

China asks India, Pak to show restraint

Press Trust of India

BEIJING, Dec. 26. — Amid reports of troop build up on the Indo-Pak border, China today appealed to India and Pakistan to exercise restraint and resume dialogue to help maintain peace and security in South Asia.

"We have paid attention to concerned reports. We appeal to the concerned sides to exercise restraint and maintain calm, from the point of view of protecting the overall peace and stability in South Asia," Chinese foreign ministry spokeswoman Ms Zhang Qiyue said here.

Asked to comment on India's recent decision to recall its High Commissioner to Pakistan as a sign of protest against Pakistan for not taking comprehensive action against Pakistan-based terrorist groups involved in the attack on the Parliament, Ms Zhang said China has also taken note of this development. "We have paid attention to concerned reports," she said.

China is consistently concerned with the development of the situation and hopes that both India and Pakistan can exercise restraint and protect the overall peace and stability in South Asia, Ms Zhang said separately.

THE STATESMAN

27 DEC 2001

Preach to Pak & not us, India tells China

HT Correspondent
New Delhi, December 26

DETERIORATING SINO-INDIAN relations make quite a side-show to the current tension between New Delhi and Islamabad after December 13. Today, Beijing's foreign office issued its third "restraint" request to the two sides. Understandably, India has asked China to take its plea to Islamabad where it would be more relevant. *Indo-China*

China's foreign ministry spokesperson Zhang Qiyue today said: "We have paid attention to concerned reports (on troops build-up) and appeal to the concerned sides to exercise restraint and maintain calm from the point of view of protecting the overall peace and stability in South Asia."

Her counterpart here, Nirupama Rao, retorted: "These calls have to be addressed to Pakistan. Whether appeals for or reduction of terrorism, the party to reply is Pakistan."

Curiously, China has not yet made a clarification to the December 21 statement of its Asia department deputy director-general that Kashmir is the "core issue". The remark was made during Pakistan President Pervez Musharraf's tour of the country. Since the attack on the Indian Parliament, Beijing has offered sympathy, but each time through curiously worded statements.

New Delhi has replied that it regrets the Chinese suggestion. "We are in touch with the Chinese government on this", an official of the Ministry of External Affairs said. "The Chinese position is well laid down".

Beijing not only asked India to show restraint but also did not bother to clarify to India what it has to say about Musharraf's claim that he had secured China's assurance of "mediation" on Kashmir. This runs counter to the official Chinese position that Kashmir is a bilateral matter between India and Pakistan where third parties have no role. Yet Beijing did nothing to counter Musharraf's claims.

Though premier Zhu Rongji and President Jiang Zemin had asked Musharraf to take steps against terrorists operating in Urumchi from bases inside Pakistan, there was no demand for "proof" from Islamabad's side. The same regime hotly counters India's evidence on the role of Jaish-e-Mohammad and Lashkar-e-Tayyeba.

THE HINDUSTAN TIMES

Chokila to discuss border disputes during China visit

BY OUR CORRESPONDENT

New Delhi, July 27: India and China will discuss the boundary issue next week when foreign secretary Chokila Iyer visits Beijing.

Ms Iyer will lead the Indian delegation at the 13th meeting of the joint working group on the boundary question from July 31. The two sides will review the progress made by the expert group on clarification and confirmation of the Line of Actual Control. The Chinese side would be led by vice foreign minister Wang Yi at the two-day long session. The JWG will also exchange views on different aspects of the bilateral relations and the regional and international situation. The Indian side is expected to brief the Chinese on the just concluded Agra summit as well.

Ms Iyer will also call on China foreign minister Tang Jiaxuan and will be assisted at the talks by senior officials from the ministries of external affairs, defence and home affairs. India and China had discussed their differences on the border question pertaining to the middle sector in the meeting of the expert group which concluded in New Delhi last month. India and China had exchanged maps of the 545 km long sector at a meeting

held in November. The expert group exchanged views on their disagreements in some sections of the boundary. They had decided to take up the issue in the JWG.

The middle sector is the smallest and relatively undisputed section of 3200 km Sino-India border. The sector stretches from Himachal Pradesh-Tibet autonomous region to Uttaranchal-Tibet autonomous region. After the completion of the middle sector, they will take up the two — eastern and western sector. The western sector is the longest 1597 km in length followed by eastern which is 1126 km long.

The expert groups, comprising senior officials of the ministries of defence and external affairs, were established after the two countries signed an agreement in 1993 to maintain peace and tranquillity along the border during the then Prime Minister P.V. Narasimha Rao's China visit. The deliberations of the expert group are taken up in the JWG on the border question. So far 12 rounds of the JWG have been completed. The two sides have stressed on the need to speed up the exercise. During a meeting between Mr Jaswant Singh and Chinese foreign minister Tang Jiaxuan last year, both sides had decided to delineate first the less disputed middle sector.

THE ASIATIC AGE

BORDER BRAWLS

29/12/12 India China
India's expectations from the forthcoming visit of the Chinese prime minister, Mr Zhu Rongji, to New Delhi may well be tempered by some disturbing developments along the India-China border in the east. Reports of large quantities of Chinese-made arms being smuggled into the area to help insurgents in the Northeast can only worsen worries about a fresh impetus to disruptive activities in a sensitive region. It is no secret that earlier generations of northeastern militants not only received arms supplies from the Chinese but also went to the Hunan province and elsewhere in southern China for arms training and logistic support. It was presumed that for many years, direct Chinese support for these insurgents had decreased considerably. A change in the Chinese attitude to the militants will definitely force India to redraw its strategies in the area. Even more disturbing are reports of hostile Chinese moves in Sikkim and Arunachal Pradesh. In Sikkim, Chinese troops are said to have entered about 20 kilometres inside Indian territory to stop some nomads from building temporary huts, disputing India's claim to the land. In Arunachal Pradesh, flag meetings between local army commanders failed to resolve the disputes after the Chinese went even further to demolish as many as 24 border pillars along the Line of Actual Control in Dibang and Lohit districts. The Chinese moves to claim more territory by resettling large colonies near the border in Arunachal Pradesh can only be viewed by India with suspicion, because about 90,000 square km of Indian territory in the state had been in China's forcible occupation since the 1962 war. China has not only refused to accept Sikkim and Arunachal Pradesh as part of India, but also attempted to force its own position in the border disputes.

Such unfriendly actions by China are particularly unfortunate as they come at a time when China wants India to be "restrained" in dealing with the Pakistan-based terrorists responsible for the December 13 attack on Parliament. These also suggest a betrayal of the trust that India had reposed in China following last year's agreement to launch fresh confidence-building measures. Some analysts would think that the irritants on the eastern border are part of the Chinese strategy to pressure India into compromising its positions on issues relating to the *dalai lama* and Taiwan. In the face of these provocations, India has no option but to view future Chinese statements with suspicion as well as keep its armed forces on alert in the eastern sector. It is to be hoped, however, that China will restrain itself so that the border brawls do not become skirmishes. Also, Indian doubts of fresh Chinese manoeuvres with northeastern insurgents need to be allayed. The air must clear sufficiently to create the right atmosphere for Mr Rongji's visit.

THE TELEGRAPH

India and China hold first-ever dialogue on combating terrorism

By Anil K. Joseph

BEIJING: India and China have held the first-ever dialogue on combating terrorism with the latter expressing "firm" opposition to all forms of terrorism.

"The Chinese side is firmly opposed to all forms of terrorism," Chinese foreign ministry spokeswoman Zhang Qiyue said here.

"On the issue of fighting terrorism, China will contact and consult with all relevant countries, including India," Ms Zhang said while commenting on the dialogue on terrorism which was held between senior officials of the two foreign ministries here.

The talks follow a telephone conversation between Chinese foreign minister Tang Jiaxuan and external affairs minister Jaswant Singh last month during which they exchanged views on combating terrorism. "China supports and conscientiously implements the decision of the UN security council on strengthening international cooperation on combating terrorism," Ms Zhang said.

"We are continuing to strengthen

exchanges and cooperation with various countries of the world on this issue," she said. Ms Zhang, however, did not comment on whether China and India had planned to set up a mechanism for cooperation in the fight against terrorism.

The first-ever bilateral consultation on terrorism between India and China comes at a time when Beijing is seeking international cooperation in its crackdown against Islamic separatists in the north-west Xinjiang province.

Separatists from Xinjiang's largest ethnic group—the Turkic-speaking Uygurs—have waged a low-intensity campaign of bombings and assassinations against heavy-handed Chinese rule and an influx of settlers to the oil-rich region from China's dominant Han ethnic group.

The Uygurs are campaigning for an independent state of east Turkistan in Xinjiang. Nearly 1,000 Uygur separatists are reported to have crossed over to Afghanistan and Pakistan for training in terrorist camps run by Osama bin Laden's Al-Qaida network. (PTI)

THE TIMES OF INDIA

27 NOV 2001

Indian officers for Chinese defence course

SRINJOY CHOWDHURY
STATESMAN NEWS SERVICE

NEW DELHI, Oct. 5. — India and China have begun military-to-military exchanges for the first time since the 1962 war.

Responding to an invitation by Beijing, the armed forces are sending two middle-level officers to China to attend a year-long course at the Chinese National Defence University.

"This is the first time the Chinese have invited us to attend courses and we've sent a colonel and a Navy commander (equivalent of lieutenant-colonel)," a senior official said.

Such invitations are usually extended to "friendly" countries. China hadn't extended any such invitations to India for about past 40 years. This one is being seen as another example of the two military establishments' desire to have clos-

ZHU RONGJI'S VISIT CANCELLED

NEW DELHI, Oct. 5. — The Chinese Premier, Mr Zhu Rongji, has cancelled his visit to India, scheduled from 9-11 November. India was looking forward to the visit, especially because during his last visit to South Asia in April, Mr Zhu had skipped India. He had visited Pakistan then.

India and China have been meeting quite frequently since the exchange of maps on the middle sector of the Line of Actual Control. Three meetings have taken place since maps were exchanged in last November.

In the last meeting, the experts' group reportedly didn't make any headway in resolving the dispute on the 545-km stretch in the middle sector.

The experts had decided to send their reports to the joint working group. The 10th meeting of the experts' group is scheduled to be held in Beijing in December. — SNS

er links. Recently, a senior Chinese officer had come here and then visited Kolkata. The defence minister, Mr Jaswant Singh's scheduled visit to China this month has become uncertain after the 11 September terror attacks on the USA.

A military officer said such visits would help the countries understand each other better. "It makes sense to send middle-level officers. Junior officers may not be able to pick up much. And it may be too premature to send senior officers on courses for a year. But

it's a clear sign that the Chinese are going to be a little more open," he said.

Beijing's invitation requires India to invite Chinese officers to join similar courses here. India doesn't have a National Defence University, unlike China (it's headed by an admiral) and the USA, but Chinese officers could attend any other courses. The absence of an NDU means the National Defence Academy in Delhi and the Defence Services Staff College in Chennai have to be affiliated to universities.

The National Defence College is still not permanently linked with any institution.

There's a proposal to set up an NDU in India. Armed forces officers have been demanding such an institution for years. The government has made some headway on the matter. A high-powered committee is studying the American equivalent.

THE STATESMAN

6 OCT 2002

China wants early end to boundary dispute

Indo china relations
HT-7

12/9
Anand K Sahay
Beijing, September 12

DEPARTING FROM its customary stance, often regarded in India as purposive dilatoriness, China has said that it is "looking forward to an early settlement of the boundary dispute."

Wang Yi, vice-minister in the Foreign Office, told two Indian journalists visiting the country at the Foreign Ministry's invitation yesterday that China had taken note of the Vajpayee Government's "positive attitude". However, it was constrained to proceed on the basis of experiences of the past.

Wang noted in this connection that some "twists and turns" had occurred in bilateral ties in recent years, but said "normal relations" had been reaffirmed once again.

"I hope important agreements can be reached as early as possible, so that it can all move forward, and I hope that cooperation can be effected in all areas, not just the boundary", the minister said.

Asked if the spate of visits exchanged between the two

BJP TEAM INVITED

A BJP team will visit China at the invitation of that country's ruling Communist Party from September 21. Led by senior BJP leader and former Rajasthan Chief Minister Bhairon Singh Shekhawat, the team will consist of BJP general secretary Sunil Shastri, Lt Gen K P Candeth, and Surendra Arora and R Ramakrishnan, who are co-convenors of the party's foreign affairs and economic cells.

China's ambassador-designate Hua Junduo called on BJP president K Jana Krishnamurthy on Tuesday and discussed Sino-Indian relations. **HTC, New Delhi**

countries at a high political level this year had a focus, Wang said, "The biggest remaining question is the boundary."

Conditions needed to be created to sort the issue out, he said. He stressed that a "basic consensus" had to be reached in the two countries "to resolve the difference, and also establish principles" on which the solution will ride.

Wang said, "I am not sure that

you have reached a consensus in India on the (approach to the) boundary question. I am not sure if the condition concerning mutual understanding and mutual accommodation is agreed to by Indian friends."

While China was looking forward to an early settlement of the dispute, "We can wait if opportunities and conditions are not mature", he noted. Such a wait "will not be passive" if the two countries are "positive about the process", he added.

When it was suggested that the moment might be at hand to resolve the whole issue quickly, given the desire as well as the objective conditions in India, the minister shot back, "Is there a consensus among the major political parties? More than one or two years may be needed and you have quickly changing Governments. Therefore, more than one Cabinet may be involved in the exercise."

"We will try to grasp the opportunity whenever it arises", he said. In this context he said it was necessary to gauge the extent of "public support" in India.

THE HINDUSTAN TIMES

13 SEP 2001

*India
China*

'China keen on IT tie-up with India'

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STATESMAN NEWS SERVICE

NEW DELHI, Sept. 9. - China is keen to have a tie up with India for developing five information technology segments of e-governance, e-education, e-commerce, e-finance and e-community, Ms Lei Koc Lon, mayor, Jiangmen Municipal People's Government, has said. Leader of a visiting Chinese delegation, Ms Lei Koc Lon, said Jiangmen is one of the seven IT cities named by the Chinese government and it is looking forward to have such a tie-up. During her interaction with the Electronics and Computer Software Export Promotion Council here, she said the IT

sector in China would expand after its entry into the WTO.

Amtek Auto Ltd, a part of the Amtek Group has signed a joint venture with a Chinese firm, Zhongyu, to work together in the automation sector in China. They would later expand the activities to segments like e-education and software development under the banner of their software company, Excel Infotech Ltd, according to the agreement signed here during the visit of the Chinese delegation.

Ms Lei Koc Lon said there are enormous opportunities of joint ventures in software development between Indian and Chinese firms, especially in Jiang-

men where the municipality encourages setting up IT units.

The perception in China, she said, is that India is the world leader in software development and this sector would pick up to encompass in itself many of the value added software development segments where India would establish its supremacy in days to come.

She assured ESC that a strong delegation from Jiangmen municipality would take part in the IndiaSoft 2002 Exhibition and Conference early next year. ESC has had deliberations with 15 Chinese delegations on IT and IT-enabled services, ESC executive director, Mr DK Sareen, said.

THE STATESMAN

9/8 Trilateral meet wants HD-9 India, China to remove mistrust

By Vladimir Radyuhin

MOSCOW, SEPT. 8. Scholars from India, China and Russia, meeting in Moscow for the first time in a triangular format, have agreed that cooperation among the three nations had "a rich and positive potential".

The breakthrough meet, held on September 5 and 6 under the title of International Academic Conference 'China-India- Russia: Challenges of Globalisation and Prospects for Trilateral Cooperation', was attended by foreign policy experts from the three countries and was closed to the press. The conference received greetings from Russia's Foreign Minister, Mr. Igor Ivanov, and China's Deputy Foreign Minister, Mr. Wang Yi. India was represent-

ed by Mr. G.P. Deshpande, Director of the Indian Institute of Chinese Studies, Mr. S.V. Ranganathan, former Ambassador to China, and some scholars. The Chinese delegation was led by the President of the China Institute of Oriental Studies, Prof. Yang Chengxu.

A carefully worded joint press release issued after the conference said "trilateral cooperation between China, India and Russia has a rich and positive potential based on common or similar positions on the broad range of the most important international issues". The issues were defined as democratisation of international relations, multipolar world, opposition to hegemony, struggle against international terrorism,

extremism, separatism, crime and drug trafficking. The participants also agreed that trilateral cooperation will not imply "any diminution of national autonomy or of the national identity".

5 children die of mysterious fever

UDAIPUR, SEPT. 8. Five children have died of a mysterious fever, stomach ache and diarrhoea at Jhadol Kotda in this Rajasthan district since last Saturday, officials said on Friday.

Unofficial sources, however, put the number at 12.

The District Collector, Mr. Vinod Kapur, told presspersons that health department officials had been rushed to the region. — UNI

THE HINDU

- 9 SEP 2001

Let's create a favourable climate: Chinese envoy

By C. Raja Mohan

NEW DELHI, SEPT. 4. India and China need to create favourable political conditions for an early resolution of their long-standing boundary dispute, the new Chinese envoy said here today.

"For the egg to hatch," Mr. Hua Junduo told *The Hindu*, "we need to keep it at the right temperature". If the political conditions are right, Mr. Hua was suggesting, there could be a faster pace in the boundary negotiations.

"The earlier the boundary dispute between India and China is solved, the better it is," Mr. Hua asserted. He added that "political will and mutual accommodation are necessary" for such a settlement.

Mr. Hua, who arrived in the capital last month, is expected to present his credentials to the President, Mr. K.R. Narayanan, next week. In a free-wheeling conversation, Mr. Hua said the exchange of maps on the contested border between the Indian and Chinese experts was proceeding well, and referred to the continuing peace and tranquillity on the border. Mr. Hua, who is quite comfortable speaking English, emphasised the importance of a good political environment in contributing to a border settlement. This would involve the generation of greater trust and confidence between the two countries. Finally, any viable understanding on the border would have to be based on a

"give and take", Mr. Hua insisted.

Arguing that the "lack of mutual understanding" was the single biggest obstacle to the improvement of Sino-Indian relations, Mr. Hua said his effort here would be to overcome this problem. He hoped to do it in two ways — by stepping up a high-level political engagement and expanding the economic content of the bilateral relations.

Mr. Hua hoped to facilitate greater contact between the two societies that were neighbours but knew so little about each other. Mr. Hua bemoaned the absence of direct air links between the two countries despite the fact that they constitute nearly a third of human race.

Citing another Chinese proverb, Mr. Hua said, "seeing once is better than hearing a hundred times". He hoped more and more Indians and Chinese would have an opportunity to travel across the border and discover the rich heritage of the other.

Mr. Hua said he was gratified to serve as the Chinese envoy to India at a moment when bilateral relations appeared to be on the upswing. Beijing was looking forward to the visit to China next month by the External Affairs Minister, Mr. Jaswant Singh.

Mr. Hua also pointed to the significance of the Chinese Prime Minister, Mr. Zhu Rongji's trip to India later this year. The first visit by a Chinese premier

to India in a decade, Mr. Hua suggested, was taking place amid greater possibilities for economic and political cooperation between the two nations. Reflecting on his diplomatic experience, Mr. Hua said when he was about to take up his first ambassadorial assignment he was advised to "be honest to everyone". Mr. Hua said he had not since heard of a better way to build bridges between two nations.

Human blood cells developed from stem cells

NEW YORK, SEPT. 4. Biologists say they have for the first time transformed human embryonic stem cells into blood-making cells, a step that would lay the basis for an entirely novel set of therapies.

Embryonic stem cells are the basic building blocks for the 260-or-so cell types in the body. During development, stem cells transform into heart, muscle, brain or other tissue.

Scientists at the University of Wisconsin envision infusing a patient with blood cells made from a line of human embryonic stem cells and then implanting new tissues made in the laboratory from the same line of embryonic cells, like heart muscle or pancreatic islets. — PTI

THE HINDU

- 5 SEP 2001

Play-safe China shies off Kashmir tangle

FROM PRANAY SHARMA

New Delhi, Aug. 13: India's "potential security threat number one" and Pakistan's long-time ally, China, has refused to be a party to the Kashmir tangle.

A month after President Pervez Musharraf's assertion that Pakistan would take back parts of Kashmir given to China if India worked out a solution, Beijing today made it clear that its border agreement with Islamabad is a closed chapter and not open to negotiation.

"As is known to all, the China-Pakistan border issue has been settled long ago," a Chinese foreign ministry spokesperson was quoted as saying by PTI.

The 1963 Sino-Pakistani border agreement, under which Beijing was gifted large tracts of land in Jammu and Kashmir by Islamabad, was brought back to the centre stage during the Agra summit.

Under the agreement, Pakistan had gifted 5,180 sq. km of Jammu and Kashmir, which included much of the erstwhile Gilgit Agency areas, to China. The ar-

ea is of strategic importance to China where it has built the Karakoram highway connecting its northwestern part with Pakistan.

Prime Minister Atal Bihari Vajpayee had told the Lok Sabha last week during a debate on the summit that the issue of Pakistan's land gift to China came up for discussion during his talks with Musharraf. But the Pakistani President had assured him that once India and Pakistan reached an agreement on Kashmir, Islamabad would get back the land from China.

Foreign minister Jaswant Singh is planning a trip to China in October. Though the exact dates are being worked out, there are indications that Singh will get an opportunity to talk with senior members of the Chinese leadership to discuss the entire gamut of Sino-Indian relations. The resumption of dialogue between India and Pakistan and the manner in which they are trying to settle their disputes, including that of Kashmir, are also likely to come up for discussion.

"By whose authority did Pak-

istan gift a part of Kashmir to China?" Vajpayee asked while giving details of his discussion with Musharraf to Parliament. "We were told that if we reached a bilateral accord, they would take that part back from China," he said. "I replied there was no credence in this theory."

The agreement between China and Pakistan was signed a few months after the Sino-Indian conflict.

"The two parties have agreed that after settlement of the Kashmir dispute between Pakistan and India, the sovereign authority concerned will re-open negotiations with the Chinese government on the boundary as described in Article 2 of the agreement so as to sign a formal boundary treaty to replace the present agreement provided that in the event of that sovereign authority if it is Pakistan, the provisions of the present agreement and of the aforesaid protocol shall be maintained in the formal boundary treaty to be signed between the People's Republic of China and Pakistan," the agreement stated.

THE TELEGRAPH

14 AUG 2001

India-China talks on western sector soon

By Atul Aneja

NEW DELHI, AUG. 12. After recording their perceptions of the Line of Actual Control (LAC) along a 345 km. "middle sector" stretch, India and China are gearing up for a similar exercise along their frontier in the Ladakh area.

According to highly-placed sources in the Government, both sides have defined their individual perceptions of the LAC along their border in Uttar Pradesh and recorded it on maps. Sources said there was a convergence of views on the LAC alignment along large portions in this sector. Both sides, however, differ on the lay of LAC in some segments of the area. The middle sector includes the grazing grounds of Barahoti, which came into prominence before the 1962 Sino-Indian conflict.

It is likely that the differences between the two sides in the contours of the LAC in the western sector will be wider. For, unlike the middle sector, the post-1962 occupation in the western sector by China has been considerable. Most of these differences in the alignment of the LAC, however, are known to the two sides. As result, it may not be too difficult to record the divergent perceptions in the western sector on map. There are, however, some specific points in the area, where clarifications will be required.

The purpose of determining the LAC is to ensure the Sino-Indian border remains calm and commercial activity such as border trade can begin.

Political settlement?

The 4,060-km. border will ultimately have to be settled politically. China has already indicated the broad parameters of an overarching political settlement. Unlike the early 1980s, when it wanted India to relent in the western sector, Beijing now wants New Delhi to show flexibility in specific portions of the eastern

sector. Sources said China was especially keen on persuading India to show some leeway in Tawang, Arunachal Pradesh. Chinese academics, while buttressing their case, have said Tibet had traditionally exercised administrative control, including collection of taxes over Tawang. Tawang, they say, is also an indispensable part of the Tibetan monastery network which converges in Lhasa.

China, recently, has not shown any excessive interest in permanently retaining its hold over the entire Aksai-Chin area, a key link between the provinces of Tibet and Xinjiang.

According to sources, the visit of the Chinese Prime Minister, Mr. Zhu Rongji, in November could see Beijing launch a new political initiative to help ease tensions along the Sino-Indian border.

The assessment here is that the Chinese political will to settle the boundary dispute has not been blunted by the Pokhran nuclear tests. China, however, appears to have added some sense of urgency in competing with India for geopolitical space in parts of South and South-East Asia.

Denied an assured foothold in the Arabian Sea and the Bay of Bengal, China appears to be expending considerable energy for influence in this area, the sources say. Indian security planners, for instance, are carefully monitoring Chinese moves to develop the Pakistani port of Gwadar, at the junction of the Arabian Sea and the strategic Gulf of Oman. Recently, China said it was ready to undertake a detailed technical assessment to develop the deep sea port of Gwadar.

The Indian side is looking at the possibility of a road link-up between Gwadar and the Chinese mainland via the Indus highway. In case this happens, it will theoretically give China a strategic reach into the Arabian Sea. Press reports from Pakistan suggest

China is also looking at Gwadar as a stopover for refuelling its ships.

Reach to Bay of Bengal

In the east too, Chinese efforts to acquire an influence in the Bay of Bengal have come in for detailed scrutiny.

China's moves towards the south have been mainly generated by its great western development plan. Launched in January, 2000 it envisages the development of its six poorest provinces, including Yunnan. With Yunnan's capital Kunming as the focus, China is building cross-border roads, river ports and airports in all directions.

In doing so, Beijing is reaching out to the Bay of Bengal. China's outreach to the Bay of Bengal is through Myanmar, bordering India. It is reviving some World War-II roads, such as the link between Lashio in Myanmar with Kunming.

Besides, China is seeking transit access along the Irrawady river which, after splitting Myanmar into nearly two equal halves, empties into the Bay of Bengal.

Global security system with India, China mooted

MOSCOW, AUG. 12. As the U.S. Defence Secretary, Mr. Donald Rumsfeld, prepares to hold talks on missile defence and the fate of the Anti-Ballistic Missile (ABM) treaty here tomorrow, a Russian expert has said a new post-ABM global security framework should be put in place with the involvement of India and China.

"A nuclear summit mechanism with the involvement of India and China should be launched to set the global security agenda, Mr. Vladimir Surin, Director of the Centre for Studies of Problems of Public Importance, a Moscow-based NGO, said. — PTI

India on alert as China knocks on WTO door

BY A STAFF REPORTER

Calcutta, Aug. 11: For the first time, the Union government is trying to discern the opportunities offered by the Chinese economy. The commerce ministry has decided to engage management consultants to conduct two separate studies to identify the threats and prospects emerging out of China's possible entry into the WTO.

Speaking at a seminar organised by the Indian Chamber of Commerce here today, commerce secretary Prabir Sengupta said: "Applications from various leading management consultants have been invited to conduct studies on China. We hope to finalise the consultants in a month."

Speaking on the Chinese economy, Sengupta said it had grown because it had always tried to

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India China
cater to the world market. "While the Indian industry, until recently, had been catering primarily to the local market, the Chinese industry always had an eye on the world market," he added. What has supported the growth in China is the low cost of capital, and the hidden subsidies that have been offered by the Chinese government, Sengupta said and added that he believed the volume of "hidden subsidy" in China was lower than the popular perception.

Commenting on the next WTO ministerial conference slated to be held in Doha (Qatar) in November, Sengupta said India along with other developing countries would try to raise the issue of implementation-related concerns which these nations were facing.

Saying that India wanted the Doha meet to be successful and

not go the Seattle way, Sengupta said developing nations should try to pursue their interests first, and then sit down on other issues likely to be raised by developed countries.

The issues likely to be raised by the developed nations were environment, labour standards, agreement on investments, competition law, transparency in government procurement and trade facilitation.

Sengupta said although the focus of the developed countries would be to launch the new round of trade negotiations for further liberalisation, the developing countries would see that their concerns were satisfactorily addressed. Sengupta also allayed fears that the removal of quantitative restrictions (QRs) would lead to a surge in imports.

THE TELEGRAPH

12 AUG 2001

India-China trade touches \$1.79 bn

PRESS TRUST OF INDIA
BEIJING, AUG 10

96-10
11/8

DESPITE the global economic slowdown, India-China foreign trade has registered an impressive 36.5 per cent growth in the first half of 2001 with Indian exports growing faster than imports. According to latest foreign trade figures, released by China's general administration of customs, bilateral trade touched \$1.79 billion during January-June, up 36.5 per cent over the corresponding period last year.

India's exports to China zoomed by 44.1 per cent to \$912.48 million. At the same time, Chinese exports to India reached \$877.68 million, providing India with a comfortable trade balance of \$34.8 million. "The trend is encouraging and we expect bilateral trade to cross the three billion dollar-mark easily this year," official sources said, while forecasting that the trade figure for 2001 may even touch

nearly \$3.5 billion. Though India and China are the two largest and fastest developing countries, the bilateral trade has not yet reached its potential. Factors like lack of direct air service, banking facilities and information about market conditions are hindering faster growth of bilateral trade.

Officials are hopeful that India and China will engage in mutually beneficial cooperation in the economy and trade sector, especially in the wake of Chinese premier Zhu Rongji's scheduled visit to India later this year. In 2000, India-China trade amounted to \$2.91 billion, with Delhi being Beijing's biggest trade partner in South Asia. India's export surge to China during the first half of 2001 was led by the minerals sector at \$372.011 million to the overall trade figure of \$912.48 million. The import Bill for iron and steel rose to \$40 million from \$4 million. The second major item was chemicals which accounted for \$114.6 million. Textile raw mate-

rials and products came third with \$111.9 million while plastics and rubber products accounted for \$83.47 million. Base metal and products exports to China amounted to \$50.588 million. China's exports to India, on the other hand, was led by chemical products. India imported \$239.022 million worth of chemical products during the January-June period. Machinery and electronic products and audio and video equipment sector came second with \$191.851 million. While minerals exports accounted for \$173.057 million, Chinese textile raw material and products occupied the fourth position at \$125.396 million. India also imported base metals and products worth \$41.845 million from China during the first half of the year while optical and medical instruments and meters contributed \$23.023 million to China's exports.

China's overall foreign trade during the first half of 2001 reached \$241.0 billion, up 11.3 per cent from the same period last year.

INDIAN EXPRESS

11 AUG 2001

While the focus is on Agra, Sino-Indian relations are progressing too

Talks know no boundaries

Amidst the focus and hype on the Pervez Musharraf-Atal Bihari Vajpayee summit, public opinion and media have not taken sufficient notice of an important discussion between India and China during the last days of June, early July, which might ultimately lead to discussions between the two countries on the substance of the boundary question.

The reference is to the meeting of the expert level sub-group of the Sino-Indian joint working group on the boundary question. This has been entrusted with the responsibility of completing modalities and procedural details for the implementation of the provisions of the Sino-Indian agreement on the maintenance of peace and tranquillity on the line of actual control of 1993 and confidence-building measures which were finalized in another agreement during President Jiang Zemin's visit to India in the winter of 1996.

Before one proceeds to assess the significance of the expert level meeting between officials of the joint working group, it is pertinent to recall more recent contacts in which this expert group meeting took place. It is generally known that Sino-Indian relations took a nosedive for a period of nearly a year between May-June 1998 and the late summer of 1999. The structure of goodwill and mutual exchanges built up between 1989 and 1996, characterized by exchanges of visits at the presidential and prime ministerial levels and by senior defence personnel, developed cracks because of India's nuclear weaponization and the accompanying rationale which we gave for it, describing Chinese threat as an important factor.

The downward slide was brought under control in discussions held between the Indian foreign minister, Jaswant Singh, and Tang Jiaxuan between July 1999 and the middle of the year 2000. The meetings of the joint working group on the boundary question and its experts group meetings also went into a limbo during the period of controversies and distances mentioned above.

The joint working group revived meetings in 2000 and, on the basis of directives given by the two foreign ministers, the experts group entrusted with the task of removing differences of opinion about the delineation of the line of actual control recommenced detailed discussions on the subject. A marginally important development was the Chinese side resiling from its initial reservations about exchanging maps on the alignment of the LAC with the Indian side along with details of the location of their posts on the LAC.

There are about nine pockets all along the LAC where there are differences of opinion between India and China about the actual location of the line. The positioning of security posts along the line and the implementation of confidence-building measures envisaged in the agreements of 1993 and 1996, depend on both sides being clear and in agreement about the actual delineation

The author is former foreign secretary of India

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of the LAC on the ground. India had suggested the exchange of maps on the basis of which discussions could be held to remove the differences of opinion with geographical and cartographic precision.

The Chinese were reluctant to exchange maps in the mid-Nineties and till the beginning of year 2000 because the ambiguity about the LAC could have been conducive to their assuming jurisdictional control along the line perhaps

precise alignment of LAC in this sector, after which details regarding location of posts, re-deployment of troops and so on, envisaged in the confidence-building measures, could be implanted.

In particular, agreement has been reached that maps would be exchanged between the two sides sectorwise over a period of time to cover the entire stretch of LAC. Discussions would be particularly difficult about the differences of



Najma Heptullah has visited China during the first week of July leading a delegation of MPs

to their incremental advantages, when compared to the position which they held since November, 1962. However, given their concerns about maintaining peace and stability in Tibet, and about resolving centrifugal pressures within China, they came to the conclusion that stabilizing the LAC would be in their interest in terms of not alienating India from the seriousness of the discussions envisaged in the 1993 agreement.

They first agreed to exchange maps step by step, sectorwise. Both India and China agreed that maps may be exchanged in the central sector of the line of control, namely, the Barahoti sector between Uttaranchal and Tibet. This important decision was implemented in the eighth meeting of the experts working group in the second half of year 2000. The ninth meeting of the experts group was held in New Delhi just recently in the last week of June.

The Chinese delegation was led by the secretary general of their Asia division, Sun Guoxiang. The Indian delegation was led by Vijay Gokhale, the director of the east Asia division of the ministry of external affairs. The two delegations utilized the opportunity to have their first detailed discussion on differences of opinion about the alignment and delineation of the LAC in the central sector of the line. Once the complex discussions are completed on the basis of clarifications given by both sides, an agreement would be reached on the pre-

opinion on the LAC in the western sector and particularly so in the eastern sector where the Chinese still hold on to their territorial claims regarding Arunachal Pradesh and so on. But what is important is that a beginning has been made to discuss this complex facet of the agreements of 1993 and 1996.

It is obvious that the Chinese side continues to have reluctance about exchanging maps because a precise and agreed delineation of the LAC will reduce the territorial and strategic advantages which they are interested in order to maintain the dominating position on the LAC. So the Indian side remains entrusted with the difficult and sensitive responsibility of ensuring an objective and precise delineation of the LAC.

The long-term plan about which India and China are in general agreement is that, first, an agreement should be reached about the precise alignment of the LAC. Second, all the confidence-building measures agreed upon during the last decade should be fully implemented. Third, this should result in the stabilization of the LAC on the basis of

undisturbed peace and tranquillity on it. Fourth, once this is achieved the joint working group on the boundary question should commence discussions on substantive issues of delineating the Sino-Indian boundary avoiding the controversies and irrelevant factors which influenced the negotiating stances of both sides resulting in the failure of the boundary talks in 1961 and the consequent military conflict between the two countries.

The point to be kept in mind is that if the beginnings made in the eighth and ninth rounds of the experts group meetings progress smoothly it should lead to a substantive direction in Sino-Indian relations. While this positive development has taken place on a specific and technical issue, there also appears to be a general improvement in Sino-Indian relations. The former prime minister and present chairman of the Chinese People's Congress, Li Peng, visited India for three weeks with a business delegation in December last year. The vice-chairman of the Rajya Sabha, Najma Heptullah, has visited China during the first week of July leading a composite delegation of members of parliament and representatives of the chambers of commerce and industry.

She has had discussions not only with Li Peng but also with the prime minister, Zhu Rongji. Reports on the visit indicate that her delegation was treated with warmth and that it was given access by the Chinese, setting aside normal protocol stipulations. Other developments in the broader strategic and security environment are also contributing to the process of incremental normalization in Sino-Indian relations despite mutual concerns and doubts and some basic differences on some important issues.

Given the Bush administration's highly assertive stance on strategic defence policies, China's criticism of India's nuclear weaponization is diminishing. China and India share concerns about cross-border terrorism and Islamic extremism which generate centrifugal forces within their respective state structures. There is a parallelism in Chinese and Indian policies on issues related to external stipulations regarding human rights and environment management. While remaining committed to their close relationship with Pakistan, China has moved back from totally supporting the Pakistani stance on Jammu and Kashmir.

Chinese intercalation with India in the Association of Southeast Asian Nations and its security organization, the ASEAN Regional Forum, has been positive to the extent feasible, subject of course to the limitation of differences in security perceptions between India and China. There are general indications that the prime minister, Zhu Rongji, would visit India later this year, or early next year. It appears that India's foreign policy after a gap of time has commenced a process of constructive engagement with two of its most important neighbours with whom relations have been tenuous and prickly. One hopes the process will continue in the interest of peace and development in our region.

Ties with India on upswing: China

BEIJING, JULY 3. The Chinese premier, Mr. Zhu Rongji, today said the commonalties between India and China far outweigh their differences and expressed his desire to visit India in the near future.

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"As the world's two largest developing countries, both China and India are endeavouring to develop their economies and improve people's living standards, and, therefore, they need a peaceful and stable environment," Mr. Zhu said at a meeting with the visiting deputy chairperson of the Rajya Sabha, Ms. Najma Heptulla, here.

"The need for promoting Sino-Indian cooperation far outweighs the existing differences between us," Mr. Zhu was quoted by the official Xinhua news agency as telling Ms. Heptulla, who is also president of the council of the Inter-Parliamentary Union (IPU).

Mr. Zhu said Sino-Indian relations had recently witnessed a marked "improvement and development". During the President, Mr. K.R. Narayanan's China visit last year, the Chinese President, Mr. Jiang Zemin, and the Indian leader reached consensus on a number of issues during their fruitful talks, he said.

China favours 'strategic triangle'

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BEIJING, JULY 15. In what could be the most important political development in the post Cold War period, China has shed its initial inhibitions to form a strategic triangle alongwith India and Russia. "On many international issues, China, Russia and India have similar or near-identical stand and concerns," the Chinese Foreign Ministry spokesperson, Ms. Zhang Qiyue, said.

"We hope to further strengthen the cooperation with Russia and India," she said when asked whether the Chinese President, Mr. Jiang Zemin, who left for Moscow today, would discuss the issue of trilateral cooperation between India, China and Russia during the summit talks with his Russian counterpart, Mr. Vladimir Putin.

In the past, Beijing had distanced itself from the idea of trilateral cooperation. However, many Chinese scholars are opposed to U.S. hegemony and stress the need for enhanced cooperation between China, Russia and India to ensure a multipolar world and a new international political and economic order.

Scholars from the three nations are scheduled to meet in Moscow in September to find ways to cooperate and explore a common approach.

Welcoming the proposed dialogue, Prof. Ni Xiaoquan of the Institute of East European, Russian and central Asian studies of the Chinese Academy of Social Sciences (CASS) said it was essential to meet and exchange ideas for further cooperation among the three countries.

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He hoped the scholars would recommend some concrete programmes so that officials could meet at a later date to formalise trilateral cooperation.

Experts have noted that even without any formal coordination, the three countries have near-identical views on major global issues and formal establishment of trilateral relationship would depend to a large extent on improvement of India-China relations. "If Beijing and New Delhi can peacefully resolve their boundary dispute and if India can appreciate China's 'readjusted' policy on South Asia, Sino-Indian relations could make rapid progress," another expert said. — PTI

Need for peace along Sino-Indian border stressed

BEIJING, JULY 5. Commenting on the just concluded India-China boundary talks, Beijing today said both sides have agreed over the need to maintain peace and stability along their disputed border areas.

On the ninth meeting of the Sino-Indian diplomatic and military Experts Group (EG) held in New Delhi on June 28, the Chinese Foreign Ministry said the two sides exchanged views on "continuing to proceed in the direction of clarifying the Line of Actual Control (LAC)".

The EG meeting also discussed the confidence-building measures adopted by the two sides in accordance with the agreements signed between the two Governments and with the consensus reached between the leaders of the two countries, the Chinese Foreign Ministry spokeswoman, Ms. Zhang Qiyue, said. "The session was held in an atmosphere of friendship and frankness," she said, adding "both sides said that they would continue to strive for the maintenance of peace and stability in the border areas along the LAC".

Ms. Zhang, however, gave no indication about whether some progress had been made since the two sides exchanged maps of the less-disputed "middle sector". — PTI

Najma, Li Peng express pleasure at Sino-India ties

BY OUR CORRESPONDENT

New Delhi, July 3: The deputy chairperson of the Rajya Sabha, Dr Najma Heptulla, and the chairman of the standing committee of the National People's Congress of China, Li Peng, have expressed satisfaction at the recent improvement in Indo-Chinese relations and have appreciated each other's personal contributions in enhancing bilateral interactions.

The two leaders met over dinner in Beijing on Monday.

Dr Heptulla is currently on a visit to China and is accompanied by some Members of Parliament along with business and trade union leaders. Dr Heptulla said that the wide cross section of India represented in her delegation shows the consensus in India on improving relations with China.

Recalling their previous meetings the two leaders agreed that the frequency of their meetings reflected the expanding co-operation between the parliaments of the two countries and the overall trend of improvement in Indo-Chinese bilateral relations.

Both expressed confidence that with the constitution of Parlia-

mentary Friendship Groups on both sides, parliamentary exchanges between the two countries will be further enhanced.

Dr Heptulla said that Mr Peng's visit to India in January this year had brought Indo-Chinese relations to a new and higher stage. The two leaders said that their countries share common views on several global issues, co-operate in international forums and discussed the growing co-operation between India and China in the International Parliamentarians Union.

Dr Heptulla said that India looks forward to China's early entry into the WTO.

Dr Heptulla also called on the Chinese Prime Minister Zhu Rongji and the two leaders observed that the two countries jointly make the largest market and can benefit from the WTO if they co-operate in harnessing the potential for economic development.

Mr Rongji expressed his appreciation for the successful visit of President K.R. Narayanan to China and thanked Dr Heptulla for her support to China in the Inter Parliamentary Union.

THE ASIAN AGE

Zhu stresses on similarities, tour

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Beijing, July 3 (PTI): Chinese Premier Zhu Rongji today said the commonalities between India and China far outweigh their differences and expressed his desire to visit India in the near future.

"As the world's two largest developing countries, both China and India are endeavouring to develop their economies and improve people's living standards, and, therefore, they need a peaceful and stable environment," Zhu said in a meeting with visiting deputy chairperson of Rajya Sabha Najma Heptulla here.

"The need for promoting Sino-Indian co-operation far outweighs the existing differences between us," Zhu was quoted by the official Xinhua news agency as telling Heptulla, who is also president of the council of the Inter-Parliamentary Union (IPU).

Zhu said Sino-Indian relations have recently witnessed marked

"improvement and development".

During President K.R. Narayanan's China visit last year, Chinese President Jiang Zemin and the Indian leader reached consensus on a number of issues, he said.

The visit paid by Li Peng, chairman of the National People's Congress (NPC) standing committee (China's top legislative body), to India last January pulled bilateral ties even closer, he said.

Heptulla's ongoing week-long official goodwill visit demonstrated the prospects of the development of Sino-Indian relations, the Chinese Premier said, adding he was keen on visiting India.

"I am looking forward to going to India," Zhu said during the hour-long meeting, which was scheduled for 30 minutes. Sources said no dates had been fixed for Zhu's first official visit to India and it would be worked out through diplomatic channels.

China
Commenting on her meeting, Heptulla said it was "very warm" and both sides exchanged views on issues of common interest in a relaxed atmosphere. The Indian side particularly discussed the need for improving India-China trade relations and the need to work closely to protect the interests of the developing countries at the new round of trade negotiations in Doha in November, Heptulla said.

Zhu thanked India for supporting China's 15-year-long bid to enter the World Trade Organisation (WTO) and went on to say that China is close to joining the Geneva-based multilateral trade body.

Heptulla said that India looked forward to China's early entry into WTO. The Indian delegation was particularly happy by the warmth in Zhu's attitude towards bilateral ties and the hospitality shown towards them.

He also took time to answer questions raised by the Indian delegation on trade, culture and other issues.

Heptulla described India and China as the two largest and fastest developing countries, but noted that bilateral trade was yet to reach its potential, considering the size of economies.

Agreeing with Heptulla's remarks, Zhu said China and India had great potential in carrying out mutually beneficial cooperation.

"We hope Indian businessmen will make further contacts with their Chinese partners, and enhance their understanding of China's economy and market," he said, adding that the Chinese side was willing to do its own bit in this regard.

Zhu noted that China had to learn much from India's experience in high-tech fields such as software.

China criticises India's charge of army build-up

BEIJING: China has reacted sharply to India's charge of a Chinese military build-up and termed as 'irresponsible' New Delhi's objection to the 'normal' military cooperation between Beijing and Islamabad.

Asked to comment on the ministry of defence's annual report for the year 2000-2001, released last Thursday, a Chinese foreign ministry spokesman said, "Attempting to seek an excuse to develop the military is not wise. Secondly, the Chinese stand on the Indian nuclear issue is known to all. Moreover, the China-Pakistan military cooperation is normal." (PTI)

THE TIMES OF INDIA

4 10 2001

Indian MPs in China on a 'learning' trip

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BEIJING, JULY 1. A high-profile team of parliamentarians, trade union leaders and industrialists, led by the Deputy Chairperson of the Rajya Sabha, Ms. Najma Heptulla, arrived here today for a week-long visit to take a close look at China's bold reforms, economic turnaround and assess business opportunities for India.

The visit, at the invitation of the senior Chinese leader and National People's Congress chairman, Mr. Li Peng, is expected to further improve the bilateral, political and business relationship, official sources said.

"The visit will enable the MPs, trade union leaders and businessmen have a better perspective of China at a time when there are a number of rumours in India about

China's competitiveness and manufacturing capabilities," an official said. The visit also comes at a time when the bilateral trade is surging and Indian exports are growing at a faster pace than Chinese exports to India. During her stay in Beijing, Ms. Heptulla, who is also the president of the Inter-Parliamentary Union, will meet Mr. Li, and the Prime Minister, Mr. Zhu Rongji.

In Beijing, the delegation will split into two groups. The MPs will visit Urumqi, capital of the north-west Xinjiang province, where the native Uygur Muslims form the majority. The oil rich province is fast developing into a major business centre. Later, they will travel to the booming east China metropolis of Shanghai to witness its transformation. — PTI

Progress on LAC clarification

By Atul Aneja

NEW DELHI, JUNE 29. India and China have made considerable progress in narrowing down their differences in determining the alignment of a 545-km. border stretch and have constituted an eminent persons group which will draw up a road map for improving ties.

Experts from India and China, during the two-day meeting here, tried to determine the alignment of part of the Line of Actual Control (LAC), which straddles Himachal Pradesh and Uttaranchal. While the maps stating individual positions on the LAC alignment were exchanged in November last, experts from the two sides this time sought to reconcile their differences. "The process of reconciliation proceeded very well," the Foreign Office spokesperson said.

Highly placed Government sources, however, said the LAC clarification did not mean any agreement on the boundary question. The prime purpose was to ensure that "peace and tranquillity" prevailed along the border. Once the LAC is jointly determined and fixed, it will become the basis for the removal of troops and equipment from the border

area to mutually acceptable destinations on either side. The progress in the middle sector is, therefore, meant to render stability to part of the Sino-Indian border after an interim boundary has been jointly determined.

After nine rounds of discussions, both sides are now imparting a sense of urgency to defining the LAC. The expert group is now expected to meet within the next six months. This meeting is likely to be preceded by talks by the Sino-Indian Joint Working Group (JWG). The External Affairs Minister, Mr. Jaswant Singh, has said India is intent on concluding the clarification of the LAC by December. After determining the LAC in the middle sector, the two sides are expected to align their perceptions in the western and eastern sectors as well.

The LAC clarification in the western sector is expected to be more difficult as the area under consideration is much larger than the middle sector. The altitudes in this area are also high. But since this zone — designated sub-sector north by India — is part of the Tibetan plateau, large portions of it are flat.

While progress on the LAC clarification proceeds, sources say

both sides are also engaging each other on the political track. The key to the normalisation of bilateral ties may lie with Tawang in Arunachal Pradesh. The Chinese in the past, have apparently produced records to show that they have traditionally exercised administrative control over Tawang. If India can show flexibility over Tawang, China is likely to relent to Indian perceptions along the rest of the boundary with minor modifications. India, however, has made considerable investments in building defences and an administrative architecture in the Tawang area.

The meeting also constituted a eminent persons group to look at all aspects of the bilateral relations. This group from the Chinese side will be headed by Mr. Liu Shuqiang, a former Vice-Foreign Minister. The 14-member Indian group will be headed by Mr. R.L. Bhatia, a former Minister of State for External Affairs. It will include Mr. Narayanmurthy of Infosys, Dr. R.K. Pachauri of the Tata Energy Research Institute (TERI), Mr. Rajesh Shah, who formerly headed the Confederation of Indian Industry, and the former Ambassador to China, Mr. Chandrashekhar Dasgupta.

India, China discuss border alignment

By Our Special Correspondent

NEW DELHI, JUNE 28. Experts from India and China today held their ninth round of discussions to clarify key portions of the 4,060-km. Sino-Indian border.

The two sides are currently focussed on clarifying the around 600 km. middle sector of the Line of Actual Control (LAC), having already exchanged maps detailing their perception of the boundary in this sector. Highly-placed sources in the Government say the differences between the two sides on the border alignment in this area are minimal and have been further narrowed down during the discussions.

India is keen on quickly clarifying the LAC along the entire border. In fact, the External Affairs Minister, Mr. Jaswant Singh, wrote to his Chinese counterpart saying the process of the LAC clarification should be concluded by December 2001. Both sides, however, are yet to address LAC clarification in the Ladakh area, described by India as sub-sector north.

Sources said that the LAC clar-

ification among experts was only one part of a larger Sino-Indian dialogue. The Chinese, in fact, have hinted at a "political settlement" of the boundary issue. Chinese scholars have said Beijing might be inclined to a "political deal" revolving round Tawang in Arunachal Pradesh. China, in fact, is in possession of historical records of exercising administrative control only in the Tawang area.

The process of LAC clarification by a Sino-Indian expert group is the result of the September, 1993 peace and tranquility accord, signed during the visit to China by the former Prime Minister, Mr. P.V. Narasimha Rao. Both sides subsequently signed a confidence-building measure agreement during the visit to India by the Chinese President, Mr. Jiang Zemin in 1996.

The Chinese delegation to the talks was led by Mr. Sun Gougang, Deputy Director-General in the Asia department of the Chinese Foreign Ministry, while the Indian team was headed by Mr. Vijay Gokhale, Director in the East Asia division of the External Affairs Ministry.

THE HINDU

DELHI

New Chinese Ambassador

to India

BEIJING, JUNE 22. China has named a career diplomat, Mr. Hua Qunduo, as the new Ambassador to India. Mr. Hua will replace Mr. Zhou Gang, who was appointed in 1998. Though Mr. Hua's appointment had been cleared sometime back, Mr. Zhou was asked to continue in order to handle the "official goodwill visit" of the senior Chinese leader and the chairman of the National People's Congress (NPC), Mr. Li Peng, in January this year, official sources said.

Mr. Hua is expected to leave for India next month to take up his new post, official sources said. Mr. Hua was earlier Chinese Ambassador in Fiji and concurrently to Vanuatu and Kiribati. — PTI

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Anti-dumping cases affecting bilateral trade: China

PRESS TRUST OF INDIA

NEW DELHI, June 18. — China today warned that a growing number of anti-dumping cases initiated by India were hampering the healthy bilateral trade relations, but the Centre justified its actions saying they were “non-discriminatory” and based on merit.

“The healthy bilateral trade relations between the two countries was being hampered by the increase in the number of anti-dumping cases against it,” a high-level trade delegation from China told the commerce ministry officials here.

The ten-member delegation, led by the Deputy Director-General of the department of treaty and laws under the ministry of foreign trade and economic cooperation, Mr Shang Ming, met the Director-General of Anti-dumping and Allied Duties, Mr L V Saptarishi, to discuss the large number of anti-dumping cases initiated by India against the country.

The Indian government has initiated 42 cases

against China out of a total of 90 cases investigated so far.

The delegation appreciated the effectiveness of India's anti-dumping mechanism in terms of reduced time in conducting investigations and recommending provisional duties.

However, the high level team also raised objections over the large number of cases initiated against it.

The Indian side clarified its stand and said that the anti-dumping mechanism was not targeted against any single country but was based on evidence of dumping of goods by a country's exporters.

Meanwhile, the anti-dumping authority has recommended an anti-dumping duty of \$213.37 per MT on all imports of strontium carbonate from China.

The Directorate General of Anti-dumping and Allied Duties, under the commerce ministry, on the basis of a petition filed by TCM Ltd, had initiated an investigation for the period April-March 1999-2000.

THE STATISTICAL

Sino-Indian panel to air views on LAC

BEIJING: A crucial meeting of the India-China Expert Group (EG) on the boundary issue, scheduled for this month, is likely to compare maps of both sides and exchange views on the 545-km 'Middle Sector' on the Line of Actual Control (LAC), official sources here said.

India and China had for the first time exchanged detailed maps of the less disputed 'Middle Sector' of

'Musharraf perverting justice'

The Times of India News Service

LONDON: In a hasty first reaction to news that a Pakistani court had sentenced former prime minister Benazir Bhutto to three years in prison for failing to appear before it, Ms Bhutto's spokesman here said the military regime was perverting justice and displaying a marked anti-Sindhi ethnic bias.

The spokesman, who told *The Times of India* that Ms Bhutto heard the news while in Dubai where she spends part of her time, said she was utterly unsurprised. "They can do anything. They want

to get her. No notice had been served on Bhutto to appear before the court in person or through her counsel in accordance with the recognised principles of law requiring the serving of notice on non-resident respondents through rogatory letters," he said.

He criticised General Musharraf's regime as "brutal and repressive" and said it was displaying a marked ethnic bias by "allowing a convicted prime minister from Punjab to slip into exile and chasing a prime minister from Sindh into political wilderness."

INDIAN NATIONAL SCIENCE ACADEMY

Bahadur Shah Zafar Marg, New Delhi 110 002

INSA MEDAL FOR YOUNG SCIENTIST FOR YEAR 2002 CALL FOR NOMINATIONS

Since 1974, the Academy has instituted INSA Medal for Young Scientist with the aim of recognizing young scientists of extraordinary promise and creativity who have made notable research contributions in Science and Technology. This award, considered to be the highest recognition of promise, creativity and excellence by a young scientist, is made annually to those distinguished for these attributes as evidenced by their research work carried out in India. Only those born on or after January 1, 1970 are eligible for consideration in the year 2002.

The awardee shall receive a certificate, a bronze medal, Rs. 25,000/- cash award and incentives in research work and further overseas training.

A candidate may be proposed by a Fellow of the Indian National Science Academy or by earlier recipients of this award. Scientific societies of national standing, university / research institution faculty may also make nominations of eligible candidates.

The last date, for receiving nominations in Academy is, October 15, 2001.

Nomination proforma can be obtained from Assistant Executive Secretary (Council) at above mentioned address of the Academy by sending a self addressed envelope of 25cm X 12cm size. This information-cum-nomination format is also available on the internet at our web-site; <http://www.insa-india.org> dayp 1276 (1) 2001

MINISTRY OF TRIBAL AFFAIRS

INVITATION FOR RESEARCH PROPOSALS FROM REPUTED ORGANIZATIONS/ UNIVERSITIES FOR UNDERTAKING RESEARCH/EVALUATION PROJECTS ON MATTERS PERTAINING TO TRIBAL DEVELOPMENT.

Ministry of Tribal Affairs invites proposals from reputed Organisations/Universities having requisite experience in undertaking research projects in the field of social sciences under the scheme of "Research & Training".

The proposal should be in the prescribed format which is available from Shastri Bhavan on request. Only reputed Organisations / Universities having qualified personnel to undertake research projects as Principal Investigator should submit proposals.

The indicated area of research are :-

1. Evaluation of areas specific programmes under Tribal Sub Plan
2. Evaluation of areas specific programmes under various schemes of the Ministry of Tribal Affairs.

The proposal should indicate the methodology, sample etc. It should be submitted by 15th August, 2001. The format of the proposals can be obtained from Shri P.L. Yadav, Deputy Director (TA), Ministry of Tribal Affairs, Room No. 217-C, "D" Wing, 2nd Floor, Shastri Bhavan, New Delhi-110001.

dayp 2001/76

India's 'perceived threat' under fire in Beijing

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By Amit Baruah

SINGAPORE, JUNE 11. China's continuing irritation at the comments contained in the Indian Defence Ministry's annual report have been reflected in comments published in the country's leading newspapers.

The China Daily, in an editorial today, said the "hard-won friendship" between the two nations "should be cherished, not abused".

"An annual report released by the Defence Ministry on May 31 may worry peace-lovers in India and China. It says that all major cities in India are within the range of Chinese missiles. From that it concludes that India should not only keep reliable nuclear deterrents but also develop sophisticated weapons systems," the paper said.

"It is nothing new that India should use the excuse of a fabricated China threat to expand its military might. India astonished the world in May 1998 when it conducted five nuclear tests on the grounds that it had to counter a China threat," the editorial said.

Since 1999, the two countries had managed to improve their

"previously strained ties", reflected in the visits by the President, Mr. K. R. Narayanan, and the Chinese leader, Mr. Li Peng. "...Both Mr. Narayanan and the Defence Minister, Mr. Jaswant Singh, have said India and China should not threaten each other. But they are now betrayed by the Defence Ministry's report. The latest edition of the China threat in the report makes India's attitude to China look equivocal," it added.

Earlier, the *People's Daily* made similar comments in its editorial on June 7. "In recent years India has time and again tried its utmost to expand its military strength under the pretext of the so-called China threat. In May 1998, the Defence Minister, Mr. George Fernandes, made a big fuss about the theory of China threat, immediately thereafter India conducted five nuclear tests in a stretch."

"Currently, although Mr. Fernandes has stepped down, some people in the Defence Ministry, however, are playing the old trick again. This line of action is not only unwise, but also irresponsible," the paper said.

"China and India are neighbours, under today's world situa-

tion, steadily improving and developing bilateral relations fully conforms to the fundamental interests of the Chinese and Indian people. Certain people in the Indian Defence Ministry should not make irresponsible remarks and do things harmful to the relations between the two countries. Currently, the relationship between China and India is good, Government departments and peoples of the two countries should cherish an treasure this hard-won situation."

That the Chinese have harked back to Mr. Fernandes' comments before the Pokhran nuclear tests of May 1998 is a sufficient indicator that the comments contained in the Defence Ministry's annual report have been perceived as provocative.

Both newspapers also referred to the fact that there had been substantial progress in resolving the boundary issue between the two countries. The point being made appears to be that notwithstanding the high-level visits and the ostensible progress on the boundary issue, New Delhi has gone ahead and made "objectionable" remarks.

THE HINDU

11 JUN 2001

CHINESE CHECKERS

9/16 Has to be played poker-faced 5/1-6

THERE is no need to go ballistic over China's outburst over the defence ministry's annual report declaring that every major Indian city is within range of the missile-stockpile of the People's Army, and that Beijing continues to transfer military technology to Islamabad. The reaction was only in keeping with the Chinese style of doing things. What the report stated was nothing unknown to the strategic community, that despite the peace and tranquillity on the frontier and some marginal progress in resolving the boundary dispute, the potential threat cannot be glossed over. That it had the spine to do so could be traced to the climate created by George Fernandes. For far too long had India deemed it politic to keep silent, live in a state of nuclear inequality even as China's military supplies to Pakistan facilitated the latter's raising the ante in Jammu and Kashmir.

If the end of the Cold War changed strategic equations it is most manifest in the way major players do not allow serious differences in one sphere to become stumbling blocks in another. Since India now aspires to being a genuine entity in the global sphere, it will have to learn to follow suit, present the ground realities, ride the counter-punch. That the external affairs ministry did not get provoked into a retaliatory war of words is indicative of some lessons having been learnt. India's opening up on the Chinese front might cause some anxiety among politicians accustomed to the silence on repeated incursions into what India maintains is its side of the Line of Actual Control, the supply of M-11 missiles to Pakistan, and nuclear technology too — albeit routed through North Korea. Yet as a country India should not allow itself to be perturbed over occasional uncomplimentary statements from Beijing's foreign office. It should seek to emulate the US-China situation, differences in the security arena and American investment in China going hand in hand. There are issues which cannot be brushed under the proverbial carpet, but the engagement across the board will call for a certain finesse.

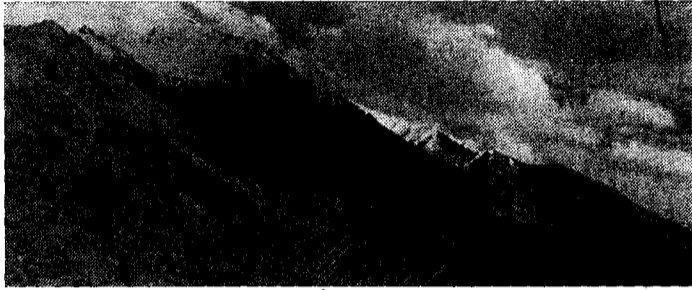
Chinese make inroads into Ladakh area

SRINJOY CHOWDHURY
STATESMAN NEWS SERVICE

NEW DELHI, June 4. — The Chinese army has begun building roads south of the Pangong Lake in the Ladakh area.

The construction work had begun this summer, Army officials said. The Chinese have already built roads to the north of the disputed lake, technically in Indian territory. The Line of Actual Control roughly divides the V-shaped lake east of Leh, but Army officials said the Chinese had different perceptions and believed the LAC to be much further to the west. As a result, they strayed into Indian territory during summer months. The Chinese took over a large part of the Aksai Chin sector of Jammu and Kashmir during the 1962 Indo-Chinese war, moving west into the Pangong Lake area.

The Chinese, sources said, had four battalions or about 3,500 soldiers in the area, a force that was not likely to start hostilities. On the Indian side is the 3 Division, a part of the newly created 14 Corps. The division based in Karu, just south of Leh, has a reinforced brigade of 10 to 11 battalions in the Siachen Glacier against the Pakistani



A file photograph of Ladakh mountains

forces, a strong brigade in Tangtse, just north-west of the lake and another in reserve.

Apart from the Pangong Lake area, India and China have serious differences about the LAC in eastern J&K. For instance, the Chinese believe the LAC is south of the Samar Lungpa, a stream. The Indian security forces operate north of the line the Chinese claim to be the border. They usually stay south of the Lungpa. This area is near the Karakoram Pass and the Chipchap river.

The Chinese also believe that part of the Trig Heights Points 5495 and 5459 are partly Chinese territory. They have named Point 5459 Manshen Hill. There is also a difference of opinion over the Depsang Ridge area, south of the Trig Heights. India and China disagree over

territory in the area between the Galwan river and the Kongka Pass with India claiming that LAC runs along the eastern hot spring area and the Chinese saying it runs along the western hot spring.

In Chushul, west of the Pangong Lake, the Chinese say the LAC is to the west of India Gate, a temporary monument built to repatriate Indian soldiers taken prisoners by the Chinese in 1962. India disagrees, saying the LAC is to the east.

Rezang La, east of Chushul, should be Chinese territory, China believes. India disagrees, saying that serious battles were fought over the area in 1962. There are similar disagreements about the Demchok area. The two countries also disagree about the LAC in the central and the eastern sectors.

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'Assessment of build-up in China correct'

By Our Special Correspondent

NEW DELHI, JUNE 4. India has rejected China's sharp reaction to its concerns of a military build-up by Beijing, saying it was a "well considered assessment" of the Defence Ministry.

On being asked about China's strong reaction to the Defence Ministry's annual report, an External Affairs Ministry spokesman told presspersons here today that "the assessment of the Ministry of Defence, or any other Ministry, is very well-considered."

Beijing had termed as 'irresponsible' India's objection to 'normal' military cooperation between China and Pakistan. The Defence Ministry's annual report had pointed out that China was working towards the goal of achieving the 'superpower' status in the new millennium and rapidly modernising its armed forces.

"Every major Indian city is within the reach of the Chinese missiles and it is reported that this capability is being further augmented to include submarine launched ballistic missiles (SLBMs)," the Ministry report had said. "The asymmetry in terms of nuclear forces is strongly in favour of China which additionally has helped Pakistan to build missile and nuclear capability," the report had added.

Agni: China paying 'close attention'

BEIJING, JUNE 3. China has reacted sharply to India's charge of a Chinese military build-up and termed as "irresponsible" New Delhi's objection to the "normal" military cooperation between Beijing and Islamabad.

Asked to comment on the annual Defence Ministry report for 2000-2001 released last Thursday, the Foreign Ministry spokesman, Mr. Zhu Bangzao, offered a three-part answer.

"Attempting to seek an excuse to develop the military is not wise. Secondly, the Chinese stand on the Indian nuclear issue is known to all," Mr. Zhu said referring to India's May 1998 nuclear tests. Moreover, the China-Pakistan

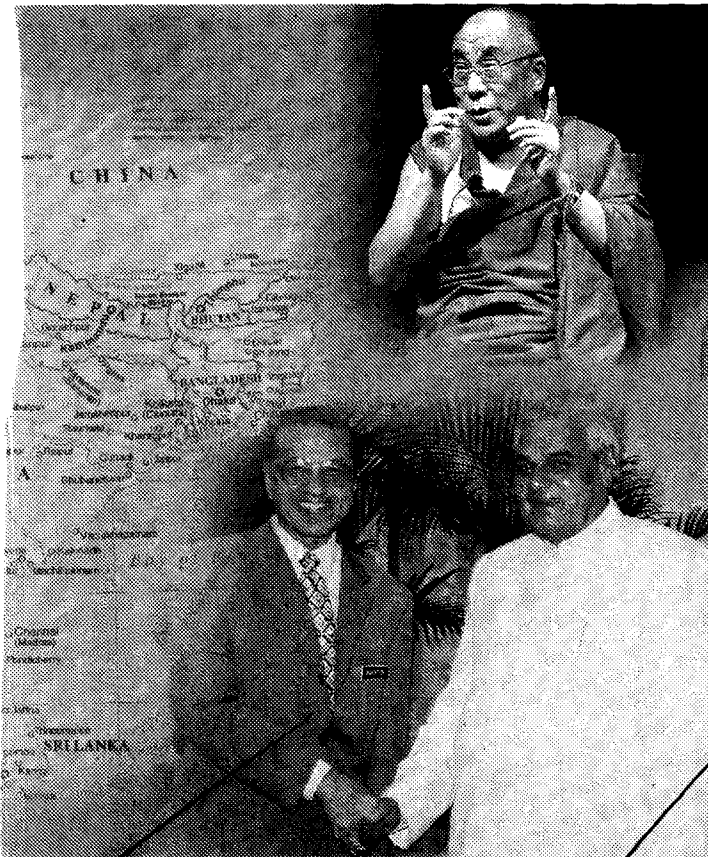
India-China
military cooperation was "normal", he added.

"For no reason finding fault is irresponsible," the spokesman said referring to repeated statements from the Chinese leadership that Sino-Pakistani military cooperation did not violate Beijing's commitments to the international community. The MoD annual report had said that China was working towards the goal of achieving "superpower" status in the new millennium and rapidly modernising its armed forces.

"Every major Indian city is within reach of Chinese missiles and it is reported that this capability is being further augmented to in-

40-1
clude submarine-launched ballistic missiles," the report said. "The asymmetry in terms of nuclear forces is strongly in favour of China which additionally has helped Pakistan to build missile and nuclear capability."

4/6
On the Defence Minister, Mr. Jaswant Singh's statement that the Indian Government had approved the development of "longer range" missiles under the Agni project and that the 2,000 km-range Agni-II missile was operational and planned for induction during 2001-2002, the spokesman said China was paying "close attention" to India's decision. — PTI



Graphics by Varghese Kallada

Allies are forever

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“AN ENEMY’S enemy is a friend.” The Sino-Pakistan relationship of 50 years could have best reflected the saying if it was just centered on their common ‘enmity’ for India. But it is no more so simple.

Diplomatic relations between Islamabad and Beijing have defied the rules of the international power games. Pakistan and China, who have come to be counted among the closest of allies, are poles apart in every conceivable context.

They do not share a common history, language, culture or religion. They have followed diametrically opposite models of economic and political development. And yet their friendship in the last five decades has grown from weakness to strength.

For proof, one only had to go to Islamabad last week when the Chinese Prime Minister, Mr. Zhu Rongji, was

Can the Pakistan-China all-weather friendship endure in the post-Cold War era?
B. Muralidhar Reddy examines the issues involved.

on a four-day official visit. The military establishment was ecstatic. The joys of entertaining the Chinese guest were not, however, confined to the ruling class alone.

There was a flood of people on to the streets as Mr. Zhu landed in Lahore for a day-long visit to the historic city. The bonhomie was too good to be true.

What explains it all? What needs have they fulfilled in each other’s case? What role would each like the other to play now? Can what is

popularly described as an all-weather friendship endure the post-cold War era?

These were the questions that dominated the debate in the columns of the Pakistani press even as the leaders on both sides raised toast after toast to Sino-Pakistan relations.

The harsh conclusion of a majority of the commentaries was that for the ties to endure and grow, Pakistan would have to come out of a time-warp. It would have to re-orient its domestic economic, political and social policies in tune with the changing realities all around.

Pakistan would have to address some of the serious concerns of China. The Taliban regime with its zeal for exporting ‘jihad’ has emerged as China’s biggest bother in the region.

As is its wont, China chose not to directly raise the issue with the Musharraf regime during Mr. Zhu’s visit. Conscious of the Chinese concerns on this count, Gen. Pervez Muzharraf on his own chose to offer an explanation on the nature of Pakistan’s relationship with the Taliban during his one-to-one talks with the Chinese Premier.

Prof. Khalid Mahmud, Research Analyst, Institute of Regional Studies, explained that ‘Beijing’s decision to join the ‘Shanghai Five’, along with Russia and three Central Asian states, was a veritable indicator of China’s alarm over the rise of militant religious fundamentalism in Afghanistan.

“The Chinese make no bones about pronouncing the Taliban promoters of ‘terrorism’ in the region, more so in the wake of their charge that secessionist elements from China’s predominantly Muslim province of Xinjiang were being trained in camps in Afghanistan.

Besides the Taliban factor, the other major issue that should trouble Pakistan are some shifts in China’s foreign policy particularly in the context of India.

In the post-Mao phase, Beijing’s focus has been on matters economic and its initiatives to extend a hand of friendship to New Delhi have not gone unnoticed in Islamabad.

This has led to a situation

where the ‘common enemy factor’ (India) may no longer hold complete sway. In fact, the consistent advice of China to Pakistan in the past few years has been to put contentious issues such as Kashmir on the backburner and move on to explore areas of cooperation.

This was evident during Mr. Zhu’s stay in Islamabad too. He did endorse Pakistan’s view on the Kashmir dispute but was not willing to sing the song of implementation of U.N. Resolutions on plebiscite.

There was a time when China fully echoed Pakistan’s sentiments on Kashmir. But that is now past.

China’s opposition to the emergence of the United States as the sole superpower is another major area of discomfort to Pakistan.

Islamabad can no doubt count on Beijing as its strongest supporter, but its economic survival is tied to the goodwill of international financial agencies such as the IMF and the World Bank. And help from the U.S. and its allies have traditionally sustained Pakistan’s Defence establishment.

As things stand, Pakistan is simply not in a position to cut off its links with the U.S. and its western allies. The Musharraf regime’s dilemma on this count was evident in its hesitation on the National Missile Defence programme front.

To begin with, Gen. Musharraf was in no mood to denounce the proposed new missile defence shield of the Bush Administration. He chose to criticise the plan perhaps on prompting from the visiting dignitary.

But two days after Mr. Zhu left Pakistan, the military establishment promptly issued a clarification saying that the comments made by Gen. Musharraf on the missile and nuclear race had nothing to do with the NMD plan!

These are just a few examples of the irritants in Sino-Pakistan relations today.

Unless Islamabad is prepared to recognise these realities and re-adjust its domestic and foreign policy, it may lose much of its value to Beijing.

India, China to hold joint 3-day naval exercises

Vishal Thapar
New Delhi, May 22

AFTER SNUBBING India by skipping the International Fleet Review (IFR) at Mumbai in February this year, the Chinese are now coming. Two Chinese naval ships -- Harbin, a Luh class destroyer, and Tailing, a Fuqing class replenishment ship -- are arriving in Mumbai on May 25 to engage the Indian Navy in a three-day 'pasex' exercise.

Analysts consider this significant in the strategic context of developing military contacts between the two countries. The Indian Air Force (IAF) Chief, Air Chief Marshal AY Tipnis, is already in China on a week-long visit.

Tipnis is the first IAF chief to visit China in the 51 years of Sino-Indian diplomatic ties.

The Chinese warships will be commanded by RA Zhang Yan, Deputy Commander of the North Sea Fleet headquartered at Qingdao. This will be the first port of call by Chinese ships in Indian waters since 1994, the only time they've been to India.

Assistant Chief of Naval Operations Rear Admiral Bangara described it as a "goodwill visit", and said details of the joint naval exercise were being discussed.

Rear Admiral Bangara played down the Chinese rebuff to the Fleet Review at Mumbai. "The forthcoming visit and exercises had been planned earlier, and the Chinese could not organise two visits in a year to be able to attend the IFR," he reasoned.

But the Chinese absence at the IFR, which was attended by all the major military powers of the world including the USA, Britain, Russia and France, was widely interpreted as a reluctance to openly endorse India's military relevance in the region.

Having made that political point, China is now picking up the threads from the successful visit of Indian destroyer, INS Delhi, and INS Kora, a corvette, to Shanghai last year.

Experts see in this as a desire to arrive at a degree of strategic stability among the neighbouring nuclear powers. The navy is the first rung of strategic capability of a nation, giving it legitimate trans-border military reach.

THE HINDUSTAN TIMES

23 MAY 2001

China takes another brick off the wall, invites Kanchi seer for tour

JYOTI MALHOTRA
NEW DELHI, MAY 21

CHINA and India are expected to take a great leap forward in their relationship, with Beijing inviting the Shankaracharya of Kanchi, Sri Jayendra Saraswati, on a tour of China in October this year.

The Shankaracharya is among a handful of major religious leaders worldwide who have ever been invited by China, on a red carpet journey that will take him and his 15-member team across the old cities of Beijing, Shanghai and Hangzhou.

The Shankaracharya's trip is being described as a "civilisational journey", in the manner of the ancient travellers who travelled from India to the Middle Kingdom and back. But it will add an interesting dimension to modern-day con-



Jiang Zemin, Shankaracharya



tacts between the two Asian giants, who at the best of times seem to regard each other as competitors.

Clearly, the Shankaracharya's trip from October 10-17 is also an attempt to break the mistrust between the two countries. The fact that the invitation comes from the China Association of International Friendly Contact (CAIFC) in Beijing — all "autonomous" and "independent" bodies in China are linked to the government — whose president is the former Chinese foreign minister Huang Hua, makes it even more significant.

Beijing, in fact, seems to be rolling out the red carpet with deliberate intent. Jayendra Saraswati will meet Li Peng, the second most important leader in all China, as well as Chinese premier Zhu Rongji in Beijing, as well as Buddhist and Taoist leaders (both groups are native to China), in Shanghai.

Significantly, during the week the Shankaracharya visits China, Beijing will also throw open the gates of the formerly forbidden city to Hindu devotees from the rest of the world, Kanchi sources said.

The political importance of the journey has not escaped New Delhi, although diplomats did not wish to comment. For example, the Beijing-Shanghai-Hangzhou trip is the same route that was given to former US president

CONTINUED ON PAGE 2

China takes another brick off the wall, invites Kanchi seer for a tour

Richard Nixon when he made his pathbreaking visit to China in 1972.

Analysts said Beijing has been "under siege" for some years now, with the banned Falun Gong sect gathering worshippers across the country and the West pressurising China to allow more religious freedom.

By letting in the Shankaracharya, analysts said, the Chinese seem to be sending many messages at the same time.

First, that the people of India must be engaged at many levels, not only political.

Second, Hinduism is certainly no threat to sects like the Falun Gong. And third, as China opens up slowly, "Western nations, along with their cultural motifs, must back off."

The Kanchi group, comprising of the pontiff's close aides Venkateshwaran, Rajaram, M D Nalapat, Sundar and R. Sarathy, who visited Beijing in end-April to finalise details, said they were "very pleasantly surprised" at the extremely warm reception they received.

They said they were able to wrap up both major details as

well as the finer points of the trip in a matter of weeks.

The Catholic Pope, they pointed out, has been trying to go to China or even Hong Kong for the last 17-odd years, but Beijing has steadfastly refused to give him a visa.

On the other hand, the letter formally delivered by CAIFC emissaries to Kanchipuram a few days ago, is extremely warm in tone, inviting "Your Holiness" to visit China as "distinguished guests of the Chinese people as well as goodwill ambassadors of our great neighbour India with which China has a history of thousands (of) years of friendly exchanges."

Interestingly, it is the small details that seemed to have warmed the cockles of the Shankaracharya camp, such as the fact that the pontiff will be able to carry his personal cook with him along with the special rice that he eats.

And though the vegetables will be provided by the Chinese side, water will come straight from a borewell in the earth and not from a tap in the wall.

INDIAN EXPRESS

MAY 2001

Beijing hopes NMD move won't hit ties

BY OUR CORRESPONDENT

New Delhi, May 19: China on Saturday hoped that India's endorsement of the US strategic plan would not hurt bilateral relations between New Delhi and Beijing.

The Chinese ambassador in New Delhi, Mr Zhou Gong, who released Janata Party president Subramaniam Swamy's book on Indo-China relations, told reporters here that New Delhi and Beijing should have close cooperation on bilateral and international issues.

"China and India are close neighbours and facing the same threats of terrorism and poverty. The two also share similar views on many issues including cross-border terrorism, WTO and environment. We must coordinate and continue cooperation on international issues, seek common ground while preserving differences and properly handle issues including border disputes left over from history," he said after releasing the book.

Mr Subramaniam Swamy's book, *India's China Perspective*, was released in the presence of former foreign secretary Salman Haider, and journalists N. Ram and M.D. Nalapat. The book severely criticised India's Tibet policy as the author claimed that it was essential in India's strategic interest to befriend China. In his book, Mr Swamy said that India's strategic goal is to disrupt the Sino-Pak axis.

Mr Swamy's observation about Tibet was endorsed by Mr N. Ram and Mr Nalapat, who said that India should ask Dalai Lama to go back.

China under attack over Tibet spy case

BY RAJEEV KHANNA

New Delhi, May 19: Dharamshala-based Central Tibetan Administration has attacked the Chinese authorities for propagating through its official media that two Tibetans have been nabbed, one aiming to immolate himself in Lhasa and the other aiming to shoot the act on video and that they are "spies" sent by the Dalai Lama.

According to the spokesperson of the administration, Mr Thubten Samphel, "This story is totally false. It is a tactic to distract international attention away from the real issues of Tibetan tragedy. To send two people to Tibet to set themselves on fire is against the principles of Tibetan Buddhism which considers taking a life, especially one's life, as a grave negative act."

"Since the Chinese government has made this accusation, it is the responsibility of the Chinese authorities to prove the veracity of their accusation. They can only do this by giving these two Tibetans, a fair and free retrial, without fear of favour, so that the international community can get to the bottom of this strange accusation. Also the international media must be given unfettered access to these two Tibetans," he added.

THE ASIAN AGE

20 MAY 2001

'India, China must clear misunderstanding'

By Our Staff Reporter

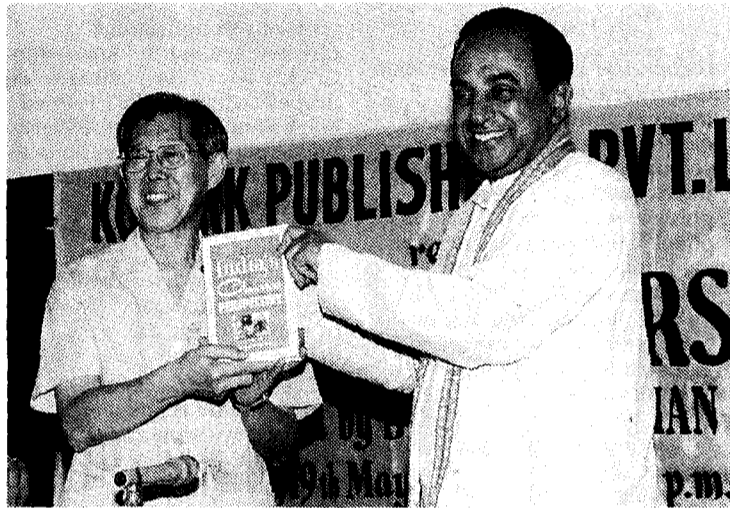
NEW DELHI, MAY 19 — India's "ambivalent" policy on Tibet came in for severe criticism at a discussion that followed the release of the Janata Party president, Dr. Subramanian Swamy's book *India's China Perspective* here today.

While the Chinese Ambassador, Mr. Zhou Gang, maintained diplomatic silence on the Tibetan issue in his address, during which he reiterated his country's commitment to Panchsheel, two of the three Indian discussants agreed with Dr. Swamy's contention that Tibet and not border disputes was at the core of the sensitive Sino-Indian relations.

Mr. Zhou Gang said cooperation between India and China — two biggest developing countries of the world — would not only help peace and stability in Asia but in the world. Stating that it was good to have Sino-Indian relations back on track, he stressed the need for sorting out border disputes bequeathed by history and removing misunderstandings.

Later, to a specific question on the National Missile Defence system proposed by the U.S., Mr. Zhou Gang said China was opposed to it because it "promotes strategic imbalance, hegemony and domination of world politics". Further, in his opinion, India and China — which share many commonalities — should cooperate with each other for the common good.

While the NMD did come up for discussion, it was India's stance on Tibet that dominated the discourse despite the fact that Dr. Swamy mentioned the other theme of his book along with the Tibetan issue: the strategic alliance between China and Pakistan. Agreeing with Dr. Swamy that India should ally with China — a country with which India has had



The Chinese Ambassador to India, Mr. Zhou Gang, releasing Dr. Subramanian Swamy's book 'India's China Perspective' at a function in New Delhi on Saturday. — PTI

a long history of good relations, save for the tension of the 20th Century — rather than join the effort to contain it, the former Foreign Secretary, Mr. Salman Haider, joined issue with the Janata Party president.

Accusing Dr. Swamy of joining the Nehru-bashers, Mr. Haider suggested that it was unfair to put the entire blame for the stalemate on the Tibetan question at Nehru's doorstep. "There has been a policy failure on the part of both India and China in handling this problem."

'Rein in Dalai Lama'

Holding that India has had to pay a hefty price for its ambivalent Tibetan policy, the Editor of *Frontline*, Mr. N. Ram, emphasised the need to rein in the Dalai Lama given the activities of the Tibetan government-in-exile to carve out a separate entity for Tibet. Drawing attention to the contradiction in India's recognition of Tibet as an autonomous region of China while allowing the Tibe-

tan government-in-exile to work for a separate Tibet from Indian soil, he said this had harmed India's strategic interests.

Mr. Ram was also critical of the Government's "harebrained" decision to welcome the NMD which is widely recognised as a threat to world peace. Differing with Mr. Ram on this, Mr. Monu Nalapat, journalist and president of the UNESCO Peace Chair at Manipal University, said that since India was not allowed a place within the NPT regime, the possibility of being allowed into an NMD regime was an incentive. "It is better to be in NMD than out of NPT."

On Tibet, Mr. Nalapat said it was time India took a rational geopolitical view of the losses and gains of the Tibetan policy. Agreeing with Mr. Ram, he said India has been very indulgent towards the Tibetan people and is paying a "geopolitical" price for it, straining relations with natural ally China with whom "we make very unnatural enemies".

India, China for 'pragmatism'

BY OUR CORRESPONDENT

New Delhi, May 17: India on Thursday discussed with China its links with the US on the controversial strategic framework outlined by President George W. Bush.

The two sides also underlined the need to resolve all outstanding issues to bolster bilateral relations, as visiting top-ranking Chinese politburo member Li Changchun said both sides should adopt a "pragmatic and responsible" approach to resolve their differences.

External affairs minister Jaswant Singh held extensive dialogue with the Chinese politburo member here on a number of regional and bilateral issues. At the centre of talks was the New Delhi visit of US deputy secretary of state Richard Armitage.

Mr Jaswant Singh briefed the Chinese leader about Mr Armitage's visit and India's position on the strategic framework, which includes the controversial Nuclear Missile Defence programme.

China, whose relations with the United States are passing through a tough phase, has vehemently



TALKING HEADS: External affairs and defence minister Jaswant Singh meets top-ranking Chinese Politburo member Li Changchun in New Delhi on Thursday. (Saab Press)

opposed the US policy framework. India, on the other hand, has stood firmly behind the US on the issue. According to some analysts, the growing proximity between the US and India was targeted against the growing influence of China in the region. India had discussed the US strategic plan with Chinese ambassador in New Delhi H. Gong.

His visit comes close on the heels of the visit of Russian foreign minister Igor Ivanov. New Delhi and Russia have already shared views on the US proposal.

Mr Changchun, who is the second important Chinese leader to visit New Delhi in last four months, arrived in New Delhi on Thursday after a stopover in Mumbai, Hyderabad and Agra. Former Chinese Prime Minister Li Peng had visited India in January this year. Apart from being a member of the politburo, Mr Changchun is also the secretary of the Guangdong provincial committee. India has attached great importance to Mr Changchun's visit, who is here on the invitation of Mr Jaswant Singh.

THE ASIAN AGE

18 MAY 2001

India-China talks to clear NMD cloud

STATESMAN NEWS SERVICE

NEW DELHI, May 17. — India and China today agreed to adopt a "pragmatic and responsible attitude" for a "mutually acceptable solution" to outstanding bilateral issues.

In the midst of the controversy over the US missile defence

system of which China has been extremely critical and India welcoming, the two countries felt that further development of relations as well as "settlement of outstanding issues of mutual concern" would be beneficial to "peace and stability in the region".

During a meeting with Mr Li Chang-chung, a senior Politburo member of the

Chinese Communist Party and secretary of Gangdong province, the external affairs minister, Mr Jaswant Singh, and other senior officials briefed the Chinese team about India's viewpoint on the missile defence system.

However, the foreign office was silent on how the Chinese reacted to India's stand.

"The visit by President George W Bush's emissary Richard Armitage to India was discussed in detail ... The minister characterised in some depth our approach ... it was a form of conveying our point of view and the Chinese position is well-known ... The Chinese Ambassador over here had been briefed about our thoughts earlier ..." were the stock re-

plies to all queries.

However, reports from Beijing said China today asserted that US attempts to contain it through enhanced military alliances with countries like India would not work.

"Any proposition on besieging China through strengthening military deployment is detrimental to the historical trend.

"Such a proposition is erroneous and is no solution," Chinese foreign ministry spokesman Sun Yuxi said while commenting on a report titled *The United States and Asia: Toward a new strategy and force posture*, a new

■ See TALKS: page 8

TALKS: (Continued from page 1)

comprehensive Rand study sponsored by the US Air Force.

India today said the Chinese delegation's visit was to focus on economic, trade and business related issues.

When asked about the timing of Mr Li's visit just after the visits of Russian and US officials, the government said the invitation had been sent long back.

This is the first visit by Mr Li to India. The delegation came to India on 12 May and would be leaving tomorrow after meeting the information technology minister, Mr Pramod Mahajan.

Mr Li called on the President this evening.

Mr Li and Mr Jaswant Singh discussed the entire gamut of bilateral, regional and international issues. The Chinese leader said commonalities in "our bilateral relations far outweigh the differences".

Mr Jaswant Singh said India attached great importance to the development of political and economic relations with China on the basis of Panchsheel and "mutual sensitivities to each other's concern."

He stressed the usefulness of greater interaction between the two countries at the national and provincial levels.

Mr Li, who also visited Mumbai, Hyderabad and Agra, was impressed by India's economic development and the warmth of the people.

THE STATESMAN

10 MAY 2002

India, China to firm up economic ties

By Our Special Correspondent

NEW DELHI, MAY 17. Acknowledging their differences on the existing U.S. proposals for a new international security architecture, India and China have decided to consolidate their economic ties and address their boundary question urgently.

Talks between the visiting Chinese Communist Party politburo member, Mr. Li Chang Chun, and the External Affairs Minister, Mr. Jaswant Singh, went beyond the visit to India by the U.S. Deputy Secretary of State, Mr. Richard Armitage, and Washington's plans for a National Missile Defence (NMD) shield. Aware of their differences, Mr. Singh explained India's stand on the subject. Mr. Li reiterated his country's reservations to the U.S.-backed security architecture.

Advocating "pragmatism", Mr. Li said that both sides should consciously avoid exaggerating their differences and treat them as stray episodes in a relationship which can be traced to antiquity.

Notwithstanding their differences, both sides did cover some common ground. Referring to the existing international system, they rejected the concept of unipolar world which solely revolved around the U.S. Instead, they reiterated their support for promoting multiple centres of political, economic and military power across the globe.

They also agreed not to inter-

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fere in each other's internal affairs as envisaged by the Panchsheel. But India indicated its reservations on certain aspects of China's ties with Pakistan. Mr. Singh made a pointed reference to the need for "sensitivity" by both sides to "each other's concerns." India has been particularly unhappy with the transfer of Chinese nuclear missiles to Pakistan.

Both leaders made three additional points. First, they felt that the relationship on balance was essentially cooperative as their commonalities far outweighed the differences. Second, both countries were keenly interested in carrying forward a vigorous engagement in all fields, notwithstanding the hurdles on the way.

Third, they acknowledged that they could speed up the settlement of their border row and consequently enhance stability in the region.

According to the foreign office spokesman, Mr. Li's visit was not triggered by the developments related to NMD. The focus of the visit — which had been planned in advance — was not on security issues, but on ways to boost business ties. As one of the young architects of the China's east coast turnaround, Mr. Li has shown considerable interest in tie-ups with India in the Information Technology (IT) sector. Not surprisingly, he has already met the Andhra Pradesh Chief Minister,

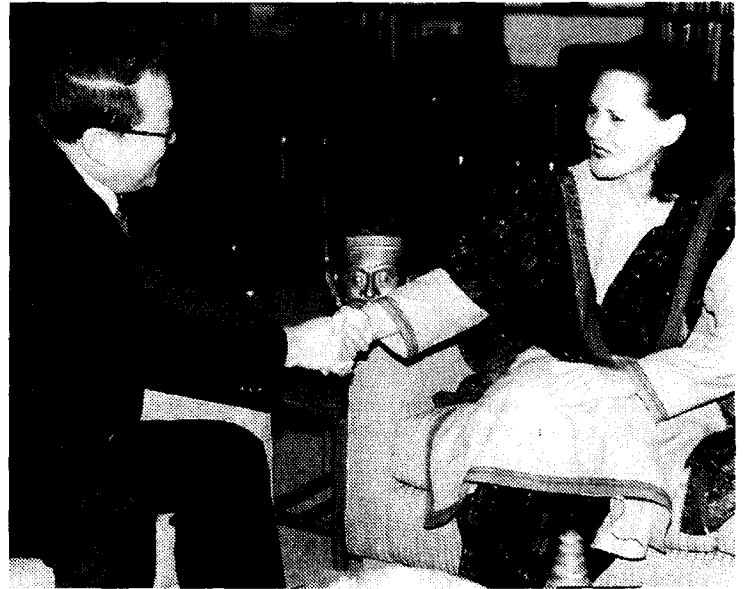
Mr. Chandrababu Naidu, and visited the hi-tech park in Hyderabad. He will meet the Information Technology Minister, Mr. Pramod Mahajan, on Friday.

Consistent with the China's intention making deeper crucial inroads in India, Mr. Li advocated a regular interaction the "provincial" and the national level.

Earlier, he visited Mumbai and addressed a high-profile corporate seminar at the Bombay Chambers of Commerce where

most prominent industrialists were present.

A technocrat and an economic reformer, 57-year-old Mr. Li has been the youngest ever member of the politburo, who has agreed to share the experience China's economic boom in the Guangdong province with his Indian hosts. Three of China's five special economic zones which have led to spectacular export led growth in its eastern provinces belong to Guangdong.



The member of the Chinese Communist Party politburo, Mr. Li Chang Chun, with the Congress president, Ms. Sonia Gandhi, in New Delhi on Thursday. — Photo: S. Subramaniam

THE HINDU

MAY 17 1991

FOREIGN AFFAIRS INDO-CHINA BORDER TRADE ROW

China looks to India to open its largest land port in Tibet for a trade-off with

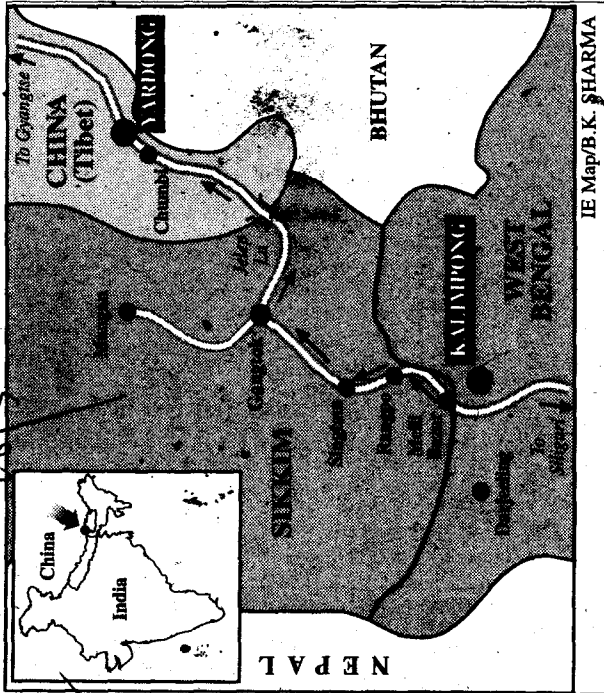
Kalimpong, reports SONIA TRIKHA

ON the 50th anniversary of what China calls the "peaceful liberation" of Tibet, Beijing has called for reopening of Tibet's largest land port in Yardong with India. The trade post has remained closed since the Sino-Indian border war in 1962. In a quiet pro quo, Ma Xiangcun, a senior official from Tibet's Shigatse area was quoted in the official mouthpiece *China Daily* as saying: "If the Indian Government agrees to the opening of Yardong, we will certainly agree on India opening of its border port—Kalimpong—to China."

These moves are significant as they spell a greater engagement between the two neighbouring countries. Since early this year, top Chinese legislators such as Li Peng* and Li Changchun have visited India in an atmosphere of increasing friendly relations. India and China are also in the midst of border talks which have for the first time included the exchange of maps.

The opening of the Yardong port is, however, seriously dependent on an improvement in the re-

The route not taken



IE Map/B.K. SHARMA

lationship between China and India. Yardong lies at the south tip of Tibet and borders India and Bhutan and also includes the state of Sikkim. While the opening has been agreed to in principle since the last few years, there remain basic complications.

The problem with this border trade post involves the ticklish issue of India's province of Sikkim that the Chinese continue to regard as an independent state. While the Indian side has been

language, implying China's official recognition of Sikkim as part of the Indian Union. New Delhi, however, would like China to recognise Sikkim as part of India as a pre-requisite to any such agreement.

At the heart of opening the trade route lies the fruit of greater economic gains. The director of the port office of Tibet Economic and Trade Commission, Tsuedrim, was quoted as saying: "If the opening of the port is resumed, we are confident that border trade in Tibet will increase by 15 per cent annually. But if China and India fail to reach an agreement to open the port, the growth rate is projected to drop to eight to nine per cent."

The opening of the Yardong port is listed in the region's 10th five-year plan (2001-05). India is China's 20th largest trading partner and its largest trading partner from the South Asian region since 1994. Yardong's biggest asset is its geographical position: it is close to Lhasa, Tibet's capital and has a high grade road joining Yardong and Kathmandu, Nepal's capital. If India and China agree to reopen the Yardong port, it will take the place of Zhungnu as the largest land port in Tibet.

The opening would not only boost the economy in Tibet, but

would also fuel foreign trade in China's western areas, such as Qinghai and Gansu provinces and the Xinjiang Uygur autonomous region with Malaysia, Indonesia and European countries. At present, exports from western to South Asian countries, have to go through Guangzhou or Hong Kong. Then they could go through Kolkata.

China also uses transit facilities offered by Burma for its exports. But with India's eastern port of Calcutta a mere 600 km from Tibet, the revival of the cross-border trade at Nathu La in Sikkim will dramatically slash the distance Chinese goods have to travel. Calcutta is 500 km south of Kalimpong. Local traders think if the passes were reopened, it could also spell prosperity for the vast hinterland served by Kolkata, including the landlocked Himalayan kingdoms of Nepal and Bhutan, and Tibet.

The Yadong-Kalimpong trade was formalised as part of the 1954 Sino-Indian Trade Agreement over the Tibetan border. But the 1962 Sino-Indian war forced them to abandon their goods and property in Tibet and flee to Kalimpong and Gangtok where they now run small businesses as they await for the border trade to reopen. Still clinging to their Bank of China pass books issued by the Yardong branch of the bank, they hope some day to recover their deposits if not compensation for the goods they lost.

India and Bangladesh must discuss the border dispute meaningfully

Step through the confusion

J.N. DIXIT

One's initial reaction to the border clash between Indian and Bangladeshi forces was one of puzzlement about the brigade strength attack by Bangladesh forces against the Indian security forces. Also, outrage at the manner in which 16 Border Security Force jawans were killed after being tortured. One wondered why the official Indian reaction was low key.

Reports about the incidents and statements on them made in India and Bangladesh immediately after indicate that the origins of the clashes are more complicated than the initial versions given by both sides. This necessitates a more thoughtful approach to managing the implications of these incidents for the larger issue of India-Bangladesh relations. The welter of contradictory statements about the factual details of the border clash merits recall.

Initial reports from India were that Bangladesh forces launched an unprovoked attack against BSF cadre in the Pyrdiwah area, capturing the enclave. Then came the statement that 16 BSF cadre were "lured into Bangladesh territory and then murdered in cold blood, after being tortured."

The statements of the Bangladesh government contradicted these versions. They averred that Bangladesh forces fired in self-defence against intrusions by the BSF. The statements in the period compounded the confusion about the border violence. One version was that BSF was in the process of building a road to the enclave of Pyrdiwah/Padua which was objected to by Bangladesh forces leading to the clashes.

Statements on the Indian side proceeded to explain the border clash in Boraibari area, first as a counter-measure by the BSF to balance the capture of Pyrdiwah by Bangladesh forces. Later this was modified to state that the Boraibari clash was the result of the BSF undertaking border exercises at a higher level of alertness after the incidents at Pyrdiwah.

The original statement that our troops were in some strange manner lured into Bangladesh territory was dumped because of its obvious implausibility. The cause for this violence is also subject to contradictory and confusing political explanations. Official pronouncements from India described the clashes as localized adventurism by Bangladesh forces on the border. There were oblique analyses that the Bangladesh Rifles chief, Major General Fazlur Rahman, might have undertaken this exercise autonomously without informing the prime minister, Sheikh Hasina, or getting her approval.

There was further speculation based on the premise that the attempt was to create serious tension between India and Bangladesh with a view to embarrassing the Hasina government during the elections in Bangladesh: the exercise being engineered by the Bangladesh Nationalist Party with segments of the Bangladesh

army and security forces.

While Indian public opinion is grappling with the confusing perceptions created by these statements, the director general of the BSF, Gurbachan Jagat, in an interview on April 29 categorically accused the chief of the Bangladesh army and the chief of Bangladesh Rifles of having launched a pre-planned attack against the BSF forces on the Assam-Meghalaya border. Indian intelligence sources have been quoted as saying that Bangladesh security forces' offensive was preceded by consultations between

The Bangladesh army and security forces mounted an offensive against the BSF in Pyrdiwah. The operation was formally named "Operation Seemant". The BSF did undertake some kind of a large-scale patrolling exercise in the Boraibari region which came apart and ended in fiasco, leading to the murders of BSF personnel. It also seems that the Boraibari violence occurred in Bangladesh territory. It is difficult to accept that a three to five battalion strength operation by the Bangladesh armed forces could be organized au-



the divisional commanders of the Bangladesh army at Mymensingh, Rangpur and Chittagong. Jagat also asserted that the initial reports about the BSF building an access road are not correct. Similarly, he has denied that the BSF had launched a counter-offensive in Boraibari to generate pressure on the Bangladesh forces at Pyrdiwah.

Though Hasina has ordered an inquiry, the official statement issued by the Bangladesh government, published on April 23, categorically asserts that Bangladesh forces acted in self-defence, and that the prime minister expressed pain and sorrow at "deaths on both sides". Contrary to Indian claims, the Bangladesh statement does not refer to any apology or regret from Hasina or the government. It is totally silent on the torture and murder of 16 BSF personnel.

It is significant that neither the Bangladesh government nor the Indian has issued a statement giving details of sequence of events between April 15 and 21 (when the bodies of Indians were finally returned).

Sifting through these contradictions and claims, some facts are discernible.

‘ Bangladesh's torture and murder of BSF jawans cannot be explained away or accepted ’

tonomously by any local Bangladeshi commander. It was planned at the highest military levels.

It is also reasonable to assume that Hasina and her government were generally aware of this operation as it was taking place. It is reasonable to conclude that the field intelligence and monitoring mechanism of the BSF did not anticipate the events between April 15 and 19. Its initial response was managed by local commanders.

There is tenuous simmering down of the situation. But there have been demonstrations and protests on both sides of the border. These border events will negatively affect Indo-Bangladesh relations for sometime.

The government of India's reaction has been low-key, practical and based on

the larger and deeper consideration of sustaining good relations with Bangladesh. India's reaction is also influenced by the fact that it does not wish to embarrass the Hasina government which is supposed to be more friendly towards India during an election year. Also, the origins of the border clash could perhaps not be blamed on Bangladesh alone. Jaswant Singh distinguished between the events in general and the brutal killing of Indian security personnel, when he declared the brutalization of 16 BSF jawans leading to their death as unacceptable.

There is fairly authoritative information on Hasina's telephone conversation with A.B. Vajpayee. She expressed sorrow and pain at the events and she felt they could have been avoided. There was no apology from her. She confirmed ordering an investigation into the events. The demarche of the foreign secretary, Chokila Iyer, with her Bangladeshi counterpart, Syed Muazzem Ali, led to Bangladeshi forces vacating Pyrdiwah.

Two actions by the Bangladesh government cannot be explained away. First, their largescale offensive in brigade strength in the Pyrdiwah sector. Second, their torture and murder of BSF jawans. India must raise these issues with Bangladesh and sort them out at the appropriate official level.

Jaswant Singh could have been sent to Dhaka within 48 hours of the border clash. This decision was not taken because of the lack of clear cut evidence about the origin of the conflict. Now it is too late for any such move. Foreign secretaries of South Asian Association for Regional Cooperation countries will meet in Colombo in June. Iyer could have a detailed exchange of views to sort out problems with her counterpart, Syed Muazzem Ali, during this SAARC meet.

India has unresolved border disputes with Pakistan, China, Nepal and Bangladesh. Our endeavour should be to resolve those among these disputes which can be managed more easily. Regardless of short-term political considerations, India should ratify the 1974 agreement on exchange of enclaves with Bangladesh and expedite the exchange of the enclaves to resolve border disputes with that country. Simultaneously, we must strengthen and intensify our broader security management arrangements to counter not only the phenomenon of illegal migration, smuggling and so on but also to counter the impulses or anti-Indian political attitudes entertained by some political segments in Bangladesh, encouraged and abetted by extremist religious forces and Pakistani intelligence agencies.

One cannot wish away the fact that our initial reaction has resulted in a public perception of our being a soft state, though our governmental reactions are based on long term considerations affecting Indian interests. Public perception mentioned above can only be eliminated by structured and purposive action to stabilize Indo-Bangladesh relations, where Bangladesh does not take Indian thresholds of tolerance for granted.

The author is former foreign secretary of India

India to dispel Beijing's doubts

HO-1375 By C. Raja Mohan

NEW DELHI, MAY 12. India will have an opportunity next week to exchange views with China at the high political level on the controversial American plans to build missile defences. Mr. Li Changchun, a ranking member of the politburo of the Chinese Communist Party arrived in Mumbai today at the invitation of the External Affairs Minister, Mr. Jaswant Singh.

While China is among the sharpest critics of the U.S. plans for missile defence, India has strongly welcomed certain elements of the proposals by the U.S. President, Mr. George Bush, for a new global strategic framework. Mr. Singh will hold consultations with Mr. Li when he arrives here next week. As it happens, Mr. Li will be here after the recent Indian talks on missile defence with the Russian Foreign Minister, Mr. Igor Ivanov, and the U.S. special envoy, Mr. Richard Armitage.

Informed sources here say the Indian decision to welcome parts of Bush proposals is based on New Delhi's basic interests; and that India has no desire to join any alleged American plan to contain China.

India has succinctly articulated a consistent position on missile defences with both Russia and the U.S. in the last few days. And the Government will be more than pleased to discuss its approach with the visiting Chinese leader. New Delhi supports deep

cuts in nuclear weapons, welcomes a negotiated transition from the world of balance of terror and opposes a unilateral abrogation of such arms control treaties as the Anti-Ballistic Missile (ABM) Treaty.

The U.S. has begun consultations with Russia on the new strategic framework and the ABM treaty, and talks are also expected to take place between the U.S. and China soon. The Sino- Indian talks are part of this evolving multi-directional consultations on missile defences.

Although not planned in any way to coincide with the Russian and American visits, Mr. Li's trip to India comes amid the new international debate on missile defences. In another coincidence, Mr. Li will be travelling in India while the Chinese Prime Minister, Mr. Zhu Rongji, is on an extended visit to Pakistan and the subcontinent. Reports from Pakistan suggest that Gen. Pervez Musharraf has backed China in its criticism of the American plans to build missile defences. But speculation that missile defences might polarise great power relations with India and Pakistan might be premature.

The great debate on missile defences has just started. And having good relations with all the major powers, India can engage the U.S., Russia and China in an honest and transparent way. New Delhi is keen on dispelling any misperceptions of Beijing about India's line on missile defences.

THE HINDU

13 MAY 2001

China attacks 'unfair' Indian trade barriers

Saurabh Shukla
New Delhi, April 29

THE DRAGON is baring its trade fangs. China has officially described New Delhi's methods of blocking Chinese imports into India as "unfair and discriminatory"

Beijing has taken strong exception to New Delhi's labelling China as a "non-market economy", a label that makes it easier for India to impose various duties and tariffs on Chinese goods.

Speaking to *Hindustan Times*, the spokesperson for the Chinese Embassy, Lu Bing, said, "Currently, even the European Union and countries like the US and Australia, don't regard China as a non-market economy State. They have adjusted their policies, and we hope the Indian side will draw on the experience of those countries and organisations and grant Chinese enterprises and products a fair and reasonable treatment."

He said, "We have learnt that Indian authorities have taken

some action against Chinese goods and seized some Chinese products. We will express our concern over this issue to the Indian side through the proper channels, and urge them to settle the issue in a fair and just manner...boycotting Chinese goods will prove detrimental to the common interests of both sides in the long run."

Beijing is upset at the ease with which domestic companies managed to persuade the Ministry of Commerce that China was "dumping goods into India". Trade experts say "protectionist devices", like antidumping and countervailing duties, depend on India being able to determine the production price and sale price of Chinese goods at home.

By branding China a "non-market economy", India gets a lot of leeway in fixing such prices. This makes it easier to impose duties and block imports.

Director-General of Foreign Trade, N L Lakhnupal, said India was blocking Chinese goods "under the agreement on subsi-

dies and countervailing measures." He said, "That only means higher duties on goods from foreign countries if these countries bring in these goods at a lower price than they sell in their own country."

This is not only true of China, but also for other countries like South Korea. Even our goods face similar duties in the US and Europe."

Lu said, "The Chinese Government is against unfair trading practices. It is against dumping and would not carry out dumping activities," adding that the present "progress" in Sino-Indian trade has been "unsatisfactory".

This is a stumbling block in Sino-Indian relations, Lu said. "Better trade ties can pave the way for a stable political relationship between the two countries."

Sources confirm that China will be raising the issue through diplomatic channels next week. The Ministry of External Affairs declined to comment until they had seen the official statement

THE HINDUSTAN TIMES

30 APR 2001

China thanks India

UNI & PTI

WASHINGTON, April 19. — India, Pakistan, Saudi Arabia and Russia joined hands with China in blocking a US-sponsored censure in UN Human Rights Commission in Geneva when 23 of the 53 nations on the commission voted in favour of a preemptive no action motion — a counter move of Beijing to defeat its introduction.

The US-sponsored resolution sought to criticise China's treatment of Falun Gong adherents as well as Tibetans, Christians and Buddhists.

Seventeen nations including the USA and Britain opposed the motion and while the remaining nations abstained. For the tenth successive year, China derailed the US move to censure it on its human rights record by using procedural manoeuvre.

US ambassador Mr Shirin Tahir Kheli denounced the no action motion saying no country should consider itself beyond the review.

"The Chinese government

wishes to express admiration and thanks to all the countries which upheld justice and supported China in foiling an anti-China motion," foreign ministry spokeswoman Mrs Zhang Qiyue said in a statement.

India is among the 23 countries that voted in favour of a 'no action' procedural motion moved by China. With 23 votes for 17 against, 12 abstentions and one absentee, the 53-member UN Human Rights Commission approved the Chinese motion, thus rejecting the US draft resolution against China before it was put to vote.

Elated at the outcome of the voting, Mrs Zhang noted that it was the 10th time that an anti-China motion on human rights had been rejected since 1990.

"We would advise the US side to change its practice, realise its errors and mend its way, and return to the right track of dialogue as soon as possible," she commented even as US and Chinese negotiators strug-

gled to resolve the diplomatic standoff over the spy plane tangle.

She said the Chinese government had all along attached importance to the human rights issue, and had dedicated itself to promoting and protecting the human rights and basic freedom of the Chinese people.

Mrs Zhang noted that the USA, turning a blind eye to facts and driven by the needs of domestic politics, had tabled anti-China motions several times in an attempt to interfere in its internal affairs under the pretext of human rights issue and to tarnish Beijing's image in the world.

"Once again the USA fell into a predicament of self-isolation and its failure has long been expected," she said.

"We are ready to work with other members of the international community to continue to make positive contributions to the sound development of the human rights cause in the world," the Chinese spokes-

woman added.

Rights body warning: A leading human rights organisation has warned against the outcome of the vote saying it will further deteriorate the rights situation.

"Beijing's diplomatic victory at the UN Human Rights Commission could lead to even further deterioration of human rights in China," the Human Rights Watch said in a release.

"With this vote, Beijing strengthens its hand," HRW's UN representative Mrs Joanna Weschler said.

"Key governments seem unwilling to put pressure on Beijing, and to back up their rhetoric about human rights with action," said Mrs Weschler.

Over the past year, Beijing has enacted new regulations on access to the Internet, detained at least four foreign-based scholars with no explanation, waged a fierce campaign against the Falun Gong and continued a crackdown on unofficial religious activity and repression of ethnic minorities in Tibet and Xinjiang, the release added.

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20 APR 2001

India backs China on human rights

By C. Raja Mohan

1914 10-15
NEW DELHI, APRIL 18. In an important signal of its commitment to an independent foreign policy, the Government on Wednesday supported Beijing in beating back a Washington-sponsored resolution at the United Nations condemning alleged human rights abuses in China.

At the 53-member United Nations Commission on Human Rights in Geneva, India has voted for a "no-action" motion moved by China to stall a decision on the American draft human rights resolution. While the Indian decision was not surprising, it acquires some political significance in the context of the new tensions in Sino-U.S. relations and the emerging warmth in Indo-U.S. ties. The decision should allay Beijing's concerns that New Delhi might now want to gang up with Washington to contain China.

Mutual support against Western resolutions on human rights in international fora has been an important element of cooperation between India and China in recent years. Last year too India had voted with China in preventing action by the UNCHR against China.

After the vote in Geneva last year, the Chinese Foreign Minister, Mr. Tang Jiaxuan, thanked his Indian counterpart, Mr. Jaswant Singh, for the support extended.

The decision to vote in favour of China against an American resolution is despite recent requests from Washington urging New Delhi to reconsider its vote in the UNCHR debate on human rights in China. The Chinese "no-action" motion was carried tonight with 23 votes in favour, 17 against and 12 abstentions. India voted in favour of the motion.

The Clinton administration sounded out India last year about changing its vote at least to an abstention. India and the U.S. have also been cooperating on the "community of democracies initiative" to promote political pluralism worldwide.

In backing Beijing at Geneva, India sends the message to China that it will continue to pursue an autonomous foreign policy despite the recent improvement in Indo-U.S. relations.

Both during and after his highly successful visit to the U.S. earlier this month, Mr. Singh sought to dispel the misperceptions in China about an incipient alliance between New Delhi and Washington. He had insisted that India's relations with the U.S. would stand on their own merit and not be linked to American ties with a third party.

Eastham holds talks

Meanwhile, the acting U.S. Assistant Secretary of State, Mr. Alan Eastham, had wide-ranging consultations with Indian officials here today. Mr. Eastham who arrived here last evening called on the Foreign Secretary, Ms. Chokila Iyer, and compared notes with senior officials in the Ministry of External Affairs.

Mr. Eastham's talks today covered a wide range of issues, including regional stability and global developments.

THE HINDU

19 APR 2001

High level state visits are not the only indicators of Sino-Indian relations

Lines of exchange

J.N. DIXIT

T-10
1979

There has been some cogitation in the media regarding reports that the Chinese prime minister, Zhou Rongji, will not visit India during his forthcoming visits to Bangladesh, Nepal and Pakistan, and perhaps to Sri Lanka. Some analysts have alleged that this means China is downgrading the importance of India and re-affirming the importance of Sino-Pakistani relations.

The present state of India's relations with China needs to be reexamined in the light of this opinion. First, following Jaswant Singh's contacts with his counterpart, Tang Xiejuan, and the visit of the president, K.R. Narayanan, to Beijing last year, there has been a tangible forward movement in the work of the Sino-Indian joint working group on the boundary question. Its experts subgroup, after a delay of nearly seven years since 1993, has now agreed on initiating an exchange of maps to ascertain and, if possible, finalize the delineation of the line of actual control between India and China. The agreement is that discussions on delineation should cover the entire line of control from the northwest to the east. The approach to delineation is to be integrated and comprehensive.

The second significant development is the agreement reached between Singh and Xiejuan to expand the bilateral exchanges on political matters to bilateral security dialogue. This will cover not only bilateral security concerns but regional and global concerns and their strategic ramifications. This would naturally include issues related to nuclear and other weapons of mass destruction, the role of regional groupings, interactions between India and China in the Association of Southeast Asian Nations regional security forum and so on.

It is in this context that the second senior-most figure in the Chinese political hierarchy, Li Peng, paid a 9-day visit to India, accompanied by a large delegation of Chinese businessmen and economic experts, in February this year. His visit and his discussions underlined the Chinese interest in expanding economic and technological cooperation with India in a selective and focussed manner. Li Peng's long visit and his going to the southern states of India where economic and technological activities are getting increased international acknowledgement, indicated the areas of particular interest to China.

There has been criticism that Li Peng's discussions in New Delhi did not touch upon the boundary question and China's defence, nuclear and missile collaboration with Pakistan. This criticism is factually valid, but its relevance has to be assessed in terms of possibilities of any practical compromise emerging on these issues given the Indian and Chinese policy orientations, rooted in their respective structures of geo-strategic and security interests.

Since Rajiv Gandhi's visit in December, 1988, there is governmental acknowledgement from both sides that these particular issues will require patience and gradualness of approach.

The author is former foreign secretary, government of India

The alternative would be both polemical and confrontationalist, which neither India nor China considers necessary or desirable. What is important is that these issues are not wished away.

Parallel to intergovernmental exchanges, a pattern of Track II non-governmental institutional exchanges was initiated in 1997, which has continued, except during late 1998 and early 1999 because of the critical fallout of India's nu-

desh. There were also indications that there could be cooperation and linking of developmental processes between the Mekong, Brahmaputra and the eastern Gangetic river basins.

The controversial dimensions of Chinese goods driving out Indian goods from the Indian market itself, especially in the context of China entering the World Trade Organization, was discussed in detail. The Chinese side did



China intends to deal with India's nuclear and missile weaponization in terms of existing realities

not reject the negative implications perceived by India and suggested first non-governmental and then governmental expert-level discussions. Parallelism in the interests and approaches of India and China on issues related to human rights, environmental management and economic development was accepted.

Differences of opinion on the democratization of the United Nations, UN reforms, expansion of the security council and non-proliferation issues were accepted in view of the framework and the differing interests of India and China. Importantly, the Chinese side stated that while its formal policy stance on nuclear non-proliferation will remain what it is, the Chinese intention is to deal with India's nuclear and missile weaponization on the basis of existing facts and realities. The Chinese approach would not be punitive or confrontationalist.

India should structure its responses to China, on the basis of this Chinese realism. Elaborating on this point, the Chinese side gave the assessment that this realism is going to be an incremental in-

ternational phenomenon which would be reflected in the policies of the major powers. While China will monitor India's nuclear doctrine and deployment plans, it does not expect any critical confrontation with India as long as the current processes of normalization are sustained. On the question of Chinese nuclear missile and general defence cooperation with Pakistan, the Chinese side emphasized that this relationship is based on their assessment of China's security and strategic interests.

They accepted the validity of Indian concerns in these matters which were clearly and firmly conveyed to them. The Chinese response was that there are both economic and security reasons for the Sino-Pakistani defence relationship and that India and China should consider measures of managing this critical phenomenon in a realistic manner. The Chinese side added that this defence cooperation with Pakistan does not mean that China will take a pro-Pakistan stance on issues of bilateral controversy between India and Pakistan. The Chinese approach is detached and impartial. On the question of China recognizing Sikkim's integration with India, the Chinese side clarified that China's approach is realistic and it accepts the factual position. It was suggested by them that India and China should sign a border trade agreement between Tibet and India, in which, goods will pass through Sikkim and the procedural formalities involved in this trading arrangement will, by implication, acknowledge India's jurisdiction over Sikkim.

As far as the boundary question goes, both sides agreed that progress made in the delineation of the line of actual control was a constructive development. The Indian side suggested a long-term proposal for discussing the boundary question in due course on the basis of moving away from colonial terms of reference, determination of boundary on the basis of recognized principles of international law, use of the most modern cartographic methods to delineate the boundary, minimal change in jurisdiction on populations and, subject to this, mutual give and take of territory. It was also agreed that the main points of Sino-Indian cooperation could be the managing of development, migration, the security environment in Asia, domestic and external strategic environment. This could also be extended to globalization, multilateralism and bilateral relations.

As far as the Chinese prime minister's omitting India from his south Asian itinerary is concerned, the Chinese side gave a rational explanation. Li Peng had visited India in February. A second visit by a senior Chinese leader in April would not have resulted in any substantive results beyond what Li Peng discussed in New Delhi and other parts of India. It was indicated that Zhou Rongji's visit is on the cards perhaps late this year or early next year. We need not predicate the state of Sino-Indian relations on the basis of high level state visits. What is of greater importance is that dialogue is sustained on substantive issues on a continuous basis.

India emerges as China's largest trading partner in South Asia

NEW DELHI: India is China's largest trading partner in South Asia with the volume of trade touching \$2.91 billion in 2000, registering a 46 per cent rise over last year.

"The bilateral trade between India and China has increased since economic liberalisation to \$2.91 billion in 2000 as against \$256 million in 1991," P.N. Ramchandran, executive director, India-China Chamber of Commerce and Industry said.

On future trade, he said, "China's accession to WTO may offer opportunities for Indian export in goods like cotton, yarn, soymeal, high value-added marine products, mineral ores, building materials and fruits like mango."

Asking the Indian exporters to gear up to face challenges after phasing out of multi-fibre arrangement (MFA) in 2005 and lifting of quantitative restrictions on imports, Mr Ramchandran said they should also take advantage of the open atmosphere.

The Indo-Sino bilateral trade was

China to establish mechanism to counter anti-dumping charges

BEIJING: China, which is facing a number of anti-dumping cases, including some from India, will establish quick-response mechanism and improve its anti-dumping early warning system to solve such cases before they become lawsuits, a senior trade official has said. Detailing the efforts of the ministry of foreign trade and economic cooperation (MOFTEC) in countering rising cases of anti-dumping charges against Chinese products, vice-minister of MOFTEC Sun Zhenyou said that with its upcoming entry to the World Trade Organisation (WTO), China will make more efforts to prevent such charges from overseas.

"Such efforts include the establishment of a quick-response mechanism composed of government departments, import and export chambers of commerce, local foreign trade authorities and relevant companies," he said at a national conference on anti-dumping measures which was held here this week. (PTI)

\$2.91 billion in 2000, a 46 per cent increase over the previous year, with \$1.56 billion imports from China and \$1.23 billion worth of exports to China.

Growth of Indian imports from China has been on rise. Chinese imports grew by 8.9 per cent in 1998, by 14.3 per cent in 1999 and 34.3 per cent in 2000, he said.

Pointing out an encouraging trend in the trade, Mr Ramchandran said last year Indian exports to China grew by 63.9 per cent.

On the composition of Indo-Sino trade, Mr Ramchandran said cotton export from India was highest in 2000 followed by organic chemicals

and fish and other aquatic invertebrates during the same year.

Indian imports from China included primarily organic material, mineral fuels, silk, machinery and mechanical appliances and electrical parts, he said.

In 2000, China's global trade amounted to \$474.3 billion with \$249.2 billion of exports and imports

were worth \$225.1 billion, leaving a favourable trade balance of \$24.1 billion. Electronics and machinery exports amounted to \$105.3 billion accounting for 42.3 per cent of the total export.

An interesting feature of Chinese economy was the foreign invested enterprises' (FIE) contribution of more than 48 per cent in foreign trade touching \$174.5 billion trade volume in 1999.

This fact indicates that a large portion of the foreign trade of FIEs consisted of exports to parent units under the buy-back arrangement or of imports for processing, Mr Ramchandran added. (PTI)

THE TIMES OF INDIA

16 APR 2001

China watching Indo-U.S. ties

BEIJING, APRIL 6. China, whose ties with the Bush administration have started on a rocky note, today expressed hope that the warming relations between India and the United States would be "conducive" to peace and stability in Asia. HD-13

"The development of normal relations between India and the U.S. conforms with the interests of the two countries," the Chinese Foreign Ministry spokesman, Mr. Sun Yuxi, said. 219

"We hope that such relations can be conducive to peace and stability in Asia," Mr. Sun said when asked to comment on the visit to Washington by the External Affairs Minister, Mr. Jaswant Singh, and the ongoing visit to India by the former U.S. President, Mr. Bill Clinton.

Beijing will be scrutinising the outcome of the visit by Mr. Singh, who also holds the post of Defence Minister.

China will be watching whether the Bush administration lifts the remaining sanctions on India, imposed after the 1998 Pokhran nuclear tests. China remains the only permanent five member, which is adamant on de-nuclearising India as well as Pakistan. — PTI

THE HINDU

57 APR 2001

57 APR 2001

China reacts cautiously on Agni II induction

BEIJING, MARCH 11. China has reacted cautiously to India's decision to induct Agni-II while expressing its concerns on an arms race in South Asia.

PH-13
"China as well as the whole international community hopes to maintain peace and stability in the region of South Asia," the Chinese Foreign Ministry spokesman, Mr. Zhu Bangzao said.

"We do not wish to see any kind of arms race in this region," he said when asked about India's decision to deploy the Agni missile.

He declined to comment when asked whether China was concerned with the induction since the missile had the capability to hit many Chinese cities.

M3
Agni-II intermediate range ballistic missile had achieved operationalisation with its successful second test on January 17, the same day when the Chinese leader, Mr. Li Peng, concluded his goodwill visit to India.

Meanwhile, the Chinese President, Mr. Jiang Zemin, has urged the Chinese People's Liberation Army (PLA) to speed up defence combat effectiveness under high-tech conditions. — PTI

THE HINDU

MAR 2001

Chinese help to Pak. figured in talks: Jaswant

By Our Special Correspondent

NEW DELHI, MARCH 8. China's military assistance to Pakistan was discussed during the Chinese leader, Mr. Li Peng's visit in January, while the status of Sikkim, Arunachal Pradesh and Tibet was not raised at all by both sides.

"Concerns regarding nuclear and missile technology were raised specifically during Mr. Li's visit," the Minister of External Affairs, Mr. Jaswant Singh, said in the Rajya Sabha today in reply to a question by the former Army

chief, Gen. Shankar Roy Chowdhary. But the "question of Sikkim, Arunachal Pradesh and Tibet were not raised by him and, therefore, not discussed," he told Mr. Kuldeep Nayar, in response to another question.

In response to the Indian concern over China's assistance for Pakistan's missile development programme and regular supply of military hardware, Mr. Li had maintained that the military supply programme was routine in nature while the missile assistance programme was "well within in-

ternational norms and covered by international treaty obligations."

India and China have begun a security dialogue and both countries recognised the need for closer cooperation to curb terrorism.

However, they differed on Chinese military assistance to Pakistan and the location of the line of actual control.

On China's stance on a seat for India in the U.N. Security Council, Mr. Singh said Beijing supported greater representation to developing countries and larger regional representation. Subse-

quent statements by Mr. Li in Beijing indicated that the Chinese also viewed the eight-day visit as having been fruitful.

The visit and the high-level talks had helped step up the pace for resolving the boundary issue. Both sides succeeded in exchanging maps containing their respective interpretation of the LAC's middle sector.

This "significant development" was appreciated by Mr. Peng who supported further progress in the direction.

THE HINDU

9 MAR 2001

Karmapa is a security risk for India: Intelligence

By Bisheshwar Mishra
The Times of India News Service

NEW DELHI: Intelligence experts have cautioned that Ugyen Thinley, the 17th Karmapa, who took refuge in India last January, might be a security threat to the country.



According to them, he is a pawn in the Chinese gameplan aimed at expanding influence on the religious consciousness of not only Tibetans but the population of the entire Himalayan region.

"The Chinese are preparing for a post-

Dalai Lama scenario," said an expert. Already, there has been a demand for Thinley's installation at the Rumtek monastery in Sikkim.

In a report to cabinet secretary T.S.R. Subramanian in 1997, the then Sikkim chief secretary Sreedhar Rao had dissuaded the Centre from allowing the Karmapa to move to Rumtek. The monastery was set up after the 16th Karmapa fled Tibet and arrived in India in 1959. After he died in 1981, the search for his successor began. Highlighting the dispute surrounding the demand for the installation of Thinley as the 17th Karmapa in Rumtek, the report also alerted the government to the Chinese interest in the boy monk.

THE TIMES OF INDIA

7 MAR 2001

India debating implications of China's western development

By Atul Aneja

Handwritten: India
NEW DELHI, FEB. 25. In reaching out towards South-East Asia, India is factoring in the economic and security implications of China's plans to develop some of its border provinces. According to highly-placed Government sources, India's concerns have been activated by what has been described as China's great western development programme. The Chinese initiative, launched in January last, aims at the development of its six poorest province and the autonomous regions of Tibet and Xinjiang. Tibet and Xinjiang share a common border with India.

India is especially monitoring the Chinese efforts to push growth in the border province of Yunnan. The development of Kunming, Yunnan's capital, as the regional transportation and energy hub is being keenly watched. Not surprisingly, China is now developing land corridors, airports and river ports radiating from Kunming in order to spur development in this region.

In doing so, China is reaching out towards the Bay of Bengal, and in the process activating India's strategic concerns. China's outreach towards the Bay of Bengal is mainly through Myanmar, which borders India. Chinese consolidation without a commensurate turnaround in Sino-India

Handwritten: HD-13 267
relations can cause anxiety in key north-eastern States which share common borders with Myanmar.

By engaging Myanmar, China is also integrating communication arteries in the entire South East Asia region. It is encouraging the construction of several trans-Asian road and some railway projects involving Myanmar, Thailand, Cambodia, Laos and Vietnam, mainly under the six-nation Greater Mekong sub-regional grouping.

Aware of the Chinese drive towards the South, India is preparing itself for future negotiations with China after ensuring that its long-term security and economic interests along its resource-rich eastern seaboard are protected. The key lies in sufficiently integrating the economies of some of these countries with that of India and deepening the cultural and political relationship. As of now, the Indian establishment is carefully monitoring China's efforts to build bridges with South East Asia, especially Myanmar.

China, in order to develop its Yunnan province, is reaching out to Myanmar in two ways. First, it is engaged in reviving some of the World War-II roads which had linked Yunnan to Myanmar.

It is also seeking a link-up of ports in Myanmar through two key trans-Asian rivers, the Mekong

and Irrawady. China, Laos, Thailand and Myanmar have reportedly worked out an arrangement which will allow the free passage of shipping from the Upper Mekong river. The Chinese have also been active in accessing the Irrawady river, the gateway to the Bay of Bengal. China, according to sources, would prefer the Bay of Bengal route to the longer and disputed South China sea axis.

In deepening its engagement with South-East Asia, India has also launched key parallel initiatives. The six-nation Ganga-Mekong project, has, besides India, Vietnam, Thailand, Myanmar, Laos and Cambodia as members. This group, which will emphasise development of regional transport, can provide India an opening to influence the debate on new "Asian-highway" routes.

Given the larger strategic backdrop, India is going out of its way to build bridges with Myanmar. The recent inauguration of the Tamu-Kalewa road gives the country physical access to Myanmar. Energy security is yet another thrust area. The two sides are considering construction of a gas pipeline along the Kaladan basin towards Assam and Meghalaya. Another off-shore route from Shitwe (Akyab) to West Bengal is also being discussed.

THE HINDU

26 FEB 2001

THE TELEGRAPH

Delhi ducks China US missile

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FROM PRANAY SHARMA

Pranay Sharma

New Delhi, Feb. 15: Reluctant to sour its current honeymoon with the US, India has politely refused to join China in condemning America's proposed National Missile Defence system.

India made it clear that it was against the "militarisation of outer space", but did not go beyond this position.

The issue came up at last week's security dialogue between the neighbours, when Beijing sought Delhi's support in building up international opinion against the nuclear shield the US is thinking of putting in place. The dialogue also gave the two sides the opportunity to do a "reality check" on bilateral relations.

Taking advantage of the "free and frank" ambience of the talks, China advanced that India dismantle its nuclear and missile programmes as per Resolution 1172 of the United Nations Security Council. It also asked India to return to the negotiating table with Pakistan to resolve their disputes and help bring temperatures down in nuclearised South Asia.

China is worried about the missile defence shield primarily because it could extend to a Theatre Missile Defence System, which would provide a protective cover around Japan, South Korea and Taiwan, making them safe from possible Chinese missile attack.

It also affects Beijing's strategy vis-à-vis Washington. China, unlike Russia, has a limited number of inter-continental ballistic missiles (ICBMs) and is, therefore, more vulnerable to losing its bargaining power with America if the Bush administration goes ahead and puts the system in place.

India, on the other hand, has left itself some elbow room. It has opposed militarisation of outer space but did not condemn the proposed nuclear shield as such. This is mainly because Delhi is wary of sending any wrong signal to the new Republican administration.

Another reason is India neither has ICBMs nor does a nuclear shield over Japan or Taiwan affect its security.

India's sole fear is the cascading effect the proposed defence system is likely to have on the volatile region. If it is implemented, Delhi fears Beijing will upgrade its defence network and force India and Pakistan to follow suit.

Another reason for Delhi's reluctance is the uncertainty about future Sino-Indian relations. Both sides are now keen to improve ties and resolve their decades-old border dispute. But Pakistan's proximity to China is a major worry and many in South Block feel this rapport might prove to be the stumbling block in normalising ties between Delhi and Beijing.

CONTINUED ON PAGE 6

DEFINING A SECURITY DIALOGUE ^{India China}

THE SENSITIVE PROCESS of outlining a substantive framework for the incremental security dialogue between India and China seems to be gathering pace. Positive indeed were the indications at the conclusion of the latest round of such parleys which are still very much in the exploratory phase. To be sure, each is acutely aware of its security concerns, broadly viewed, in regard to the other. The primary task, therefore, is to determine how far these issues can be usefully discussed within a joint forum, given the known positions of the two countries on their worries. Evocative of this unstated dilemma was the official version at the end of the latest New Delhi round. It was made clear that differences remained unresolved in regard to India's strong suspicions about China's qualitative contributions to Pakistan's twin programmes of nuclear arms acquisition and ballistic missile development. However, the singular significance of the exercise was the stated willingness of the two gigantic neighbours to widen their engagement, given their herculean stakes in regional and global stability. China does not tire of emphasising the primacy of peace and stability on its frontiers for its rapid economic progress. India's diplomatic compulsions are no less acute regardless of its historical proclivity to project peace as a moral virtue rather than a political imperative for the development dividend. It is, therefore, a sign of pragmatism that India and China have at the moment sent forth a public message of being able to begin streamlining their exchanges on issues with a security quotient of one kind or the other.

In a broad spectrum, four aspects of the Sino-Indian security interests take precedence over the others — the border dispute, Beijing's military nexus with Islamabad, the long-term implications of the continuing presence of the Dalai Lama as also the Karmapa on India's territory, and global arms control in the specific context of the new U.S. administration's much-romanticised strategic option of a techno-

logically-superlative national missile defence system (NMD). Ironically, the least contentious item on this India-China security check-list is their border dispute. The uncomplicated reason, which also serves as a confidence-building dynamic, is that the existing Joint Working Group and the experts have been left with an apparent degree of professional freedom that might insulate them from the quick-fix syndrome. The military-restraint measures, agreed upon by the two parties in the recent past, may have also played a part. As for New Delhi's belief regarding a China-Pakistan axis of benefit to the latter in terms of strategic and tactical weaponry — a view buttressed by some of the findings of a few U.S. Government agencies — Beijing's position goes beyond its sustained denials. China has yet to establish any degree of comfort in its equation with the present Bush administration. Yet, it is noteworthy that Beijing has not so far reversed or re-interpreted the commitment it made, during the twilight phase of the previous Clinton administration, about desisting from catalysing the programmes of any country in developing nuclear-capable missiles. Diplomatically, this obviously is a critical-mass test that India can apply behind the scenes.

Interactively linked to Beijing's missile-related pledge of do's and don'ts are the ifs and buts of the evolving global strategic discourse on Washington's plans for the NMD as also the theatre missile system (TMD) in East Asia. China's opposition to these state-of-the-art ideas is well known. New Delhi does not also figure as a democratic frontline-state in Washington's China-specific calculations. Overall, India's interests dictate that it exercise strategic autonomy on a global compass in regard to this as also the NMD and TMD issues. This does not, of course, mean that China's responses to the U.S. will not be relevant to India. On the Karmapa issue, separately, India can still expect China to firm up its position despite the current lull.

THE HINDU

15 FEB 2001

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FALSE ALARM 19/2

The decision by the government of India to grant refugee status to Ugyen Thinley Dorje, the 17th *karmapa* of the Kagyupa sect of Tibetan Buddhists, has generated some tension between New Delhi and Beijing. China has expressed concern at the move and warned India that it should not allow the *karmapa* to engage "in any anti-Chinese" activity. In addition, Beijing has hoped that India would handle the situation "prudently and appropriately" in the interests of "the overall situation of bilateral relations". These apprehensions about New Delhi's handling of the *karmapa* issue and China's implied criticism of India's policy towards Tibet and Tibetans are both unjust and unfair.

Consider the following. In January 2000, the *karmapa* arrived at the *dalai lama's* headquarters in Dharamsala from Tibet without any prior warning or notification, and — by all accounts — took the government of India by surprise. Since then, New Delhi has been attempting to secure a satisfactory explanation from the Chinese authorities about this mysterious flight. Prior to his departure for India, the *karmapa* lived in the Tsurphu monastery near Lhasa, was well-guarded by Chinese security personnel, and yet, was able to travel to India after an arduous eight-day journey by car and on foot across the Himalayas without apparently attracting Chinese attention. Moreover, according to Chinese sources, the *karmapa* had been receiving "an education in patriotism" and was a supporter of China's Tibet policy. But, so far, there is no evidence that Beijing has communicated its version of events to New Delhi. In contrast, India has been particularly careful about not causing any public embarrassment to China on the issue.

For the last year, the *karmapa* has been holed up in Dharamsala, in cramped accommodation, and has suffered several bouts of ill-health. He has been denied access to the media and often to his own devotees. Meanwhile, pressure from the large number of followers of the *karmapa* all over the world, and from Tibetans within India, has been increasing. So has concern amongst advocates of human rights and civil liberties. China has not demanded the *karmapa's* repatriation, nor has it suggested a particular course of action. Under the circumstances, New Delhi had very little choice, but to let the *karmapa* stay on in India. Democracies, China would do well to understand, are not run like totalitarian dictatorships. Even then, New Delhi has not allowed the *karmapa* permission to travel to the Rumtek monastery in Sikkim, which was the seat-in-exile of the 16th *karmapa*. It is unfortunate, therefore, that there is little appreciation for New Delhi's Tibet policy in Beijing. It is worth recalling that despite the advice of many friendly countries, New Delhi went on to recognize the sovereignty of China over Tibet in the Fifties. Even today, there are those who feel that India should have taken its cue from British policy and allowed Tibet to remain a buffer state between the two giants of Asia. The Tibetan refugees have not been allowed to carry out any overt political activities and even the *dalai lama*, a Nobel peace laureate, has been restrained on many an occasion. It is also necessary to point out that whenever an important Chinese leader visits India, the police routinely detain Tibetan protesters. China's criticism, therefore, is more imagined than real. It is far more important for the Chinese leadership to introspect on their policies towards Tibet and its culture, and take corrective steps to prevent a further flight of refugees into India.

India, China seek to narrow down differences

By Atul Aneja

19/2

NEW DELHI, FEB. 13. India and China are positioning themselves for a new round of diplomatic engagement to narrow down their differences, and build on common ground.

As of now, the two sides have a shared interest in settling the row over their 4,060 km.-long Himalayan border. They, however, are likely to differ on their larger geostrategic perceptions of South Asia and India's eastern neighbourhood.

Highly-placed sources in the Government say economic compulsions are driving China to seek a peaceful border with India. It sees the necessity of tranquility on its borders with countries such as Vietnam, Russia and India to pursue its larger economic and military agenda. Besides, Beijing, as of now, wants to retain its military focus on the Taiwan Straits. Consequently, it is keen on ensuring that its borders with its other neighbours are free from turbulence.

India also wants to settle the border row. A settled Sino-Indian frontier will give some relief to the Indian armed forces, currently deployed in large numbers on two fronts. A rapprochement with China will allow India the flexibility of switching troops to other areas where they may be required. A peaceful border will also improve the chances of a broader economic engagement.

In the settlement of the boundary question, sources here see China further substantiating its stance. According to them, China appears to be indicating that the nitty gritty of the on-going clarification of the existing unsettled boundary, needs to be supplemented by a broader "political approach".

China may now be inclined to focus attention on the Tawang area in Arunachal Pradesh. Chinese scholars, in the past, had cited historical records to substantiate that Tawang, at one time, was governed from the Chinese mainland, analysts here say.

India, however, has a proven record of administering the area. Given its vulnerability, New Delhi has also made a big investment in building its defences as well as creating the infrastructure there. Notwithstanding the differences, a modus vivendi on Tawang could generate a momentum for the settlement of other disputed ar-

ees. India and China hold divergent views on the status of Aksai Chin straddling Ladakh.

Incremental progress continues to be made on the clarification of the Line of Control. A convergence of views on the LAC alignment in the "middle sector" may now be within grasp, the sources said. Both sides exchanged maps of the LAC alignment in the area at the last meeting of the Joint Working Group, responsible for resolving the border row.

According to sources, differences on four sites along the LAC may be acute. These are Trig heights

and the Pangong lake area in Ladakh, Shipki La and the "fish-tail" area in Lohit district of Arunachal Pradesh. Beijing maintains a perceptible military profile in areas it perceives are located on its side of the LAC.

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The two sides are likely to differ on their geopolitical perception of the region. It is evident China is looking for a niche in the Bay of Bengal area, both via Myanmar and Bangladesh. The reach of its surveillance radar on the Coco islands in Myanmar extends over India's missile testing range in Balasore. Beijing has also developed Myanmar's Hainggyi base.

'Anti-dumping cases will dampen trade with China'

By Our Special Correspondent

NEW DELHI, FEB. 13. The Chinese Ambassador, Mr. Zhou Gang, today said the spate of anti-dumping cases being filed by India against products from his country would depress Sino-Indian trade at a time when China's entry into the WTO will mark a new phase that would spell opportunities for the Indian business community.

"The main factors impeding the growth of India-China trade and economic relations are the huge increase in anti-dumping investigations by India on goods of Chinese origin, absence of trade promotion and facilitation agencies and direct flights between China and India," he observed while addressing a meeting on "India-China Relations: Enhancing Economic Ties" organised by the Associated Chamber of Commerce and Industry of India.

"What is imperative is to further strengthen trade and economic interactions and cooperation so as to expand bilateral trade and upgrade cooperation rather than resort to certain restrictive measures unilaterally, so as not to hurt the common interests of both sides," he observed.

Responding to the concerns expressed by the Assocham chief, Mr. Shekhar Bajaj, the Chinese Ambassador said the need of the hour is to enhance mutual understanding, expand bilateral trade, promote pro-

ject contracting, labour, scientific and technological cooperation and develop border trade.

Mr. Gang said with China's entry into the WTO its opening-up to the outside world will enter a new phase. This indicates a "shift of opening-up from limited sphere and limited fields, a shift from policy-driven opening-up based on experiments, to foreseeable opening-up within the legal framework, ie, in accordance with the time schedule to keep; and a shift from unilateral to two-way opening-up between China and other WTO." Mr. Gang said China's policy of boosting domestic demand and accelerating strategic economic restructuring offered wide scope for overseas investment in fields of agriculture, water conservancy, energy, transportation, communication, raw material, environmental protection and high-tech.

Mr. Bajaj said there was urgent need to encourage authorities on both sides to arrange for direct air connection between the two countries. This will facilitate two-way travel and significantly boost opportunities for business and commerce.

"On our road ahead let us all positively address the very basic issues that have so far not been tackled, promote better exchange of data and information; trade promotion activities should be stepped up and frequent exchanges must be encouraged between key business platforms in both India and China," Mr. Bajaj said.

THE HINDU

9 FEB 1997

India for gaining foothold in Myanmar to counter China

By Amit Baruah

IMPHAL, FEB. 12 The External Affairs Minister, Mr. Jaswant Singh, will cross the international border into Myanmar tomorrow to begin what could prove to be the most serious engagement with Yangon since the visit of the late Prime Minister, Rajiv Gandhi, in December 1987.

Mr. Singh, who has been invited by his Myanmar counterpart, Mr. U. Wing Aung, will inaugurate a 130 km road built by India, apart from holding meetings with the top leadership of the State Peace and Development Council.

He is likely to call on the SPDC Chairman, Gen. Than Shwe, the intelligence chief, Lt. Gen. Khin Nyunt, apart from holding talks with Mr. Aung.

Mr. Singh's visit has been preceded by contacts at various levels, the most significant being the visit by the Myanmar Army Chief, Gen. Maung Aye, to India last November.

It is a known fact that India is keen on combating the growing influence of the Chinese in Myanmar.

A journalist and writer on Myanmar, Mr. Bertil Lintner, claims that arms worth between one and two billion dollars have been delivered by China to Myanmar in the 1990s.

In a recent paper, Mr. Lintner said: "Of particular concern to India has been Chinese support for upgrading Burma (Myanmar's) naval facilities — including at least four electronic listening posts along the Bay of Bengal and the Andaman Sea: Man-aung on an island off the coast of western Arakan, or Rakhine, State; Haing-gyi Island in the Irrawady delta, Zadetkyi (St. Matthew) Island just north of the entrance to the Malacca Strait, and the strategically important Coco Islands just north of India's Andaman islands...."

According to Mr. Lintner, the Chinese interest (in Myanmar) has increased after India getting

involved in Myanmar. He claims that India is now supplying non-lethal military equipment to Myanmar, including uniforms and other combat gear.

He claims, quoting intelligence sources, that the Chinese want to transport goods from Bhamo on the Irrawady river (close to the Chinese border) to Minhla, some 1000 km down river. "From Minhla, a road is being built across the Arakan Yoma mountain range, running via An to Kyaukpyu on the coast. Kyaukpyu has been chosen as the site for a new deep water port."

Kyaukpyu, which lies at the northern end of the offshore island of Ramree in Combermere Bay, an inlet of the Bay of Bengal, is 400 km north-west of Yangon. It has an excellent natural harbour and is a regular port of call for steamers in the rice trade between Yangon and Calcutta.

There are also reports of tens of thousands of illegal Chinese migrants having entered northern Myanmar and taken control of businesses there. This, apparently, has also caused tensions with the local population.

The Chinese, clearly, are far ahead of India in Myanmar. Rather than looking at the issue in terms of "strategic competition", India must do whatever it can to promote trade, build infrastructure and have a cordial relationship with Myanmar at all levels.

The "strategic direction" taken by China to its neighbourhood was spelt out in no uncertain terms by the Chinese Premier, Mr. Zhu Rongji, at the ASEAN-China summit in Singapore in November.

"In the new century, China will enter a stage of developing a well-to-do society in an all-round manner accelerating the modernisation drive. To achieve this grand objective that we have set for us, we need a surrounding environment conducive to stability and development," Mr. Zhu said.

THE HINDU

13 FEB 2001

India, China to discuss nuclear differences

By C. Raja Mohan

NEW DELHI, FEB. 5. Senior officials from India and China will discuss here this week a wide range of international and regional security issues, including differences over nuclear non-proliferation and global arms control.

With Sino-Indian relations on the upswing, the big question is whether New Delhi and Beijing will try and find a way to manage their nuclear divergence better, which has cast a shadow on their ties.

India and China, however, share some positions on global disarmament, for example their commitment to total elimination of nuclear weapons. But the differences are quite sharp on most other issues.

India remains deeply troubled over what it sees as "continuing Chinese nuclear and missile cooperation with Pakistan". China either blandly denies it or insists that its nuclear and missile cooperation with Pakistan is in tune with its international legal obligations.

Beijing's attitude towards Indian nuclear and missile programmes is another matter of concern for New Delhi. Unlike the other major powers, China has been somewhat reluctant in giving up its formal emphasis on a rollback of India's nuclear and missile capabilities.

The two countries are also expected to exchange views on the plans of the new U.S. administration to press ahead with building defences against missiles. China is leading an international campaign against

the plans, and could be looking for India's support on this issue.

India may, however, find it difficult to completely separate its concerns about Chinese proliferation of missiles in its neighbourhood and the emerging prospects for the deployment of missile defences in the region.

While India and China might be some distance away from thinking about cooperation on global arms control, a frank and candid exchange of views, diplomatic observers here say, would at least lead to a better appreciation of each other's nuclear concerns.

Mr. Wan Yi, Assistant Minister in the Chinese Ministry of Foreign Affairs, is arriving here later this week for the second round of security dialogue.

The Indian delegation will be led by Mr. T.C.A. Rangachari, Additional Secretary in the Ministry of External Affairs. Other senior officials dealing with disarmament issues will also join the Indian delegation.

India and China agreed to discuss their mutual nuclear concerns at the official level when the External Affairs Minister, Mr. Jaswant Singh, travelled to Beijing in June 1999.

The first round of the dialogue was held in early 2000 in Beijing. When the Chinese Foreign Minister, Mr. Tang Jiaxuan, came here last July, the two sides decided that the talks should be elevated to the level of additional secretaries.

THE HINDU

16 FEB 2001

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China's warning on Karmapa issue

BEIJING, FEB 5. China today issued a veiled warning to India against granting 'refugee status' to the 17th Karmapa, Lama Ogyen Trinlay Dorjee and hoped that New Delhi would handle the issue prudently. "The Indian Government has clearly said that it will not allow the Karmapa to engage in any anti-Chinese activities nor allow any foreign force to use him to engage in such activities".

"We hope the Indian Government will continue to uphold this principle and, from the overall situation of bilateral relations, prudently and appropriately handle the issue concerned", the Chinese Foreign Ministry spokesman, Mr. Zhu Bangzao, said.

The Chinese response came in the wake of media reports that India has granted 'refugee status' to the 15-year-old Karmapa, who fled Tibet last year to take shelter in Dharamsala. *Ind. China*

The Indian embassy here has not confirmed the media reports. "We have seen the statements made by Dalai Lama's side", an embassy official said, adding the government has not made any comment on the issue. — PTI

THE HINDU

26 FEB 2001

26 FEB 2001

Chinese help to Pak worries India

HT Correspondent
New Delhi, February 8

FOREIGN Secretary Lalit Mansingh today expressed concern over reports of China's continued military support to Pakistan and its technical assistance for Pakistan's ballistic missile programme.

He told Chinese assistant foreign minister Wang Yi that both the countries should broaden their relationship and "raise anxieties" on their respective concerns with each other. Yi called on Mansingh after the second round of the Sino-Indian Security Dialogue.

Mansingh said the security dialogue, which was held over two sessions today, was intended to promote a "better appreciation of the respective concerns" of the two sides. He also referred to the pending visit of Chinese premier Zhu Rongji and thanked the people of China for their sympathy and support to the earthquake victims in Gujarat.

Additional secretary in the Ministry of External Affairs, T C A Rangachari led the Indian side at the talks. When asked for the Chinese response to the issues raised, a spokesman for the Ministry of External Affairs

important investment for building trust and confidence."

Sensitive issues such as nuclear export controls, Indian step in giving Tibetan-Buddhist lama Ugyen Thinley Dorjee "refugee status" and disarmament, were discussed. The Indian foreign office spokesman said both sides exchanged views on each other's export control regimes.

However, the border situation or trade disputes were not raised there were other forums to raise these issues.

Both the countries held similar views on a number of issues related to international security.

"The talks helped clarify each other's position on a number of issues. They shared perceptions on their respective security environments," the spokesman said.

The decision to hold the security dialogue was taken during External Affairs Minister Jaswant Singh's visit to Beijing.

Dumping investigation

THE GOVERNMENT on Thursday initiated anti-dumping investigation against imports of industrial chemical — phosphoric acid — from China.

The Directorate General of anti-dumping and allied duties under the Ministry of Commerce and Industry has initiated the investigation on the basis of a petition filed by Baroda-based Gujarat Alkalies and Chemicals Ltd and Secunderabad-based Bilt Chemicals Ltd.

PTI, New Delhi

said, "The position of the government of China on this issue is well known."

He refused to elaborate but said, "The two sides agreed to carry forward the dialogue as an

THE HINDUSTAN TIMES

9 FEB 2001

Second round of Sino-Indian security talks to begin today

HT Correspondent
New Delhi, February 7

THE SECOND round of Sino-Indian security talks begins here tomorrow in the backdrop of growing uncertainty in the region. The Taliban regime's insouciance in Afghanistan, Pakistan's blow hot blow cold attitude to the Kashmir peace process and the newly-installed Washington administration's resolve to go ahead with the Theatre Missile Defence and National Missile Defence systems have brought common concerns to the table for the first time.

The decision to set up a mechanism for this dialogue was taken during External Affairs Minister Jaswant Singh's June 1999 visit to Beijing.

But whereas the first round was held in the Chinese capital between joint secretaries, this one has been upgraded by one step. India will be represented by addi-

tional secretary (UN affairs) in the Ministry of External Affairs, T C A Rangachari, and China by its assistant foreign minister Wangi.

Both sides are hopeful of cementing bilateral ties through this dialogue.

However, it will not be a forum for discussing the contentious Line of Actual Control (LAC) issue. That is the purview of the Joint Working Group (JWG). The new irritant in bilateral ties, trade, is to be sorted out by a Joint Commission.

Sino-India ties have registered a mild upswing in recent times with several exchanges at the political and official levels.

Significantly, last month, Li Peng, former Chinese premier and head of parliament, set the stage for a visit later this year by premier Zhu Rongji. Political understanding between the estranged neighbours is now considered better than it was in the last decade.

THE HINDUSTAN TIMES

8 FEB 2001

Blow to CBI chief

FROM OUR CORRESPONDENT

Bangalore, Feb. 8: The Central Administrative Tribunal has quashed the appointment of CBI director R.K. Raghavan on a petition filed by Karnataka police chief C. Dinakar.

"My stand has been vindicated," said an elated Dinakar, though he has little chance to occupy the post as he retires on February 28. Raghavan is due to retire by April-end.

Dinakar had filed a case before the CAT in December 1999, questioning Raghavan's appointment. He alleged that the selection was illegal, arbitrary and unjust. The respondents included the Prime Minister, home minister and

board's action in appointing Raghavan while in the process not considering the case of Dinakar at all can only be held as unsustainable in the circumstances and in the light of the law laid down by the apex court....," the bench said.

"We have, therefore, no hesitation in quashing the appointment of the seventh respondent (Raghavan) as the director, Central Bureau of Investigation," it added.

Dinakar was more than satisfied. "Both my prayers have been answered. I had asked for quashing of Raghavan's appointment and had sought a new appointment based on

rules," he said.

He had claimed that the law and criteria laid out by the Supreme Court were not followed in Raghavan's appointment.

The Karnataka police chief argued the case for himself. For the Centre, the counsels included additional solicitor-general Kirit Rawal.

Dinakar has earned the reputation of a fiercely independent police official who is feared as much by his own colleagues as by the political establishment.

This is his second legal victory in less than a year. The first led to the ouster of state director-general of police T. Srinivasalu, whom Dinakar replaced last year.

THE TELEGRAPH

9 FEB 2001

TAKE IT ON THE CHIN

INDIA, CHINA MUST SETTLE A BRITISH LEGACY PROBLEM

More than once during his recent visit to India, Chinese leader Li Peng stressed the need for India and China to settle their long-standing border dispute. Officially Li Peng is only the chairman of the National Peoples' Congress, but is in effect the second ranking person in the Chinese Communist Party hierarchy after Jiang Zemin. We must also not miss the significance of his team that included Wan Chao Wen, the head of China's Ethnic Affairs Commission, and Raidi, the secretary of the Communist Party in Tibet, for it might signify that the Chinese might be linking the border and Tibetan issues. This is not the first time that Chinese leaders have spoken about resolving this problem. Even way back in 1970, Chairman Mao was reported to have told our *charge d'affaires* at Beijing, Brajesh Mishra: "Let us be friends." When Rajiv Gandhi visited China in 1988, much was made out here about how Deng Xiaopeng held his hand and asked: "How long can we afford not to be friends?" Indeed that very same question needs to be once again addressed to our leaders, for the ball is still pretty much in our court.

There are other signs too that the present times may be more propitious for a solution. In a democratic system it is very often that the extreme end of the political spectrum determines national positions on emotive issues. Since the RSS has the lock on rabid territorial nationalism a shift in its posture is not without significance. The senior RSS functionary, Madan Das Devi, was recently reported to have proposed the conversion of the LoC with Pakistan into an international border as part of a permanent solution to the Kashmir problem. If true, there is no reason for the RSS to object to the conversion of the LaC with China or something near that as an international border to finally bury the futile and wasteful border dispute with that country. The RSS's support for the conversion of the LoC into an international border is perhaps a sign that finally some enlightened patriotism is permeating through it, by now, well-

calcified jingoism? Or is it just another instance of one swallow not making a spring?

The roots of our problem with China go back a couple of hundred years when the Emperor Napoleon and Tsar Alexander, met in July 1807, on a great raft moored on the river Niemen at Tilsit in East Prussia, to conclude a treaty of partnership against the British, thereby beginning "The Great Game." This expression was first found in the papers of Arthur Connolly, a British artillery officer and adventurer whose *Narrative of an Overland Journey to the North of India* chronicled his travels in the region in the service of the British Empire. As the Russian Empire began its eastward expansion, which many opine was to culminate in the conquest of India, there was a shadowy contest for political ascendancy between the British and Russian empires — The Great Game.

Napoleon's Waterloo at Waterloo did not see a let up in the fervour with which the game was played. The Russian longing for a colonial empire and a warm water port did not diminish and so the game continued. The British response to meet the Russian threat was to establish a forward defensive line in the northern region so that a Russian thrust could be halted well before the plains of Hindustan.

This called for making Afghanistan and Tibet into buffer states and for the fixing of suitable and convenient borders with these states. At various times, several such lines were proposed. The most notable of these was the 1865 Ladakh-Tibet/Sinkiang alignment proposed by W.H. Johnson, a junior civilian sub-assistant with the Survey of India. This line was to link Demchok in the South with the 18,000 feet high Karakorum pass in the North, but it took a circuitous route beyond the Kuen Lun mountains and thus included the barren and cold Aksai Chin desert. It is believed that Johnson may have had some personal reasons too for doing this. He was an Indian born "Englishman," and in the subtle social graduations that guided an individual's destiny under the

however, never really got around to fixing the border along this line. In 1899, another line was suggested. This was the Macartney-Macdonald line that excluded most of Aksai Chin. The British tried to get the Chinese to sign an agreement to this effect. The Chinese did not respond to these moves and Lord Curzon concluded that their silence could be taken as acquiescence and decided that henceforth this should be considered the border, and so it was. Interestingly this line, by and large, corresponds with the Chinese claim line, which in turn, by and large, coincides with the Line of Actual Control.

But in 1940-41, things began to change again. British intelligence learnt that Russian experts were conducting a survey of Aksai Chin for the pro-Soviet Sinkiang government of the warlord Sheng Shih-tsai. It was obviously time for the Great Game went back to the Johnson claim line. But nothing else was done to clearly demarcate the border. No posts were established in Aksai Chin and neither were any expeditions sent there to show the flag, as is normal in such situations.

For all practical purposes the Raj ceased at the Karakorum Great Game it went further beyond just in case.

On the eastern sector the game was also being played, but a little differently. In 1826, the British annexed Assam, which then mainly meant the Brahmaputra valley. The hills were first penetrated in 1886 when an expedition went up the Lohit valley at the far end of what is now Arunachal Pradesh. But at the western end of this sector, immediately east of Bhutan, a Tibetan administered wedge known as the Tawang tract coming alongside the east of Bhutan up to its southern alignment and running eastwards till just west of Bomdila, was considered by the British to be open country.

In 1903, Lord Curzon concluded that Tibet too had now become a possible launch pad for a Russian thrust and by the rules of the Great Game the Russians were to be pre-empted. Thus came about the celebrated

Younghusband mission to Lhasa the following year. But in 1907, the British and the Russians came to an agreement which suited both their interests to leave Tibet "in that state of isolation from which, till recently, she has shown no intention to depart". Thus Tibet like Afghanistan was to be a buffer state between the two European imperial powers. But by mid-1910, the Chinese were back in Tibet exercising full control. This reassertion of Chinese power caused concern to the British once again. A consequence of this was a renewed urgency to the perceived need to have a buffer between the Chinese and the precious British investments in Assam.

Another forward line was now mooted. This line called the Outer Line included the entire tribal belt except the Tawang tract. Though the then viceroy, Lord Hardinge, initially saw this as incurring too many risks and expenses, in 1911 citing the Chinese policy of expansion as a cause, he ordered the establishment of "a sound strategic boundary". Thus by September 1911, the British had decided that the Outer Line, but now including the Tawang tract, should be the boundary with Tibet-cum-China.

With the collapse of the British and Soviet empires, the only inheritors of this squalid and sometimes bloody game are the Chinese and Indians. The other significant difference is that it is no longer a game played by armchair empire builders in Europe with their assortment of secret agents, cartographers, commercial travellers and explorers, but a deadly serious game between the world's two largest nations with the fastest growing economies, and two of the world's major military powers made even more formidable with openly deployed nuclear forces. The prize now is no longer an entire subcontinent, but merely a barren and desolate desert, high amidst cold wind-swept mountains where, in Jawaharlal Nehru's words, "not even a blade of grass grows."

■ TO BE CONCLUDED
TOMORROW

BY MOHAN GURUSWAMY

Shahidulla in the far off Karakash valley about 400 kms from Leh, as it could not be defended. On the other hand, responding to Capt. Younghusband's report on his meeting with the Russian explorer, Col. Grombehevsky near Yarkand, Maj. Gen. Sir John Ardagh, director of military intelligence at the War Office in London, recommended claiming the areas "up to the crests of the Kuen Lun range".

PART I

By greatly enlarging the size of the Kashmir Maharaja's domain by incorporating Aksai Chin, W.H. Johnson caught the Maharaja's eye

Before Whitehall could make up its mind, the Chinese occupied Shahidulla in 1890. To this the opinion of the secretary of state for India in Whitehall was: "We are inclined to think that the wisest course would be to leave them in possession as it is evidently to our advantage that the tract of territory between the Karakorum and Kuen Lun mountains be held by a friendly power like China."

The Indian case for ownership of the Aksai Chin or the white desert rests essentially on the cartographic exertions of a man like Johnson so we must begin to think about its validity. It is also not without some irony that another Kashmir Maharaja's grandiose dreams of an independent state resulted in India's other major problem with another neighbour.

Though Jammu and Kashmir was an independent kingdom, the 1846 Treaty of Amritsar gave the British the responsibility of its security. This made the British responsible for Kashmir's northern and eastern borders with Sinkiang and Tibet. The British,

Raj, there were limits to where he could go. Johnson could not aspire to either a commissioned rank or a high civilian status with the Survey of India and what better way to improve his prospects than by entering the Kashmir Maharaja's service? By greatly enlarging the size of the Maharaja's domain by incorporating Aksai Chin, Johnson caught the Maharaja's eye.

Johnson's survey is not without some controversy. To have completed the journey to Khotan, which lay well beyond the forbidding Kuen Lun range, and to return to Leh in the time he had, he would have had to be covering over 30 kms a day. Even if that frenetic pace were possible, it is doubtful any serious survey effort would have been possible. Apart from this there was the question of the disappearance of a consignment of silver ingots the Khan of Khotan had sent with him as a gift to the "Lord Sahib" in India.

Having thus become somewhat of an embarrassment, he was passed over for promotion. Before long he resigned from the Survey of India and entered the Maharaja's service. He did well here and rose to become the governor of Ladakh. Not a bad reward at all for "giving" the Maharaja an uninhabited 18,000 sq. km!

That the British were undecided about Johnson's line is evident by the recommendation in 1889 by Ney Elias, joint commissioner of Leh. Elias who was an authority on trans-Karakorum territories advised against any implicit endorsement of the Johnson Line by a claim on

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MOHAN GURUSWAMY

PART III

Against this surcharged backdrop Nehru had to come up with something. This something was the Forward Policy. This policy called for establishing posts in the disputed areas often behind the Chinese line of forward posts. Thus a number of small forward posts were set up with meagre resources, poor communications and extremely vulnerable supply lines. Most of these posts had to be supplied by air drops and quite a bit of the supply would end up in Chinese hands and often the PLA would hand these over to our men to derive a psychological advantage.

Nothing describes the Forward Policy better than the words of an Indian Army officer: "We thought it was a sort of game. They would stick up a post and we would stick up a post and we did not think it would come to much more."

It came to be much more, as it had to, and the consequences were felt in 1962 when a full-scale border war broke out. The Forward Policy was against all sound military advice.

Lt. Gen. Daulat Singh, GOC, Northern Command, in a memo to the government on Aug 17, 1962 bitterly criticised this policy. He wrote: "It is imperative that political direction is based on military means." Daulat Singh's warning, like those of many other senior officers, was ignored. Defence minister Krishna Menon, Intelligence Bureau director B.N. Mullick and Lt. Gen. B.M. Kaul who had conjured up this policy, had Nehru's ear and that was what mattered. If Nehru had learnt a little from the much-publicised Bay of Pigs fiasco the new American administration of John Kennedy had landed itself into in 1961, he would have been very wary of this threesome.

In Kennedy's case, he allowed the legendary Richard Bissell, the CIA's director of operations, awe him, his Cabinet and his military chiefs into approving an operation that was based on little hard intelligence and a lot of wishful thinking. Also in Kennedy's case the pressures of the domestic imperative was overwhelming. The planning of the operation had begun in

Eisenhower's time with Richard Nixon playing a leading part in it. If Kennedy aborted the plan he would have been accused of being "soft on Communists" and what greater crime can there be in that bastion of "freedom and liberty" than this? He succumbed to the fear of an inflammable public opinion just as Nehru was to do later. In both cases, the policies ended up as unmitigated disasters that almost irretrievably hardened positions and thus shaped the future course of national direction and domestic politics. Incidental-

Nothing describes the Forward Policy better than the words of an Indian Army officer: 'We thought it was a sort of game. They would stick up a post and we would stick up a post and we did not think it would come to much more.'

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ly, the order to "throw the Chinese out," was given on September 22, 1962 by K Raghuramiah, then minister of state in the defence ministry.

Raghuramiah was in the chair, Krishna Menon being in New York to deliver yet one more of those long harangues he was so fond of, when the Army chief, Gen. K.N. Thapar, gave his appreciation of the situation in the Dhola area. The foreign secretary then gave his appreciation that the Chinese were unlikely to react strongly and for good measure repeated the Prime Minister's "instructions" on the subject. And so we went to war.

In the 38 years that have followed the debacle of 1962, little has changed. We in India have not

THE ASIAN AGE

• 7 FEB 2001

DIFFERENCES OVER N-MISSILE SUPPLY TO PAK

India, China agree to broaden relations

By Our Special Correspondent

9/2/01
11/11/01

NEW DELHI, FEB. 8. While differing on key issues such as transfer of missiles to Pakistan, a pragmatic India and China have decided to broaden their engagement by building new institutional contacts. During the call on the Foreign Secretary by the visiting Chinese Assistant Foreign Minister, Mr. Wang Yi, Mr. Lalit Mansingh spelled out India's intent to "narrow down differences and broaden the friendship" with China. He said the relationship was broadening and both countries were establishing as many new linkages as possible.

Mr. Mansingh made these observations at the end of the second round of the day-long Sino-Indian security dialogue. While Mr. Wang Yi led the Chinese delegation, the India was headed by the Additional Secretary in the Ministry of External Affairs (MEA), Mr. T.C.A. Rangachari.

Both sides, however, differed on the supply of nuclear-capable missiles by China to Pakistan. This subject, according to the MEA spokesperson, was raised by the Foreign Secretary. The Chinese side reiterated its position. China, in the past, has either denied such transfers or said that they were in conformity with international legal obligations. The two also discussed their export control laws meant to prevent proliferation of nuclear and other mass destruction knowhow.

Concern over U.S. move

The two discussed the larger implications of the Bush administration's decision to improve its missile defences. In case the United States went ahead with its plans, it could lead to a new arms race; it may force countries such as China and Russia to upgrade missilery to keep their nuclear deterrent relevant. This, in turn, is expected to have a cascading effect across the globe, and could unravel the existing international arms control regime.

Notwithstanding the larger implications, India is directly concerned with this development. An improvement of Chinese missilery will be of concern to India which is engaged in building a low-cost, but credible, nuclear deterrent. Modernisation of the Chinese arsenal may heighten these costs, besides enhancing the possible risk to national security.

In response to a question, the spokesperson confirmed that both the sides discussed the question of international terrorism. India and China have been affected by terrorism radiating from Afghanistan, which has become the training ground for the Ughyur insurgents operating in China's Xinjiang province. The approach of the two countries to Afghanistan, however, varies. While India, which is facing the brunt of the *jehadi* onslaught in Kashmir, is an active supporter of isolating the Taliban through U.N sanctions, China is less enthusiastic in doing so. China is directly engaging the Taliban as well as Pakistan in order to counter this threat.

Karmapa affair discussed

The two sides briefly discussed the Karmapa affair, revolving around the controversial presence of the teenaged monk whose leadership of the five-million-strong Kagyu sect of Tibetan Buddhism has been disputed. According to the spokesperson, India confirmed when asked by the Chinese side if the Karmapa had been granted refugee status.

Today's talks take off from the new momentum imparted to Sino-Indian ties after the visit to Beijing by the External Affairs Minister, Mr. Jaswant Singh, in June 1999. This visit set in motion a spate of other high-level contacts, capped by the tour of China by the President, Mr. K.R. Narayanan, and the visit to India by Mr. Li Peng, the number-two man in the Chinese hierarchy, last month.

The MEA spokesperson while describing the talks as "very useful", said that they were held in a "free and frank manner".

THE HINDU

- 9 FEB 2001

Delhi tiptoes on Karmapa tightrope

FROM PRANAY SHARMA

New Delhi, Feb. 5: The fear of either angering China or falling into a Beijing-laid trap has forced India to tread carefully on the issue of Karmapa Ugyen Trinley Dorjee, who was given a Tibetan refugee status last week.

New Delhi is cautious because it has yet to ascertain all the facts about the Karmapa who made a controversial escape from his homeland in Tibet and arrived here more than a year ago.

In the post-Dalai Lama scenario, the Karmapa can be an im-

portant card for India to hold against China. But if India were to recognise him as the Karmapa now, it runs the risk of rubbing China the wrong way and derailing the process of normalising bilateral ties.

Equally, if the Karmapa is part of a "Chinese gameplan", it would prove embarrassing for the country if it were to recognise Dorjee as the Karmapa.

Though Dorjee arrived in India after his "dramatic escape" from the monastery in Tibet where Chinese officials had kept a close watch on him, he was grant-

ed the status of a "Tibetan refugee" only last week (the information was made public yesterday). But Delhi has not removed certain restrictions on his movements and made it clear that the Rumtek monastery in Sikkim is out of bounds for him.

It took South Block some days to formulate its carefully-drafted statement on publicly confirming the decision to grant him the status of a Tibetan refugee. Care was taken to ensure it does not send out a wrong signal to China or to members of the Tibetan-government-in-exile based in Dharamsala and other parts of the country.

"We can confirm that Ugyen Trinley Dorjee is to be treated as a Tibetan refugee," foreign ministry spokesman R.S. Jassal said. But couching his statement in diplomatese, he added: "He is free to move in India subject to rules and regulations enforced from time to time." This was essentially an assertion that Rumtek was one of the places which the Karmapa will not be able to visit, at least for the time being.

In private, China has lauded "the maturity with which India dealt with the Karmapa issue".

Caught in a spot over his 'escape', Beijing continued to maintain that the Karmapa had not fled, but was visiting India to look for some essential items for the religious ceremony of his Buddhist sect. South Block realised China's discomfort over the issue, but instead of publicly crowing over the flight, it decided to play down the issue and allowed the controversy to die a quiet death.

Though the Dalai Lama and a number of his supporters live in India, South Block's policy on Tibet has lacked clarity, especially in the context of its overall bilateral relations with China. Off and on, the Tibetans are allowed to hold demonstrations and agitations to run down the leadership in Beijing.

THE TELEGRAPH

6 FEB 1971

1913-1959: Countdown to the Indo-China border conflict begins

The next major development with China and Tibet was when the British called for a conference at Simla in October 1913. The Chinese attended reluctantly, but the Tibetan authorities came quite eagerly as they were now engaged in conflict with their Chinese suzerains. Henry McMahon, foreign secretary to the Government of India, led the British delegation. McMahon was some sort of an expert at drawing boundary lines, having spent two years demarcating the Durand Line as the Northwest frontier.

The boundary that followed was the now famous McMahon Line. This boundary now extended British India up to the edge of the Tibetan plateau. It was not really a cartographer's delight as it violated several rules of boundary demarcation. But it was an ethnic boundary in the sense that the area, except for the Tawang tract, was non-Tibetan in character.

The Chinese, however, soon repudiated the Simla Convention and thus the McMahon Line. All through this period the British never challenged Chinese suzerainty over Tibet. The new boundary was not made effective till Olaf Caroe, an ICS officer, in 1935 urged the British authorities to do so. Thus in 1937, the Survey of India for the first time showed the McMahon Line as the official boundary. But confusion still abounded.

In 1938, the Survey of India published a map of Tibet, which showed the Tawang tract as part of that country. Even the first edition of Jawaharlal Nehru's *Discovery of India* showed the Indo-Tibetan boundary as running at the foot of the hills. The Tibetans however, did not accept this "annexation" of the Tawang tract and challenged the British attempts to expand their government into this area. They, however, tacitly accepted the rest of the McMahon demarcation. It is, however, clear that but for the Tawang tract there is little basis for the Chinese claim on the whole of Arunachal Pradesh. Even the claim they might have on the Tawang tract is rendered invalid in the sense that it becomes a geographical anachronism and incompatible with India's security interests.

The Japanese thrust towards India in World War II gave urgency to the British need to fix this boundary firmly and securely. Thus in 1944, J.P. Mills, the government's advisor on tribal affairs established a British administration in the entire belt from Walong in the east to Dirang

Dzong in the west. Several posts of Assam Rifles were established and soon Tibetan government officials were packed off from the Tawang tract also.

This was the state of the Great Game when the British left India. In 1949, the Communists came to power in China and shortly thereafter the People's Republic announced that its Army would be moving into Tibet. India reacted by sending the Chinese a diplomatic note. Soon after receiving this angry protest note the Chinese occupied Tibet. The Chinese said: "Tibet is an integral part of China and the problem of Tibet is a domestic problem of China. The Chinese People's Liberation Army must enter Tibet, liberate the Tibetan people, and defend the frontiers of China". India had hoped to persuade the Chinese to desist by offering to take up their case for membership in the UN in place of the Kuomintang Chinese left on Formosa!

The Chinese rejected this absurd quid pro quo and said these two issues were unconnected.

The purpose of this laborious recitation of the events of nearly a century and a half of the Great Game is to only show that the borders were either never clearly demarcated or established. Lines kept shifting on maps as political contingencies arose. The Indian people were, for this entire period, passive spectators to these cartographic games.

But in 1947, the British finally left India. Our choice then was to either call an end to the Great Game or continue playing it with all the intensity and commitment it called for. We did neither. When the Chinese Communists occupied Tibet, we acquiesced. And neither did we firmly move into the areas claimed by the British as Indian territory, particularly in the western sector. How well we looked after the territory we claimed as our own is seen by the fact that in the early Fifties the Chinese had built a road connecting Tibet to Sinkiang across the Aksai Chin, and we did not have a clue about it for several years.

The Indian government, however, did move into the Tawang tract in 1951, overriding Chinese and Tibetan protests. In this sector, at least, it was clear that the Indian government was firm about its control of all the territory claimed by the British. The Chinese also seemed to have now accepted the McMahon Line as the boundary in this sector as there are several indications to this effect.

Chinese software partners

INDIANS are no more brainy or computer-savvy than the Chinese. So should India worry that its early lead in computer software exports will soon be eroded by China? Nasscom hopes that Indian software exports will touch \$80 billion by 2008. Will the inevitable rise of China as a software exporter jeopardise this target? The short answer is that India should see the rise of China as an opportunity, not a threat. Don't think the Chinese are latecomers in this field: Chinese entrepreneurs own twice as many start-ups in Silicon Valley as Indians do. Most of these Chinese early starters come from Taiwan and Singapore rather than mainland China, and many others are naturalised Chinese immigrants. These will, in due course, seek to use cheap mainland Chinese manpower as soon as feasible. India's one advantage here is a knowledge of English, for which reason even Chinese entrepreneurs in Silicon Valley may, initially, prefer low-end workers in India rather than China. But mainland China is now embarking on a major programme of English learning and this will soon reduce its language disadvantage.

So China is, unstopably, going to become a major software power. But there is place enough for both India and China in this field. Instead of wailing that China is a threat, Indian software companies should see it as an opportunity. Right now, a computer company typically does its high-end work in the West and its low-end work in India. But Indian companies are now moving up the value chain. As skills evolve, Indian companies should attempt a three-way division of labour — high-end work in the West, middle-level work in India, and low-level work in China. Mechanical work not requiring a knowledge of English, is most easily sub-contracted to China. It is heartening that companies like Wipro and TCS are already looking at China for partners. Our software education companies — NIIT, Aptech and SSI — also see in China a big market for computer education. So there is plenty of synergy to be exploited. Finally, remember that China is now a middle-income country where incomes are rising fast. In a few years, it will cease to represent a low-wage pool. No Indian can feel happy at being left far behind by China in the income race, but this will surely provide us an edge in software.

The Economic Times

6 FEB 2001

India asked to check Karmapa's anti-Sino activities

Gibek W. 13
CHINA WARNED India on Monday not to allow Tibetan boy Lama to engage in anti-Chinese activities, following New Delhi's decision to grant the 17th Karmapa Lama refugee status.

"The Indian Government has clearly expressed that it will neither allow the Karmapa to engage in any anti-Chinese activities nor will it allow any foreign force to use him to engage in such activities," said a statement from China's Foreign Ministry.

"We hope that the India will continue to uphold this principle and from the overall situation of bilateral relations prudently and appropriately handle the concerned issue," he said. India granted refugee status to the boy Lama more than a year back. **AFP, Beijing**

THE HINDUSTAN TIMES

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8 FEB 2001

China sends \$600,000 worth relief material to Gujarat ^{quid} _{chive}

TIANJIN (North China): China on Sunday sent \$600,000 worth of emergency humanitarian relief material, including blankets and tents to the quake-hit people of Gujarat. 11-13

A special 747 cargo plane carrying the relief material has left Tianjin airport for New Delhi at the end of a brief official ceremony.

The ceremony was attended, among others, by Indian ambassador to China, Shivshankar Menon, officials from the Chinese ministry of foreign trade and economic cooperation, foreign affairs ministry and Red Cross as well as senior officials from Tianjin municipality. 5/2

China is sending relief material to show the sympathy of the Chinese government and people to the Indian government and victims of the quake-stricken areas, a Chinese official said.

China has sent 10,700 dozens of zinc oxide adhesive plaster, 26,000 dozen bandage, 3,300 rolls of absorbent cotton wool, 20,000 pieces of acrylic blankets and 2,000 tents.

The Chinese Red Cross has given \$50,000 in cash as emergency aid to the Indian Red Cross Society.

Moreover, China has decided to send a medical team to Gujarat, a senior official from the

Chinese foreign ministry said.

Though Boeing 747-type aircraft can land at Ahmedabad airport, the Chinese cargo aircraft will fly to New Delhi since the airport in the state capital does not have equipment to offload goods from 747-type aircraft, official sources said.

On Thursday, the Chinese foreign ministry issued a statement, expressing anguish over the killer quake that struck Gujarat on January 26 and hoped that the people of Gujarat would rebuild their lives soon.

"China sincerely hopes that the people of the quake government, will overcome the present difficulties and rebuild their homes as soon as possible," foreign ministry spokesman Zhu Bangzao said.

"As a close neighbour of India, China is very much concerned with the disaster," Mr Zhu said.

He noted that Chinese President Jiang Zemin, Parliament chairman Li Peng and Premier Zhu Rongji offered their condolences to their Indian counterparts respectively the same day and delivered sympathy to victims and their relatives. (PTI)

THE STATESMAN

5 FEB 2001

Dealing with China

By Achin Vanaik *gms oliva*

HA-12
27/1

NO MATTER what gloss is put on Mr. Li Peng's visit, there has been a basic shift for the worse in Sino-Indian relations after Pokhran-II when compared to the earlier post-Cold War period. Nothing brings this out more clearly than the difference between this visit and that of China's President, Mr. Jiang Zemin, to both India and Pakistan in 1996. Then the Chinese leader shocked his Pakistani hosts in Islamabad by stating that Kashmir was a dispute to be resolved bilaterally between India and Pakistan. This was correctly seen by numerous Pakistani commentators as representing a major shift from China's earlier decades-long support for the Pakistani position. After Pokhran-II one of the first things that Beijing did was to quietly reverse this 1996 position to the older more pro-Pakistan line. Today, all that Mr. Li will say is that the Kashmir issue should be resolved peacefully.

But there is a deeper problem in dealings with China and it lies primarily on the Indian side. Within the Indian foreign policy establishment, there is for the most part a great uncertainty about assessing China. This uncertainty reveals itself in an interesting way. Apart from a few minority voices which have been consistently insisting that China is not and should not be seen as strategic opponent or even as a strategic rival, of that other minority which has been consistently arguing that China must be seen as an enduring strategic opponent, most other members of this establishment are quite inconsistent in the positions they adopt towards China. The very same persons flip-flop, sometimes calling attention to the dangers represented by a supposedly belligerent and calculating China (the so-called China-Pakistan nuclear/military alliance is then cited as evidence for this assessment) and at other times suggesting this is not really the case and one should be more appreciative of China's generally 'pragmatic' approach to relations with India. Can one forget that the first public Government justification for Pokhran-II was the citing of the Chinese threat only to be followed a month later by an effort to rectify the diplomatic damage by declaring that India's bomb was not "country-specific"! After late 1999 the bomb is

not even "threat-specific."

The point is that India repeatedly behaves with China in a politically inept fashion. One way of calibrating more precisely the actual state of the Sino-Indian relationship is to visualise bilateral relations as lying between a spectrum whose two defining ends are the poles of strategic friendship and strategic hostility respectively. If Indo-Pakistan relations since independence have always hovered round the pole of strategic hostility with secondary differences about how best to manage or reduce tensions, the U.S.-Ja-

China was only a potential outcome not a certain one, and that between this potential and its definitive fulfillment lay a considerable space that need not be travelled. Indeed, to treat China as a strategic rival and behave accordingly would become something of a self-fulfilling prophecy with an overall negative impact on Indian security. The failure to grasp the fact of this essential open-endedness when conjoined with a self-righteous attitude towards the border issue and with an imprecise evaluation of the nature of the Sino-Pakistan relationship has led to

In the Indian foreign policy establishment, there is for the most part a great uncertainty about assessing China... India repeatedly behaves with China in a politically inept fashion.

pan relationship would be an example of an enduring strategic friendship no matter what minor strains. There is another pole which lies considerably closer to the pole of strategic hostility than to the other end of the spectrum and that is the pole of strategic rivalry.

The central and enduring fact of Sino-Indian relations from 1949 to 1998 is that despite the strains caused by the 1962 border conflict, and barring the four years of Hindi-Chini bhai bhai, the fulcrum of Sino-Indian relations has always rested somewhere between the pole of strategic friendship and well short of even the pole of strategic rivalry, let alone that of hostility. In other words, there was always a fundamental open-endedness in the possible future evolution of Sino-Indian relations which contrasted starkly with the much more fixed character of Indo-Pakistan relations. Regardless of the border conflict, Sino-Indian relations were not destined to move decisively towards either the pole of strategic friendship or hostility or even rivalry. Some kind of awareness of this basic open-endedness has often lurked in the consciousness of even those who have been inclined to engage in China-baiting.

To put it another way, there has been at least some awareness that strategic rivalry, let alone hostility, between India and

a flawed strategic vision towards China and therefore to a bumbling diplomacy. The end result has been that in one very crucial sense a self-fulfilling prophecy is in the process of being institutionalised.

After Pokhran-II, preparing for having a 'credible deterrent' against China effectively guarantees that the latter becomes a nuclear strategic rival. No amount of speculating about the 'objective threat to India represented by China's nuclear arsenal since 1964 can alter the historical fact that Beijing's arsenal was never motivated by any assessment of an Indian threat nor directed towards such a presumed threat. Now, however, China must do what it did not, and felt no need to, do before — factor India in as a nuclear rival and potential opponent — and make preparations accordingly. It has also halted its 1990s trajectory when it was downgrading its ties with Pakistan in favour of a more balanced triangular relationship between itself, Pakistan and India.

Sino-Pakistan relations always obeyed the political rhythms set by the much more important and determining axial relationship between China and Russia, and in that context, the particular relationship between Russia and India. It is not a coincidence that it is precisely in the early 1990s when the end of the Cold War transforms not only the U.S.-Russian re-

lationship but brings to an end the Sino-Soviet conflict, that it becomes possible for China and India to have two major border-related treaties (1993 and 1996) for improving their ties. After 1998, Beijing is forced to re-evaluate its relations with Pakistan and to see merit once again in a closer political relationship with Islamabad as at least a cautioning mechanism vis-a-vis India. In short, that earlier open-ended situation, which was rarely explicitly recognised and certainly not taken advantage of, no longer exists to the same degree or extent.

The one route that does exist for making some significant improvement in Sino-Indian relations is a final resolution of the border problem. The Sino-Indian war was a war that need not have happened. No matter how critical one is of the final Chinese resort to arms, substantial blame must also rest on India for its political intransigence and refusal to see that China had a genuine and legitimate case for its counter-claims, and therefore seek a reasonable solution well beyond the imperially drawn boundaries of the colonial past. Now there is only one way to resolve the issue: mutual give-and-take along the Line of Actual Control. In short, China has got what it most wanted, where it most wanted it, during the 1962 war and India will have to accept this. The rest is basically dressing this up in the most palatable way possible and delineating final boundaries to remove potentials for conflict elsewhere — not a difficult task once the basic political concession to China and to reality is made.

When talking of resolving the border issue and ushering in a "new era of Sino-Indian relations" this is the nub. For China, the border issue is a minor and distant affair and no barrier to pursuing better relations (up to a point, given Pokhran-II) with India. It is India which must decide whether it can make the crucial concession and move beyond the past? Acquisition of nuclear weapons by India cannot alter this border reality by one whit. All it can do is provide the face-saver — the psychological high of a 'new found power' — that might enable New Delhi to make that concession and carry it off amongst the wider domestic elite. But even this is very doubtful.

THE HINDU

27 JAN 2001

HD-12
22/1

Not yet firm friends

By K. K. Katyal

India-China relations have entered a new phase of engagement. This augurs well but a lot of hard work will be required for resolving differences on key issues.

CONSPICUOUSLY ABSENT during the recent visit to India of the number two in China's political hierarchy, Mr. Li Peng, was the dark shadow which had cast on the bilateral horizon after India's nuclear tests in May 1998. The significance of the pleasant change will be clear when one recalls the fear of irreparable damage to mutual ties which persisted for months after Pokhran-II. The damage has been undone and the two sides are back on the normal track, seeking to expand cooperation and find ways to sort out differences, some of which, however, continue to be intractable — the boundary issue, security-related matters and a new subject, the dumping of cheap Chinese goods on Indian markets. What is important is that the disagreements are not being allowed to come in the way of efforts at expanding the area of agreement.

Foreign observers, at times, tend to magnify divergences, picking on the trivial to propound doctrines of crises. The other day, a foreign correspondent cited Mr. Li's remarks, made some time ago, on power cuts in Indian cities and the state of slums, to suggest the existence of tensions. He and others of his viewpoint need to be told about what Mr. Li said in a New Delhi address — his positive reference to the growth of the economy, particularly his observation that "China wishes to express its congratulations to India on its success in various fields over the last five decades".

China was keen on improving bilateral ties, in pursuance of a well-considered policy decision, fully reciprocating India's positivism. This, as it says, may be because of its desire for a stable, peaceful environment, to help it concentrate on its modernisation programmes. Or, as others point out, it may be because of the possibility, as perceived in Beijing, of India becoming part of the U.S. strategy.

In his present position, as chairman of the standing committee of the National People's Congress — or the Speaker of Parliament — Mr. Li was not expected to engage in negotiations on bilateral issues. But his was a special status, as the former Prime Minister who played a major role in his contacts with Indian leaders and as second most important person in his country, close to the President, Mr. Jiang Zemin. His

was the authoritative voice of the Chinese establishment and although he did not dwell on specifics at length, his commitment to "elevate China-India relations to a new height in the 21st Century" had a qualitative significance.

Going by the statements from Beijing in the last few months, China acknowledged the role of our President, Mr. K. R. Narayanan, in reversing the negative trends in bilateral relations and regarded his visit as a major turning point. Mr. Li associated himself with this acknowledgement. Mr. Narayanan's visit last year was seen by him as constituting a foundation and providing a guarantee for the sound growth of India-China relations. Mr. Li pointedly recalled Mr. Narayanan's reaffirmation that China and India did not regard each other as a threat or adversary. This confirmed the end of the unsavoury controversy which had arisen out of China's misperception of India's views and caused a deep chill in bilateral ties. As against that, our own Government was somewhat frugal in giving full credit to Mr. Narayanan.

During his visit, Mr. Narayanan sought to impart a sense of urgency to resolving the boundary dispute. This matter had dragged on. No one in India was so unrealistic as to pin hopes on an early final settlement, but there had been a feeling of exasperation over the delay in clarifying the Line of Actual Control. The two sides had decided to take up this job as far back as in 1993, during the visit to China of the then Prime Minister, Mr. P. V. Narasimha Rao. This should not have taken that long because the LAC as agreed on by the two sides does not "prejudice the respective positions of either country on the boundary issue". However, even the establishment of an expert group and a second landmark agreement on confidence-building measures in 1996, during Mr. Jiang's visit to New Delhi, failed to expedite the process. The External Affairs Minister, Mr. Jaswant Singh's letter to his counterpart last year suggested com-

pletion of this job in a time-bound manner, if possible, by the end of 2001. In November last, the two sides took a major step, first of its type, in exchanging maps of the 545-km middle sector. The differences in this case are manageable. It should be possible to reconcile the two lines without much delay. This would mean a psychological breakthrough in dealing with the difficult job in the other sectors. Mr. Li's observations on the subject, however, did not go beyond a re-statement of oft-repeated sentiments. Over the years, the Chinese had been fond of outlining what in the Foreign Office was called the MUMA approach — mutual understanding and mutual accommodation. This was mentioned again.

Mr. Li did not mince words denouncing international terrorism but we, in India, would be deluding ourselves if this is seen as leading to an appreciation of New Delhi's plight, in the face of organised violence from across the border — much less to a willingness to make common cause with India. In the past, Chinese representatives during visits to India even avoided associating themselves, in joint statements, with condemnation of international terrorism, lest it be construed as their criticism of Pakistan. As explained by them, their stand was firm and unequivocal and their concern, as also the resolve to counter this menace, was evident from their initiative for the "Shangai Five" summits on the subject. This time, however, Mr. Li did not shy away from the subject even on Indian soil. This was significant but the temptation to read deeper meanings has to be resisted.

The concept of India-Russia-China triangle, too, needs to be treated with caution. The occasional focus on it in academic, seminar-level discussions tends to give it a larger-than-life projection. There is no triangle, strategic or otherwise, if it means formal, institutional cooperation among the three powers or coordinated functioning on regional or global issues or on world fora. If at all there is a triangle, it is the sum

total of identical positions taken by 1) India and China, 2) India and Russia and 3) Russia and China on key issues. The commonalities emerging from this totality are noteworthy but do not add up to a triangle.

The common positions have of late been pinpointed, individually or bilaterally, on various occasions by the three sides. During his stay here, Mr. Li noted with satisfaction "our common ground" which "far outweighs our differences". He elaborated: "Being the two largest developing countries, China and India have extensive common interests in international political and economic arena. We both favour a multipolar world, hold identical or similar positions on many major issues and can cooperate in a wide range of international affairs."

The same warmth permeated the Declaration on Strategic Partnership between India and Russia, signed during the India visit of the Russian President, Mr. Vladimir Putin. The three countries took an identical stand on the developments in Yugoslavia, especially the NATO action in Kosovo, on the U.S. plans for a National Missile Defence, apart from the need for a multipolar system. Some time ago, the Russian Ambassador to India, Mr. Alexander Kadakin, noted the commonalities among the three countries but dismissed the talk of a triangle. "Our countries have a lot in common as regards the new multi-polar international world order," he said, while opposing "any type of alliances, triangles or pentagons, as descriptive geometry in diplomacy. When the positions of these three great powers coincide, as on the issues of strategic stability and the ABM Treaty, in denouncing the use of force under the guise of 'humanitarian intervention', in combating international terrorism, and the events in Chechnya, aggression against Yugoslavia, we simply work together — not against anybody but for the sake of attaining positive goals. This is the formula for possible three-way cooperation."

India-China relations have entered a new phase of engagement. This augurs well but a lot of hard work will be required for resolving differences on key issues. India will need to be clear about its China agenda, even though it may be limited, and keep pursuing it.

THE HINDU

22 JAN 2001

China calls Peng's India visit a success

BY ANIL K. JOSEPH

Beijing, Jan. 18: China's official media on Thursday hailed as a "complete success" the visit to India by senior Chinese leader Li Peng, saying it would promote a steady development of Sino-Indian ties in the new century.

"As one of the first major visits by Chinese leaders to neighbouring countries in the opening year of the new millennium, Mr Li's visit has attained its pre-set goal of increasing understanding and friendship between Beijing and New Delhi," the state-run Xinhua news agency commented on Mr Li's just-concluded visit.

The visit "will surely play a major role in propelling the building of a constructive cooperative partnership between the two countries in the 21st century," it quoted Chinese diplomatic sources as saying.

The nine-day visit by the chairman of the standing committee of the National People's Con-

gress was a "complete success, it said. "With this visit, China and India have also maintained a fine momentum in high-level exchange of visits, highlighted by Chinese President Jiang Zemin's 1996 visit to India and last year's visit to China by Indian President K.R. Narayanan," it said.

All major Chinese newspapers on Thursday carried an article titled "Li Peng's India visit: A journey for understanding, friendship, cooperation."

The Chinese foreign ministry had commented that Mr Li's visit has achieved the goal of enhancing understanding and strengthening cooperation. "It has promoted exchange and cooperation between the two countries, China's NPC and India's Parliament and further pushed forward the continued sound and stable development of Sino-Indian friendly and good-neighbourly cooperation in the new century," foreign ministry spokesman said. (PTI)

THE ADMIN AGE

19 JAN 2001

Re-engaging China

By C. Raja Mohan

AD-12

CANDOUR IS the first prerequisite for a serious engagement between any two nations. India and China have talked past each other for too long, and as a consequence, the two Asian giants have found it difficult to build a productive relationship, despite the continual efforts for more than a decade.

The senior Chinese leader, Mr. Li Peng, who was on an extended tour of India put the issue quite bluntly. Mr. Li conceded that a profound political unease casts a shadow over the ties between the two nations. He insisted that achieving "better understanding and trust is a pressing task in our bilateral relations". Mr. Li's nine-day-long visit has turned out to be a key first step in overcoming the accumulated mistrust between the two nations. The principal outcome of his intensive consultations with the Indian political leadership has been one simple agreement. Beijing and New Delhi have agreed to accelerate the process in which the two nations could seriously address the difficult problems that weigh down the relationship and at the same time build on the many possibilities for cooperation.

That Mr. Li took the initiative to come here was in itself a very important signal from Beijing. The formal position of Mr. Li, as the Chairman of the Standing Committee of the National Peoples' Congress, is equivalent to that of the Speaker of the Lok Sabha. But make no mistake. Mr. Li is the second most important leader in the Chinese political structure. Not surprisingly, then, India rolled out the red carpet for him. In terms of protocol it was the turn of the Speaker of the Lok Sabha to visit China. But Mr. Li had expressed his keen desire to visit India, and New Delhi obliged with alacrity.

There may be many good reasons why Mr. Li chose to come at short notice and travel across India. The trip was billed as the highest level visit to India by any Chinese leader since the President, Mr. Jiang Zemin, came here in November 1996. The objective of Mr. Li was not to thaw the bilateral relations that went into a deep chill after India conducted five nuclear tests in May 1998. That was achieved

The only way India can induce changes in Chinese policies towards the subcontinent is through a more intensive and broad-based engagement.

when China received the President, Mr. K. R. Narayanan, last May.

Mr. Li's visit appears to be part of a comprehensive review in Beijing of the Chinese policy towards India. Three factors appeared to encourage China to reconsider its policy towards India. One, China took note of the India's "big power diplomacy" in the year 2000 which allowed it to quickly overcome the post-Pokhran international isolation. China sensed that it was somewhat behind the curve on this issue and had to bring itself up to speed on engaging India. Two, the Chinese review had taken into account the reality of India's steady economic growth over the last two decades and factored that into its long-term assessment of where India is headed. India's impressive advances in the information technology sector, and the sense that China has lagged behind was also of some importance. And, finally, China's review of its approach to India was also based on the changing international situation and the prospect of greater tension in Sino-U.S. relations in the coming years. The impending Republican takeover in Washington has added to the uncertain external outlook for China.

And within the Chinese leadership, Mr. Li is seen as having a certain "proprietary attitude" towards ties with India. He is the only one among the top layer in Beijing today with a keen sense of the past in Sino-Indian relations. His foster father, Zhou Enlai, was the pointman for Sino-Indian relations that flowered in the 1950s and turned sour in the early 1960s. Mr. Li was also closely associated with the revival of Sino-Indian relations and their expansion since the late 1980s. Mr. Li was Prime Minister of China when Rajiv Gandhi travelled to China in 1988. He paid a return visit to India in 1991. He also received Mr. P. V. Narasimha Rao as Prime Minister in Beijing in 1993. Mr. Li

has the full feel for the turbulent history of Sino-Indian relations. He also remains a key player in shaping the foreign policy of China, despite not being technically part of the Chinese Government. It was only natural then, that it was Mr. Li who was best positioned to set the tone for a new engagement with India.

There were no real surprises — but only common sense — in the framework that Mr. Li unveiled for improving ties with India. But common sense has not always been the dominant theme of Sino-Indian relations. Mr. Li outlined five basic tenets of the Chinese policy towards India. These are a political commitment at the top in Beijing to intensify the relationship, expand economic interaction, widen international cooperation, enhance mutual understanding by addressing outstanding issues such as the border dispute, and an assurance that China stands for peace and stability in the subcontinent.

This provides a reasonable framework for serious Sino-Indian re-engagement. Much like in Beijing, there is a new commitment in New Delhi to pursue a cooperative agenda with its largest neighbour. Trade between the two countries has begun to boom, albeit from a very low level. Increasing trade will bring its own set of new problems, but two of the world's fast growing economies will have to find ways to manage them. On the international front, there will be convergence as well as divergences. But it should not be impossible to minimise the former and maximise the latter.

On the management of outstanding bilateral problems, India has focussed intensely on getting an early clarification of the Line of Actual Control on their long and contested border. India believes the LAC clarification would make it easier to maintain peace and tranquillity on the border, and pave the way for a final resolution of the problem.

Mr. Li pointed to the progress already made and has argued that "where there is a will, there is a way" to resolve this vexatious issue. He reiterated the Chinese commitment to find an answer and detected a bipartisan consensus in India to move forward. While there are no exaggerated expectations in New Delhi, the political mood on LAC clarification looks much better than before. Given the legacy of the past, there will be many sceptics in India who will question the credibility of Mr. Li's assurances that China does not pose a threat to India and that it seeks peace and stability in the subcontinent. They will point to Beijing's self-proclaimed "all-weather" friendship with Islamabad, and the nuclear and missile nexus between the two countries.

Must India avoid a serious engagement of China, given its profound concerns about the Sino-Pakistan strategic nexus? The answer is a resounding "no". There is no way of undoing the damage from the previous nuclear and missile transfers from China to Pakistan. India can and should respond operationally to that changed military situation on the subcontinent. India must also continually raise its objections to Chinese proliferation policies; and there is a new forum now for the two nations — the security dialogue — in which this can be discussed.

In the end, the only way in which India can induce changes in Chinese policies towards the region is through a more intensive and broad-based engagement. As China's stakes in a positive relationship with India begin to weigh more than its traditional links with Pakistan, it is inevitable that China, as a pragmatic power, will make the necessary adjustments. The suggestion from Mr. Li that China could consider cooperation with India against international terrorism reflects the trend of changing responses in Beijing to the evolving situation on the ground. Even from the angle of realpolitik, then, expanding cooperation, managing differences, and pragmatically resolving outstanding problems must remain the guiding principles of any sensible Indian strategy towards China.

THE HINDU

18 JAN 2001

Agni II test has a message for China

Brahma Chellaney *HC-8*

THE LATEST test of an Agni-class missile, just as Chinese strongman Li Peng was completing his Indian tour, is part of India's efforts to build a credible minimal nuclear deterrent in the face of rapid strides by China and Pakistan in enhancing their capabilities to deliver weapons of mass destruction.

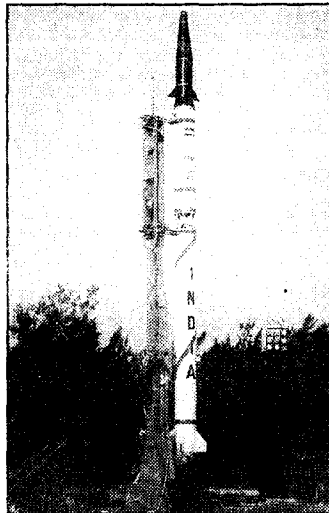
It reflects India's growing confidence that the China-reachable missile was tested while Li was still on Indian soil. Beijing is sure to see this as a tit-for-tat for its 1992 nuclear detonation during the Indian President's state visit.

Whether by accident or design, India avenged two Chinese affronts during the latest visit of 'The Butcher of Tiananmen' -- the 1992 nuclear blast (the most powerful China has ever conducted), and the invasion of Vietnam while Atal Bihari Vajpayee was visiting China as Foreign Minister. Vajpayee took his sweet revenge almost 22 years later as Prime Minister -- visiting Vietnam when Li arrived in India, and testing the Agni while he was on Indian soil.

The Agni is central to Indian deterrence. While only five tests

1871
have been conducted since the intermediate-range ballistic missile programme began in the late 1980s, this is the second test after the Vajpayee Government took Agni out of prolonged hibernation. The latest success of the enhanced-range Agni II, which is solid-fuelled and rail-mobile, sets the stage for India to potentially move to missiles with a range of more than 5,000 kilometres.

Missiles are at the heart of China's ambitious force modernisation, with Beijing greatly expanding its production capacity and deploying hundreds of new solid-fuelled, medium-range missiles since the mid-1990s. This is the largest expansion of missile capabilities by any country. China is now giving top priority to strategic, or intercontinental-range, missiles.



AFP file picture of Agni II

As Beijing further modernises its ballistic missiles and develops cruise missiles, it will have a continuing incentive to sell its older technologies to Pakistan so as to checkmate India and earn extra funding for research and development.

US President Bill Clinton's parting gift -- forgiving Beijing for all its past missile exports -- is bound to embolden China to go on playing its 'proliferation card' against India.

India has to accelerate the development of Agni-series IRBMs in order to consolidate the gains of the 1998 Shakti nuclear tests. Pakistan's Ghauri and Iran's Shahab 3, both based on the Chinese-designed Nodong-1 of North Korea, point to the rapid proliferation of IRBMs in India's neighbourhood. Islamabad has

gone on to unveil the Ghauri 2 and the Shaheen, an exact copy of the M-9, China's instrument of terror against Taiwan in 1996.

The latest Agni test signals India's determination to build strategic autonomy and deter China. That message cannot be missed by Li, who publicly acknowledged in New Delhi that "China and India are still lacking mutual understanding".

Li also cannot miss the parallel between his country's 1992 nuclear test and the latest Agni launch: Both took place when the visitor had completed official meetings in the capital and was touring another city. Li left for home from Hyderabad on schedule about 130 minutes after the test.

The Agni test, however, didn't catch China by surprise: It was on the list of the dozen odd countries (including the P-5 states, Japan, Germany and Pakistan) that were notified by MEA about the launch a day ahead. Although India has been pre-notifying Beijing about its IRBM tests, China has not similarly reciprocated. With the high value it places on missile prowess, Beijing has consistently refused to accept any type of restraint or agree to any talks on missiles.

MIDDLE KINGDOM

The visit to India of Mr Li Peng, chairman of China's National People's Congress, has undoubtedly given a fillip to bilateral relations. As the second in hierarchy in China's Communist Party, Mr Li Peng is the highest official to visit New Delhi since the dip in Sino-Indian relations in May 1998, after India conducted a series of nuclear tests. India can now take comfort in the realization that Beijing seems to have reviewed and arguably revised its policies towards South Asia. The Chinese leader's statements and speeches during the visit seemed to reflect a recognition of the need to substantially improve relations with India. On at least three issues particularly, there seems to be a growing convergence between New Delhi and Beijing. Arguably, the most significant factor accelerating bilateral ties is the desire for a multipolar world order. This was a theme that the Chinese leader brought up consistently during the visit. Although India may not feel as threatened as China by United States's hegemony, it is clear that New Delhi also seeks a greater balance in the international system. Moreover, both New Delhi and Beijing are deeply apprehensive about the manner in which US foreign policy is increasingly taking recourse to unilateral actions to deal with situations that are thought to be threatening international peace and security.

Similarly, both China and India face a common threat from international terrorism, especially of the kind being spread by radical Islamic groups that derive ideological and material support from forces in Pakistan and Afghanistan. While Beijing has been hesitant about naming Pakistan, a long-standing ally, Mr Li Peng has finally signalled China's willingness to cooperate with India in combating terrorism. On the contentious border issue too, there seems to have been some progress. Recall that India wants a clear delineation of the line of actual control on the India-China border. This will not mean a settlement of the border dispute, which admittedly is more complex, but merely an agreement on actual positions occupied by the two sides on the ground. It is heartening, therefore, that the Indian prime minister, Mr Atal Bihari Vajpayee, and Mr Li Peng expressed satisfaction at the progress made on the clarification of the LAC and hoped the process would be completed at the earliest.

The warming of bilateral ties cannot hide the differences over a number of critical issues and should not prevent a frank dialogue on these areas. New Delhi's most serious concern remains Beijing's disturbing record of transfer of nuclear and missile technology to Pakistan. While Mr Li Peng has assured India that "military trade and cooperation between China and Pakistan are conducted in full compliance with international practices and treaties", New Delhi must continue to guard against the Beijing-Islamabad strategic nexus. New Delhi also wants a recognition and acceptance of India's status as a state with nuclear weapons. However, China is the only nuclear weapon state that continues to adopt a hard line toward India's nuclear policy. A healthier and firmer Sino-Indian relationship can only be built if both countries do not shy away from addressing the issues that have derailed ties, time and again. Fortunately, Mr Li Peng's visit indicates that on reflection, China has come to an understanding that it is vital to forge stronger ties with New Delhi. The time has now come to translate that understanding into a stronger bond.

17 JAN 2001

Convergence with China

Redefine the Terms of Engagement

By C UDAY BHASKAR

11-10-17/11

THE nine-day visit to India of Li Peng, the second most powerful leader in Beijing's hierarchy, will have a significant impress on the manner in which Sino-Indian relations will evolve in the next few years. Mr Li's statements in his interaction with Indian interlocutors offer instructive cues about current Chinese thinking on issues that are relevant to India.

This visit follows that by the Chinese foreign minister in July 2000 and is a resumption of high-level political contact between the two nations after the rupture following India's nuclear tests in May 1998. China which is consolidating its own position and relevance at the global and regional level in the flux of the post-Cold War years has identified a clear template about its worldview and this was reflected in the Li visit.

At the global plane, China is committed to nurturing a multi-polar strategic environment and here the principal interlocutor is the US, which is perceived to be the 'certain' power attempting to 'dominate' the post-Cold War world. At the southern Asian regional level, India is the primary challenge to Beijing's strategic aspirations and Mr Li's elucidation warrants detailed scrutiny for their potential import.

The central theme in the public articulation by Mr Li was to reiterate that China "has never taken India as a threat, nor do we intend to pose a threat" to India. Exhorting India to bury the 'bogey' about China as India's principal threat or concern, the future course of bilateral relations was painted attractively.

Recognising the centrality of economic bonding in an era of free markets and globalisation, the modest bilateral trade relationship was dwelt upon.

The olive branch extended to the global level where the correspondence between China and India as two large developing states with huge populations grappling with the turbulence of globalisation and western ascendancy was noted. Multipolarity would call for an acknowledgement that both states "have the obligation and capability to work more actively to play their due part in the international arena."

And significantly, the areas that are of the greatest concern to India — viz. the contentious bilateral issues such as the border/territorial divergences and the nature of the Sino-Pakistan relationship were taken up last. Here the attempt was to assuage India's bruised sensitivities and suggest that China would

approach the border issue in the spirit of peaceful co-existence a la panchshila and that the Chinese intent as regards Pakistan was not necessarily anti-Indian. In a significant nuance, given India's current prioritisation of cross-border terrorism, Mr Li was unambiguous in asserting that it was the consistent position of Beijing "to oppose and condemn international terrorism of all descriptions, and oppose fulfilling political or other agendas through international terrorist means and violent terrorist activities by any country, institution, organisation or individual."

If this is the distillate of the strategic culture and view of the ruling elite steering the fortunes of the Middle Kingdom in a radically altered strategic environment, the contrast with the Indian perception is striking. China is the confident status quo power in the regional matrix whatever be its anxieties at

IN BRIEF

- Li Peng made it clear that neither India nor China was a threat to the other
- Indian strategic debate lacks clarity
- India must respond astutely to Li's olive branch

the global level, whereas India while aspiring to global relevance is yet to acquire that critical mass — both economically and militarily. It is an uneasy regional player, reticent about its own potential and constrained by its varied domestic dissonances. These systemic traits are reflective of the distinctive Indian strategic culture wherein fractious debate, while ostensibly venerating democratic principles becomes victim to arid debate that eludes determined clarity of action.

The Li Peng visit offers a useful contrast in the co-relation between the strategic cultures of two civilisational states and the attempt of their ruling elite to deal with changes in the larger strategic environment over which they have little control.

India and China represented two completely different entities in the first 15 years of their evolution as independent states. The 1947-62 period for India was that of a nascent yet confident state in the vanguard of Afro-Asian solidarity offering a viable third pole of non-alignment in the first phases of emerging bipolarity. Yet the 1962 war with Chi-

na sullied this self-image, and the ignominy of cashing post-dated cheques has resulted in the diffidence that characterised Indian strategic thinking in later years and the manner in which it retreated from the external environment.

For China, the 1949-64 period was one of suspicious insularity and the Mao-Nehru contrast of the period is indicative. However, post-1964, having taught India a 'lesson' and declaring itself as a nuclear weapon power, China acquired a new confidence in dealing with both the world and the region as it went through its own domestic throes of famines and revolutions. Post Mao, the Deng consolidation notwithstanding Tiananmen in 1989 has witnessed the emergence of a resurgent China determined to claim its perceived place under the sun. Thus China has wrought a near miracle in eradicating poverty in large measure despite its authoritarian rule and now under President Jiang Zemin exudes an economic vibrancy that notwithstanding its imbalances is impressive by any standard.

What is germane is the manner in which the strategic culture of the ruling elite in both India and China has undergone a transmutation even as they grappled with a rapidly changing external strategic environment from Cold to post-Cold War, impelled both by tectonic shifts in major power relations and the relentless onslaught of modernity driven by techno-economic forces. If Mao-Deng-Jiang represents one continuum of change, Nehru-Gandhi (Indira and Rajiv)-Rao represents the other in the Sino-Indian context.

One may well discern a continuity in the Li articulation in Delhi with the world/regional view that Beijing has outlined for itself, and reaching out to its larger neighbour is part of this overall effort. India which is going through its own chrysalis of strategic thought and determination of abiding national interest under the Vajpayee government will have astutely to calibrate its responses to Mr Li's olive branch. China is neither the invulnerable, belligerent dragon that its most emotive detractors make it out to be nor the benign giant that is Beijing's self-image. The Holy Grail for Asia's behemoths is one of comprehensive national security with its intertwined political, economic, military, environmental and societal strands. The challenge is to build on the Sino-Indian convergence even while managing the intractable divergences.

THE TIMES OF INDIA

17 JAN 2001

WEDNESDAY, JANUARY 17, 2001

CHINA'S CHARM OFFENSIVE?

THE DIPLOMATIC RANGE of the latest discussions between Mr. Li Peng, a senior Chinese leader touring India at present, and his interlocutors including the Prime Minister, Mr. Atal Behari Vajpayee, seems to have transcended the usual limits of an official visit of this order. In part, the reason has to do with Mr. Li's status as a leader ranking next only to Mr. Jiang Zemin, China's President, within the critical hierarchy of the country's communist party which the latter heads as well. However, a more crucial factor at work is the need perceived by both India and China to evaluate each other's positions on major regional and international issues at this moment when there appear to be some strategic uncertainties across the world. Mr. Li's conscious effort to woo India at this time, in the absence of any new breakthrough in resolving the outstanding bilateral differences, is particularly striking in impact. In political terms, Mr. Li is considered a hardliner on China's domestic and foreign affairs. Not surprisingly, he has interspersed his official conversations with public pronouncements that do not indicate any shift in China's position on such matters of vital interest to New Delhi as the presumed Beijing-Islamabad military-strategic axis. Overall, though, Mr. Li has sought to carve out a new constituency within India for enhanced ties with China by arguing that the identifiable common ground between the two countries overshadows the bilateral differences.

The old Sino-Indian boundary dispute has been suitably managed by both sides for about a decade with both sides allowing the Joint Working Group dealing with this issue and the experts to sort it out at a pace that has not become a point of contention. While Rajiv Gandhi's visit to Beijing in the late 1980s had indeed set the tone for a new diplomatic idiom of hope in bilateral ties, Mr. Jiang Zemin's tour of India in 1996 helped create an ambience of accommodative

public discourse as the prelude to possibly cordial but difficult parleys over the differences. The idea then, as indeed now, was to soften the intractability of the main border dispute as also some perceptual differences over other issues without actually seeking soft solutions. In line with this trend is the latest expression of a desire by both sides to give an additional political thrust to the current efforts at delineating the Line of Actual Control (LAC) along the bilateral frontier. The present goodwill can, if sustained, set the stage for a heightened effort to consolidate the military-related confidence building measures that India and China have agreed upon in recent years to maintain peace and tranquillity along the LAC.

Of direct concern to New Delhi at the present moment is Mr. Li's diplomatic spin on China's suspected transfers of knowhow and equipment to Pakistan in regard to ballistic missiles and nuclear weapons. He characterises this as nothing more than "normal military trade and cooperation". While India will continue to raise this issue during its ongoing process of a security dialogue with China, Mr. Li's open comment on Kashmir is sufficiently unexceptionable. On a different front, New Delhi may consider it worth exploring the practical dimensions of China's stated willingness to make common cause with India and others in meeting the growing threat of international terrorism. Beijing is well aware of India's particular watch-list consisting of Afghanistan and Pakistan. From China's standpoint, Mr. Li does not seem to have ruffled India's feathers over some putative issues concerning the Dalai Lama and the Karmapa. In a global strategic parlance, China is obviously looking for friends as it seeks to fashion a multipolar political order to oppose "hegemonism" and widen South-South economic cooperation. Mr. Li must have found India receptive without being demonstratively enthusiastic.

THE HINDU

17 JAN 2001

'COMMON GROUND FAR OUTWEIGHS DIFFERENCES'

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PM, Li happy over LAC delineation process

Ind-China
By C. Raja Mohan

NEW DELHI, JAN. 15. The Prime Minister, Mr. Atal Behari Vajpayee, and the visiting Chinese leader, Mr. Li Peng, today expressed satisfaction at the progress made on the clarification of the Line of Actual Control on the disputed border and hoped the process would be completed at the earliest.

The agreement at the political level between the two countries to accelerate the delineation of the LAC, diplomatic observers here say, could impart additional momentum to the on-going negotiations at the expert level.

After several rounds of talks on the clarification of the LAC over the last several years, the two sides exchanged maps on the boundary for the first time last November. Today, the two leaders endorsed this movement and called for an early completion of the process.

An agreed delineation of the LAC should help New Delhi and Beijing maintain peace and tranquility better on their contested boundary and pave the way for an eventual resolution of the dispute.

The meeting this morning between the two leaders capped Mr. Li's extensive consultations with the Indian leadership over the last few days. Mr. Li left for Bangalore this afternoon.

The Chinese leader insisted that the common ground that unites the two nations "far outweighs" the differences that divide them. Throughout his visit, Mr. Li has been emphasising the need to simultaneously address outstanding differences and find new areas of cooperation.

The Indian leadership too has



Mr. Li Peng, Chairman, People's Congress of China, with the Prime Minister, Mr. A. B. Vajpayee, in New Delhi on Monday. — Photo: Shanker Chakravarty

broadly supported this approach. As a result, a more mature engagement between the two Asian giants may be imminent.

A spokesman of the Foreign Office described the talks between the two leaders as "very cordial, and friendly, and even relaxed", and where views were exchanged on a wide range of issues including global and bilateral.

Mr. Li extended an invitation from the Chinese Prime Minister, Mr. Zhu Rongji to Mr. Vajpayee to visit China. Thanking the Chinese leader for the invitation, Mr. Vajpayee said India was expecting Mr. Zhu here soon.

In his survey of the international situation this morning, Mr.

Li returned to the theme of cooperation between the two countries in coping with the dynamics of economic globalisation and political hegemonism. Both the leaders discussed problems of globalisation, and agreed to work together in the World Trade Organisation, which China will join soon.

India and China both support the idea of a more pluralistic order, and the discussion today touched on the prospects for a multipolar world. Reflecting the Chinese desire for greater people-to-people interaction, the two leaders agreed to intensify exchange of parliamentary delegations.

THE HINDU

16 JAN 2001

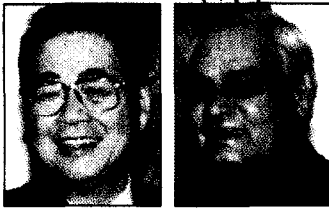
PM, Li agree to resolve border row

HT Correspondent
New Delhi, January 15

9 mts China

PRIME MINISTER Atal Bihari Vajpayee and Chinese leader Li Peng today agreed to resolve the 12-year-old border dispute between the two countries "as soon as possible". The move is being considered significant in the backdrop of greater interaction between the officials of the two sides and signals a departure from the Chinese tendency of consigning the problem to the back-burner indefinitely.

It was agreed to hold the next round of the Sino-Indian security dialogue in New Delhi in a few months time. The coming months will also see Experts Group on the Line of Actual Control (LAC) and the Joint Working Group holding talks. No dates have, however, been set. A visit by the Chinese premier, Zhu Rongji, is also in the offing. Li,



who is known to prepare the ground for future agreements with the countries he tours, hinted at the possibility of the same with India during a visit at the highest level during 2001. When he invited the Prime Minister to visit Beijing, Vajpayee said he was in fact looking forward to Zhu's response to his invitation.

On India's insistence, the dormant Experts Group on the LAC swung into action last year leading to China agreeing to discuss the "middle sector"—a 500 km stretch between Himachal Pra-desh and

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Uttar-anchal—and the exchange of maps giving the two countries' respective claims at the group's meeting in November. The "middle sector" is the least controversial of the three regions over which the two countries disagree. But still, getting the Chinese to discuss anything substantive was a major achievement.

India is now keen to take the talks to the next logical step. Li, who represents the geriatric politburo's most orthodox face, made an important concession when he agreed for an expeditious solution rather than postponing the problem. Li, whose conservative outlook is in contrast to Zhu's western perspective, showed interest in joining hands with India over WTO issues. Vajpayee agreed there should be co-operation between the two countries at the trade forum, not only for defending their interests but also that of the developing world.

THE HINDUSTAN TIMES

16 JAN 2001

Welcoming the dragon

AMONG THE major powers, China has been the most vitriolic critic of India's 1998 nuclear tests. Beijing was particularly infuriated that New Delhi had explained Pokhran II as a necessary step to ward off a potential security threat from its northern neighbour. With the recent visit of Premier Li Peng, the two countries have closed this stormy chapter in bilateral relations. Both sides are making reassuring noises. In an unstated recognition that China's missile and nuclear proliferation has been perceived as hostile by India, Mr Li took pains to reassure Prime Minister Atal Bihari Vajpayee that China had no designs on India. Chinese officials insisted that their country was no longer providing nuclear knowhow to Pakistan.

New Delhi, on its part, has sent three tangible signals to Beijing that India is not set on targeting China with nuclear warheads. First, India agreed to set up a bilateral strategic dialogue. This allows the two countries to openly discuss their respective security concerns. Second, after years of meandering border talks, they exchanged maps delineating a chunk of the boundary. This was important: Beijing has seen the lack of forward movement on the border issue as evidence that India is uninterested in developing a relationship with China. Third, India has publicly stated that it will not be party to a new Cold War — a reference to the tense state of affairs existing between the United States and China.

It is too much to say that India and China are friends. The ruling elites of both countries tend to automatically see the other as rival for influence in Asia. China is not prepared to abandon its special relationship with Pakistan, a link that includes arms sales and technology. The boundary dispute, the Tibetan question and, more recently, questions about the degree to which China subsidises its imports will all be sources of friction between Asia's two largest countries. This does not mean the two countries are enemies. Neither India nor China has any interest in waging war or forming alliances against the other. Both countries are consumed with domestic economic concerns. The two have also failed to determine areas where their interests overlap. But the Pokhran II aftermath showed bilateral relations to be shrouded in misperceptions, pointless suspicion and irrelevant history. This is fertile ground for needless conflict. Mr Li's visit, and the expanding interaction between India and China, is serving to dispel the fog of ignorance that swirled around the relationship between the two Asian giants.

THE HINDUSTAN TIMES

16 JAN 2001

Delhi builds bridge to Beijing

FROM OUR SPECIAL
CORRESPONDENT

New Delhi, Jan. 14: Atal Bihari Vajpayee today recalled his decision to cut short a visit to Beijing in 1979 as India's foreign minister when China attacked Vietnam.

However, on the eve of his meeting with the chairman of China's National People's Congress, Vajpayee said past differences should be forgotten and the two sides should build a "relationship based on mutual trust and confidence".

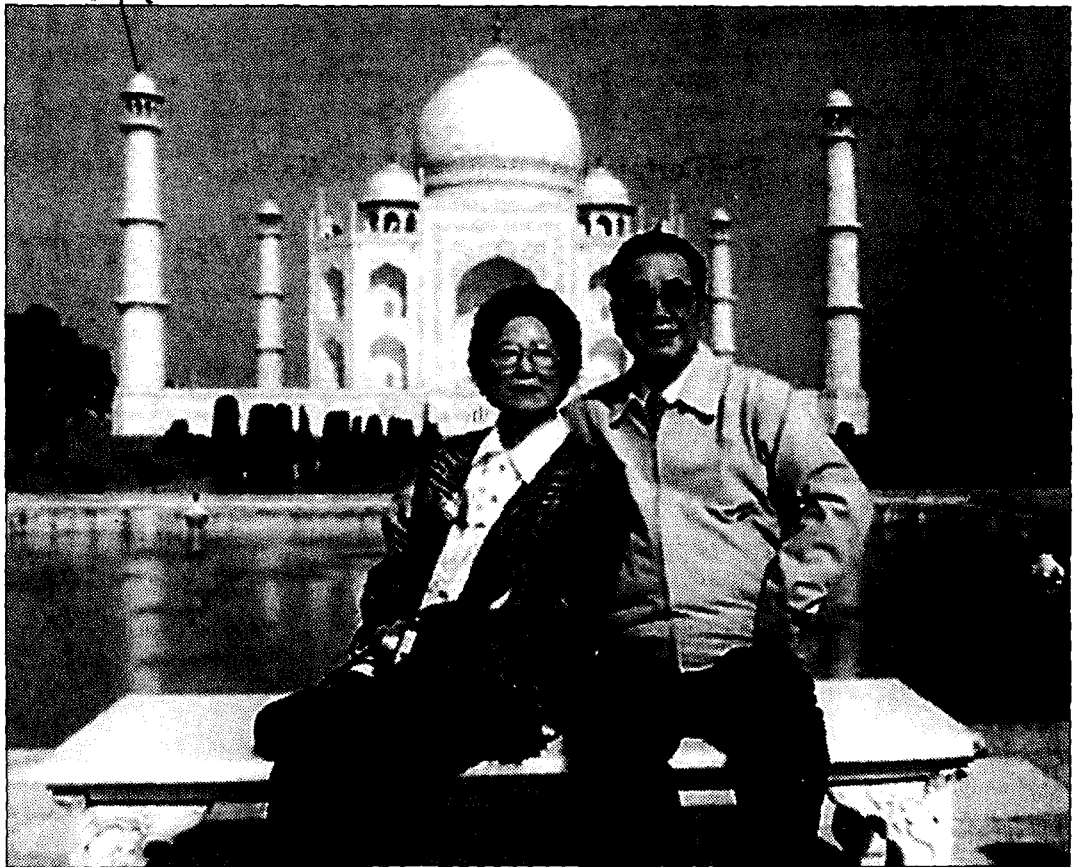
The remarks came as part of his up briefing on his week-long visit to Vietnam and Indonesia. "When I went to China in 1979, relations between Beijing and Hanoi were strained as the latter alleged that it had been attacked by the Chinese," Vajpayee said.

The Prime Minister pointed out that he as India's foreign minister had decided to cut short his visit to Beijing. "This was a mark of protest against the Chinese aggression and even today the Vietnamese leadership fondly remembers the stand taken by me," Vajpayee said.

It was not clear whether the Prime Minister made a faux pas or was deliberately trying to send a signal. Remarks like these will not make the Chinese leadership happy and it is doubtful whether it will flatter the Vietnamese. Perhaps Vajpayee was trying to stress that what counts is a country's principled position on key issues. "There is a continuity in India's foreign policy and we have always felt strongly against any aggression," he said.

He added: "My visits to Vietnam and Indonesia reflect India's abiding and enduring ties with Asia. In the same spirit, I look forward to my discussions tomorrow with Mr Li Peng...."

"India and China are engaged in the process of resolving, and putting behind us, past differences and forging a new and dynamic relationship for the 21st century for the benefit of our two countries," the Prime Minister



Li Peng with wife Zhu Lin in front of the Taj Mahal. (AFP)

said in a statement issued soon after his return from a week-long tour of Southeast Asia.

Before starting for Delhi, Vajpayee said in Bali that he was looking forward to his meeting with Peng. "I share his view that both India and China should build a relationship based on mutual trust and confidence."

He said major steps have already been taken by the two sides to resolve the border dispute amicably. A few months ago they had also exchanged maps. "I hope we will be able to find a peaceful solution to this decade-old problem," Vajpayee said.

Asked whether it is possible for India to normalise relations with China though the latter continues to provide Pakistan with arms and co-operate with it on its nuclear and missile pro-

grammes, Vajpayee said: "We have our differences on these issues. But we have to face them and try to find a solution to these problems"

The Prime Minister pointed out that India has raised the issue with countries supplying arms to Pakistan. "We have told them that it is your sovereign decision to sell arms to whichever country you want. But wherever Pakistan gets its arms from it is only used against us," he said.

Bilateral relations between India and China have gone through several ups and downs in the past. The two countries, which had fought a war in 1962 on the border issue, had strained relations further after the Indian nuclear tests.

However, over the past two years attempts have been made

by both sides to normalise relations. Beijing and Delhi are now focusing on settling the decade-old dispute on the border.

Peng, the number two in the Chinese pecking order, is an important member to have on board if relations between the two Asian giants were to normalise and also to create a situation where the two can co-operate with each other on key political and economic issues.

The Chinese are keen to revive the Russian suggestion of a trilateral axis between Moscow, Delhi and Beijing. India, which is in the process of normalising its relations with China, is not too keen on the proposal. The reluctance stems from the excellent relations that India has been able to develop with the US during the last year.

THE TELIGRAPH

15 JAN 2001

Chinese activities along LAC creating problems'

New Delhi, January 14

CHIEF OF Army Staff Gen. S. Padmanabhan today said China's move to build infrastructure, including roads, near the Line of Actual Control (LAC) was creating some problems between the two countries.

The perception of the two nations with regard to the LAC is 'poles apart', the Army chief said on the eve of the meeting between Mr Li Peng, chairman of the National Peoples Congress of China, and Prime Minister Atal Bihari Vajpayee. "We have some problems on the LAC," he said.

In an interview to Doordarshan on the eve of Army Day tomorrow, Gen. Padmanabhan, however, said the two countries had maintained a certain degree of stabilisation on the LAC following the signing of two agreements to ensure peace and tranquillity.

Mr Li, China's second most powerful man, had yesterday talked about lack of understanding between Beijing and New Delhi on



Gen. S. Padmanabhan

'certain issues' and said the differences and problems, borne out of history, needed to be resolved by the leaders of the two countries.

The Army chief reiterated that he was in favour of continuation of the ceasefire in Jammu and Kashmir, saying that it had paid off well in a number of ways.

"The borders are quiet, guns have fallen silent for the first time in the last 10 years and there has been no artillery fire for six weeks in the Siachen glacier", he said. He, however, said the final decision would have to be taken by the government.

Referring to the Army's role during the 'no initiation of combat operations', he said the forces were carrying on operations within an ambit of a certain range.

On a question regarding 'hot pursuit' against militants training camps, Gen. Padmanabhan said, "We have abjured and we are in favour of the LoC (Line of Control) being respected".

(UNI)

THE HINDUSTAN TIMES

15 JAN 20

Li: China, India have many reasons to be good friends

HT Correspondent
New Delhi, January 13

CHINA AND India are required by the reality of the 21st century to take their relationship to a new height, Chinese leader Li Peng, said here today in an evocative address to scholars and policy makers.

Though there are problems, "far-sighted statesmanship" can help resolve these.

He reiterated that China does not perceive India as a security threat, and nor should India view China as one.

India is an important neighbour for China with whom developing good neighbourly relations is a "consistent guiding principle" for Beijing.

The former premier who heads China's National People's Congress, said China and India have many reasons to develop friendship and become good

neighbours and good friends.

As the two largest developing countries, India and China have the obligation to work more actively to play their due part in the international arena and co-operate in a wide range of international affairs.

"We feel propelled by history to build on the existing basis laid down by our ancestors and add new chapters to Sino-Indian friendship."

Veering towards his oft repeated line for a multi-polar world, Mr Li said, "Given the complexity of international affairs, it is unfair and impossible for them to be dictated by a country or a few countries. Global challenges should be met by countries working together."

He, however, steered clear of suggesting a Beijing-New Delhi strategic coalition in the years to come.

Tibetan students, who included a

large number of women, staged a demonstration outside India International Centre, the venue of his lecture.

Some of them tried to force their way into the conference hall and were stopped by the strong police contingent.

The Tibetan Women's Association issued a statement among invitees, considerable portions of which protested against the Li Peng visit.

"The Chinese leadership should sincerely consider the Dalai Lama's proposal to have direct dialogue for a peaceful solution to the Tibetan issue.

Another body called the Tibetan Youth Congress distributed pamphlets, which demanded complete independence for Tibet.

It asked the Chinese leadership to come to the negotiating table with the Tibetan Government in exile without setting any pre-conditions.

Hindu, Muslim meet on Ayodhya a damp squib

Lucknow, January 13

THE MUCH-HYPED meeting of Hindu and Muslim leaders on the Ayodhya issue turned out to be a damp squib with only some leaders from Faizabad, including BJP MP Vinay Katiyar, attending it today.

One of the petitioners in the Ayodhya title dispute, Mohammed Hasim Ansari, one of the initiators of the dialogue kept away.

The meeting decided to resolve the mandir-masjid dispute at the local level through talks and not allow "others" to gain political mileage out of it.

Leaders from both the communities decided to hold the next round of talks in the first week of March after holding separate consultations among their respective communities, Katiyar said.

Meanwhile, the All India Babri Masjid Action Committee questioned the credentials of Muslim participants in the meeting

(UNI)

THE HINDUSTAN TIMES

THE HINDUSTAN TIMES

14 JAN 2001

Mending fences with India

We lack mutual understanding, US erred in ban on AEC chief, Li Peng regrets Celeste admits

REUTERS
NEW DELHI, JAN 13

AGENCIES
CALCUTTA, JAN 13

CHINA's second most powerful leader Li Peng said on Saturday India and China still lacked mutual understanding and called for greater efforts to build more trust between the two Asian powers.

"We agree China and India are still lacking in mutual understanding and to achieve better understanding and trust is a pressing task in our bilateral relations," Li, chairman of China's National People's Congress, said in a speech to India's foreign policy elite.

In his speech, he said that multipolarity represented an "inevitable trend" in international relations and India and China should promote it.

He also said China would continue to push for peaceful reunification of what Beijing considers Chinese territories.

China says Taiwan is an indivisible part of a unified China.

The Chinese leader said that by 2010, China's GDP would double and the country's Gross National Product would grow at an annual rate of more than seven per cent.

On Saturday, Li was also meeting members of the Confederation of Indian Industry, who officials said might bring up the issue of cheap Chinese goods flooding Indian markets.

Many Indian business organisations and lawmakers allege that Chinese goods are being dumped in India.

THE United States' decision to refuse entry to a former chief of India's Atomic Energy Commission after New Delhi carried out nuclear tests was a mistake, the US Ambassador to India said on Saturday.

"With the wisdom that comes with the passage of time, it was a mistake," envoy Richard Celeste said of the refusal to let Indian scientist Rajagopala Chidambaram visit the US after the underground nuclear tests in May 1998.

The US imposed sanctions on a large number of Indian scientific institutions in reaction to the tests, which Washington said increased the threat of nuclear proliferation.

"It was an emotional decision. Future misunderstandings should not spill over into the area of scientific cooperation," Celeste told a gathering of scientists in Calcutta.

Celeste, accompanied by the newly appointed US embassy science advisor in India Dr Marco Dicapua, said the 1998 sanctions were mandated by US laws and were a result of political decisions.

"But I am a strong believer that science speaks a universal lan-

guage. Good science respects a universal set of values," he said. Pointing out that sanctions were also imposed on certain crystallography projects being carried out by Atomic Energy Commission chairman R Chidambaram due to some 'misunderstanding,' Celeste said.



Tibetans demonstrate outside India International Centre to portest against the visit of Li Peng in New Delhi on Saturday—PTI

INDIAN EXPRESS

INDIAN EXPRESS

INDIAN EXPRESS

14 JAN 2001

China will improve relations with India, says Li Peng

By C. Raja Mohan

NEW DELHI, JAN. 13. Mr. Li Peng, the second most powerful leader in China to-day, has been on an extended sojourn in India this month. In his comprehensive engagement with the Indian leadership, he has conveyed the strong political commitment in Beijing to improve ties with New Delhi. He has already met the President, Mr. K. R. Narayanan, the Vice-President, Mr. Krishan Kant and the External Affairs Minister, Mr. Jaswant Singh. He will call on the Prime Minister, Mr. Atal Bihari Vajpayee, on Monday. He has also interacted with Indian parliamentarians and businessmen.

Half-way through his travels in India, the visiting Chinese leader, Mr. Li Peng, today answered a wide range of questions on Sino-Indian relations

“...China has always treasured the traditional friendship between the two countries and two peoples and is ready to establish and develop a long-term, stable, good-neighbourly and friendly relations with India. This is one of China's fundamental State policies and an important component of China's foreign policy of peace.”

From The Hindu. Following is the full text of the written questions and answers.

The Hindu: Mr. Chairman, you have, over the years, worked to promote relations with India and was the first Chinese leader to visit India in the early 1990s after decades of suspension (of high-level contacts between China and India). What is your comment on the prospects of promoting China-India relations in the new century? What are the chances for China and India to speed up the settlement of the long-existing border issue?

Mr. Li Peng: China and India are close neighbours linked by mountains and rivers and the Chinese and Indian peoples have enjoyed friendly exchanges for thousands of years. The

common experiences and responsibilities have linked the two countries and two peoples closely together. It has been fifty years since the establishment of diplomatic relations between China and India. During this period, good-neighbourliness and friendship have remained the main trend and the friendly exchanges between the two peoples have never ceased, in spite of some setbacks in bilateral relations.

Today, being the biggest developing countries in the world, China and India are both committed to developing their economy and raising their people's living standards. We share extensive common understandings on many major international issues. When President Jiang Zemin visited India in 1996, the two sides decided that they would jointly build a con-

“...I am glad to see the border talks currently progressing smoothly, thanks to the concerted efforts of both sides. The two sides have also started the work of clarifying the Line of Actual Control. I believe that, as long as the two sides act in the spirit of friendly consultation, mutual understanding and peaceful accommodation, we will be able to find, through candid and peaceful negotiations, a final solution acceptable to both sides.”

countries and two peoples and is ready to establish and develop long-term, stable, good-neighbourly and friendly relations with India. This is one of China's fundamental State policies and an important component of China's foreign policy of peace. The history of China-India friendship is an embodiment of the care and painstaking efforts of the older generations of leaders and personages of vision in the two countries. The new generation of collective leadership in China with, Mr. Jiang Zemin at the core have also made unremitting efforts to promote the sound development of China-India relations.

At the beginning of the new century, it is the common aspiration of the peoples of the two countries to deepen mutual understanding, enhance trust, develop friendship and strengthen cooperation. This is in conformity with the fundamental interests of the two peoples and also the unshirkable common responsibility of the two countries. I am firmly convinced that, in future years, China and India will join hands in playing a more active role in maintaining peace and stability in the region and the world at large and make due contribution to the cause of human progress and development.

The border issue between China and India is one left over from history. It naturally takes time and patience on both sides to settle such issues. I am glad to see the border talks currently progress smoothly, thanks to the concerted efforts of both sides. The two sides have also started the work of clarifying the line of actual control. I believe that as long as the two sides act in the spirit of friendly consultation,

mutual understanding and mutual accommodation, we will be able to find, through candid and peaceful negotiations, a final solution acceptable to both sides.

Both China and India have stated their support for a multipolar world. In what way should they cooperate in the process towards a multi-polar world?

China has always maintained that all countries, big or small, rich or poor, strong or weak, are equal members of the international community and they should stand and speak in the world as such. Ours is a colourful and diversified world. It is also a complex one. People of all countries have the right to choose their own social system and

ternational relationship and to world peace and development.

China and India are the largest developing countries in the world. We have had similar historical experiences and are now faced with the same task.

Our two countries have extensive common understanding in international affairs and we are both in favour of establishing a multi polar world. The Five Principles of Peaceful Co-existence jointly initiated by our two countries, have become

universally-recognised norms and important guiding principles for a healthy development of the multipolarisation process. A multi-polar world can not exist without recognising the status and participation of developing countries. In the new century, we should continue to work together to safeguard the legitimate rights and interests of the vast number of developing countries including China and India and promote the establishment of a just and equitable new international political and economic order.

How does China view that Kashmir conflict and India's recent call for negotiations with Pakistan? Some people in India are concerned about the reported nuclear and missile co-operation between China and Pakistan? What is your comment?

As a historical legacy, the Kashmir conflict has been an outstanding issue for more than half a century. Its 50-odd-year history suggests that military means can not bring a settlement and only peaceful talks and consultations will lead to a final solution. As friends, we sincerely hope that India and Pakistan will resume as soon as possible sincere and meaningful talks, which

conforms to the common aspiration and fundamental interests of the two peoples and conduces to peace and stability in south Asia. We have noticed the positive initiatives recently taken by India and Pakistan on Kashmir. We would welcome and support any move that helps promote and relax relations between the two countries.

On the relations between China and Pakistan, there have been quite a few misunderstandings among Indian friends. China and Pakistan are friendly neighbours and have all along enjoyed good relations. Normal military trade is undoubtedly part of the normal State-to-State relations. India has similar co-operation with other countries as well. The military trade and co-operation between China and Pakistan are conducted in full compliance with international practices and treaties. It

and international terrorism to peace and security?

It is the consistent position of the Chinese Government to oppose and condemn international terrorism of all descriptions, and oppose fulfilling political or other agendas through international terrorist means and violent terrorist activities by any country, institution, organisation or individual.

This is a basic policy of the Chinese Government. We support every effort to combat international terrorism through the formulation of international conventions and hope that the international community will take further steps to improve the anti-terrorism international legal framework. We are ready to engage in international co-operation against terrorism with a view to safeguarding national interests and regional security and stability.

“...China wishes to establish and develop a long-term, good-neighbourly and friendly relations with all countries in south Asia. Our relations with any country in this region have never been directed against any third country.”

is inappropriate and unnecessary to exaggerate or worry about such normal military trade and co-operation.

We have reiterated on many occasions that China wishes to establish long-term, good-neighbourly and friendly relations with all countries in south Asia. Our relations with any country in this region have never been directed against any third country. We sincerely hope that south Asian countries will respect and live in amity with each other, and achieve

common development, and that south Asia will enjoy peace, stability and prosperity. A south Asia with its countries enjoying security, harmony and good-neighbourly and friendly ties will be conducive to world peace and stability.

As Chairman of the Standing Committee of the NPC, how do you see the growing threat of religious extremism

As relations between India and China move forward, Mr. Chairman, how do you see Indian Media reporting on China?

We have noted with pleasure that thanks to our joint efforts, the current Sino-Indian relationship has gathered a momentum of continuous improvement and development. The Indian press has done tremendous work and played a positive role. Nowadays, mass media has a big influence on the people.

I hope that media of our two countries will run more reports that help deepen the mutual understanding and friendship between the two peoples, contribute in a concrete way to the continued growth of Sino-India relations and the traditional friendship between the two peoples and work together to maintain the current friendly situation between China and India.

US-wary Li seeks Delhi hand

FROM OUR SPECIAL
CORRESPONDENT

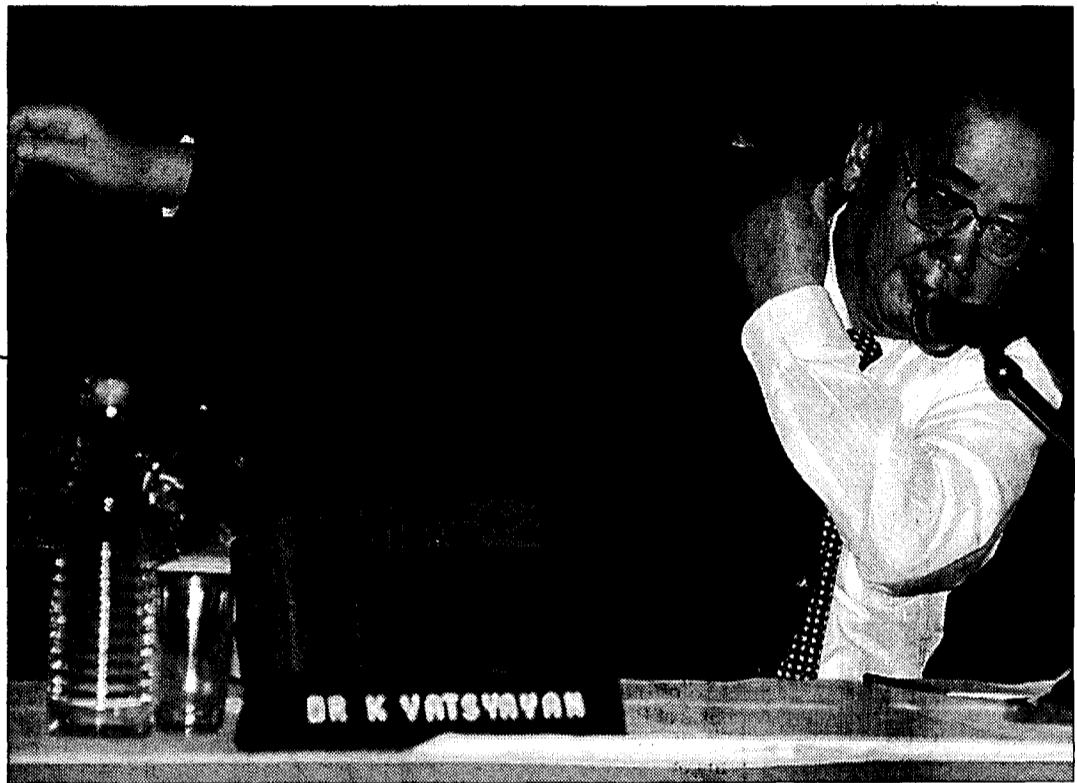
New Delhi, Jan. 13: Chinese leader Li Peng is using his visit to create the right atmosphere and boost Sino-India relations.

He is sweeping most contentious issues under the carpet and selling his idea of "multipolarity" in a world dominated by the US. He spoke of taking relations between Delhi and Beijing to new heights, adding that problems from the past should not remain stumbling blocks to the future.

There is already a structured relationship in place and a plethora of committees and working groups involving the two nations, including a joint economic group, a group that deals with security dialogue, a joint working group on the boundary dispute and a committee of experts.

But Li is not here to add to the structured relationship. He said it was his "pressing task" to achieve better understanding and trust.

In his address at the India International Centre auditorium, Li stressed: "We are required by reality to elevate China-India relations to a new height in the 21st century. As our common ground far outweighs our differences, the Chinese and Indian people have ample reason to become good



Li Peng slips into a jacket before his speech at the India International Centre. (AFP)

neighbours and friends."

Li was not forthcoming on whether China wanted to speed up what India believes is a rather tardy approach. It was probably in the context of the boundary tangle persisting for decades that he said: "We hope that farsighted statesmen of our two countries will demonstrate courage and make efforts to resolve these problems and differences."

However, Li did not refer once to China's special relationship with Pakistan. He also did not say anything on terrorism or proliferation, issues that India has been raising at every forum.

The Chinese leader, who is sec-

ond to President Jiang Zemin in his country's pecking order, today described India as an "important" neighbour.

Delhi is pleased with Li, but not to the extent of throwing caution to the winds. The timing of his visit suggests that the Chinese fear that all may not go well between Beijing and Washington during the Bush regime.

Given the Bush administration's fondness for the National Missile Defence system, misunderstanding between the two permanent members of the UN cannot be ruled out in the near future.

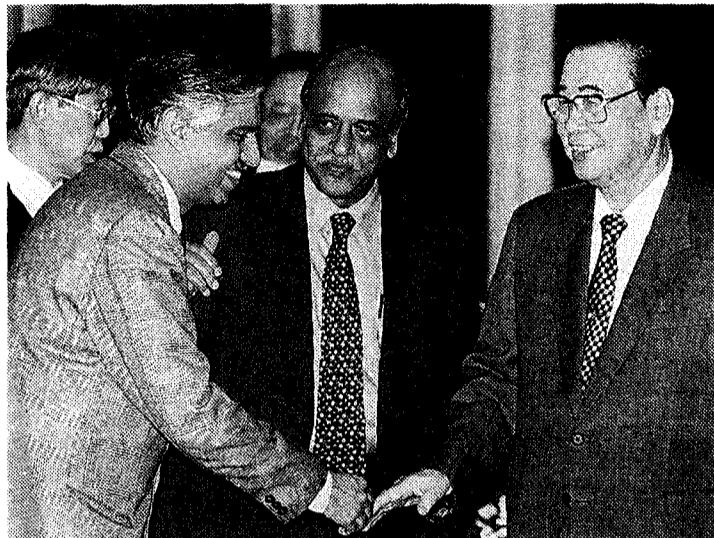
Li today emphasised that

China has never considered India a threat, nor did his nation intend to pose a threat to other countries or seek any sphere of influence. "We feel propelled by history to build on the existing basis laid down by our ancestors and add new chapters to China-India friendship."

Li harped on the need to strengthen the process of regional cooperation. His thrust was on the idea of a multipolar world. "Given the complexity of international affairs, it is unfair and impossible for them to be dictated by a country or a few countries. Global challenges should be met by countries working together," he said.

THE TELEGRAPH

14 JAN 2001



Mr. Arun Bharat Ram, (centre) president, CII, introducing captains of Indian industries and members of CII to Mr. Li Peng, (right), Chairman, People's Congress of China, during an informal meeting in New Delhi on Saturday.

Mistrust hampering ties: Li Peng

By Our Special Correspondent

NEW DELHI, JAN. 13. The senior Chinese leader, Mr. Li Peng, who is here on an extended mission to improve Sino-Indian relations, today acknowledged that accumulated mistrust and lack of understanding continue to trouble the ties between the two Asian giants. Speaking at the India International Centre here today, Mr. Li insisted that generating greater trust "is a pressing task in our bilateral relations".

Taking advantage of his only public address during his nine-day long tour of India, Mr. Li sought to explain the five basic principles that guide Chinese policy towards India.

The first of these principles, according to Mr. Li, is that China "has never taken India as a threat, nor we intend to pose a threat" to India. In reiterating this formulation, the Chinese leadership hopes that New Delhi will rise above the China bogey that has dominated its national security discourse.

Second, China is keen on expanding trade and economic

cooperation with India. Despite the ten-fold rise in bilateral trade in recent years, Mr. Li said, the level is "far from commensurate with the scale of our respective economies". Third, China wants to expand cooperation with India in international affairs. As the world's two largest developing countries, Mr. Li said, India and China "have the obligation and capability to work more actively to play their due part in international arena".

Fourth, Mr. Li sought to explain the Chinese view on the management of the existing divergence between the two nations. He called for "courage and will" on the part of the leaders from the two nations to resolve outstanding differences such as the boundary dispute.

At the same time, Mr. Li said, these differences "should not become impediments to the growth of our bilateral relationship". Positive evolution of the ties, he added, "will create more favourable conditions for the ultimate resolution of those problems and differences".

THE HINDU

14 JAN 2001

LI PENG FOR PEACEFUL SOLUTION TO KASHMIR

China to join India in fighting terrorism

By C. Raja Mohan

NEW DELHI, JAN. 13. Condemning international terrorism in strongest possible terms, the visiting Chinese leader, Mr. Li Peng, today said Beijing is willing to cooperate with India in countering this menace to regional security and stability.

Like India, China views international terrorism as a big threat to its national security. But there has been some hesitation until now in Beijing to be seen as joining New Delhi in its campaign against international terrorism.

In an exclusive conversation with *The Hindu* this morning, Mr. Li, who ranks number two in Chinese hierarchy, reaffirmed Chinese opposition to "terrorism of all descriptions — in any region, any part of the world".

Arguing that terrorism cannot resolve any problems, Mr. Li said "China is willing to cooperate with all countries which are against terrorism. Of course, India is one of them". Diplomatic observers here believe this probably is the first ever indication from the Chinese leadership of its readiness to cooperate with India in combating terrorism.

Initially this cooperation may be limited to the multilateral arena, particularly in the United Nations where India is pushing a comprehensive global convention against terrorism.

According to Mr. Li, China supports "every effort to combat international terrorism through the formulation of international conventions and hope that the international community will take further steps to improve the anti-terrorism international legal framework".

Observers here say it may be a while before India and China find the comfort level to extend this cooperation from the international



arena to a direct bilateral engagement on counter-terrorism.

In the middle of a nine-day sojourn in India, Mr. Li was affable and had an easy smile. He answered questions from *The Hindu* with a large number of senior officials from his entourage watching. He waved off an official who tried to end the conversation and took a few additional questions.

Declaring that his visit, aimed at improving relations with India, will be successful, Mr. Li said, "We have fulfilled half of the programme, but I think we have already achieved more than half of the expected results".

Mr. Li's expansive political engagement with the Indian leadership will be capped on Monday, when he meets the Prime Minister, Mr. Atal Behari Vajpayee.

On the prospects for an early resolution of the boundary dispute, Mr. Li said "so long as there is a will, there is a way to gradually resolve the problem". Mr. Li added that he was pleased to note there was a desire on both sides to address the issue.

Expressing satisfaction at the progress already made in dealing with the boundary dispute, Mr. Li believed that "as long as the two sides act in the spirit of friendly consultation... we will be able to find, through candid and peaceful negotiations, a final solution acceptable to both sides".

Looking to the future, Mr. Li said, "after we have put the border issue behind us, we will be able to further strengthen the friendship and cooperation" between the two nations. Mr. Li noted that his consultations here showed there was a bipartisan consensus in India on resolving the boundary dispute. Asked on Chinese ties with Pakistan, Mr. Li laughed and said, "I anticipated this question". Reiterating the Chinese desire to develop friendly relations with both India and Pakistan, Mr. Li said ties with one nation were not directed against its neighbour.

Referring to the "misunderstandings among Indian friends" on Sino-Pakistan strategic links, Mr. Li said, "military trade and cooperation between China and Pakistan are conducted in full compliance with international practices and treaties".

Continuing Indian concerns over Chinese nuclear and missile transfers to Pakistan are being addressed in a formal security dialogue between New Delhi and Beijing. The second round of the dialogue is scheduled to take place next month in New Delhi.

Questioned on China's view of the Kashmir dispute between India and Pakistan, Mr. Li said the long history of the conflict suggests that "military means cannot bring a settlement and only peaceful talks and consultations will lead to a final solution".

As friends of both India and Pakistan, China hopes "India and Pakistan will resume as soon as possible sincere and meaningful talks", Mr. Li said. Taking note of the "positive initiatives recently taken by India and Pakistan on Kashmir, Mr. Li added, "we would welcome and support any move that helps promote and relax relations between the two countries".

Text of interview: Page 11

THE HINDU

10 JAN 2001

We are for productive ties: Li Peng

By C. Raja Mohan

NEW DELHI, JAN. 12. Reaffirming that China did not pose a threat to India, the visiting Chinese leader, Mr. Li Peng, stressed the importance of Sino-Indian cooperation in the changed international situation.

Mr. Li, number two in the Chinese political hierarchy, pointed to the dangers of hegemonism in the world and the significance of friendly ties between the two Asian giants in the creation of a multipolar world. In his wide-ranging interaction with the Indian leadership today, Mr. Li conveyed a very simple message — the need to take a “longer term view” of bilateral relations and the strong desire at the highest political level in China to develop productive ties with India.

A senior official in the Foreign Office summed up the talks as “good, warm and friendly” and said they reflected a “willingness on both sides to take the relationship forward”.

Both sides agreed that the many outstanding problems in the relationship should not be allowed to come in the way of improvement in other areas, the official said. At the same time, the two sides expressed their political will to address difficult issues, in-



The Chairman of the National People's Congress of China, Mr. Li Peng, introducing his wife, Mrs. Zhu Ling, to the President, Mr. K.R. Narayanan, and Mrs. Usha Narayanan, when the visiting dignitaries called on him at the Rashtrapati Bhavan in New Delhi on Friday. — Photo: Shanker Chakravarty

cluding the boundary dispute, he added.

Mr. Li, on a nine day tour of India, called on the President Mr. K. R. Narayanan, this evening. The meeting was described as very “cordial”. Mr. Narayanan, who was India's Ambassador to China during the late 1970s, is highly re-

garded in Beijing. His visit to China last May had ended the chill in bilateral relations that followed the Indian nuclear tests of May 1998. Mr. Li also compared notes with the External Affairs Minister, Mr. Jaswant Singh. During the talks, Mr. Singh spoke of the need for a “fair, reasonable and just”

settlement of the boundary dispute. The issue also figured in the talks between Mr. Li and the President.

According to the Foreign Office official, both sides agreed to find ways to resolve the issue and that the recent exchange of maps on the boundary was “a positive development”.

Mr. Li also held talks with Dr. Najma Heptullah, Deputy Chairperson of the Rajya Sabha, who later hosted a reception for him. Referring to the common threat faced by India and China from international terrorism and religious extremism, Dr. Heptullah called for Sino-Indian cooperation in tackling these dangers.

Mr. Li expressed satisfaction at the broad improvement in relations and referred to the considerable economic progress made by India in the last decade but did not address the question of international terrorism. Earlier this morning, the Leader of the Opposition, Ms. Sonia Gandhi, called on the Chinese leader.

Mr. Li will deliver a speech tomorrow at the India International Centre here. He will visit Agra on Sunday and meet the Prime Minister, Mr. Atal Behari Vajpayee, on Monday before leaving for Bangalore.

THE HINDU

13 JAN 2001

Li's visit: High on atmospherics, but low on substance

The Times of India News Service

NEW DELHI: Chinese leader Li Peng's visit has been high on atmospherics and low on substance. Though on Friday, on his second day in the capital, Mr Li met President K.R. Narayanan, external affairs minister Jaswant Singh, and attended a reception hosted by deputy chairperson of the rajya sabha Najma Heptullah, crucial issues were discussed, nothing was thrashed out.

Neither China nor India expected any breakthrough. India's ambassador to China, Shiv Shankar Menon, repeatedly asked about the border dispute, the missile and nuclear technology that China was providing to Pakistan, said: "This is a high-level political

visit, not a negotiating platform." The importance of Mr Li's visit is largely symbolic. He is number two in the Chinese hierarchy and signals Beijing's desire to improve ties after the brief freeze following India's nuclear tests.

Though Mr Li continues to be a powerful figure in his country, the chairman of the National People's Congress is not involved in the day to day running of the government. Summing up Mr Li's meetings with Indian leaders, Mr Menon said: "The meetings today were good, warm and friendly and indicates China and India's desire to take this relationship forward."

Mr Li has a simple message for India: China desires friendship and cooperation with this country,

China is not a threat to India, and though the two countries had some outstanding problems to resolve, these should not stand in the way of deepening and broadening bilateral ties.

In their meeting this morning, Mr Li and Mr Singh agreed that the exchange of maps by the expert groups of the middle sector of the Line of Actual Control, was a good beginning in solving the sensitive boundary dispute over which the two countries fought a war in 1962. Mr Li said "patience and the right conditions were necessary" to find a long term solution. Mr Singh said both sides must work towards a "reasonable, just and fair" solution on the Line of Actual Control.

THE TIMES OF INDIA

13 JAN 2011

Border row will take time to solve, say India & China

STATESMAN NEWS SERVICE

NEW DELHI, Jan. 12. — India and China today iterated that the boundary dispute between them would require “patience and time”. Both agree that it is a long process, requiring high level political exchange to resolve the problem in a just and fair manner. The countries also decided to initiate the security dialogue “very soon” — perhaps next month.

While expressing satisfaction at the progress made towards resolving the border dispute, the two countries stated that serious attempt was being made to clarify the Line of Actual Control. The border issue prominently featured during Mr Li Peng's meeting with Mr KR Narayanan, which lasted 45 minutes. At another meeting with Mr Jaswant Singh, both countries underscored the need to take forward the process of addressing this problem.

India also sought China's cooperation to fight terrorism, threatening regional peace and security. “We must cooperate to tackle this menace before it overcomes the region. The phenomenon of terrorism, which has now taken on a religious dimension, transcends national and international borders,” Rajya Sabha deputy chairperson, Mrs Najma Heptullah said at a reception hosted for the National People's Congress leader.

After a 30-minute meeting with Mr Li Peng, Mr Jaswant Singh said they spoke about the “attending concerns we have in regard to our unresolved problems” and the need to promote good relations between the “two great neighbours having ancient civilizations.”

When asked whether concerns over dumping of Chinese goods in this country and Beijing's reported supply of missile technology to Pakistan were raised during today's meetings, he said that these issues didn't figure during discussion.

India has made it clear that its concern over dumping of goods is not country-specific and that it is in accordance with the WTO norms, official sources said. Regarding supply of missile technology to Pakistan, the issue was raised by an MP yesterday, and Mr Li Peng had denied the allegation.

Issues related to CTBT, Tibet and India's membership proposal in the extended UN Security Council also didn't figure during talks. The discussions were termed as “good, warm and friendly”.

Mr Li Peng said that Mr Narayanan's visit to Beijing in June last year had helped remove irritants which cropped up in the relationship between the two countries after Pokhran.

Li meets Sonia: Mrs Sonia Gandhi, accompanied by Mr Manmohan Singh and Mr Natwar Singh, today met Mr Li Peng. Congress sources point out that Mr Singh's presence in the team is a signal to the Chinese that the party hasn't backtracked from its commitment to economic reforms.

THE STATESMAN

13 JAN 2001

India-China parliamentary group announced

NEW DELHI, JAN. 12. The former Union Minister, Mr. Harin Pathak, Mr. Ramesh Chennitala (Congress), Mr. P.H. Pandian (AIADMK) and Mr. R. Ramchandriah (TDP) are among the 27 MPs nominated as members of the India-China Parliamentary Friendship Group. *10-13*

The constitution of the group, to be headed by the senior BJP leader, Mr. Madan Lal Khurana, was announced by Lok Sabha Speaker, Mr. G.M.C. Balayogi, on Thursday in response to visiting the Chinese leader, Mr. Li Peng's suggestion for having an institutional mechanism for regular parliamentary exchange between the two countries.

Mr. Li had made this suggestion to the President, Mr. K.R. Narayanan, during the latter's visit to Beijing last year. The committee, having 18 members from the Lok Sabha and nine from the Rajya Sabha, will have two vice-presidents, Mr. R.L. Bhatia (Congress) and Mr. S. Ramachandran Pillai (CPI-M). *131*

Besides maintaining political, economic, social and cultural contacts between the two countries, the group would aim at creating favourable conditions for continuous development of inter-parliamentary contacts and promoting cooperation between the two delegations.

Other members of the group include Mr. Pawan Kumar Bansal (Congress), Mr. Subodh Roy and Abul Hasnat Khan (CPI-M), Ms. Beatrix D'Souza (JD-Samata), all from the Lok Sabha and Mr. Ramchandra Khuntia (Congress), Ms. Mabel Rebello and Ven Dhammaviriyo (RJD), all from the Rajya Sabha. — PTI

THE HINDU

13 JAN 2001

Engaging Beijing

After the Pokharan chill, India-China relations is once again looking up. But the current visit of Li Peng may not lead to any diplomatic breakthrough. **JYOTI MALHOTRA** reports

HISTORY must be the stuff of which coincidences are made up. In 1979, Atal Behari Vajpayee as external affairs minister was undertaking the first major visit to China after diplomatic relations were restored between the two countries in 1976. A day after he landed in Hangzhou, China invaded Vietnam, forcing red faces all around in the Indian establishment. Vajpayee cut short his trip to China.

Interestingly, the day Li Peng, the second-most powerful man in the Middle Kingdom (or 'Zhong Kuo', as the Chinese refer to their own country in Mandarin), landed in Mumbai three days ago, Prime Minister Vajpayee was out of the country. Where was he was touring?

Vietnam. None of this was, even remotely, deliberate. In fact, India must be amongst a handful of countries in the world, which continues to have mixed feelings about the massacre of students on the Tiananmen square in 1989. Large sections of the intelligentsia have made it more than clear that they do not subscribe to the Western description of Li Peng as the 'Butcher of Tiananmen.'

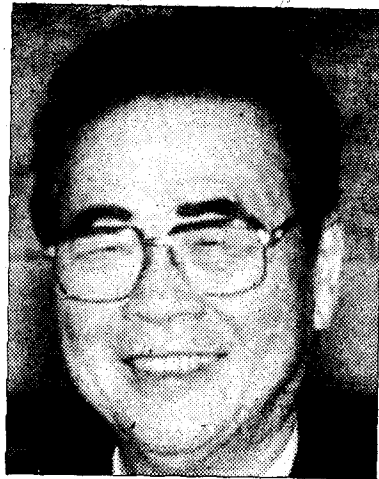
Clearly, with the Chinese army

breathing down India's border in Arunachal Pradesh — and ever so often crossing over into Indian territory — as well as sitting on 5000-odd sq kms of Indian territory in Aksai Chin, that was illegally ceded to Beijing by Pakistan, means that New Delhi has far more important things to worry about than sundry human rights violations in another country. Such as China's "all-weather friendship" with Pakistan. Two years ago, travelling in Pakistan, Li was fully eloquent about Beijing's relationship with Islamabad. Western powers as

well as India are fully aware of the fact that China has transferred missile and nuclear technology to Pakistan in the past in violation of all control regimes, a fact that China both ignores or repeatedly denies. A few days ago

before he left Beijing for Mumbai, Li described India as a "major country" in Asia that will play a "bigger role in the multi-polar world." Chinawatchers in the capital, wondering whether Li's choice of words were deliberate or accidental, remained ominously silent.

It is this fact of two antagonistic nations, each of them within breathing distance on India's borders, that is the central motivating force for New Delhi to



now deal with both Pakistan and China. In mid-1998, after the Pokharan tests, the BJP government was far more naive — admitting in a letter to US president Bill Clinton that the reason it went nuclear was because of a "neighbour in the north" with whom India fought a "bitter war" — but it learnt quickly. China came down heavily, calling India a "hegemonic" power. Since Kargil, however, the government has applied completely different tactics. It has sought to diplomatically force the pace on issues with China, such as a delineation of the Line of Actual Control (the agreement to do so was signed 7 years ago) as well as an annual security dialogue — the first took place last year. The sustained pressure led to the first exchange of maps in the uncontentious middle-sector for the first time in November.

It was during Rajiv Gandhi's 1988 visit that Li first elaborated on his Pax Asiana view of the world. That is, the world must not be ruled by one power but there should be many centres of power. Russia, China and India, it has been attributed to Li as having then said, were the natural points of such an Asian triangle. It seems as if Beijing is now keen

on reviving the concept, or at least willing to give it a long rope. Aware of the predominance of the US in world affairs and increasingly in South Asia (read India), Beijing's gamble with New Delhi sounds especially interesting.

Fact is, Li was very keen on making this particular trip to India. With the slew of visits since Kargil — by Foreign minister Jaswant Singh, President Narayanan and a return visit by Chinese foreign minister Tang Jiaxuan — the hostility of Pokharan is on the backburner. As India survived Western sanctions with a smile and a two-step and received leaders of the Permanent-Five countries, analysts say, Beijing wanted to size up an India that refused to be put down.

The Chinese government, then, wanted quick dates for Li. A somewhat surprised government went to some lengths to accommodate an old friend. After all, Li is the adopted son of Zhou-en Lai, with whom Jawaharlal Nehru and India went through a honeymoon in the 1950s. New Delhi is keen that bilateral problems, such as the delineation of the LAC and the border, are not left to another generation to grapple. It is aware, as well, that its keenness on the issue is only matched with a deliberate vagueness on Beijing's part. Government sources said they were not hopeful of any breakthroughs in the near future.

Meanwhile, Li's arrival in India also coincides with the first anniversary of the flight of the young Ugyen Thinley Dorji or the Karmapa Lama to India from Tibet. Significantly, New Delhi has so far refused to give any refugee status papers to the young Karmapa despite requests by the Dalai Lama himself, because it is still undecided about the identity of the boy. It knows too, that any such recognition — especially on the eve of a major Chinese visit — would throw a spanner in the works of bilateral-ties-on-the-mend.

EXPRESS
FOCUS
DIPLOMACY

The real battle will be for the market

90%
China
98%

Chinese checkers

18/11

LIPENG should consider himself lucky he had only the customary Tibetan protestors to greet him on arrival. This time, he could as well have had FICCI, CII, ASSOCHAM and the other "Chinese toys are coming" scare-mongers messing up the red carpet — and Delhi police would have had a tougher time thrashing and teargassing them than the Tibetans. But since Li Peng must have been well briefed on the new wave of corporate Sinophobia, he could be wondering what it is about the Chinese that gets the Indians fleeing in fright so quickly. And that is not just in reference to 1962 when a whole division-plus of our army, in fortified defences, fled without a real firefight.

The debate on whether our defence minister called China our enemy number one or likely threat number one is irrelevant. In the collective Indian psyche, China has somehow been our fear number one. It is difficult to explain, leave alone justify, this fear — even loathing — of not just China but all yellow races. They are by no means ten feet tall. They may be able to look the world in the eye now but they've been victims of colonialism, invasions and depredations as much as we have been. Yet, we find it easier to relate to the white man who did that to both our countries in recent centuries than to our Chinese neighbours.

Barring the relatively short Buddhist interregnum, we have had a hard time reaching out to fellow Asians to our east. Over the centuries our lifestyles, culture, language and even social attitudes have found much more in common with the West than with the East. It could possibly be because the 19th century Indian elites learnt to discourse in English and failed to reach out to nationalities closer home that did not understand that language at all. Nehru was perhaps the only one of our great leaders who was at least fascinated by China. But even this was more patronising than positive. If he was the leader of the post-colonial, developing world, it was obviously his burden to provide leadership and light to the Chinese and he probably expected Zhou

Enlai to complete the great non-aligned quartet led by him (already including Nasser and Tito).

The history of his engagement with the Chinese, and world leaders on "behalf" of the Chinese, clearly underlines this patronising attitude. According to the declassified minutes of his meeting with Eisenhower, Nehru was impressing upon him to engage with the Chinese as if communism did not matter. Communism, he said, would die its own death. From his point of view, China would then join the group of the

wave tactics, cruelty and lack of concern for casualties and Maoist cunning, conceded defeat even before the engagement in Se La and Bomdi La. Veterans of

that rout still remember how a desperate army leadership rounded up some ethnic Chinese in Calcutta and put them on display in cages at Calcutta and Siliguri railway stations so troops could see they were not up against super-humans.

The tactics did not work then. It is difficult to see what will work now, so we could at least begin to weigh the possibility that the Chinese

NATIONAL INTEREST



SHEKHAR GUPTA

We have had more peace on our borders with China for three decades than with Bangladesh or Nepal. Yet we justify our nuclear programme in terms of the threat from China

non-aligned and thus automatically, and gratefully, submit to Nehru's, and India's, moral leadership. This, more than the military miscalculation, explains the extent of his disappointment and bitterness in 1962. It wasn't so much a case of how could they defeat my army so easily. It was more like, how could the Chinese think they could ridicule my and my

are not our natural enemies, at least not in the short run. This is in spite of the fact that they have stayed out of our two and a half wars against Pakistan. Meanwhile we have had more peace and tranquility on our borders with China for three decades than with Bangladesh, Nepal or Bhutan. We have voted at the United Nations along with the Chinese much

Yes, China could be our threat number one, but it is more likely to threaten us with more plastic toys aimed at our markets than Dong Feng missiles zeroing in on Raisina Hill

country's moral authority so casually?

Quite fascinatingly, while Nehru's intellect and international exposure persuaded him to patronise the Chinese, his army held them in awe. It had never mentally pictured the Chinese as enemies and, fed as it was on stories of their human

more often than with the Americans and now a lot of the lentils we have on our dining tables come from China. The Chinese arms sales to Pakistan is a vastly exaggerated problem. With a mere Rs 5,000 crore or so, China accounts for about 2 per cent of the world's arms ex-

ports and is way behind even Israel.

Poor in technology, production values, these (mostly Soviet copies) Chinese weapons are the K-Mart equivalent of cheap Chinese plastic toys. Pakistan is its largest buyer because almost no other country would pay hard currency for such old-tech weapons in large numbers. Pakistanis do so because they are so heavily sanctioned in the West. Today this relationship is more commercial than political. Yet we justify our nuclear programme to the world primarily in terms of the threat from China. Among so many of our decision-makers there is a sense of inevitability about a future conflict with China. Some of us, therefore, naturally see ourselves as members of some global anti-China alliance, as if the world fears the Chinese as much as we do and as if we, with a few Agnis, will tilt the balance so decisively in favour of these good guys against the new imperialist Chinese.

Sure enough, China can be a likely rival to us but, for that to happen, we have to raise ourselves to the same league economically and in terms of our international stature which, today, will come from our economic indicators as well as our own democratic stability and our ability to resolve conflicts, particularly those to do with our borders, quickly. Today's world is very bored with border disputes and, as the two major countries which still nurse that legacy, India and China have a lot of work to do.

Our border dispute with China diminishes us, militarily and politically. It compels us to maintain large force levels and then spread them along two fronts. It also distracts us from planning for the real future threat, the economic one. If we are able to somehow put the military competition and the border dispute behind us, we may find the mindspace and resources to prepare for the future fight for the markets. Yes, China could be our threat number one, but it is more likely to threaten us with more plastic toys aimed at our markets than Dong Feng missiles zeroing in on Raisina Hill. The way to counter that will be our own software, and value added services, not half a dozen Agnis with Shanghai and Chengdu inscribed on them.

INDIAN EXPRESS

INDIAN EXPRESS

13 JAN 2001

PLA key to Beijing-New Delhi relations

Brahma Chellaney

IN 1991 when no major foreign dignitary was willing to shake Li Peng's hands bloodied during the Tiananmen Square massacre two years earlier, India feted him and carried out a brutal police assault on Tibetan demonstrators in New Delhi. Nearly a decade later, the still-hated Li is again being welcomed in New Delhi, ironically when the newly-revealed "Tiananmen Papers" bear out his lead role in the killing of hundreds, perhaps thousands, of protestors.

Li, although replaced as Premier, remains a key member of the clique in Beijing, thanks to the support he enjoys of the People's Liberation Army, China's hyper-nationalistic guardian that keeps the Communist Party in power.

Li, the PLA's hatchet man, is also China's real face. Beginning with the 16th Party Congress next year, the Jiang Zemin-Zhu Rongji-Li Peng triumvirate will retire or semi-retire. The man most likely to take over the top state and party positions is Li's mirror image, Vice

President Hu Jintao, who, as party boss in Tibet, suppressed Tibetan resistance and enforced a 14-month martial law.

The PLA's grip on the Chinese power structure is likely to further tighten. As China's spreading political awareness starts to question the Communists' legitimacy to monopolise power, the party will increasingly depend on the PLA for survival.

For India, however, the PLA remains the main obstacle to a peaceful, stable relationship with Beijing. It is the PLA that spearheads the containment of India behind the cover of political engagement with New Delhi.

Li's week-long tour of India is an example of how Beijing employs a high-level visit to convey the impression that relations with India are improving while quietly persisting with its inimical activities. If high-level visits could banish bilateral problems, there would have been no 1962 invasion.

While some Indian concerns over

Chinese activities would no doubt be conveyed to Li, New Delhi's main problem is that it has failed to establish dialogue with the PLA and influence its thinking. The PLA has been loath to participate even in Track II dialogues with India.

The PLA's top leaders are an insular and xenophobic lot, comfortable only with other militaristic states. Not only have they maintained a long-standing supply relationship with Pakistan, they have

also helped foster North Korea-Pak missile collaboration and Pak-Myanmar intelligence sharing. They look at the Indian military, marginalised in policy-making, with puzzlement.

The Central Military Commission's seven military members and their principal deputies in charge of the four "general headquarters" are distrustful of India, vengeful towards Japan and deeply suspicious of the United States. This old guard, however, is building a high-tech PLA and has over-

seen the largest expansion of missile capabilities by any nation in the last one decade.

To understand Chinese behaviour towards India, one has to understand the PLA.

Why has China reached land-border agreements with all its neighbours except India? Why has it taken 19 years of negotiations before Beijing exchanged maps of just one sector with India? Why does China insist on being an international loner on Sikkim by treating it as an independent nation? What makes Beijing repeatedly break its promises to halt nuclear and missile aid to Islamabad? What prompted China's controlled press to publish disparaging comments on India on the eve of Li's current visit?

The PLA, with its ruthless pragmatism and classical balance-of-power traditions, holds the key to all these questions.

Obviously, it would be more profitable for India to find a way to deal directly with the PLA top brass than with an aging hatchet man who seems to have outlived his utility.

News Analysis

THE HINDUSTAN T

12 JAN 2001

India lays down the red carpet for Chinese No.2

Indrani Bagchi

NEW DELHI 11 JANUARY

THE CHINESE No. 2 Li Peng walked down the tarmac on Thursday morning into the warm embrace of vice-president Kishan Kant and speaker G.M.C. Balayogi as the Indian establishment laid out the red carpet for the highest profile Chinese dignitary to visit since Jiang Zemin in 1995.

Mr Li will see the best of the Indian showcase in the eight days that he will be here. From the Infosys Technology Park and Sanyo complex in Bangalore to the Taj Mahal and the Lake Palace in Udaipur, Mr Li will be following in the footsteps of a bevy of world leaders who have trodden this very path over the past year.

It's a signal of the changing global dynamics that the man who is second in the hierarchy in the Chinese Communist Party is less concerned about the political nuances of bilateral relations than about seeing for himself India's progress in the technology sector.

On the eve of his visit, Mr Li had said: "During the past decade, major changes have taken place in the international scene and also in our respective domestic situation. India's economy has been growing at a fast pace and the high tech sector has mushroomed and thrived...I very much wish to see with my own eyes the development so as

to broaden my mind."

Mr Li's curiosity is justified. China, which has arguably cornered the market in manufactured goods, has been giving Indian industry quite a bit of heartburn over the cheap goods flooding its markets.

The deluge of adverse press for China prompted some Indian

analysts to observe that India was getting "Pakistan syndrome" when it came to opening up economic relations with China. As a matter of fact, bilateral trade figures show that Indian exports to China had increased by 59.6 per cent while imports increased by 34.5 per cent.

But what few in India realise is that India's own

burgeoning technology sector has been causing China some anxiety. It has prompted the Chinese minister for information technology to go on record saying that China should become the leader of the Third World in information technology by overtaking India.

Chinese academics have said that while China's own technology sector is sufficient for the country's needs, they needed to overtake India in software exports. India's language skills and the regulation-free status of the industry remain its biggest advantage.

But for the present, India and China have started the process of cooperation in this sector.



Li Peng: Namaste

The Economic Times

12 JAN 2001

MPs group to boost Sino-Indian ties

China, however, non-committal on backing India's bid for UN seat

Tibetans protesting Li's visit arrested

HT Correspondent
New Delhi, January 11

THE SETTING up of a 27-member India-China Parliamentary Friendship Group, as suggested by the Chinese for regular Parliamentary exchanges, was announced today by Lok Sabha Speaker G M C Balayogi.

At an hour-long meeting with 40 members of Parliament at Parliament House, Chairman of the National People's Congress Li Peng said, a similar group would be set up in the Chinese Congress when it met in March.

Mr Peng met the Speaker separately and said India and China "do not pose any threat to each other" and that historical issues between the two could be resolved through negotiations.

Responding to a query regarding India's desire for membership of the UN Security Council, the Chinese leader said, "We fully understand India's aspirations, given its size and importance. However, from the complexity of the matter, it appears, that a decision can only be taken after wider consultations."

The Chinese leader denied reports that China was supplying nuclear technology to Pakistan. "There is no such thing. There is traditional friendship between China and



Pakistan which we are using for economic development."

Mr Balayogi announced that Mr Madan Lal Khurana would be the president of the Friendship Group and Mr R L Bhatia and Mr S Ramachandran Pillai would be vice-presidents. The group will have 18 Lok Sabha and nine Rajya Sabha members.

Besides Deputy Speaker P M Sayeed and Rajya Sabha Deputy Chairperson Najma

Heptulla, former Speakers Shivraj Patil and P A Sangma, Congress deputy leader in Lok Sabha Madhavrao Scindia, Sharad Pawar, V K Malhotra, Margaret Alva, Karan Singh and K Yerran Naidu were among the MPs who met Mr Peng.

Mr Balayogi told the Chinese leader that the Indian nuclear tests in 1998 were not directed against any country. India, he said, was not in the arms race.

Responding to Dr Heptulla's query, Mr Peng said, developing and developed countries were being accorded "different status and treatment" in the World Trade Organisation, and China would address the issue when it joins the body. Globalisation did not mean "political integration" because every country had a right to choose its political system.

HT Correspondent/UNI
New Delhi, January 11

THE DELHI Police have arrested 25 persons who were protesting against senior Chinese leader Li Peng's visit to Delhi.

The police rounded up more than a dozen flag-carrying Tibetan demonstrators shortly before Mr Li's motorcade was to pass through the heavily-guarded route from the airport to hotel Taj Palace where the Chinese parliamentary chairman is staying, Jt Commissioner of Police (New Delhi range) Suresh Roy said.

"Most of the people arrested were Tibetans. We have information that a large number of Tibetans from various parts of the country had come to Delhi to protest against the visit of the Chinese leader," a senior police official said.

The Delhi Police have made elaborate security arrangements for Li Peng who arrived from Mumbai this morning. Li on a nine-day visit to India, is expected to meet Prime Minister Atal Bihari Vajpayee and External Affairs Minister Jaswant Singh besides a delegation of the Confederation of Indian Industry (CII) during his stay in the Capital.

Many policemen were deployed along the route from the airport.

"A number of people who wanted to hold demonstrations along this route were prevented by the police. Unprecedented security arrangements have been made for the Chinese leader and we don't anticipate any problems with such an elaborate set-up," another official said.

THE HINDUSTAN TT

12 JAN 2001

Opposition to free market stops at 'China gate'

China

CL. MANOJ
STATESMAN NEWS SERVICE

NEW DELHI, Jan. 11. — The Communist Revolution may be a dream, if not a goal, that they both love to talk about. But China's great leap to the path of economic reforms and market economy has left Indian Communists far behind.

Unlike the China Communist Party, its counterparts here are against the Centre's experiments with economic liberalisation.

But their opposition to the evils of free market economy, including the prospects of foreign goods invasion of the domestic market and competition, seems to stop at the 'China gate'.

The Centre is concerned about the adverse impact of the current invasion

of the market by Chinese goods through the 'back door'. The matter may be brought up during talks between the government and the visiting Chinese leader, Mr Li Peng.

The CPI-M and CPI leadership ask if Western goods can invade the Indian market through the open-door policy, then why not Chinese goods?

"If the government is following a policy of market economy, we should be prepared for the entry of foreign goods. It's not right to say China is 'dumping' its goods in India."

The government should realise that the traffic is bound to be two-way, Mr Harkishen Singh Surjeet said. "Indian goods are also available in the Chinese market."

The CPI-M general secretary said it's for the Indian government to take

"correct policy steps". The CPI is equally vocal on the issue. "What's this talk about China dumping goods in India? If you are bothered about Chinese goods entering the Indian market, then what about the West doing the same?" asked Mr D Raja.

Despite rallying around their Chinese comrade, the CPI-M and the CPI are uncomfortable with some of Mr Li Peng's 'doings' in New Delhi.

Mr Li Peng's main agenda is to explore the possibility of more trade and business with India, by tapping opportunities provided by economic liberalisation and open-door policy.

The former Chinese premier will discuss "business prospects" with the Centre and businessmen in Delhi, Bangalore and Mumbai. Among those likely to meet him are CII representatives.

China's apparent support and eagerness to participate in the opportunities provided by Indian economic reforms have left Communists here on an uneasy pitch.

More so when the Left parties are planning an aggressive campaign against the 'anti-poor, anti-people economic policies of the NDA government' and five states — including the Red bastions of West Bengal and Kerala — go to polls in a few months.

"You see, China is implementing economic reforms with a strong Socialist government as a base. Further the Chinese government is conducting its reforms on its own terms, not on the dictates of the West as is being done by the Indian government," Mr Surjeet said.

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CHINA:

(Continued from page 1)

"You should realise that China is moving ahead with its economic reforms by establishing the supremacy of the public sector. Not like India where the PSUs are being sold out. Chinese reforms, unlike here, started way back in 1978 in the agriculture sector. Their government makes no compromise with its domestic and social responsibility while implementing the reforms," Mr Raja said.

But both seemed happy at Sino-Indian relations, including trade are prospering "despite irresponsible remarks by ministers like Mr George Fernandes". "We always underline the need for better Sino-Indian ties," said a Communist.

Nevertheless, the usual enthusiasm about a visit by the "comrade from across the border" is missing. No exclusive meeting is on the cards, unlike on prior occasions. The only time the CPI and COI-M general secretaries will meet Mr Li Peng is at official reception.

On the other hand, the Chinese leader is slated to meet the Opposition leader, Mrs Sonia Gandhi.

The ties between Chinese and Indian comrades lost its exclusiveness when the successors of Mao Ze Dong, in tune with their new policy of bilateral relations with ruling parties the world over, established official relations with the BJP.

THE STATESMAN

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Li Peng arrives in Delhi 518



Mr Li Peng and his wife on arrival at Delhi airport. — AP/PTI

STATESMAN NEWS SERVICE

NEW DELHI, Jan. 11. — Mr Li Peng, the second in the Chinese hierarchy, arrived here today from Mumbai for his official meetings with Indian leaders to give a new direction to Sino-Indian relations. 518

Chairman of the Standing Committee of the National People's Congress and former premier, Mr Li and his wife, Mrs Zhu Li, were received by the Speaker, Mr GMC Balayogi and the deputy Speaker, Mr PM Sayeed, at the airport. Later, the Speaker hosted a dinner in honour of Mr Li.

The Chinese leader, who is on a nine-day visit to India, is scheduled to meet the Prime Minister on 15 January.

His scheduled four-day stay in capital includes meetings with President Mr KR Narayanan, Vice-President Mr Krishan Kant, external affairs minister Mr Jaswant Singh and Congress president Mrs Sonia Gandhi tomorrow.

THE STATESMAN

12 JAN 2001

Li Peng meets Dr Kotnis' family members

By Priya Jestin

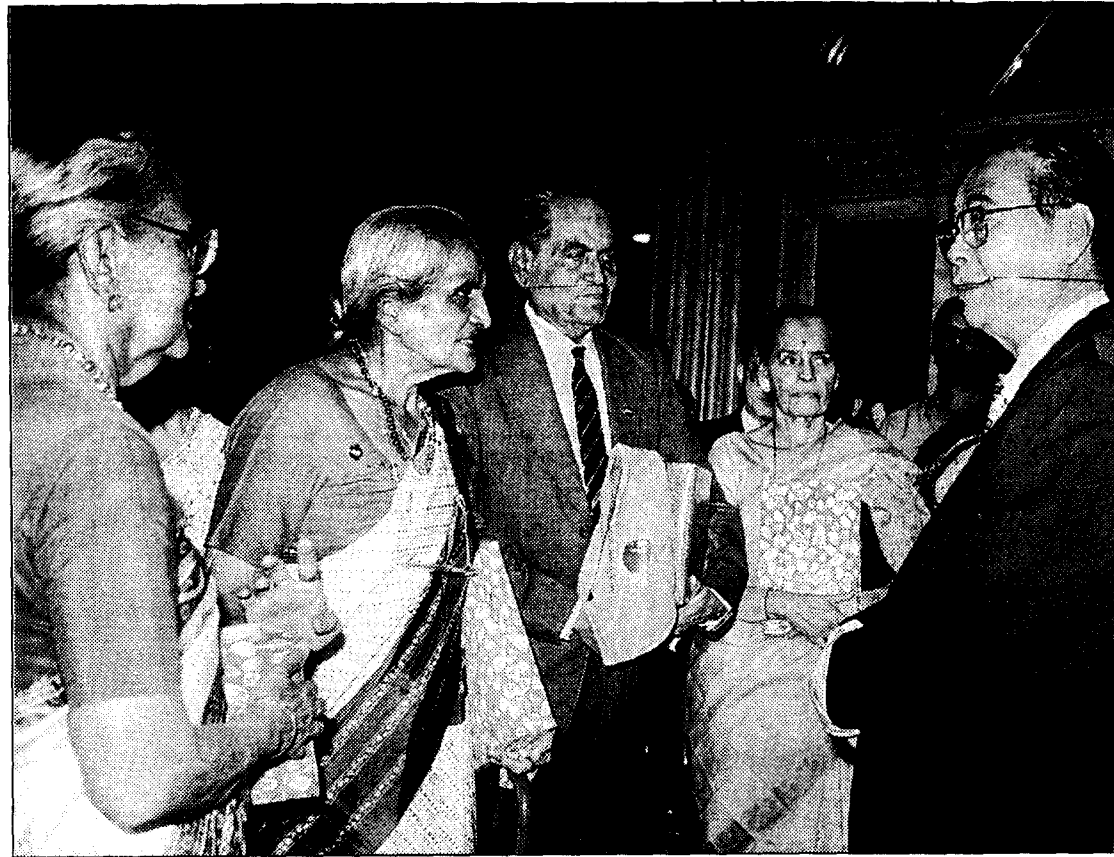
MUMBAI: On his two-day tour of the city, between visits to SEEPZ and the Chhatrapati Shivaji Museum, chairman of the National People's Congress and former Chinese Prime Minister Li Peng wanted to meet the 19 members of the Kotnis family and thank them for Dr Dwarkanath Shantaram Kotnis' services to the Chinese people.

On Wednesday morning, Mr Li met the family for an hour at the Taj, where he is staying. The Kotnis delegation included Dr Kotnis' four sisters and brother and their grandchildren. Referring to Dr Kotnis' selfless service to the Chinese people, Mr Li said China would always remember him for his humanitarian work. Mr Li, who spoke for about ten minutes, said it was upto the youngsters of both countries to maintain a constant exchange of ideas, and improve ties.

While Mr Li's visit seems to have brought back the forgotten hero Dr Kotnis out of the oblivion, at the Kotnis' flat at Grant Road time seems to stand still. The little room overflows with knick-knacks from another generation. The six clocks in the room had stopped ticking long ago. Dr Kotnis' presence is all pervasive—a huge bust mounted in a showcase and a number of paintings of him adorn the walls. The sisters proudly display a huge handwritten condolence note sent by Chinese leader Mao Tse Tung to the family after Dr Kotnis' death in 1942.

"It took a Li Peng to remind Indians that Dr Kotnis was a great man," says Manorama Kotnis, who is yet to absorb the attention suddenly bestowed on them.

Immortalised in V. Shantaram's classic film *Dr Kotnis ki Amar Kahani*, the legendary doctor was sent to China by the Indian National Congress as part of a five-member India Medical Aid Mission in 1938. Japan had invaded China in 1937 and the Chinese were in desperate need of medical assistance. While the other members were unable to bear the rigours of life in China, Dr Kotnis and Dr Bijoy Kumar Basu stayed on. "Only these two managed to brave the constant risk to life, trekking through mountain ranges and deep ravines and crossing enemy lines to treat critical patients. Sometimes they didn't even know where the next meal would come from," says Dr Vatsala Kot-



Chairman of the National People's Congress of China Li Peng and his wife Zhu Ling meet the late Dr Dwarkanath Kotnis' family members in Mumbai on Wednesday. From left are: Vatsala Kotnis and Manorama Kotnis (sisters) and Vithalrao Kotnis (brother).

nis, another sister.

Neither his father's death nor the dire financial straits that his family was plunged into could shake Dr Kotnis' determination to stay on and help the poor Chinese villagers. Four years later, a combination of fatigue and a lack of proper food and medicine resulted in his death at the age of 32. During his stay there, Dr Kotnis married Kuo Ching Lan (who is still alive and last visited India in 1999). His son Ing Hwa (India China) died at the age of 24 of gastroenteritis.

The three sisters are not very happy about the sudden media spotlight. "Why this sudden attention?" asks Dr Vatsala Kotnis. Adds Manorama, "I feel very bad about the way India and Maharashtra have treated Dr Kotnis, especially when compared to the way the Chinese have. He's certainly more revered in China than in his own country. In 1998, China renamed a hospital at Shijiazhuang as the Dr

Kotnis Sino Indian Friendship Hospital—and this was only one among the many honours bestowed on him. Whereas in Mumbai, while the government goes about renaming monuments and airports, how is it that Dr Kotnis isn't remembered, nor any hospital named in his honour?"

According to Manorama, every year, a medical team from Beijing Hospital, called the Dr Kotnis Memorial Medical Team, visits remote villages and provides free medical services to villagers. "When I visited China in 1998, a team of young doctors walked a stretch of the Great Wall of China with banners to popularise Dr Kotnis among the tourists who visited the Wall," she says.

The Kotnis families grievances are justified. The only official tokenism to honour his memory was the commemorative stamp issued on December 9, 1993, half a century after his death. However the re-

lease of the stamp went unnoticed, thanks to the complete lack of publicity by the central and state governments. This was in direct contrast to the time when China released a Dr Kotnis stamp in 1982—the release was marked by impressive celebrations organised by the government at the Great Hall of the People in Beijing, which the Kotnis family attended as state guests.

Unlike Mumbai's tardy attitude towards Dr Kotnis, Sholapur boasts of quite a few memorials, including a bust in the Sholapur Civil Hospital Compound. The Government Rail Hospital and a municipal garden in Sholapur have been renamed after him. Says Manorama, "Sholapur had to have something

HC pulls up state govt. for neglect of consumer courts

By Swati Deshpande

MUMBAI: The Bombay high court on Wednesday came down hard on the state government for its continued neglect of consumer courts which lack basic infrastructure.

Expressing its displeasure, the HC even went to the extent of suggesting that the government "may well inform the court that the fora created under the Consumer Protection Act, 1986 may be closed down as the government was unable to provide basic infrastructure."

A division bench comprising Chief Justice B.P. Singh and Justice S.A. Bobde also served the government with a one-week ultimatum to come out with concrete plans to make up for its inaction.

"We are at our wits end. However, we give one further opportunity to the government to inform us as to the time schedule within which appropriate accommodation will be made available to the consumer fora and the period within which it will be done," the judges said in an order on Wednesday.

The judges said: "We are not at all satisfied with the attitude of the state government. The consumer fora are located here and there in private houses which hardly provide the necessary infrastructure for running them efficiently."

Two public interest petitions (PIL), one suo motu and one filed by the Mumbai Grahak Panchayat (MGP) way back in 1996, had raised the issue of the abysmal lack of infrastructure provided by the government to the district consumer fora.

Advocates Girish Kulkarni and Parimal Chavan appearing for MGP brought the HC's attention to the plight of the Dadar consumer forum which operates out of a MHADA residential tenement. "Clothes are hung outside the court premises for drying even as the aro-

ma of the various culinary items whiffs into the courtroom, taking the judicial sanctity out of the window," said Mr Kulkarni.

Mr Kulkarni informed the HC that after extensive hearing their petition by former Chief Justice Y.K. Sabharwal, he had pointed several directions to the government to make staff appointments and provide adequate infrastructure to such fora so that the function in the true spirit of the Consumer Protection Act.

He pointed out that a report submitted to the court reflected the deplorable condition in which consumer courts function even in Mumbai.

The court accepted that the government was dilly-dallying in providing appropriate accommodation for such fora and for months together the matter was under consideration by the law-makers.

Advocate A.D. Shetty appearing for N.B. Karmaran, president of Consumer Protection Society of India, informed the HC that the plea suggested by the government in Sewri, during the last hearing a year for setting up consumer courts was now not suitable as the government said it would require it housing some other courts.

The PIL contended that 75,000 cases were pending in the consumer courts of Maharashtra. Karmaran said the state government should be totally blamed for being indifferent in implementing this social welfare legislation whose object was to secure justice within 90 days for the innocent consumer and protect him from unscrupulous elements.

The government's apathy turned the Consumer Protection Act into a mockery, he said. Widespread in many consumer courts meanwhile, languishes to the point coming to a standstill.

Li Peng's visit is set to boost Sino-Indian ties

By Harvey Stockwin
The Times of India News Service

HONG KONG: China's second-ranking communist leader Li Peng arrives in Delhi on Thursday even as his leading role in the suppression of the June 1989 Tiananmen Square student demonstrations is again in the spotlight outside China.

Mr Li also arrives to do what seems a greater than usual degree of frank-speaking the Sino-Indian relationship. However, his notably disparaging remarks in China's controlled press about India, reveal some underlying tensions in the otherwise improving relationship.

Mr Li's formal position does not fully convey his rank in the Chinese hierarchy. He is the chairman of China's National People's Congress (NPC), a position roughly equivalent to speaker of the Lok Sabha, although the NPC meets much less frequently than the Indian Parliament, and is, of course, a much more controlled institution.

Earlier, from 1988 to 1998 Mr Li was the prime minister, with only President Jiang Zemin, who is also the Chinese Communist Party secretary general, holding a superior rank. However, when Zhu Rongji replaced Li Peng as prime minister, Mr Li still significantly retained his number two position in the CCP hierarchy.

Given Mr Li's rank in the Chinese leadership, it is somewhat surprising that Prime Minister Vajpayee will not be in New Delhi to meet him, but will instead be away, paying attention to China's

southeastern neighbour, Vietnam. Interestingly, Mr Vajpayee had cut short his China trip in 1978 when China attacked Vietnam. Mr Li's visit comes as BJP spokesman have complained loudly about China dumping cheaper consumer goods in the Indian market, an issue which will presumably be taken up with Mr Li during his visit.

Conversely, China's controlled media has been saying less than complimentary things about India recently. For example, last week the *Global Times*, a publication related to the official CCP newspaper, the *People's Daily*, offered its readers this comparison: "The biggest difference (between India and China)

MISSION FRIENDSHIP

- Mr Li will make attempts to reduce underlying tension between India and China
- Dumping of cheaper goods in the Indian market by China will be under scrutiny
- Chinese media has been critical about the living conditions in New Delhi

is in living conditions. Beijing eliminated power cuts a long time ago and everyone has running water. In New Delhi power cuts are frequent in some areas."

"In the slums law and order is bad and power and water are rationed. New Delhi has no subway and few overpasses. Buses are old and dilapidated and traffic congestion terrible. Private ownership of cars is much lower than in Beijing." Leaving aside the accuracy of this rather one-sided comparison, the strictly controlled Chinese media is usually much less critical when their top leaders are about to visit foreign nations. Such

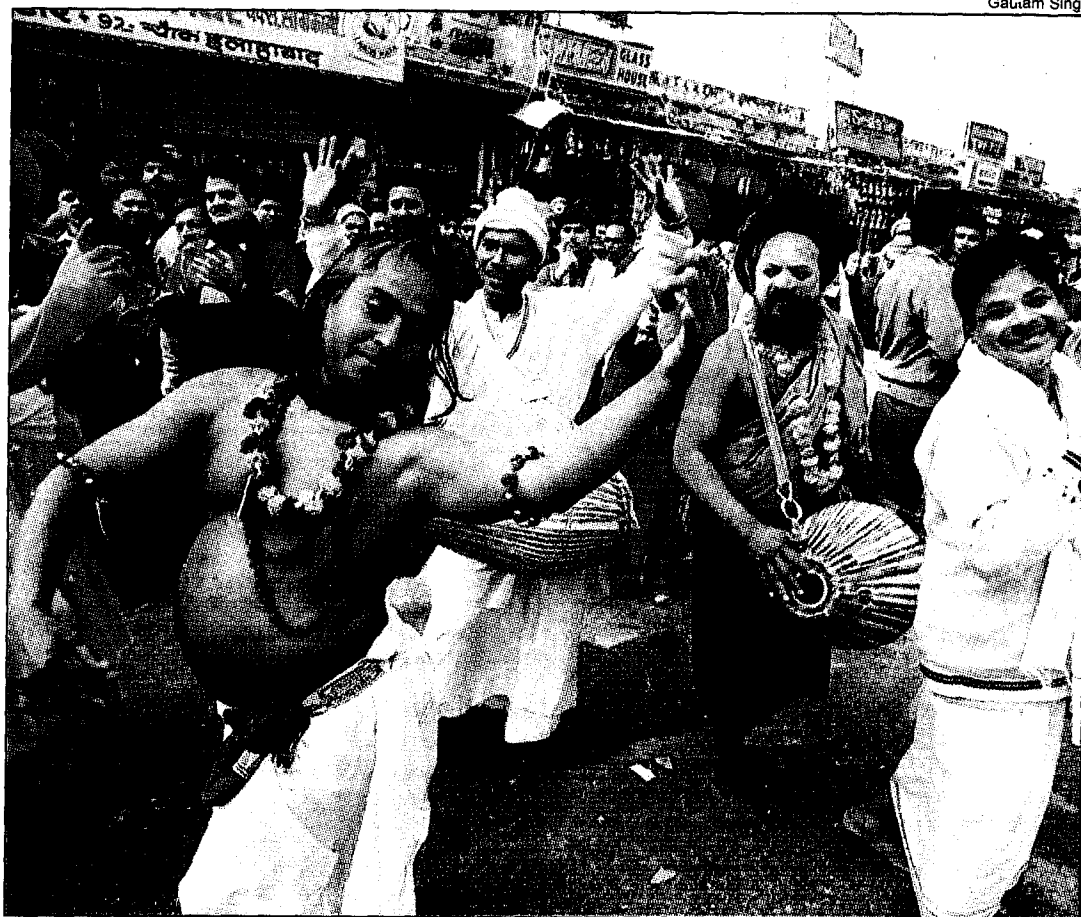
comments stand in contrast to the complimentary comparisons made by defence minister George Fernandes in a speech last November when he noted the ways in which China was ahead of India.

Meanwhile, as Mr Li visits India, his role in instituting martial law as a result of the massive demonstrations in Beijing in May 1989, and in ordering the ensuing Beijing massacre, has been highlighted by a new book published on Wednesday in the U.S. entitled *The Tiananmen Papers: The Chinese Leadership's Decision To Use Force Against Their Own People—In Their Own Words*. The book consists entirely of documents which, it is claimed, have been smuggled out of China by high-ranking but anonymous communist cadres anxious to encourage political reform. Since the documents have been translated and edited by three reputable American China-watchers, it has immediately gained a great deal of credibility.

The documents in the book highlight Mr Li's key role in that critical period. At one meeting on June 2, 24 hours before the massacre began, Mr Li had said, "I strongly urge that we move immediately to clear Tiananmen Square and that we resolutely put an end to the turmoil and the ever-expanding trouble. We must be merciless with the tiny minority of riot elements."

China says the documents are 'fabricated.' But some Western commentators feel the leak reflects a power struggle between Chinese reformists and hardliners like Mr Li.

- ▶ Li Peng meets family members of Dr Kotnis, Page 3
- ▶ Picture on Page 3



Krishnabhakts from Vrindavan dance in the procession taken out by sadhus belonging to the Sri Panchayat Akhara Bada Udaseen as it passes through the Old City in Allahabad on the way to the Sangam area in Kumbh Nagar on Wednesday.

Customs, ED and police join hands to probe Shah case

By Our Crime Reporter

MUMBAI: Officials of the customs department, the enforcement directorate and other central agencies are collaborating with the city police in connection with the arrest of leading film financier and big time diamond exporter Bharat Shah.

A senior police official said these agencies were helping the crime branch get details of the overseas operations of Shah and his associates. It is learnt that the crime branch has also asked airport customs to provide details about a case registered last year in which the customs had accused Shah of evading tax of around Rs 13 crore.

A senior police officer stated: "The airport customs had issued a show cause notice to Shah in connection with certain foreign trade transactions."

The city police are also liaising with other enforcement agencies such as the income-tax (IT)

and Directorate of Revenue Intelligence (DRI) to find whether the latter had registered any case against Shah.

Senior police officers alleged that Shah was involved in certain questionable financial dealings.

Diamond industry observes strike

By A Staff Reporter

MUMBAI: The diamond industry observed a strike on Wednesday to express its solidarity with leading diamond exporter and film financier Bharat Shah, who was arrested by the police on Monday for alleged links with the underworld.

"The police have evidence to prove that Shah had siphoned off 50,000 dollars to another film financier in Dubai through hawala some months ago," an officer claimed.

The police had so far conducted searches at Shah's offices in Charni Road and Lamington Road, but could not find any incriminating documents during these searches, a police source revealed.

Meanwhile, Shah made an application for bail in the Bombay high court on Wednesday. His application will be heard by Justice S. S. Parkar on Thursday. Shah is represented by a battery of senior lawyers led by V.R. Manohar and including Ramrao Adik and Shirish Gupte. His bail application claimed that he was "innocent" and had "no connection with the underworld." Shah has applied for bail on the ground that there is "no legal or factual justification for remanding him to custody" and that he has "not committed any offence under Maharashtra Control of Organised Crime Act (MCOCA)." He also said that he should have been given a copy of the remand order, and that in its absence there was "no opportunity to deal with it."

Hollywood stars give U.P. police sleepless nights

By Pervez Iqbal Siddiqui
The Times of India News Service

LUCKNOW: Stretched to the limit in providing an unprecedented level of security for nearly 50 million devotees attending the biggest congregation of human beings in the world at the Maha Kumbh, the impending arrival of mega stars from Hollywood may prove to be the proverbial last straw on the back of the U.P. police force.

With a bloated list of VIPs set to converge on the Sangam and the threat of a terrorist strike, the proposed visit of Madonna, Demi Moore, Richard Gere, Sharon Stone and Pierce Brosnan has sprung a new challenge for the police. "Their visit will undoubtedly be an added attraction at the mela site and draw massive crowds," director-general of police M.C. Dwivedi told *The Times of India* here on Wednesday. "But we would prefer if they visited the Kumbh other than on the main *snaan* days," he added.

Top police officials here said that in case the visit of these celebrities coincided with the *snaan* dates, they would be "held back in Delhi" and allowed to come to the Maha Kumbh on other days only on grounds of security. Regular meetings are currently being held at the DGP headquarters here with the top brass from intelligence, law and order and the police putting their heads together to finalise the security arrangements for the international celebrities.

YOU SAID IT by Laxman



The visit to this country for holding bilateral talks is a total waste. forgot to bring along an interpreter.

THE TIMES OF INDIA

11 JAN 2001

Li Peng might offer tips for focusec

Speedy recovery of Sino-India ties on cards Kin of legends

Shishir Gupta
New Delhi, January 10

SENIOR CHINESE leader Li Peng arrives in Delhi tomorrow to give a fresh political direction to the evolving Sino-India ties.

Beijing watchers see the visit of Mr Peng, the second most powerful man after President Ziang Zemin in the Chinese Communist Party hierarchy, as an attempt to speed up the rehabilitation of the Sino-Indian ties that were marred by the Pokhran II nuclear tests.

Government sources do not rule out the possibility of Mr Peng giving some political tips to Indian leaders for a focused security dialogue.

The talks are aimed to promote a better understanding between the two countries on the nuclear doctrine, minimum nuclear deterrent and other security-related issues.

The Chinese leader is also expected to exchange notes on the vexed Sino-Indian border dispute. Experts say that it is time that the two countries started looking at a "politically" feasible package deal to sort out the border dispute rather than go through the tedious process of seeking clarifications in each disputed sector.

On the eve of Mr Peng's visit to India, the powerful Chinese leader went on record to emphasise the need for "patience and right conditions" to settle the border issue. In an interview to a news agency, Mr Peng was quoted as having said: "I will be very much satisfied if my visit (to India) contributes in some way to its set-



tlement."

On November 13, last year the two countries exchanged detailed maps of the less disputed 545-km long middle sector of the Line of Actual Control (LAC) and set a time frame of next year to resolve the clarifications.

There are eight major areas of contention in the western sector including strategically important Chusul-Spanggur gap in eastern Ladakh and six in the eastern sector including Tawang in Arunachal Pradesh.

In the middle sector, the disputed areas are Kaurik, Shipki La, Neelang-Jadhang and Baraboti-Lapthal.

Bilateral trade is going to figure in a major way during Mr Peng's talks with the Indian political leadership. Both the countries have decided to enter the WTO and oppose linking trade with non-tariff barriers such as human rights and labour standards.

While the Indian exports to China have increased by 59 per cent as compared to last year, New Delhi is concerned over the dumping of Chinese goods in Indian markets either directly or through the Nepal route.

Another area of interest to the two sides is pan-Islamic terrorism radiating from Afghanistan. While India is hit by foreign jihadis in Jammu and Kashmir, China is being harassed by Afghanistan-trained fundamentalist in Xinjiang province. With Beijing already indicating its willingness to talk on terrorism with New Delhi, the process is likely to get a fillip during Mr Peng's Indian visit.

Ketan Tanna
Mumbai, January 10

FORMER CHINESE premier and now a senior leader Li Peng could not believe his eyes. In front of him was a hand-written 1945 citation by the legendary Mao Tse Tung praising late Indian doctor Dwarkanath Kotnis for his yeomen service to Chinese soldiers during the Sino-Japanese war.

"He said it is up to the new generation of Chinese and Indians to build and cement friendly ties that existed during the Hindi-Chini *bhai bhai* days," says Ms Manorama Kotnis, Dr Kotnis' younger sister.

Manorama was one among the 19 relatives of Kotnis who called on Li Peng at Hotel Taj in Mumbai on Wednesday morning. In fact the Chinese leader, who incidentally is the adopted son of former premier Zhou En Lai, went out of his way to arrange a meeting with the surviving members of the Kotnis family.

Li Peng's move to solicit a meeting with the three surviving sisters and a brother of Dr Kotnis is ir- keeping with the eternal gratitude that the Government of China an-

THE HINDUSTAN TIMES

11 JAN 2001

go inc.

Beijing ready for triangular cooperation

By C. Raja Mohan

NEW DELHI, JAN. 10. The Chinese leader, Mr. Li Peng, is here for an intensive round of consultations with the Indian leadership amidst new speculation on the prospects for triangular cooperation among India, Russia and China.

Informed sources here suggest that Beijing may no longer be averse to building greater political cooperation among the three large nations on the vast Eurasian landmass.

When the proposal was first mooted three years ago by the then Russian Prime Minister, Mr. Yevgeni Primakov, the Chinese did not appear too enthusiastic about such a formation involving India.

But Beijing recently informed both New Delhi and Moscow, through diplomatic channels, that it was prepared to support a detailed discussion on triangular cooperation among scholars from the three countries. The objective of the exercise, within the framework of track-II diplomacy, is to get an intellectual clarification of the issues involved.

The contributions India and China could make in the creation of a "multipolar world" are likely to figure in the talks between Mr. Li, number two in the communist hierarchy in Beijing, and the Indian leaders.

The Chinese leader's visit comes in the middle of what appears to be a reassessment in Beijing of India's economic potential and international weight. Reports from China suggest that Beijing is impressed with New

Delhi's "big power diplomacy" that has allowed India to quickly overcome the international isolation which followed the May 1998 Pokhran tests.

Mr. Li, on an extended tour of India, arrives here tomorrow from Mumbai. Over the next few days he will meet a full spectrum of the leadership including the President, Mr. K. R. Narayanan, the Prime Minister, Mr. Atal Behari Vajpayee, the External Affairs Minister, Mr. Jaswant Singh, and the Leader of the Opposition, Ms. Sonia Gandhi.

Whether intended or not, Mr. Li's visit comes at a time of new uncertainties in U.S. relations with Russia and China. The advent of the Republican administration this month is expected to further complicate the great power relations. Meanwhile, India's ties with the U.S. are on the upswing.

New Delhi; Moscow and Beijing would not want to project the idea of triangular cooperation being directed at the U.S. India is aware of the depth and breadth of the U.S.-Russian and the Sino-U.S. relations. New Delhi also knows that Sino-U.S. ties are built on a strong commercial foundation and could easily withstand possible tensions in the near future.

But the idea of a more democratic world order remains an appeal to all the three nations. India's call for a multipolar world is not limited to discussions with Moscow and Beijing, but also involves Paris, which is a leading player in the Western alliance.

Hindujas won't be arrested: CBI

By J. Venkatesan

NEW DELHI, JAN. 10. The Central Bureau of Investigation today informed the special court here that the three Hinduja brothers charged in the Bofors payoff case would not be arrested on their coming to India to face trial in response to summons against them.

An assurance to this effect was given by the CBI special public prosecutor, Mr. N. Natarajan, to the special judge, Mr. Ajit Bharihoke, before whom applications were filed by the Hinduja brothers, Mr. S.P. Hinduja, Mr. G.P. Hinduja and Mr. P. P. Hinduja, seeking cancellation of lookout notices issued by the CBI to all airports in India for their detention on landing in the country.

Mr. Natarajan told the judge that the CBI had now amended the lookout notice by withdrawing instructions for detaining them while entering into India. The three brothers could arrive and present themselves unhindered in the court on January 19.

In their applications, the Hinduja brothers had alleged that the CBI notices were motivated and intended to harass and humiliate them. Though they wanted to appear in the court, the lookout notice was an impediment.

Mr. Natarajan said "the charges are totally baseless, unfounded and unwarranted". The lookout notices were issued in view of the Hindujas' failure to join the investigation and their insistence that the course of investigation pro-

ceed in a manner desired by them.

Following the CBI's submission, the judge in his order said that as the agency has already issued instructions to the immigration authorities not to detain the Hindujas, their other prayers in the applications would be heard on January 19 when they appeared in the court.

Referring to the Hindujas' plea that they be permitted to travel out of India after their appearance in the case, Mr. Natarajan said this request could be made to the court after they submitted themselves to the jurisdiction of the court.

In its reply, the CBI submitted that the lookout notices were first issued against Mr. G.P. Hinduja after a FIR was registered in 1990. It was withdrawn in 1991 after the CBI examined him in London in January, 1991.

Fresh lookout notices were issued against the Hinduja brothers and another accused, Mr. Ottavio Quattrocchi, in 1993

requesting the immigration authorities to inform the CBI if they entered or while leaving India, after it became apparent that they were opposing execution of letters rogatory for transmission of the Swiss documents to the Indian authorities.

The Hinduja brothers also sought different dates for appearance in court as they did not want to appear together on a single day as that would affect their business spread over four continents and employing over 25,000 people.

THE HINDU

11 JAN 2001

India can play a major role: Li Peng

BEIJING, JAN. 8. China has described India as a "major country" in South Asia and also in Asia and that it is destined to play a more prominent role in regional and international affairs in a multipolar world.

The senior Chinese leader, Mr. Li Peng, who is scheduled to be in India on an official goodwill visit from January 9 to 17, told this to PTI here.

A known critic of the attempts of the United States to wield global hegemony at the end of the Cold War era, he said China supported a multipolar world which allowed each country to have its own say in international affairs rather than be dominated by one or a few

big nations. "We favour a multipolar world because the world itself is colourful with countries and regions differing from each other," said Mr. Li, former Chinese Premier and current Chairman of the Standing Committee (China's top legislature).

Mr. Li, ranked number two in the ruling Communist Party, said he was keen to see with his "own eyes" the fast-paced developments in India as well as to enhance friendship with the Indian leadership and people. "To enhance our friendship and cooperation is the main purpose of my visit," he said about his second visit to the country.

"At the invitation of the two Houses of the Indian Parliament, I am going to visit your country. I very much appreciate this opportunity," he said.

"During the past decade, major changes have taken place in the international scene and also in our respective domestic situation. India's economy has been growing at a fast pace and the high-tech sector has mushroomed and thrived."

Mr. Li is scheduled to meet the President, Mr. K.R.Narayanan, the Vice-President, Mr. Krishan Kant, and the Prime Minister, Mr. A.B. Vajpayee.

He expressed the desire to discuss parliamentary

cooperation with Rajya Sabha and Lok Sabha leaders. Mr. Li would hold talks with the Lok Sabha Speaker, Mr. G.M.C. Balayogi, and the Rajya Sabha Deputy Chairperson, Dr. Najma Heptulla.

He would also meet leaders of various political parties, including the Congress president, Ms. Sonia Gandhi.

Li would be the top Chinese leader to visit India since bilateral relations plunged to a new low after the Pokhran nuclear tests in 1998.

His last visit to India was almost 10 years ago, which was a reciprocal gesture to the Beijing visit by former Prime Minister, Rajiv Gandhi in 1988. — PTI

THE HINDU

9 JAN 2001

'Patience needed to settle border row with India'

Beijing, January 7

for solution."

WHILE UPBEAT on his upcoming official goodwill visit to India, senior Chinese leader Li Peng has emphasised the need for "patience and right conditions" to settle the vexed India-China boundary issue.

"I hope, in the spirit of mutual understanding and mutual accommodation, this issue can be resolved. Of course, given its complexity, it requires patience and right conditions for its settlement," Li Peng told PTI here in an interview, ahead of his visit from January 9 to 17.

Commenting on the unresolved boundary question that has affected the smooth development of bilateral ties, Li, China's former Premier and current chairman of the standing committee of the National People's Congress (NPC), said that the issue "will be resolved so long as the people and the leadership of our two countries all sincerely hope

signed the agreement on the maintenance of peace and tranquillity in border areas along the Line of Actual Control (LAC) during his premiership. This was signed in Beijing during the visit of former Prime Minister Narasimha Rao in 1993.

"The document has played a big role in maintaining safety and security along the border areas," he stressed. Li's comments on the boundary issue could be an indication to India that it should be ready for give-and-take as well as protracted negotiation on an issue which is sensitive to both countries.

It also assumes importance in the wake of recent "significant progress" made by the two sides on the boundary question when they exchanged maps for the first time of their



China's ex-PM Li Peng

Li will be very much satisfied if my visit will contribute in some way to its settlement," Li, who is ranked number two in China's ruling Communist Party's hierarchy after state president and general secretary of the Communist Party, Jiang Zemin, said. Li Peng visited India when former Indian Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi visited China, the two countries reached an understanding on border, Li said referring to his talks with Gandhi in Dec, 1988, during which the two leaders agreed to settle the boundary dispute through "peaceful and friendly consultations" and established the joint working group (JWG) on the boundary question.

Li also noted that China and India have

disputed border. On Nov 13 last year, the two sides exchanged detailed maps of the less disputed over 545-km 'middle sector' of the LAC, paving the way for similar exchanges on eastern and western sectors.

India says China is illegally occupying 43,180 sq kms of J&K, including 5,180 sq kms illegally ceded to Beijing by Pakistan under the Sino-Pakistan boundary agreement in 1963. On the other hand, China claims that India has occupied about 90,000 sq kms of Chinese territory. China says the Sino-Indian boundary question was "left over from the history." It also maintains that in 1914, Britain concocted the unlawful McMahon Line, which has never been recognised by the successive Chinese governments. With China and Vietnam signing agreements to the demarcation of their land and sea borders, the Sino-Indian boundary issue is the only 'major' border dispute China has with its neighbouring countries. (PTI)

THE HINDUSTAN TIMES

8 JAN 2001

Li Peng hopeful of amicable solution to border issue

India China

Beijing

7 JANUARY

WHILE UPBEAT on his upcoming official good-will visit to India, senior Chinese leader Li Peng has emphasised the need for "patience and right conditions" to settle the vexed India-China boundary issue, which has been a contentious issue between the two countries for several years now.

"I hope, in the spirit of mutual understanding and mutual accommodation, this issue can be resolved. Of course, given its complexity, it requires patience and right conditions for its settlement," Li Peng said, ahead of his visit from January nine to 17.

Commenting on the unresolved boundary question that has affected the smooth development of bilateral ties, Li, China's former premier and current chairman of the standing committee of the National People's Congress (NPC), said that the issue "will be resolved so long as the people and the leadership of our two countries all sincerely hope for solution."

"I will be very much satisfied if my visit will contribute in some way to its settlement," Li, who is ranked number two in China's ruling Communist Party hierarchy after state president and general secretary of the Communist Party, Jiang Zemin, said.



Li Peng: Upbeat

"I recall several years ago, when former Indian Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi visited China, the two countries

reached an understanding on border," Li said referring to his talks with Mr Gandhi in December, 1988, during which the two leaders agreed to settle the boundary dispute through "peaceful and friendly consultations" and established the joint working group (JWG) on the boundary question.

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when they exchanged maps for the first time of their disputed border.

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India says China is illegally occupying 43,180 square kilometres of Jammu and Kashmir including 5,180 180 square kilometres illegally ceded to Beijing by Pakistan under the Sino-Pakistan boundary agreement in 1963.

On the other hand, China claims that India has occupied about 90,000 sq kms of Chinese territory.

—PTI

Li Peng's visit signals easing of tensions between India and China

By Harvey Stockwin
The Times of India News Service

HONG KONG: China's second ranking communist leader Li Peng arrives in India for an eight day visit on Tuesday.

Severely criticised in most international fora for his role in the bloody suppression of the Tiananmen Square demonstrations in June 1989, Mr Li's visit also underlines the improving relations between India and China.

Mr Li's formal position does not fully convey his rank in the Chinese hierarchy. He is chairman of China's National People's Congress, a position roughly equivalent to Speaker of the Lok Sabha, though the NPC meets much less frequently than the Indian Parliament.

Earlier, from 1988 to 1998, Mr Li was Prime Minister, with only President Jiang Zemin, who is also Chinese Communist Party secretary general, holding a superior rank. However when Zhu Rongji replaced Mr Li as Prime Minister, Mr Li still retained his number two position in the CCP hierarchy.

Given Mr Li's rank in the Chinese leadership it is somewhat surprising that Prime Minister Atal Behari Vajpayee will not be in Delhi to meet him, but will instead be away, paying attention to China's south-eastern neighbour, Vietnam.

China's strictly controlled media has been saying less than complimentary things about India. For example, last week the *Global Times*, a publication related to the official CCP newspaper, *The People's Daily*, offered its readers this comparison: "The biggest difference (between India and China) is in living conditions. Beijing eliminated power cuts a long time ago and everyone has running water. In New Delhi power cuts are frequent in some areas. "In the slums law and order is bad and power and water are rationed. New Delhi has no subway and few overpasses. Buses are old and dilapidated and traffic congestion terrible. Private ownership of cars is much lower than in Beijing."

Leaving aside the accuracy of this rather one-sided comparison, the Chinese media is usually much less critical when their top leaders are about to visit major foreign nations. Such comments stand in contrast to the comparisons made by the defence minister George

THE TIMES OF INDIA

9 JAN 2001

Repairing ties with China

WIDE ANGLE

SALMAN HAJIDNR

Li Peng, Chairman of China's Parliament, former Prime Minister and long a fixture in the top two or three of his country's hierarchy, is to visit India shortly. His coming is a sign that the worst of the recent downturn in bilateral relations lies behind us.

Not so long ago, India's President visited China, and before him the external affairs minister. India's concern to restore an even tenor to the relationship was thus demonstrated. Mr Li's visit is an answering gesture from China.

Such gestures are carefully measured by the Chinese. Over the last several years, China's top leaders have all visited India, one by one, in a slow and ordered procession. Each visit has been an acknowledgement that relations are developing well. There is no undue haste, no sense of any burning issue requiring early attention. Mr Li is now no longer head of the government, so his visit has more than ever the formalism and symbolic quality of such occasions. For all that, he remains highly significant among China's leaders, and though he may not be drawn to India by any specific problem, his view on what he sees here is bound to count in China's highest conclave.

The laborious build up of Sino-Indian relations after Rajiv Gandhi's 1988 visit abruptly went into reverse after the 1998 Pokhran tests. In seeking to justify the tests before the world, India pointed to the nuclear dangers it faced in its neighbourhood, especially from China's nuclear capacity.

The Chinese regarded this as an opportunistic argument without any substance, asserting that they had not treated India as an enemy state and there was no reason for India to see any threat from China.

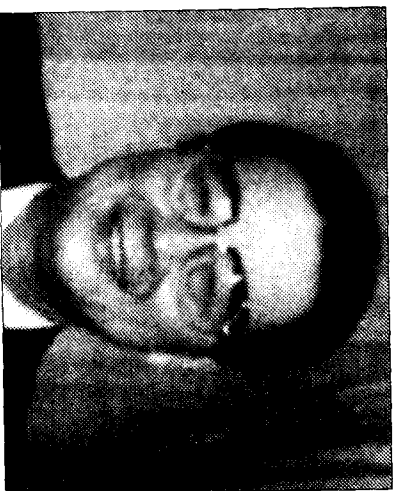
The nuclear factor reached the top of the list of Sino-Indian differences and became the subject of recrimination. It has been a gradual climb back since then. Uncertainties linger but both sides have decided not to dwell on their differences and to resume in full earnest their efforts to normalise the relations between them. If India has taken the initiative, China has not been slow in responding. It is in this context that the Li Peng visit is to be viewed and welcomed.

"Normality" in Sino-Indian relations does not mean that the problems have gone away. Indeed, the nuclear issue has been added to the list. In effect, "normality" indicates that differences are recognised and are being addressed.

Furthermore, differences on some issues are not to prevent the growth of relations in other fields, such as economic or scientific and cultural cooperation. We have only to look at our northern neighbour to see that such a manner of proceeding cannot be taken for granted — Pakistan insists that everything must be linked to Kashmir, without which no

normality will be permitted in its relations with India.

Chief among the unresolved matters between India and China is the border.



Mr Li: Remains a significant leader.

Discussions to resolve it were restarted some two decades ago, with the setting up of an officials' group. Since then, progress has been fitful, but the recent meeting of experts appears to have achieved some forward movement. The immediate task,

following important bilateral agreements in 1993 and 1996, is to work towards a reduction of forces along the border. It is reported that the two sides have been able to initiate an exchange of maps on their respective concepts of the Line of Actual Control, relative to which a negotiated force reduction can take place.

This could be a crucial first step. While neither can be expected to compromise on security, both have much to gain from reducing their forces along the Himalayas. Mr Li's visit can give impetus to the current discussions.

Agreement on the LAC is not the same thing as agreement on the border itself; indeed, the two are explicitly separated from each other. In practice, the agreed LAC may have within it the germ of a final border settlement, but that cannot be assumed at this stage. If either side has a claim to territory presently in adverse possession, settlement of the LAC will not mean dropping of that claim. The process now under way should be seen in this perspective.

There are other awkward issues in Sino-Indian relations. The presence of the Dalai Lama in India is an abiding affront to China, even though they know very well that India does not try to exploit him for anti-China purposes. Now that the Karmapa has also come to India, the

of its minority affairs will only be aggravated. This is bound to remain a sensitive issue till such time as China finds a more equitable way of handling its affairs in Tibet.

The other big point of difference is the nuclear issue, on which China's formal position is that India should retreat to the other side of the nuclear threshold. They know, of course, that India's programme is not to be halted or reversed, and that good sense demands restraint from each side.

A serious discussion of respective security perceptions and needs should be an early aim of policy. Problems of this nature are bound to figure in Mr Li's talks with his Indian counterparts, but may not provide the dominant theme.

The broader global picture demands attention, and the fresh opportunities that can benefit both countries. India and China may be in competition with each other in some areas — witness the influx of Chinese consumer goods into the Indian market — but there is also much that they can do in common.

Economic exchanges between them are still in their infancy. Many growth areas, such as information technology, have already been identified for the future. There are several other areas to be explored in what should be an expanding and mutually beneficial relationship.

(The author is a former Foreign Secretary.)

Li Peng faces long wait for Vajpayee

FROM PRANAY SHARMA

New Delhi, Jan. 6: Li Peng, whose support is crucial if India and China are to work towards solving their decade-old border dispute, is arriving here on January 9. But he will have to wait for nearly a week before meeting Prime Minister Atal Bihari Vajpayee.

Li, chairman of the National People's Congress (NPC), is pegged protocol-wise with the Vice-President Krishna Kant. Kant and Lok Sabha Speaker G.M.C. Balayogi will jointly host his stay in India. But unlike his hosts, Li is not a political lightweight: he is considered number two

in Beijing's pecking order after Chinese President Jiang Zemin.

A meeting between Vajpayee and Li is scheduled for January 15, only a day after the Prime Minister returns to the country after his week-long visit to Vietnam and Indonesia.

The NPC chairman arrives on Tuesday but unlike most foreign dignitaries, he will stop first at India's financial capital Mumbai instead of in Delhi.

He will be accompanied by his wife Zhu Ling. In Mumbai, he will meet Governor P.C. Alexander and the captains of industry.

Li arrives in Delhi on January 11 and

for the next two days will meet various Indian leaders, including the Vice-President, Balayogi and deputy chairperson of the Rajya Sabha Najma Heptullah.

But apart from foreign minister Jaswant Singh and Opposition leader Sonia Gandhi, most of Li's meetings in Delhi are with political lightweights. While in the capital, he is also scheduled to deliver a talk at the Indian International Centre (IIC) on January 13 on Sino-Indian relations and the future it holds for the two Asian giants. He will also attend a function organised by the Confederation of Indian Industries (CII).

The NPC chairman will leave for Agra

to see the Taj Mahal on January 14, but will return in the evening for the meeting next day with Vajpayee. Li leaves for Bangalore on January 15 afternoon and after spending two days there, will return to China.

Li's unusually long visit to the country — for almost nine days — is mainly to ensure that he gets to meet the Indian Prime Minister.

This is Li's second visit in a decade to India. He had been here in 1991 as China's Prime Minister and while holding the post he had played an important role in two important agreements — the 1993 Agreement on Maintaining Peace and

Tranquillity along the borders and the 1996 understanding which put in place several confidence-building measures to bring down the temperature further.

Li, who was replaced by Zhu Rongji as Prime Minister, had to be accommodated as NPC chairman and pegged above his successor since he enjoys considerable support in the ruling Communist Party of China. It is, therefore, crucial that Li's views are sought and his support enlisted by Delhi and Beijing.

India's relations with China had suffered a serious jolt during the May 1998 nuclear tests when India cited Beijing as the main threat to its security.

THE TELEGRAPH

7 JAN 2001

Goodbye India, hello China

THE world's single largest clock maker, India's Ajanta Transistor Clock Manufacturing Company, has decided to invest in manufacturing capacity abroad. That is good news. And bad. It is good because Ajanta will become one of a handful of Indian multinationals. Ajanta is already a large player in the export market — it sold 10 million clocks and movements last year. The bad news is this — Ajanta has realised that China is a cheaper and better manufacturing host than India is. If your market is the entire world, then you should be located in China. This is the reality that has helped make China an industrial superpower in a decade — from 1990 to 1999, industry has grown from 42 per cent of its GDP to 50 per cent. In the same time, China's exports have galloped from 18 to 22 per cent of its GDP, and foreign direct investment absorbed by China has climbed from \$3.5 billion to about \$44 billion.

Yes, it is difficult to get manufacturing licences in China. But once there, the Chinese government goes out of its way to make investors feel at home. Infrastructure — ports, electricity and roads — is a snap. Though power charges are high, supply is guaranteed round the clock. The absence of crucial infrastructure makes life miserable for investors in India. What's more, China pushes investors to scale up in size, invest more and more. Unlike India, which actually tries to keep certain sectors small by giving manufacturers incentives to remain puny. In a competitive, globalised world, India's small scale reservations — and the sops that go with it — are anachronisms. Some of China's remarkable cost advantages are likely to come from the undervaluation of industrial land, resulting from a lack of land markets. Universal literacy makes for a disciplined workforce whose average productivity is likely to be higher than that of India. But China really races ahead of India in making full use of economies of scale. Sceptics should remember the remarkable economies that Reliance brought into synthetics production, just by leveraging scale economies. If India wants manufacturers to stay at home and not flee to China, it must dismantle small scale controls and upgrade infrastructure on a war footing.

The Economic Times

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