3E as little as possible — that is to say take the

wings off and send in a very large cargo plane. Put the fuselage in (the cargo plane) and perhaps the wings in another, and lift it all out, so that it could then be reassembled."

But Mr Rumsfeld also noted that the Chinese had raised another issue — "whether or not the runway (at Lingshui) would take the weight of a cargo plane that large."

Late on Monday night Mr Zhu Bangzao indicated that China had accepted Mr Rumsfeld's suggested compromise. "China has agreed in principle that the U.S. should send a commercial AN-124 cargo plane to China to transport the disassembled EP-3E plane out of the country," Mr Zhu stated, "the two sides are holding negotiations on relevant technical details."

As a result of the Memorial Day holiday in the U.S. this compromise has not yet been officially confirmed there, but unnamed American officials have indicated that an agreement in principle has been attained. The Chinese have clearly dropped their, in any case questionable, claim that the Lingshui runway is unable to take such heavy aircraft. The Americans will be hiring a giant Russian, or Ukrainian AN-124 Condor aircraft, the largest jet transport in the world, possibly through a British firm.

So the Americans will not have to cut the EP-3E into such small pieces that it would never fly again. The plane's wings and tail will be detached and, together with the fuselage, placed on board one or two AN-124 flights. Judged by Mr Rumsfeld's remarks, the plane can be reassembled and flown again. Against that, the Chinese get their way in one important respect: the Americans will not be allowed to repair the EP-3E plane in Hainan and fly it home directly.

So a final resolution of the affair is within sight. But the hard fact remains that compromise still took nearly two months to attain.

THE TIMES OF INDIA

# China urges US to lift 'unreasonable' sanctions

Beijing, June 28

CHINA URGED the USA today to lift what it called "unreasonable" sanctions imposed on a Chinese firm accused of helping Iran, in violation of international pacts to curb the spread of deadly weapons.

The State Department did not say which international pact the offending company, Jiangsu Yongli Chemicals and Technology Import and Export Corp, was alleged to have violated, but congressional aides said it was probably the Chemical Weapons Convention.

Chinese Foreign Ministry spokeswoman Zhang Qiyue said China had fulfilled all its obligations under that convention.

"China opposes any country developing chemical weapons and would not assist any country in doing so," she said. "China does not export chemicals, equipment or technologies used for making chemical weapons," she said. "The company in question was engaged in normal international chemical trade activities which were in line with the goals of the convention."

(Meanwhile, the US ambassador-designate to China, Clark Randt, has said the Bush

## 'Organ harvesting reports baseless'

CHINA REJECTED statements made by a former army doctor that Chinese doctors regularly removed skin and other organs from executed prisoners without their prior permission even as the US State Department deplored the alleged organ harvesting as "sensational lies." "Any clear-sighted person can see that this is a vicious slander against China," Chinese foreign ministry spokeswoman said on Thursday. **Beijing, AP**

administration would "engage and cooperate with China where we can, and compete with or oppose China where we must," reports PTI.)

The sanctions were the first imposed by the administration of President Bush against a Chinese firm for an alleged non-proliferation violation, an issue that has strained US-Chinese ties in the past.

Bill Clinton imposed sanctions against the same Chinese firm in May 1997, accusing it of transferring chemical weapons components to Iran.

**Reuters**

## 'U.S. using India card'

BEIJING, JUNE 24. With improvement in Indo-U.S. ties, China's official media has launched a sustained barrage against the U.S. charging it with using India to 'contain' China at a time when Sino-U.S. relations have nose-dived in the aftermath of the recent American spy plane incident. 10-14 25/6

"It is noticeable that the abrupt warming in Indo-U.S. relations occurred just as a series of difficulties, including human rights conflicts and U.S. arms sales to Taiwan, emerged in Sino-U.S. relations," the official *Outlook* magazine commented.

The Chinese official media has taken note of the fact that the U.S. President, Mr. George W. Bush, went out of the way to meet the External Affairs Minister, Mr. Jaswant Singh, at the White House in April, when Washington's ties with Beijing were severely strained over the U.S. spy plane issue.

"It is more than coincidental that the 'unexpected meeting' Mr. Bush initiated with Mr. Singh occurred not long after the mid-air plane collision off Hainan Island, and at a time when China was protesting the rude and unreasonable U.S. attitude," the magazine said. It said that while the U.S. announced resumption of military exchanges with India, the Pentagon had declared it would examine U.S.-China military exchanges on a case-by-case basis. The Chinese Foreign Ministry, however, said the growing Indo-U.S. ties would be conducive to regional peace and stability.

"We hope that the develop-

ment of U.S.-India bilateral relations would be conducive for peace, stability and development in the region," the Foreign Ministry spokesman, Mr. Zhang Qiyue, said when asked to comment on Beijing's stance on the improvement in relations between New Delhi and Washington.

He did not react when asked to comment on the views expressed by the official Chinese media.

"It is the United States that has been actively promoting Indo-U.S. ties," a recent article in *Outlook* said adding "the carrot the U.S. is offering to India is attractive, so no wonder India is tempted to move closer and closer to the U.S."

To rope in India, the U.S. first catered to India's "psychological desire to be seen as a world power rather than a second-rate country," it said. The magazine said the U.S. "sacrificed" relations with Pakistan to pander India, despite breaking the strategic balance in south Asia.

Referring to the Bush administration not sending its emissary to Islamabad to consult on the National Missile Defence system while the U.S. Deputy Secretary of State, Mr. Richard Armitage, visited India, it said "this was something the Bush administration's predecessors, including the Clinton administration, had not and would not have done."

Further, the article said the Bush administration had no desire to get involved in the Kashmir conflict, and regards the Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty (CTBT) as "waste paper" because of its desire to develop NMD. — PTI

# U.S., China reach 'compromise' on accession to WTO

1676  
By V. S. Sambandan

GENEVA, JUNE 15. One of the most high-profile processes in the World Trade Organisation - China's accession to the multilateral organisation - may have taken yet another turn this week with a "consensus" reached between the U.S. and China on "major issues" at Shanghai, but there is still a certain element of uncertainty as the details of the pact, especially that relating to farm subsidies, remains unclear.

The WTO's Director General, Mr. Mike Moore, saw it as one of the "most important decisions in 50 years." However, unless the details of the agreement reached between the two major economic players, representing contrasting ideologies, are made known, it would still be a case of so near, yet so far away. The sticking point over China's accession to the WTO has been the status it should be accorded. While China has argued for being included as a developing country, the U.S. has been calling for it to be considered a developed country. The distinction is crucial in that developing countries are permitted to spend an equivalent of up to 10 per cent of their domes-

tic farm production as subsidies, while the developed economies would have to adhere to a 10 per cent cap.

## Compromise on farm subsidies

Officials at the WTO remain tight-lipped about what the agreement has been, except to say that "a compromise" was reached. Such a compromise, according to some trade negotiators, would imply that the level of subsidies permitted to China has been placed between 5 per cent and 10 per cent - most likely in the range of 8 per cent. This, according to some trade representatives, would connote a departure from the rules-bound nature of the organisation, which has mandated for only two levels of farm subsidies. However, this "departure", it is conceded, could be 'corrected' in the instrument of accession.

There has been some build-up as well to make the China accession to the WTO an issue before the Doha Ministerial Conference and that China is also broadly in favour of a fresh round of trade negotiations is a point that is not missed in briefings. The reasoning

119-12  
behind China's call for a fresh round is that in the event of it joining the WTO, it would like to be right at the commencement of any fresh multilateral negotiations.

Yet another procedural aspect that would have to be completed is in correlating domestic Chinese laws for the compatibility with the principles underlying the multilateral trading body. This process, officials say, would take some time to be completed.

Yet another imponderable that awaits developing countries on the effect of China joining the WTO is on which side of the arguments it would stand up for: the developed or the developing. The farm subsidy terms on which it joins the organisation is also likely to reflect that stance.

Though there has been a considerable narrowing of bilateral political differences in the multilateral trading body, as is evident from the common posture taken by India and Pakistan, the history of collapsed pacts between the US and China, as well as the recent chill that descended between the two countries over the spy aircraft issue are testing points for the pact holding firm.

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# US, China inch closer to WTO pact

10/6  
Shanghai, June 9

HP 11  
①

THE US and China on Saturday said they had reached consensus on issues holding up Beijing's entry to the World Trade Organisation (WTO) and would work towards bringing China into the global trade body by year-end.

The announcement followed talks between China's Foreign Trade Minister Shi Guangsheng and US trade representative Robert Zoellick on the sidelines of an Asia Pacific Economic Cooperation (APEC) trade ministers' meeting in Shanghai.

"We are pleased to report that the US and China have reached consensus on major issues that we discussed...China and the US agree that we should now work together in Geneva to complete China's WTO accession," the US embassy in Beijing said.

The US wanted China to pay farm subsidies of just five per cent as a developed country but China insisted it could pay subsidies of 10 per cent as a developing country.

The WTO has already announced its members and China will hold high-level talks in

Reuters

THE HINDUSTAN TIMES

# US reduces military contact with China

Charles Aldinger  
Ankara, June 4

DEFENCE SECRETARY Donald Rumsfeld has reduced American military contacts with China to signal the Pentagon's displeasure with China's handling of a collision between a US reconnaissance plane and a Chinese jet fighter, a senior official traveling with Rumsfeld said on Monday.

The official, who asked not to be identified, stressed that Rumsfeld continued to look at bilateral contacts on a case by case basis but confirmed a *New York Times* report that those contacts has been reduced since the April 1 collision off the Chinese coast.

The official said Chinese officers were no longer being invited to seminars at the Asia-Pacific Center for Security in Honolulu,

the US Defence Department's main study centre on security issues in the region.

The official also confirmed the *Times* report that although US officers were authorised to attend multi-national seminars on relief operations to which Chinese officers were also invited, Rumsfeld had issued specific guidance that the American officers were to "minimise contact"

with their Chinese counterparts.

Under the new policy, the US is no longer requesting port calls in Hong Kong by American warships. China announced last week that it had rejected a planned visit by an American navy ship. "We are looking at things on a case by case basis," the US official said. "Right now, the priority is to get the plane back."

Reuters

THE HINDUSTAN TIMES

# George Bush is confused, says Jiang

By Harvey Stockwin  
The Times of India News Service

HONG KONG: AS Sino-American relations continue to deteriorate, China's communist leadership is making an increasingly negative personal assessment of President George W. Bush, according to a leading Hong Kong-based China-watcher.

Earlier, as the Bush administration took office, Chinese President Jiang Zemin seemed positively sanguine about the prospects for China-U.S. ties, according to a lengthy interview the Chinese leader gave to the *Washington Post*.

On the one hand, Mr Jiang thought that "no matter who administers the government in the U.S. and no matter what kind of slightly different language he might use, one thing is very certain: the U.S. has to look at U.S.-China cooperation from a strategic standpoint, looking at strategic interests". Mr Jiang went on to describe why he thought those interests dictated cooperation rather than conflict.

On the other hand, Mr Jiang, confidently, though naively, anticipated that his personal connections with the Bush family would help the relationship to improve: "Bush Senior came over to China many many times and had many meetings with me. Barbara Bush also was here in China many, many times. We believe Bush Senior will

definitely push Bush Junior to bring U.S.-China relations to a new level."

That was said a week before the U.S. Navy's reconnaissance plane collided with the Chinese jet off Hainan, thereby beginning a process whereby Sino-American relations have definitely moved to a "new level", though not the positive one Mr Jiang had in mind when he spoke to the *Washington Post*.

Leading China-watcher Willy



George W. Bush



Jiang Zemin

Wo-Lap Lam, reporting for the Asia section of [www.cnn.com](http://www.cnn.com), says Mr Jiang has authored a biting and negative 12-character epithet for the new U.S. President: "Logically unsound, confused and unprincipled, unwise to the extreme."

According to Mr Lam, a senior but unnamed source had disclosed that Mr Jiang offered this stinging critique at a recent special meeting of senior members of the Chinese Communist Party Politburo together with leading foreign policy

experts, called to discuss "Bush's anti-China policies".

But Mr Lam also reported that, notwithstanding his negative assessment of Mr Bush, President Jiang urged a "wait and see" policy for now.

"Let us find out more about what Mr Bush wants to do with Taiwan, the Dalai Lama and the missile-defence system," Mr Jiang was reported as saying. "Let Mr Bush put more cards on the table—and we shall respond accordingly."

There are several reasons why the CCP might adopt this line. The conclusion of China's protracted negotiations to join the WTO is in sight. Another vote by the U.S. Congress on trading relations with China is due in June. The International Olympic Committee decides on the host city for the 2008 Games early July—and China desperately wants Beijing to be chosen.

China hosts the annual APEC summit in Shanghai in October and Mr Bush is currently slated to visit Beijing after that. Obviously China would not want that visit postponed or cancelled.

Another motive for pursuing a cautious reaction to Mr Bush is the Chinese calculation that if Beijing starts awarding business and investment opportunities to Europe and Japan, corporate America will pressure Mr Bush to put the stress on improving ties.

THE TIMES OF INDIA

29 MAY 2001

# China, U.S. agree on return of spy plane

BEIJING, MAY 24. China said on Thursday it had agreed to a U.S. proposal to cut a stranded U.S. Navy spy plane into pieces and ship it back to the United States.

The U.S. Embassy in Beijing said it could not confirm such an agreement had been reached.

It said the two sides were still discussing the fate of the EP-3E Aries II, which is parked on a runway at a Chinese air base on Hainan island in the South China Sea since a mid-air collision April 1 with a Chinese fighter jet.

The Foreign Ministry spokesman, Mr. Zhu Bangzao, said the two sides were discussing details of the transfer, including the date and whether the pieces of the aircraft would be sent home by cargo plane or ship.

"We do not agree to flying this plane out of China. That is impossible," Mr. Zhu told reporters.

He gave no explanation for China's repeated insistence that the plane not fly home. U.S. technicians had examined the plane and declared it airworthy.

The mid-air collision, which is believed to have killed the Chinese fighter pilot, plunged U.S.-Chinese relations to their lowest level since the NATO bombing of the Chinese Embassy in Belgrade in 1999.

The 24 U.S. crew members were held for 11 days while China demanded that Washington apologise for the collision.

A spokesman for the U.S. Embassy said he couldn't confirm such an agreement had been reached to return the aircraft in pieces.

"We are continuing our discussions in Beijing with the Chinese regarding the return of our aircraft," said the spokesman, who spoke on customary condition of anonymity. — AP



The damaged U.S. Navy EP-3 electronic reconnaissance plane parked at the Lingshui air base on China's Hainan Island on April 3, 2001, in this photo released by China's official Xinhua news agency.

THE HINDU

23 MAY 2001



# Bush steps on China toes with Dalai reception

S. Rajagopalan  
Washington, May 24

HF-11 27/5  
PRESIDENT BUSH has made a strong point in his continuing face-off with China by receiving its bete noire, the Dalai Lama, and pledging full support to his bid for a dialogue to preserve Tibet's identity and protect the human rights of Tibetans.

A visibly pleased Dalai Lama, who briefed Bush on his mission for "genuine self-rule" in Tibet, later told newsmen that Bush shared his approach for such a mutually equitable solution. He was full of appreciation for Bush's "very genuine, human, warm feelings".

Bush's hospitality towards the Tibetan spiritual leader came on a day when the Chinese were celebrating the 50th anniversary of Tibet's "peaceful liberation" and reacted with fury to Washington's gestures to the "separatist" leader.

A White House statement, issued after the meeting, said that Bush strongly reiterated the US's commitment to "support the preservation of Tibet's unique religious, cultural and linguistic identity and the protection of the human rights of all Tibetans".

"The President said he would seek ways to encourage dialogue and expressed his hope that the Chinese government would respond favourably," it said.

The Bush administration's only accommodation to the protesting Chinese was to characterise the meeting as a "private" one with a "religious leader". Further, the meeting was held not in the Oval Office, but in the White House's residential segment.

But an upgrade it definitely was on Washington's part and the Dalai Lama's supporters were quick to acknowledge that. John Ackerly, spokesman for the International Campaign for Tibet, said: "It is nice to see that His Holiness was finally awarded this level of respect."

During President Clinton's eight-year tenure, the Dalai Lama had made five visits to Washington, but during each of these occasions the practice used to be that Clinton would just "drop by" at the Tibetan leader's meetings with officials. This time round, Bush has received him for an independent meeting, albeit in the "residential" portion.

The Dalai Lama, answering newsmen's questions, maintained that he was not seeking independence for Tibet. He said he had told Bush that whenever he would be meeting with the Chinese leaders, he could assure them that "I'm not seeking independence".

On the eve of his interaction with Bush, the Dalai Lama met Secretary of State Colin Powell, who "listened very keenly" to his ideas about "promoting human and religious values and the situation in Tibet".

He also met the newly-appointed special coordinator for Tibet, Under Secretary Paula Dobriansky, whose appointment has been criticised by Beijing.

The Dalai Lama employed similar phraseology to describe his meeting with Powell, saying that the Secretary of State showed "genuine human, warm feelings". Asked if he thought Powell would be a good human rights defender, he said: "I hope so, but it's too early to say."

# China slams US for hosting Chen, Dalai Lama

Beijing, May 22

22/5  
HFM

CHINA ACCUSED the United States on Tuesday of "rude interference" in its domestic affairs by playing host to Beijing foes, Taiwan President Chen Shui-bian and Tibet's exiled spiritual leader, the Dalai Lama.

"China has always opposed all forms of official contacts with Taiwan by countries with which we have diplomatic relations," Foreign Ministry spokesman Zhu Bangzao said of Chen's two-day stopover in New York.

China, which regards Taiwan as a renegade province not entitled to official links with the outside world, was "strongly dissatisfied and opposed" to Chen's American stopover and plans to meet US lawmakers, Zhu told a news conference.

China was also "concerned" at plans for the Dalai Lama to meet President Bush and Secretary of State Colin Powell in Washington this week, he said.

"We call on the US Government to recognize Tibet as Chinese territory, stop supporting Tibetan independence and stop using the Tibet issue to interfere in China's internal affairs," Zhu said.

Chinese anger at the Bush administration allowing two of its main political enemies on US soil at the same time, comes while Beijing is still smarting from the April 1 Hainan island spy plane incident and US arms sales to Taiwan.

Ties are also strained by US human rights criticism, particularly over China's harsh crackdown on the Falun Gong spiritual movement, and by US plans to build an anti-missile shield which Beijing fears will nullify its strategic arsenal.

## DALAI ASKS US TO STRIP CHINA OFF MFN STATUS

A CLOSE aide of Tibetan spiritual leader the Dalai Lama on Tuesday demanded immediate withdrawal of most-favoured nation (MFN) status on trade accorded to China by the US. The demand was made by Tsewang C Tethong, a day before the Dalai Lama meets President George W Bush in Washington. PFI, New Delhi

"Recently, the US Government has taken a hard-line attitude and policies toward China. On issues such as Taiwan, Tibet and religious affairs, it has endlessly interfered in China's internal affairs and hurt China's interests," Zhu said.

In a private visit long expected to rile Beijing, Chen arrived at Newark International Airport in New Jersey on Monday for a two-night stopover on the way to El Salvador, Guatemala, Panama, Paraguay and Honduras.

Chen plans to meet US Congressmen, receive a courtesy call from New York Mayor Rudolph Giuliani and visit the New York Stock Exchange and the Metropolitan Museum of Art.

On his way home, Chen is also scheduled to stop for a night in Houston, where senior Republican House member Tom DeLay plans to take him to an Astros baseball game.

The last time a Taiwan leader visited the United States was in 1995 when President Lee Teng-Hui made a high-profile visit to Cornell University, his alma mater, in New York state.

Beijing was so angry, it briefly downgraded ties with Washington and froze semi-official talks with Taipei. Reuters

THE HINDUSTAN TIMES

23 MAY 2001

# USA wants China's role in Asia security

REUTERS

SINGAPORE, May 18. — USA, its military contacts with China disrupted by the spy plane crisis, is keen to involve Beijing in its efforts to boost security in Asia, the US military commander in the region said today.

Admiral Dennis Cutler Blair, Commander-in-Chief, US Pacific Command, told reporters in Singapore that China had turned down an invitation to attend war games that began in Thailand this week, but he expressed hope that it would do so in future.

Admiral Blair said that Sino-

US military contacts, though reduced since the spy plane incident, had not been severed.

"As a result of the EP-3 (spy plane) incident, there has been a contracting of those contacts," the admiral said, referring to the 1 April collision over the South China Sea that crippled the spy plane and caused the loss of a Chinese fighter and its pilot.

"We hope, when the crisis is over and the plane is returned, we return to a situation in which we do have contact with the People's Liberation Army," he added.

Admiral Blair was visiting Singapore after observing the

start of the Cobra Gold joint war games involving USA, Thailand and Singapore. He was to visit Brunei before returning to Hawaii.

China and Vietnam were both invited to attend the Cobra Gold exercise as observers.

"We and many others we talked to hope they participate in this activity in the future," he said.

"China said they weren't ready yet, and that they hoped to be there next year. Vietnam said they weren't ready yet, but they left the door open to participate in the future," he added.

Washington also hoped China

would attend the next talks under the Military Maritime Consultative Agreement aimed at promoting safety in naval and air operations, he said.

Admiral Blair said that China appeared keen to solve the spy plane crisis but that the issue for USA was what its policy would be in future.

"The real question is, as China becomes more influential and more powerful, is it going to follow all of the rules we've agreed to, or is it going to find new rules in the areas...where its military power can come to bear."

China opposes President Mr George W Bush's vision of a missile defence shield for USA

and its allies. Admiral Blair expressed concern about Chinese and North Korean missile deployment.

"I've thought very hard about the consequences of a military conflict across the Taiwan Strait. I see no country benefiting from this," he said.

"In our discussion with Taiwan, missile defence has to be a point of discussion," he said adding, "We are actively pursuing missile defence for our troops in Korea."

US-Sino relations have been hurt too recently by a US pledge to boost arms sales to Taiwan and the appointment of a US special coordinator for Tibet.

## China charges US scholar with spying

HONG KONG, May 17. - Chinese authorities have formally charged an American business professor with spying for Taiwan, the professor's wife said today.

Mr Li Shaomin, a US citizen who taught at the City University of Hong Kong, disappeared after crossing the border into China on 25 February to see a friend. Mr Li's wife, Mrs Liu Yingli, said she received a phone call on Tuesday from China's State Security Bureau informing her that her husband had been formally arrested on charges of spying for Taiwan.

"He is a scholar. What they accuse him of is pure nonsense," Mrs Li said. "I want the world to know my husband has done nothing wrong," she added. - AP

THE STATESMAN

18 MAY 1950

# China slams USA over Taiwan

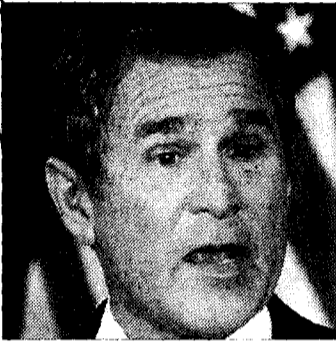
REUTERS

BEIJING, May 16. - An US envoy left China today after a failed bid to calm opposition to Mr George W Bush's missile defence plans and with scathing accusations of anti-China "provocations" ringing in his ears.

The Bush administration's decision to let Taiwan President, Mr Chen Shui-bian meet US lawmakers in USA next week was a "despicable breach of trust and commitment", the China Daily said.

"Allowing Mr Chen to stay in the USA and meet US lawmakers is the latest example in a growing list of US provocations directed at China," the Communist party paper said in an editorial.

The state department had said on Monday that USA would let Mr Chen stop on his way to and from Latin America and meet US members of Congress. This permission to meet legislators mark a departure from the practice of the previous US administration, which imposed tight restrictions on what visit-



Mr George W Bush

ing Taiwanese leaders could and could not do.

Before leaving China, assistant secretary of state, Mr James Kelly said his talks on Tuesday were "constructive", but hinted - as the Chinese foreign ministry had made clear - there was no meeting of minds.

"We clearly still have differences of opinion but our consultations on this subject were constructive and constitute a good beginning to a continuing dialogue on these important issues, Mr Kelly said.

"I stressed that our plans for a

missile defence system would not be a threat to China," he said. "Rather, our approaches are intended to defend against threats or attacks from rogue states as well as from accidental or unauthorised launches."

Mr Kelly said his talks also covered bilateral irritants such as Taiwan, human rights and the Hainan spy plane dispute.

But the Chinese foreign ministry said Mr Kelly's assurances and statements to the Chinese team, including top disarmament diplomat, Mr Sha Zukang, would not budge Beijing.

"China's position is unchanged," foreign ministry spokesman, Mr Sun Yuxi said before Mr Kelly's talks were over.

Mr Sun did not spell out China's unstated fears that a missile shield would negate Beijing's small strategic nuclear arsenal. But he said China was not prepared to soften its opposition to a National Missile Defence (NMD) scheme and a Theatre Missile Defence (TMD), proposed to protect allies such as Japan or US troops in northeast Asia.

THE STATESMAN

17 MAY 2001

# US envoy heads for China

Beijing, May 13 (Reuters): A senior US diplomat is due in Beijing to explain President George W. Bush's anti-missile shield proposal to China, one of the world's most strident opponents of the American plan.

US assistant secretary of state James Kelly is due to arrive late on Monday, one of three delegations of US envoys who have fanned out across the globe seeking support for Bush's plan.

Kelly, who is expected to talk about Taiwan and other issues in the troubled US-China relationship, will get little more than a polite hearing on the missile shield plan, a leading Chinese security scholar said.

"China's stand is very firm: We will not support the US plan to build a National Missile Defence system or a Theatre Missile Defence system," said Yan Xuetong, executive director of the Institute

of International Studies at Tsinghua University.

"I think (Kelly) knows he cannot expect cooperation from China on this," he said. China is strongly opposed to the missile shield plan, which could erode the effectiveness of its nuclear arsenal and cover Taiwan, which Beijing regards as a renegade province which must be reunited with the mainland, by force if necessary. Chinese spokeswoman Zhang Qiyue said in Pakistan yesterday she thought many nations visited by US envoys shared China's scepticism about the plan designed to thwart missile attacks by so-called "rogue states" such as North Korea and Iraq.

"I believe that everywhere the delegations go there are many questions raised and, as far as I can see, there are more questions than answers," Zhang said.

Zhang, travelling in Islamabad with Premier Zhu Rongji, spoke after Pakistani military ruler Pervez Musharraf was quoted by the official APP news agency as opposing the missile shield.

India had praised Bush's vision of nuclear disarmament but stopped short of endorsing the missile shield programme during a visit to New Delhi by US deputy secretary of state Richard Armitage. And Australia's foreign affairs minister Alexander Downer said he believed the US missile defence system would go ahead with broad international support, despite misgivings expressed by a range of nations including Russia, China, Germany and France.

# American lawmakers needle China over Tibet

By Chidanand Rajghatta  
The Times of India News Service

WASHINGTON: The glowing embers of the heated face-off between the U.S. and China has been stoked some more with the introduction of a bill in the U.S. Congress calling for safeguarding the identity of the Tibetan people and appointment of a special U.S. coordinator for Tibet.

U.S. lawmakers said the bill had been in the works for some time and its introduction at the time of heightened tension between the two countries much less during the Dalai Lama's three-week tour of America that began on Thursday was a coincidence.

But the seeming provocation is certain to enrage Beijing, which has already begun fulminating about the Dalai Lama's trip as it does with

similar trips by Taiwanese leaders. The Dalai Lama began his U.S. engagements with a lecture on Buddhism at the University of Minnesota. He will gradually work his way towards Washington, where, typically, he will meet the vice-president and the President will drop-in at the meeting.

This unflinching protocol ritual, ostensibly aimed at proving American commitment to Tibetan survival, usually sends China into a blue fit. But this year, a spate of incidents including the Hainan episode, the cyber war, detention of China-born U.S. academics in China, and the flap over NMD have made matters extremely delicate.

U.S. lawmakers though remain unmoved by diplomatic niceties while upping the ante on Tibet. The

latest bill has several sponsors from both the Republican Party and the Democratic Party and stands in the name of California's Democratic Senator Dianne Feinstein, whose constituents include many well-known figures from the entertainment industry whose hearts bleed for Tibet.

Ms Feinstein said in a statement that her intent in introducing the Tibetan Policy Act 2001 was "to place the full faith of the United States government behind efforts to preserve the distinct identity and the cultural, religious and ethnic autonomy of the Tibetan People."

The proposed Act seeks to grant \$2.75 million to help Tibetan refugees, to provide scholarships for Tibetan exiles, and to assist human rights activities through Ti-

betan non-governmental organizations (NGOs). It also calls for U.S. support for Tibet consideration at the UN, including the participation of the Dalai Lama or his representative in organisations hosted by or under the auspices of the global body, and U.S. support for the appointment of a special working group for Tibet.

It wants the U.S. ambassador to China to seek to meet with and request the release of the 11th Panchen Lama. The legislation also urges Secretary of State Colin Powell to establish an office in Lhasa, the capital of Tibet, including codification of the position of the Special Coordinator for Tibetan Issues with specific responsibility for promoting substantive dialogue between the government of China

and the Dalai Lama or his representatives.

While lawmakers are turning the screws on China in Congress, former President Clinton, now in Hong Kong for a conference of business leaders, met Chinese President Jiang Zemin and urged Washington to adopt a softer, more understanding line on Beijing. Mr Clinton said there would always be "difficulties and bumps in the road in our relationship," but engaging China was the best way to ensure stability. "The important thing... is not to assume the relationship is inherently adversarial but instead to take what we know is true. That the world will be a better place over the next 50 years if we are partners, if we are working together," Mr Clinton was quoted as saying.

THE TIMES OF INDIA

17 MAR 2001

# U.S. official to hold talks in Beijing on NMD

**BEIJING, MAY 13.** The U.S. Assistant Secretary of State, Mr. James Kelly, arrives here on Monday to hold talks with China on the U.S. President, Mr. George W. Bush's plan to have a National Missile Defence (NMD) system, a move strongly opposed by Beijing.

The visit is part of the Bush administration's exercise to convince the world leaders about the deployment of the system and the proposed strategic security framework.

"We hope the U.S. will proceed cautiously and continue to abide by the Anti-Ballistic Missile (ABM) treaty", the Chinese Foreign Ministry spokesman, Mr. Sun Yuxi, said on Thursday while maintaining Beijing's "firm opposition" to the unilateral abrogation

of the 1972 treaty.

Mr. Kelly's trip to China follows visits by the U.S. Deputy Secretary of State, Mr. Richard Armitage, to Japan, South Korea and India to explain the Bush plan.

Sino-U.S. relations took a steep downturn after the April 1 mid-air collision between a U.S. navy surveillance plane and a Chinese fighter jet over the South China Sea.

China is also upset about a major U.S. arms package to Taiwan that includes destroyers, submarines and submarine-hunting aircraft.

## N. Korea blasts South

North Korea on Sunday denounced South Korea for a "reckless" arms build-up and warned

that its participation in the proposed U.S. missile defence system would only bring it death and destruction. "They (South Korea) are hell-bent on the purchase of lethal weapons... They seek in this to create an atmosphere for showdown and war," Pyongyang's official mouthpiece, the Korean Central News Agency

(KCNA), said. The agency said strong countermeasures would be taken if the U.S. deployed its missile defence system against North Korea. "Our countermeasures will not be bound to anything and we will not care about arms race,"

the KCNA said. The Communist North had on Friday condemned South Korea for asking the U.S. to sell it missile launchers that could

be used in a theatre missile defence system.

Mr. Richard Armitage said in Seoul last week a limited U.S. missile shield would be offered to America's allies if the technology was successful. South Korea has so far kept an officially neutral stance towards the U.S. administration's ambitious plans for a missile shield. "If the South Korean authorities get involved in (missile defence), persistently pursuing the policy of military confrontation and escalating tensions... They will get nothing but ruin and death," the KCNA said.

Relations between the two Koreas warmed significantly after a historic summit between their leaders in Pyongyang last June. —

Reuters

THE HINDU

14 MAY 2001



# China warns USA on Dalai Lama

PRESS TRUST OF INDIA

BEIJING, May 10. - China today warned Washington not to damage bilateral ties by arranging meetings between the Dalai Lama and US leaders and government personnel.

Chinese foreign ministry spokesman Mr Sun Yuxi said China has lodged strong protests with Washington over the move to allow the Dalai Lama to visit USA.

"We have always opposed US permission for the Dalai Lama's activities in America," Mr Sun said when asked to comment on the Tibetan leader's three-week visit and planned meetings with officials in Washington.

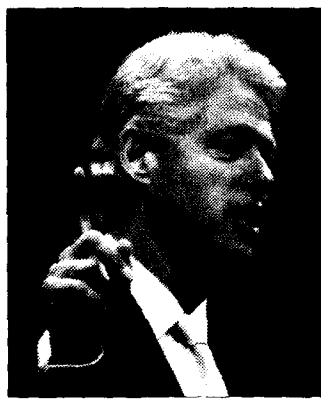
The Tibetan leader is in USA at a sensitive time in Sino-US relations, following the 1 April spy plane incident and the announcement of US arms sales to Taiwan.

While it isn't clear whether Mr Bush will meet the Dalai Lama and further antagonise the Chinese, diplomatic sources here did not rule out such a meeting.

While asking USA to adhere to its commitment recognising Tibet as part of China, Mr Sun demanded that the Bush administration shouldn't support "Tibet's independence."

**US Congress resolution:** The US Congress has introduced a resolution to support the Dalai Lama's participation in UN meetings, release of the Panchen Lama and an American mission to Lhasa, a report from

## CLINTON CALLS FOR SINO-US PARTNERSHIP



Mr Bill Clinton at the Global Economic Forum in Hong Kong on Thursday. - AP/PTI

HONG KONG, May 10. - Mr Bill Clinton today said Washington and Beijing should work as partners after acknowledging recent strains in relations between the two countries.

Addressing the closing session of a conference here, Mr Clinton said differences of opinion were bound to crop up, but their relationship didn't have to be adversarial.

Mr Clinton, who met the Chinese President, Mr Jiang Zemin, on the sidelines of the Global Economic Forum yesterday, said he had spent time and energy in building ties between

"the world's largest democracy and the oldest and largest civilisation." The new Bush administration has classified China as a "strategic competitor" while the Clinton White House was keen to build what it saw as a partnership. China's entry into the WTO, likely to occur before the year end, will increase China's prosperity and "its interdependence with the rest of the world," Mr Clinton said. "It's imperative to complete China's accession to the WTO at the earliest possible moment," he told delegates. - AFP

Washington says.

Entitled The Tibet Policy Act of 2001, it provides for Washington's support for Tibet in the UN and the Dalai Lama's participation in UN conferences.

"The US will seek ways to support economic development, cultural preservation, health care, education and environmental sustainability for Tibetans in Tibet," the resolution states.

It calls for setting up a special working group on Tibet and co-

ordinates the position of the special coordinator for Tibetan issues in the state department with specific responsibilities for promoting substantive dialogue between China and the Dalai Lama.

**China ready for talks:** While maintaining its firm opposition to Mr Bush's plans to develop and deploy a missile defence system, China today said it was ready to discuss the issue with Washington, another report from Beijing says.

THE STATESMAN

1 MAY 2001

# China ready for missile talks with US envoy

*Beijing, May 10* CHINA REMAINS "firmly opposed" to President Bush's plans to develop a missile defence system but is ready to discuss the issue with a US mission next week, the foreign ministry said on Thursday.

"If the US side is willing to send an envoy here, we are willing to have consultations," Foreign Ministry spokesman Sun Yuxi told a news conference.

The State Department announced last week that a mission led by Assistant Secretary of State James Kelly would visit China on May 14 and 15 as part of consultations on Bush's National Missile Defence plan.

Sun repeated China's opposition to the missile shield plan that would effectively abrogate the Anti-Ballistic Missile (ABM) treaty, a central Cold War-era treaty barring such defences.

"As we have stated many times, we are firmly opposed to this," Sun said. "We hope the US will proceed cautiously and continue to abide by the ABM."

The Kelly trip to China follows visits by US Deputy Secretary of State Richard Armitage to Japan and South Korea this week to explain the ideas Bush announced in a recent speech on missile defence. Bush has laid out a vision of 21st century security based on smaller offensive nuclear arsenals and defences capable of intercepting missiles fired by so-called rogue states such as North Korea or Iraq.

Washington is also considering a so-called Theater Missile Defence plan to protect allies, like Japan, and its own troops in northeast Asia.

China is strongly opposed to such systems, which could erode the effectiveness of its nuclear force and cover Taiwan, which

Beijing regards as a renegade province that must be reunited with the mainland, by force if necessary.

Such fears were heightened last month when Bush, departing from years of ambiguity over whether US forces would help defend Taiwan if it were attacked by the mainland, said he would do "whatever it took" to protect the island.

Kelly, making his first visit to China since he took on his new job, is expected to talk about other aspects of the troubled relationship between Beijing and Washington.

In Seoul, the US, seeking support for an ambitious missile shield, told South Korea on Thursday it would resume talks with North Korea — adding new light for Seoul's "Sunshine Policy" toward its old foe.

South Korean officials appeared happy with the mes-

sage of support from US Deputy Secretary of State Richard Armitage, who arrived on Wednesday on a Far East tour to explain the Bush administration's strategic vision on missile defence.

Earlier, protesters against the missile shield plan pelted Armitage's car with eggs as he drove out of his hotel for morning meetings. Demonstrators also tussled with police at the defence ministry when he arrived there.

"These talks were important because we received confirmation that U.S. talks with North Korea would resume and Washington has shown strong support for South Korea's Sunshine Policy," Seoul's Unification Ministry director of policy, Lee Bong-jo, said.

He was speaking to reporters after Armitage met Unification Minister Lim Dong-won, who is

in charge of North Korean affairs.

"This confirmation itself is a message to North Korea," Lee said. "We'll have to wait for North Korea's response."

Pyongyang sent a message of its own last week, when North Korean leader Kim Jong-il told a visiting European Union delegation he wanted to meet South Korean President Kim Dae-jung, but the timing of that summit depended on a U.S. policy review.

Kim Jong-il also offered an olive branch to President Bush, announcing he would unilaterally extend a moratorium on testing long-range missiles until 2003. During talks with South Korean Defence Minister Kim Dong-shin, Armitage presented Washington's case for a missile shield that would effectively abrogate a central Cold War-era treaty barring such defences.

Reuters

# Plane facts of dipping Sino-U.S. ties

By HARVEY STOCKWIN  
The Times of India News Service

**HONG KONG:** Forty days after a Chinese F-8 jet collided with an American EP-3E reconnaissance plane near Hainan, Sino-American relations continue to deteriorate as a result of that incident alone, although other issues are also increasing tensions between the two nations.

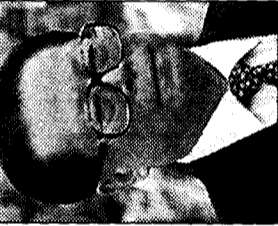
Chinese president Jiang Zemin left here on Wednesday after giving a keynote speech to a business conference sponsored by the AOL-Time-Warner conglomerate, and having a long chat with former U.S. president Bill Clinton. In his keynote speech, Mr Jiang said nothing at all about the issue of U.S.-China relations. His only reported comment on this topic was during an interview with AOL Time Warner chief executive Gerald Levin.

The New China News Agency reported Mr Jiang as saying to Mr Levin that "It is China's view that Sino-American relations should be

dealt with from a strategic and long-term perspective, and the differences between the two countries handled in a proper way." (It is not known whether Mr Levin pointed out to Jiang that while Time was helping to sponsor this conference, *Time* magazine was banned in Beijing.)

But while Mr Jiang was otherwise silent on the crucial issue, official foreign ministry spokesmen in Beijing were conspicuously failing to approach the relationship in the way the Chinese president suggested. On Tuesday, the official foreign ministry spokeswoman rejected U.S. secretary of defence Donald Rumsfeld's stated preference for first repairing and then flying the EP-3E out of Hainan. The Chinese official position appears to be that the Americans must first break the aircraft up and then transport it away by sea.

On Wednesday, another spokesman hardened this rejection by insisting that the Chinese people's feelings would be hurt if the reconnaissance plane (which, the Chinese maintain, deliberately collided with the F-8 jet) was allowed to fly over Chinese territory on its way back to the U.S. This statement in itself is a reminder of one of the many unsolved issues arising from the incident.



Jiang Zemin

The statement only makes sense if it is recalled that China claims the whole of the South China sea as its sovereign territory.

From an American perspective the repaired EP-3E would be in international airspace almost as soon as it took off from Lingshui air base near the southern tip of Hainan, and after that would have no need to fly over China. Leaving Beijing last week, retiring U.S. ambassador to China admiral Joseph Prueher

warned that the Hainan incident would have a "corrosive effect" on Sino-American relations if it was not quickly solved — and this appears to be exactly what is happening. For every step forward there appears to be two steps backward.

Beijing allowed the Americans to send technicians to inspect the EP-3E, but then made their work difficult until the very last minute. Beijing agreed to further meetings to iron out differences on, and establish rules for, fighter interceptions of reconnaissance flights. But such meetings have not been held and now China is again insisting that all such reconnaissance must cease.

After waiting for nearly six weeks, in the hope of not being provocative, the U.S. has recommenced its reconnaissance flights, though not yet in the Hainan area. China has protested, and called upon the Americans to "draw a lesson" from the earlier incident and to "correct such wrongdoing." The two nations remain far apart on the incident and its aftermath.

# Jiang, Clinton meet in reminder of old times

FROM STEPHEN WEEKS

Hong Kong, May 9 (Reuters): China President Jiang Zemin and former US President Bill Clinton, champions of close trade ties between their countries, held wide-ranging talks today in a reminder of better times before recent diplomatic rows soured US-Sino relations.

The two, who worked during much of the Clinton presidency to develop US-Sino ties, met for slightly over an hour at Jiang's harbourfront hotel while in Hong Kong for a business forum.

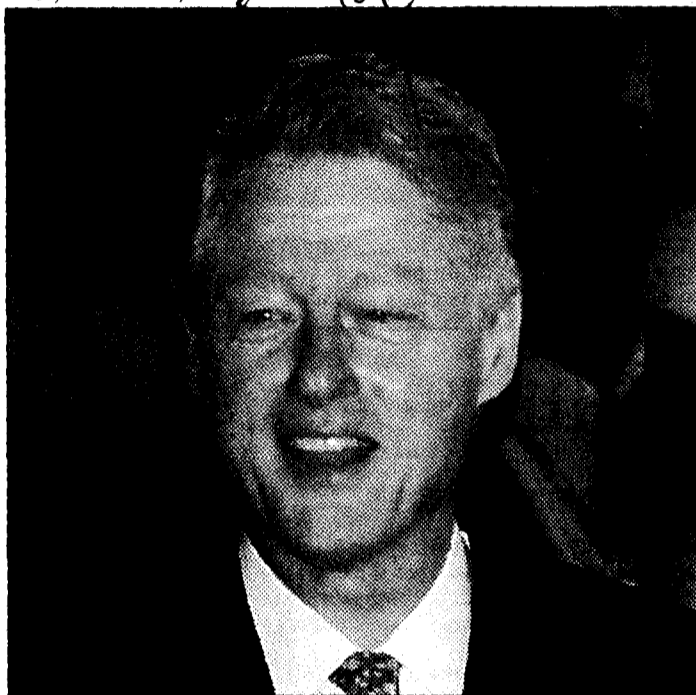
China's official Xinhua news agency called the talks friendly while Clinton's spokesman said they were "very cordial" and involved a "wide-ranging discussion focused on China".

Spokesman P.J. Crowley said they "reflected on the work they did together over eight years and reaffirmed the need for the US and China to work for a constructive relationship".

US-Sino relations have been badly strained in recent months by a series of incidents, ranging from an 11-day US spy plane standoff to a number of US citizens held by police in China.

Both Clinton, who left office in January after eight years, and the administration of President George W. Bush stressed the Jiang meeting was a private affair and Clinton was carrying no special messages.

Before the meeting, Crowley had said: "This is a private meeting. We're not going to say much. But he's not carrying a specific message from the Bush administration."



Former US President Bill Clinton in Hong Kong. (Reuters)

Political analysts have debated whether US-China relations were undergoing a fundamental shift since the Bush administration took over and adopted a more adversarial stand.

Bush has staked out a tougher line and last week ordered a review of all US government contacts with China following the spy plane incident. The US insisted again this week that it be allowed to fly its crippled EP-3 plane home from China, where it made an emergency landing after colliding with a Chinese fighter.

China rejected the demand and expressed anger that Washington

had resumed the spy flights, saying "serious representations" would be made.

Sino-American relations have also been battered by Bush's decision to offer the biggest arms deal in a decade to Beijing's arch-foe Taiwan, and the detention of a string of US residents and citizens by Chinese police.

Crowley declined to give any details on the substance of the talks, but Clinton and Jiang worked to build Sino-US ties and the Chinese leader could have viewed the meeting as a chat with an "old friend" during troubled times.

THE

# USA readies Bill on Tibet

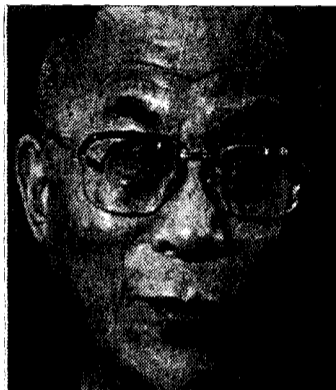
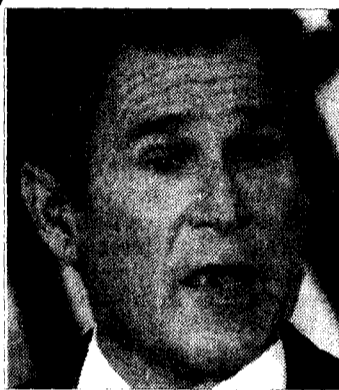
REUTERS

WASHINGTON, May 9. - Congress is about to stir up another sensitive issue in the strained US-Chinese relationship with the introduction of a bill designed to protect Tibetan cultural and religious traditions, congressional sources and advocates have said.

Senators and congressmen plan to announce the legislation today morning. It would also seek to promote dialogue on Tibet's future between the exiled religious leader the Dalai Lama and Chinese officials.

The International Campaign for Tibet, an advocacy group, has called the bill the most comprehensive legislation on the region ever put before Congress. The move comes at the beginning of a nine-city US tour by the Dalai Lama.

Sino-American ties have recently been frayed by the 11-day detention of an American spy plane crew, President Mr George W Bush's outspoken vow to defend Taiwan if it is



Mr George W Bush (left) and Dalai Lama

threatened by Beijing and his offer to sell arms to the island, which China considers a breakaway province.

"The sponsors of this bill have crafted the most comprehensive Tibet legislation ever to be considered by Congress," said Ms Mary Beth Markey, director of governmental relations for the International Campaign for Tibet.

"With this move, the US government is putting the force of law behind its long-standing interest in the welfare of

the Tibetan people and a negotiated solution for Tibet," she said.

Legislative sponsors include two California Democrats, Senator Ms Dianne Feinstein and Republican Mr Tom Lantos, as well as Senator Mr Craig Thomas of Wyoming and Republican Mr Mark Kirk of Illinois, both Republicans.

"The legislation provides a clear statement of US intent to help preserve the identity of the Tibetan people and of-

fers the US tools for formulating and implementing Tibet-related policies and for cooperating with other members of the international community," a Democratic spokesman said. He said that for five decades, China had focused on the economic integration and ethnic assimilation of Tibet. This has "undermined the sustainability of an independent Tibetan economy and ... threatened the cultural, social, religious and linguistic identity of the Tibetan people," he said.

The legislation, known as the Tibetan Policy Act, takes up such issues as political prisoners and UN consideration of Tibet. Occasionally, the Dalai Lama or a representative has been barred from a UN-affiliated event, presumably because of objections by China.

Advocacy groups said the bill would authorise the continuation of humanitarian assistance to Tibetan refugees, of scholarships and of other support for Tibetans.

THE STATESMAN

10 MAY 2001

# China protests resumption of US spy flights

Beijing, May 8

CHINA PROTESTED the resumption of American surveillance flights off its coast on Tuesday and said it will not allow the damaged US Navy spy plane, crippled in a collision with a Chinese fighter, to leave the country.

The US has considered several options for removing the plane, including dismantling it and shipping it out in pieces, and China has not ruled those out. But a Foreign Ministry spokesman said on Tuesday that the EP-3E Aries II aircraft will not be allowed leave the southern Chinese island of Hainan "by means of flight."

The statement released by the official Xinhua News Agency did not say why China opposed allowing the spy plane to fly home.

But Beijing may be trying to punish Washington for the collision, and for the resumption of US surveillance flights on Monday, by making it chop up its plane and spend extra money and time shipping it home.

"The Chinese side has several times stated clearly in relevant Sino-US negotiations that it is impossible for the EP-3 plane to fly back to the US," said Foreign Ministry spokesman Sun Yuxi.

"The US should take a pragmatic and constructive attitude so that the issue on handling the US plane could be properly settled," he said.

The Navy plane collects and analyses electronic signals to monitor military communications and activities. It has been sitting on a military runway on

China's Hainan Island since making an emergency landing on April 1 after a collision with a Chinese fighter jet.

The pilot of the Chinese jet was lost in the collision and the 24 crew members of the US plane were held on Hainan for 11 days. The US plane was badly damaged, though officials say the Chinese probably harvested valuable intelligence from it despite the crew's apparently successful efforts to destroy the most sensitive information aboard.

Also on Tuesday, Sun said his government opposed the resumption of US spy flights off China's coast.

Monday's surveillance flight was the US military's first along the coast since the collision. The unarmed Air Force RC-135 was not opposed by Chinese jets and returned safely to Kadena Air Base on the Japanese island of Okinawa, US officials said.

China will "lodge serious representations with the United States" over the flight, Sun said. He said the Washington should "draw a lesson" from the collision and "correct such wrongdoing."

In Washington, a US defense official said on Monday that the Lockheed Martin technicians, who inspected the plane last week, determined that repairs would probably take several days.

President Bush is expected to make the final decision on whether to press China for permission to repair the Navy aircraft.

AP

THE HINDUSTAN TIMES

23 MAY 2001

# US resumes spy flights off China

FROM CHARLES ALDINGER

Washington, May 7 (Reuters) — The US military today resumed intelligence gathering flights by electronic surveillance aircraft off China in defiance of demands by Beijing that such patrols be halted, a defence official said.

The official, who asked not to be identified, said the first such flight since an April 1 mid-air collision between a US Navy reconnaissance plane and a Chinese fighter jet was flown by an big, unarmoured KC-135 aircraft in international air space off northeastern China.

The four-engine jet, which flew out of Kadena Air Base on Okinawa, conducted its mission during daylight hours today, the official said. Such planes are packed with equipment to gather information on military operations

and communications.

"Today's flight was flown in daylight and was not intercepted," the defence official said. "The flight ended just a couple of hours ago," the official said.

An official at China's ministry of foreign affairs declined to immediately comment on the resumption of US reconnaissance flights off the Chinese coast.

Washington had vowed to resume the missions, which were temporarily halted following the collision between a four-engine turboprop Navy EP-3E surveillance aircraft and the Chinese jet fighter off China's southeastern coast.

The Chinese jet crashed into the South China Sea, killing the pilot. The crippled EP-3E made an emergency landing at a Chinese military base on Hainan Island, where it is still being held by

China.

In the incident that strained relations between the two countries, China held the 24-member US crew for 11 days until Washington said it was "very sorry" the Chinese fighter pilot had died in the collision and for landing at Hainan without permission.

A team of aircraft technicians from Lockheed Martin Corp inspected the Navy plane last week, and defence secretary Donald Rumsfeld said yesterday he hoped the aircraft could be repaired and flown out of China by the US military.

Pentagon officials said earlier that the flights were likely to resume in international air space off central China and later expand to the south, where defence officials have charged that Chinese fighter pilots are dangerously aggressive in trying to intimidate crews of

the lumbering US planes.

Rumsfeld said yesterday he hoped the Navy surveillance plane could be repaired for flight.

"The preliminary view is that it may be possible to repair it sufficiently to fly it out, but that's not clear yet," he said on NBC's *Meet the Press*. While he said a final decision had not been made on whether it would be flown from Hainan Island, Rumsfeld added: "I think that certainly it would be logical it would be flown out."

Pentagon officials said earlier Beijing had indicated it did not want the plane repaired for flight. One alternative would be to take the aircraft apart for shipment by boat.

Rumsfeld told CBS' *Face the Nation* that he expected Beijing would release the \$80 million aircraft after holding it for more than a month. "I would suspect we'll get

it back. They wouldn't have allowed an inspection team to go in there if they didn't plan to return the airplane," he said.

President George W. Bush is "very concerned" about rising gasoline prices but will resist short-term solutions, the White House said today. White House spokesman Ari Fleischer said lifting the federal tax on gasoline as a way to cut the rising price of gasoline was not an option, saying Bush has never sought quick fixes because they do not work.

Energy secretary Spencer Abraham warned last week that the US gasoline price would average between \$1.60 and \$1.70 this summer. Asked if Bush planned to take any immediate action to stem the rising price of gasoline, Fleischer said: "If anybody has a magic wand, the President would be happy to listen."

# USA to review all ties with China

5/12/55



Mr George W Bush

REUTERS

WASHINGTON, May 5. - President Mr George W Bush has ordered a review of all US government contacts with China following an 11-day spy plane stand-off that strained relations, a White House spokesman said.

After Mr Bush signalled the review on Thursday, White House spokesman, Mr Ari Fleischer said yesterday Mr Bush had directed the departments of defence and state and other agencies engaged with China to "take a look case by case" at their contacts with Beijing.

Secretary of state Mr Colin Powell will evaluate contacts at his department, defence secretary Mr Donald Rumsfeld at the Pentagon, and national security adviser Mrs Condoleezza Rice will review contacts in other agencies.

White House spokesman, Mr Ari Fleischer said the goal was "to make a determination on a case-by-case basis about which of those contacts are the most positive and productive for the united states and which may not be."

Officials described it as a relatively informal process and contacts that would be under review would be wheth-

er US officials had any meetings with Chinese officials planned or whether they planned to attend any conferences in China.

"It's not business as usual yet with China," said one official, speaking on condition of anonymity.

Mr Bush had signalled the review on Thursday when asked about the decision to look at US-Chinese military contacts.

"We're going to review all opportunities to interface with the Chinese," Mr Bush told reporters adding "and if it enhances our relationship, it might make sense. If it's a

useless exercise, and if don't make the relationship any better, then we won't do that."

US-Chinese relations have been strained by an 11-day stand-off after a US spy plane made an emergency landing in China and by Mr Bush's pledge to defend Taiwan considered a breakaway province - against any attack from China.

**US team leaves China:** A team of US technicians today left China after completing an inspection of a crippled US navy spy plane which collided with a Chinese fighter last month, the official Xinhua news agency reported.

It said there would be more discussions on the fate of the EP-3 Reconnaissance aircraft, but gave no further details.

A Pentagon official yesterday said the plane, despite the damage caused by the 1 April collision that sparked an 11-day diplomatic stand-off, could be flown out of China.

US defence officials say, however, China had indicated it did not want the EP-3 flown off Hainan Island, where it made an emergency landing after the collision. One alternative would be to take the aircraft apart for shipment by boat.



# SINO-US TIES

## India Must Play Role Of Facilitator

By JK DUTT

**B**EHAVIOURAL science specialists describe the universal one-upmanship syndrome by this sleight of tongue — “Whatever you do I can do better, even if I know nothing about it!” This syndrome fits George W Bush and his administration with reference to his predecessor’s forte, International Relations. An apocryphal line doing the rounds in Washington says Bush does not know the difference between Siberia and Serbia because foreign policy has never been his cup of tea! He therefore has understandably taken recourse to the standard American macho image projection for dissembling Sino-US relations that Bill Clinton so painstakingly nurtured during his two terms as President.

For a start though, Bush’s choice of his secretary of state and the semantics used in pronouncing American foreign policy need to be re-valued. Gen Colin Powell would surely have made an apt defence secretary, but secretary of state? Would it not have been more prudent for Bush to have appointed a senior, experienced career diplomat to this pivotal post? The Republican manifesto laced with the right dose of emotion during the elections had an avowed intention of withdrawing American military personnel from foreign commitments as these were seen to be infructuous and non productive, thus overturning Clinton’s positing on such issues.

### COMPETITOR

Yet strangely, Bush has termed China a “strategic competitor”, superseding Clinton’s usage of the more moderate “strategic partner”. A strategic competitor in modern International Relations is one who view with an equivalent nation for geostrategic advantages usually encompassing two key result areas namely, security and economy. China has been forcefully expanding its maritime might over the past few years. It virtually controls the South China Sea and has been preparing the ground via Myanmar for forays into the Indian Ocean for acquiring the immense wealth available in these waters. Bush’s classifying China as a “competitor” tantamounts to encouraging a Sino-US confrontation in the Indian Ocean if he continues in this tenor.

Quizzically speaking, how does he intend to thwart China from expanding its strategic design if he decides to pull out American forces from the region? Even Clinton’s choice of the term for China was not conducive: “Trade or Business Partner” would have been more to the point.

The recent spy plane incident off Hainan Island seems to hide more than it reveals. Some

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

doubts remain. One, was the American plane deliberately flying over China’s southern coastal military establishments, specifically the PLA Navy’s Southern Fleet apropos Taiwan, not to mention China’s sensitive Exclusive Economic Zone? Two, why is Washington provoking Beijing by such brazen surveillance flights, with threats of more to come? Presumably such spy missions were also operative during



Clinton’s time but these were organised in an adequate covert mode for obvious reasons, reasons whose full implications appear to have escaped Bush. And three, is Bush equating China’s politico-military standing with that of Russia, boosted by advisory assurances to the effect that if Russia could be cut down to size, the same could be done for China? It would be a grievous error in estimation if this is Washington’s line of thinking.

Harping on tiresome cliches like China’s human rights record, Chinese nuclear proliferation cum export transactions and so on will not make the slightest difference to China’s objectives in the new millennium. In any event, the USA should carry out a self-appraisal before passing strictures on others. China has set itself just one goal — to achieve super power status at the earliest and no amount of rumblings from the West are going to impede the attainment of this goal. This apart, China’s biggest thrust in International Relations is garnering world opinion for a multipolar world, an opinion that most countries go with.

### GLOBAL POLES

It is expected that the USA, China, and the European Union including Russia will ultimately become the global poles that matter. Africa a century later could also become an independent pole provided it can manage the right leadership.

Bush does concede Clinton’s thought process that as of date the USA is the sole superpower and while holding this portfolio, it does have some commitments and concerns with the aim of securing a better quality of life for all. The USA will have to wilfully ensure that its activities towards this end are properly conducted, preempting minimal repercussions.

A leading instance is, the USA has not learnt to use military

force judiciously for quickly ending a human crisis. Kosovo makes a good case study. It was thought that after the Bosnian experience where Radovan Karadzic played havoc with Bosnian Muslims, with the UN being mere spectators, Kosovo should not suffer the same fate. Regrettably, the inhuman sufferings that ethnic Albanians had to undergo at Slobodan Milosevic’s hands are indescribable.

In a twist of fate, their agony was aggravated by NATO’s

prolonged bombing spree. Either Clinton did not assimilate enough from Bosnia or he wanted to play safe. Actually, he should have launched a ground attack in conjunction with the air strikes as advised by his military commanders. This would have ended the crisis quickly. Apparently Clinton took to heart that oft-misused pernicious phrase, “Body bags”. The

valid point represented by his staff that when a serviceman dons the uniform of his country’s armed forces, he forecloses his life to his country’s demands in war and peace, did not jell. Bush needs to learn something from this.

### BONHOMIE

A poser for us however is, what should India do under the circumstances? Our country has assiduously built up a satisfactory working relationship with the USA. Similarly, our relations with China are also improving by the day: Li Peng’s visit is not without some significance. The USA might not take kindly to our growing bond with China. Notwithstanding the bonhomie displayed by the new White House to our foreign minister during his familiarisation visit, we must be careful not to become the USA’s counterpoise to China. Instead, we should beget ourselves a facilitator’s role for installing a Washington-New Delhi-Beijing axis.

India has to mount a very carefully orchestrated game-plan to make the best of both relationships, using “designer diplomacy” at its optimum. We should firm up a strategic alliance with the USA incorporating multi-layered cooperation in politico-military matters, economic inputs, and technology transfer. We could simultaneously seriously consider seasoned international relations practitioner Yevgeny Primakov’s suggestion of forming a group of three nations (G3) comprising Russia, China and India. This can be feasible in view of the USA’s insistence on their National Missile Defence system.

One fact is apparent: Bush’s deficient knowledge of international relations has made him fall back on the only political weapon that he understands, namely, military power. By the same token, an appropriate foil to this would be a G3.

THE STATESMAN

MAY 2001

# Bush plan a threat to world peace: China

**BEIJING, MAY 3.** China warned the United States on Thursday that discarding the 1972 Anti-Ballistic Missile treaty would jeopardise world peace and stability.

The official Xinhua news agency quoted a Foreign Ministry spokesman commenting on the U.S. President, Mr. George W. Bush's speech on Tuesday calling for the treaty to be replaced to allow the U.S. to deploy a National Missile Defence (NMD) system. "We believe that the Anti-Ballistic Missile treaty is the cornerstone for safeguarding global strategic balance and stability," Xinhua quoted the spokesman, Mr. Zhu Bangzao, as saying. Destroying the treaty would "spark a new round of arms race, which will be unfavourable to world peace, development and stability," Xinhua said.

Mr. Bush's NMD plans threaten to further damage China-U.S. ties already strained by a collision between a U.S. spy plane and a Chinese jet fighter, U.S. arms sales to Taiwan, and Mr. Bush's pledges to help the island defend itself.

"We hope the U.S. will act with great care and continue to adhere to ABM treaty and other present treaties on disarmament and arms control," Mr. Zhu said.

Commenting on Mr. Bush's 100 days in office, the state-run Chinese media said the President's missile defence plan made U.S. European allies consider him an "egotist." "His whole-hearted wish is to cast off the shadow of 'the weak President'," the *People's Daily* said.

"His excessive acts and words over the China-U.S. plane colli-

sion and arms sales to Taiwan are all connected to this state of mind," the newspaper said.

Mr. Zhu said Mr. Bush's plan to develop the missile defense system could spark a new arms race. The brief report on Xinhua was the first official Chinese reaction since Mr. Bush outlined his plans for an anti-missile project on Tuesday in Washington. It repeated previous Chinese Government objections about abandoning the 1972 treaty, which the United States signed with the now defunct Soviet Union. "If the treaty is destroyed, global strategic balance and stability will be broken, and the international arms control process and non-proliferation efforts will be impeded," the report said, paraphrasing Mr. Zhu.

*People's Daily*, in an analysis of the new U.S. administration, said Mr. Bush was taking a hard line to compensate for the narrow margin of his victory in last year's presidential election.

The Bush administration is considering a missile defense system that could be rushed into operation as early as 2004, possibly relying on weapons aboard ships or planes as well as on land.

Mr. Bush outlined a multifaceted approach, including an airborne laser that would destroy a missile shortly after take-off, as well as sea-based missiles that might share with a land-based system the task of shooting down missiles in mid-flight. U.S. allies such as Britain and Canada have stopped short of endorsing the plan. — Reuters, AP

THE HINDU

4 MAY 2001

Defence secretary's office mistakenly suspended military ties with Beijing

# China order blows up in US face

FROM CHARLES ALDINGER

Washington, May 3 (Reuters): An embarrassed United States defence department yesterday reversed an order issued by defence secretary Donald Rumsfeld's office which had mistakenly suspended American military ties with China.

A Pentagon spokesman said the order, signed two days ago by a Rumsfeld deputy and announced yesterday, had "misinterpreted" Rumsfeld's intention to subject modest bilateral ties such as ship visits and military personnel exchanges with Beijing to a case-by-case review.

The mistake was admitted as chill relations continued between the two countries over Beijing's refusal so far to return a crippled US navy EP-3E spy plane held in China since its April 1 mid-air collision with a Chinese jet fighter.

"The memo called for a suspension of the military-to-military programme until further notice. That is not his (Rumsfeld's) intention," navy Rear Adm. Craig Quigley, a Pentagon spokesman only two hours after the "suspension" order was announced.

"The secretary's intention is to bring all proposed interaction for the China military-to-military (relations) to the department of the

secretary of defence staff level for individual, case-by-case review and approval," the embarrassed admiral said in a hastily called meeting with reporters.

Today, China stressed the importance of military ties with the United States. "China-US military to military ties are an important component of the bilateral relationship," a foreign ministry official said. "Military to military exchanges have always been two-way and based on equality and consultation."

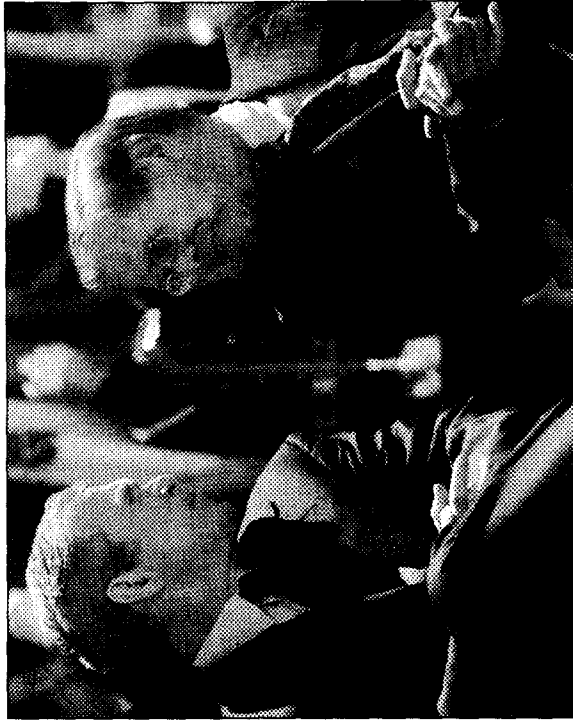
"We took note of the comments from the defence department spokesman but we have not yet received a formal notice from the US side," the Chinese foreign ministry official said.

Another Pentagon spokesman, reading from the mistaken memo based on Rumsfeld's orders, had earlier said in a terse statement that all modest military ties between the two countries had been suspended.

The order was signed on Monday and issued to the military services by Christopher Williams, special assistant to the secretary for policy matters.

But Quigley said it had simply misrepresented Rumsfeld's intention to be more careful about such ties.

Although the US military ser-



President George W. Bush and secretary of defence Donald Rumsfeld chat before Bush's speech on missile defence systems in Washington on Tuesday. (Reuters)

vice were told of the order on Monday, no formal notification was ever sent to China, defence officials said.

Beijing, which earlier delayed the return of the EP-3E reconnaissance plane's 24-member crew to the United States, has so far refused to give back the aircraft.

But it allowed a team of techni-

cal experts from the US to inspect the damage to the aircraft yesterday. Beijing has demanded that the United States halt all reconnaissance flights in international air space near China. The United States has refused.

Defence officials said that while military-to-military programmes between Washington

and Beijing were very modest, the memo signed on Monday had in effect briefly suspended ties which normally range from military ship visits to exchanges of visits by military officers.

The United States and China are still negotiating over a proposed meeting of their bilateral Military Maritime Consultative Commission to discuss return of the aircraft.

The United States has proposed several tentative dates for the meeting.

The Pentagon announced on Tuesday that the "Made in China" label would not be welcome in the US army as it outfits about half-a-million troops with new black berets.

It said that the Army's top general has determined that US troops would not wear berets made in China or berets made with Chinese content.

The Army said it was recalling previously distributed berets, received from China this year, and would dispose of them.

The announcement followed not only the spy plane tension, but criticism from Congress of the defence department's decision to let contracts totalling \$27 million go to companies in China and elsewhere to make the black caps, instead of to American firms.

# The US-China face-off

## Pacific Blues

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9/2-6  
9/13

**H**ONOLULU: When big wheels move even small cogs get the message. So Dr Yonggen Xiong may not have been surprised with the eviction notice he received in his Honolulu hotel room, days after the United States and China openly argued with each other, asking him to go home to Beijing. Dr Xiong was no Chinese spy, nor was he a scientist stealing US nuclear secrets. He was neither a soldier nor a diplomat. He was a mere scholar visiting the US to participate in a conference. To his misfortune, relations between China and the US had suddenly hit rock bottom after China caught a US spy plane and demanded an apology for the loss of a soldier's life.

Dr Xiong had already arrived in Honolulu to participate in a conference on 'Security Implications of Economic and Cultural Trends in the Asia-Pacific' at the Asia-Pacific Center for Strategic Studies (APCSS), a think tank of the US Pacific Command. A day before he was scheduled to speak at the conference he was asked to pack his bags. It was an unceremonious farewell and an interesting way to begin a conference in which participants from the United States Pacific Command and the US strategic policy community were interacting with strategic analysts and journalists from Japan, Australia, Taiwan, Korea, Indonesia, Philippines, Singapore, Fiji, Pakistan and India.

Clearly, the US did not want anyone around the conference table to miss the all too visible signs of its displeasure with China. Dr Xiong's forced return home was transmitted to all, loud and clear. As if to make a point of the new display of anger with China, the dean of APCSS, Dr Ron Monteperto, a former senior US State and Defence Department official exuded extra warmth towards this writer, representing India at the conference. Another small cog in the big wheel was feeling the ripple effects in distant Honolulu of the diplomatic waves made by the Oval Office

meeting between US President George Bush and the visiting Indian external affairs minister Jaswant Singh.

US-China relations have for some time been marked by a "blow hot, blow cold" courtship of sorts. As long as the Soviet Union was Enemy Number One, the US-China tango was entirely understandable. Under normal circumstances the end of the Cold War should have resulted in a cooling off of the relationship. Especially after the Tiananmen Square incidents one would have expected a real stepping up of pro-democracy sentiment, considering the number of changed

the Cold War era like Pakistan, which had made a nuisance of itself by allowing anti-US Islamic fundamentalist groups to thrive on its soil. China balanced its declining political and strategic relevance to the US by increasing its economic relevance. China is the second largest trade partner of the US with a huge trade surplus. More to the point, China has locked the US into a relationship of mutual dependence whereby the US middle class household would be hurt if the US-China trade relationship is interrupted.

China has used trade as a strategic policy weapon, building a relationship of mutual benefit, not



SANJAYA BARU

### The inability of the US to shape a new bilateral policy on China without hurting its own economic interests has been frustrating it

equations between the US and its many erstwhile non-democratic allies of the Cold War era.

How come the China relationship not only survived the end of the Cold War but seemed to thrive even after the post-Tiananmen Square interlude? The US even elevated China's global stature by pushing through an inequitable nuclear non-proliferation treaty that sought to divide the world between nuclear haves and have-nots, in the process making India more firm in its resolve to go nuclear. Add to this the fact that the Clinton administration went out of its way to pamper China's ego by not only squealing on Prime Minister Vajpayee's letter to the US president on the Indian nuclear tests, which had directly alluded to the China factor in India's nuclear strategy, but also acknowledging China's role in "South Asian" security. The end of the Cold War had not helped reduce China's importance to the US. Why?

Simple. Unlike a marginal player of

just with the US but with an increasing number of countries worldwide. China is increasingly sought as an economic partner both by European and east and southeast Asian countries. Even countries which worry about China's rising economic and military profile, do not want to hurt their economic relationship with it. By assiduously offering the potential of its huge internal market and delivering on the promise of exporting reasonable quality goods at low prices, China has forced an increasing number of countries to ignore its rising political power.

Nothing brought out the irony of this visible dualism better than the convoluted manner in which the Clinton administration defended supporting China's membership of the World Trade Organisation and extension of "permanent normal trade relations" (PNTR) to China, while at the same time it continues to isolate Cuba, waging a relentless trade war against it.

Closer home, in its own neighbourhood, countries like Japan, South Korea, Australia, Singapore are unable to decide whether China's growing power and influence is a factor for regional stability, prosperity and peace or will turn the much sought after 'Asia-Pacific Century' into a China-US century. Nowhere is this more manifest than in the attitude of these countries to India's membership of "Asian" organisations like APEC, ASEAN+3 and so on.

The US seems clear about the kind of world we are moving into. It will be one in which the US remains the undisputed "numero uno" but sharing power on its terms with regional powers like the EU, China, Japan, India and Russia. It will engage one or more of these nations in ensuring stability in different parts of the world. In West Asia and Africa it will share influence with the EU, in Central Asia with Russia, in southern Asia and southeast Asia with China, India and Japan. In the Americas it will remain the regional hegemon. China seemed quite happy with this, as long as it was allowed a share of influence in Asia. The India-US modus vivendi after Pokharan-II has upset China. US assertiveness on nuclear missile defence has encouraged China to reach out to new friends in Latin America and southeast Asia.

The inability of the US to shape a new bilateral policy on China without hurting its own economic interests and Japan's declining influence in Asia, its economic lethargy and military meekness, has been frustrating the US. Perhaps over-estimating its power, China over-reached itself. First, in backing Pakistan's nuclear programme, second, by deliberately increasing its economic influence in Asia and, finally, in talking tough to the US on the spy plane episode.

The Clinton administration was wimpy in its response. President Bush has decided to show who's the boss. The big wheels of diplomacy begin to move in Washington DC. Small cogs experience the impact way out in Hawaii!

# Not compensation, says U.S.

By Sridhar Krishnaswami

WASHINGTON, APRIL 30. The Bush Administration has welcomed the offer by China to inspect the American surveillance EP-3E Aries II plane which lies crippled and stranded in a military base at the Hainan island. The word is also that Washington may have to fork out some "cash" for the eventual return of the plane even as the administration is rushing to say that this is not compensation.

The Vice-President, Mr. Richard Cheney, on Sunday called China's initiation as a positive sign. "The fact that they have now announced that they are willing to have U.S. personnel go in and look at the aircraft and assess what it is going to take to get it back, I think is very positive," he said. After initially making the point that the crew personnel of the EP-3E had destroyed the valuable data and other sophisticated material before leaving it, information now is that the full procedures may not have been followed through leaving Beijing with a so-called treasure trove. The point being now made is that Beijing has no reason to keep the plane as it has had an opportunity to go "all over it" in the last four weeks.

The Bush Administration had all along been saying that the plane was sovereign American territory and therefore the Chinese would have to stay away from it — an explanation that had been rejected by China from the very beginning. One view is that now that Beijing has had the time to complete its "investigation" there are no reasons to hold on to



The damaged U.S. reconnaissance plane is parked at Lingshui base on China's Hainan Island in this file photo, released by China's official Xinhua news agency.

the spy plane. Both the U.S. and China are already said to be involved in talks on the return of the navy surveillance plane which is damaged.

There is more than one way in which the EP-3E could come back to the U.S. American personnel could fly down to the Hainan Island with repair equipment, service the plane and fly it out; the surveillance plane could be taken down in crates and brought back; or could be loaded on to a barge and taken out of the Hainan Island.

Reports say that a U.S. technical team is getting ready to leave

as early as today and from the Kadena Air Force Base in Okinawa, Japan. The Pentagon has not commented on these reports.

Mr. Cheney has been quick to say that the U.S. had only agreed to reimburse the costs associated with recovery of the plane as this is in no shape to fly out because of heavy damage to its nose and propellers. "We will pay whatever costs are associated with recovering the aircraft in terms of transportation, barge, cranes — whatever is required to get back out. That is legitimately something we ought to pay," he said.

THE HINDU

1 MAY 2001

# US technical team leaves to inspect spy plane

REUTERS

WASHINGTON, May 1. — A US technical team flew to Hawaii yesterday en route to China's Hainan island to determine how a crippled US Navy surveillance aircraft could be returned home, an administration official said.

The EP-3E surveillance aircraft made a forced landing on the island on 1 April after colliding with a Chinese fighter jet. Beijing has not yet agreed to return the plane, but said it would allow the aircraft's inspection.

The administration official, who asked not to be identified, told Reuters yesterday about five or six experts from Lockheed Martin Corp., which built the aircraft, would determine how the EP-3E might be disassembled for shipment back to the USA.

The group, flying to Hawaii on a chartered civilian aircraft, was to receive briefings there at US Pacific command headquarters, then go to Hainan for two or more days to determine the full extent of damage to the EP-3E, the official said.

If China agrees to release the aircraft, another team would go to the island to take the plane apart for return, the official said. The official didn't clear whether the plane suffered too much damage to be repaired and flown home or whether

## COLLEGE FRIEND

WASHINGTON, May 1. — Mr George W Bush, has nominated his college days friend Mr Clark "sandy" Randt as the new ambassador to China, the White House said.

The 55-year-old is fluent in Mandarin and has worked for a prominent law firm in Hong Kong. An economics specialist, he will take over from admiral Mr Joseph Prueher if his appointment is approved by the Senate. — DPA

Chinese officials didn't want a repair team to go to the island.

The plane's 24-member US crew, released by China after 11 days, is said to have destroyed as much sensitive information as possible while guiding the plane to an emergency landing.

The inspection would be the first breakthrough over the fate of the \$ 80 million aircraft, but potential trouble has loomed in Beijing over the issue of payment.

**N Korea statement:** North Korea today said US spy planes had conducted over 150 flights over its territory in April taking photos and conducting electronic reconnaissance and other espionage activities adds Reuters from Tokyo.

THE STATESMAN

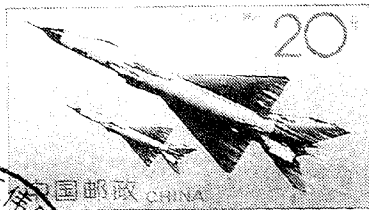
- 2 MAY 2001



### U.S. team in China

410-16 7/5

**BEIJING:** A team of U.S. technicians arrived on the southern Chinese island of Hainan on Tuesday to figure out how to get a damaged Navy spy plane back to the United States. The five or



so technicians from Lockheed Martin, main builder of the EP-3E spy plane, are expected to meet with Chinese officials in Hainan, said an official with the U.S. embassy in Beijing. The official, who spoke on condition of anonymity, said he

didn't know the exact size of the inspection team. The team will then visit the spy plane, still believed to be at Lingshui air base on Hainan. That's where it made an emergency landing April 1 after colliding with a Chinese fighter jet. The collision over the South China Sea touched off a tense 11-day standoff between Beijing and Washington over the return of the 24-member U.S. crew. The U.S. team is expected to stay on in Hainan for at least two days to determine whether the high-tech surveillance plane can be flown back to the U.S. or must be shipped back in pieces. Another team will probably be sent to repair or remove the plane, depending on the first team's recommendations. The Chinese Government has used the spy plane collision to whip up anti-American anger. The Government has also lionised Chinese pilot, Lt. Cmdr. Wang Wei, who disappeared in the collision and is believed dead. On Monday, the Chinese post office issued a commemorative envelope with a photo of Wang and his F-8 jet. — AP

THE HINDU

22 MAY 2001

# China to allow USA access to spy plane

THE CHINA DAILY  
ASIA NEWS NETWORK

BEIJING, April 29. - China will allow America to inspect its plane at Lingshui airport. Beijing has taken this decision after completing investigation and evidence collection. International precedents in handling such issues was another determinant.

The Chinese and US sides have recently held several rounds of consultations on the US EP-3 reconnaissance plane in Beijing.

The Chinese side has reiterated its principled position on the incident in which the US plane rammed into a Chinese plane. The US delegation has agreed to consider making a payment to the Chinese. The

two countries will conduct another round of negotiations on the specific amount of the US payment and the items to be covered.

The two sides have also agreed to discuss ways to avoid similar incidents in the future through enhanced consultation mechanism on military-maritime safety.

Both countries will continue their discussions for the final settlement of the issue concerning the US reconnaissance plane.

**Taiwan:** China has not changed its policy of peaceful reunification with Taiwan despite US arms sales to Taiwan and apparent adjustments by Washington to its longstanding Taiwan policy of "strategic ambiguity," Chinese officials said

today, adds AFP. "The Chinese government's fundamental policy of 'peaceful reunification, one country-two systems' on resolving the Taiwan issue has not changed," a foreign ministry spokesman said.

"In order to avoid further damage to Sino-US relations, the US side should ... stop selling arms to Taiwan and stop using the Taiwan issue to interfere in China's internal affairs," the spokesman said.

The spokesman was commenting on remarks made late on Friday in Washington by US Vice-President Mr Dick Cheney in which he reiterated US intentions to "do whatever it took" to defend Taiwan amid a mainland missile build up on its south-eastern coast facing Taiwan.

THE STATESMAN

30 APR 2001



# U.S. to pay China 119-16 'compensation' 3094

BEIJING, APRIL 29. China will give the United States access to its spy plane stranded on Hainan island after a collision with a Chinese fighter on April 1, the official Xinhua news agency reported today.

"Having completed its investigation and evidence collection involving the U.S. plane, and in view of international precedents in handling such issues, the Chinese side has decided to allow the U.S. side to inspect its plane at the Lingshui airport," Xinhua reported.

It said that, during recent talks in Beijing, the U.S. side had agreed to consider making payments to China.

"The two sides will conduct another round of negotiations on the specific amount of the U.S. payment and the items to be covered," Xinhua said.

Beijing insists its fighter was rammed by the U.S. EP-3 surveillance aircraft. The Chinese pilot of the F-8 fighter was killed after he bailed out into the South China Sea.

## Taiwan issue

China has not changed its policy of peaceful reunification with Taiwan despite the U.S. arms sales to Taiwan and apparent adjustments by Washington to its long-standing Taiwan policy of "strategic ambiguity," Chinese officials said today.

"The Chinese Government's fundamental policy of 'peaceful reunification, one country-two systems' on resolving the Taiwan issue has not changed," a Foreign Ministry spokesman said.

"In order to avoid further damage to Sino-U.S. relations, the U.S. side should ... stop selling arms to Taiwan and stop using the Taiwan issue to interfere in China's internal affairs."

The spokesman was commenting on remarks made late Friday in Washington by the U.S. Vice-President, Mr. Dick Cheney, in which he reiterated U.S. intentions to "do whatever it took" to defend Taiwan amid a mainland missile build up on its coast facing Taiwan.

The U.S. President, Mr. George W. Bush, earlier made the pledge to defend Taiwan following his decision on Tuesday to sell Taiwan a five-billion-dollar package of sophisticated weapons. — Reuters, AFP

# Bush shrugs off China ire over Taiwan <sup>28/4</sup>

Waco, Texas, April 27

THE WHITE House on Thursday brushed aside China's angry response to President Bush's decision to sell arms to Taiwan and his vow to do "what it takes" to defend the island.

"The president said what he said because he meant it," spokesman Ari Fleischer said, adding, "The president's words and actions are designed to help secure peace." He declined to say whether Bush sought to send a signal to Beijing. "The president's words speak for themselves," he added.

China today warned Bush he was moving into dangerous territory with his pledge a day earlier to protect Taiwan from Chinese attack.

Fleischer also said the administration's weapons package for Taipei, formally announced on Tuesday, its most significant arms sale to the island in a decade, was "commensurate with the threat" posed to the island by China's military.

"Clearly the president's decision in regard to selling arms to Taiwan is based on the threat that he perceives that Taiwan has, and that threat is based on his assessment of China's military programmes," Fleischer said.

In outlining the Taiwan package, Bush has insisted there is no change to the policy, which leaves ambiguous the US response to any Chinese attack on Taiwan. He also warned Taipei it should not declare independence from Beijing.

**'No subs for Taiwan'**: Three European Governments failed to back a US pledge to supply Taiwan with submarines after

Washington agreed to sell the island the arms needed to defend itself against China.

Washington has said it will provide Taiwan with diesel-powered submarines, destroyers, submarine-hunting planes and other advanced weapons to bolster its defences.

But US no longer manufactures the diesel-powered subs, and therefore has to make an arrangement through a third country that does. Among the more prominent manufacturers are Italy, Germany and the Netherlands.

In Taiwan, Fu S Mei, editor-in-chief of *Taiwan Defence Review*, said earlier the Germans and Dutch might cooperate so long as US underwrites the deal. But those two countries came back with negative responses, and Sweden said it, too, would not fill the order.

Germany made clear on Wednesday it would not allow the submarines to be built under German license. A Swedish Government agency that approves arms exports said Stockholm does not sell weapons to either China or Taiwan, in keeping with its policy not to get involved in military conflicts.

Dutch foreign affairs officials said yesterday the Netherlands would refuse to supply any military equipment to Taiwan because of a 1984 Dutch agreement with Beijing. Even with a specific US request for the equipment, the Dutch would uphold a ban on arms exports to conflict areas, said spokeswoman Hannah Tijmes.

Before the 1984 deal with China, the Dutch had shipped two "swordfish" class submarines to Taiwan. That sale had led to a break in diplomatic ties with Beijing.

Agencies

THE HINDUSTAN TIMES

28 APR 2001

## China protests Bush remark

BEIJING, APRIL 26. China today described as "erroneous" the U.S. President, Mr. George Bush's promise of military support to Taiwan and asked Washington to stop interfering in its internal affairs.

"The U.S. issued the erroneous remarks after it decided to sell sophisticated arms to Taiwan. This shows it has drifted further on a dangerous road," the Chinese Foreign Ministry spokeswoman, Ms. Zhang Qi Yue, told reporters when asked to comment on Mr. Bush's comments that the U.S. would do "whatever it took" to defend Taiwan if it were ever attacked by China.

27/9 40-16  
Ms. Zhang reiterated Beijing's stance that Taiwan was a part of China and "not a protectorate of any foreign country." "There is only one China in the world. Taiwan is a part of China. It is not a protectorate of any foreign country. It is a fact known to the international community," she said.

8/2/01  
Ms. Zhang said Washington's actions had effected further damage to bilateral ties and undermined peace and stability across the Taiwan strait and in the Asia pacific region.

"The Chinese Government and people are strongly indignant and opposed to it," she said. — PTI

THE HINDU

THE HINDU

28 APR 2001

# China warns Bush over stand on Taiwan

Beijing, April 26 *AP*

CHINA EXPRESSED strong indignation today over President Bush's promise to protect Taiwan from Chinese attack and warned the US leader he was moving into dangerous territory. "It shows the US side has drifted further on a dangerous road," foreign ministry spokeswoman Zhang Qiyue said.

"As to comments made by President Bush, we have expressed that the Chinese Government and people are strongly indignant and opposed to them," she added.

Bush said yesterday the United States was prepared to defend Taiwan if it was attacked by China, going further than any US leader since Washington established diplomatic relations with Beijing in 1979.

However the president later qualified his comments and insisted there was no change in the 22-year US policy of strategic ambiguity over how the United States would respond if China

attacked Taiwan. The policy was not only aimed at keeping China guessing but also at ensuring Taiwan was not emboldened by unequivocal US support to declare independence.

Zhang reiterated China's territorial claim over Taiwan and insisted no action by the United States would prevent Taiwan being reunited with the Chinese mainland, by force if necessary.

"Taiwan is not a protectorate of any foreign country," she said, calling Bush's comments "erroneous."

"The Chinese people have the determination to defend the country's territorial integrity and sovereignty. No people should miscalculate that," Zhang said.

## Taiwan hails Bush signal

Taiwan welcomed the strengthened commitment by Bush to the defence of the island, which analysts hailed as a "crystal clear"



AFP PHOTO  
A news vendor on a Beijing street on Thursday advertises the day's main headlines with a popular newspaper, which declares that the US arms sale to Taiwan will escalate Sino-US tensions.

signal to Beijing that it would not be allowed to use force against its rival.

Vice Defence Minister Kao Yang told Parliament, "We are positive about the US Government's deter-

mination to safeguard peace and stability in the Taiwan strait and the Pacific region."  
"As a matter of fact I believe any measures helpful to peace and stability would receive full

backing in the region."  
The US has for the last two decades had a policy of "strategic ambiguity" on the question of whether its forces would be deployed to defend Taiwan in the event of a Chinese attack.

The policy is designed to ensure Taiwan does not feel it could declare formal independence and expect the US to defend it from a hostile Chinese reaction.

But despite Bush's subsequent backtracking, political observers in Taipei said, the tone of his comments implied a significant shift. "Although Bush said the 'one China' policy remains unchanged, his clear commitment to help Taiwan is a move away from the previous US line of 'strategic ambiguity,'" said Joseph Wu, deputy director of national Chengchi University's Institute of International Relations.

## Japan reaction

The Japanese Government has said it saw no change in the Unit-

ed States' policy toward Taiwan after the tough talk by Bush.

"The United States' Taiwan policy has not changed at all," said an official with the Japanese foreign ministry.

A Japanese expert in international politics said Bush's comment was more for political show than a major change in policy.

"The Bush team is trying its best to show that they are different from the previous administration," said Kuniko Inoguchi, professor of international politics at the Sophia University in Tokyo.

"In essence, his comment did not signal a change in the United States' Taiwan policy. The United States has always defended Taiwan, especially during elections to support its democratisation," she said.

"During elections in Taiwan, candidates sometimes campaign on promises of independence from China, which infuriates China," she said.

AFP

THE HINDUSTAN TIMES

27 APR 2001

27 APR 2001

27 APR 2001

# American arms sales to Taiwan irk China

By Chidanand Rajghatta  
The Times of India News Service

WASHINGTON: President George Bush played a deft hand in the ongoing strategic struggle with China by clearing the supply of a limited quantity of sophisticated arms to Taiwan. The arms package will be enough to rile China but perhaps short of making Beijing go completely ballistic, while at the same time addressing concerns of both the pro-China and pro-Taiwan constituencies at home.

Washington indicated on Monday that it would organise four Kidd-class destroyers, 12 P-3C Orion aircraft, eight diesel submarines, Paladin self-propelled artillery systems, MH-53E minesweeping helicopters, AAV7A1 Amphibious Assault Vehicles, MK 48 torpedoes without advanced capabilities, Avenger surface-to-air missile system, submarine-launched and surface-launched torpedoes among other items for Taiwan.

China regards Taiwan as a renegade province but the U.S. is committed to defend the territory. The Taiwan Relations Act, enacted in the U.S. in 1979, calls for the U.S. to provide Taiwan with "such defence articles and defence services... as may be necessary to enable Taiwan to maintain a sufficient self-defence capability".

Mr Bush, however, rejected Taiwan's request to sell the sophisticated Aegis naval defence system that could be fitted on the Arleigh Burke class destroyers. The Kidd-class destroyers are said to be less potent.

China had opposed both sales but made it known that it was more concerned about the Aegis system that could have been a precursor to Taiwan coming under the U.S. missile defence shield. The Aegis now effectively becomes a bargaining chip between the two sides in this tweaking game.

U.S. officials suggested there was nothing in the package for China to fear but at the same time said it would strengthen the

Taiwanese ability to defend itself.

Former president Clinton had turned down the sale of the Aegis system to Taiwan, but there was a murmur of expectation that Mr Bush would clear the sale following pressure from Conservatives in his party who are riled at China's posture during the Hainan spy plane incident. More than 100 lawmakers had recently written to Mr Bush pushing for the sale of Aegis system.

While rejecting their plea, Mr Bush tried to mollify them by breaking a 20-year embargo on sale of submarines to Taiwan. The eight diesel submarines could be a useful deterrent to any amphibious assault on Taiwan. Some analysts saw the talk of an Aegis sale as a smokescreen for the supply of submarines.

Taiwan has only a few antiquated submarines and has long been trying to acquire some. But the last time a country (The Netherlands) tried to sell Taiwan submarines, China punished it by downgrading

relations. Despite criticism from some quarters that the Bush administration is still pussyfooting with China, Washington appears ready to take some risks. China has also warned U.S. about the sale of the P-3C Orion aircraft. Some reports said the U.S. will give Taiwan a technical briefing on the Patriot anti-missile system the island has been developing.

President Bush is earning high marks from the American public for his handling of U.S.-China relations. According to a *USA Today*/CNW Gallup poll, 71 per cent of the respondents praised Mr Bush's handling of the crisis with China. While, the U.S. supply of arms to Taiwan would seem to have no immediate bearing on India, some analysts speculated on indirect cause and effect.

One diplomat was quoted as saying China would probably avoid "obvious, high-profile acts of retaliation" in favour of a "revenge-by-stealth process" in non-proliferation policies.

## US-Taiwan arms deal irks China

PRESS TRUST OF INDIA

BEIJING, April 25. - China's military today warned Taiwan against colluding with USA to block the island's reunification with the Chinese mainland.

"The Taiwan authorities are now playing a very dangerous game. Arms purchase can only make the Taiwan situation more turbulent, bring more serious dangers to regional peace and stability, and lead to suicidal results," Liberation Army Daily, People's Liberation Army's mouthpiece, said in an article.

"The reunification and revitalisation of China is a historical trend no one can reverse," it said reacting to USA's latest arms package to Taiwan. "If anyone thinks that with mere weapons he can decide the fate of a nation, we will tell him that no one can stand in the way of the 1.2 billion Chinese people," the article added.

# 'U.S. will stand by Taiwan'

By Sridhar Krishnaswami

WASHINGTON, APRIL 25. In a move that was very much anticipated, China has lodged a formal protest with the State Department on the arms package to Taiwan. But the Bush Administration, in standing by the latest arrangement, is also trying to take some sting away by saying that the arms shopping requests may not be an annual ritual anymore.

The U.S. President, Mr. George W Bush, has said that he did not believe that the arms package is likely to damage relations with China further which is already under a lot of pressure as a result of the April 1 mid air collision over the South China Sea and the continued detention of the American surveillance plane in the Hainan Island. "The Chinese must understand that we've got common interests, but there's going to be some areas where we disagree," Mr. Bush has told *The Washington Post*.

Mr. Bush has also taken the position that he intends to get rid of the annual review of arms sales to Taiwan, substituting this for an "as-needed" review. Washington is quite aware of the fact that this annual ritual is contributing to rising tensions in the bilateral relationship.

Even as China is making all the expected noises on the arms package to Taiwan — which it regards as its renegade or rogue province — Mr. Bush has made it very clear that in the event of a Chinese attack on Taiwan, the U.S. will respond with military force, or "whatever it took Taiwan defend itself".

The U.S., on April 24, formally notified Taiwan about its arms "wish list".

The Bush Administration has denied it four Aegis class destroyers but is going ahead with an assortment of land, sea and air defences such as the older Kidd class destroyers, eight diesel powered submarines and a dozen naval surveillance and anti-submarine aircraft, the P-3Cs.

The Republican administration also denied

certain categories of weapons such as high speed Anti Radiation Missiles or HARMs.

There is still some questions how Washington is going to deliver some of the weapons such as the submarines as the U.S. does not build the diesel powered submarines any longer.

Taiwan would have to acquire the German, Dutch or Italian designs after which the production arrangements would be worked out between Washington and Taipei.

The reaction on Capitol Hill has been positive especially against the backdrop of intense anti-China feelings among a section of law-makers.

The Taiwan arms sales will have to go through Congress in that the Defence Department would have to notify the sale. The law-makers then have a 30-day period to reject the sale, a highly unlikely proposition.

If words of discontent were expected from the Right wing Republicans, that was not to be the case. If anything, hardliners are making the point that the last word on the Aegis class destroyers has not been said — that the administration will still go through with this if the threat from China to Taiwan does not subside.

"The Bush Administration has approved the most robust package of defensive weapons to Taiwan in over a decade," the Texas Republican Congressman, Mr. Tom DeLay, has been quoted.

In what could come as a small surprise, the criticism of not going through with the Aegis class destroyers is coming from at least one top Democrat on the Hill — the House Minority Leader, Mr. Richard Gephardt. He has argued that the Republican administration must have made available the Aegis system to Taiwan without delay in response to Beijing's military buildup and "provocative acts".

Mr. Gephardt has also called on the administration to resume surveillance flights off the Chinese coast.

THE HINDU

26 APR 2001

# China blasts US over Taiwan arms sale

since US  
HFA  
NSA

Beijing, April 24

CHINA ON TUESDAY expressed "serious concern" over a US offer of sophisticated weapons to arch rival Taiwan and reserved the right to respond, but gave no clues as to how it would do that.

Foreign Ministry spokeswoman Zhang Qiyue declined to say whether China would retaliate for the US decision to sell Taiwan four Kidd Class destroyers, 12 P-3 anti-submarine aircraft and help it buy eight diesel submarines.

But a leading Chinese analyst said that China, which dismisses Taiwan as a renegade province, believed that the US decision to help the island buy submarines crossed a strategic red line and would take swift and concrete action in retaliation.

"China has viewed with serious concern the related reports," Zhang told a news conference after word of the American arms package was reported widely. Beijing would continue to demand that the United States refrain from arms sales to avoid "fresh damage" to bilateral relations, she added.

Wu Xinbo, a professor at the Fudan University Centre for American Studies in Shanghai, said he believed that would come

sooner rather than later. "I think there will be some substantive actions and this will come very soon," he said.

Submarines a red-line item: "I cannot identify the specific areas at this moment, but those actions will make the US acutely aware of the cost of its behaviour on this issue and remind it about the relative gain or loss from its Taiwan policy," Wu said. "There will be some things that are substantial, not just symbolic."

China-US ties are already strained by a tense showdown over an April 1 collision between a US EP-3 spy plane and a Chinese fighter jet and by former Taiwan President Lee Teng-hui's impending visit to the United States.

A US congressional aide said earlier that President Bush had turned down a request from Taiwan to buy the advanced Aegis naval defense system.

But Wu said China had considered submarines "red-line" items on Taiwan's weapons shopping list, along with Aegis and the PAC-3 missile defense system. "At this stage, protest is too mild an action, given this break of the red line, and I'm concerned at its effect on cross-strait relations and US-China relations," he said.

Reuters

THE HINDUSTAN TIMES

25 APR 2001



## A U.S.-CHINA TUG OF WAR

A REGIONAL 'SUPERPOWER' like China seems determined to test the diplomatic patience and political maturity of the present Bush administration in Washington over the surreal saga of the latter's stranded spy plane. The event that took place on All Fools' Day (in China's time-frame) is of course far from anyone's idea of a practical joke about the relative military strengths of Beijing and Washington. Yet, the U.S.-China tug of war concerning their national pride and bargaining power is dragging on. If anything, the continuing strategic 'gamesmanship' has been made easier by Beijing's reluctant "humanitarian" gesture of releasing all the 24 American military personnel who had made an "emergency landing" in their reconnaissance aircraft at a military base in China's Hainan island. The stricken spy plane had landed without "prior permission" and in "violation" of Chinese airspace after having been involved in a mid-air collision with one of Beijing's fighter jets during a cat-and-mouse game within the airspace claimed by China to be above its economic zone. The release of the American air crew has of course followed an expression of regret, semantically not amounting to an apology, by the Bush administration. The U.S. said that it was sorry about the death of the pilot of the Chinese warplane, which had scrambled to shadow and intercept the American surveillance aircraft. The Chinese airman, posthumously anointed a national hero, died when his plane crashed into the South China Sea following the collision, the circumstances in which it occurred still being in dispute between the two countries.

China and the U.S. have held a round of tense parleys over the argument that extends to several other issues — in particular, whether and if so when China will hand over the badly damaged aircraft to the American side and can the U.S. carry out surveillance flights at the very edges of China's airspace without violating the spirit of international law? Washington says there is nothing amiss about its reconnaissance mis-

sions in international airspace, however close to China the flights might seem to take place. The U.S. is therefore disinclined to accept China's demand that such aerial spy flights be discontinued close to its airspace as determined under its laws. It is a different matter that Washington is not content with the data it could gather through its remote-sensing spy satellites that orbit the earth. In the process, the U.S. has exposed its unarmed surveillance aircraft to the risk of being shadowed and chased by the Chinese warplanes. The possibility of armed escort for future American reconnaissance flights is an open question now.

On a different plane, the U.S. seems convinced that China has already accessed, to the extent it could, all the electronic eavesdropping gadgetry which the American air crew could not disable or destroy before the "emergency landing". In this context, China's physical delivery of the plane to the Americans is primarily of symbolic value. Moreover, with the U.S. unwilling to call off its spy flights off China's coast, the sustained standoff is entirely strategic in scope. In macro terms, China is testing how far it could go in its brinkmanship as a regional 'superpower' in East Asia, while the U.S., deeply embarrassed over the "emergency landing" in hostile territory, is keen to affirm its status as the sole global superpower. It is already being argued within the strategic community in East Asia that the symbolism of a possible new Cold War lies behind the American intransigence (even in regard to the delayed regret over the Chinese pilot's death). The likelihood, if indeed, of a Second Cold War, involving the current Bush administration and China unlike the U.S. and the old Soviet Union in the first version, will depend not merely on how the present row between Beijing and Washington is resolved. The other factors range from the U.S. plans for national and theatre missile systems to its protective equation with Taiwan — issues with an impact on world peace as well.

THE HINDU

THE HINDU

23 APR 2001

# China warns US to cancel Lee's visa

## President Jiang talks tough on spy plane row

Beijing, April 21: China warned the United States on Saturday that granting a visa to former Taiwan President Lee Teng-hui would damage Beijing's relations with Washington and Taipei, and called for the decision to be reversed.

The United States should "correct its incorrect stand and prevent Lee Teng-hui from using his visit to America to engage in activities to split China," state television quoted a foreign ministry spokesman Zhu Bangzao as saying. Beijing is already furious over a decision by Japan to grant Mr Lee a visa, and Washington's decision on Friday to allow Mr Lee to visit his old university, Cornell, comes in the midst of a tense stand-off with China over a US spy plane and US arms sales to Taiwan. "If the United States allows his visit, it will encourage Taiwan independence forces to split China, worsen tensions across the Taiwan Strait and damage cross-Strait and Sino-US relations," Mr Zhu said. China regards Taiwan as a rebel province, and has threatened to invade the island if it declares independence or drags its heels on reunification talks.

Meanwhile, Chinese President Jiang Zemin has vowed no concessions on issues of national sovereignty.

eighty after delicate talks on the US spy plane row ended without an agreement.

His headline comments, reported in state media on Saturday, reinforced China's position in the stand-off over a US spy plane's collision with a Chinese fighter jet that the United States must end surveillance flights off the Chinese coast. "China does not wish to see confrontation," the *People's Daily* quoted Mr Jiang as saying as Chinese leaders expressed their condolences to the family of Wang Wei, the Chinese fighter pilot who died in the April 1 incident. "However, it will never make concessions in dealing with issues which involve national sovereignty, territorial integrity and national dignity," Mr Jiang said in a ceremony on Friday for Wang's grieving relatives at Beijing's Great Hall of the People.

Talks in Beijing on Wednesday and Thursday failed to produce an agreement on China's demand for an end to US spy flights, or US calls for the return of the crippled EP-3 spy plane that landed on China's southern Hainan island after the collision.

The US Navy suspended the flights following the collision over the South China Sea. (Reuters)

## European firm admits it sold radar to Beijing

London, April 21: A European defence company on Friday confirmed it had supplied China with a radar said to have been used in this month's collision with a US spy plane.

France's Thales SA denied it had done anything wrong. "We cannot comment on how it was used, but we confirm that we supplied an airborne radar system to the Chinese Navy," said a spokesman for Thales, whose British division made the radar.

"It was with full UK ministry of defence approval," he added. BBC radio reported that China had used an Airborne

Early Warning aircraft with the births-made radar to guide fighters towards the US plane, which later collided with one of the Chinese jets. AEW planes are crucial to success in modern battle, but defence experts doubted that China's possession of the British radar had made much difference to the collision over the south China sea.

"The AEW radar may have made the interception a bit easier," said defence analyst Paul Beaver, from Jane's Information Group. But other Chinese radars could have guided the fighters without difficulty, he said. (Reuters)



I'M OFF: US President George W. Bush, accompanied by his wife Laura, leaves the White House on Friday for Andrews Air Force Base from where he flew to Quebec City. (Reuters)

HD-16  
MA

# Sparring in the skies

**I**T DOES not matter when or how the American surveillance plane, the EP-3E Aries II, is going to leave Hainan Island for, sufficient damage has already been done to Sino-U.S. relations. And, the focus in both Beijing and Washington must be on finding ways to avoid further deterioration — something that does not serve the interests of either country.

The right wing in the U.S. may be clamouring to hammer the Chinese, but only the very naive in this crowd can believe that this is a one-way street. The temptation for the Bush administration is always there; but the longer term vision has to prevail if it is to set a corrected course in the Asia-Pacific.

The arguments about what constitutes international airspace and waters will always be there, for China and the U.S. simply do not agree on what constitutes a violation. In the present instance, however, China has not been insisting that the EP-3E violated its airspace to start with — the violation, in the view of China, seems to have taken place when the plane landed at a military base without permission. Here again the American version is different.

No matter what is dished out in Washington or whatever videotapes are played at the Pentagon, China will not back away from its demand that the U.S. stop coming "so close" to its coast. But what Beijing has to understand is that the military base on Hainan Island is not Washington's only concern. Like many others, the U.S. is keeping a close eye on the South China Seas as a whole, including the Spratlys.

If the U.S. and China had finally to agree on a definition of "apology", that was the only way out. The Bush White House is adamant that it did not apologise, but the Chinese have interpreted the contents of the letter from the American Ambassador as some kind of an apology from Washington. True, Washington did not apologise. It only said "very sorry", and that too twice.

No matter how sorry the U.S. is, the fact remains that the April 1 collision over the South China Seas has vastly altered the parameters of bilateral relations. If one argument has been that Beijing wished to test the determination of the newly-arrived Bush administration, that view could be turned around as well. The Republican administration might have as well wanted to test the limits of China, as it recently found out with the Russians over the mass expulsions of diplomats. In both instances, the Bush administration must have realised that neither Moscow nor Beijing said "how high" when asked to "jump". But the broader question is if Washington under the Bush administration is really taking a longer range perspective, of relations with China or Russia.

If there is one thing that Mr. George W. Bush and his advisers in the White House, the State Department and the

Pentagon must have realised when the standoff with China started it is that world politics suddenly is a different ballgame than during the Presidential primaries. Nearly every American President has found it easy to spew rhetoric during the primaries, but difficult to follow up on the same once in the White House.

Mr. Bush was not much different from his predecessor, Mr. Bill Clinton, when it came to China. The difference is that Mr. Clinton caught on very quickly to the fact that much is to be gained from a

*Washington and Beijing will have to come to terms with the spy plane crisis. For, the longer this drags out, the bigger the political headache for the two leaderships, writes Sridhar Krishnaswami.*

China's efforts to host the 2008 Olympic Games is going to be as explosive as the Bush administration's handling of Taiwan. And if Washington believes that Taiwan can be the rough equivalent of a *quid quo pro* for the EP-3E, it is really charting dangerous waters.

The Bush White House is not totally oblivious to the consequences of providing Taiwan its complete "wish list" including four Aegis Class destroyers pegged at about \$ 1 billion a piece. Beijing has said on more than one occasion that Washington should stand by its



**A Chinese U.S. green card holder protests against the "CIA's doings" in front of the American Embassy in Beijing.**

cooperative relationship with Beijing, politically, diplomatically and economically. And there is a lot to be lost by pursuing the "tough" or "macho" attitude to world politics.

The problem with the Republican administration is not merely its own high profile rhetoric against China. It comes from the right wing elements who are bent on charting a different course in the Asia Pacific, one that has not the endorsement of allies in that part of the world. Japan, for instance, which under the Bush administration is to get back its "traditional" role as an alliance partner, seems to be hardly thrilled.

For all the "praise" showered on lawmakers for their restraint during the 11-day standoff — at the express request of the administration — that environment is now slowly changing. Increasingly over the last one week both Democrats

and Republicans have been stepping up the heat on the administration to do some plain-speaking to China. And China has been warned in very clear terms that it might have already lost a great deal politically on Capitol Hill.

The right wing on Capitol Hill has an agenda on China that has been barely concealed, and for the first time in several years the hardliners see not only a willing ally in the White House but also the perfect opportunity. The Right was simply delighted that the Bush administration made it clear at the very outset that it regarded Beijing not as a strategic partner but as a strategic competitor.

Washington and Beijing will have to come to terms on the spy plane issue, for the longer this drags out, the bigger the political headache for the leaderships in the two countries. But neither human rights issues nor the bid to block

commitments of the past, including not increasing the quantity or quality of weapons to Taiwan, considered by China as its "renegade province".

By next week, the U.S. President will have to make perhaps his toughest decision as far as China and Taiwan are concerned; and indications are that Mr. Bush is going to stay with what has been done by his predecessor — withholding the Aegis class destroyers. But the rest of the package will be ticked through in the hope of keeping the right wing in good humour.

The far right will immediately see a linkage — that somehow the Bush administration made a tradeoff for the return of the crew members of the EP-3E. But China will nevertheless protest on any kind of package that Taiwan is going to receive.

# Spy planes and Sino-US ties

**T**HE spy plane episode has shed a harsh light on Sino-US ties. The new President was expected to be tougher in handling China than his predecessor, and this was borne out by the event. China was no less firm and refused to recoil before the global super power.

At the height of the crisis, there was little sign of either side making great haste to sort things out, and even after the return of the American crew, the rhetoric has remained high. We are told that the flights will continue, perhaps escorted by fighter aircraft.

China does not conceal its irritation, and its public is irate. There is no backing away from the risk of another incident that could once more have the two countries glaring at each other.

Beyond the event itself, which is still being played out, there are questions about long term Sino-US ties. Some see a difficult period ahead, with more limited scope for co-operation. Strategic rivalry rather than partnership may come to be emphasised, bringing some uncertainties into regional affairs.

There is bound to be considerable watchfulness around the Chinese perimeter. Notwithstanding the recent turbulence, relations between China and the USA have well-established features that benefit both. The vast trade between the two countries is a relatively new phenomenon, yet it has flourished to the extent that it is difficult to imagine any rollback.

There are periodic complaints in America about the trade balance, about labour practices in China, about pricing, dumping and such like, but for all that, trade continues to flourish.

American stores are inundated with Chinese goods. The most prominent multinational corporations have pushed their way into China where, despite the mixed results they have obtained, by and large they remain. In what used to be the annual US Congressional discussion about MFN treatment for China, now nugatory after China's entry into the World Trade Organisation, the big corporations were very much on China's side - to the envy of countries like India which lacked equivalent lobbying

## WIDE ANGLE

SALMAN HAIDAR

capacity in Washington.

It is hard to see this established structure of association being dissolved. No doubt there will be continuing grumbles about China's ways of doing business, and the economic slowdown in America will affect China. But bilateral trade is set to continue at a high level.

Nor is there any getting away from China's success in expanding its international role, particularly within its region. It assumes a daunting and unyielding position where it sees its vital interests, especially territorial, at stake - Taiwan is the big example, the Nansha/Spratly islands another, and there are more besides. But it has successfully built its relations with countries in its vicinity.

It has a constructive association with the Association of South East Asian Nations and is also grouped with other Asian countries, in dialogue with the European

Union and other western partners. Among the neighbours, China has retained its special links with North Korea, and these have been useful in defusing past crises involving that country and in promoting contact between North and South Korea.

China is seen by the countries around it as a formidable neighbour, with global reach and an established place in the affairs of the region.

These numerous links and partnerships now being well established, there is not much scope for any drastic reversal of external policy towards China.

A greater assertiveness in favour of its own demands as they arise, a readiness to find fault on issues such as human rights, that may be as far as America goes in re-aligning its approach. Some necessary restraints will remain: the

return of the spy plane crew required both sides to back off slightly, as if recognising that neither could afford to push the matter beyond a point.

Strident public statements and postures have not been followed by equally unyielding action. What remains as a residue is grit in the diplomatic machinery, by-product of the angry exchanges. The two sides will need to find better ways of managing their mutual business - though the ongoing talks about the return of the aircraft and other related matters show rather hard attitudes on both sides.

It is to be recalled that Bill Clinton came to office with similarly strong views about China but by the end, he had a very different approach. Geopolitical realities are not so easily dismissed, and it should be no surprise if the new US administration soon begins to build its ties with China from their current low point to something more equable and balanced.

The incident in the South China Seas has revived the perennial India-vs-China discussion. China's problems with the USA could be India's opportunity; the mantle of strategic partnership could slip from one set

of shoulders to the other - at least, that is what some of the comments imply. Jaswant Singh's surprise meeting with George W Bush while the crisis was at its height was seen by some as a gesture in this direction, though if that indeed was the intention, it would be a signal of uncommon subtlety.

There is, in fact, precious little substance in any perception of a special role for India in this particular context. Relations between America and India are proceeding well and will no doubt develop satisfactorily at many levels, without any extraneous

factors to give them a push. We need to be deaf to the siren song that would tempt us with visions of leadership and take us towards infructuous rivalry with China.

More relevant to the country's welfare

is the solution of our persisting differences with China and the development of friendly, co-operative ties with that country.

(The author is a former Foreign Secretary.)

## 100 YEARS AGO

TODAY

APRIL 22, 1901

### THE AMATEUR DRAMATIC SOCIETY

**I**T was very unfortunate that the heavy rain last night interfered considerably with the success of the Calcutta Amateur Dramatic Society's first performance of the season at the Theatre Royal. The rain began to come down heavily before a third of the programme had been gone through, and the consequent noise on the iron roof almost entirely drowned the voices of the actors and singers. With provoking perversity the rain all but ceased during the interval, and again as the audience were leaving the theatre. The programme opened with a spirited overture by Mr Mark's band, which acquitted itself all through with grate credit, Mr C.H.A. Goss who is the possessor of a pleasing baritone voice, followed with rather a pretty song, entitled *My Dream and I*, and Miss Keble was also heard to good effect in a ballad from *San Toy*. Mr Zimmermann was hardly at his best in "Nothing new", but his "Fantastic Dance", in conjunction with Mr Wyatt Webber, was thoroughly appreciated. Mr H.B. Mason commenced to tell some amusing American yarns, with a capital Yankee accent, but at this point the rain came down, so that his clever patter and song *Girly, Girly* were almost inaudible beyond the first two rows of stalls. For the same reason much of the effect of a very pretty "Coon" song, by Mr Wallis-Whiddett was lost, greatly to the disappointment of the audience. The second part of the programme consisted of a little operetta, entitled "After All", the three characters being impersonated by Mrs Wallis-Whiddets, and messrs Bowrey and Webber, but here again the incessant pattering of the rain made it impossible to follow the plot, such as it was. It is to be hoped that the A.D.S. will have better luck next Saturday for their second performance, for which an entire change of programme is announced.

HD-16 211A

# Sino-U.S. talks hang in mid-air

By Sridhar Krishnaswami

**WASHINGTON, APRIL 20.** The United States is not sure when the next round of talks with China is going to be held; but the Bush Administration is making it known that the demand for the return of the EP-3E Aries II surveillance plane is not going to diminish one bit.

The President, Mr. Bush's National Security Adviser, Dr. Condoleezza Rice, has said that the future of bilateral relations depended on how the present dispute is resolved. "Obviously to have a fruitful and productive relationship going on with China, it is going to take two who want a fruitful and productive relationship. So, how the Chinese continue to describe what happened, how the Chinese talk about what happened will matter a lot," Dr. Rice said at the White House.

The Bush Administration is basically asking China to allow one of two things to take place. Either a team of engineers and repair special-

ists will go down to Hainan Island with materials, repair the EP-3E and fly it out; or take the plane apart and bring it back in crates. The Chinese are expected to respond to the American ideas through "diplomatic channels".

The fact that the U.S. has seen the Thursday's meeting in a positive light is indicative of some movement in the present dispute. Both at the State Department and at the White House, senior officials acknowledged that there was a vast difference between the Wednesday and the Thursday sessions even if overall the meetings ended with no specific result.

Meanwhile, in what is being described as the "War of the Videos", the Chinese have released a footage and an animation that basically argues what has been said all along — that the U.S. planes have flown dangerously close to Chinese jets in the past and in the immediate context it was the EP-3E plane that

veered sharply causing the accident over the South China Sea on April 1.

The Pentagon has rejected the Chinese presentation arguing, among other things, that the video shot last year from the cockpit of a Chinese jet fighter distorted the distance between the planes. "They were pretty quick with the zoom button on the video camera and it brought the aircraft much closer..." argued the Pentagon spokesman, Rear Admiral Craig Quigley.

At a different level, the Bush Administration is keeping the pressure on China by warning Americans who have visited Taiwan or have been critical of China not to travel there. The State Department warning is directed specifically at Americans and permanent residents of Chinese origin. The Department is also specifically making the point that travel to Taiwan or links with the Taiwanese media has been interpreted as espionage by China.

21 APR 2001

THE HINDU

# Sino-US talks fail to break spy plane deadlock

HR-11  
2/14

Beijing, April 20

NEITHER CHINA nor the US got what they wanted from two days of meetings here. The US didn't get its spy plane back. China didn't get an end to US reconnaissance flights off its coast.

And the prickly talks wrapped up with the two sides still blaming the other for the collision.

Strained relations will now be tested even further by a looming US decision on arms sales to Taiwan, the detention in China of a US citizen of Chinese origin and China's demand that Washington return the leader of a spiritual sect accused by Beijing of rape and manslaughter. What adds to the tension is that Taiwan's military has begun its annual war games to practice repelling a Chinese invasion.

Immediately after the meeting, the Chinese Foreign Ministry produced an animated graphic that showed the US EP-3 aircraft veering into the Chinese plane. It also showed video footage of what it described as dangerous flying by the US aircraft intercepting Chinese planes last year.

President Jiang Zemin reiterated China's demand that the US take responsibility for the April 1 mid-air collision between the EP-

## CHINA DETAINS AMERICAN WRITER ON ESPIONAGE CHARGE

CHINA HAS detained an American writer and former teacher, the US embassy said on Friday, the fifth Chinese-born intellectual with foreign ties to be held in an anti-espionage campaign. Wu Jianmin, a US citizen, was detained on April 8 and is suspected of espionage, the US Embassy here said. Police informed embassy officials of Wu's detention on April 14, saying he was under investigation for spying on behalf of Taiwan.

Authorities suspect that Wu was involved in the publication of *Tiananmen Papers*, a book about the 1989 crackdown on pro-democracy demonstrators, said Frank Lu, a former dissident who runs a human rights monitoring group in Hong Kong. The book, which depicts Chinese leaders at odds over how to handle the protests, is said to be based on Communist Party records smuggled out of China by a disaffected official.

The report comes a day after the State Department warning of travellers linked to Taiwan or dissident writings. It in particular cautions Americans originally from China.

USA Today

3 plane and a Chinese fighter jet and stop sending spy planes near China's coast.

"The only way to prevent a future occurrence of such an incident is for the US to stop sending surveillance over China's coastal waters," he told State radio. Jiang made the demand as China's top civilian and military leaders met the bereaved family of pilot Wang Wei, the "revolutionary martyr" who was killed in the crash.

The US team led by Peter Verga, Acting Under Secretary of Defense for Policy, said no date has been set for further talks. "There's nothing currently scheduled. We expect to hear from the Chinese Government," he said. But Verga called the talks "productive".

White House spokesman Ari Fleischer confirmed that the talks were useful but "the matter is not resolved".

Reuters/USA Today

THE HINDUSTAN TIMES

21 APR 2001

# Sino-US talks on spy plane deadlocked

519  
20/4  
PRESS TRUST OF INDIA

BEIJING, April 19. - China and the USA today abruptly ended their negotiations without an agreement on the plane incident as both countries stuck to their respective stands on the mid-air collision between a Chinese fighter jet and a US spy plane on 1 April.

"We have concluded negotiations for now," Chinese foreign ministry spokeswoman Ms Zhang Qiyue told the press here.

"China and the USA have agreed to keep in contact on the collision incident and will decide on the time for the next round of negotiations through diplomatic channels," Ms Zhang said in a statement.

Describing the five-hour talks in two sessions as "frank", Ms Zhang said the meetings has been "conducive to the mutual understanding of each other's stand".

Ms Zhang reiterated Beijing's position that the collision was due to an increasing number of US surveillance flights close to China's coastal waters, and urged Washington to end flights.

She said the US team was presented with "a large amount of evidence which proves" the American side was responsible for the collision. Ms Zhang showed a video film, a graphic animated film and some still pictures of the damaged US spy plane to prove the Chinese stand that USA should take full responsibility for the incident and make a convincing explanation to the Chinese side for the collision. Ms Zhang refused to confirm that China had agreed to discuss the issue of returning the US spy plane, a key demand Washington made at the talks.

Earlier the eight-member US delegation led by deputy under secretary of defence for policy support, Mr Peter F Verga, returned to the American embassy without making any comment.

Ms Zhang also quoted the head of the Chinese team at the talks, Mr Lu Shumin, as telling the US side: "The Chinese has had enough evidence to prove it is the US side that should hold full responsibility for the incident". Mr Lu, director general of the Chinese foreign ministry's department of North American and Oceanic affairs, described as "entirely groundless" and "irresponsible" comments by senior US officials that the missing Chinese fighter pilot Wang Wei was responsible for the mid-air collision over South China Sea.

20 APR 2001

# Sino-US talks yet to break spy impasse

Beijing, April 18

AT THE end of the first day of China-US talks today, the impasse over the spy plane collision seemed far from being resolved.

US officials refused to comment on the talks, which both countries expect to set the tone of a relationship fraught with deep disagreements on issues like US arms sales to Taiwan and human rights. But the head of the Chinese delegation, Lu Shumin, told State television that Beijing has "plenty of evidence" that a US EP-3 spy plane caused the April 1 mid-air collision with a Chinese F-8 fighter that sparked the impasse. That, suggested no weakening of the Chinese position.

The talks began around 3 pm today and lasted only three hours. "I have no indication that they're all finished," a US embassy spokesman said though he said no time had been set for a second meeting. Xinhua said the two sides would meet again on Thursday, but gave no time.

Two Chinese protesters staged a demonstration outside the Foreign Ministry, where the talks were held, and chanted anti-US slogans. One waved a model of the Chinese F-8 fighter that crashed into the South China Sea. Plainclothes police tore a paper sign denouncing "super-power arrogance" from the other protester, but let him walk away. Neither side appeared ready to give ground on the collision, after which the 24 crew members

of the US plane were detained for 11 days until Washington said it was "very sorry" for the Chinese pilot's death and the unauthorized emergency landing.

"We are going to demand that the US gives an explanation and also that they halt the surveillance flights over Chinese coasts, so that by doing so they stop threatening China's national security," Chinese Foreign Ministry spokesman Zhu Bangzao said in Venezuela.

Officials in Washington said top Pentagon staff had recommended that spy flights should not resume immediately off China's southern coast, scene of the collision. "What they are talking about is a measured approach to give the Chinese a chance to come to grips with international

law," a US official said. But Washington still wants its plane back. Pentagon spokesman Navy Rear Adm. Craig Quigley said: "Our position going into this is very clear — that EP-3 is American property, and we want it back."

The rhetoric from both sides has sharpened markedly since China freed the crew of the US aircraft last week. In Washington, State Department spokesman Richard Boucher said the US team would call on China to stop harassing reconnaissance aircraft as well as return the EP-3.

"I think we made quite clear we're also looking for an indication of Chinese seriousness in addressing these issues — of the Chinese intentions to work in this relationship, to address this

relationship in a serious and productive manner," he said.

US officials insisted Wednesday's meeting would have no bearing on Bush's pending decision on whether to sell an advanced ship-mounted missile defence and battle management system to Taiwan, which China considers a renegade province.

Taiwan leaders have urged Washington not to let the spy plane incident influence its decision on selling arms to the island, saying it needed defensive weapons to fend off the growing military threat from China. Many analysts believe Taiwan would win American sympathy if US-China relations plunge further.

**Agencies with inputs from our correspondent in Washington**



# U.S.-China military brinkmanship

40-12 19/4 By V. R. Raghavan

*Astute foreign policy management (by the U.S. and China) played a large part in retrieving the situation (caused by the spyplane crisis). Therein rest the lessons for the future.*

THE STANDOFF between the U.S. and China over the spy plane incident is revealing in the approaches they have taken on finding a solution to an awkward incident. The event had taken both countries by surprise. The response of the leaderships reveals a great deal about the nature of the relationship they are attempting to build. The incident is indicative of the way the two systems respond to conflict and the way public opinion influences such responses. The U.S. and the Chinese leaderships have each attempted to obtain a larger gain even as they have put in place mechanisms for resolving the situation and to put the incident behind them.

The U.S. surveillance over Chinese waters and naval activity has gone on for over 40 years. As the Chinese naval capabilities improved, the U.S. surveillance increased both in frequency and persistence. Recently China had acquired two Russian warships and these had been put to some intensive work on the high seas. The U.S. surveillance had intensified and a number of flights had taken place close over these warships. The Chinese for their part had for some time taken to challenging the surveillance flights by aggressive fighter aircraft action. This involved flying extremely close to the slow-moving surveillance aircraft, gesturing to the U.S. pilots and even dangerous manoeuvres under and above the surveillance aircraft. In the more sensitive portions of its coastline, China had notified a few exclusion zones. The incident occurred close to one such area.

It is apparent from what has been estimated so far that there was an accident involving the U.S. and Chinese aircraft. In a dangerous and threatening manoeuvre, a Chinese fighter aircraft attempted to come up ahead of the U.S. plane from below it. There was an error of judgment on the part of one or both pilots and both aircrafts were damaged. Photographs show the nose cone of the U.S. aircraft sheared off and at least one propeller damaged. The Chinese aircraft was disabled enough for the pilot — who was probably injured — to eject. The pilot has in all likelihood perished. Another Chinese pilot was witness to the accident and was in fact

a party to the manoeuvre. His version of the event is yet to be made known. The U.S. crew knew all along what was happening until the accident occurred. They then flew in a disabled condition to the Chinese airfield and made a good job of landing safely. The crew had a little over 20 minutes to destroy the surveillance equipment and data, while getting ready for what could have been a catastrophic end.

The Chinese had on hand a technical windfall of a surveillance aircraft and the political advantage of the U.S. crew being captive. The aircraft was stripped of all its secrets and the crew was put through questioning under threat to obtain information on the nature of their work and on the intelligence they had collected. The crew in Chinese custody created great public pressure on the U.S. administration for their safe return. Every additional day of the crew in Chinese custody unleashed American memories of the Iran hostage drama, and the year-long Pueblo surveillance ship ordeal. As expected, yellow ribbons tied to trees quickly made their appearance in areas where the families of the American crew lived. The administration was forced to rope in loyal Republicans and think-tank analysts to certify the efficiency with which it was dealing with the matter. The U.S. President, Mr. George W. Bush, got low ratings for his lack of involvement and sense of urgency in getting the crew released.

The U.S. response was initially based on the imperative of retaining its superpower image, and its claim to leadership of the free world. A demonstration of the limits of U.S. capabilities could do untold harm to the confidence of its allies. As for China, the incident presented an opportunity to demonstrate that it can stand up to the superpower and extract a settlement on equal terms. It promptly accused the U.S. of hostile action and arrogance and demanded an apology. It wanted the U.S. to

admit to willful wrong-doing. The Chinese President, Mr. Jiang Zemin, left on a scheduled tour abroad, leaving the distinct impression that his country would take its time resolving the matter.

The U.S. claimed the accident occurred over international waters, and that its aircraft was justified in entering and landing in Chinese territory while in distress. It demanded that since the crew of the aircraft were in uniform and on legitimate duty, they could not be treated as spies and held prisoners. The reality was that with its aircraft and crew in Chinese hands, the U.S. had very limited options. In international law it would be very difficult to confirm or deny that the accident occurred in international air space. The U.S. legal experts opined that there were no objective adjudicators available to conclusively decide the issue. They declared approaching the International Court of Justice as too slow a process to contemplate recourse to it. Left with rapidly receding choices, the U.S. authorities opted for softer options.

The administration's spin doctors then came up with the idea of creative solutions being the need of the hour, rather than the technicalities of who was right. It evolved the policy of talking firm in public and dealing soft behind the scenes. It put out arguments about China's economic needs from the U.S. and refused an apology. In a nuanced set of moves, the U.S. Secretary of State, Gen. Colin Powell, expressed regret over the loss of the Chinese pilot and aircraft, implying some U.S. involvement in the incident. Before the Chinese could reject the expression of regret as inadequate, Mr. Bush reiterated the regret over the Chinese loss. In hectic behind-the-scenes activity, the U.S. prevailed upon the Chinese to allow access to the crew to confirm their safety. After ensuring the crew were safe, it brought on parents of some of the crew members to talk in patriotic terms of the duty their son was performing. This

took some of the sting out of the domestic criticism and gave the administration time to negotiate without being driven by the pressure of public opinion.

To counter public opinion in the U.S., the Chinese sent off a scathing letter from the wife of the missing pilot addressed to Mr. Bush. Chinese television channels in the U.S. also criticised the emphasis placed solely on American interests. The U.S. quickly came around to working out a face-saving formula. The Chinese used the U.S. crew to gain time, put pressure on the Bush administration, and force a conciliatory conduct on it. There is an emerging debate in the U.S. on who really won in the standoff. To stave off further criticism, the administration has come up with strong language over what can be done to China on the issue of trade, human rights and its claims to host the Olympics. The U.S. Defence Secretary, Mr. Donald Rumsfeld, who was kept off the media during the crisis, came up with films of Chinese aggressive flying in the past. The fact is that the U.S. demonstrated great concern for the safe return of its military personnel and did everything short of offering a formal apology.

The incident shows the inherent risks in continuing to demonstrate military power unilaterally and routinely. It also demonstrates the two contradictory strands of policy which China and the U.S. have adopted. On the one hand, there is the urge to engage in and benefit from economic and trade relations between the two countries. There is, on the other hand, the continuing urge to contain and confront each other in geopolitical and military terms. The Chinese have gained through the incident an advantage in technical and political terms, and more in building the image of a power which cannot be trifled with. The U.S. has got away with a military embarrassment which could have been worse. Astute foreign policy management played a large part in retrieving the situation created by military brinkmanship. Therein rest the lessons for the future.

*(The writer is currently a Fellow with the Center for International Security & Cooperation at Stanford University.)*

THE HINDU

19 APR 2001

# Washington team in Beijing for testy talks

Paul Eckert  
Beijing, April 17

A US team arrived in China on Tuesday for talks which promise to be testy at best as each side blames the other for the plane collision which set off an 11-day diplomatic stand-off.

Neither side has shown any public sign of backing down on their positions ahead of Wednesday's talks, which Washington says could set the tone for relations between Beijing and the new US administration of President Bush. "We have made quite clear that we think a productive meeting can set the basis for a further relationship," State Department spokesman Richard Boucher said in Washington.

"On the other hand a polemical meeting would give us some indication of how they might or might not intend to proceed with the relationship."

At stake is the possible impact on several crucial issues, including US arms sales to Taiwan, China's vital trade privileges

with the United States and even Beijing's bid for the 2008 Olympic Games.

At the same time, China is fighting a diplomatic battle to prevent a US resolution criticizing its human rights record from coming to a vote at a UN commission in Geneva.

The talks will focus on the cause of the April 1 collision between a US spy plane and a Chinese fighter jet and China's demands that the United States end surveillance flights around the Chinese coast and take steps

to prevent a repeat of the incident, Foreign Ministry spokeswoman Zhang Qiyue said.

"The Chinese side has every right to carry out a full investigation," she said.

The US plane made an emergency landing on the southern island of Hainan after colliding with the Chinese jet, which crashed into the sea. The 24-member US crew were held for 11 days as a diplomatic standoff ensued and China has kept hold of the US plane. "The Chinese side will handle the aircraft in

accordance with the outcome of the investigation," Zhang said without hinting at how long the investigation would take.

The US delegation leader, Acting Undersecretary of Defense for Policy Pete Virga, said the tone of the talks would be "frank," a strong word in the diplomatic context.

The Chinese negotiating team would include military officials and diplomats, led by Lu Shuming, director general of the Foreign Ministry's North America department, Zhang said.

On Monday, Washington insisted again US surveillance flights would not be halted. China continues to assert that such flights violated international law by threatening Chinese national security. Beijing has also reacted angrily to US statements blaming Chinese pilot Wang Wei for the incident.

President Jiang Zemin declared Wang, who was killed in the collision, "Protector of the Sea and Sky" and told the Chinese military to emulate his example. The declaration on Wang made it highly unlikely Beijing would back away from its insistence that Washington accept blame.

The signals from Washington were equally hardline, with the White House suggesting it would pull no punches in telling that Wang was responsible. "The agenda as far as the US is concerned is to provide a clear and graphic explanation of the US view of the cause of the accident."

Reuters

## Spy plane crew flirts with movie idea

New York, April 17

WHO WOULD you want to play you in the Hollywood version of your life?

Some of the 24 spy plane crew members who were detained on a Chinese island say they know who they'd want to portray them. I'm torn between (Russell) Crowe and (Matt) Damon. Either one would be an honour," mission commander Lt Shane Osborn said on Monday on the

Fox News Channel morning show "Fox and Friends."

Osborn joked that "Carrot Top could play (Lt JG Jeff) Vignery," a redhead. "I was thinking Ron Howard would be interesting," Vignery responded. The crew members returned to their home base on Whidbey Island, on Saturday. They had been held for 11 days on an island where their surveillance plane landed after a collision with a Chinese fighter jet.

# China lionises missing pilot to harden anti-US campaign

Beijing, April 16

CHINA MONDAY lionised its new "revolutionary martyr", the fighter pilot killed in a collision with a US spy plane, signalling an uncompromising stance in bilateral talks on the incident this week.

President Jiang Zemin conferred on Wang Wei the title "Protector of the Sea and Sky" and urged the Chinese military to learn from the pilot's exemplary actions during the April 1 incident, the official Xinhua news agency said.

"He was resolute and daring, cool and calm, heroic and indomitable, and with his life he composed a stirring song of victory for patriotism and revolutionary heroism," Xinhua said, quoting a decree from the Central Military Commission, which Jiang headed.

But in a sign of hardening US resolve, a US aircraft carrier was headed toward a position in the South China Sea where it could launch fighter jets to protect US reconnaissance flights off China's coast.

Official statements and newspaper reports from both sides

## US CARRIER TO PROTECT RECCO FLIGHTS OFF CHINA

A US aircraft carrier is headed toward a position in the South China Sea where it could launch fighter jets to protect US reconnaissance flights off China's coast when those flights resume, Navy officials said. They said the flights may resume as early as Thursday in international airspace about 50 miles off the Chinese coast, following last Wednesday's release of the 24 member crew of a US Navy EP-3 surveillance plane.

The EP-3 made an emergency landing on Hainan Island April 1 after a midair collision with a Chinese fighter, prompting the Bush administration's first major diplomatic test as China demanded an apology and criticised the surveillance flights. US and Chinese officials are set to meet Wednesday in Beijing to discuss the reconnaissance flights, which the Chinese Government says come too close but the United States says are routine missions conducted in international airspace. The *USS Kitty Hawk*, which carries about 70 aircraft, recently passed Singapore and is near the Philippines. The carrier is based in Yokosuka, Japan.

AP, Washington

set the stage for a confrontation-al meeting on April 18, when US and Chinese negotiators are set to discuss the collision and the fate of the crippled US plane, still on the southern Chinese island of Hainan.

The meeting is part of a deal that secured the release last week of the 24 US crew members detained for 11 days on Hainan after their US Navy EP-3 made an emergency landing there. Although the talks were expected to be in Beijing, there

was no official word from either side on when and where they would be held or who would attend.

But with two days to go, neither shows any sign of backing down on the cause of the crash or on future surveillance flights.

Chinese newspapers and television carried paeans for Wang in a media campaign aimed at consolidating Beijing's position that he was not to blame for the crash.

Reuters

## Inquiry urged into Dhaka new year blast

Dhaka, April 16

BANGLADESH'S MEDIA voiced outrage today at the weekend bomb carnage in Dhaka and called for a thorough inquiry into the shocking Bengali new year explosion that left at least nine people dead.

"The whole nation is aghast," The Independent said in its first editorial since Saturday's blast in Dhaka's crowded Ramna Park, where tens of thousands of people had gathered to welcome the new year. Most Bangladeshi newspapers reappeared today after the new year holiday.

The Independent questioned "flawed" security arrangements and said a high level inquiry should run parallel to the police probe "to find out the truth and to set at rest all speculations".

"We urge the Government to abandon attempts to make political usage from an event of such heinous proportions that begs serious and undistracted investigation to get to the bottom of it," *The Daily Star* said. The Prime Minister and some anti-fundamentalist groups have blamed the Muslim religious extremists opposed to Bangladesh's independence from Pakistan.

AFP

# Go easy on China: US senators

DOINA CHIACU  
WASHINGTON, APRIL 16

THE United States should not let the spy plane showdown with China influence decisions on trade with Beijing or selling arms to Taiwan, several Senate Democrats and Republicans said on Sunday.

"Unless the Chinese really complicate things in some way — which they might do — I'm not sure that it's in the best interests of this country to start cutting off trade relationships with China," Nebraska Republican Senator Chuck Hagel said on CBS' *Face the Nation*. "So I would right now vote to maintain favoured nation status."

Dozens of lawmakers have backed a House of Representatives measure to revoke the decision by the Congress seven months ago to grant permanent normal trade relations (PNTR) to China.

## Carriers to protect planes

WASHINGTON: A US aircraft carrier is headed toward a position in the South China Sea where it could launch fighter jets to protect US reconnaissance flights off China's coast when those flights resume, the *Washington Post* reported in Monday editions, quoting navy officials.

The paper said the flights may resume as early as Thursday in international airspace about 80 km off the Chinese coast, following last Wednesday's release of the 24 member crew of a US navy EP-3 surveillance plane.

The Chinese still have the US EP-3 spy plane and a bilateral meeting on Wednesday will focus on US demands for its return.

Henry Hyde, an Illinois Republican and

chairman of the House International Relations Committee, said the US should demand the prompt return of the plane.

"That is our property and must be returned," Hyde said on NBC's *Meet the Press*. "It is not a trophy for them to confiscate."

Hyde said that if the Chinese kept the plane until June, when Congress is to vote on PNTR, it could cost them.

Senator Tim Hutchinson, an Arkansas Republican who opposes permanent normal trade relations, said on *Fox News Sunday* that he did not think the Senate was contemplating scrapping PNTR, "even under these circumstances".

Hutchinson and Senator Bob Graham, a Florida Democrat, said on the Fox programme the US should not make the return of the plane a precondition for future talks.

The US was China's second-biggest trading partner last year, with almost \$ 75 billion in bilateral trade.



AT A GLANCE

INDIAN EXPRESS

# Martyr move signals tough talks

AP-11  
16/9

Beijing, April 15

CHINA HAS proclaimed the Chinese fighter pilot killed in a collision with a US spy plane a "revolutionary martyr" and denounced Washington's version of events, setting the stage for tense follow-up talks on Wednesday.

The enshrinement of fighter pilot Wang Wei in the pantheon of communist heroes, announced by State radio late on Saturday and carried prominently by State newspapers on Sunday, coincided with tough remarks from Washington on the collision.

The Chinese navy paid tribute to what it called Wang's "glorious sacrifice" in the April 1 incident, which sparked a Sino-American standoff during which China detained the spy plane's crew for 11 days.

Wednesday's talks, part of a deal which helped defuse the standoff, are likely to focus on what happened on April 1 and what will happen to the crippled spy plane, which is still on China's Hainan island where it made an emergency landing.

Following the return home of 24 American crew members of the grounded Navy EP-3E electronic spy plane, Washington has taken a tougher line with China, asserting that the Chinese fighter was to blame for the collision over the South China Sea.

China has taken umbrage at the stance adopted by America.

Major newspapers quoted foreign ministry spokeswoman Zhang Qiyue that the US charges, made in Pentagon briefings, were "not beneficial for the development of Sino-US relations."

Beijing freed the 24 Americans on Thursday after accepting a US letter saying Washington was "very sorry" for the loss of the Chinese pilot and for the US plane's landing in China without permission.

The two sides remain at odds over the cause of the crash.

But Beijing has also made clear its top priority at the talks will be a halt to the US spy flights. Washington has made equally plain it has no intention of stopping them.

The top US priority will be to



Lt Patrick Honeck (above) reunited with his family on his arrival at Whidbey Island in Washington even as China declared missing pilot Wang Wei (right) a martyr.

get its \$80 million EP-3 back.

To prevent a recurrence of the April 1 incident, Washington also wants to establish rules on how Chinese aircraft deal with the flights, which it says take place outside China's airspace.

Military spokeswoman Zhang repeated China's assertion that the EP-3 veered suddenly into Wang's F-8, sending it plunging into the sea. Pilot Wang bailed out, while the EP-3 made its emergency landing on Hainan.

The United States says that the Chinese pilot flew into the propeller of the EP-3, causing a collision which lopped off the American plane's nose cone, damaged a second propeller and sent metal shards through the fuselage.

Deputy secretary of State Richard Armitage, quoted by the Wall Street Journal, said

China's handling of the meeting on Wednesday could show what sort of bilateral ties it sought.

"If it's conducted in a businesslike manner, it may indicate that China wants a productive relationship. If on the other hand they behave in a polemical or shrill manner, it might indicate they haven't made up their mind," he said.

Chinese commentators play down angry calls by US lawmakers for retaliation against Beijing by boosting arm sales to Taiwan or revoking China's trade privileges in the American market. They predict quick normalisation after emotions settle.

"President Bush and the Republicans, after all, subscribe to the realism school of foreign policy, which puts the interests of their country first," said Guo Xian'gang, a senior researcher



at the China Institute of International Studies. A *Newsweek* survey Saturday showed little support among Americans for blocking Chinese entry to the WTO or opposing China's bid to host the 2008 Olympics. Only 22 percent of those questioned said they expected long-term damage to Sino-US relations.

Reuters

# Plane had right to be where it was: U.S.

By Sridhar Krishnaswami

WASHINGTON, APRIL 14. Even as China is repeating the view that it is the United States that was responsible for the mid-air collision over the South China Seas on April 1 and that Washington must accept "all the responsibilities" in the matter, the Bush administration has rejected the contention and is once again demanding that its EP-3E spy plane, now sitting crippled at a military base in the Hainan Island, be returned.

In a high profile news briefing, the Defence Secretary, Mr. Donald Rumsfeld, argued that the U.S. plane had every right to be where it was and that it was the Chinese which harassed the aircraft and eventually put the lives of the 24 crew members at risk.

"We had every right to be flying where we were flying. They have every right to come up and observe our flight. What one does not have the right to do, and nor do I think it was anyone's intention, is to fly into another aircraft. The F-8 pilot put at risk the lives of 24 Americans. It is clear the pilot intended to harass the (U.S.) crew", Mr. Rumsfeld said.

The controversy, especially as it pertains to the release of the EP-3E aircraft, is not yet over. Officials and experts of the two



This video frame grab, taken from a U.S. Department of Defence video tape on Friday, shows a Chinese jet fighter in very close range to a U.S. surveillance plane from a previous close encounter on January 24. — Reuters

countries are due to meet on April 18, most probably in China, to discuss the matter. And the mood in the Pentagon here is that the Bush administration is going very well prepared and may be even inclined to make public certain evidence to back its claims.

The Pentagon has said on previous occasions that the Chinese pilot, who is now listed as missing and presumed dead, has a pattern of dangerous flying and had buzzed American aircraft very

China has all along been demanding that the U.S. should "apologise" for the collision. The Bush administration, while flatly

rejecting this, said "very sorry" twice — for the loss of life of the Chinese pilot; and for the EP-3E plane not obtaining permission prior to landing in the military base. In the last two days, there have been reports that the pilot of the EP-3E had been frantically trying to contact the Chinese authorities and it is not clear if the Chinese were tuned into the emergency frequencies.

Meanwhile, with Congress set to reconvene next week after the Easter recess; and the China noise expected to start all over again on a number of fronts, the administration is preparing itself to meet the situation. The starting point is the meaning of the phrase "very sorry" and the difference between this and "apologise". And the Secretary of State, Gen. Colin Powell, has had the first crack at this.

He likened the mid-air collision to a driver crossing the dividing line on a road and causing an accident with an oncoming vehicle. "When it is all over and you have escaped, luckily with your life... and you learn the death of the other person, you might reasonably say to the family of the other person 'I'm sorry'. But your insurance company would never let you say I accept responsibility and I apologise".

# China slams U.S. charge

BEIJING, APRIL 14. The Chinese media today ignored the U.S. version of April 1 incident which faulted the missing Chinese pilot for causing the mid-air collision. The official Xinhua news agency as well as web-sites of the state-run Chinese media have not yet reported the comments made by the U.S. Defence Secretary, Mr. Donald Rumsfeld.

Meanwhile, a Foreign Ministry official today reacted to Mr. Rumsfeld's charge. "Some high-level U.S. leaders are continuing to make irresponsible remarks about the incident of the U.S. plane ramming a fighter jet of the Chinese side," the ministry spokesman was quoted as saying.

"These statements by the U.S. side do not confirm to facts, confuse right and wrong and turn the blame around in order to avoid American responsibility. We express our strong dissatisfaction."

## Search called off

China officially ended the search today for fighter pilot Wang Wei, who parachuted from his jet after colliding with the U.S. spy plane over the South China Sea, state press said.

"After considering the situation from all aspects, finding comrade Wang Wei alive is not possible," navy officials said. — PTI, AFP



# U.S. to ask China some 'tough questions'

By Sridhar Krishnaswami

WASHINGTON, APRIL 13. The freed crew members of the American spy plane now in Hawaii for debriefing have disputed China's version of events on the collision over the South China Sea making the point that it was the Chinese pilot who was at fault.

In Washington, the President, Mr. George W Bush, had once again some blunt words for Beijing saying that some "tough questions" would be posed during next week's enquiry by officials and experts of the two sides.

According to one report, the Pentagon is getting ready to declassify a number of things that would go to bolster the American point of view.

Mr. Bush said the kind of incident that the two sides had been through "...does not advance a constructive relationship between our countries". He spoke not only of the collision involving the Chinese fighter and the EP-3E Aries II but took a shot at Beijing's track record on human rights, freedom of religion and stability in the Asia Pacific.

On the one hand, Mr. Bush said that over the last several days the two countries had confronted strong emotions "and often conflicting convictions and profoundly different points of view". But he argued that "China's decision to prevent the return of our crew for 11 days is inconsistent with the kind of relations we have both said we want to have".

On Capitol Hill, the Members of Congress are away on their two week Easter recess. Though both the Republicans and the Democrats are pleased with the fashion this administration went about the whole thing, China is not expected to get off the hook all that easily and when law makers return next week a number of things could be expected.

The crew members should not have been "incarcerated to begin with" said Mr. Jesse Helms, the powerful Chairman of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, in a statement congratulating the administration on the crew's release.

## Fixed course

The Pentagon is maintaining that crew members had informed the de-briefers that the EP-3E was on auto pilot, on a fixed course and altitude when the Chinese fighter came from below and struck it. This is the position the administration officials had been maintaining from the beginning.

And Mr. Bush was quick to jump on this. "From all the evidence we have seen the United States aircraft was operating in international airspace in full accordance with all laws, procedures and regulations and did nothing to cause the accident."

Mr. Bush was having lunch with

the Vice-President at the White House when the Air Force plane carrying the 24 crew members of the EP-3E landed at the Hickam Air Force Base in Hawaii.

Mr. Bush spoke to the mission commander, Lt. Shame Osborne, while others listened in. The general consensus in the military and elsewhere is that the pilot of the EP-3E did a fantastic job putting the plane on the airstrip in Hainan Island after the mid-air collision.

## Guidelines

In the meantime some details are emerging on what went on in the Bush White House during the protracted standoff. The point that senior aides to the President are making is that Mr. Bush was engaged from the very first day even if ruling out calling it a "crisis". Mr. Bush, the argument goes, not only set the parameters but also made sure to his assistants that the rhetoric level should not be raised.

Mr. Bush was concerned about the details as well — like with Easter around the corner whether some of the Christian crew members would want the Bible books. Throughout the 11 day period, the President talked directly to his top officials, be it the U.S. Ambassador in Beijing, Mr. Joseph Prueher, the Defence Attache there Gen. Neal Sealock, or back home with people like Gen. Colin Powell or his Defence Secretary, Mr. Donald Rumsfeld.

Eventually, the U.S. expressed regret and said that it was "very sorry" that the incident led to the loss of the Chinese pilot's life and the aircraft. But apparently from the outset the President had decided that there would be no apology and that it will be Mr. Prueher who will be conveying the final message.

## Bush talks to Blair

The United Nations Secretary-General, Mr. Kofi Annan, played an open role in persuading China to end the standoff. So did Britain. And Mr. Bush is said to have spoken to the British Prime Minister, Mr. Tony Blair, the French President, Mr. Jacques Chirac, and the President of Brazil, Mr. Fernando Henrique Cardoso, who met Mr. Jiang in his tour of Latin America.

Mr. Bush also talked to a number of "outsiders" including experts on the subject. For instance, he is said to have talked to Mr. Brent Scowcroft who was National Security Advisor for Mr. Bush senior; the former Secretary of State, Mr. James Baker, and the former President, Mr. Jimmy Carter, who is believed to have offered his assistance.

The thought of the President calling his counterpart in China, Mr. Jiang Zemin, did come up. But ultimately the National Security Advisor, Dr. Condoleezza Rice, told the President that he could "only play that card once".

# USA plans another spy mission off China coast

OLIVER AUGUST  
THE TIMES, LONDON

50-11  
14/4  
BEIJING, April 13. — The USA is expected to send a spy plane on a new mission to the Chinese coast within the next week.

The planned flight is likely to anger Beijing and could undermine a meeting on 18 April at which China and the USA will discuss the future of reconnaissance operations in the South China Sea. Analysts say clashes over such intelligence missions are likely to continue.

The plane, expected to be a Navy P3 Orion anti-submarine craft or an Air Force four-jet-engine RC135 based on the Boeing 707, will leave from an American base in Japan and might be intercepted by Chinese jets as neither side has made any commitment so far to scale back operations.

Mr Eric Grove, of Hull University, said last night: "More of these conflicts will crop up in the future."

The potential for conflict is substantial because of the size and diversity of the American spying effort, and because of the ferocity with which China opposes it.

America's intelligence-gathering operation aimed at China uses satellites; mobile reconnaissance teams in Pakistan, Central Asia and Mongolia; listening stations in Taiwan, Japan and South Korea; submarines tapping into deep sea cables; warships observing Chinese naval exercises; surveillance aircraft; and CIA stations in Beijing and Hong Kong as

well as CIA officers in the Shanghai, Chengdu and Guangzhou consulates. Robert Karniol, of Jane's Defence Weekly, said: "All of these things work in combination."

The information gathered is processed at a base in Omaha, Nebraska, and then parceled out to American agencies and government departments.

The monitoring is mainly aimed at the Chinese military to assess both its hardware and its operational capabilities. By observing exercises, American analysts can assess anything from the rigidity of the chain of command to the morale of different sections of the People's Liberation Army.

Observers believe assessments of the opponent's human capabilities are often more important than knowing exactly how many tanks and submarines are deployed by the other side.

This explains why the Americans are relying so heavily on espionage planes with listening equipment rather than solely on satellites which are safer but can only photograph hardware.

Dr Grove said: "This type of reconnaissance provides one of the best pictures you can get of the other side."

American officials said the China operation was flying the same number of intelligence-gathering planes as were flown at the height of the Cold War. The number of missions targeting China is above 200 a year. "This is a multibillion-dollar effort," an American defence official noted.

According to military analysts, China is more strongly opposed

## BUSH GETS TOUGH WITH CHINA

WASHINGTON, April 13. — Mr George W Bush has accused China of committing an illegal act by challenging the US spy aircraft in international air space.

The US President stressed he would direct the US representatives to be tough with Beijing in the next week's talks scheduled to take up the issue of cause of the accident.

Mr Bush, changing his tenor after the 24 member US aircrew arrived on American soil, issued a statement saying: "From all the evidence we've seen, the US aircraft was operating in the international airspace, in full accordance with all laws, procedures and did nothing to cause the accident."

The US has expressed regret, saying "very sorry" for their spy plane entering the Chinese territory without permit.

Hardening his stance towards Beijing, Mr Bush said US representatives would ask tough questions about China's recent practice of challenging US aircraft operating legally in international airspace during at the 18 April meeting. —UNI



Mr George W Bush

to such missions than even the Soviet Union was during the Cold War. Unlike Moscow, Beijing doesn't have the capabilities to conduct a wide range of high-tech spying missions and therefore feels more vulnerable.

Dr Grove said China and America could try to minimise future conflict over intelligence-gathering by agreeing to certain regulations.

He said: "One of the Cold War lessons about how to keep it cold is that you need rules, both formal and informal. They could agree on a minimum distance their ships and planes have to keep from each other. I would not be surprised if there

were a Chinese officer sitting down right now to write a memo advocating this."

The main precedent for such regulations is the 1972 Incidents at Sea Agreement between the USSR and USA. Before that, Russian sailors regularly engaged in games of chicken leading to the loss of life, according to American Naval Heritage in Brief, a textbook used at British universities.

Even if such rules are agreed, the potential for conflict remains. As long as Beijing and Washington are fundamentally divided over intelligence-gathering, the Sino-US relationship is likely to remain in limbo.

THE STATESMAN

14 APR 2001



## New York Times

WITH some accommodation by both sides, the spy plane stalemate between Washington and Beijing has been resolved and the 24 detained Americans are on their way home.. both governments acted sensibly to conclude the affair before it seriously damaged their overall relationship. To its credit, the Bush administration achieved a diplomatic solution without yielding to Beijing's unreasonable insistence that it accept blame for the American plane's collision with a Chinese jet fighter. The same mix of steadiness and restraint will be needed on other issues facing Washington and Beijing in the months ahead.

## China Times

THAT the US Government finally

backed down from its aggressive no-apology stance, which had annoyed not only the Chinese but all upright people the world over, is certainly a welcome move toward an ultimate solution of the potentially explosive issue. That was the very least they should have done, and done earlier. Any decent member of any group has to observe the decencies of his or her community. All human laws, and common sense as well, share the principle that those who cause damage are accountable to the victims for their misdeeds.

China is not the sole country that has fallen victim to the United States' signature double standards in handling international relations.

"Do unto others as ye would be done by." That is a teaching that has been handed down from one generation to another in China. Had the US politicians tried to look beyond their self-interest from the beginning, there would not have been the 11-day standoff. It is time for the United States to do some serious soul-searching. Saying "very sorry" does not equal to a full apology and the shouldering of due responsibility. That is common sense.

## The Guardian

CHINAS insistence on an apology is revealing both of its attitude to the outside world and its inner tensions and aims. In particular, its ex-

# THE US-CHINA FACE-OFF AS SOME NEWSPAPERS SAW IT

treme touchiness to perceived slights from the west is evidence of a disturbing fact: that although China desperately needs western trade, technology, and capital, the dominant section of its leadership is profoundly hostile to the west, and resents being dependent on it. During the years I lived in Beijing and subsequently worked as a China human rights activist, I saw many instances of the regime's divided attitude to things western, but could not fail to recognise its underlying tenor as hostile. In analysing China's attitude to the spy plane incident, one premise has to be that China does not see the west in terms of present or potential partners and friends, but as a

rival and a threat...In this respect China's contemporary leaders are no different from Empress Ci Xi a century ago, who supported the Boxer Rebellion aimed at expelling all foreigners from Chinese soil.

## Straits Times

THE resolution of the crisis brings a win-win situation for both China and the US. Undoubtedly, it would help reverse a downturn in bilateral relations that began taking shape after Mr George W. Bush became President. It also allows China to refocus on its economic development, which is its main national priority.

In fact, the approach it is taking to resolve the current crisis shows

that the leadership still adheres to the teachings of late patriarch Deng Xiaoping, following an incident in 1993. That year, the US had accused China groundlessly of shipping chemical weapons to the Middle East and searched a Chinese merchant ship in the high seas in what is known as the Galaxy Incident. What the US did was a blatant violation of Chinese sovereign rights, yet Mr Deng decided to endure the humiliation so as not to be distracted from the broader theme of economic construction... The Chinese learnt the hard way that 'a weak country has no diplomacy' and that one has to build up one's strength in order to have meaningful diplomacy.

The crisis illustrates this. Even when justice is on the Chinese side, it does not get what it deserves.

INDIAN EXPRESS

14 APR 2001

# CRISIS IN SINO-US RELATIONS

5-6  
14/9  
By WILLIAM FRANKEL in WASHINGTON

SENATOR Jesse Helms, the Chairman of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, rarely hesitates to make his opinions known. The fact that he has so far been silent on the dispute with China over the detention of the American spy plane and the 24 members of its crew says a great deal about its gravity.

Considerable pressure has been exerted from the highest sources in President Bush's administration to avoid exacerbating the situation by airing the views held by Senator Helms and his fellow hardliners. The President, himself no expert on foreign affairs, has made it clear that only he and General Colin Powell, the Secretary of State, speak on behalf of the administration on what is, though not described as, a crisis.

Each country lays blame on the other for causing the death of a Chinese airman and the forced landing in Chinese territory of the United States aircraft on April 1. The Americans claim that the collision was caused by the Chinese fighter plane flying too close to their "lumbering" reconnaissance aircraft while the Chinese attribute the collision to the aggressiveness of the American plane.

They demand an apology which the Americans decline to offer since that would amount to an admission of responsibility. Instead, the Americans are suggesting an independent enquiry after its flyers are released. The 24 American airmen and women who are being held on the Chinese island of Hainan where the plane landed are, at least not yet, referred to as hostages. But there is no doubt that their detention is the chief bargaining chip held by the Chinese.

As seen here, their aim appears to be to keep the situation on hold until America declares its guilt for the collision and that this would be followed by the demand to end these reconnaissance flights which, says the United States, are perfectly legal.

## PRIDE VS TRADE

The reluctance here to describe the incarcerated Americans as hostages harks back to the Iranian siege of the American Embassy in Tehran twenty years ago at the end of President Carter's term. It was his inability to secure the release of those captive Americans that contributed to his defeat by Ronald Reagan in the 1980 election.

Mr Bush, anxious to avoid following this precedent, must take comfort from the latest poll which shows that 64 per cent of Americans approve of his handling of the situation.

It is intended to appear conciliatory but firm. After his first sharp comment simply calling for the release of the crew, Mr Bush has since modified his tone, has spoken of his "regret" and has offered sympathy to the bereaved. That approach did not please all Republicans. The influential conservative *Weekly Standard*, in a long editorial headed "A

National Humiliation", charged the President with having "revealed weakness". So far, the hawks in Congress have only grumbled under their breath. But, as time passes and if the 24 are not soon allowed to return home, they are likely to become more vocal.

That will make things more difficult for the administration which, though hostile to China's form of government, is sympathetic to its own pro-business group which wants to strengthen trade relations with the most populous nation on earth.

## HIGH STAKES

Only two weeks ago, the President received China's Deputy Prime Minister, Mr Qian Qichen. The main item on the agenda was the request by Taiwan to its American ally for sophisticated arms to deter Chinese aggression or coercion. Mr Bush gave no assurances but, in a public statement at the time, referred to the hope of a positive relationship with China in "strategic competition".

Though less friendly than the "strategic partnership" advocated by President Clinton during his 1998 visit to China, it gave a positive indication of the desire to do business together.

For both countries, the stakes are high. Both stand to lose if there is a breakdown of the bilateral trade which is said to have been worth over \$100 billion last year, preponderantly in China's favour. If the standoff continues, not only is business likely to suffer but Mr Bush will come under strong Congressional pressure to sell Taiwan the weapons for which it is asking.

There are other issues too. China wishes to join the World Trade Organisation on flexible terms for which it is negotiating at a characteristically leisurely pace. If that is not completed soon Congress could revoke China's trading advantages in the United States and already 28 Congressmen have suggested this course. And, finally, a protracted crisis could well prejudice China's strenuous efforts to bring the 2008 Olympics to Beijing.

The 11 day crisis ended on Wednesday. The experts in linguistic gymnastics had succeeded in finding a form of words which satisfied both sides. The United States was "very sorry" for the death of the pilot and also "very sorry" that its aircraft had landed in China without permission. This double sorry was treated by the Chinese as a "form of apology".

Both countries claim that their requirements have been met, but this is not the conclusion of the matter. The grounded plane remains in China where no doubt its multitude of surveillance equipment will be thoroughly examined before it is returned.

Then there are the outstanding matters of the World Trading Organisation, the supply of arms to Taiwan and the 2008 Olympics to be considered. There are still shoals ahead.

# US spy plane crew arrives in Guam

Hagatna, Guam, April 12

THE CREW of a US spy plane arrived back on American soil on Thursday, landing in Guam, hours after being released from 12 days of detention in China.

The diplomatic showdown ended with a letter from President Bush saying the United States was "very sorry" for a Chinese pilot's death and for the US plane's landing without permission.

The letter, a delicate, carefully worded compromise, characterised immediately by Chinese officials as an apology capped days of tortuous linguistic negotiation over the release of the air crew and the collision that has threatened US-China relations.

The uniformed crewmembers whose spy plane is still being held by China pending further talks set for April 18 emerged from their charter flight to Guam one by one. Led by pilot Lt. Shane Osborn, they saluted Rear Adm. Tom S. Fellin, commander of US Naval Forces, Marianas, and shook his hand as they reached

for debriefings before returning to Whidbey Island on Saturday.

Relatives of the freed crew members said they were ecstatic at the news of their return.

The crew had landed their damaged Navy EP-3E on Hainan after colliding with a Chinese fighter jet on April 1 over the South China Sea. The pilot, Wang Wei, was seen bailing out but is missing and presumed dead.

The letter of apology offered a tolerable way out for the Governments of two powerful nations that in public had maintained intractable positions.

"This has been a difficult situation for both our countries," Bush said after the Chinese announced the release. "Americans join me in expressing sorrow for the loss of life of a Chinese pilot. Our prayers are with his wife and his child".

Chinese President Jiang Zemin, in Brazil on a 12-day tour of Latin America, said "the incident has not been fully settled."

"We hope that the US will adopt a serious attitude toward China's standpoint on the inci-

## No secret deal: USA

A WHITE House official has strongly denied that the release of the 24 crew members of the US spy aircraft who were held on Hainan island in China had been the result of a secret deal in which the USA made important concessions. "Under no circumstances were broader issues placed on the table or somehow bartered away with the Chinese," US national security adviser Condoleezza Rice told ABC's *Nightline* programme late on Wednesday. *AFP, Washington*

dent and handle it properly," Jiang said, according to the State-run Xinhua news agency.

"It's important for the crew members to understand their mission is not complete," Rear Admiral Michael Holmes, commander of Patrol and Reconnaissance Force Pacific, said. "The plan is to bring them back to Hawaii so they can commence

the debriefing process and complete the mission. We want to reunite the family members as quickly as we can."

Meanwhile, the Chinese Government said it would keep the plane until it could hold more talks with the United States starting April 18.

US officials assume Chinese experts have stripped the craft of its sophisticated surveillance equipment. Satellite photos show trucks lined up next to the spy plane on the tarmac of the Chinese air base in Lingshui, where it made the emergency landing.

They said there were no plans to end the practice of flying spy planes in international airspace near China. Chinese officials have denounced the surveillance flights as a violation of national sovereignty. "It must be pointed out that this case has not concluded yet," Foreign Ministry spokesman Sun Yuxi said.

Washington's letter appeared to be a compromise to satisfy China's demand for a formal apology.

AP

## China blames USA

CHINESE PREMIER Zhu Rongji on Thursday said China reserved the right to blame the USA for the collision. The release of the US crew did not mean the case was over, the official Xinhua news agency quoted Zhu as saying. "All responsibilities for the incident lie with the US side," Zhu told President of the UN General Assembly Harri Holkeri. It was one of Zhu's first public comments on the standoff between China and the USA. *Reuters, Beijing*

the bottom of the stairs. They were driven away in buses.

On Guam, the 24 crew members went to base lodging, where they showered, had something to eat and were able to call loved ones, a base official said. A military C-17 a passenger-cargo plane named Spirit of Bob Hope was to carry them to Hawaii. They were to stay at Pearl Harbor Naval Base

# China honours lost pilot as national hero

Beijing, April 12

HE WAS a loyal son, fearless soldier, devoted patriot and diligent student.

In the 1960s, it was Lei Feng, the selfless soldier proclaimed a model socialist by revolutionary leader Mao Zedong.

This month, it's Wang Wei, the Chinese fighter pilot missing after his jet plunged into the sea following a collision with a US spy plane.

State media have lionised Wang as a hero of national defence in a campaign that harks back decades to a China before Internet cafes, stock markets and mobile phones.

"In the past few days the heroic qualities of Wang Wei in being dauntless in the face of strong enemies, fearing no sacrifice and waging brave struggle have been on everyone's lips," the state-run China News Service said on Tuesday.

Behind the propaganda there is a genuine tragedy. The military is still searching the South China



The homeward-bound crew members of the US spy plane.

Sea for Wang, but he is presumed dead. He left a 6-year-old son, and his wife's tear-streaked face has appeared nightly on TV.

The campaign is a reminder that despite two decades of economic reform, China's Communist rulers haven't lost their affection for creating larger-

than-life role models.

The party is all the more eager for models of socialist virtue in an era when it fears loosening social controls are creating a nation of selfish money-grubbers and eroding support for communist rule.

AP

THE HINDUSTAN TIMES

13 APR 2001

Beijing's mishandling of incident blamed for standoff ■ Leadership gets benefit of doubt on facts

# China pilot caused collision, says US

FROM PAULECKERT

Beijing, April 13 (Reuters): Aggressive flying by a Chinese fighter pilot caused the mid-air collision with a US spy plane and Beijing's mishandling of the incident intensified a diplomatic stand-off, a senior US diplomat said today.

Beijing blamed the 24 American crew for the collision, but preliminary questioning of the aviators confirmed the initial US belief that China's version of the April 1 accident was "extremely unlikely," the envoy said.

The diplomat, speaking on condition of anonymity, said the collision occurred when a Chinese F8 fighter pilot flew within three to five feet of the US EP-3 spy plane, lost control and clipped an American plane.

"Our assessment is this wasn't

a deliberate act in any way of coming out to try to ram the EP-3, it was a rendezvous that was not accomplished very well," the envoy told reporters in Beijing.

He faulted China's handling of the collision over the South China Sea, in which the Chinese pilot and plane were lost.

"The Chinese leadership appears to me to have chosen a path of confrontation when there were other paths available to them to try to solve this issue," the official said.

The envoy added, however, that it was unclear to the US whether "the Chinese leadership had accurate facts presented to them when they made their initial decision.

There's a possibility they were not presented with accurate information." Beijing held the crew for 11 days and released them early

yesterday after the US said in a letter to China that it was "very sorry" for the loss of the Chinese pilot and that the US plane entered China's airspace and landed without verbal clearance.

China said the US plane made a big lurch and crashed into the fighter jet, but the diplomat said the Chinese jet pilot made a mistake when he got too close on the third of three "aggressive rendezvous" with the slower-moving American turbo-prop plane.

"What you're supposed to do is what's called underrunning — you just go under the airplane and go to the outside. But instead, it looks like he tried to accelerate the airplane, pulled up a little bit, and pushed over," the diplomat said.

The Chinese jet then hit the outside left propeller engine and perhaps the adjacent engine of the

US plane with its tail, then shot upward and knocked off the nose cone of the spy plane. The fighter jet then broke into two and went down into the sea, the envoy said.

China said the crippled spy plane had violated its airspace by landing without permission.

But the diplomat said the U.S. pilot had sent 15-25 "mayday" distress calls on the "guard frequencies" — 243.0 UHF and 121.5 VHF — used by all aviators.

"Aircraft and towers are supposed to monitor the guard frequencies all the time to listen up for aircraft in distress," he said, adding that he wasn't sure the Chinese were tuned in.

The American crew was being debriefed in Hawaii, but initial interviews produced an account of a tense encounter with People's Liberation Army (PLA) troops after the crippled US plane landed at

Lingshui airbase on China's Hainan island.

"They estimated that it was about 15 minutes on the ground," a second senior diplomat said. "They were surrounded by heavily armed PLA soldiers who were making it clear to them in spite of the language difference that they wanted them off the plane."

The second diplomat declined to specify how much of the sensitive US electronic eavesdropping equipment and software was destroyed before the crew was forced to leave the plane, but said they had completed a "checklist" of emergency measures.

"They did so in danger because the Chinese were trying to get them to stop completing their procedures," he said. The PLA soldiers drew their guns, but did not fire, he said.



Chinese President Jiang Zemin (left) waves after meeting Cuban leader Fidel Castro at Havana airport on Thursday. (Reuters)

THE TELEGRAPH

HD-16

## Controversy not over yet: Chinese PM

BEIJING, APRIL 12. The Chinese Premier Zhu Rongji today asserted that the release of crew members of the us reconnaissance plane this morning by China does not mean the end of the case.

"China reserves the right to affix the responsibility with the U.S. side for the plane collision incident," Mr. Zhu said in his first public comment on the military incident which soured Sino-U.S. relations.

Mr. Zhu made these comments at a meeting here with the visiting President of the 55th United Nations General Assembly, Mr. Harri Holkeri, official Xinhua news agency said.

Mr. Zhu expounded the solemn position of his Government on the incident in which a U.S. spy plane rammed into a Chinese fighter jet over the South China Sea, resulting in the crash of the Chinese plane. He said that the Chinese Government, out of "humanitarian considerations," allowed the crew members of the U.S. reconnaissance plane to leave China but stressed that it was not the end of the case.

After 11 days of intense negotiations, both China and the U.S. have agreed to meet on April 18 to discuss the spy plane incident and fix responsibility and other issues, including the release of the EP-3 spy plane.

"All responsibilities for the incident lie in the U.S. side," Mr. Zhu said.

Meanwhile, the state-run media proclaimed victory over "a rude" and "hegemonic" U.S. in the plane tangle that forced Washington to say "very sorry" for infringing Chinese sovereignty. "The firm struggle by the Chinese Government and people against U.S. hegemony has forced the U.S. Government to change



China's Premier, Mr. Zhu Rongji, answering questions during a press conference held after the closing of the National People's Congress at Beijing's Great Hall of the People on Thursday. — AP

from its initial rude and unreasonable attitude to saying "very sorry" to the Chinese people," says a commentary in the leading Chinese newspaper, the *People's Daily*. "The Chinese nation is a great nation which advocates justice and fears no powers," the front-page commentary in the ruling Communist Party of China's mouthpiece declared even as the 24-member crew of the U.S. spy plane left for home on a chartered flight from Haikou, capital of South China's island province, Hainan.

The newspaper informed the Chinese people that the U.S. Government has said "very sorry" that a Chinese pilot is missing and "very sorry" that the U.S. surveillance plane entered China's territory without approval.

"The United States finally apologises" was the front page headline in the popular *Beijing Morning Post*. "The U.S. Government hands over a letter of apology," screamed the headline of *Beijing Youth Daily*. — PTI

THE HINDU

13 APR 2001

MID-AIR COLLISION / FOCUS SHIFTS TO SPY PLANE

# Freed crew back on U.S. soil

By Sridhar Krishnaswami

WASHINGTON, APRIL 12. With the 24 crew members of the Navy surveillance plane reaching Guam, the U.S. territory in the Pacific, the Bush administration now sets its eyes on retrieving its EP-3E Aries II spy plane now remaining crippled at a military installation in the Hainan Island.

Officials from the United States and China are due to meet next week to sort this phase of the stand-off, which is not likely to be resolved in one or two sittings.

The 24-member crew will be in Hawaii for about two days for extensive debriefing and medical treatment. Although the Pentagon has been saying that the crew did follow emergency procedures and destroyed all sensitive material, the Defence Department and intelligence agencies would want to hear first hand from the service personnel.

One argument here has been that the EP-3E now sitting on the tarmac in Hainan Island is practically worthless from an intelligence point of view; and whatever the Chinese have picked up in the last few days is something that they probably already had. In any event, the United States is determined to get the plane back for backing away will be sending the wrong signals for future situations.

If China agrees, the EP-3E could come back to the United States one of three ways: a team of Pentagon specialists could go to the Hainan Island, repair the plane and fly it back; if this is not possible, the plane's wings would be clipped and the plane boarded on to a large military transport; and if the Chinese did not agree to a American military plane landing in their territory to "pick up" the EP-3E, plans are under way to have it loaded on to a barge for a journey home.

The President, Mr. George W. Bush, is getting high marks for the manner in which he and his administration handled the stand-off. Whether the administration liked it or not, this was indeed the first major foreign policy "crisis" and it was 11 full days before American



Some of the released crew members of the EP-3 spy aircraft pose with crew members of a commercially chartered airliner before their departure for the U.S. territory of Guam on Thursday. — AP

service personnel returned. But Republicans and Democrats are congratulating the President on bringing the service personnel home and without being harmed.

Before the crisis was over more than 60 per cent of the Americans in a poll supported the President saying that they approved of the manner in which he was handling the situation. The rallying behind the Commander-in-Chief meant that Mr. Bush's ratings went up by six percentage points.

However, if the stand-off had not ended on Wednesday the administration was facing certain trouble — a majority of the Americans saw the detained crew members as "hostages", a sentiment echoed in some sections of Capitol Hill. A majority of those polled believed that the United States should not apol-

ogise, but a majority of women took the position that Washington should.

Thus far, very few people are criticising the Bush administration for the wording of the letter that resolved the stand-off. Among other things, the letter had an expression of regret and twice "very sorry" for the loss of Chinese life and aircraft.

That said, nearly every politician, Republican and Democrat, is waiting to see the kind of compromise the Bush administration had to come up with to win the crew's release.

"I congratulate (Mr. Bush) for getting us out of this... But we need to wait and see what we've given up", remarked Mr. Gary Bauer, a Republican who challenged Mr. Bush in the Presidential primaries of 2000.

THE HINDU

13 APR 2001

# US brings China rights issue to UN

By G. CHANDRASHEKAR

Washington, April 12: The United States has moved a resolution in the United Nations Human Rights Commission expressing concern over the human rights and fundamental freedom in China, within hours after reaching a deal on the release of its 24 spy plane air crews.

The resolution which would come up for voting later this month also called upon China to preserve and protect the distinct cultural, ethnic, linguistic and religious identity of the Tibetans.

It cites in particular the continuing arrests of members of the China Democracy Party and other Opposition groups and the severe measures taken to restrict the peaceful activities of Buddhists, Muslims, Christians and other groups that seek to exercise the right of freedom of religion.

The resolution also criticised the measures taken by China against the adherents of movements such as Falun Gong.

Washington has been moving similar resolutions for the past several years but was unable to muster support for the move.

(UNI)

## Troops rescue US man from Abu Sayyaf

Zamboanga (Philippines), April 12: Philippine troops rescued US hostage Jeffrey Schilling from more than seven months' captivity after a gunbattle on Thursday with his Muslim rebel captors, the military said. "Schilling is in good condition," armed forces chief General Diomedio Villanueva said. The US embassy in Manila confirmed the release. "Schilling is released. We understand he is in pretty good shape," embassy spokesman Mike Anderson said.

Gen. Villanueva said Schilling was recovered by government troops after a brief gunbattle with Abu Sayyaf guerrillas who have held him on the nearby island of Jolo, since August 28.

"The operation continues until we eliminate them all," he added. (Reuters)

THE ASIAN AGE

APR 17 1999



# Relieved crew heads home after 11-day standoff

**FROM SONDRA WHITE**

Guam, April 12 (Reuters): The freed crew of a US spy plane headed for home today and Easter reunions with their families, after a flight to freedom that defused a Sino-American standoff over their detention in China.

A jubilant President George W. Bush celebrated the release of the 21 men and three women who spent 11 days in Chinese hands during what was the first major foreign policy test of his presidency.

But the deal which brought the release left the spy plane itself in Chinese hands and a host of unresolved issues between the two sides, in particular the future of American surveillance flights off China's coast.

"All responsibilities for the incident lie with the US side," Chinese Premier Zhu Rongji, quoted by the official Xinhua news agency, told UN General Assembly President Harri Holkeri, who was visiting Beijing.

It was one of Zhu's first public

comments on the standoff that had threatened to unravel Sino-US ties.

The 24 Americans, who left China's southern island of Hainan on a chartered Boeing 737 earlier in the day, landed on the US Pacific island territory of Guam for a brief stopover — and a welcome back feast of steak, apple pie and cookies.

The 24 Americans, who made an emergency landing on Hainan on April 1 after a collision with a Chinese F-8 fighter, left for Hawaii at dusk. US officials said they would have debriefings and health checks there before leaving for their home base in Washington state. "It's appropriate that they land first on American soil," Guam governor Carl T.G. Gutierrez said before the 24 arrived. "We are America in Asia," he said. He later hailed the stopover as an honour and recognition for Guam.

White House spokesman Ari Fleischer said Bush was "very pleased for the families, he's very pleased for the crew. He's pleased that this accident did not turn into

a crisis".  
 Just before dawn today, the crew were driven in a convoy of buses under police escort through the gates of the Nanhang No 1 Guest House in Haikou, the capital of Hainan Island, where they had been held in seclusion.

The Continental Micronesia Airlines plane that flew them to freedom lifted off almost exactly 11 days to the hour since the collision between the EP-3 surveillance plane and the Chinese F-8 whose pilot bailed out into the South China Sea.

But as the crew left Hainan, Washington vowed not to give up its surveillance flights. Even before the wheels of the Boeing 737 left Haikou, Beijing and Washington were disagreeing over the interpretation of an American letter that secured the release of the Americans.

US secretary of state Colin Powell insisted the US had not apologised for the incident, which it maintains was an accident.

The Chinese media were triumphant. "America finally apolo-



**HOMEWARD BOUND:** Some of the spy plane crew members pose before leaving Hainan island where they had been detained for 11 days. (AFP)

gisea," screamed a headline in the *Beijing Morning Post*, telling its readers that US ambassador Joseph Prueher had delivered a "letter of apology". The language of the letter — in which Washington said it was "very sorry" for the loss of the pilot of the Chinese fighter and "very sorry" its plane landed on Hainan without permission — was hammered out over almost a week of intense negotiations.

It appeared to be a clever diplomatic compromise that gave both sides a face-saving way out. But US surveillance flights over the South China Sea that have irritated Beijing remained an unresolved issue. One senior US official, speaking after the crew had left China, said the United States would not give up surveillance flights near China despite Beijing's insistence that the matter be discussed.

Asked whether the US would be willing to negotiate the frequency or routes of such flights, the official said: "We don't envision doing any of that."

THE ...  
 13 APR 2001

# George Bush gets <sup>give</sup> <sup>us</sup> poor grades in <sup>China</sup> China

BEIJING: For many Chinese people, U.S. President George W. Bush is the villain of the 11-day drama over the American spy plane detained on the island of Hainan.



George W. Bush

While newspapers and TV shows have largely avoided direct personal attacks on Mr Bush, strong anti-U.S. rhetoric in the official media has given many ordinary people an unfavourable impression of the American leader.

"He is just too high-handed," said Wang Gang, a 31-year-old unemployed worker picking an adjective that has become a favourite in the state-controlled media to describe U.S. behaviour.

"He hasn't even been in power for 100 days and he already behaves in this way. I liked Clinton more."

The crisis, centered around China's detention of 24 U.S. crew members, has triggered a wave of nationalism not seen since NATO bombed the Chinese embassy in Belgrade in May 1999.

Mr Bush's refusal to apologise for a collision between the spy plane and a Chinese fighter jet off Hainan, which caused the Chinese aircraft to crash into the sea, has stoked anger still further.

In the anonymous world of Internet chatrooms — the only place where people can speak their minds in reasonable safety — opinions about Mr Bush circulate in a free-wheeling fashion, the intensity of the emotions underscored by four-letter words and their equivalents in Chinese. "Even as the facts are evident to the entire world, you're turning things around and speak like a three-or five-year-old child," said one message.

Some people express hopes the U.S. president will take advice

from his father, former president George Bush, who was the top U.S. representative in Beijing in the 1970s and is generally considered a friend of China.

"If you're in doubt about the importance of U.S.-China relations, why don't you go ask your dad?" reads one message.

The Chinese government is not unhappy about periodic outbursts of nationalism which cause people to rally around the government as the representative of Chinese interests on the world stage, analysts said.

"Public opinion to a very large extent is influenced by the government," said Chan Che-po, a political scientist at Lingnan College in Hong Kong.

"This goes for ideas such as opposition to U.S. imperialism, the demand that the Chinese government should be strong, and that the U.S. should apologise."

While manipulating the media, the government does not want jingoistic feelings to spin out of control and has not allowed demonstrations in the streets, unlike after the Belgrade bombing.

The problem is the anti-U.S. campaign in the media may already have gone on for so long that at least some parts of Chinese society will not easily switch to a more pro-American stance in the future. "If Mr Bush visits later this year, I'm not going to welcome him," said Li Qiuwei, 34, a manager of a Beijing fashion shop. "Not even if tomorrow he comes out with a real apology."

But some analysts believe all is not lost for Mr Bush — China's leadership has a long history of telling people to make mental U-turns, abruptly turning objects of intense worship into targets of vilification.

This does not only apply to the roller-coaster relationship with foreign countries such as the United States and the former Soviet Union. (AFP)

# US says sorry, China to free spy plane crew

Beijing, April 11

CHINA TODAY announced the release of the 24-member crew of the US spy plane after the USA said it was "very sorry" for last week's plane collision.

The crew, including three women, had been detained in Hainan after their plane collided with a Chinese fighter jet on April 1 and made an emergency landing.

In Washington, White House spokesman Ari Fleischer said the US crew would be able to leave Hainan soon in a commercial plane, as per China's request.

"As the US Government has already said sorry to the Chinese people, the Chinese government has, out of humanitarian considerations, decided to allow the crew members to leave China after completing the necessary procedures," the State television quoted Foreign Minister Tang Jiaxuan as telling the US ambassador Joseph Prueher.

A Chinese Foreign Ministry official also announced the end of the stand-off at a special briefing here.

"China gives great importance to its relations with the USA," Tang said, urging Washington to cooperate in settling the dispute and do nothing that would damage relations between the two Governments.

Prueher delivered a letter this afternoon to the Foreign Ministry, saying the USA was "very sorry" about the incident.

The letter reportedly said: "Please convey to the Chinese

people and to the family of pilot Wang Wei that we are very sorry for their loss."

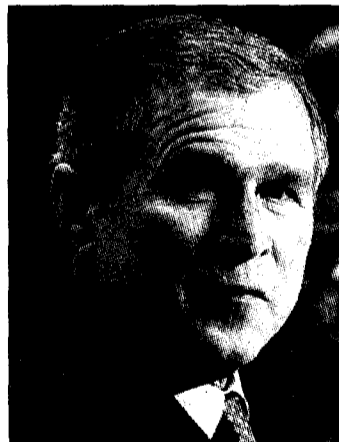
It added that Washington is "very sorry that the entering of China's airspace and landing did not have verbal clearance."

Meanwhile, a Chinese Admiral warned that as time passes by, the chances of Wang Wei's survival grow slimmer.

The Chinese State-run media, which has held up Wang as a patriotic son who crashed defending his country from a more powerful foe, seems to be preparing the angry nation for an announcement of the pilot's death.

"We can no longer refuse to face the unfortunate truth," Vice-Admiral Hu Yanlin, the Navy's No. 2 political officer, was quoted as telling pilot Wang's wife.

PTI



George W Bush

THE HINDUSTAN TIMES

12 APR 2001

## U.S. plane crew to be freed

By Sridhar Krishnaswami

WASHINGTON, APRIL 11. After a 11-day standoff, the United States and China today reached a deal paving the way for the release of the 24 crew members of an EP-3E Aries II Navy surveillance plane. The crew, including three women, have been detained since their plane made an emergency landing on Hainan Island after colliding with a Chinese fighter jet on April 1.

"This morning the Chinese Government assured our Ambassador that the crew would leave promptly. We are working on arrangements to pick them up and to bring them home," the U.S. President, Mr. George W. Bush, said in a brief statement to reporters.

The deal was reached after Washington expressed "sincere regret" for the missing Chinese pilot and the aircraft; the United States also said it was "very sorry" for entering Chinese airspace without verbal clearance for landing.

Details on Page 16

THE HINDU

12 APR 2001

# US half-apology satisfies China, crew to be freed

AGENCIES  
BEIJING, APRIL 11

CHINA today announced the release of the 24-member crew of a US spy plane, detained at Hainan province, after the United States said it was "very sorry" over last week's plane incident.

"As the US government has already said very sorry to the Chinese people, the Chinese government has, out of humanitarian considerations, decided to allow the crew members to leave China after completing the necessary procedures," the state television quoted Foreign Minister Tang Jiaxuan as telling US ambassador Joseph Prueher. The crew, including three women, of the American surveillance plane, had been detained since their aircraft made an emergency landing on Hainan after colliding with a Chinese fighter jet on April 1. "China puts great importance on its rela-

tions with the United States," Tang said, urging Washington to cooperate in settling the dispute, and to do nothing that would damage relations between the two governments.

The White House said an agreement had been reached with Beijing to release the crew of the spy plane, bringing to an end the first major foreign policy crisis of the Bush administration. "The US Ambassador has received verbal assurances from the Chinese government that the air crew will be allowed to leave promptly," White House spokesman Ari Fleischer said in a statement about the Americans held after making an emergency landing on Hainan Island on April 1.

US officials had no information about exactly when the crew would be allowed to leave the island. CNN reported a military plane was being readied at a

US Military base on Guam in the Pacific ocean to fetch the Americans.

"Ambassador (Joseph) Prueher has delivered to the Chinese government a letter concerning this incident and we are working out with the Chinese government the arrangements for departure," Fleischer's statement said. The letter, released by the White

House, included expressions of regret both over the loss of the Chinese pilot and his plane and for landing without verbal permission on Hainan Island.

During the standoff China demanded that US apologize for the incident but Washington repeatedly refused to do so. In the end, after diplomats hammered out wording, the letter twice used the phrase "very sorry."

But there was no use of the word "apology" and in

the letter the US did not accept responsibility for the incident. "Both President (George W.) Bush and Secretary of State (Colin) Powell have expressed their sincere regret over your missing Pilot and aircraft," said the letter, written by US Ambassador Prueher to the Chinese Minister of Foreign Affairs Tang Jiaxuan.

"Please convey to the Chinese people and to the family of Pilot Wang Wei that we are very sorry for their loss," it said. Wang, the pilot of the fighter that collided with the plane over the South China Sea, is missing and presumed dead.

The letter also said the US was "very sorry" for entering China's airspace without verbal clearance for landing. "Although the full picture of what transpired is still unclear, according to our information, our severely crippled aircraft made an emergency landing after following international emergency procedures," it said.

INDIAN EXPRESS

# China's media blurs thin line between apology and regret

REUTERS  
BEIJING, APRIL 11

CHINA's state media prepared the nation on Wednesday for an end to the Sino-American spy plane standoff, by conceding a missing Chinese pilot may not be found alive and reporting US words of regret.

In a step towards ending the drama that began with a mid-air collision on April 1, state television reported carefully edited remarks by US Secretary of State Colin Powell expressing "regret" and "sorrow" for the US plane's incursion into China's airspace.

"Powell has expressed regret and sorrow for the violation of China's airspace," said China Central Television (CCTV).

CCTV apparently took its lead from a Xinhua news agency report that quoted Powell as telling CBS television's "Face the Nation" programme on Sunday: "We do acknowledge that we violated their (China's) airspace... And we regret that. We have expressed sorrow for it. And we're sorry that that happened."

The actual transcript of Powell's statement read: "We do acknowledge that we violated their airspace, but look at the emergency circumstances the pilot was facing. And we regret that. We have expressed sorrow for it. And we're sorry that that happened."



What a relief: Bush Jr, Jiang Zemin

But that can't be seen as an apology accepting responsibility."

A US official in Beijing said Chinese media had edited out key context from Powell's comments in the talk show.

While expressing regret and sorrow for the loss of the Chinese Pilot, US officials had refused to apologise for the collision because they do not believe it was the spy plane's fault. But another Western diplomat said: "The fact that they twisted his words a bit is not the point. The point is they are setting the scene for something to happen."

In another harbinger of movement, the Xinhua Daily Telegraph quoted Chinese Navy Vice-commissar Hu Yanlin as telling the wife of missing fighter Pilot Wang Wei that, while a search for him continued, "his chances of being alive are diminishing".

"We cannot avoid facing unfortunate facts that we do not want to see," Hu was quoted as telling Wang's wife, Ruan Guoqin.

INDIAN EXPRESS

12 APR 2001

MID-AIR COLLISION / MEET ON PLANE'S 'FATE' SOON

# U.S.; China adopt face-saving formula

By Sridhar Krishnaswami  
WASHINGTON, APRIL 11. It will be a while before the United States and China find their usual rhythm in the bilateral relations. In the "deal" that has been struck, both sides are obviously trying to put forth the notion that each had held its own position. The Bush administration is saying that it did not use the word "apology"; but there was an expression of "sincere regret" and twice the phrase "very sorry". To the Chinese, these must add up to being an "apology".

The first phase — and a major one at that — of the stand-off is over, and now the other parts of the unfinished business will have to get under way. Officials of China and the United States are to meet on April 18 to discuss the "fate" of the grounded EP-3E plane as also look into the possibilities of avoiding future incidents like the one that happened over the South China Seas on April 1.

Right to the very end, there was continuing questions as to when the two sides would come to terms. And with this, the larger questions of the implications to the longer term relationship. In fact, senior diplomats and analysts have been making the point that while Beijing held the short term card, the longer term is what that weighed heavily in the final analysis.

On Tuesday, the President, Mr. George W. Bush, for the first time characterised that the stand-off with China over the spy plane incident was a "stalemate", and argued that diplomacy takes a little longer. And his counterpart, Mr. Jiang Zemin, on a visit to Uruguay, expressed confidence in the ability of both the countries to resolve the dispute.

"Diplomacy sometimes takes a little longer than people would like. This administration is doing everything we can to end the stalemate in an efficient way", the President remarked during a photo opportunity with the visiting

King of Jordan. And in a press conference in Uruguay, on the third leg of his tour of Latin America, Mr. Jiang remarked, "Taking into account the important role of the two countries, we have to find an adequate solution. I trust in the ability of both countries to resolve this issue".

Mr. Bush also politely but firmly brushed aside an offer from the Civil Rights leader, the Reverend Jesse Jackson, to mediate with the Chinese. "We should, in my judgement, say we are sorry", Mr. Jackson said. The President is said to have asked his aides to turn down the offer even while generally sounding appreciative of the offer. "I appreciate the goodwill of a lot of Americans who are concerned about our folks on Hainan Island", the President remarked.

Privately, administration officials were making the point that while on the surface not much movement has been noticed, there has been progress and many of the details are being hammered out. A draft of a letter to be exchanged was awaiting the clearance of China and the argument was that the basic outlines remained the same. That is, Washington will not apologise, but will express regret and a maritime safety commission agreed upon by the two countries some three years ago will hear the issue.

But there was the clear concern that if the issue was not resolved "very soon", there is trouble politically and diplomatically. Already patience is wearing thin, especially on Capitol Hill, as the detained crew enter their 12th day on the Hainan Island. The detention prompted some law makers to label the 24 member crew of the EP-3E Aries surveillance plane as "hostages" — a word that the Bush administration studiously stayed away from.

The message that the White House sought to convey domestically was is that the stand-off could be resolved "in a matter of time".

That said, the Bush team was also saying that now is not the time to be upping the ante. "Nobody should be ratcheting up the rhetoric... The President is setting the tone of patience and a thoughtful approach", the White House spokesman, Mr. Ari Fleischer, remarked. As the stand-off dragged on, the White House came under some intense pressure with much of the criticism coming from the Republican Right on the way the President has gone about.

On the other hand, Mr. Bush is facing criticism from the Right for not acting tough. "I think that for ten days... we have acted powerless, unduly passive and in the process I think we are emboldening elements of the bureaucracy in Beijing, while demoralising our allies in Asia", remarked Mr. Gary Bauer, a Conservative who opposed Mr. Bush in the Presidential primaries. "When you allow somebody to save face, you are humiliated. The United States of America is humiliated", Mr. Bauer remarked.

There is no question of the fact that Mr. Bush and this Republican administration was walking a very fine line from the outset when it comes to taking actions against China. To the pro-business elements in the Grand Old Party, the mega market opportunities in China should under no circumstances be jeopardised; but to the get-tough against China crowd, the trade weapon is the only effective way of veering Beijing around.

The flap with China once again brought to the fore the limitations of what Presidents could do once in office as opposed to campaign rhetoric. In 1992, Mr. Bill Clinton accused the then President, Mr. George H.W. Bush, of coddling up to dictators in countries such as China; and in the campaign of 2000, Mr. George W. Bush accused Mr. Clinton of following a policy of appeasement vis-a-vis Beijing.

THE HINDU

12 APR 2001

# Beijing leaves the door ajar

By F.J. Khergamvala

**TOKYO, APRIL 11.** The Chinese Foreign Minister, Mr. Tang Jiaxuan, was quoted by Xinhua news agency tonight as saying that the Bush Administration had sent a letter to Beijing saying it was "very sorry," therefore the crew of the U.S. Navy EP-3E surveillance plane would be set free after necessary procedures.

Xinhua added that Mr. Tang had spoken to the U.S. Ambassador in Beijing, Mr. Joseph Pruehrer, about the Chinese decision, after Mr. Pruehrer had handed over a letter saying that the President, Mr. George W. Bush, and the Secretary of State, Gen. Colin Powell, had expressed "sincere regret" for the U.S. spy plane intruding into Chinese territory on April 1 and for the death of the pilot of one of the two Chinese F-8 planes engaged in a collision in the incident. Mr. Tang was

quoted as saying that humanitarian considerations had governed the Chinese decision, after the U.S. Government had said to the Chinese people, it was "very sorry."

The crew has been held on Hainan island in southern China since the incident. After initial reluctance, U.S. officials were given frequent access to the 24 crew, who it said were well treated, while behind the scenes contacts were afoot between the two governments on the specific compromise on what words constitute an expression of regrets to satisfy public opinion in both countries.

China has agreed to release the crew, but appeared to leave the door a bit ajar to make further demands to satisfy a constituency that might demand more. Xinhua quoted Mr. Tang as telling the U.S. Ambassador that the U.S. must take "full responsibility for

the incident, provide explanations convincing enough to the Chinese people, cease its reconnaissance activities above the Chinese coast and take measures to stop the recurrence of such incidents. Xinhua added that the U.S. had appreciated China's treatment of the seized crew. Mr. Tang was also quoted as saying the matter was not over and negotiations would continue on this and related issues. He warned Washington to "take seriously the solemn position of the Chinese side and properly handle this incident". Mr. Tang put the onus of normality on the U.S. "The U.S. should take a constructive attitude and work with the Chinese side to bring the bilateral relations onto the track of normal development."

In the absence of the specific wording of the letter delivered in both languages to Mr. Tang, it

would be safe to conclude that the terminology employed was what would be termed "sincere regrets" in English, but could be portrayed as "very sorry" to the Chinese audience, depending on the context. Mr. Tang in fact did say that the letter handed over by the Ambassador mentioned that Mr. Bush and Gen. Powell had expressed "sincere regrets" for the missing pilot.

China had obviously concluded that it had enough to extract mileage domestically, but in relations with the U.S. a point of diminishing returns was approaching and any residual advantage to be taken could be brought to the fore later, without linking them to the return of the crew. Gen. Powell's mild hint about the possibility of reviewing an official visit to Beijing, after the APEC meeting in autumn might have weighed on China.



Beijing hopes Washington will not link standoff with other issues

# Detained crew not hostages: China

FROM JEREMY PAGE

Beijing, April 10 (Reuters) - China told the United States today not to complicate a dispute over a US spy plane held on Hainan island by calling the 24 detained crew "hostages" and threatening to disrupt trade relations.

"I hope the unnecessary linkages of this incident with other issues will not further complicate the whole situation so as not to hinder the China-US relationship," foreign ministry spokesman Sun Yuxi told a news conference.

"We hope the US side will not further complicate this issue," he said on the 10th day of a standoff over the US Navy surveillance plane that made an emergency landing on Hainan after a collision with a Chinese jet fighter.

Sun was responding to questions about statements from US secretary of state Colin Powell at China's trade with the United States could be hurt by the dispute from powerful Illinois Republican Congressman Henry Hyde

calling the 24 crew "hostages". Sun said Powell's use of the word sorry when referring to the death of a Chinese fighter pilot as a result of the collision was a step towards resolving the standoff. But he repeated that Washington must apologise for the incident.

"The US use of the word sorry is a step in the right direction, but we don't think this issue is fully solved. We still urge the US to take a positive attitude and take the stance of the Chinese side seriously," Sun said. "Since the US side has done something wrong first, it is purely their responsibility to apologise."

## Official account

Sun repeated China's official account of the April 1 collision — that the US plane veered suddenly into the Chinese fighter, then entered Chinese airspace and landed in Hainan without authorisation.

The plane had violated the United Nations convention on maritime law and a China-US agreement on avoidance of dangerous military acts at sea, he

said. "We maintain the incident was purely caused by the US side because of its erroneous acts," he said. "The US side should apologise instead of seeking excuses to avoid responsibility."

Pressed by reporters, he declined to give further details of the Chinese explanation of the collision, or of talks between the two sides to draw up a letter with an agreed account of the incident.

He also side-stepped a question on whether a US apology was an explicit precondition for the crew's release. "We demand the United States make an apology, but to resolve this problem, we hope the United States can take a cooperative and practical attitude," he replied.

"If the United States can take seriously the Chinese people's solemn and just demands, I believe this can be resolved as soon as possible through negotiations."

## Right to investigate

But Sun declined to say how long the Chinese investigation of the incident and the crew would take.

"At this stage I can only stress that we have reserved the right to further investigation," he said. The plane had not been moved from the Lingshui military airbase in southern Hainan, where it made an emergency landing after the collision, he said.

US ambassador to China Joseph Prueher was representing Washington in talks on the crew's release, he said. But Sun did not answer questions about who was representing China, and whether there was a conflict on the issue between the civilian leadership and the military.

Asked whether US President George W. Bush and Chinese President Jiang Zemin had spoken on the telephone since the collision, he said: "I have not heard of such arrangements". Sun said he was unclear about whether a letter from Bush to the wife of missing pilot Wang Wei had been delivered. And he said he did not know how long the search for the pilot would continue.

"The US people are concerned with their crew members and

hope they return early, but here I would like to say that the Chinese people are concerned with the life of the pilot Wang Wei," he said.

But he insisted China did not need to accept an offer of help from the United States in the search over the South China Sea.

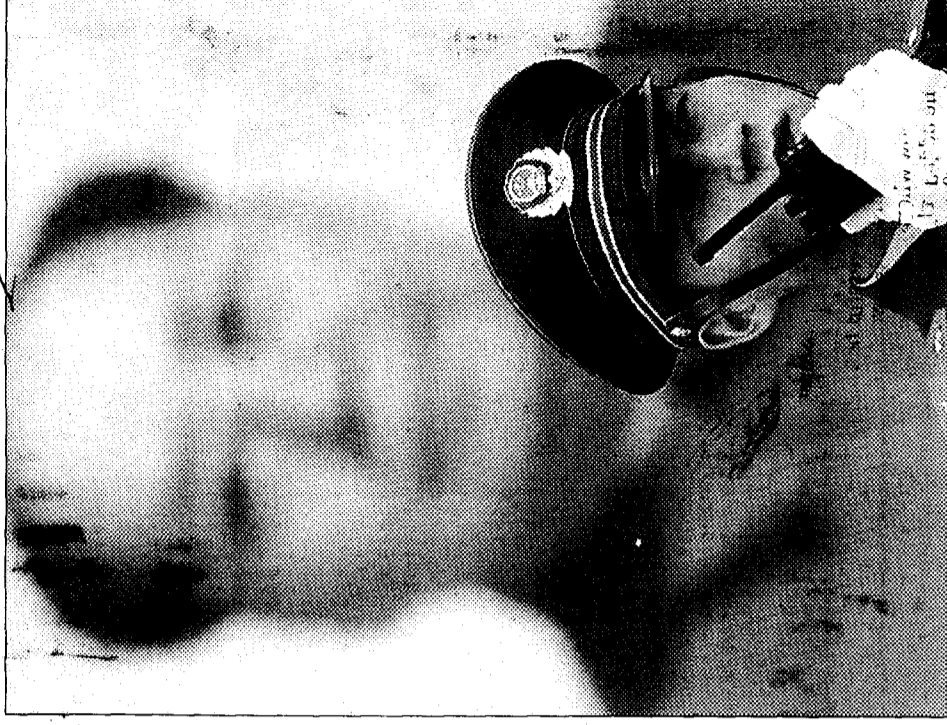
"We think we are capable of conducting this work," he said.

## American view

Most Americans view the 24-member crew as hostages, said a poll released today.

The USA Today/CNN/Gallup poll found 55 per cent of Americans considered the US detainees to be hostages, suggesting the longer the standoff continues the more anxious the public will be for a solution.

While US lawmakers have used the label, President George W. Bush and Vice-President Dick Cheney have avoided describing the crew as hostages, with Cheney saying in weekend interviews it was important to avoid such "hot button" words that could worsen tensions.



A Chinese military policeman talks on a walkie-talkie in front of a portrait of chairman Mao in Beijing. (AFP)

THE TELEGRAPH

11 APR 2001

# Sino-U.S. relations will be damaged, warns Bush

By Sridhar Krishnaswami  
WASHINGTON, APRIL 9. Even as American diplomats in China have met the 24 detained crew members of the surveillance plane, the EP-3E Aries II, for the fourth time, the United States President, Mr. George W. Bush, has once again reminded China that relations stand to be damaged at each passing day.

All of us around this table understand diplomacy takes time. But there is a point, the longer it goes, there's a point at which our relations with China could become damaged," the President remarked in a Photo Opportunity at a Cabinet Meeting.

Asked what else could be done given that the detained crew members had not yet returned home, Mr. Bush remarked, "We're working. We're working behind the scenes. We've got every diplomatic channel open. We are in discussions with the Chinese. It is now time for our troops to come home so that our relationship does not become damaged."

With at least one law maker saying that the detained service personnel are "hostages" and others saying that their characterisations are coming very close to this, the President would not directly comment on the issue when asked at the White House. "... I just talked to Gen. Sealock who had a good visit with all the 24 crew members. His report is that their spirits are very high, that they're doing well. And

that's good news," Mr. Bush responded. Mr. Bush has written a letter to the wife of the Chinese pilot still missing from the accident over the South China Seas last Saturday. The contents of the letter will not be released, but the Secretary of State, Gen. Colin Powell, said on Sunday that the letter is intended to "respond in a humanitarian way, in an American way to a widow who is grieving." The President is not expected to apologise in his letter to Ms. Ruan Guoqin.

The focus over the weekend was still on the detained service personnel with the Bush administration mulling no words on the future of U.S.-China relations if no resolution is in sight. "I don't want to put a timetable on it; every day that goes by without having it resolved raises the risk to the long term relationship," the Vice President, Mr. Richard Cheney, said. "The relationship is being damaged. In order for the damage to be undone and for no further damage to occur, we've got to bring this matter to a close as soon as possible," Gen. Powell said making the point that while negotiations were going on, it was not along expected pace. The Bush administration is facing its first foreign policy "crisis," but no one in official circles are labelling it as a "crisis" and for obvious reasons.

Neither Mr. Cheney — who is a key player on foreign affairs in the Republican administration —

nor senior Cabinet members of the administration are willing to specify what the "consequences" are going to be for the standoff continuing. And the National Security Advisor, Ms. Condoleezza Rice, has said that China should not underestimate the American resolve.

"The Chinese Government should not underestimate on this side either the feeling of the American people that this was an emergency landing of a crew that was in distress, and that we now need to resolve this," Ms. Rice said. At the same time, the Bush administration is also making the point that both Washington and Beijing are seriously exploring ways to find an early solution to the ongoing problem.

Yesterday, the Bush administration, was concerned that American diplomats in the third meeting on Saturday were able to see only 8 out of the 24 crew members. There has been no precise detail on why this has been the case; and it comes at a time when the United States had been asking for not only the fourth meeting but regularising the meetings for twice a day.

The characterisation by the Chairman of the House International Relations Committee, Mr. Henry Hyde, that the detained American crew members are "hostages" was rejected by the Vice President on Sunday. For legal and political reasons, the Bush administration does not wish to up the ante by la-

bellling the crew members as "hostages." But the idea is gathering momentum on Capitol Hill among law makers who are now away from this city for the Easter break. The Senior Democratic Senator, Mr. Christopher Dodd, said, "We are getting precariously close to that."

The equally troublesome, if not more, aspect to the Republican administration is that Members of Congress from both parties have started looking at the "get tough" alternatives.

Many Members of Congress are simply outraged that this incident is dragging on with Beijing insisting on an apology for the mid-air collision over the South China Seas. Law makers are clear that the United States has nothing to apologise for; and the administration has been saying consistently that the American surveillance EP-3E was not at fault for the incident.

There are at least three things that some in Congress are thinking about and are pretty serious about it. In the first place, the White House has had indication that should China's trade status come for a vote, it is going to be some real tough going; law makers are further hardening the stance against the idea of Beijing hosting the Summer Olympics in 2008; and finally there is the Taiwan arms package which Mr. Bush will be making a decision in the next two weeks or so.

THE HINDU

30 APR 2001

PLANE COLLISION / OFFICIALS MEET DETAINED CREW AGAIN

# Beijing, Washington harden stance on apology

By Sridhar Krishnaswami

WASHINGTON, APRIL 8. As the detention of the 24 members of the air crew of the EP-3E Aries surveillance plane entered the second week in the Hainan Island, there are indications of both Washington and Beijing toughening their positions.

While China continues to demand an American apology, the Bush administration has even more adamantly reiterated that it will go no further than the expressions of regret that have already been made by senior officials and by the President, Mr. George W. Bush.

"Our position is unchanged", remarked a spokesperson of the National Security Council, when commenting on whether an apology from the United States was still possible. The White House, while saying that it would go no further than expressing "regret" is also saying progress is being made in the talks.

In both capitals, senior officials are said to be working on the drafts of a letter that will eventually be exchanged between Mr. Bush and his Chinese counterpart, Mr. Jiang Zemin. The point being made here is that the sharp public posturings of China are quite opposite to the attitude they have taken in the negotiations.

On Capitol Hill, where law makers are now on a two-week Easter recess, the rhetoric may be somewhat non-existent, but senior members of Congress have continued to express their dismay at the length of the stand-off. "I think if we lower the rhetoric and don't pound the table, there ought to be a way out of this. But the Chinese have to use common-sense too, and right now I don't see much of that on their side",



Fishermen row small boats at an inlet at Haikou, on China's Hainan Island on Sunday. China is enlisting hundreds of fishing boats in what it calls its largest ever sea search, for the missing fighter pilot, Mr. Wang Wei, who crashed after a collision with a U.S. surveillance plane a week ago. — AP

said Mr. Henry Hyde, the Chairman of the House International Relations Committee.

The accident over the South China Seas took place on April 1 when the pilot of the EP-3E made an emergency landing at a military base in the Hainan Island after hitting a Chinese F-8 fighter. The Chinese plane went down and the pilot is still listed as missing after bailing out. The Chinese authorities, in squarely blaming the U.S. for the incident are also making the point that the Amer-

ican pilot broke Chinese law by landing his plane without permission.

The Republican administration, known for its hardline stance against China from the very beginning, has been trying to play it low key knowing the political implications of indulging in a high profile slanging match in public. At the same time officials are anxiously looking for a way out of this difficult situation for no one wants any comparison with the earlier Carter administration and

its handling of the Iranian hostages.

In fact for political and legal reasons, the Bush administration has not yet classified its detained crew as "hostages". On the one hand that will sharply raise the rhetoric level; and on the other hand, make China liable for damages in American courts to the tune of millions of dollars. Repeatedly in the last one week, the State Department and the White House have stayed away from characterising the detained crew

members as "hostages".

With a view to keep the momentum of the talks going the Bush administration has been giving details of meetings between American diplomats and the detained crew members. On Saturday, U.S. diplomats had their third meeting. "The crew... is in very high spirits. They understand the circumstances under which they are here... They do offer that they very much appreciate the e-mails they've been allowed to receive from home", remarked Brig. Gen. Neal Sealock, the Defence Attache of the American embassy in Beijing.

Gen. Sealock's message was conveyed directly to Camp David where the President is spending the weekend. Mr. Bush is in the Presidential Retreat with the First Lady and his National Security Advisor, Ms Condoleezza Rice. The White House has also said that the President received a letter from the wife of the downed Chinese pilot criticising the United States for the collision and for refusing to apologise.

In the midst of all the optimism in recent days of the stand-off coming to an early end, what is seen here is also a hardening of the public stance of top Chinese officials and leaders. For example in his reply to a letter from the Secretary of State, Gen. Colin Powell, China's Vice-Premier is said to have made the point that American statements of regret are still "unacceptable" and that an apology is required. And China's Defence Minister, Gen. Chi Haotian has apparently said that the People's Liberation Army will not allow Washington to "shirk" its responsibility.

# China to exploit gains from U.S. 'regrets'

AP-16

By F. J. Khergamvala

**TOKYO, APRIL 8** As the United States and China play out the end game over the air collision incident a week ago, attention has been diverted from an important event to take place for the Chinese people next week. The leadership should then certainly exploit the gains of the compromise being negotiated with the U.S. on ending the saga of the U.S. Navy EP-3E surveillance mission.

A week from now, bookstores and Internet users in China, Hong Kong, Taiwan and the Chinese community in the U.S. will have full access to the Chinese language version of the so-called Tiananmen Papers, purportedly an authentic account of the behind-the-scenes deliberations among the leadership in June 1989 on the clampdown on pro-democracy protesters.

Earlier this year saw the release of the abridged English version, edited by Mr. Andrew Nathan, Mr. Perry Link, and Prof. Orville Schell, all U.S. Sinologists. The source material was by a person with the pseudonym, Zhang Liang.

It is the much more complete Chinese version, available to a far larger and direct-

ly better informed audience in its own language that will be of great importance to the leadership of the Communist Party, with a view to the big party shake-up expected in September 2002. Mr. Jiang and the ideological moderates on the one hand, and the conservatives, on the other, will weigh and try to influence public opinion on the Chinese version of the Papers.

The outcome of the current episode and the way Beijing has extracted some form of regrets from the U.S. can easily be used by Mr. Jiang and his public machinery to distract attention from certain revelations which were not in the English version but may be in the Chinese one. Should there be some nasty disclosures in the Chinese version, the Chinese media will probably resort to the well worn usage of the common foreign hand behind Tiananmen and behind the air incident. In its language, the "running dogs of foreign, anti-Chinese forces."

The only thing that can spoil Mr. Jiang's "party" is that after getting the spy plane's 24 crew back in U.S., Mr. George W. Bush determines that Taiwan should have either one or more of the four requested Arleigh-Burke class vessels with the sophisticated

Aegis battle management system, that can also be used to base the Theatre Missile Defence.

Every incident like the one last week provokes hardliners on both sides to make the relationship captive to local politics. Mr. Bush will have to be cautious about giving in to pro-Taiwan conservatives at home and also give an upper hand to some of the hardline Generals in the Chinese People's Liberation Army who have felt since 1995 that Mr. Jiang has been too indulgent on Taiwan.

China's strong handling of this crisis came at an opportune moment. Moreover, it does no harm at all to force the U.S. to remind itself that in such incidents, the U.S. has been truly a dirty player. After the Belgrade embassy bombing in May 1999, Beijing had no hostages, no cards to play, except avenge itself with stones at U.S. offices in the mainland.

In 1993, the U.S. Navy, in an action that by any definition falls under state-organised terrorism, seized the Chinese freighter 'Lin He' on grounds that China was shipping suspicious chemical weapons related cargo to Iran. Chinese intelligence had actually duped the U.S. into believing

that this was dangerous cargo, but in the absence of anything to trade off, it could not even get the U.S. to apologise.

This time, obviously nothing was planned, but once China had the unforgotten hostages and the plane, all that Beijing had to do was to ignore superpower bluff and bluster that China had no right to examine the plane which was on Chinese territory, even though the U.S. claimed for itself the right to board the Chinese ship 'Lin He' in international waters in 1993.

Almost the entire U.S. media has been dishonest to its readers on these background facts. In 1968, the U.S. gave an apology and bought the release from North Korea of the crew of the American spy ship, the U.S.S. Pueblo. But, once the crew was safely back in the U.S., it retracted the apology.

The advantage is all Mr. Jiang's to eke, if he chooses to highlight how China has stood up, perhaps humbled the world's mightiest power to climb down from the haughty legal and moral posture it adopted shortly after the American spy-plane landed on Chinese soil.

# US, China relations are up in the air

AA-2  
9/4

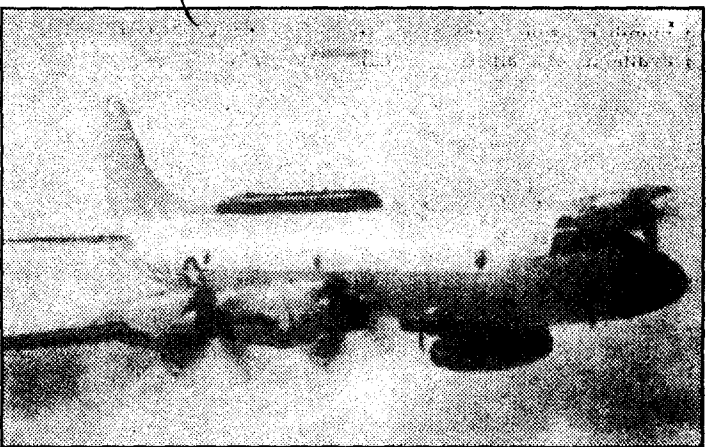
8/10/01

**H**onolulu: The collision between a Chinese fighter and an American reconnaissance aircraft in international airspace over the South China Sea is an unfortunate, unplanned, but nonetheless important test of the maturity of both the relationship between China and the United States. So far, Beijing appears to be flunking the test.

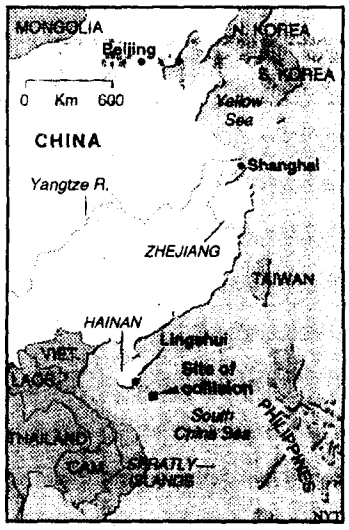
The collision, about 70 miles southeast of China's Hainan Island while the American plane was on a routine, unarmed surveillance mission, was probably caused by overzealousness on the part of the Chinese pilot.

Chinese jets routinely conduct intercept training against such convenient American "targets" but have reportedly become more aggressive, if not reckless, in recent months. The rules of the road call for the faster, more manoeuvrable Chinese F-8 jets that were involved in the collision to yield to the slower, larger EP-3 propeller-driven aircraft.

China's immediate handling of the incident — to publicly blame the United States even before the facts were known and to protest the US spy plane's "violation" of Chinese airspace — was reminiscent of Beijing's handling of the aftermath of the Belgrade bombing, which was immediately branded a deliberate act. It seems that Beijing's



A US Navy EP-3. The plane disabled was carrying 24 crewmen. (Right) Map of the area where the collision took place



BY RALPH A. COSSA

automatic reaction to any mishap is to quickly incite anti-American sentiments. This is contrary to China's stated desire to develop improved relations with Washington.

Equally disturbing was Chinese refusal to grant American diplomats immediate access to the crew or to the plane, which is loaded with sensitive surveillance equipment (although much of it was no doubt destroyed by the crew before landing at the Chinese airfield).

Will China, the self-proclaimed defender of national sovereign rights, treat the plane as the piece of American sover-

**P**oor handling of this incident by either side could result in a serious setback in the broader relationship. Instead of asserting that the other is to blame, both sides should agree to cooperate in a full inquiry into the accident, aimed first and foremost at ensuring that this type of tragedy does not occur again

eign territory that it is, or — as it has already done, according to some reports — board the plane and attempt to exploit its sensitive equipment? How China behaves will be a sign of just how important maintaining good relations with Washington really are for Beijing.

Some elements in China have long accused the United States of harbouring a Cold War mentality. But it is China today that is demonstrating such a mindset in the way it has reacted to this accident. In his recent meeting with Deputy Prime Minister Qian Qichen of China, President George W. Bush pledged

to treat the Chinese with respect. But respect must work both ways. The longer the release of the crew members is delayed, the more one must conclude that Mr Qian's pledge to cooperate with Washington was an empty promise.

Continued Chinese heavy-handedness will certainly result in more calls for increased arms sales by Taiwan's supporters in the United States. Any attempt by Beijing to trade the crew or aircraft's release for a reduction in arms sales is sure to backfire.

Poor handling of this incident by either side could result in a serious setback in the broader relationship and would magnify the impact of other decisions. Instead of merely asserting that the other is to blame, both sides should agree to cooperate in a full inquiry into the accident, aimed first and foremost at ensuring that this type of tragedy does not occur again.

The Chinese government should also ensure that a full, fair, and objective accounting of what actually happened reaches the Chinese people.

*RALPH A. COSSA is president of the Pacific Forum CSIS, a research institute affiliated with the Center for Strategic and International Studies.*

*By arrangement with the International Herald Tribune*

THE ASIAN AGE

9 APR 2001

# Partner defends Chinese jet pilot

Beijing, April 7

THE PILOT of the Chinese fighter jet had no chance against the US spy plane that veered suddenly into its path, ramming it and sending the smaller aircraft spiralling out of control over the South China Sea, his partner said yesterday.

Pilot Zhao Yu's account mirrors Beijing's stand that the US plane was to blame for the collision. Shaking his fist in anger, Zhao, who piloted one of two fighters shadowing the Navy plane, condemned the US crew for the collision.

His fellow pilot, Wang Wei, is missing and presumed dead while the 24 Americans are held on Chinese soil where they made an emergency landing. "Wang Wei's plane had no way to evade it. It suddenly collided with him... The propeller on the left wing hit the tail fin of Wang Wei's aircraft. Bam! it was smashed into bits, like little pieces," Zhao said.

Meanwhile, Wang's wife has written to President George W Bush's, condemning his "cowardly" response to the incident.

"In this serious matter with irrefutable facts and the respon-

sibility completely resting on the us side, you are too cowardly to voice an apology and have been trying to shirk your responsibility repeatedly and defame my husband groundlessly." Ruan Guoqin wrote.

AP/AFP



AP PHOTO

A postman with the letter written by the Chinese pilot's wife, in front of the US embassy in Beijing.

THE HINDUSTAN TIMES

18 APR 2001

## PLANE COLLISION CONTROVERSY

# US, China to draft joint letter

Washington/Haikou, April 7

THE USA and China will draft a joint letter to express a common position on the crisis sparked by Sunday's collision between a US spy plane and a Chinese jet, a US Senator said today.

Chairman of the Senate Armed Services Committee, John Warner, gave first details of intense discussions between US and Chinese diplomats.

"We're moving towards a letter that will contain exchanges of views, first at the level of the ambassador and the foreign minister, but that letter is being reviewed both by our President and the President of China, so it will reflect a common understanding," Warner said.

He was referring to US ambassador to China, Admiral Joseph Prueher, who has been involved in round-the-clock talks in Beijing with Chinese officials.

Warner said the two sides are also working towards setting up a meeting of experts to probe the collision.

"There will be established some type of meeting framework contemporaneous with the letter, and that framework will enable



Soldiers patrol the streets in Beijing on Saturday. The city remained tense because of the plane crisis.

the experts, those who are most knowledgeable about aircraft and other matters, to sit down and assess the facts," he said.

Meanwhile, the US Secretary of State, Colin Powell, today said

he is "encouraged" by the developments. "There has been movement... We are encouraged at this point," he said after the diplomats met the crew.

Powell said the two sides are "exchanging rather precise ideas

as to how to bring this to a conclusion."

But the White House has made it clear that US arms and equipment sales to Taiwan, a major irritant in Sino-US ties, were not a part of negotiations.

THE HINDUSTAN TIMES



# China demands apology as US awaits crew meeting

REUTERS

HAIKOU, CHINA, APRIL 7

AMERICAN diplomats were left waiting on Saturday for a promised third meeting with the crew of a US spy plane detained in China as efforts to resolve the row continued and Beijing again demanded an apology.

While the US officials on Hainan island waited for word on the meeting with the 24-strong crew and the international standoff approached its second week, China said a US apology for Sunday's mid-air collision between their US Navy EP-3 aircraft and a Chinese fighter was of "utmost importance". A US



Senator said Washington and Beijing were working on a letter, to be approved by US President George W. Bush and Chinese President Jiang Zemin, containing an agreed

account of the collision off China's southern coast. He said it would mention regret for the missing Chinese pilot but no apology.

"We are awaiting word on when we will be able to see the crew," US Defence attache Brigadier General Neal Sealock told reporters in the southern island province of Hainan where the US aircraft made an emergency landing after the collision.

It was unclear why the expected third meeting had so far failed to take place the day after after Bush

reported progress in talks on their return and despite upbeat remarks by the US ambassador to China, Joseph Prueher.

Chinese state television for the first time carried reports that Bush had expressed regret for the loss of the Chinese fighter's pilot, who is missing, and feared dead.

Major Chinese newspapers showed pictures of Bush delivering Thursday's statement of regret with his head bowed, clearly conveying a message of contrition to the Chinese public.

## SPY PLANE STANDOFF

US officials in Haikou went shopping for toiletries, including contact lens solution, for the crew on Saturday and said they hoped to pass them e-mails from friends and relatives. In Beijing on Saturday morning, Prueher voiced optimism.

"At the moment contacts are getting better," he told reporters. "It's a sensitive time but we're hoping for more contact and to continue our work."

Bush had expressed guarded optimism on Friday over talks to secure the crew's release. "We're working hard to bring them home through intensive discussions with the Chinese government."

We think we're making

progress," he said in Washington. Sealock met for the second time with the crew on Friday — and for the first time with no Chinese escort. He told Bush it would "make you feel real proud. They look real good".

As part of a stepped-up diplomatic exchanges, the Chinese ambassador in Washington, Yang Jiechi, met with Deputy Secretary of State Richard Armitage on Friday at China's request.

Xinhua news agency said Yang gave Armitage a letter from Vice Premier Qian Qichen to US Secretary of State Colin Powell demanding Washington apologise to the Chinese people.

INDIAN EXPRESS

INDIAN EXPRESS



PLANE COLLISION / COMPROMISE DRAFT UNDER STUDY

## U.S., China plan joint probe

By Sridhar Krishnaswami

WASHINGTON, APRIL 7. The United States and China are said to be working on the precise details of resolving the stand-off involving the American spy plane now on the ground in Hainan Island along with a crew of 24. The feeling is that there is light at the end of the tunnel.

The President, Mr. George W. Bush, and his Chinese counterpart, Mr. Jiang Zemin — through their senior officials — are said to be working on the draft of a letter that will be basis of a resolution. Among other things Washington and Beijing are thinking of having a Joint Commission to get into the finer aspects of the dispute that took place over the South China Seas a week ago.

The draft that is being discussed will, ac-

ording to media reports, talk about the American and Chinese perceptions of what took place last Saturday along with the specific outlines for the release of the crew. Interestingly, few in the Bush administration are actually talking about the surveillance plan per se — that is in its "immediate" return.

One thinking has been that the 24-person crew could be released sometime this weekend itself; but the more guarded take the position that speculation on this subject is not a wise thing for last-minute complications have cropped up on earlier occasions. The thinking is that the letter will be signed by the American Ambassador to China, Mr. Joseph Prueher, and not by the President. But Mr. Bush has apparently told senior officials that he would like to see the final draft for approval of language.

On Friday, the Secretary of State, Gen. Colin Powell, said the United States and China were exchanging "rather precise ideas" for the release of the crew. The administration talked about the second meeting between American diplomats based in China and the detained crew and the possibility of a third on Saturday. Later, the State Department also released a picture of all the crew members seated in a room — another "gesture" on the part of China. The President, who by and large, has been restrained through the last several days, said there are intense negotiations going on with the Chinese and that progress is being made.

The President spoke with Brig. Gen. Neal Sealock, the U.S. Defence Attache in Beijing who saw the crew members and the White House spokesman said the President was "very heartened" to hear that the crew was in good condition. The Chinese Ambassador to the United States, Mr. Yang Jiechi, had another meeting with the Deputy Secretary of State, Mr. Richard Armitage, at the State Department on Friday. The meeting has been called as "part of our continuing diplomatic exchanges" by the State Department spokesman, Mr. Richard Boucher. The "exchanges" will go on over the weekend in Washington and in Beijing.

What is likely to emerge is a situation in which both sides can claim victory and get out of the impasse. The Chinese, for instance, will claim that the Americans, by agreeing to an investigation, have conceded wrongdoing on their parts. The Bush administration will then have the opportunity to say that it offered no apology and merely expressions of regret for the loss of the Chinese pilot and aircraft.

The worrisome part of the ongoing stand-off is not the Bush administration upping the ante; rather in its hand being forced by law makers on Capitol Hill who are simply appalled at what has been going on in the last one week. Then there is also the feeling that if this had been the Clinton administration, the reactions from Capitol Hill would have been much worse.



This undated photo telecast by CNN shows members of the detained U.S. Navy crew at an undisclosed location in China. — AP

THE HINDU

28 APR 2001

# Beijing insists on Washington apology

China  
USA  
7  
Haikou (China), April 7 (Reuters): US diplomatic officials left their hotel today after waiting all day for a promised third meeting with the detained American air crew as efforts to resolve the row continued and Beijing again demanded an apology.

A four-vehicle motorcade carrying US defence attache Brig. Gen. Neal Sealock and other American diplomats sped to the Hainan provincial government office in central Haikou.

It was not immediately clear whether they were going directly to meet the crew, but one US official said the diplomats had been waiting all day for a signal the meeting was on. Diplomats had met the crew late on Tuesday night and again yesterday.

US officials in Haikou went shopping for toiletries for the crew earlier today and said they hoped to pass them e-mails from friends and relatives. The aviators have been detained since Sunday, when their plane collided with a Chinese fighter jet.

China said a US apology for Sunday's collision was of "utmost importance".

A US senator said Washington and Beijing were working on a letter, to be approved by US President George W. Bush and Chinese President Jiang Zemin, containing an agreed account of the collision. He said it would mention regret for the missing Chinese pilot but no apology.

"We are awaiting word on when we will be able to see the crew," Sealock said in the southern island province of Hainan where the US aircraft made an emergency landing after the collision.

Chinese state television for the first time carried reports that Bush had expressed regret for the loss of the Chinese fighter's pilot, who is missing, and feared dead.

Major Chinese newspapers showed pictures of Bush delivering Thursday's statement of regret with his head bowed, clearly conveying a message of contrition to the Chinese public.

In Beijing this morning, Prueher voiced optimism. "At the moment contacts are getting better," he told reporters. "It's a sensitive time but we're hoping for more contact and to continue our work."

Bush had expressed guarded optimism yesterday over talks to secure the crew's release: "We're working hard to bring them home through intensive discussions with the Chinese government. We think we're making progress," he said in Washington.

Sealock met the crew for the second time yesterday — and for the first time with no Chinese escort. He told Bush it would "make you feel real proud. They look real good". As part of a stepped-up diplomatic exchanges, the Chinese ambassador in Washington, Yang Jiechi, met deputy secretary of state Richard Armitage yesterday at China's request. Xinhua said Yang gave Armitage a letter from vice-premier Qian Qichen to Colin Powell demanding Washington's apology.

HD-10

VV

**COLLISION / U.S. OFFICIAL MEETS CREW FOR SECOND TIME**

7/4

# Optimism over early end to crisis

By Sridhar Krishnaswami

**WASHINGTON, APRIL 6.** The Secretary of State, Gen. Colin Powell, today said that negotiations for the release of the 24 crew members of the EP-3E Aries surveillance aircraft, now detained in China, were "moving forward" and that he was encouraged by the developments.

Gen. Powell made a brief appearance at the State Department briefing room to report of the second meeting between senior diplomats and the crew.

Senior American diplomats in China met the detained crew for the second time and reported that they were in "great spirits". The President, Mr. George Bush, was personally told of the meeting by Brig. Gen. Neal Sealock, U.S. Defence Attache in Beijing.

There is now talk of regular meetings with the crew until the issue is resolved, with the third one likely tomorrow. The modalities to this effect had been worked out, according to Gen. Powell.

"The crew is in great spirits, they're all together, they're looking forward to getting released from their current situation and returning home," the U.S. Defence Attache in the Beijing Embassy, Gen. Neal Sealock, told presspersons in a brief statement in Haikou.

The crew — 24 in all — are being held in the Hainan Island after a collision with a Chinese fighter last week over the South China Sea.

With a third meeting on the cards, there is guarded optimism here that the standoff — now almost a week old — is finally winding down.

On Thursday, the President, Mr. George Bush, added to the chorus of American "regrets" for the lost Chinese pilot and the plane. "I regret that a Chinese pilot is missing and I regret that one of their airplanes is lost. Our prayers go out to the pilot, his family," the President said after an address to the American Society of Newspaper Editors.

Mr. Bush also had a conciliatory tone on the future of relations with China even while

maintaining that in the present context "the Chinese have got to act. And I hope they do so quickly." He stressed that America's relationship with China was very important, but Beijing ought to realise that it was time for the crew to be back home.

Asked about his concept of "balance" between U.S. strategic and economic interests in Asia, Mr. Bush took a broad-based view of the relationship with China that included economic, strategic and American values such as human rights. "I believe that China ought to be a trading partner. I think it is in our economic interests to open up the Chinese markets to U.S. products — to U.S. agricultural products. I not only believe it is in our economic interests, I believe it is in our interests to promote U.S. values. And I believe the market place promotes the values," he said, going to on make the point that he was an advocate of China entering the World Trade Organisation.

"China is a strategic partner — I mean a strategic competitor — but that doesn't mean we can't find areas in which we can partner. And the economy is a place where we can partner. Now we've got some differences with China, long-term differences. Spreading of weapons of mass destruction is an issue we need to work with the Chinese on... Human rights is an issue, but I believe trade will encourage more freedom... And so I will continue to push for more trade with China."

The President's remarks and the rather "soft" tone is in sharp contrast to the shrill rhetoric coming out of Capitol Hill, where moderate lawmakers in the House of Representatives and the Senate have started warning Beijing of adverse consequences on the ongoing standoff.

Lawmakers have started demanding all sorts of things from the Bush administration, and by themselves have started a process that is sure to set the clock back on the achievements thus far. The threat of revocation of the Permanent Normal Trade Relations status

aside, members of Congress have started putting pressure on the administration to proceed with the full arms shopping list of Taiwan, that includes the four sophisticated Aegis class destroyers.

There have also been calls on the President to cancel his visit to Beijing later this year. Mr. Bush parried a question to this effect on Thursday. The Republican Senator from Indiana, Mr. Richard Lugar, argued that a "fairly long list of consequences is already being developed" should the crisis drag on. Mr. Lugar, who is an influential member of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, said, "It is apparent that the ramifications of failure to resolve this quickly could be a very severe damage in the relationship between China and the U.S."

Mr. Bush is expected decide on the Taiwan arms sale in the next two weeks. It is expected that inspite of the tremendous pressure, the President will follow what has been done in the past and not go through with the sale of the destroyers that Taiwan has been asking for some time.

But conservative lawmakers believe that the sale is now a "done deal" in the context of the incident over the South China Sea. The lawmakers were outraged at reports of China stripping the surveillance plane and were furious that the crew was being interrogated by Chinese authorities in the name of "investigation".

One assessment in the administration and outside is that against the backdrop of expressions of "regret", the U.S. may have actually strengthened the hands of moderates within the Chinese leadership — leaders such as Mr. Jiang Zemin, who appear to have toned down some of their sharp observations over the last two days. Hardliners in the Chinese establishment — already smarting that Beijing did not respond adequately to the Embassy bombing in Belgrade — are said to be keen on using the incident to publicly humiliate the U.S.

**THE HINDU**

- 7 APR 2001

# 'U.S. plane caused the crash'

HD-16 719  
BEIJING, APRIL 6. Shaking his fist in anger, a Chinese pilot sent to track a U.S. spy plane said on Friday that he saw it slam into a Chinese warplane, sending it spinning out of control, state media reported.

The dramatic eyewitness account of the collision between the U.S. Navy EP-3E and a Chinese F-8 fighter echoed official Chinese claims that the American plane was to blame. Mr. Wang Wei, pilot of the F-8, reportedly parachuted out and is missing.

Mr. Wang and pilot, Mr. Zhao Yu, had been sent to track the American plane on Sunday.

"I saw the nose and the left wing of the American plane hit Mr. Wang Wei's plane," Mr. Zhao told the state Xinhua News Agency. "I advised Mr. Wang Wei, 'Your tail's been destroyed. Try to hold your course. Hold your course.' He replied, 'O.K.'"

Mr. Zhao said that about 30 seconds later Mr. Wang lost control of the plane.

"Mr. Wang Wei asked permission to bail out. I replied: 'O.K.' After that I lost contact with him," Mr. Zhao was quoted as saying.



Zhao Yu. — AP

The State television, in an interview broadcast on the national evening news, showed Mr. Zhao in his blue aviator's uniform shaking his fist as he condemned the U.S. plane.

The accounts on Friday added to state media reports that have hailed Mr. Wang as a hero of national defence. His mother and father also were shown on television, and his weeping father said Mr. Wang was "the son of the entire nation."

U.S. officials say they need to talk to the 24 crew members to find out what happened. — AP

THE HINDU

# US progress to end standoff

FROM MARY GABRIEL

Washington, April 6 (Reuters): Efforts to resolve a dispute over a crippled US spy plane were "moving forward," a White House spokesman said today, as China allowed US officials to meet the plane's 24-member crew for a second time since the six-day standoff began.

China continued to hold out for a full US apology for the mid-air collision on Sunday that downed a Chinese F-8 fighter jet and left the plane's pilot missing and presumed dead.

Following another night of intense diplomacy, White House spokesman Ari Fleischer said President George W. Bush, "believes that we are moving forward." He added: "That's the purpose of the talks — to secure the crew's release. And the return of the plane."

US defence attache Neal Sealock said in Haikou after meeting the American crew on Hainan island, where the plane made an emergency landing, that they were in "great spirits."

"They're looking forward to getting released from their current situation and returning home," Sealock said in a brief statement.



An undated file picture of missing Chinese pilot Wang Wei whose fighter jet collided with a US spy plane near Hainan island in the South China Sea on Sunday. (AFP)

US secretary of state Colin Powell said in a briefing today that the crew was being held in "clean well-lit rooms. ... There is no indication of any physical or verbal mistreatment."

Chinese officials told US diplomats they might be able to see the detained Americans for a third time tomorrow.

The first US contact with the crew came on Tuesday night, but otherwise the 21 men and three women have been held incommunicado.

Earlier, a foreign ministry spokeswoman said that Beijing, which blames the US spy plane for the collision, welcomed regrets offered by Bush for the loss of the Chinese plane and its pilot.

"US expressions of regret are a step in the right direction toward resolving this issue," the spokeswoman said, but she added: "China's position is clear: The US must admit full responsibility and apologise to the Chinese people and it must take sincere and effective measures to prevent a similar in-

cident from happening again." Chinese President Jiang Zemin said yesterday both sides should make China-US ties the top priority and find a solution.

"I want to emphasise that Chinese and US leaders should manage this situation with maximum interest in bilateral relations in order to find an adequate solution," Jiang said in Chile at the start of a 12-day tour of Latin America.

His comments suggested that he and other Chinese leaders with political stakes in good relations with the US were gaining the upper hand against military hawks and Communist Party hard-liners keen to use the incident to humiliate Washington.

It also suggested concern in Beijing over growing anger among the general public in the US and members of Congress, which threatens to spill over into trade and other areas.

Bush and other White House officials signalled that if the crisis dragged on, it could harm US support for China's entry into the World Trade Organisation and trade ties with the US.

China blames the US plane, which was on a reconnaissance mission over the South China sea, for veering into its fighter jet.

# China allows US to visit plane crew again

JEREMY PAGE  
HAIKOU (CHINA), APRIL 6

CHINA gave the United States permission to visit the detained crew of its grounded spy plane today, in a sign that intense diplomatic efforts were starting to bear fruit on the sixth day of the stand-off.

The US Embassy in Beijing said that the meeting, the second since the crisis erupted on Sunday, would take place at 4 pm here. It was the first concrete sign of progress since the US and Chinese leaders sought to cool the grow-

ing crisis that threatened to spin out of control and unravel China-US ties. Earlier, Chinese President Jiang Zemin said both sides should place top priority on China-US ties and find a solution.

US President George W. Bush, who has said it was time for the 21 men and three women to return home, also spoke of a need to preserve relations between the two countries. "I want to emphasise that Chinese and US leaders should manage this situation with maximum interest in bilateral relations in order to find an adequate solution," Jiang said in Chile at the start of a 12-day tour of

Latin America.

Jiang's comments suggested he and other Chinese leaders with political stakes in good relations with the US are gaining the upper hand against military hawks and Communist Party hardliners keen to use the incident to humiliate Washington. It also suggested concern in Beijing over growing anger among the US public at large and members of Congress which threatens to spill over into trade and other areas.

Taiwan, which Beijing denounces as a renegade province and has most to lose from any backlash, predicted a peaceful settle-

ment, but remains anxious about the fate of high-tech Defence systems it has asked Washington to sell it. Bush sought to make it easier for Chinese leaders to free the air crew by expressing regret for the loss of the Chinese pilot, whose F8 fighter crashed following a mid-air collision with the spy plane.

"I regret that a Chinese pilot is missing and I regret that one of their airplanes is lost. Our prayers go out to the pilot, his family," Bush said. But he indicated good relations depended on the quick return of the top-secret US plane and its crew.

INDIAN EXPRESS

# China welcomes US regret

FROM ANDREW BROWNE

Beijing, April 5 (Reuters): China welcomed as a "step in the right direction" US statements of regret over a Chinese pilot missing since a collision with an American spy plane, but repeated a demand for a full apology.

It was Beijing's first response to what appeared to be an olive branch extended by US secretary of state Colin Powell to Chinese Vice-Premier Qian Qichen, and although it was less than enthusiastic it sent a positive signal.

Adding to a sense of movement in a five-day diplomatic standoff, the American ambassador to China said today that channels of communication were opening. "We are working on meetings, our communication is getting better and both our governments are working pretty hard to solve this," Joseph Prueher said. He had earlier expressed frustration that his

usual contacts in the Chinese government had clammed up.

But there was still no breakthrough in efforts to arrange a second meeting between US officials and 24 crew held on the southern island of Hainan since their spy plane made an emergency landing on Sunday following the collision.

Foreign ministry spokesman Sun Yuxi said another visit would be considered but only if the United States "takes a cooperative approach". He did not explain what that meant. "The U.S. expression of regret is a step in the right direction by the US side," Sun said. But he added: "The U.S. has made a mistake and should first apologise."

"The US must assume responsibility and make an explanation to the Chinese people," he added. The *China Daily* said in a commentary that "apparently neither Beijing nor Washington wants to see a full-blown crisis".

Powell's letter contained statements of regret over the pilot of the F-8 fighter missing and feared dead after he bailed out of his plane which crashed into the South China Sea. US officials made their first contact with the crew on Tuesday night. The US service personnel have been otherwise incommunicado since shortly after their spy plane landed at a military air base.

US diplomats on Hainan have been trying without success to negotiate another meeting. Defence attache Brig.-Gen. Neal Sealock told reporters in Haikou, the Hainan capital, there was no response to requests last night.

"Everyone is working hard towards the immediate release of our crew. We're working hard for access here in Haikou. The issue is being worked at the highest level. We're working hard to resolve this issue," Sealock said.

Washington says the mid-air

tangle was an accident and has bluntly ruled out an apology. But by expressing sympathy and concern for the pilot, analysts said Powell may have found a possible approach to ending an impasse over the fate of the US crew and the top-secret EP-3 surveillance plane which, if it drags on much longer, could cause serious harm to China-U.S. relations.

"We regret that the Chinese plane did not get down safely and we regret the loss of the life of that Chinese pilot," Powell told reporters yesterday. However, he added that "we need to move on and we need to bring this to a resolution".

Chinese newspapers today also shifted their attention towards the aviator and his grieving wife, along with a massive air and sea search still under way. China, still officially describes the pilot, Wang Wei, as missing rather than dead.

## Lanka govt to rebuild temple

Colombo, April 5 (PTI): The Sri Lankan government today offered to rebuild a Buddhist temple that was demolished as part of a campaign to "beautify" the capital and lashed out at critics who compared the demolition with destruction of the Bamiyan Buddhas by the Taliban.

Prime Minister Ratnasiri Wickremanayake said an investigation showed the ancient temple had been damaged when the urban development ministry demolished an "unauthorised" structure of the shrine.

However, the government lashed out at the Opposition which compared the urban development minister Mangla Samaraweera, who ordered the demolition, to the Taliban.



Actress Holly Hunter (left) poses with tennis legend Billie Jean King at the premiere of *When Billie beat Bobby* in Los Angeles. Hunter plays King in the movie which re-creates the 1973 "Battle of the Sexes" tennis match between King and Bobby Riggs. (AFP)

THE TELEGRAPH

6 APR 2001

# US-CHINA STANDOFF CHINA'S 'VICTIMHOOD' SYNDROME IS FUELLING ITS AGGRESSION

HUGO RESTALL  
HONG KONG

**T**WO Americans, China's behaviour during and after Sunday's mid-air collision has been reprehensible. Not only did a Chinese fighter plane cause the accident with aggressive flying, but the crippled American plane was boarded after it made an emergency landing in China, and its crew was held out of reach of embassy officials for more than two days.

But to Chinese, the story couldn't be more different. To them, the U.S. has deliberately taken the life of a Chinese fighter pilot and now has the temerity to make demands. Talk of an accident only stirs up memories of the Belgrade embassy bombing, which the U.S. claimed was the result of bad map reading.

A juxtaposition of these two views is not meant to suggest that they are equally valid. The American public is generally open to the idea that its government is sometimes in the wrong. But the current dispute confirms that when China and the U.S. are in open conflict, the Chinese tend automatically to believe the worst of the "imperialists," and to deny that their own government could have overstepped the mark.

"My country right or wrong" went out of fashion as a creed in the U.S. after the Vietnam War, but in China it is a fair description of the public mood. This has led some to suggest that a combination of economic development and social dislocation, which produced fascist

## China plays old cards to deal with new row

When China and the U.S. are in open conflict, the Chinese tend automatically to believe the worst of the "imperialists"

regimes in Tokyo and Berlin in the 1930s, is having a similar effect in today's Beijing. Certainly, Chinese nationalism is on the rise.

It is no good dismissing the Chinese view of the EP-3 aircraft incident as the product of a propaganda machine swallowing whole by a gullible population lacking outside information. Mainland residents have increasing access to international news sources, and Chinese abroad voice similar opinions. Indeed, Chinese government statements in the last few days have been relatively restrained, while the proverbial man on the street wants his leaders to take a tough line. To understand why, you have to look at China's culture of humiliation.

Chinese children are taught from an early age that their country is poor and backward because the Western powers encroached on its territory. This reinforces the current regime's legitimacy, since it helps gloss over the damage done by Mao Tse-tung's totalitarian rule and emphasises solidarity against out-

All this changed drastically when the West entered the Industrial Revolution, and refused to kowtow to the emperor in return for limited trading relations. Dealing with the sudden comedown from pre-eminent power to vassal state for a country which had been "on top" since the beginning of recorded history, and whose culture was so rich, caused wrenching changes that prepared the ground for totalitarianism.

Under Mao, China channelled its frustration into revolutionary zealotry, convincing itself that it was at the forefront of a global movement that would liberate the working masses. Deng Xiaoping's reforms destroyed that fiction, but they also brought relief to a country that was economically on its knees. Now the country is approaching a turning point. Will it seek to re-establish its position in Asia through military strength or focus on economic achievement?

Helping China choose the latter course does not have to mean appeasement. To acquiesce in Chinese demands for special treatment might reinforce the belief that the rest of the world owes a debt to the Middle Kingdom. As part of its high-handed moral rhetoric, China has promised that it would always respect other countries' integrity and not play the bully.

However, in order to avoid providing more fodder for nationalists, it is im-

portant that the U.S. keep its public rhetoric subdued and offer the incentive of closer economic ties. It's an old line, but a good one: The U.S. wants to see a strong China that plays a responsible role in the world. To that end America isn't willing to sacrifice its interests, but neither will it cut off economic links at the first sign of conflict. The doors to the global trading system are now open, and all China has to do is to knock.

Moreover, the U.S. government should start to talk directly to the Chinese, rather than treating the regime in Beijing as their sole representative. While Chinese may be receptive to nationalist calls when there has been loss of life, as in this case, they also harbour a cynicism toward their own government that the U.S. might exploit.

The Chinese may have come to resemble "blue ants" during Mao's era, but today they are more like a "sheet of loose sand," in Sun Yat-sen's words.

In the past, the U.S. and China were drawn together by a common enemy, the Soviet Union. That led to a relationship based on arms sales, including avionics for the same model of fighter involved in Sunday's collision. But the state media continued to excoriate American imperialism even as the two governments worked together.

As China tries to reform its economy, and an impending leadership transition strengthens the hand of the military, the temptation for Beijing to fall back on chauvinism and blame troubles on the foreigners will be strong.

(From *The Asian Wall Street Journal*)



The damaged US plane at Lingshui base. (right) A US Embassy representative carries supplies for the detained US crew. Reuters

did not force-feed its people rhetoric, it is still likely that Chinese would bear a significant grudge against the West. That is because, before contact with European warships, China's economic, cultural and military accomplishments were so far in advance of its neighbours for so long. It was the original "indispensable

superior," exercising varying degrees of influence over its neighbours, in part by spreading its governing Confucian ideology to them. Tribes to the north and west occasionally overran the country, but they were always assimilated because Chinese culture was so manifestly superior.



# USA regrets loss of Chinese pilot

DAMIAN WHITWORTH &  
OLIVER AUGUST  
THE TIMES, LONDON

WASHINGTON/BEIJING, April 5. - The George W Bush administration expressed its "regret" last night at the loss of a Chinese pilot after a Chinese fighter jet collided with a US spy plane on Sunday. However, it refused to meet Beijing's demand for an apology.

As officials groped for a way to secure the release of 24 crewmen without either side losing face, the administration's gesture seemed to be the first step towards resolving the stand-off.

"We regret the loss of life of the Chinese pilot, but now we need to move on," the secretary of state, Mr Colin Powell, said. "We need to bring this to a resolution and we're using every avenue available to us to talk to the

Chinese side to exchange explanations."

The Chinese embassy in Washington had issued a statement last night, describing Mr Powell's statement as "a very important response".

Washington said the incident was an accident for which there would be no apology. "We have nothing to apologise for," Mr Powell said.

The Chinese ambassador to Washington had earlier reiterated the need for an apology and declined to say whether expressing regret would be enough for Beijing.

He also wouldn't say if an apology was a prerequisite for the crew's release. Diplomats

on the Hainan island were seeking only their second meeting with them.

The Pentagon is anxious to discover how much sensitive data and computer equipment the crew had been able to destroy before they made their emergency landing.

Meanwhile, the US-based academic, Prof Gao Zhan, whose detention in Beijing has been condemned by Washington, was arrested on charges of accepting money from a foreign intelligence agency and spying in China.

The USA is exploring a number of diplomatic avenues to break the impasse, one of these being the formation of a joint commission to investigate the collision. If a concession is not forthcoming from China, Americans could respond by withdrawing some diplomats.

## 'REGRET ISN'T ENOUGH'

BEIJING, April 5. - Beijing today stuck to its demand for an apology that could pave the way for the release of 24-member American crew held by China.

The USA yesterday expressed regret over the loss of a Chinese pilot after the mid-air collision on Sunday.

"Though the regret expressed by the US secretary of state, Mr Colin Powell, is a step in the right direction in solving the spy plane crisis, it isn't enough to free the crew members of the spy plane forced to land in China on Sunday after the collision," the Chinese foreign ministry said. "The USA has made a mistake and should first apologise. Washington must assume responsibility and make an explanation to Chinese people", the ministry spokesman, Mr Sun Yuxi, said. - PTI

from Beijing or cancel Mr Bush's trip to China later this year.

Mr Powell used harsher language than the White House when he described the crew as being in "detention."

Mr Bush faces conflict within the Republican Party and even within his Cabinet over how to approach China.

While some Republicans take the line adopted by Mr Bush's father that China should be encouraged into the international fold through free trade, hardliners, such as secretary of defence Mr Donald Rumsfeld, favour a tougher stance. Mr Rumsfeld was conspicuous by his silence over the issue.

THE STATESMAN

APR 2001

## China lodges protest with U.S. envoy

FD-16  
BEIJING, APRIL 4. The spy plane tangle between China and the United States worsened on Wednesday with the Chinese Foreign Minister, Mr. Tang Jiaxuan, summoning the U.S. ambassador to China to protest against the U.S. making "groundless allegations" against Beijing over the incident.

"Tang summoned the U.S. ambassador to China, Mr. Joseph Prueher, to make 'another solemn representation' with the U.S. side over the air collision incident on April 1," the official Xinhua news agency reported.

"The United States should bear full responsibility for the incident and apologise to China," Mr. Tang was quoted as telling Mr. Prueher.

Mr. Tang, who returned to Beijing from Paris, yesterday, said, "the U.S. plane broke flight rules, unlawfully intruded into the Chinese territorial airspace and landed at a Chinese airport, constituting a serious infringement upon Chinese sovereignty and territory and threatening China's national security."

Downplaying the U.S. President, Mr. George W. Bush's warning, Mr. Tang said: "The United States did not face up to the reality or take responsibility. On the con-

trary, it has displayed an arrogant air, used lame arguments, confounded right and wrong, and made groundless accusations against China." In doing this, he said, the U.S. is "committing repeated errors," he said.

Earlier today, the Chinese President, Mr. Jiang Zemin, repeated his demand for a U.S. apology for causing the Chinese plane to crash. "The United States should apologise to the Chinese people for this incident and bear all responsibilities for the consequence of the incident," Mr. Jiang said.

"The U.S. should do something favourable to the smooth development of China-U.S. relations, rather than make remarks that confuse right and wrong and are harmful to the relations between the two countries," Mr. Jiang said.

He had also urged Washington yesterday to stop spy flights in airspace close to that of China.

A Pentagon spokesman, Rear Adm. Craig Quigley, said in Washington that the U.S. was unlikely to stop such flights. They are meant to gather information on China's military by recording radio, radar and other signals. — PTI

THE HINDU

25 APR 2001

# No reason to apologise: White House

By Sridhar Krishnaswami

Washington, APRIL 4. The White House today again ruled out any apology from the United States for the weekend collision over the South China Sea that resulted in the loss of a Chinese fighter and its pilot.

"The U.S. doesn't understand the reason for an apology. The airplane was operating in international airspace and we did nothing wrong," the White House spokesman, Mr. Ari Fleischer, said. In Beijing, the U.S. Ambassador, Mr. Joseph Prueher, was summoned by the Foreign Ministry but refused to apologise.

The White House spokesman also maintained that the President, Mr. George W. Bush, had no plans to call his counterpart, Mr. Jiang Zemin, as a way out of the impasse. "The President does not want this accident turned into an international incident," Mr. Fleischer remarked.

The Chinese Ambassador to the U.S., Mr. Yang Yiechi, appearing publicly for the first time on CNN, accused the U.S. of breaking all normal practices leading to the collision. The American plane, according to the envoy, sharply veered leading to the accident; then it violated Chinese airspace and landed in Hainan Island without permission.

Mr. Yang rejected the Bush administration's contention that the Navy plane had sovereign status and therefore, could not be boarded or tampered with.

The Pentagon said that all emergency procedures had been followed by the crew in the final minutes of the landing and also before the Chinese boarded the aircraft at the military base in Hainan Island. What is being put across is that sensitive material and equipment had been destroyed by the crew.

Meanwhile, the *Taipei Times* reported that the American plane

was collecting information on the Chinese Navy's advanced ships. According to the report, Taiwan's military radar detected the EP-3E Aries II was flying "in circles" in the South China Sea near the Russian-made Sovremenny class destroyer. This destroyer is supposedly fitted with Sunburn anti-ship missiles, which pose a major threat to American aircraft carriers.

Apparently two F-8s scrambled from their base in Guangdong province to track the American plane. One of them collided with the American plane, and the other fired warning shots when it attempted to get away.

On Tuesday, Mr. Bush told China in rather plain terms that it risked damaging relations with the U.S. if it continued to hold the plane and its 24-member crew. And the Secretary of State, Gen. Colin Powell, took a tougher line, saying that he considered the crew being "detained". A set of proposals has been mooted in case the present standoff was not resolved quickly.

"It is time for our servicemen and women to return home. It is time for the Chinese Government to return our plane," Mr. Bush said. He spoke to the American

Defence Attache in Beijing, who visited the crew. "The General tells me they are in good health, they suffered no injuries and have not been mistreated. I know this is a relief to their loved ones."

"The accident has the potential of undermining our hopes for a fruitful and productive relationship between our two countries. To keep that from happening, our servicemen and women need to come home," he said.

Administration officials have said that in spite of repeated statements by the President calling on the Chinese to return the crew and the plane, there was little evidence of things materialising. The aircraft is said to be more damaged than originally thought of and no one is sure if the Chinese tampered with the equipment.

Unnamed officials said Mr. Bush did not want to appear harsh in his statements, and wanted to allow his aides to work out the crisis instead of personally calling Chinese leaders. What is also being pointed out is that Mr. Bush's patience was "wearing thin".

The administration has rejected China's insistence that Washington apologise for the collision. "We have nothing to apologise for. We did not do anything

wrong. Our plane was in international airspace when the accident took place, and the pilot in order to save 24 lives, including his own, safely got that plane on the ground," Gen. Powell argued.

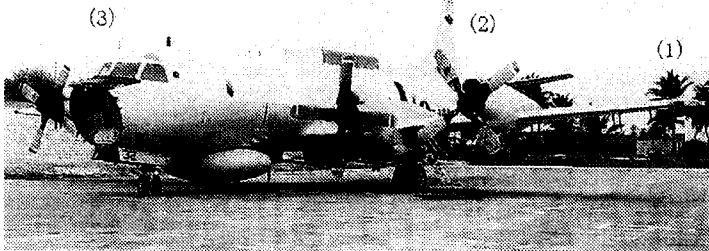
He seemed to use tougher language than the White House while describing the whereabouts of the crew. "They are being held incommunicado under circumstances that I don't find acceptable. The Chinese have said they're being protected — I don't know from what. In my judgment, they're being detained."

Neither the White House nor the State Department was willing to use the word "hostages". Asked if he considered them hostages, Gen. Powell said, "I don't know I'd want to characterise it in a legal status... I don't know if that's the right word because no demands have been placed."

It is said that a range of options were being explored by the President's national security team in case the situation lingered. It is quite possible that recommendations to the President would include cutting back diplomatic representation in China and for him to cancel his official visit to Beijing this October.

Whether Mr. Bush would decide to go to Shanghai at all for the meeting of the Asia Pacific Economic Cooperation forum hinges on how soon the matter is resolved. Though there will be the temptation in some quarters to shrug this off saying that one leader's absence would not make a difference, it does — symbolically and in substantive terms as well.

Meanwhile, on Tuesday, the House of Representatives took note of the ongoing standoff by approving a resolution condemning China's human rights record making the point that the detention of 24 crew members was an example of how Beijing violated people's rights.



The damaged U.S. plane parked at Lingshui base on Hainan Island on Tuesday in this photo released by China's official Xinhua news agency. The numbers in the photo correspond to areas that Xinhua says were damaged in the collision. — AP

THE HINDU

APR 2001

APR 12  
THURSDAY, APRIL 5, 2001

## AN ESCALATING U.S.-CHINA ROW

A BATTLE OF political attrition that is fast heating up between the United States and China over an "emergency landing" by an American spy plane, ironically at a Chinese military base, seems to be heading towards a strategic showdown. Looming ominously beyond the disputed facts of the latest episode is a cavalier signal from the current U.S. President, Mr. George W. Bush. He appears determined to wage an ideological war against China with a fervour which is jarringly out of sync with the emerging international ethos of the post-Cold War era. At the other end of the spectrum, the Chinese President, Mr. Jiang Zemin, has demanded a firm apology from the U.S. for the circumstances in which the American reconnaissance aircraft landed in his country. Moreover, he wants Washington to halt its practice of subjecting China to aerial surveillance, but the U.S. Secretary of State, Gen. Colin Powell, has argued that the Bush administration has nothing to apologise for. Yet, the international community is worried that the latest incident, involving the military aircraft of China and the U.S., may actually fast-forward apprehensions of a standoff over a whole gamut of strategic issues. It is imperative that the two sides defuse the escalating crisis without sparking a fallout for peace and stability in the Asia-Pacific region.

The U.S. and China have different versions to narrate, each accusing the other of provoking the new incident that began somewhere along the dividing line between international airspace and China's coastal-territorial air corridor. Two aspects of the episode are particularly relevant — the mid-air free fall of a Chinese fighter aircraft even as it apparently sought to intercept the American surveillance plane, which subsequently landed in a damaged condition at an airfield in China's Hainan province. The pilot of the Chinese warplane that crashed at sea is listed missing, presumed dead, while all the 24 military personnel aboard the U.S. aircraft are safe.

As a result of some diplomatic shadow-boxing that followed the "emergency landing", American diplomats have been allowed by China to meet the air crew, but the U.S. is furious that the Chinese authorities may have inspected the state-of-the-art listening devices of the stricken reconnaissance aircraft. Mr. Bush has appealed to China to quickly return the spy plane and the air crew, both presumably detained, and prevent an abrupt downturn in bilateral ties.

Divisive issues have already poisoned the climate in which the two countries can muddle their way out of the present crisis. Recently, China and the U.S. had, of course, managed to overcome the complexities that bedevilled their ties in the context of the American bombing of the Chinese embassy in Belgrade nearly two years ago. To this day, however, the two have not been able to dissolve the political distrust engendered by the Belgrade incident, which marked the worst bilateral staredown since Washington's criticism of Beijing's crackdown over some pro-'democracy' demonstrators in 1989. A certain level of anti-Soviet strategic coordination had preceded the 1989 episode, but the U.S. and China are today locked in a psycho-war of suspicions over a wide array of issues. A major irritant is the current U.S. plan for a comprehensive missile defence system and its theatre-specific variant in East Asia. A "key" determinant of the Sino-American relationship is Washington's likely stance on the unresolved final political status of Taiwan, which Beijing regards as an integral part of China. Mr. Bush is keen that Beijing cannot be allowed to exercise even a semblance of an informal veto over his current move to sell new sophisticated weaponry to Taiwan. Several other issues, including those impinging on China's human rights "record" at home, tend to distort the Sino-American tie. Yet, the critical test is: Where will Mr. Bush draw the line about China's internal affairs? //

THE HINDU

APR 12 2001

# Sino-American relations may deteriorate

**By Harvey Stockwin**  
**The Times of India News Service**  
**HONG KONG:** The further deterioration of Sino-American relations is now clearly in prospect as the two nations fail to speedily resolve the crisis over the crashed Chinese F-8 fighter, and the U.S. Navy's EP-3E reconnaissance aircraft which made an emergency landing on China's Hainan Island.

China has predictably adopted a hardline nationalist posture to which the Bush administration is unlikely to respond, especially as China's demands are likely to provoke hardline opinion within the U.S. The crisis has steadily intensified ever since the EP-3E and the F-8 collided when two Chinese jets intercepted the U.S. propeller-driven aircraft south of Hainan around 9 a.m. last Sunday.

After the collision, the damaged U.S. aircraft made an emergency landing at the PLA Lingshui air base in southern Hainan. In the latest Chinese foreign ministry statement on the incident, this landing has been termed "illegal" and "an infringement upon China's sovereignty over its territorial space".

The Americans claimed that the EP-3E aircraft was their sovereign territory and should not be boarded by the Chinese, a claim derided by the Chinese ministry of foreign affairs.

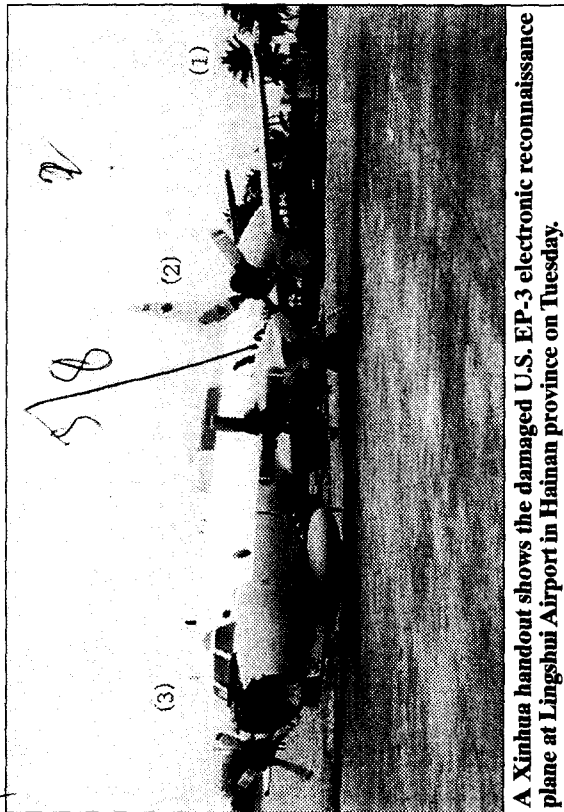
It is now disclosed that the Chinese have been hard at work

trying to learn as much as they can from the intelligence-gathering aircraft. The plane has been covered by a tarpaulin so that the Americans are no longer able to see what is actually happening to the plane from their satellites in space.

President George W. Bush made

The Chinese were much quicker in announcing what had happened during the interception, insisting from the start that all the blame lay with the slow U.S. aircraft which had veered into the faster F-8. The Americans remain highly sceptical of this explanation, pointing out that it was the F-8s which were

AFP



**A Xinhua handout shows the damaged U.S. EP-3 electronic reconnaissance plane at Lingshui Airport in Hainan province on Tuesday.**

a request for speedy access to the 24 members of the EP-3E on Monday evening following earlier such requests from the U.S. ambassador to China, Admiral Joseph Prueher. Eventually two U.S. diplomats were able to see the crew under restricted conditions late on Tuesday — over 60 hours after the plane had landed.

doing the intercepting.

Photos released by the Chinese showing the nose of the EP-3E has been completely sheared off certainly suggest that the F-8 which crashed may have done the damage.

However, the Chinese are insisting that the Americans "must bear full responsibility, apologise to

China, and not seek any excuse to shirk its responsibility". The Americans, having been prevented from debriefing the plane's crew as to what actually happened, are obviously not likely to oblige.

President Jiang Zemin has echoed these demands in his reported remarks. Mr Jiang, who left China on a visit to Latin America on Wednesday, has also demanded that all such American reconnaissance flights should cease. Since the Americans claim these are routine flights through international airspace, they are most unlikely to comply.

So far, the Chinese have refrained from linking the EP-3E's flight to China's claim that the whole of the South China Sea is its territorial waters. But the ministry of foreign affairs has stated that the flight violated China's air rights over its exclusive economic zone, and "posed a serious threat to the security of China".

In his second brief comment on the crisis, President Bush refrained from justifications or rebuttals, but merely repeated that the U.S. wanted the speedy return of the crew and the plane. "This accident has the potential of undermining our hopes for a fruitful and productive relationship between our two countries," Mr Bush said.

Right now, all the signs suggest that the potential for gravely undermining Sino-American relations will be realised.

# Bush talks tough as stand-off continues

Haikou, April 4

PRESIDENT BUSH warned Tuesday that US-Chinese relations will be at risk unless Beijing returns a downed US Navy surveillance plane and its 24 crew members immediately. But China showed no desire for a quick resolution. Chinese President Jiang Zemin demanded Wednesday that the United States apologise for the collision between a US Navy spy plane and a Chinese fighter jet, State media said. Jiang also said the United States "should bear all responsibilities for the collision incident," the Xinhua News Agency said.

Administration officials said Bush would not apologise for what he considers to be an accident. But the White House is leaving some wiggle room. Officials said that if China returns the crew, they would be willing to talk to China about how such an accident can be avoided in the future.

"Our approach has been to keep this accident from becoming an international incident," Bush told reporters at the White House. He took on a tougher tone as the crew's detention entered a third day. "Now, it is time for our servicemen and women to return home. And it is time for the Chinese Government to return our plane." Secret-

tary of State Colin Powell too echoed the tough talk. The crew members are "being held incommunicado under circumstances that I don't find acceptable," he told reporters. "The Chinese have said they're being protected. I don't know from what. In my judgment, they're being detained."

Administration officials said that despite the harsher rhetoric, Bush's strategy is to continue to give China time to find a graceful exit from the standoff. However, the State Department and White House were preparing retaliatory measures. Among the options: Recalling US diplomats from China or cancelling Bush's planned state visit to China this fall. Although administration officials will continue to demand the return of the plane, they concede privately that China likely will keep it. Bush's comments came just hours after US diplomats finally gained access to the crew of the Navy EP-3 plane. US officials disclosed that the crew is being held at a military guesthouse in Haikou, Hainan's capital. They are housed two to a room, except for the plane's pilot, who has a separate room. US officials were not allowed to meet with individual crew members and Chinese authorities were in



AFP PHOTO  
US President George W. Bush at a Press conference in Washington on Wednesday.

the room during the meeting. No plans have been made for any additional contact.

China is 12 hours ahead of Eastern Time. US officials said China has indicated it wants more time to complete its investigation of the collision, which it blames on the Navy plane. Chinese President Jiang Zemin said the United States bore "full responsibility" for the incident. The EP-3 made an emergency landing on the island; the jet fighter and its pilot are missing. US officials continued to express concern about the high-tech surveillance gear aboard the plane. Military officials said they believe Chinese authorities have boarded the plane and taken gear from it. The administration said it remains unclear whether the crew had time in the 15 to 20 minutes between collision and landing to destroy sensitive information. Military officials said the crew indicated in a radio transmission that they had begun destroying high-tech equipment. Crew members were asked during their meeting with US officials what they destroyed on the plane, administration officials said. But the crew could say little because Chinese officials were in the room.

Reuters

# China demands apology from U.S. for mid-air collision

WASHINGTON: The U.S. puts more pressure on China to return a U.S. spy plane and its crew, refusing to apologise for the mid-air collision, but striving to keep it from becoming an international incident.

President George W. Bush on Tuesday adopted a steely new tone on the affair, saying it was time for Beijing to act or risk escalating a row which erupted on Sunday when an E-P3 Aries plane made an emergency landing in China after colliding with a Chinese fighter.

"Now it is time for our servicemen and women to return home, and it is time for the Chinese government to return our plane," Mr Bush said in a terse statement, hours after detained crew members were finally allowed to meet U.S. envoys.

Putting U.S. relations with China on the line — Mr Bush warned the diplomatic storm could wreak long-term damage on hopes for smooth sailing between Washington and Beijing. "This accident has the potential of undermining our hopes for a fruitful and productive relationship between

our two countries. "To keep that from happening our servicemen and women need to come home," said Mr Bush in a statement seen by some analysts as an appeal to prod-erates in China who may fear rupturing ties with Washington.

Mr Bush said his approach was intended to keep the collision over the South China Sea from becoming an "international incident." The U.S. President said he had so far allowed Beijing "time to do the right thing."

China on Wednesday stepped up its own pressure, with Chinese President Jiang Zemin demanding that the U.S. apologise over the a mid-air collision, according to Xinhua news agency.

"The U.S. side should apologise to the Chinese people for the Sunday collision between Chinese and U.S. military planes," Mr Jiang was quoted as saying before departing on a 12-day trip to Latin America. "The U.S. side should bear all responsibilities for the collision incident."

But the U.S. had already made clear on Tuesday it had no intention of apologising. "The U.S. has not done anything that requires an apology. The U.S. did not do anything wrong," White House national security spokeswoman Mary Ellen Countryman

said firmly. "We were in international airspace, we were not breaking any laws in surveillance operations that are legal in international airspace," she added. The U.S. plane made an emergency landing on China's southern Hainan Island after it was intercepted by two Chinese planes, one of which is still missing after the collision.

China's ambassador to Washington, Yang Jiechi, was summoned to the state department on Tuesday for a half hour meeting with deputy secretary of state Richard Armitage, so top officials could hammer home Mr Bush's message.

"The purpose of the meeting was to reinforce the message that the President gave in his statement," a state department official said. The message was further reinforced by Ms Countryman. "We're taking it one step at a time, nobody wants to see this escalate," she said. "The President has made it clear that those people (the crew) must be returned home."

Mr Bush, meanwhile, has not ruled out telephoning Jiang himself if Beijing does not quickly turn over the plane and crew, a senior U.S. official said late on Tuesday. Asked about possible action by Mr Bush, including

economic sanctions, withdrawing key diplomats from China or calling Jiang — the official, who requested anonymity, replied "we never deny ourselves any options."

U.S. secretary of state Colin Powell later hinted that if the incident were allowed to escalate, Mr Bush could call off his planned trip to China later this year. "I don't think I would say that yet," said Mr Powell when asked if the incident could derail Mr Bush's planned visit to Beijing in October.

"Let's see how this unfolds," he went on to tell reporters aboard his plane returning to Washington from Key West, Florida. "But it's certainly ... not helping our relationship at this point." Mr Powell expressed regret that the mid-air collision "apparently was fatal for the pilot of the Chinese plane."

He also refused to confirm or deny reports that Chinese experts had boarded the U.S. aircraft and carted off classified equipment, or to endorse allegations that China by holding the plane and its crew was violating international law.

"I don't want to give you a legal definition as to whether they have or they have not" violated the law, said the secretary of state. "I just know that it is inappropriate, it is improper, there's no reason for it." (AFP)



George W. Bush

# Bush tells China to return plane, crew

## PRESS TRUST OF INDIA

WASHINGTON, April 4. — Mr George W Bush has called for immediate return of the grounded American spy plane and its crew, warning the incident could damage long-term relations between Washington and Beijing.

"This is an unusual situation in which an American military aircraft had to make an emergency landing on Chinese soil. We do not want this accident to become an international incident. We have given the Chinese government time to do the right thing. Now it's time for our servicemen and women to return home. And it's time for the Chinese to return our plane," Mr Bush said.

"This accident has the potential of undermining our hopes for a fruitful and productive relationship between the two countries. To keep that from happening, the crew need to come home," Mr Bush said yesterday.

Secretary of state, Mr Colin Powell said yesterday that a meeting was taking place between the American crew and American consular and attaché officials. "I hope this meeting will lead to the rapid release of all crew members, and the return of our airplane," Mr Powell said. If this matter is resolved quickly, "then, hopefully, it will not affect the overall relationship between the USA and China," he added.

Asked whether the behaviour

did not find the two issues connected. "Obviously, when you examine the arms sales question, it is done in context of our obligations to Taiwan under the policies we followed with respect to Taiwan and their defensive needs for many years. I would like to keep the two issues separate. But I'm a little concerned about the way the Chinese government has handled this matter".

The secretary of state said he could not confirm reports that Chinese officials had boarded the plane. "We have said the plane should not be violated. It is protected, in our judgment, from that kind of intrusion. I cannot confirm whether such intrusion has taken place." A defence department spokes-



Mr George W Bush

of the Chinese government will affect deliberations within the US government on arms sales to Taiwan, Mr Powell said he

## BUSH'S CHINA TRIP MAY BE CALLED OFF

WASHINGTON, April 4. — Mr George W Bush's planned trip to China later this year could be called off if the row over the US spy plane-Chinese fighter collision was allowed to escalate, secretary of state, Gen Colin Powell said yesterday. "I don't think I would say that yet," Mr Powell said, when asked if the incident could derail Bush's planned visit to Beijing in October. — AFP

man, Rear Admiral Craig Quigley said: "We believe there is a diplomatic solution to this incident and not a military one." **China condemns collision:** China today held the USA "fully responsible" for the collision on Sunday and vowed to make representations over losses it suffered in the incident, PTI ministry spokesman Mr Zhu Bangzao had earlier said China had full right to inspect the US surveillance plane.

defence ministry spokesman said. "China reserves the right to make further representations over the losses caused by the US side," he said, a day after the Chinese foreign ministry rejected US claims of immunity for the damaged American spy plane. Chinese foreign ministry spokesman Mr Zhu Bangzao had earlier said China had full right to inspect the US surveillance plane.



**Stand-off in China**

**T**HE SINO-AMERICAN confrontation could not have come at a worse time considering that it has followed the recent hardening of Washington's attitude towards Beijing. In contrast to the Clinton administration's characterisation of China as a 'strategic partner', President George W. Bush has let it be known that he regards Beijing almost purely in adversarial terms. In fact, a policy paper, which is yet to be made public, is said to have described China as America's Enemy No. 1, especially after the disintegration of the Soviet Union, the former holder of this designation. In line with the customary stance of the Republican hard-liners, the Bush administration is also more favourably disposed than its predecessor towards arming Taiwan with sophisticated weapons, an attitude which infuriates China.

There are other reasons, too, why the grounding of an American spy plane in China after its collision with a Chinese interceptor has far more disturbing connotations than if the same incident had taken place a year ago. For instance, although the Chinese embassy was bombed (by mistake, according to Americans) during the US-led NATO raids on Yugoslavia, the fallout from that incident was controlled within a reasonable period of time because the Sino-US relations were in

better shape than now. What is more, the Bush administration's hawkish postures are directed not only towards China but seem to inform its entire foreign policy. It has managed to unsettle even America's western allies with its missile defence project and scuttling of the Kyoto agreement. Besides, Washington has undermined South Korea's policy of improving its ties with Pyongyang and accused Russia of being a proliferator of nuclear weapons.

It is these prickly attitudes which are a matter of concern at a time like the present when a needlessly belligerent US has come face to face with an overtly sensitive China. The latter may be all the more tense and susceptible in view of the recent defection of a military official to the US. It has to be remembered that apart from rubbing China the wrong way over Taiwan, the US had also accused Beijing of violating UN sanctions in Iraq and has threatened to be far more assertive about human rights abuses in China than before. The trouble with such displays of muscular nationalism is that it isn't easy to evolve a compromise without suggesting a retreat. The need for responsible behaviour in the two capitals, therefore, was never greater, but the recent evidence of Mr Bush's conduct is not a hopeful sign. Nor is China's usually cussed attitude in such situations.

# Sino-US ties under strain over spy plane row

Washington, April 3

THE COLLISION of an American spy plane with a Chinese fighter jet adds a new dimension to the tension between the United States and China over the future of the independence-minded island of Taiwan.

The incident, even if resolved quickly, could influence debate within the Bush administration on the kinds of advanced weaponry to sell to Taiwan.

The President is expected to decide this month whether to grant Taiwan's request to buy new destroyers equipped with aegis radar, a deal China strongly opposes.

That decision will depend on "how the Chinese are acting," Gen. Henry H. Shelton, chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, said on Monday.

Shelton said he had not yet made a recommendation to President George Bush.

The incident on Sunday in which a Chinese fighter jet collided with a US Navy EP-3e Aries II electronic surveillance plane

over the South China Sea comes at a particularly sensitive point for US-China relations.

In addition to the issue of arms sales to Taiwan, there also is tension over China's detention of visiting American scholars, the recent defection of a high-ranking Chinese army officer and US plans to build a national missile defence.

The Bush administration also is reviewing US-China military relations. Bush is trying to walk a fine line by keeping the pressure on China for US

Access to the crew without using rhetoric or taking actions that would escalate the situation "into something it's not, and that is a crisis," said a senior US official who discussed the matter on condition of anonymity.

After lengthy discussions with his foreign policy team, Bush decided to refrain from calling President Jiang Zemin, taking pains not to suggest the White House was in crisis mode.

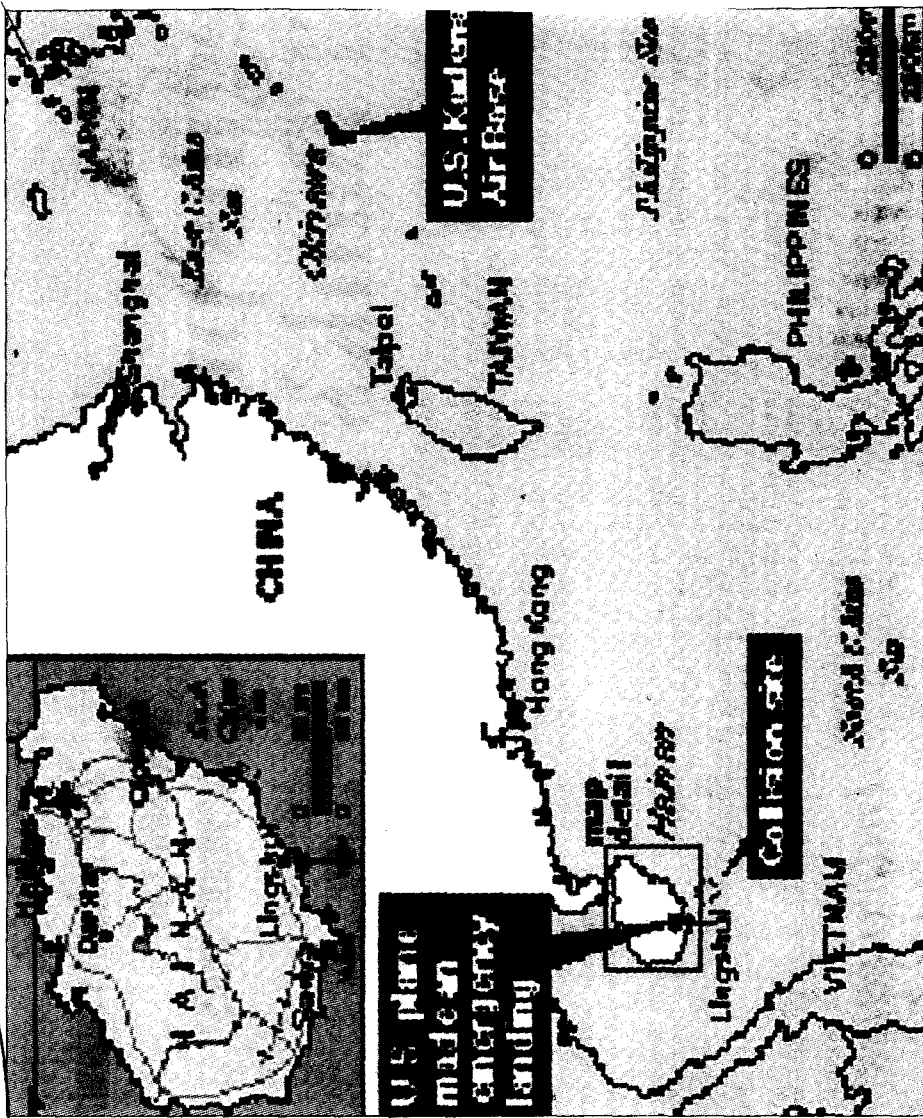
Navy spy planes routinely fly along China's southeastern coastline to monitor military

activity, including a continuing buildup of land-based ballistic missiles that target Taiwan. It's also routine for Chinese fighter planes to intercept the US. Reconnaissance planes and approach within a safe distance.

In recent months, however, the Chinese pilots have flown so close, approaching within 10 feet of US surveillance planes, according to one Pentagon official, that American officials complained, said Dennis Blair, commander of the US Pacific command.

Putting the best face on the situation, Blair said that by resolving the matter quickly the Chinese Government could demonstrate "this is not a cold war mentality any more" and the two countries can have a constructive relationship. "This could be a positive," the admiral said.

Anthony Cordesman, a military analyst with the Center for Strategic and International Studies, said on Monday he doubts that the incident was a provocation authorised from Beijing.



The map locates Lingshui, China, where a US Navy plane made an emergency landing, includes the collision site and a US Air Base in Japan.

## ***China to grant access to U.S. plane crew*** <sup>12</sup>

BEIJING: China on Tuesday said it will allow U.S. diplomats to meet with the detained 24-member crew of the U.S. spy plane, which was involved in a collision with a Chinese military jet, "in the near future" but rejected Washington's claims of sovereignty over the aircraft.

Though the investigation into the incident by the Chinese side is not over, the Chinese side is arranging a meeting in the near future between U.S. diplomats and the crew," Chinese foreign ministry spokesman Zhu Bangzao said.

While assuring that the U.S. crew members were in a 'safe environment,' Mr Zhu declined to say when the meeting between the U.S. diplomats and the crew would take place in Hainan, a tropical island in South China. Fending off a volley of questions by American reporters at a crowded news conference, the first since the mid-air collision occurred on Sunday, Mr Zhu questioned U.S. claims of sovereignty over the EP-3 spy plane.

"I would like to ask you how come the American territory has moved to the Chinese land?" Mr Zhu asked a reporter when he repeated a statement by U.S. officials that the U.S. spy plane was an American asset, enjoying sovereignty. The international law is applicable to all countries. The airplane that you are talking about is not an ordinary aircraft, but a military reconnaissance plane that after damaging Beijing's aircraft because of manoeuvres against rule, in areas near China's territorial waters, intruded into China's air space without approval and landed on Chinese airport, Mr Zhu said.

"In accordance with the laws of the People's Republic of China and its national law, the Chinese side has the full right to pursue and investigate into this event. This is the right of any sovereign state," Mr Zhu asserted while refusing to confirm whether Chinese military personnel entered the plane, considered one of the most sophisticated in the world.

Stating the Chinese position on the 'serious' military incident, the spokesman said that Chinese assistant foreign minister Zhou Wenzhong has met the U.S. ambassador to China Joseph Prueher twice and told him that the U.S. was entirely responsible for the collision. (PT)

THE TIMES OF INDIA

4 APR 2001

# No clue yet to spy plane crew members' whereabouts

Hong Kong, April 2

THE FATE of 24 crew members forced to land their spy plane on a Chinese island remained in doubt on Monday as US military officials demanded their safe return.

More than a day after the accident, it remained unclear where the 24 crew members were, and no contact had been made between the crew and US Navy officials. "As time goes on, it's increasingly worse," said Admiral Dennis Blair, commander of the US forces in the Pacific. "We're talking about a place that has telephones."

The collision of the Navy surveillance plane and a Chinese fighter over the South China Sea is the latest example of what military officials call increasingly provocative Chinese tactics against US forces in the disputed region.

Pentagon officials say the US plane, which made an emergency landing on a Chinese island, is

protected by international conventions from being boarded, inspected or detained.

Officers from the US Embassy in Beijing headed to Hainan Island to see the plane's crew of the EP-3 'Aries'. The Chinese Foreign Ministry, in a statement read on State television, said the Chinese F-8 crashed after being rammed by the US plane and that its pilot was missing. "The US side has total responsibility," the statement said. It said China has lodged a protest.

US officials said the unarmed, four-engine propeller plane was on a "routine surveillance" mission. Blair blamed the collision on one of two Chinese fighters dispatched to intercept the US plane. "It's not a normal practice to play bumper cars in the air," Blair said.

Pentagon officials said US surveillance aircraft flying near China often are shadowed by Chinese military craft. A US military map put the collision about 80 miles southeast of Hainan,

outside the 12-mile territorial sea and airspace. China claims most of the South China Sea as its territorial waters — a claim rejected by countries that use the vast expanse of ocean for shipping.

White House spokesman Ari Fleischer called for a prompt release of the crew. "That is the standard practice. We would expect them to follow it," Fleischer said.

US officials said they also expect China to "respect the integrity" of the aircraft, help repair the plane and allow it to leave the island as soon as possible. The EP-3 has high-tech surveillance equipment used to hunt and track submarines and collect intelligence. The incident comes amid rising US-China tensions. Beijing's security services are holding two Chinese-born academics with US citizenship, and China is anxiously awaiting a decision by President Bush on whether to sell advanced defensive arms to Taiwan.

USA Today

# US warships on alert, China holds firm

FROM JEREMY PAGE

**Sanya (China), April 2**  
 (Reuters): Three US warships were standing by today amid a tense standoff between Beijing and Washington over the fate of an American spy plane that was forced to land in China after colliding with a Chinese fighter jet.

US President George W. Bush demanded that China grant immediate access to the 24 crew members of the plane and that it return the aircraft "without further tampering".

Washington's ambassador to China expressed growing frustration after being barred from contacting the crew more than a day and a half after the plane made an emergency landing in southern Hainan province after colliding with the Chinese fighter.

US diplomats also flew to Hainan to try to win the release of

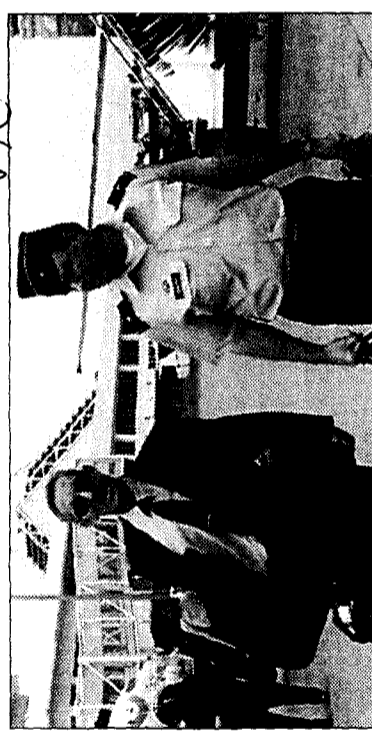
crew, but it was not clear till late tonight whether they had made contact.

A defence official said the US would leave three destroyers in the region to "monitor the situation". "They were scheduled to transit through there, what they're doing now is moving more slowly, loitering in that area," the official said in Washington on condition of anonymity.

"I wouldn't say it's a show of force," added the official, noting that US naval forces routinely operate in the region. "Their presence is a constant signal of US interest."

In Beijing, US ambassador Joseph Prueher turned up the diplomatic heat by saying China's refusal to allow any contact with the crew so far was "inexplicable and unacceptable".

"The PRC does not have a sound legal basis for detaining our



US defence attache Brigadier General Neal Sealock (right) and navy Captain and naval attache Bradley Kaplan in China. (Reuters)

people," he told reporters in Beijing.

Prueher said he was increasingly frustrated by his inability to put a phone call through to the plane's commander and crew, and this was leading to a "worse situation".

the plane landed.

Raising the diplomatic stakes in what has quickly become his biggest foreign policy challenge, Bush said China's refusal to let US officials talk to the crew was "inconsistent" with the desire of both countries for better relations.

"The first step should be immediate access by our embassy personnel to our crew members," Bush said outside the White House Oval Office. "I am troubled by the lack of a timely Chinese response to our request for this access."

State department spokesman Richard Boucher said later that Chinese diplomats have offered to grant access tomorrow, but he said this was not soon enough. White House spokesman Scott McClellan said the offer was for access late tomorrow night Chinese time.

The incident threatens to fur-

ther strain US-Chinese relations already tense over the possible US sale of sophisticated weaponry to Taiwan, which China considers a breakaway province.

China's detention of a Chinese-born academic based in the US has also deepened concern over China's human rights record.

Hong Kong's cable TV network said senior military leaders from Beijing had gathered to discuss how to handle the matter.

Earlier, a spokesman for the US Pacific Command in Honolulu bluntly warned Beijing to stay away from the EP-3 Marine surveillance plane, a potential treasure trove of military intelligence for the Chinese.

"The entire aircraft is considered sovereign US territory, and the Chinese are not to seize, inspect or board it without US permission," said Lt Commander Sean Kelly.

THE TELEGRAPH

- 3 APR 2001

## Sino-U.S. ties strike a bad patch

By Harvey Stockwin

HONG KONG: China's refusal to give the U.S. access to its spy plane, which was forced to land in the southern island of Hainan on Sunday morning, has widened the rift between the two countries, spreading fears of an intensified cold war.

The slow propeller-driven four-engine U.S. Navy reconnaissance E-P3 was forced to land in Hainan after being damaged when it was intercepted by two Chinese F-8 jets in international air space over the South China Sea. One of the F-8s—roughly equivalent to a MiG-21—collided with the slow American plane and crashed, with the apparent loss of the pilot. The Chinese claim that the damage was

done when the E-P3 veered towards the jet and damaged it.

This story seems implausible given that the F-8s were doing the intercepting, and are in any case much faster aircraft. As the U.S. Commander-in-Chief Pacific (CINPAC) Admiral Dennis Blair was quick to point out, the onus lies on faster aircraft to stay out of the way of a slower one when an interception is taking place.

But what actually happened in the aerial incident remains a mystery since China continues to hold the crew incommunicado in Hainan. U.S. military attaches flew to Hainan on Monday from the embassy in Beijing, but have so far been denied access to the crew and the plane.

YOU SAID IT by Laxman



The raid yielded nothing! He is an honest officer and lives within the known sources of his income. How? We must investigate!

THE STATESMAN

3 APR 2001

MID-AIR COLLISION / PENTAGON KEEPS DESTROYERS READY IN SOUTH CHINA SEA

# Bush demands return of crew

By Sridhar Krishnaswami

WASHINGTON, APRIL 2. The U.S. President, Mr. George W. Bush has demanded the "prompt and safe return" of the American Navy plane and its crew of 24 now detained by the Chinese in the Hainan Island. The President also called on China to return the American plane without "tampering".

"I am troubled by the lack of a timely Chinese response to our request for access. Failure of the Chinese Government to react promptly to our request is inconsistent with standard diplomatic practice and with the expressed desire of both our countries for better relations," Mr. Bush said in a statement at the South Lawn of the White House.

"Our priorities are the prompt and safe return of the crew and the return of the aircraft without further damaging or tampering," the President said. The Bush administration, in insisting on the sovereign status of the naval plane and in reiterating that no one had the right board it, is also worried about the sophisticated technology on the EP-3 surveillance aircraft.

## Meets security team

Earlier this morning, the President had a meeting with his National Security team on the latest developments. "We hope this incident is resolved quickly and the crew is returned and the aircraft as well," a spokesperson of the National Security Council said.

Mr. Bush had a meeting with the Secretary of State, Gen. Colin Powell, the Defence Secretary, Mr. Donald Rumsfeld, and the National Security Adviser, Ms. Condoleezza Rice. The Bush administration is not yet calling this latest flap with the Chinese as a "crisis"; but reports have it that the Pentagon is keeping at least three destroyers in and around the South China Sea where the incident took place. The vessels are already supposed to have been in the vicinity.

Officials of the Bush administration and senior lawmakers at Capitol Hill are having some tough and blunt words for China in the aftermath of the

mid-air collision of planes over the South China Sea resulting in the damaged American plane with a crew of 24 landing in Hainan and a Chinese pilot missing.

The Pentagon is maintaining that the American aircraft is considered as a sovereign U.S. territory and that the Chinese cannot seize, inspect or board the plane without permission from Washington. "As far as we know they have not boarded the plane", said Lt. Commander Seal Kelly of the Pacific Command.

The American Ambassador to China, Admiral Joseph Prueher, is said to have re-emphasised the sovereign status of the plane in his meeting with the Chinese Vice-Minister for Foreign Affairs. In the meantime, at least two U.S. Defence Attaches from the Embassy in Beijing are at the Lingshui Military airport. Their mission is to see if they could get the crew and the plane released, bring necessary materials to repair the EP-3 Navy aircraft and fly it back home.

Senior officials of the Bush administration are also criticising Beijing for the unusual time taken for contact with the crew of the damaged plane. The U.S. Ambassador to China has called this "inexplicable and unacceptable" that American officials have not been allowed to contact the 24 crew even a full day after the incident. An unnamed Chinese sailor at the scene of the plane landing has said that the crew has been moved to a Chinese military guest house.

Even as Chinese officials are saying that the American military plane had intruded into their airspace — it is not clear if Beijing is talking about the time of accident or while the EP-3 was making an emergency landing at Hainan Island — that argument is being rejected here. The White House has not said anything substantive on the matter over and beyond the statement from the spokesperson on Sunday that the United States expected China to return the pilot. The President who has been at Camp David over the weekend was first notified of the incident by Ms. Rice and has been getting regular briefings.

# Beijing puts onus on U.S.

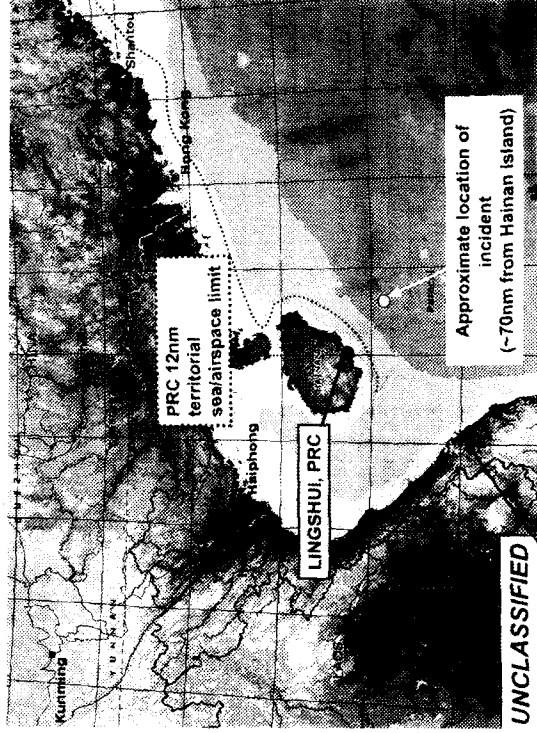
Chinese sovereignty," Mr. Zhou said. "The basic facts should be made clear to the public," she said.

Others were less restrained. Some Chinese accused the U.S. of being "reckless" or "deliberate and shameless" in its actions, while others linked it to the bombing of the Chinese embassy in Belgrade by U.S. planes on a NATO mission in 1999. But a repeat of the Government-orchestrated anti-U.S. and anti-NATO demonstrations in 1999 was unlikely, observers said.

The crash came at a sensitive time for Sino-U.S. ties, with the President, Mr. George W. Bush,

due to decide this month on an annual round of military sales to Taiwan. China strongly opposes weapons sales to Taiwan and has repeatedly accused the U.S. of interfering in its plans to take sovereignty of the island. Relations were already clouded last week by a U.S. House resolution posing on human rights Beijing's bid to host the Olympics, and by reports of the detention of two U.S.-born scholars.

Meanwhile, reports said Chinese fighter jets had warned the U.S. Navy electronic surveillance plane before one of the fighters collided with it. — DPA



THE HINDU  
3 APR 2001

# Return crew, U.S. tells China

By Sridhar Krishnaswami

WASHINGTON, APRIL 1. The United States today said that it expects China to return the pilot and 23 other crew members of a naval surveillance aircraft that made an emergency landing in the Hainan island after being involved in a collision with a Chinese fighter. It is not clear if the accident took place in the international airspace or if the American aircraft intruded into Chinese airspace.

The White House spokesperson, Mr. Ari Fleischer, when asked by Reuters agency if the United States expected the pilot to be returned, said, "That is our expectation. That is the standard practice. We would expect them to follow it." The spokesperson also maintained that he was not aware of any communication from Beijing of its intent to return the crew.

According to the Pacific Command in Hawaii, the Navy plane,

a EP-3 Maritime Patrol Aircraft, was on a routine mission over the South China Sea when it was intercepted by two Chinese aircraft. There was supposed to have been "contact" between the U.S. plane and one of the Chinese fighters; but serious enough for the American aircraft to issue the 'Mayday' signal and land on the Hainan island.

This part of the Chinese coast is full of military bases for at least two major reasons: the proximity to Vietnam and the Spratlys Chain that China and five other nations claim. According to the Pacific Command, none of the crew members on the EP-3 plane was injured. The plane is an unarmed four-engined propeller aircraft and is filled with electronic surveillance gadgets. It had taken off from the Kadena airbase in Okinawa, Japan.

China to protest

Reuters reports:

In Beijing, a Foreign Ministry

statement said China had made "a solemn representation and protest" over the incident and reserved the right to seek damages. China laid the blame squarely on the U.S. plane.

"A Chinese aircraft was conducting normal flight operations 10 km south of Hainan island when a U.S. plane suddenly veered towards it," the Chinese state television quoted the Foreign Ministry statement as saying.

"The nose and left wing of the U.S. plane hit the Chinese plane and caused it to crash. China is now searching for the crew."

The Chinese statement also threatened further "representations" over the U.S. plane entering Chinese airspace and landing without permission. China was making "proper arrangements" for the 24 crew, the statement added, without giving any details.

THE HINDU

- 2 APR 2001



# US, China fly into storm after mid-air collision

FROM ANDREW BROWNE

Beijing, April 1 (Reuters): China accused a US surveillance plane of ramming one of its fighters in mid-air over the South China Sea today in a collision which threatened to blow up into a major diplomatic storm.

The US aircraft made an emergency landing on China's southern island of Hainan.

US officials immediately scrambled to try to secure the release of the 24 crew, who were all reported safe, along with the plane and its highly-sensitive surveillance equipment.

China said one of its fighter planes had crashed as a result of today's incident and rescuers were searching for the pilot.

An angry statement by the Chinese foreign ministry said Beijing had lodged a "solemn representation and protest" and reserved the right to seek damages.

It threatened further "representations" over the plane entering Chinese air space and landing without permission.

China-US relations have only recently been fully restored after a US plane on a Nato mission bombed the Chinese embassy in Belgrade in May 1999.

That incident sparked furious protests by stone-throwing crowds outside the US embassy in Beijing. According to the US Navy version of the incident, one of its EP-3 maritime patrol aircraft was on a "routine surveillance" mission in international air space



A US Navy EP-3 maritime patrol aircraft. (AFP)

when it brushed one of two Chinese F-8 fighters on an interception mission. But China laid the blame squarely on the US plane.

"In accordance with international practice, the Chinese military aircraft were engaged in normal pursuit and monitoring activities of the US military surveillance plane near China's coast," the Chinese foreign ministry statement said.

It said the US plane "suddenly veered" towards the Chinese aircraft. "The nose and left wing of the US plane hit the Chinese plane and caused it to crash," the state-

ment said. China was making "proper arrangements" for the 24 US crew, the statement added, without giving any details.

The US ambassador to China, Admiral Joseph Prueher, met China's vice foreign minister today "in an initial meeting to resolve the situation," state department spokeswoman Michelle King said.

President George W. Bush, who was at the Camp David presidential retreat in Maryland, had been informed of the crash, White House spokesman Ari Fleischer said.

THE TELEGRAPH

- 2 APR 2001

# Bush tells off China over arms deal

Washington, March 23

PRESIDENT BUSH signalled a tougher line toward China on Thursday, as he told Chinese Vice Premier Qian Qichen that the United States has the right to sell arms to Taiwan whether Beijing likes it or not, White House officials said.

That message, echoed by Secretary of State Colin Powell at a dinner with Qian on Wednesday night, raises the prospect of a major rift between Washington and Beijing over a decision Bush must make next month on whether to sell sophisticated weaponry to Taiwan.

Aides said Bush told Qian in their hour-long White House meeting that "I'm going to look you in the eye and tell you that we can have good relations with China."

The president's description of what he termed a "firm" but "respectful" policy toward China is the latest

example of a Bush foreign policy that seems to hark back to the realpolitik of the Cold War era.

In addition to Wednesday's expulsions of 50 Russian diplomats suspected of spying, Bush has halted missile control talks with North Korea, de-emphasized U.S. participation in the Middle East peace process and renewed U.S. efforts to topple Saddam Hussein in Iraq.

White House spokesman Ari Fleischer said Bush's actions toward Russia reflect his approach to foreign policy. "The president is going to continue to pursue areas of cooperation. But the president also is going to be a realist in the conduct of his foreign policy."

Qian timed his visit to warn Bush against selling Taiwan four missile destroyers equipped with the Aegis radar system. Chinese officials say the Aegis technology would give Taiwan a small-scale missile-

defense system and a military edge over the mainland.

White House aides said Bush's message was that the United States will sell arms to Taiwan based on the island's security needs, a 1982 treaty with China that governs U.S. arms sales to Taiwan and the stability of the Pacific region.

Taiwan has been outside Beijing's control since the 1949 revolution that brought Communists to power in China. Beijing considers the island a renegade province and has threatened a forcible reunification.

The United States has long recognized Beijing's claim that Taiwan is part of China. But under the 1979 Taiwan Relations Act, the United States has pledged to sell Taiwan defensive weapons.

Administration officials described Qian's visit as constructive and cordial, but they also said they made clear to the Chinese delegation that Beijing's opposition to the

Aegis sale are not a factor and would be allowed under existing U.S.-China treaties. Qian was told, however, that no decision has been made on the sale.

A White House official who attended the meeting quoted Bush as telling the vice premier, "Nothing we do is a threat to you, and I want you to tell that to your leadership."

For all the administration's tough talk, there are signs that Bush is exploring a compromise.

The outlines of the deal: Bush would put off actually selling the Aegis-equipped ships for at least a year and would tell China that during that time the United States will monitor China's ongoing defense buildup and its deployment of missiles aimed at Taiwan.

The president also raised concerns about China's human rights record.

Before the meeting began, Bush told reporters that though

the U.S.-China relationship will move forward, "it would certainly be a lot easier to move forward in a constructive way when the people with whom we conduct our affairs honor religious freedom within their borders."

Aides said Bush also asked Qian for answers concerning the recent detention of a U.S.-based scholar Gao Zhan, a sociologist at American University in Washington, D.C., has been detained in China for more than a month for allegedly "damaging state security." Her husband and their 5-year-old son, who is a U.S. citizen, were also held and then released.

"We think it is particularly outrageous that the young boy, the son, was held away from his parents, away from family members for an extended period of time and we were not notified in a timely manner that is required and expected," Powell told reporters.

USA Today

# U.S., China to continue dialogue

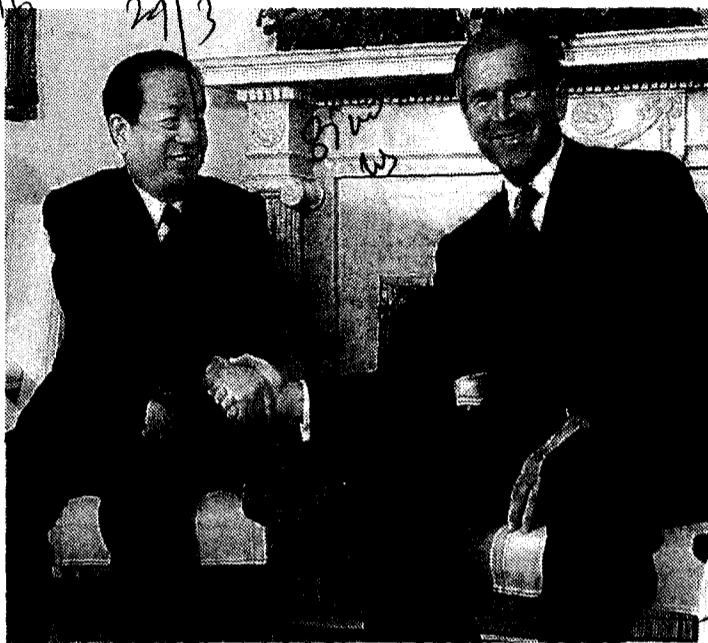
By Sridhar Krishnaswami

WASHINGTON, MARCH 23. For all the noise and rhetoric in the run up to the meeting, the U.S. President, Mr. George W Bush, and the visiting Chinese Vice-Premier, Mr. Qian Qichen, have declared that while there are sharp differences between the two countries on issues, they will continue the dialogue. Mr. Bush told the highest ranking Chinese official he has met thus far that differences could be overcome if the two nations approached them with "mutual respect".

Mr. Qian agreed with Mr. Bush's perception and said, "Where we disagree we can have a very good exchange of views. Some issues can be approached in the spirit of seeking common ground while shelving the differences." The two leaders are said to have discussed a range of critical issues with arms sales to Taiwan by the U.S. and human rights situation in China being the dominant items on the political agenda.

Mr. Bush, who is due to visit Beijing after the Summit of the Leaders of the Asia Pacific Economic Forum in Shanghai this October, also made the point that it was in the best interests of the U.S. "to have good relations with China". That said Mr. Bush also made it a point to bring up the sensitive issue of human rights making a pointed reference to the detention of a Chinese American scholar prior to the start of his formal meeting with Mr. Qian.

That human rights is going to be a tough subject for both China and the Bush administration is evident from the manner in which a group of law-makers are going about the issue. On the eve of the Bush-Qian meeting, a group of law-makers introduced a Resolution in the House of Representatives opposing China's bid to host the Olympics in 2008. A similar Resolution is expected to be introduced in the Senate involving hardline Republicans and Liberal Democrats. The top Chi-



The U.S. President, Mr. George Bush, welcomes China's Vice-Premier, Mr. Qian Qichen, at the White House in Washington on Thursday. — AP

nese official who is considered an expert on international political and security issues is on a week-long visit; and apart from seeing the President has met all the top Cabinet officials at the State Department, the Pentagon and the National Security Council. Mr. Qian is scheduled to have a meeting with the Vice-President, Mr. Richard Cheney, later in the day.

Mr. Bush and Mr. Qian discussed two main security issues on the bilateral agenda — the Republican administration's stance on the National Missile Defence and the impending American sale of weapons to Taiwan, the latter being especially sensitive as Beijing views Taiwan as a renegade province. In New York at the start of his trip, the Chinese leader made the point that "serious strains" would develop in relations if the Bush administration went ahead with Taiwan's shopping list. Mr. Qian also refused to rule out a pre-emptive strike against Taiwan if Aegis class destroyers were provided.

On the subject of the National Missile Defence, Mr. Bush is believed to have told Mr. Qian that the project is not aimed at China and that China too has a threat from weapons of mass destruction. "Nothing we do is a threat to you and I want you to tell that to your leadership," Mr. Bush is reported to have told Mr. Qian. After hanging tough on the NMD, the Chinese recently indicated that they are not averse to discussing the matter with Washington.

On the arms sales to Taiwan, Mr. Bush and Mr. Qian reportedly did not discuss the details of the proposal; and that Mr. Bush is said to have assured Mr. Qian that he will not do anything to breach a 1982 Joint Communiqué that pledged not to increase the quality or the quantity of the arms being sold to Taiwan. Prior to the meeting getting under way, Mr. Bush made the point that a decision on the arms sale had not been taken.

# United States and China get down to tough talking HT-12

22813

Washington, March 22

CHINA'S VICE-PREMIER Qian Qichen arrived in Washington ahead of crucial talks with President George W. Bush's new republican administration, which has already sparred with Beijing in a volley of tense exchanges.

Potential clashes are looming on expected US arms sales to nationalist Taiwan, China's human rights record and Bush's plans to develop a national missile defense shield, which China fears could negate its nuclear arsenal.

Qian, a foreign policy veteran and the most senior Chinese visitor to the United States in nearly two years, arrived in Washington yesterday after a two-day stay in New York, a Chinese press spokesman said.

His official program starts later on Wednesday with a meeting and dinner with secretary of

state Colin Powell at the state department and he will hold crucial talks with Bush at the White House on Thursday.

As Qian arrived in a US capital doused in torrential rain, a new storm broke over often-fragile Sino-US relations. It emerged overnight that Chinese police had detained five-year-old American boy and prevented him from seeing his parents for 26 days without informing the US authorities.

Human rights in China (HRC) said five-year-old Andrew Xue and his parents Xue Donghua and Gao Zhan were detained at Beijing airport on February 11 as they were heading back to the United States after visiting family. The white house said only the affair was a consular issue after the reports were confirmed by the US embassy in Beijing. There was no immediate reaction from the state department.

~~AFP~~

THE HINDUSTAN TIMES

23 MAR 2001

110-16

# China hints at pre-emptive strike

By Sridhar Krishnaswami

WASHINGTON, MARCH 21 — On the eve of his meeting with the President, Mr. George W. Bush, the Chinese Vice-Premier, Mr. Qian Qichen, has warned that bilateral relations would suffer a "serious setback" if Washington went ahead with the sale of four Aegis class destroyers to Taiwan.

The Chinese leader, now on a week-long visit to the U.S., in a meeting with the media in New York, refused to rule out a pre-emptive attack on Taiwan if the Bush administration went ahead with the controversial sale. "It all depends on the circumstances", Mr. Qian remarked.

Although administration officials have been saying that the focus of Mr. Qian's discussions in Washington would be on a range of issues, Taiwan and the proposed arms sales are expected to dominate the discussions the Chinese leader will have with the Secretary of State, Gen. Colin Powell, later today and in the meeting with Mr. Bush on Thursday.

In Beijing's view, the sale of Aegis class destroyers armed with Tomahawk cruise missiles would be in violation of a 1982 accord in

which the U.S. agreed not to improve the quality or quantity of the weapons sales to Taiwan. In the present circumstances, the Chinese forcefully make the point that the sale of Aegis would alter the international power balance and among other things, neutralise China's offensive capability. Further, Beijing believes that the Aegis could be the start of a comprehensive missile shield to protect Taiwan.

The U.S. is expected to make its decision on the Taiwan arms sales next month; and the expectation is that like his predecessor, Mr. Bush will also defer the sale of Aegis. But the White House, which has taken on a markedly tough line against China, is under severe pressure from conservative and right wing Republicans to give Taiwan what it wants. The conservatives on Capitol Hill also want the administration to hamper the Chinese on human rights — including Tibet and the treatment of the Falun Gong.

In further proof of the hardening stance against China, the nominee for the Under Secretary of State for Political Affairs, Mr. Marc Grossman, told the Senate

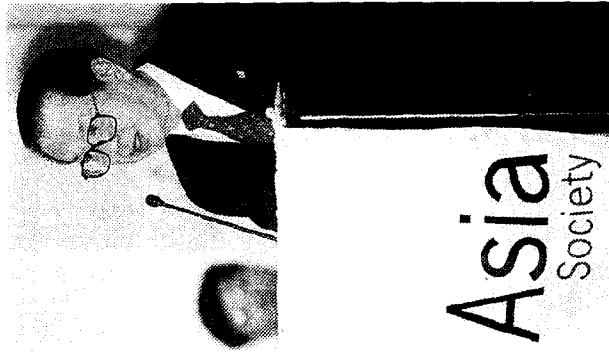
won't be doing... is consulting with Beijing about those arms sales".

Taiwan, which is the second largest buyer of U.S. arms after Saudi Arabia, is pushing for the Aegis class destroyers which has a highly sophisticated missile tracking system that can watch 100 targets simultaneously.

But the Bush administration has been making the point that China too will have a role to play in what the U.S. could provide to Taiwan by way of weapons and technologies.

One of the things that senior Pentagon officials are saying is that Beijing cannot be under the impression that it can increase the number of missiles aimed at Taiwan — currently pegged at 300 and increasing by about 50 every year — and expect Washington to do nothing.

"It is important that the Chinese make the connection between what they deploy in their side of the Strait and the type of technologies that the United States makes available to Taiwan", the Commander of the U.S. forces in the Pacific, Admiral Dennis Blair, has said.



Asia Society

The Chinese Vice-Premier, Mr. Qian Qichen, speaks at a luncheon sponsored by the Asia Society in New York on Tuesday. — AP

Foreign Relations Committee on Tuesday during confirmation hearings, "One of the things we

# China invites Bush to Beijing, Washington is 'pleased'

BY BRIAN KNOWLTON  
*International Herald Tribune*

Washington, March 17: Chinese officials have invited President George W. Bush to visit Beijing in October, they announced Thursday, and US officials said that the President was "pleased with the invitation" and was most likely to accept. The Chinese Prime Minister, Zhu Rongji, said on Thursday in Beijing that Mr Bush had already accepted an invitation to visit after an October 20-21 meeting in Shanghai of the Asia-Pacific Economic Co-operation forum.

The visit, he said as part of unusually conciliatory comments toward the United States, would be "an excellent opportunity for the two countries to communicate better," the Associated Press reported.

The White House did not immediately confirm that the President planned to go from Shanghai to the Chinese capital.

The spokeswoman for the National Security Council, Mary Ellen Countryman, said no definite decision had been made but added, "The President is very pleased to have received an invitation to visit Beijing." A US government official said, however, that Mr Bush was most likely to accept the invitation. Mike Allen of the *Washington Post* reported.

The Bush administration's China policy is still being worked out, and stances on some thorny issues, both military and economic, remain to be resolved.

Analysts say it appears likely to be tougher on Beijing than was Clinton administration policy but, once defined, possibly more predictable. Robert Man-

ning, director of Asia studies at the Council on Foreign Relations, said he assumed Mr Bush would go to Beijing in October, adding, "By then I think it will be necessary, frankly, because I think we're going to have a rocky road the next few months."

Beijing fears that the new US administration will decide next month to sell advanced weapons to Taiwan. And with negotiations for China's accession to the World Trade Organisation still not complete, a Republican-dominated Congress might find itself in an angry new debate over whether, again, to renew China's normal trade status.

WTO membership would end the need for those yearly reviews. With those "action-forcing events" looming, Mr Manning said, "you can make the case

that we're headed toward — not a crisis — but toward a downturn. I think it'll be a rough process."

If Mr Bush does go to Beijing, the visit would hold intense interest as the first such top-level exchange since President Bill Clinton visited China in June 1998, eight months after a visit by President Jiang Zemin to the United States.

While Mr Bush has not travelled extensively abroad, he did spend six weeks in China in 1975 when his father was the US ambassador to Beijing.

Many blanks remain in the evolving relationship between China and the new American leader, whose foreign policy background is not deep but whose security advisers appear to be taking a harder line on China than did their Democratic predecessors. The Clinton formulation,

of a "constructive and strategic partnership" between the two countries, has been given revised in Bush administration circles as a "competitive rivalry."

Mr Zhu took note of the shift, but added: "Partnership and competition are not always at odds with each other. Countries compete and cooperate at the same time."

To the existing litany of US-Chinese disputes — in areas from Chinese prison conditions to enforced abortion to Chinese treatment of the Falun Gong movement — has been added Mr Bush's insistence on building a missile shield to defend the United States, but which also probably would cover US friends, including Taiwan. China has portrayed this as dangerous US interference in its efforts to gain control of Taiwan, confer-

ring on Taipei a greater sense of immaturity to mainland pressure.

It has hinted that it might respond by increasing its own missile production.

On Thursday, however, Mr Zhu noted that the Bush administration had promised not to challenge Beijing's view that Taiwan is a part of China. And he used relatively mild language in reiterating Chinese opposition to a US missile-defence system.

The overall tone of Mr Zhu's comments was conciliatory, echoing remarks in the just-ended session of the National People's Congress. "Long-term, stable and friendly relations and co-operation between 1.6 billion Chinese and American people would be in the interest of peace, development, prosperity and stability" for the world, he said.

THE ASIAN AGE

18 MAR 2001

# USA cautioned over arms sale to Taiwan

PRESS TRUST OF INDIA

BEIJING, March 15. — China has warned the USA that sale of sophisticated weapons such as the Aegis radar systems to Taiwan would be an affront to its sovereignty even as Washington announced that its decision would depend upon Beijing's missile build-up.

"It's really a very serious issue. Selling Aegis to Taiwan would tantamount to a military alliance between the USA and Taiwan, threatening the very basis of our diplomatic relations," said the director general of the Chinese foreign ministry's arms control and disarmament department, Mr Sha Zukang. "We hate the idea. We condemn this idea."

He said among the arms the USA have sold or proposed to sell to Taiwan, "Aegis is the worst". It could be linked with the US communication systems, forming a military alliance against China.

The message was conveyed to the USA by the People's Liberation Army's chief of staff, General Fu Quanyou, yesterday when he met the commander-in-chief of US armed forces's Pacific command, Dennis Blair.

Meanwhile, Mr Blair said an increase in the number of Chinese missiles pointed at Taiwan could force the USA to upgrade the hardware it sells to the island. "The decisions that the USA will make on selling missile-defence technology depends in large measure on the actions that the Chinese themselves take with the missiles that threaten Taiwan," Mr Blair said here.

THE STATE DEPT

17 MAR 1971

# China warns U.S. against selling arms to Taiwan

BEIJING: China on Tuesday strongly warned the U.S. against selling advanced weapons to Taiwan, saying it involved "serious dangers" and was not in the interest of Washington itself.

"If the U.S. side continues to fail to honour its commitment on the Taiwan question and insists on selling advanced weapons to Taiwan, including particularly the Aegis missile destroyers and the Patriot anti-missile defence system, that would send a very wrong signal to the Taiwan authorities," Chinese foreign minister Tang Jiaxuan said. Addressing his customary yearly press conference, Mr Tang said any wrong signal from Washington would encourage a very small number of people - "the Taiwan independence elements" - to continue to engage in separatist activities against China.

He said U.S. arms sales to Taiwan, which China viewed as a rebel province, would not be in the interests of the U.S. itself.

"The U.S. side should come to the recognition of the serious dangers involved. It should rein in its wild horse right on the side of the precipice," the minister said. Stressing that the Taiwan question was a very sensitive and important question in Sino-U.S. relations, he said what the U.S. had done on this question was adequate to show that the U.S. factor was now an important outside factor coming in the way of the peaceful reunification of China.

Mr Tang said Chinese Vice Premier Qian Qichen, who was scheduled to visit the United States from March 18, would have full exchange of ideas with U.S. leaders over the Taiwan question and bilateral and re-

gional issues of common concern during his stay in Washington. Mr Qian is the seniormost Chinese official to visit Washington since the George Bush administration took office in January and decided to adopt a more tough policy towards China on the questions like Taiwan and human rights.

Commenting on the Taiwan issue itself and the U.S. role, the Chinese foreign minister noted that if the United States had not made troubles, the Taiwan question would have been resolved a long time ago.

Mr Tang said the Taiwan question had not been resolved till date because there were mainly two major contributing factors. Firstly, Chen Shui-Bian (Taiwan's President) has failed to recognise the "one-China" principle to this day, he said and cited an 'outside factor', mainly the United States, as the second reason.

Tang said China and Russia would sign a new bilateral treaty on goodneighbourly friendship and cooperation when Chinese President Jiang Zemin paid a state visit to Russia in July.

"President Jiang is scheduled to officially sign a Sino-Russian treaty with his Russian counterpart Vladimir Putin in Moscow," he said. "China-Russia relationship now is a new type of normal state-to-state relationship which is neither allied nor targeted at any third country or third party," Mr Tang said.

The two countries have a strong desire to be good neighbours, good partners and good friends. The treaty which was scheduled to be signed in July embodied such kind of spirit, the Chinese foreign minister commented. (PTI)

THE TIMES OF INDIA

1 11 2001



## US charge baseless, says China

AP-4  
73  
**Beijing, March 6:** A Chinese investigation has found no evidence to support US charges that Chinese companies are helping Iraq rebuild its air defences, foreign minister Tang Jiaxuan said on Tuesday.

Mr Tang said the charges were designed to divert attention from US and British bombing of Iraq, repeating China's initial hardline response. "Relevant agencies have carried out serious investigations," Mr Tang said in a press conference.

They had found no evidence that Chinese technicians were helping install fibre-optic cables, he said. China said last week it would look into the charges, the first sign of trouble between Beijing and the new US administration of President George W. Bush.

It had originally dismissed the charges out of hand as part of a US smokescreen. But, by offering to take

the charges seriously, it had appeared interested in defusing the problem.

Some analysts speculated Beijing wanted to take the issue off the table while it focused on trying to persuade Mr Bush administration not to sell advanced weapons to Taiwan.

Mr Tang has now thrown the ball back into the US court. He again insisted that China respected UN resolutions on Iraq and had rules that forced Chinese companies to comply.

The United States launched air raids twice last month to "degrade" Iraqi air defences which US officials say have become newly aggressive toward US aircraft patrolling "no-fly" zones. The zones were imposed over the northern and southern parts of Iraq after the 1991 Gulf War. (Reuters)

THE ASIAN AGE

- 7 MAR 2001

# China takes steps to boost ties with U.S.

BEIJING: China's most senior foreign affairs official vice-premier Qian Qichen, will visit the U.S. from March 18 to 24 at the invitation of the U.S. government, foreign ministry announced here on Sunday.

The one-line announcement made by ministry spokesman Zhu Bangzao did not give any details of Mr Qian's visit to Washington or his agenda.

However, sources said Mr Qian's upcoming visit comes after the recent visit to the U.S. by three veteran Chinese diplomats.

The visit is seen by the diplomatic circles here as a reflection of Beijing's nervousness over the possible direction in U.S.-China relations under new American President George W. Bush who seems to have decided to improve relations with Japan, an ally of Washington and one of China's Asian rivals.

Mr Bush's ties with China are already off to a rocky start.

Last month the U.S. charged that Chinese workers were assisting Iraq install fibre-optic technology

to upgrade Baghdad's air defence systems. Though China denied this charge, the foreign ministry later said Beijing would launch a probe into the issue.

The Bush administration has also decided to push a U.N. resolution faulting Beijing's human rights record this month at the U.N. commission on human rights at Geneva. China has criticised the U.S. move and called for dialogue as confrontation between the two countries on the question of human rights would lead to nowhere.

Another serious issue that Mr Qian might take up in Washington is the likelihood of more sophisticated weapons flowing to Taiwan, which China views as a rebel province.

The Bush administration is to decide next month whether to sell new arms to Taiwan or not. Moreover, China has vehemently opposed Bush's plan to deploy an anti-missile system, which Beijing says would undermine strategic balance and trigger an arms race. (Agencies)

# China hits out at US rights report

PRESS TRUST OF INDIA

BELJING, Feb. 27. - China today retaliated against the US state department's annual human rights report by releasing an account of "rampant infringement" of rights in the USA.

Calling Washington's charges "false", a six-part article released by China questioned the USA's right to point its finger at over 190 countries on the question of human rights, Xinhua reported.

"The universal declaration on human rights of the year 2000 denounced more than 190 countries in the world, including China, for their human rights conditions, and falsely

## ISRAEL'S RESPONSE

JERUSALEM, Feb. 27. - Israel today rejected USA's allegations, made in the human rights report, that it has used excessive force to contain a Palestinian uprising. "Israel has reacted in a proportionate, measured and responsible fashion..." Israel said. - Reuters

accused these countries of certain abuses," the article said.

In its report, released yesterday, the US state department flayed China for its "poor" human rights record. "Government's poor human

rights record worsened, and it continued to commit numerous serious abuses. The government intensified crackdowns on religion and in Tibet, intensified its harsh treatment of political dissent, and suppressed any person or group perceived to threaten the government," the report said. The Chinese article, *US Human Rights Record in 2000*, charged the USA with perpetrating violence and discrimination.

**Move against cults:** Amid criticism of its crackdown on the Falun Gong, China today announced the establishment of a new department, state council office, to combat activities of various cults.

THE STATESMAN

8 FEB 2001

# Son of Star Wars

## US Aims to Degrade China's Deterrent

By K SUBRAHMANYAM

THE Bush administration has reiterated its commitment to go ahead with the missile defence programme. This was unambiguously articulated by defence secretary Donald Rumsfeld in his speech in Munich at the 37th Annual Security Conference. The Americans profess that the missile defence is not intended to degrade the Chinese deterrent capability but only to provide a missile shield for the US against states of concern, like North Korea, Iran, Iraq and Libya developing missiles with ranges to reach the US and warheads of weapons of mass destruction. This claim is prima facie incredible but the Americans have a tendency to persuade themselves to believe their claims are accepted provided they repeat them over and over again.

In 1967, then defence secretary Robert McNamara proposed a defence shield against Chinese missiles still under development. Everyone knew that it was only a thinly disguised deception to develop a defence against Russian missiles. The US was then engaged in persuading the Russians that missile defence was destabilising and should not be proceeded with. Therefore, they did not want to cite the reason for their missile defence programme as the Russian missiles.

In 1995 and 1996, US intelligence estimates declared only Israel and India had such capabilities and neither was a state of concern to the US. But the Rumsfeld Commission which went into the issue in 1998 concluded that the 'states of concern' could accelerate their programmes if they obtained technology transfer from other countries. This conclusion of the Rumsfeld Commission came after the US discovery of China's transfer of ring magnets to Pakistan and in the wake of US willingness to turn a blind eye to China's missile transfer to Islamabad. The latest declaration of the Non-proliferation Treaty Review Conference could not certify that nuclear weapon states have abided by their obligation not to proliferate under article 1 of the Non-proliferation Treaty.

There is no persuasive explanation from the US authorities as to how states of concern could through their own efforts acquire ICBMs and weapons of mass destruction capability. Even Saddam Hussein developed his nuclear capability with a lot of help from western countries. Even the Russians and Europeans accept the threat of further proliferation and

the need for missile defence though they are not happy about the particular interception technology proposed to be deployed by the US. The Russians are of the view that instead of terminal interception of missile warheads, the alternative boost phase interception would be better. That would not violate the anti-ballistic missile treaty. They have even offered to collaborate with the US on missile defence based on boost phase interception. It is quite obvious from these stands of the US, Russia and the European Union that their proliferation concerns focus on China in view of its past and present record.

In these circumstances, the US' plans to proceed with the missile defence have a number of implications.

The US' terminal interception capability will degrade significantly China's deterrence based on some

### IN BRIEF

- The Americans claim that their missile defence is to guard against states of concern
- But the real target is China, though the US will not say so openly
- India must refrain from hasty judgments on the nature of US missile defence

20-25 intercontinental missiles targeted on the US west coast cities while it cannot have a similar impact on the Russian deterrent based on a much larger number of missiles and warheads. At the same time, the US officials have offered to negotiate with the Chinese to make the missile shield more palatable to Beijing. The technology of missile interception is still to be proved and that was the reason why Bill Clinton deferred the decision on deployment. North Korea assured former US secretary of state Madeleine Albright that there would be no more missile tests. That would indicate that the North Korean missile development cannot be the primary reason for the US pressing on with the missile deployment.

In this situation, what will the Americans discuss with China? Obviously the Chinese nuclear and missile proliferation. The Americans are in no position to directly discipline China for its proliferation activities. They would risk the

supply of cheap consumer goods from China. They would also expose the non-viability of the Non-proliferation Treaty. It would also lead to a direct confrontation with China. If the US worry was really about the other 'states of concern,' then boost phase interception is a more cost-effective anti-proliferation measure than terminal interception missile defence. It appears that the US persistence with terminal interception missile defence is with a view to degrade the Chinese deterrent.

The US may make it clear to China in the proposed negotiations that anti-missile defence development will continue unless China's stopping its proliferation of missile and nuclear technologies to other countries takes place in a manner which can be verified by the US. The choice for the Chinese will be to risk the credibility of their own nuclear deterrent vis-a-vis the US or stop their proliferation. This gives China a chance to behave without exposing the Non-proliferation Treaty to ridicule and without jeopardising US-China trade. The Bush administration considers China as a 'strategic competitor' and not a 'partner'. This analysis is no doubt speculative but it is the only plausible explanation that fits known facts.

Given this background, there should be no hasty judgments in this country on the nature of the US national missile defence or its further implications. India should discreetly explore the mutuality of interests among various powers of the world and India in dealing with the threat posed by Chinese nuclear and missile proliferation. Undoubtedly, there is a major problem in dealing with the issue since the Chinese blandly deny their proliferation. The US is equally bland in its denial that China is the main target of its national missile defence. But objective analysis makes it clear that neither side is transparent. Their respective stands are palpably unconvincing. Therefore, India has to look beyond the declaratory postures of both.

Unlike in 1983, it started its Star Wars programme amid large budgetary deficit and mounting debts, the US is now better placed to initiate a new 'son of star wars' arms race and challenge China. The possible Chinese reactions to the US NMD need not worry India unduly. India's credible minimum deterrent and no-first-use are not likely to be affected by China expanding its long-range ICBMs and warheads.

THE TIMES OF INDIA

12 FEB 2001

# U.S. strategy to isolate China on NMD

By F.J. Khergamvala

**TOKYO, FEB. 5.** To all intents and purposes, the U.S. has conveyed to China that it should get used to the idea that the U.S. will deploy a missile defence system, but specific objections from Beijing will be dealt with in a bilateral arrangement.

Strategically, the U.S. will divide and rule the missile defence arrangement of a scheme yet to be proven technologically and financially viable. *HD 16*

This is the sub-text of two very recent events. One, the just concluded European security meeting in Munich and addressed by the U.S. Defence Secretary, Mr. Donald H. Rumsfeld. *6/2*

Next, as reported by *The New York Times*, a visit to China last week by a group of unofficial U.S. experts to discuss the matter with China. Beijing made available not just its academia to the visiting group, but its officials too. *Bin W*

The agenda: to extort transparency out of the Chinese on their arsenal, to reach an understanding about the size of a U.S. missile defence shield and, though unstated, to assure Beijing that a shield over Taiwan will not be sufficient to encourage secessionist elements on the island to go too far.

At the meeting in Munich, Mr. Rumsfeld addressed some of Russia's concerns, shared fully by major European powers, notably France and Germany.

Apparently, without talking one on one with Moscow, he thought it premature to address how the intent to deploy the theatre missile defence (TMD) within a newly structured nuclear relationship and the West's relationship with Russia.

At no stage did Mr. Rumsfeld home in on China's objections to missile defence. The Anti-ballistic Missile Treaty of 1972, which Mr. Rumsfeld explicitly stated was dated, due to a whole lot of reasons, is a bilateral treaty.

It has little or nothing to do with China. The overall strategy now appears to be to create a wedge between Russia and Europe, within Europe and between Russia and China. The East Asia aspect will be taken care of by dealing with China bilaterally. Russia and China are drafting a strategic partnership treaty document.

One of its fringe purposes, according to analysts, is to try and prevent Russia from doing deal with the U.S. on missile defence. Incidentally, quite

notably, for the first time a top U.S. official and his delegation dropped the term "national" from the term national missile defence, thus definitively broadening its scope to a global level, with the emphasis on protecting U.S. forces deployed globally and allies.

This brings the China concern into sharper focus and it could not be lost on Beijing that its own position on bilateral negotiations with the new U.S. administration will be conditioned by at least five factors.

The ability to withstand and expend resources on an arms race with the U.S.; its penchant for doing bilateral deals instead of subscribing to international arms treaties has left it without a buffer unlike the old ABM which the Russians are sheltered by; China's ability to join forces with Russia; the effectiveness of its so-called Pakistan-Iran card and most vital, the Taiwan factor.

China is probably under no illusion on two other counts. That, despite its apparent silence, Japan is the U.S.'s foremost partner in one leg of the triad, namely the sea based TMD.

Japan is already spending money into the LEAP or Light Exo-atmospheric Project, eventually to be mounted on Japan's Aegis class vessels. Next, that everybody knows a TMD will be deployed in East Asia, ostensibly and at the very least to provide the outer concentric to defend the 100,000 U.S. forces in the region, in Japan, in South Korea and aboard vessels. Conversely, everybody knows that despite China's objections, Beijing itself is going ahead with increasing its own mobile nuclear forces.

China's Vice-Premier, the foreign policy czar, Mr. Qian Qichen heads to the U.S. next month with the apparent purpose of influencing a U.S. decision in April on Taiwan's annual arms purchase request. This is obliquely connected to the TMD. Mr. Qian's primary effort is to coax the Bush administration to follow its predecessor in denying Taiwan the Arleigh-Burke class vessels bearing the Aegis equipped battle-management systems. It is only on an Aegis equipped vessel can a sea based missile interceptor complex be deployed. Anyhow, the new arms race is on. It will take a lot of resistance for India and Pakistan not to join, or a lot of money as entry fee.

END

# China eager to host Jiang-Bush meet

BEIJING: China is keen to host a summit between President Jiang Zemin and U.S. President George W. Bush in October to make a new beginning in Sino-U.S. relations.

"Though it is too early to say, we are optimistic about it," a senior Chinese foreign ministry official said, noting that it would be a good opportunity for both presidents to understand each other better and exchange views on bilateral and world affairs.

Chinese diplomats are now consulting their American counterparts on the possibility of a state visit by Mr Bush before or after the Asia-Pacific Economic Cooperation (APEC) summit in October which China will host, foreign ministry sources said.

Shanghai, the booming east China metropolis, would host the ninth informal APEC leadership summit from October 20-21, where Mr Bush is expected to lead a over 1,000-member strong U.S. delegation, the sources said.

Though Mr Bush and key members of his administration have ruled out establishing a 'strategic partnership' with China, officials were optimistic that the new administration would be "realistic".

Beijing is "concerned" by the statement of the new U.S. secretary of state Collin Powell, who last week stated bluntly that China cannot be a strategic partner to the U.S., undermining the consensus reached between former U.S. President Bill Clinton and Mr Jiang.

"A strategic partner China is not. But neither is China our inevitable and implacable foe. China is a competitor

and a potential regional rival..." Mr Powell said before the U.S. senate foreign relations committee on January 17. However, Chinese foreign ministry spokesman Zhu Bangzao was quick to downplay the damage by saying that the decision to develop sound and stable Sino-U.S. cooperation conforms with the interests of the two countries and also conducive to peace, stability and prosperity in Asia-Pacific and the world at large.

"And this in itself gives expression to the importance to the relations between the two countries and has the strategic significance," Mr Zhu said.

However, the sensitive issue of Taiwan and U.S. plans to develop and deploy missile shields are expected to generate much friction between Beijing and Washington in the coming months, analysts said.

China has already said Bush administration's plans to develop missile defence shields as "going against the trend of the times" and harmful to disarmament efforts.

Such systems will "have a major impact on 21st century global strategic balance and security," Mr Zhu said. China is also concerned by Bush administration's views on Taiwan, which Beijing views as a rebel province that must be reunified with the mainland at an early date.

China firmly opposes U.S. interference in Taiwan affairs and Washington's sale of sophisticated weapons to the cash-rich island. However, under U.S. law American administrations are obliged to provide Taiwan with weapons to defend itself. (PTI)



George W. Bush



Jiang Zemin