

India, China ^u one on ^{3/11} ^{SF-3} defence cooperation

Press Trust of India

BEIJING, Dec. 29. — India today said it has reached “consensus” with China to expand military-to-military ties and enhance cooperation in combating non-traditional threats, specifically international terrorism during the just-concluded landmark visit by Army Chief General NC Vij.

“There was consensus on enhancing military exchanges and cooperation at different levels. Both sides also discussed cooperation in facing non-traditional threats, particularly against international terrorism,” the Indian embassy said in a press release on Gen. Vij’s visit from 22 to 29 December, the first by an Indian Chief of Army Staff (COAS) to China in over a decade. The last COAS to visit China was Gen. BC Joshi in July 1994.

The release added: “The visit is an important element of the expanding military contacts between our two countries as part of the overall



Gen. NC Vij with Chinese defence minister Gen. Cao Gangchuan in Beijing. — PTI

development of bilateral relations.

“Both sides attached importance to improving relations and more cooperative exchanges between the two militaries. They noted with satisfaction that peace and tranquillity continues to be maintained in the border areas.”

During his visit, Gen. Vij was given a red carpet welcome by the People’s Liberation Army (PLA),

which opened up many of its defence facilities as part of the conscious effort by Beijing to enhance mutual trust and understanding.

The visit of the Indian Army Chief comes ahead of Chinese Premier Mr Wen Jiabao’s expected visit to India in March 2005.

Gen. Vij was “satisfied” with the substantive exchanges he had with the PLA leadership in Beijing and also at different levels in various locations he visited.

He noted that such interaction helps in furthering understanding and promotes cooperation between the two armed forces, the release said, adding that the PLA Chief of Staff, Gen. Liang Guanglie has accepted Gen. Vij’s invitation to visit India “to carry forward the cooperation between the two militaries”.

On Gen. Vij’s meeting with Chinese Vice-President Mr Zeng Qinghong here today, it noted that the senior Chinese leader expressed support for an even greater role for India in world affairs.

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THE HINDUSTAN

India, China to expand military contacts

Beijing: India on Wednesday said it had reached a "consensus" with China to expand military-to-military ties and enhance cooperation in combating non-traditional threats, specifically international terrorism during the just-concluded visit by army chief General N C Vij.



Gen N C Vij

An Indian embassy press release said of the visit by the chief of army staff (COAS) to China: "It was an important element in the expanding military contacts between our two countries as part of the overall development of bilateral relations."

Vij's visit to China was the first in over a decade by a COAS. "Both sides also noted with satisfaction that peace and tranquillity continues to be maintained in the border areas," the release said.

During his first visit to India's largest neighbour, Vij was given a red carpet welcome by the ruling People's Liberation Army (PLA), which opened up many of its defence facilities as part of the conscious effort by Beijing to enhance mutual trust and understanding. The visit comes ahead of Chinese premier Wen Jiabao's expected visit to India in March 2005.

Vij expressed "satisfaction" at the substantive exchanges he had with the PLA leadership and noted that such interactions help in furthering understanding and promotes cooperation between the two armed forces, the release said.

PLA chief of staff Gen Liang Guanglie has accepted Vij's invitation to visit India "to carry forward the cooperation between the two militaries".

Vij also met Chinese vice president Zeng Qinghong on Wednesday, during which the leader said that China supported an even bigger role for India in international and regional cooperation issues, the release said.

Bilateral ties between China and India have developed rapidly in recent years. Former prime minister A B Vajpayee had visited China in 2003 and signed a historic joint declaration to help the settlement of the border and other issues between the two countries. PTI

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21 DEC 2004

THE HINDUSTAN TIMES

Poverty battle: Amartya wants Indo-China joint approach

Press Trust of India
New Delhi, December 20

NOBEL LAUREATE and Bharat Ratna Amartya Sen today favoured a collaborative approach between India and China in the fight against poverty.

But, he said, the Communist neighbour had "suppressed" political freedom and had "lessened to learn" from India in this regard.

"India and China have valuable lessons to learn from one another (in the fight against poverty). In the more equitable distribution of the benefit of growth, in poverty reduction

and in positive lessons of rapid economic growth, India has less to learn from China, but in expressing the quality of political freedom, China has a lesson to learn from India," Sen told DD News in an interview here.

He said China has started to pay economically for not having political freedom, because the level of criticality that is required to meet the highest standards is "suppressed".

Quoting the example of the SARS epidemic, which infected China in 2002 but was declared only in Spring of 2003, Sen said, "India has that level of political and social freedom to create

that level of criticality that promotes quality growth.

Favouring opening up of the economy, the noted economist said "India needs to be pragmatic and global investment opportunities should be utilised. India can learn from China in this regard.

"The International Monetary Fund (IMF), however, has a short term approach to problem solving. In the fight against poverty, one needs to have a long term vision and not plan for today but for 30 years from now," the Nobel laureate added.

"We know what will happen if these are not provided, people

economic opportunities.

He said multilateral agencies like the World Bank and IMF have now changed their focus, and poverty removal is central to the work of the World Bank, but this was not always the case.

Earlier they did not promote social good by recommending cuts in subsidies and reducing expenditure on education, Sen said.

"It is important to generate income for the individual family on the micro level but its equally important to provide for needs like school education and healthcare, through an in-

tegrated approach," he said noting that India has done very little to improve the levels of basic education and healthcare.

However, the Common Minimum Programme of the UPA government shows sensitivity to the needs of the poor, Sen said.

He said when reforms were introduced under Manmohan Singh as Union Finance Minister, not enough was done about schools, hospitals, land reforms, but a lot was done to reforming the license raj.

This time, as Prime Minister, he has identified the problems well and has started with

greater commitment to dealing with issues of social opportunity, Sen said.

He said he was optimistic that real progress will take place this time.

Stressing the importance of gender equality in the fight against poverty and for proper economic development, Sen said he was happy that progress is being made in that regard.

Regarding private public partnerships, he said that they depend on specifics and not on generalities.

On Friday, Sen said that "aggressive Hindutva" was responsible for the NDA defeat.



Amartya Sen

will die and remain illiterate" Sen added. He highlighted the importance of social opportunities and through that promoting

Ground realities

59-6
Time to move beyond 1962 war 1/12

It is interesting that in the course of his meeting with the Chinese premier, Wen Jiabao, on the sidelines of the ASEAN summit held in Vientiane, Prime Minister Manmohan Singh has offered to settle the old boundary dispute with China on the basis of "ground realities". According to national security adviser JN Dixit, what Manmohan Singh meant was that Beijing should accept the Indian control of Arunachal Pradesh, but Indian acceptance of Chinese control over Aksai Chin is also implicit in the statement.

This is a significant shift from the long-time Indian position that the Aksai Chin is a part of its territory, a shift that is pragmatic and welcome because no Indian ruler had really controlled this territory in the past, neither is there any possibility of being able to wrest it from the Chinese in the present or future. Beijing has built a road linking Xinjiang and Tibet that passes through the Aksai Chin, and is not about to give it up. Because of the ill-feeling created by the 1962 war it was difficult for Indian politicians, before Manmohan Singh, to state the obvious — that Delhi will have to renounce claims over Aksai Chin — and even Singh can only imply it indirectly.

Such lack of pragmatism has been a burden on Indian diplomacy. Delhi has had to pay a heavy price as Islamabad utilized the opportunity to build a strong strategic relationship with Beijing, and Beijing in turn helped it to acquire nuclear arms. Without this strategic relationship Islamabad would have had to settle with Delhi a long time back, with it Islamabad has been remarkably aggressive towards Delhi, managing to keep a nation that is eight times larger in terms of both economy and population off balance.

The irony is that Beijing had offered to settle the boundary dispute with India on the basis of ground realities as far back as 1960, but Delhi spurned the offer. Had it accepted at the time, there would have been no India-China war. The same offer was reiterated by a reformist Deng Xiaoping in 1980. Once again, impelled by nationalistic shadow-boxing, Delhi refused.

Since 1980, Beijing has exhibited some spectacular economic growth and has also built up its military strength, while Delhi has lagged behind. The same deal may be much harder to get at this point of time, but New Delhi ought to make an east-for-west swap its objective in the current border talks with Beijing, and accept it without too much prevarication if Beijing is willing. If India were to settle with both Pakistan and China on the basis of who controls what at present, it would have to modify its map, with the two humps on top of Kashmir, representing PoK and the Aksai Chin, missing. Not a high price to pay for peace.

04 DEC 2004

THE STATESMAN

India offers border solution to China

Press Trust of India

VIENTIANE (Laos), Nov. 30. — India today suggested to China that the two sides use “mutual accommodation” based on “ground realities” to resolve the boundary dispute, a reference in particular to Beijing’s claim on Arunachal Pradesh.

In his first interaction with Chinese Premier Mr Wen Jiabao here on the sidelines of the 10th summit of the Asean, Prime Minister Dr Manmohan Singh said: “We shall show accommodation but an accommodation must take into account ground realities.” “Mutual understanding should be complete and mutual accommodation should be realistic,” Dr Singh told Wen during their 40-minute meeting, according to national security adviser Mr JN Dixit.

Elaborating on Dr Singh’s remarks regarding “ground realities” to resolve the boundary question, Mr

A day at sea for PM

NEW DELHI, Nov. 30. — The Navy is planning “a day at sea” for Dr Manmohan Singh early next year. The dates are being finalised, but naval sources said it was likely to be in February or March off Mumbai. The Prime Minister is likely to be invited to visit the INS Viraat, currently the only aircraft-carrier and easily the biggest combat ship. — SNS

Dixit said it referred to the Chinese advocacy in Arunachal Pradesh, indicating that China should accept the Northeastern state as an integral part of India.

China claims sovereignty over a large section of Arunachal Pradesh which shares a 1,030-km border with Tibet. Acknowledging that the boundary issue was a complex one, Mr Wen said: “It may take time to resolve it” but what was needed was “confidence, patience and political will”.

Observing that current Sino-India relations are in the best period of time in the history, Mr Wen said China hoped to handle ties with India “from a strategic and overall point of view.”

Describing the boundary issue as a major aspect of Sino-India relations, he said the talks between the special representatives of the two countries have yielded positive results.

“We believe that by abiding by the principle of equal consultation, mutual understanding and mutual accommodation, the two sides can find a solution to this issue,” China’s official news agency Xinhua quoted him as saying. Mr Wen’s visit to India in March next year “is the most important item on my agenda and it will send a positive signal throughout the world,” Dr Singh said.

He said four rounds of official-level talks between the two sides were “useful” and hoped that the progress made would help resolve the dispute.

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THE STATESMAN

বিরোধ সরিয়ে বোঝাপড়ায় ভারত-চীন

ভিয়েনতিয়েন, ৩০ নভেম্বর (পি টি আই) — বাস্তবতার নিরিখে সীমান্ত-সমস্যা পাশে সরিয়ে রেখে দ্বিপাক্ষিক সম্পর্ক উন্নয়নে রাজি হল ভারত ও চীন। লাওসের রাজধানী ভিয়েনতিয়েনে আজ প্রধানমন্ত্রী মনমোহন সিংয়ের সঙ্গে চীনা প্রধান ওয়েন জিয়াবাওয়ের এই প্রথম বৈঠকে দুই নেতাই দু'দেশের পূর্ণ আগ্রহ প্রকাশ করেছেন। আগামী মার্চে ভারত সফরে আসছেন জিয়াবাও। ৪০ মিনিটের বৈঠকে মনমোহন জিয়াবাওকে বলেছেন, চীনা নেতার ওই সফর তাঁর কাছে অতি গুরুত্বের। মনমোহন বলেছেন, জিয়াবাওয়ের ভারত সফর গোটা বিশ্বকেই দেবে এক সদর্থক সঙ্কেত। এদিকে, ভারত ও ১০ আসিয়ান দেশের শীর্ষ বৈঠকে আজ শান্তি, প্রগতি, সমৃদ্ধির জন্য পারস্পরিক বোঝাপড়ার চুক্তিটি স্বাক্ষরিত হয়েছে। দক্ষিণ-এশিয়ার দেশগুলির রাষ্ট্রনেতারা ভারতের সঙ্গে তাঁদের এই চুক্তিকে 'ঐতিহাসিক সমঝোতা' অখ্যা দিয়েছেন। প্রধানমন্ত্রী মনমোহন সিং বলেছেন, ভারত ও এই আঞ্চলিক গোষ্ঠীর একসঙ্গে ভবিষ্যতের দিকে চলায় একশ শতক হয়ে উঠবে এশিয়া-শতাব্দী। চীনা প্রধানমন্ত্রী ওয়েন জিয়াবাওয়ের সঙ্গে আজ প্রধানমন্ত্রী মনমোহন সিংয়ের বৈঠকের পর জাতীয় নিরাপত্তা উপদেষ্টা জে এন দীক্ষিত জানিয়েছেন, খোলা মনেই কথা বলেছেন ওঁরা দুজনে। জিয়াবাও বলেছেন, সীমান্ত বিরোধের সমাধানে চীন খোলাখুলিই কথা বলতে চায়। তবে এটা একটা সোজা সরল সমস্যা নয়। তাই ধৈর্য ধরা দরকার। দরকার পারস্পরিক আস্থা অর্জনের। মনমোহন তাঁকে বলেছেন, এ নিয়ে



হাতে হাত। চীনের প্রধানমন্ত্রীর সঙ্গে ভারতের প্রধানমন্ত্রী মনমোহন সিং। মঙ্গলবার ভিয়েনতিয়েনে। ছবি: এ এফ পি

অফিসার পর্যায়ে ৪ দফা বৈঠকে অনেক অগ্রগতি হয়েছে। সিকিমের বিষয় তুলে মনমোহন জিয়াবাওকে বলেছেন, গত বছর চীন স্বীকার করেছে সিকিম ভারতের অঙ্গ। জিয়াবাও বলেছেন, একটা স্বীকৃতি সিদ্ধান্ত যখন হয়েই গেছে, তা কার্যকর হবে।

01 DEC 2004

AAJKAL

Consolidating post-1988 gains in Sino-Indian relations

By N. Ram

VIENTIANE, NOV. 30. Sixty-two-year-old Wen Jiabao is part of a new generation of leaders — headed by Hu Jintao — that has, in a smooth process of transition, taken charge of the affairs of both party and state. A member of the Standing Committee of the Communist Party of China's Political Bureau, Mr. Wen became Premier of the State Council at the same time Mr. Hu, who had already succeeded Jiang Zemin as party general secretary, became President, that is, March 2003. This was just ahead of the Vajpayee visit to China. A geologist and engineer by training, Mr. Wen joined the party in 1965, a year after Mr. Hu did.

Like his predecessor in office, the highly respected Zhu Rongji, Premier Wen has the responsibility of overseeing economic reforms. He is reputed to be a strong administrator who gets

things done once decisions are taken.

During Prime Minister Manmohan Singh's 40-minute meeting with the Chinese Premier in Vientiane, the Indian side found that Mr. Wen had "a certain background about Sino-Indian relations." After all, he had interacted substantively with Atal Bihari Vajpayee during his six-day visit in June 2003, especially on the parallel issues of Tibet and Sikkim, and on the breakthrough decision to appoint "special representatives" to work out the contours of a political solution to the boundary question. He had overseen the conclusion of as many as 10 agreements plus a bilateral Declaration on Principles for Relations and Comprehensive Cooperation.

"Positive orientation"

In the Vientiane meeting to-day, Mr. Wen noted with satis-

faction "the continuity (in India) of a general positive orientation" towards Sino-Indian relations. Adopting the long historical view, he remarked that over nearly 2000 years of interaction between the two countries, relations were "good 99.99 per cent of the time" while "there may have been aberrations 0.1 per cent of the time." He joked that he had reminded George Fernandes of this historical fact when he visited China as Defence Minister (in April 2003).

The breakthrough event for Sino-Indian political relations was Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi's five-day visit to China in December 1988. Following an extremely warm meeting with helmsman Deng Xiaoping, it resulted in a decision to set up a Joint Working Group with the twin mandate of ensuring peace and tranquillity along the Line of Actual Control (LAC) and

working on a fair, reasonable and mutually acceptable settlement of the boundary question. The two countries followed this up with two major agreements signed in 1993 and 1996: the first was the Agreement on the Maintenance of Peace and Tranquillity along the Line of Actual Control in the India-China Border Areas, the second the Agreement on Confidence Building Measures in the Military Field along the LAC.

New commitment

The Declaration signed during Prime Minister Vajpayee's visit in June 2003 consolidated the progress but also broke new ground by providing for a high-powered "special representative" on each side who was charged with the task of exploring "from the political perspective of the overall bilateral relationship the framework of a boundary settlement." Of the

four rounds of special representative talks that have taken place, two each have been conducted from the Indian side by Brajesh Mishra and J.N. Dixit, both National Security Advisers and designated special representatives. On the Chinese side, the special representative for all four rounds of talks has been Executive Vice-Foreign Minister Dai Bingguo. The "general principles" for the resolution of the boundary question are clearly identifiable, although they have not yet been settled. The sense on both sides is that given the new 2003-2004 commitment at the top leadership levels, a political breakthrough on this question could come sooner than conventionally predicted.

In a deeper sense, taking into account ground realities means moving from a grudging and then *de facto* acknowledgement of existing political realities to a formal recognition. During the

Vajpayee visit, significant and linked or *quid pro quo* gains were made on the issues of Tibet and Sikkim. Moving away from the traditional formulation that the Government of India's position was that "Tibet is an autonomous region of China," India for the first time since Independence conceded officially that Tibet was part of the territory of China. To quote from the 2003 Declaration: "The Indian Government recognises that the Tibet Autonomous Region is part of the territory of the People's Republic of China and reiterates that it does not allow Tibetans to engage in anti-Chinese political activities in India."

The Chinese side highly appreciated this nuanced change in position.

In turn, starting with the agreement to open an additional point of trade on the India-China border, the Chinese Government has moved towards an

implicit or *de facto* recognition of Sikkim as part of Indian territory.

Significantly, in contrast to his predecessors, this Chinese Premier did not need to raise the Tibet issue or register any "concern" over possible anti-China political activities in India by the Dalai Lama and his followers. When Dr. Singh expressed the hope that the Chinese Government would complete the process of acknowledging Sikkim as part of India, Mr. Wen responded: "A decision has already been taken. We will certainly gradually implement the decision."

Parallel issues

Another set of parallel issues, Aksai Chin and Arunachal Pradesh, remains in formal dispute. It waits for a similar political initiative on the basis of mutual understanding and mutual accommodation.

India - China - Tibet

"The most important event on my agenda," says Chinese Premier about India visit

By N. Ram

VIENTIANE, NOV. 30. India-China relations took another significant step forward today when a 40-minute meeting between Prime Ministers Manmohan Singh and Wen Jiabao — at the sidelines of the third India-ASEAN summit in the Laos capital — emphasised the continuity of post-1988 positive policies on both sides while looking forward to an upswing in all areas, including political progress in resolving the boundary question. The Chinese Premier, who confirmed that he would be visiting India in March 2005, told his counterpart that this was "the most important event on my agenda next year," adding "I hope this will send a positive signal throughout the world."

Mr. Wen also remarked that "the handshake between you and me will catch the attention of the whole world."

The Chinese Prime Minister told his Indian counterpart that it was the conviction of his Government that positive relations between the world's two most populous countries, which had political and economic significance in both regional and global terms, should be expanded in all spheres. Noting that the Sino-Indian boundary question was a complex issue, he remarked: "To be frank, resolving [it]... is by no means an easy task. It calls for confidence and patience." He expressed the view that the complexity of the question and the delay in resolving it should not be allowed to slow down other ingredients of the relationship.

Prime Minister Singh concurred with his counterpart on the importance of the Sino-Indian relationship and emphasised the need to expand trade, economic, and technological interactions. Two-way trade between the two countries is reported to be close to \$12 billion in 2004. The leaders agreed that there was inadequate people-to-people contact and that steps must be taken to enhance this aspect of the relationship. Observing that the four rounds of special representative talks since the Vajpayee visit to China have done "useful work," Dr. Singh looked forward to further progress along this political route to the resolution of the boundary question.



STRENGTHENING BONDS: Prime Minister Manmohan Singh with his Chinese counterpart Wen Jiabao during a meeting in Vientiane on Tuesday. — PTI

Consistent with long-term Chinese policy, which sees the boundary question as a problem "left over by history" that required "give and take," Premier Wen expressed the hope that the question would be resolved on the basis of "mutual understanding, mutual accommodation, and political will." While broadly agreeing with him, Prime Minister Singh introduced a nuance: "Yes, I agree with you. We should

show mutual accommodation. Any accommodation must take into account ground realities."

This strengthens the view that when it comes, a politics-in-command solution to the dispute over the 2000-km Sino-Indian boundary, which is divided into three clear sectors, cannot deviate very much from existing ground realities on either side of the border. That is to say, it cannot involve any substantial territorial transfer

or exchange.

In contrast to earlier occasions, China did not raise Tibet as an issue in the bilateral meeting. In response to the hope expressed by Dr. Singh that the Chinese Government would complete the process of acknowledging Sikkim as part of India, Mr. Wen said "a decision has already been taken" and "we will certainly gradually implement the decision."

Consolidating gains: Page 11

Singh to meet Chinese PM at Asean summit

Press Trust of India
New Delhi, November 26

PRIME MINISTER Manmohan Singh will leave for Laos on Sunday for the third Asean-India summit, where an agreement for peace, progress and shared prosperity will be signed, chalking out the direction of India's relations with South-East Asian countries.

Singh, who will fly to Laos capital Vientiane on a three-day visit, is expected to hold bilateral meetings with Chinese Premier Wen Jiabao, Japanese counterpart Junichiro Koizumi and others on the sidelines of the summit.

Details of the meetings are being worked out, External Affairs Ministry secretary (east) Rajiv Sikri told reporters here. The partnership pact will chart out a collective vision for political, economic, science and technology, health, cultural and other key spheres, he said.

For the first time, foreign ministers of the Asean countries will meet on the eve of the summit. External Affairs Minister K. Natwar Singh left for Vientiane today.

"As the Indo-Asean economic relation is quite broad and diversified, we are looking at the operationalisation of comprehensive economic cooperation agreement shortly," Sikri said, adding that special programmes were being chalked out for Cambodia, Myanmar, Laos and Vietnam. The first summit was held in Phnom Penh in November 2002 and the second in Bali in October 2003.

The Prime Minister is scheduled to return to New Delhi on November 30.

NOV 2004

THE HINDUSTAN TIMES

Sino-Indian talks positive, but questions persist

Manoj Joshi
New Delhi, November 24

EFFORTS BY India and Pakistan to resolve their problems are being made in the public domain, but when it comes to China it remains in the sphere of quiet diplomacy of the back-room boys. Last week's meeting between the special representatives of the two countries — J.N. Dixit of India and Dai

Bingguo of China — did not make headlines. But it did mark a distinct movement forward in getting down to the nuts and bolts of a settlement of the vexed dispute over the

4,056 km. border.

The talks were held on November 18-19 and were the fourth in the series of discussions between Dixit, who is also the national security adviser of India, and Dai, who is executive vice-foreign minister of China. The first two preliminary rounds took place between Dai and Brajesh Mishra.

Dixit sought to probe Dai over what China meant when it said that it was seeking "substantive adjustments" of the present Line of Actual Control, a source said. The Chinese side was not quite ready to spell out the specifics and

said that these could be taken up in the coming meetings. The Indian side has sought to understand the logic of the evolving and changing Chinese claims on the border. In 1960 and again in the early 1980s, the Chinese side, through their premiers Zhou Enlai and Deng Xiaoping, had offered a package deal through which the two sides would trade their claims in the eastern and western sectors. China would accept the McMahon Line, which approximates the

LAC in the East, in exchange for India broadly accepting the existing LAC as the border in the West. In recent years, the Chinese side has been calling for "substantive adjustments" in the East as well.

While the appointment of special representatives marked a new phase in the protracted discussions on the border that go back to the early 1980s, the Indian side is not quite clear as to whether their Chinese counterparts are indeed keen for settlement. A senior government source said, "Since these are substantive issues, India is in no hur-

ry to press for a settlement" and would be happy to have a thorough examination of the issues involved.

Source added since the territorial dimension was likely to take up time, the two sides could take up the broader guiding principles of a settlement, as envisaged by the Vajpayee-Wen agreement in 2003. These could enjoin both sides to arrive at mutually-acceptable solutions based on a range of principles from using recognised international practices, to political, which would be based on ground realities, among other things.

INSIGHT

India, China bhai bhai at border culture meet

By Nirmalya Banerjee/TNN

Bumla (On Sino-Indian border): A disputed border between India and China on the Tibet plateau on Friday witnessed the unusual scenes of the armies of the two countries participating in a cultural programme and exchanging gifts.

On National Day of China, a delegation of the Tawang-based brigade accompanied by their families crossed over to the Chinese side of the border and participated in a programme that lasted for more than two hours.

There was much bonhomie with an officer of the People's Liberation Army of China walking into the Indian side of the border and asking the Indian delegation to step over. Indian officers, jawans and their families marched in a column of two and entered the Chinese territory.

The international border at this point is marked only by a heap of stones. Disputes in the adjoining areas are, therefore, but natural.

The Chinese delegation was led by a senior colonel Chen Yan Hui of the rank of a brigadier. That the

understanding between the two traditional foes is far from over was indicated by the fact that none from the PLA was allowed to talk to the Indian media.

The Chinese soldiers presented a

border would continue for ever. In a brief address, he said cultural exchanges between the two armies began last year.

According to army officers, the disputed Thagla ridge is now in possession of the Chinese, though the Dhola post, the setting up of which had sparked the war in 1962, is now in Indian possession. In this sector, west of Bumla, the Line of Actual Control (LAC) now runs along the Namku Chu river.

Though at Bumla the Indian army has a post, the Chinese army post is located eight kilometers away, at Nagdoh. "They do, however, patrol this area regularly. In fact, the patrols are a cause for concern as the border is disputed and unmarked and patrols of either side can cross into the other's territory unknowingly," an officer said.

Raghavan said the Border Peace and Tranquillity Agreement signed in 1993 stipulated that force levels must be kept at a minimum along the LAC with provisions for border personnel meetings at Nathula, Bumla, and Dichu. No military exercise was conducted in mutually identified zones.



Indian and Chinese army officials join hands as they celebrate the 55th national day celebrations of China at Bumla in Arunachal Pradesh on Friday

cultural function that comprised songs in Chinese and English. A Tibetan dance was also presented to pay tribute to the culture of Tibet. A border personnel meeting was also held, which lasted for about half an hour.

Brigadier Vikram Raghavan, leading the Indian delegation, wished the peace prevailing on the Sino-Indian

42 yrs later, India storms China for peace

Bonhomie in the land of the Lamas

Rahul Karmakar
Bum La (China), October 1

EXACTLY 42 years after the Chinese stormed North-Eastern Frontier Agency, the Indian Army 'invaded' the Beijing-controlled Tibetan Autonomous Region (TAR) today, but for peace, not war.

In October 1962, the People's Liberation Army of China had run over several border outposts of the Indian Army in the Bum La-Tawang sector of NEFA, now known as Arunachal Pradesh.

They still control a few like the Thag La Ridge and Sumdorong Chu after a raid in 1986.

That was an era the India would like to forget and apparently the PLA, too, following a thaw in the Indo-Chinese relations over the years — the reason why October 1, 2004, saw a different set of PLA officers guiding their Indian counterparts into the Nagdah province of TAR for the 55th anniversary of the People's Republic of China.

It was for the first time since the liberation of both countries that an army delegation had been welcomed across the disputed MacMahon Line that separates India and China. An Indian media team was also allowed in to cover the historic event.

It was a reciprocation of an Indian gesture 45 days ago when a PLA delegation had participated in the August 15 celebrations on the Indian side of Bum La, the pass the Dalai Lama had taken for his flight from the Tibetan capital Lhasa in 1959. Lhasa is 471 km from the Heap of Stones, marking the LAC here on a Himalayan height of beyond 16,000 ft above sea level.

The air of camaraderie had a warming effect in the near-freezing conditions as the Chinese delegation leader, Senior Colonel Chan Yan Hui, and his deputy Colonel Chen Jian welcomed their Indian counterparts Brigadier Vikram Raghavan and Colonel S. Pradhan.

A senior Colonel in the PLA is equivalent to a



Colonel Chan Yan Hui of China with his Indian counterpart Colonel Surinder Singh at an event to mark the 55th National Day of the People's Republic of China at Bum La on the India-China border on Friday.

Brigadier of the Indian army. "We want this friendship to stay," said Senior Colonel Hui after an electrifying entertainment programme by an elite Chinese troupe, "for peace is mutually beneficial to two of the greatest countries on earth".

The weather seemed to agree too. The rain — soggy conditions make the approach road almost inaccessible — had stopped prior to the Chinese National Day celebrations.

Notably, both the Indian and Chinese armies have been meeting twice a year for confidence-building measures along the Line of Actual Control (LAC) since 1996. It was an outcome of the Border Peace and Tranquility Agreement (BPTA) of 1993.

The BPTA warrants that both armies do not transgress the LAC and respect it pending a solution to the boundary dispute, not attack each other, keep force level to a minimum and take measures to avoid an intrusion into each other's territories.

Natwar denies deal on Siachen

Vijay Dutt
London, October 1

NATWAR SINGH has emphatically denied that a deal was being brokered for withdrawal of troops from Siachen. The external affairs minister is in London on his way back from the UN General Assembly in New York.

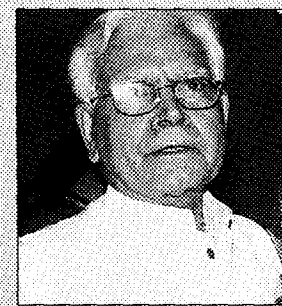
He countered sharply when asked why the issue of terrorism was not taken up with Pakistan at the meeting between Prime Minister Manmohan Singh and General Pervez Musharraf in New York. It was very much discussed, he said. Stopping terrorism is a precondition to the ongoing talks, he said.

Addressing a press conference hosted by the Indian Journalists Association (Europe), Singh iterated, "It

is pure speculation and is a lie" when asked about reports of a deal for withdrawal from Siachen in Pakistan's daily *The News*.

The paper had said, quoting sources, that the deal was in the offing, following President Musharraf's assurance that his troops will not occupy Siachen if Indian troops vacate it and that modalities would be thrashed out.

He added that the peace talks with Pakistan were an on-going process that is progressing smoothly. "We were comfortable with the speech President Musharraf made this time in the UN." He recalled that former Prime Minister Atal Bihari Vajpayee had had to counter Musharraf's address at great length last year. Natwar said the meeting between Dr Manmohan



Natwar Singh

Singh and President Musharraf went off very well. He singled Musharraf's statement that "he is not unifocal" as an indication of how the process of dialogue was progressing.

He said India stressed upon Pakistan that despite the long-standing border dispute with China trade with it is "slated to touch one billion dollar this year

and we wish this to happen with Pakistan as well".

Singh also said that majority favoured India's case for a permanent seat in the Security Council. It has been pointed out that "if Brazil and India are not there (as permanent members) one will not be reflecting the reality of 2004. It is not 1945 when the situation was different."

He also confirmed that a fence was being erected to stop infiltration from Bangladesh and it will be completed in two years.

He also refuted any major change in India's ties with the US. "We had a very wide range of talks with President Bush, Colin Powell and Condoleezza Rice, including the role of the Indian community in the US, dialogue with Pakistan and ties with China and US".

Growing Sino-Indian trade ties

BEHIND the headlines about a shifting power balance between the rising Asian giants – China and India – and the West, a new relationship is quietly taking shape that could profoundly affect the world economy: the rapidly growing business ties between the once estranged giants of Asia.

Newspaper headlines portray China as the world's manufacturing base for low-cost goods, like clothing and shoes, and India as the global IT monopoly-to-be. Unfortunately, media outside Asia have failed to acknowledge the growing partnership between the two giants. According to Wang Dehua, director of the Institute of South and Central Asian Studies, Western China has been especially eager to promote regional cooperation. In early August, a trade delegation from Yunnan province visited India and signed a joint declaration with the Confederation of Indian Industry, vowing to strengthen economic ties and further facilitate cross-border trade and investment.

Given the complementary nature of their economies and the size of their markets (nearly 2.2 billion people in total), the nascent cooperation between the two holds the potential to dramatically alter the world trade balance.

A perusal of the Shanghai technology corridor reveals a hint of the countries' industrial interconnectedness. Walk through one of the main complexes in Shanghai's Pudong Software Park, and you will see a prominently displayed sign for Infosys, one of India's most respected IT firms. The same complex also holds Satyam, the first of India's software service companies to set up offices in Shanghai. Nearby are the headquarters of the largest software services company in Asia, Tata Consultancy Services, which currently runs an outsourcing centre for GE in the town of Hangzhou. TCS is owned by the Tatas, one of India's most prominent business families. Across the river is NIIT, the principal software training centre in India's private sector. NIIT, operating in China since 1998, now runs an extensive two-year course in 25 provinces, training around 20,000 students to be software professionals. There is widespread speculation that Wipro, India's only giant IT firm without a presence in the city, will establish a Shanghai office very soon.

It is no surprise that Indian software companies are setting up in China. They, like everyone else, sense great opportunity in one of the largest, fastest-growing economies in the world. What makes the activities of Indian companies particularly interesting is that they are helping to create links between

While headlines in the West bemoan job outsourcing to China and India, leaders and entrepreneurs in both Asian countries are bridging political divides to benefit from their concurrent ascendancy, writes ANNA GREENSPAN

these giant neighbours – two countries that have been estranged since the 1960s.

For thousands of years, the Sino-Indian "border" was crisscrossed with trade routes. The flow of goods and ideas, particularly Buddhism, had a profound influence on shaping the entire culture of Asia. As India's first ambassador to China, KM Panikkar writes in *India and China: A study of Cultural Relations*, the prolonged contact between the neighbours "has been the major factor in the shaping of the Asian mind, for, from China, its influence radiated to Korea, Japan, Mongolia and other more distant lands."

In recent centuries, these links cooled and, after the Sino-Indian War of 1962, were almost completely severed. By the end of the 20th century, the two populations had become strangers. Speak to ordinary Chinese or Indian citizens about their neighbours, and they will more likely respond with stereotypes (not necessarily negative) or comments about strange eating habits than reply with first-hand knowledge or insight. Sometimes it seems that India and China appear even more exotic to each other than they do to those in the West. (This is partly due to the fact that, although flights are beginning to open up, it still costs about as much to fly from Shanghai to Bombay as

it does from Shanghai to New York.)

Yet, despite this estrangement, the fates of the two countries bear an almost uncanny resemblance, beyond anything that can be explained by mere geographical proximity. Both are demographic superpowers with more than a billion people each, and both are proud nations with ancient histories whose power waned throughout the modern period. They felt similarly overwhelmed by colonial influences, and, in response, both developed strong leaders who led their respective countries to national independence. Both Nehru and Mao created highly independent modern states that pursued strategies of cultural and economic protectionism. These were eventually abandoned – or at least radically reinterpreted – as both India and China adopted policies of economic reform and liberalisation, opening themselves to the world.

On the other hand, Asia's giants can also appear as mirror opposites, a perception most succinctly expressed in both countries by the oft-repeated idea that China has excelled in hardware while India has excelled in software. In part, this reflects a division within the IT industry: China manufactures chips and electronic components, while India writes the codes that power the hard-

ware. This division also demonstrates a much more profound difference between the two countries. China excels at building infrastructural hardware – buildings, bridges, power, telecoms, roads, etc. – areas where India is remarkably weak. Meanwhile, China's great shortcomings in democratic development, information dissemination, and independent media are all soft power issues where India shines.

The realisation of these complementary strengths and weaknesses has prompted a surge of interest in bilateral business relations in the last one or two years. Businesses on both sides of the border are increasingly appreciative of the potential for growth in the giant next door. "In the last couple of years the whole relationship is taking a complete U-turn," says Harsh Vardhan of Satyam. "The amount of engagement which is happening between India and China now, both at the government level and at the business level, has exponentially increased."

This renewed relationship can be concretely measured in overall levels of trade, with economic and bilateral trade tripling in the past 3 years. In addition to IT trade and interactions, India facilitates China's economic

development by exporting raw materials and semi-finished goods, as well as shipping Chinese cargo overseas. Chinese companies, for their part, have just begun to tap India's ever-expanding consumer market by exporting electrical machinery, home appliances, consumer electronics, and mechanical goods. A decade ago, trade between India and China was a paltry US \$300 million, by the end of 2004, it will cross the US \$10 billion mark.

Yet, this is just the beginning. "We are going to see a lot more action in business and commerce between these two countries," promises Prakash Menon of NIIT. And the result will not be merely the transformation of India and China from suspicious competitors to friendly collaborators.

"It's like in the early stages of infatuation," says Sunil Kumar, of the Confederation for Indian Industry, musing about the relationship between India and China. "You are mysterious to each other, but you are trying to find out more about each other." The world should pay attention and get ready for a time, in the not-so-distant future, when this infatuation turns into a full-blown affair. As Prakash Menon suggests, "If India and China can learn to market to each other, I don't think they will need any other country. In the first 50 years of this millennium, the East meeting the East is going to be a lot more powerful than the East meeting the West."



CIS meet adopts anti-terror agenda

By Vladimir Radyuhin

MOSCOW, SEPT. 16. The post-Soviet Commonwealth of Independent States (CIS) will set up a Security Council to jointly combat the terrorist threat.

Meeting in Astana, Kazakhstan, on Thursday the leaders of the CIS voiced strong support for Russia over a recent spate of deadly terrorist attacks that claimed over 440 lives.

"The CIS heads of state express full solidarity with Russia in its fight against terrorism and are confident that only consolidated efforts of the entire civilised humankind in fight against international terrorism can prevent the spread of that evil," said the document.

The anti-terrorist agenda dominated the one-day summit of the 12-member organisation. The heads of state approved the Kazakh President, Nursultan Nazarbayev's proposal to restructure the CIS and set up a Security Council to jointly tackle the problem of terrorism.

"We are unanimous in the understanding that contemporary terrorism poses a threat to

all countries, and it is necessary to combine efforts to fight it," said the Ukrainian President, Leonid Kuchma, the outgoing Chairman of the Council of the CIS Heads of State.

The CIS Security Council will comprise the Foreign and Defence Ministers, as well as the security and border guards chiefs of the member states.

Speaking at the summit, the Russian President, Vladimir Putin, rejected Western calls that the Kremlin should negotiate with Chechen rebel leaders, warning against double standards on terrorism.

"Osama bin Laden twice offered European countries the so-called truce if they withdraw their troops from Iraq," Mr. Putin said. "However, nobody has entered into negotiations with him, because the methods he uses make it impossible to talk with him." In recognition of Russia's leading role in the joint anti-terror efforts, Mr. Putin was elected to the rotating Chairmanship of the CIS Heads of State Council even though it was not his turn to head the organisation's apex body.

17 SEP 2004

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China is a challenge, and not a threat, to India

China
India
China

Facing the dragon

T-18
26/8

New Delhi has made it clear that it does not see China as a "threat" to India. The official position reflects a correct assessment of our security environment. China poses a challenge, not a threat, to India.

In assessing our security environment, it is essential to examine both the intentions as well as the capabilities of neighbouring countries. If a country has hostile intentions as well as a military capability to pursue those intentions, it should be categorized as a "threat" to India. If it possesses the military capability of causing us major harm but does not harbour hostile intentions, it should be seen as posing a "challenge". Pakistan falls in the first category and China in the second.

The immediate focus of defence planning should obviously be on countries that pose a "threat", in the sense that it is essential that we should be prepared at any time to respond to aggression from such countries. "Challenges" do not require the same urgent response but they must be addressed in a long-term perspective. It is not prudent to altogether ignore a neighbour's military capabilities even though it does not harbour hostile intentions. After all, intentions can change over time for a variety of reasons. Moreover, a country's intentions can change quite quickly while it takes a relatively long time to build up our response capabilities. For these reasons, it is unwise to turn a blind eye to the military capabilities of our neighbours even when they do not pose a "threat" to us.

How does one assess China's current intentions? Our relations with China went through a period of confrontation and conflict in the late Fifties and Sixties. The reasons for these developments were complex and need not detain us here. Suffice it to say that when future historians are able to analyze these events dispassionately, they will probably conclude that each side misread the other's intentions. What is more germane to our present enquiry is the state of India-China relations in recent decades.

The facts here are quite clear. Since the late Eighties, China has generally desisted from adopting a hostile attitude towards India. She has ceased to assist insurgent groups operating in our north-eastern areas. The border areas have generally been tension-free after Rajiv Gandhi's visit to China in December 1988. The 1993 agree-

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CHANDRASHEKHAR DASGUPTA

ment on maintenance of peace and tranquillity in the border areas is functioning well, and this is also the case with the 1996 accord on confidence-building measures. Bilateral relations have progressed satisfactorily in all areas, most notably in the commercial field. China has also desisted from adopting confrontational postures against other countries.

Thus, there are good reasons for concluding that China today does not entertain hostile intentions and that it reciprocates our intention to resolve all issues through peaceful negotiation. The prospects of continued strengthening of India-

Japan as a political and military power. In no other part of the globe is the military balance between major powers evolving as rapidly as in the western Pacific theatre. India figures in China's defence calculus but not as a top priority.

The assessment that China is a challenge and not a threat does not mean that we can afford to ignore China's military potential. As we noted earlier, intentions can change over time. This can happen as a result of major policy changes in a country or it can be triggered off by a substantial change in the balance of power in its favour. Defence planning has to take into account



China ties are very good. To misperceive China as a threat — and to base our defence plans on such a misperception — would result in distorting our national priorities and in a tragic diversion of scarce resources from urgent developmental tasks.

We have, of course, to take note of the fact that the Chinese armed forces are among the most powerful in the world. They are the world's biggest in numerical terms, and their modernization campaign is making rapid progress. We should also note that China's deepest security concerns lie eastwards (in the Pacific Ocean area) and not southwards. At the top of China's immediate concerns is the possibility of a declaration of independence by the Taiwan regime. Beijing has signalled its determination to crush such a separatist move by force, if necessary. Other issues that figure prominently in China's security perspectives are the American role in Asia and the re-emergence of

Which type of dragon we find across our borders will depend as much on us as on China

not only likely contingencies but even relatively unlikely ones (barring only the highly improbable category).

Modern China has witnessed several radical changes of domestic and foreign policies, among which the Cultural Revolution was the most dramatic. At different times, China has been an ally, and an adversary, of the erstwhile Soviet Union; at war with the United States of America, and a quasi-ally of the US against the USSR; in confrontation with both these powers, and on friendly terms with each of them. It is true that Beijing has followed a

more steady and consistent course in the post-Mao period, and one may hope that the new collegiate decision-making procedures will reduce the chances of sudden twists and turns in the future. However, the risk of a sudden change of course cannot be totally ruled out. For example, should there be a breakdown of political stability, China's behaviour might become unpredictable. Political chaos in China is an unwelcome prospect not only for the Chinese but also for their neighbours.

Intentions and policies can also change if there is a shift in the military balance of such proportions that it provides unprecedented opportunities for a country to achieve its objectives at negligible cost. Nato's expansion into eastern Europe provides a recent example. During the Soviet era, not even the most ardent cold warrior in Washington could dream of the incorporation into the western alliance of major east European states, including even the Baltic republics of the former USSR. What was previously an unfeasible objective became easily achievable as a result of the collapse of the Soviet Union.

Thus, we must ensure that the current gap in the military capabilities of China and India does not become so wide as to imperil our defence or trigger off a change in Chinese policy. The differential must not be allowed to exceed certain limits.

In assessing Chinese capabilities, it would be a mistake to confine our attention exclusively to the size and equipment of its military forces. The spectacular growth of China's civilian infrastructure — roads, railways, airports, civil air fleet, and telecommunications — together with the development of agriculture and industry in outlying regions such as Tibet and Xinjiang, makes it possible for Beijing to rapidly induct, deploy and maintain much larger force-levels than ever before, at any point on its borders. The economic infrastructure is, in a sense, a military force multiplier. Our response to the Chinese challenge has to be shaped accordingly. Development of the economic infrastructure, particularly in the North-east, must complement modernization of our defence forces. Defence and development cannot be placed in separate watertight compartments.

In Chinese mythology, the dragon is a benign creature, very different from the fierce predator of Western fables. Which type of dragon we find across our borders will depend as much on us as on China. If we measure up to the economic and security challenge posed by China's rapid rise, we will find that the dragon has Chinese characteristics.

India, China discuss police-level cooperation

By P. S. Suryanarayana

SINGAPORE, AUG. 16. India and China today explored the possibilities of bilateral cooperation at the level of the policing agencies in respect of internal security duties.

The talks were held in Beijing between top officials of the Chinese People's Armed Police (PAP) and a five-member Indian delegation led by the Joint Secretary (Police), Ministry of Home Affairs, A. K. Jain. The delegation called on the PAP commander, Gen. Wu Shuang Zhan, and also held detailed discussions with the PAP deputy commander, Lt. Gen. Liang Hong, who had visited India earlier this year.

The Sino-Indian talks on police-related functions were initiated during Lt. Gen. Liang's visit. Interactions in this sphere have been envisioned under the overall framework of the joint statement on wide-ranging cooperation, which was agreed upon in June 2003, when the then Prime Minister, Atal Bihari Vajpayee, visited Beijing.

The present Indian delegation, which arrived in Beijing on Sunday on a weeklong visit, is scheduled to travel to some other parts of China as well. Some of the specific areas of mutual interest are understood to be the security of installations, including those in special economic zones, the security of very important persons, police training as also equipment, besides certain basic aspects of internal security.

THE HINDU

17 AUG 2004

হৃদ-সঙ্কট, চিনে পর্যবেক্ষক দল পাঠাতে মরিয়া দিল্লি

স্টাফ রিপোর্টার, নয়াদিল্লি, ১৪
অগস্ট: হিমাচলপ্রদেশে ঢোকার মুখে
পারেচু নদীর জল আজ দু'ফুট বেড়ে
গিয়েছে। হৃদের ফাটল বেড়ে যাওয়ার
কারণেই এ ভাবে জলস্তরে বৃদ্ধি হয়েছে
বলে মনে করছে কেন্দ্রীয় সরকার।
এমন অবস্থায় চিনে পর্যবেক্ষক দল
পাঠানোর জন্য ফের নতুন করে চেষ্টা
শুরু করেছে কেন্দ্র। হৃদ-সঙ্কট নিয়ে
গঠিত বিশেষ সঙ্কট মোকাবিলা গোষ্ঠীর
এক সদস্য জানিয়েছেন, “আমরা
এখনও চেষ্টা চালিয়ে যাচ্ছি যাতে
ভারতীয় পর্যবেক্ষকদের হৃদ দেখতে
যেতে অনুমতি দেয় চিন। ওখানে যেতে
পারলে পরিস্থিতি ঠিক কী রকম, তা
ভাল বোঝা যাবে।” স্বরাষ্ট্রমন্ত্রকের পক্ষ
থেকে বিদেশমন্ত্রককে এই বিষয়ে আজ
বার্তা পাঠানো হয়েছে।

পারেচু নদীর উৎপত্তি হিমাচল ও
জম্মু-কাশ্মীরের কাছে প্রাংলা পাস
থেকে। হিমাচলের কাউরিক গ্রামের
কাছে আকসাই চিন থেকে ভারতে
ঢোকে পারেচু। কাউরিকে জলের
গতিবিধি নজর রাখার জন্য কেন্দ্র
একটি পর্যবেক্ষণ চৌকি খুলেছে।
সেখান থেকে আজ খবর এসেছে,

ভারতে প্রবেশের মুখে পারেচুর জল
দুই ফুট বেড়ে গিয়েছে। গত কালই
কেন্দ্র জানিয়েছিল, হৃদের এলাকা পাঁচ
হেক্টর বেড়ে গিয়েছে। এখন জলস্তর
বেড়ে যাওয়ার উদ্ভিগ্ন দিল্লি।

দু'ফুট জলস্তর বাড়লেও ধসের
ফলে তৈরি হওয়া বাঁধ ভেঙে পড়বে
কি না, তা নিয়ে সঠিক কোনও হিসাব
কষতে পারছে না কেন্দ্রীয় সরকার।
প্রধান সমস্যা হচ্ছে, কোনও পর্যবেক্ষক
দল এখনও হৃদে পৌঁছতে পারেনি।
উপগ্রহ-চিত্র এবং অন্য তথ্যের উপরে
নির্ভর করেই চিন এবং ভারত বন্যা বা
বাঁধ ভাঙার আশঙ্কায় বিভিন্ন
পদক্ষেপের সিদ্ধান্ত নিয়েছে। এই
অবস্থায় কোর ম্যানেজমেন্ট গ্রুপের
কাছে বিশেষজ্ঞদের যে মতামত
আসছে, তাতেও পার্থক্য দেখা যাচ্ছে।
কেউ বলছেন, জল যে ভাবে উপচে
পড়তে শুরু করেছে, তাতে আর বাঁধ
ভেঙে পড়ার আশঙ্কা নেই। তবে
স্বরাষ্ট্রমন্ত্রক সরকারি ভাবে এখনও এই
কথা বলতে নারাজ। সঙ্কট মোকাবিলা
গোষ্ঠীর এক সদস্যের মতে, “এটা
মানুষ তৈরি করেনি। ফলে কী হবে
আর কী হবে না, সেটা বলা মুশকিল।”

ANAND

15 AUG 2004

H10-1
19/8

Chinese villages evacuated

Ind. China

● India kept informed of river flow

By Amit Baruah

NEW DELHI, AUG. 13. Several Chinese villages downstream of the artificial lake created by landslips across the Pareechu river in the Tibet Autonomous Region have been evacuated even as the Chinese authorities are constantly monitoring the flow in the river.

Officials monitoring the situation here said that a Chinese technical team had been stationed about half-a-kilometre away from the site of the landslips, which had created the huge lake. Some more experts are also being sent to the area.

According to the officials, China has informed India that water is still flowing over the top of the "dam" created by the landslips. First reports of the overflow came on Wednesday.

'Situation unstable'

Also, landslips are still occurring and the situation is unstable. However, there has been no appreciable increase in the water levels downstream of the lake till early evening on Thursday. The lack of access to the lake site had forced Chinese technical experts, too, to remain a good half-a-kilometre away.

Denying reports on Indian television channels yesterday, the officials said the Chinese Government had informed New

Delhi that no "controlled blasting" had been carried out in the lake to allow water flow.

An existing hotline between the Indian and Chinese armies in the Spanggur area is being used to pass on information about the latest situation. Senior Army personnel are on the spot to monitor the situation and receive the information from the Chinese.

"The Chinese technical team is basically in [a] monitoring mode. They have conveyed to us that blasting the dam might be dangerous," the officials told this correspondent.

Apart from the exchange of information between the two countries in Spanggur, the Chinese side is also keeping the Indian Embassy in Beijing posted with the latest information.

Expert panel

In a related development, the Union Home Ministry today set up a four-member experts committee to advise the crisis management group set up to deal with the situation that might arise if the dam bursts.

S.K. Aggarwal from the Central Water Commission, C.B. Singh, Deputy Surveyor-General, V. Bhanumurthy of the National Remote Sensing Agency and Y.P. Sharda, senior geologist, are the committee members.

China releases Pareechu water

Shimla: The entire area along the banks of the Sutlej and Spiti rivers in Himachal Pradesh was put on maximum alert on Thursday following a communication from the Centre that water from an artificial dam on Pareechu river in Tibet had been released, threatening flash floods. The water was likely to reach Rampur on Indo-Tibet border by evening, chief minister Vir Bahadur Singh told reporters.

There were reports that the artificial lake had started overflowing since early morning on Thursday but these could not be confirmed as the water level at Samdoh and Khaab did not show any significant increase. The state agencies, Army and Indo-

Tibet Border Police were closely monitoring the situation to assess the volume of water released from the lake. Air Force helicopters and Army personnel were put on high alert.

There were reports that Chinese authorities conducted controlled blasts at the site of the dam, but there was no confirmation. Earlier, another report received by the state government had indicated that there might be some controlled activity at the lake and water might enter Indian territory in next few hours but the deadline passed off without any development.

There was no fresh communication about the release of water and official agencies were trying to veri-

fy the earlier reports. Panic gripped people in Rampur, Brow, Neogali, Jagatkhana, Sunni and other areas as the news of release of water spread like wildfire. People started closing their shops and packing up. About 4,000 people from all the 60 vulnerable villages have already been evacuated.

Meanwhile, Indian survey department has calculated the size of the blockade at the lake at 178 metres along the stream and 84 metres across the stream as per the satellite images. The depth of the lake was about 40 metres, which meant that the total discharge from the lake would be 64 million cubic metres in case the dam bursts. Agencies

Dam unstable, says China

By Amit Baruah

NEW DELHI, AUG. 12. India said today that it was not aware of any "explosion" the Chinese might have conducted to breach an artificial lake created by landslips across the Pareechu river in Tibet. The brimming lake threatens to cause massive floods in downstream Himachal Pradesh.

"I have no information either way about the explosion," the External Affairs Ministry spokesman said when asked to confirm or deny reports that such a blast had been carried out. Separately, information made available by the Chinese Embassy has suggested that "measures" had been taken to deal with the Pareechu lake, but specific details were not immediately available.

'Water overflowing'

"What we've heard is that the dam has not burst," the Ministry spokesman said, referring to information received from the Chinese Government. "Water from the lake has been flowing over the dam," he told presspersons at a regular briefing.

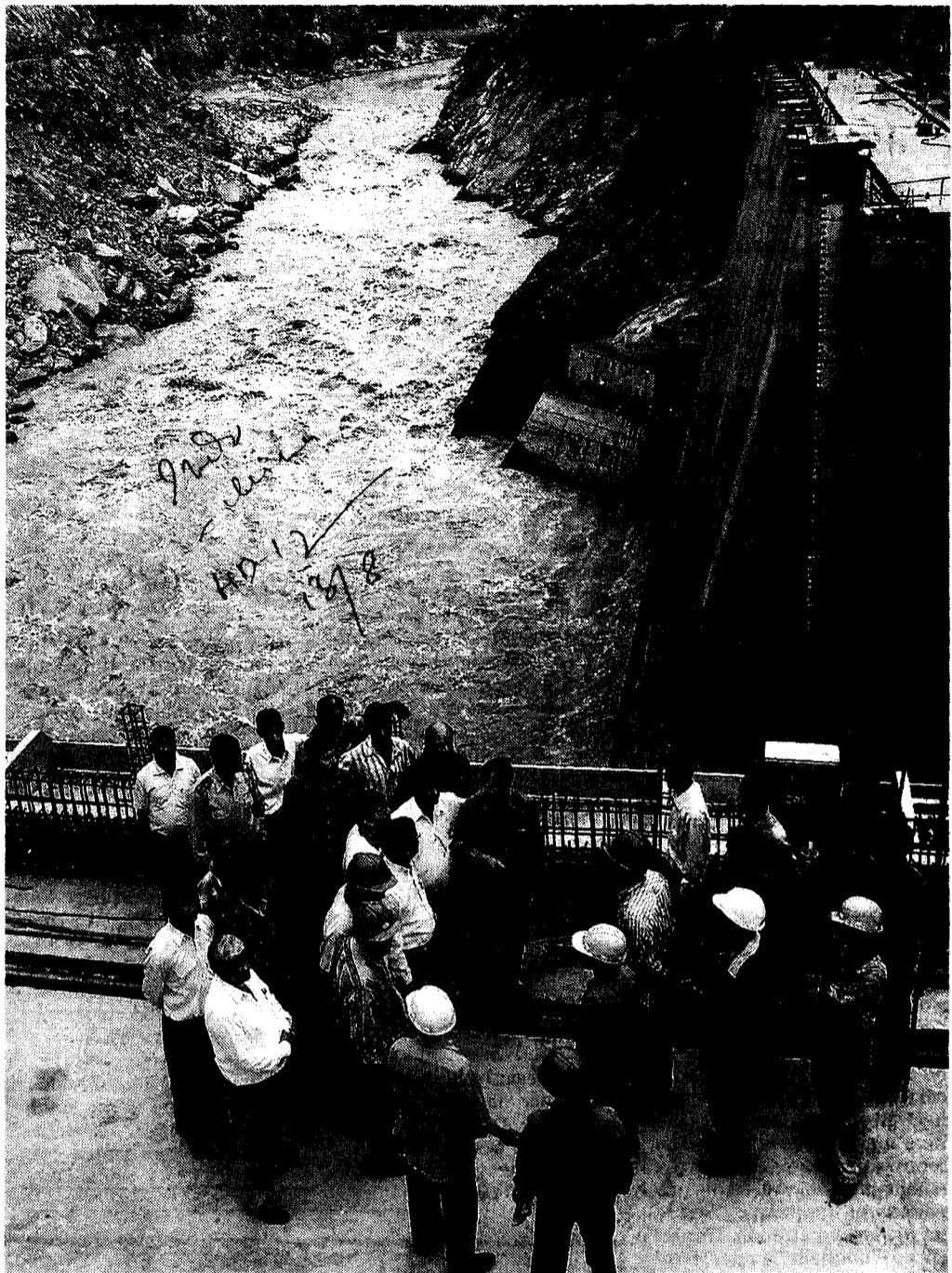
The Chinese Government had, however, informed India that the "dam" was unstable. "The conditions are still not stable," he said. Asked if New Delhi was receiving sufficient cooperation from China, he said that "both sides have been in close touch." Several contingency measures had been taken by the Himachal Pradesh Government. A chain of wireless sets had been put in place across the villages that might be affected.

These villages, the spokesman said, were along the Spiti river, downstream of Sumdo, and along the Sutlej, downstream of Khab. "The villagers in this area have been sensitised to evacuate to safer areas."

Copters kept ready

Helicopters of the Air Force were on stand-by and the State Government had made arrangements to stock essential supplies. The Indo-Tibetan Border Police had also set up a post at the point where the Pareechu waters enter India.

Asked why China had not yet permitted an Indian technical team to visit the artificial lake site, he said it was not a question of "distance" but of access. "The area is remote and difficult to reach," he said, adding that he was not really sure whether Chinese experts themselves had been able to reach the site.



PLANNING THE STRATEGY: Authorities in discussion at the Nathpa Dam at Kinnaur in Himachal Pradesh on Thursday where the Sutlej is flowing at an all-time low. There is a threat of floods in the river as the overflowing water from an artificial lake enters Pareechu river in Tibet. — Photo: Sandeep Saxena

A flood of rumours

By Kanwar Yogendra

RAMPUR (HIMACHAL PRADESH), AUG. 12. For another day today the residents of Rampur, a small town on the left bank of the Sutlej, agonised over the rumours of a possible blast by the Chinese Government to breach the lake created by landslips across the Pareechu.

The State Government officials too had little information to allay their fears of floods submerging their town. Amidst conflicting reports the people

stood and worried and only when the External Affairs Ministry statement came that the dam had not burst did they relax.

A few commercial establishments and houses close to the river were vacated a week back, but for the rest it was business as usual. Many locals were seen protesting against some media reports that exaggerated the flood threat.

Earlier as rumours of floods spread, para military forces mobilised on the way towards Kinnaur were seen reporting to the

Rampur SDM for possible assistance.

The movement of forces led to a momentary panic even in Nathpa, the dam site of the prestigious 1500 MW hydro project, about 60 km from Rampur, but it subsided immediately. The officials at the site reported no change in the water level there.

A team of SJVN engineers also did an aerial survey near the Indian border and reported that everything was normal.

Army on alert, 56 villages evacuated

By Our Special Correspondent

NEW DELHI, AUG. 12. The Centre said today that the situation created by the blockage on the river Pareechu in China's Tibet province was being closely monitored and the Army, the Indo-Tibetan Border Police and the Himachal Pradesh Government had been alerted after China reported that the artificial dam had begun to overflow.

An official press release said the Chinese had informed India that as at 6.30 a.m. today, the artificial dam was overflowing along its entire length and that the condition of the dam was unstable and in a report later at 2.55 p.m. they said that the overflow was taking place smoothly and there was now a five metre gap at the dam's top.

'Very difficult' condition

The release also said the Chinese were yet to give permission for a technical team from India to visit the site on the ground that the conditions at the site were "very difficult" and it would not be possible for the Indian team to reach there.

"We had communicated to the Chinese side that we will be willing to send a technical team, if the Chinese side agreed. The Chinese side has communicated that it had sent a technical team which had only managed to reach about 800 metres from

Baseless: China

NEW DELHI, AUG. 12. China today denied reports that the blockade of the flow of Pareechu river in Tibet by a massive landslide could have been caused by some road construction activity on the Chinese side in the region.

"The landslide is simply a calamity caused by heavy rainfall and natural landslide. The fabricated speculation of the report stands baseless," a Chinese embassy spokesperson said here.

"It is the established fact that within a radius of 30 km around the landslide site there is absolutely no highway nor any highway construction," he added. — PTI

the site of the dam and that the conditions at the site were very difficult and it would not be possible for the Indian team to reach the site at this stage.

Subsequently, on 11th August, the Chinese side informed that it had sent another team, which has been able to reach up to 500 metres of the dam site. The Chinese have not yet given permission to our team to visit."

The Chinese had also informed India that it was not practical to take any measure for a controlled discharge of the water at the present stage as the site was in a remote area, with difficult terrain and continuing landslips.

According to the information provided by China, as of August 9 evening, the dam was as high as 35 metres, the width of the reservoir was 1.5 km, the length 6 km, the storage 80 million cubic metres, the rate of inflow 40 cubic metres a second, the rate of leakage 7.3 cubic metres a second and the rate of increase in water level 0.5 metres a day.

The press release also said that 56 villages within the danger zone had been evacuated,

and four Army columns placed on standby, along with helicopters of Army Aviation and IAF.

In addition, six medical teams have been pre-positioned and ITBP rescue teams were on alert.

Early warning systems

Among other things, the National Remote Sensing Agency in Hyderabad is monitoring the changes in water level through satellite photographs, and the ITBP has set up a post at the point where the Pareechu river enters Indian territory, to give early warning of any increase in the water level. The system of warning has been tested through a mock drill.

Further, on the advice of the Centre, the Himachal Pradesh Government has taken steps to stock essential commodities in villages which are likely to be cut off and has conducted gram sabhas in the villages along the river course to identify places where the people could be evacuated in case of an emergency.

A flood of rumours: Page 12

চিনের সঙ্গে সম্পর্ক অনেক সহজ, সিয়াচেনে বললেন প্রণব

সৌভদ্র চট্টোপাধ্যায় ● সিয়াচেন

১২ অগস্ট: এক দিকে 'আকসাই চিন'-এর ভূখণ্ড, অন্য দিকে পাকিস্তান। ১২, ১৮৮ ফুট উঁচু থেকে সামনের যে বরফ-ঢাকা পাহাড়গুলো দেখছি, তার দখল নিয়ে কুড়ি বছর ধরে ভারত-পাক লড়াই চলছে। এই সিয়াচেন হিমবাহ ঘুরে আসার পরে প্রতিরক্ষামন্ত্রী প্রণব মুখোপাধ্যায় সীমান্ত-বিবাদ নিয়ে এক প্রতিবেশীর ব্যাপারে যতটা হতাশ, অন্য জনের ক্ষেত্রে ততটাই সন্তুষ্ট।

প্রথম জন অবশ্যই পাকিস্তান। প্রণববাবুর আজকের সফরের দিন কয়েক আগেই সিয়াচেনকে মিলিটারি-মুক্ত করতে দুই দেশের প্রতিরক্ষা সচিবেরা দিল্লিতে বৈঠকে বসেছিলেন। সেই বৈঠকে কেন কোনও সমাধানসূত্র মিলল না, তার ব্যাখ্যা দিয়ে প্রণববাবু আজ বলেছেন, "আমরা চেয়েছিলাম সরিয়ে নেওয়ার আগে সেনাদের বর্তমান অবস্থান সরকারি ভাবে নথিভুক্ত করা হোক। ওদের যুক্তি হচ্ছে, 'ডি-মিলিটারাইজেশন' হলে এমনিতেই সেনা-অবস্থান পাল্টাবে। তাহলে বর্তমান অবস্থা নথিভুক্ত করা কেন?" পাক্সা ৬ বছর পরে সিয়াচেন নিয়ে পাক-ভারত প্রতিরক্ষা সচিব স্তরে বৈঠকে বসেছিল। কেন সেই বৈঠকে বরফ গলল না, তা নিয়ে এই প্রথম কেন্দ্রীয় মন্ত্রিসভার কেউ মুখ খুললেন।

সিয়াচেন হিমবাহের চূড়ার মতো সর্বদাই এই বরফ থেকে যাবে কিনা, তা নিয়ে যথেষ্ট সন্দেহের অবকাশ থাকছে। কিন্তু চিনের সঙ্গে প্রকৃত নিয়ন্ত্রণরেখা

নিয়ে ভারতের সম্পর্ক যে দিন কে দিন পাহাড়ের মতোই শক্তিশালী হচ্ছে, তাতে যথেষ্ট খুশি প্রণববাবু। আজ বলেছেন, "এক সময়ে দু'দেশের সেনা সামনাসামনি হয়ে গিয়েছিল। সেখান থেকে এখন এমন অবস্থা যে আমাদের ২৪ ঘণ্টা নিয়ন্ত্রণরেখা পাহারা দিতেও হয় না। ভারত ও চিনের স্বাধীনতা দিবসের দিন দুটি দুই দেশের সেনারা মিলে পালন করে।" আকসাই চিনের নিয়ন্ত্রণরেখায় দু'দেশের সেনাদের সম্পর্ক কতটা ভাল হয়েছে, তার একটা মজাদার ঘটনা শোনালেন প্রণববাবু। সম্প্রতি চিন ও ভারতের সেনারা টহল দিচ্ছিল প্রকৃত নিয়ন্ত্রণরেখা বরাবর। এক সময়ে মুখোমুখি হয়ে যাওয়ায় চিনারা যথারীতি ভাবে দিল্লির ফৌজিরা নিয়ন্ত্রণরেখা পেরিয়ে গিয়েছে। এক জন অনুবাদক দু'পক্ষের বক্তব্য একে অপরকে বোঝাতে শুরু করে। চিনারা প্রথমে বুঝে যায় ভারতীয়েরা কোনও অসং উদ্দেশ্যে টহল দিচ্ছিল না। বোঝার পরে পরে একগাল হেসে চিনা ফৌজ ভারতীয় টহলদারি বাহিনীর প্রধানের দিকে হাত বাড়িয়ে দিলেও তিনি পাল্টা হাত বাড়াননি। কারণ, চিনাদের মনোভাব তাঁকে যে তখনও অনুবাদ করে বোঝানো হয়নি!

গত বছরে অরুণাচল প্রদেশে এমনই একটি ক্ষেত্রে টহলদারি ভারতীয় ফৌজিদের আটক করে রেখেছিল চিনারা। এখন আর সেই রকম পরিস্থিতি হয় না বলে দাবি করেছেন প্রতিরক্ষামন্ত্রী। নিয়ন্ত্রণরেখা নিয়ে 'দৃষ্টিভঙ্গিগত পার্থক্য' থাকায়

এখনও 'অনুপ্রবেশের' অভিযোগ ওঠে। কিন্তু প্রণববাবুর জানিয়েছেন, "আমরা ফ্ল্যাগ মিটিং করেই সেই সমস্যা মিটিয়ে নিই। দিল্লি বা বেজিংকে হস্তক্ষেপ করতে হয় না।" চিনের সঙ্গে সংঘর্ষ বিরতি দীর্ঘকাল যাবৎ রয়েছে। পাকিস্তানের সঙ্গেও একইরকম সংঘর্ষবিরতি রয়েছে নিয়ন্ত্রণরেখা এবং সিয়াচেন জুড়ে। কিন্তু এসঙ্গেও দুই দেশের সঙ্গে ভারতের সীমান্ত-সম্পর্কের বিরাট ফারাক রয়েছে বলে মনে করেন প্রণববাবু। তাঁর বক্তব্য, "চিনের সঙ্গে চারটে বাণিজ্য-পথ খোলার কথা চলছে। পাকিস্তান একটাও খুলেছে? আমরা বিভিন্ন ক্ষেত্রে তথ্য আদান প্রদান করি। এই যে তিব্বতে হুদ উপহে পড়ায় হিমাচলে বন্যা নিয়ে চিন আগাম জানিয়ে দিয়েছে। পাকিস্তান এ সবের একটাও করে?"

আজ সকালে লে থেকে এম আই-১৭ চপারে প্রণববাবু এলেন সিয়াচেন বেস ক্যাম্প। সেখান থেকে ফের 'চিতা' হেলিকপ্টারে গেলেন আর একটু উপরে, কুমার পয়েন্টে। সিয়াচেন থেকে কার্গিল, দ্রাস হয়ে শ্রীনগর। নতুন প্রতিরক্ষামন্ত্রীর কাছে সিয়াচেন এলাকার ফৌজিরা দুটো আবেদন জানিয়েছেন, যাতে ঠিক সময়ে, পর্যাপ্ত পরিমাণে সাজ সরঞ্জাম মেলে। প্রণববাবু কথা দিয়েছেন, "ওদের যা চাহিদা, তার পুরোটা যাতে মেলে সেই ব্যাপারে আজই সেনাকর্তাদের নির্দেশ দিয়েছি। এইরকম দুর্গম এলাকায় যারা দেশকে রক্ষা করছে, তাদের সমস্ত সুবিধা দিতে আমি বদ্ধপরিকর।"

China rings Sutlej alarm bells

Press Trust of India
New Delhi, August 11

CHINA ON Wednesday asked India to make preparations for "disaster prevention" amid widespread concern over the artificial dam in Tibet bursting and triggering flash floods in Himachal Pradesh.

"We have conveyed various information collected to the Indian side in time and reminded them to make preparations for disaster prevention," Chinese Em-

bassy spokesperson Yang Shuying stated here.

"We would continue to brief the Indian side on the latest development in a timely manner," she said. Shuying said the Pareechu river in the Tibet Autonomous Region of China has been blocked by a landslide since July. Attaching great importance to the issue, the departments concerned on the Chinese side have been working day and night, monitoring closely the development of the situation and studying

seriously measures to cope with it, she said.

Asked about the reason for delay in Beijing's clearance for a four-member Indian technical team to inspect the landslide area and the artificial dam and lake, Yang said, "It is a very difficult situation because of bad weather. It is impossible for any person to enter that area." Safety was of paramount importance, she added.

Taking full note of the concern of the Indian side, Beijing has carefully studied

their suggestions and requirements and conveyed to New Delhi the relevant information, she said.

"The blockage of the river is located in the Ali Prefecture of China's Tibet that features high altitude, remoteness, difficult terrain and poor transportation and communication, she said.

The Chinese embassy spokesperson said, "The increase of the rainfall and water flow from the upper reaches results in a continuous rise of water level and

possibility of dam bursting or overflowing at any time. Moreover, landslide, mud-rock flow and riverway blockade happen intermittently as well."

She said in spite of the poor natural conditions and many difficulties, China has sent several working groups to visit the landslide site.

Meanwhile, India today said it has not yet received clearance for technical team to inspect the artificial dam in Tibet.

"We have not received

clearance so far for the travel of the technical team," MEA spokesman told reporters here.

He said the physical conditions prevailing there were difficult. Both sides were watching the situation and sharing information on it, he said. New Delhi feels the timing of the visit would ultimately depend on the physical conditions prevailing in the concerned parts of Tibet where the weather was pretty bad with heavy rains and landslides.

Satellite images add to bank burst fears

Press Trust of India
Shimla, August 11

SATELLITE IMAGES showing expansion of the artificial lake in Tibet that threatens to burst and trigger flash floods in Himachal Pradesh on Wednesday raised fresh concerns even as high alert in areas along the banks of Pareechu, Spiti and Sutlej rivers in the state remained in place for the third day.

The increasing size of the lake, which expanded to 188 hectares from 150 hectares and acquired a tail was worrying the administration as the depth of the lake could not be ascertained.

As per the data available from satellite imageries provided by The National Remote Sensing Agency, Hyderabad, the depth of the lake could be about 60 metres which means discharge of 140 million cubic metres of water, in case the lake bursts.

The Central Water Commission and Survey of India officials are reportedly undertaking an exercise to find the depth of the lake at various points with the help of earlier contour maps to assess the exact volume of water.

The information available here suggest that a crater existed at the point where the lake had been

formed and it is not necessary that entire water would flow into the river, if the lake breached.

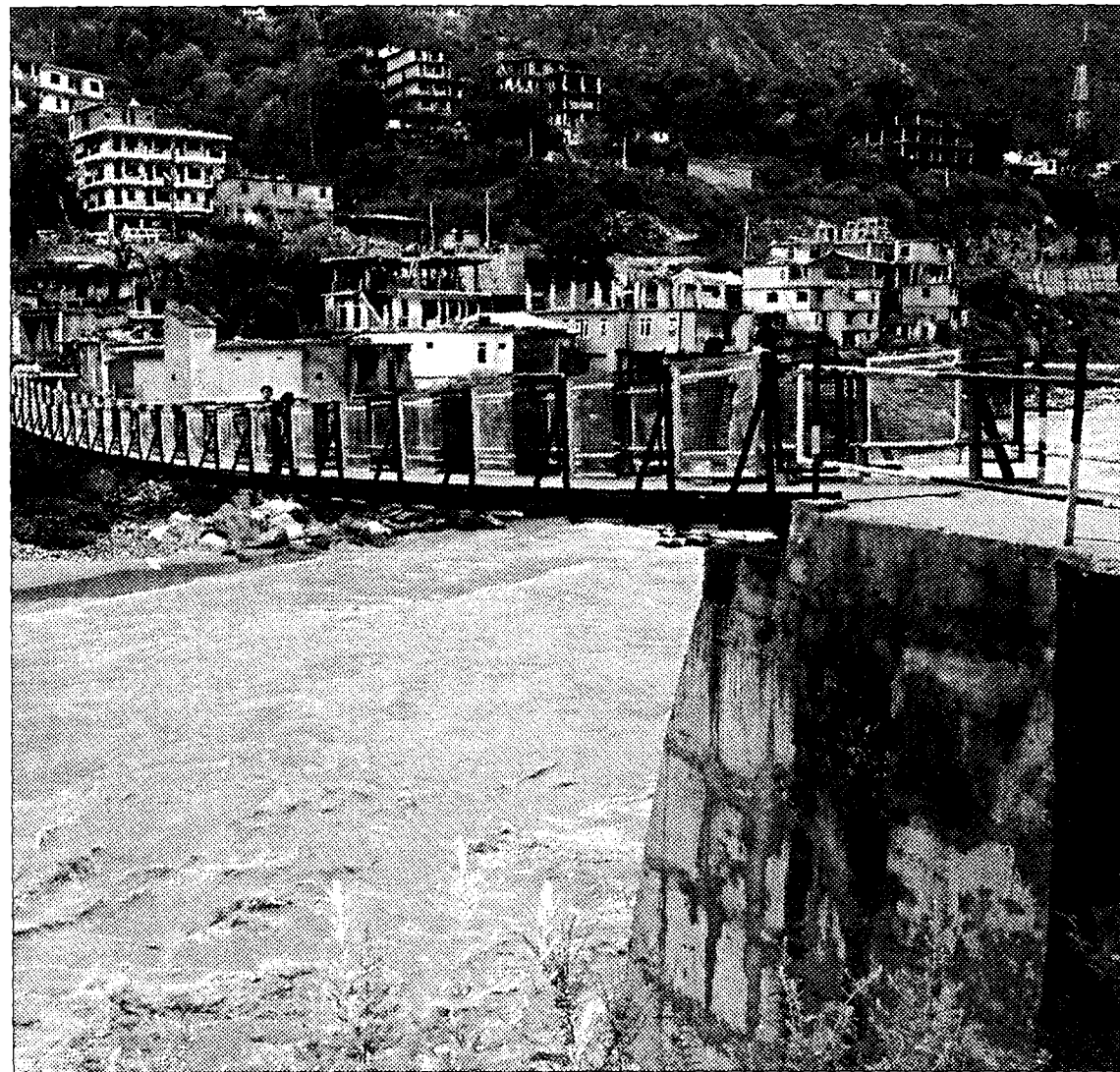
As per the data available from satellite imageries provided by The National Remote Sensing Agency, Hyderabad, the depth of the lake could be about 60 metres which means discharge of 140 million cubic metres of water, in case the lake bursts.

The Central Water Commission and Survey of India officials are reportedly undertaking an exercise to find the depth of the lake at various points with the help of earlier contour maps to assess the exact volume of water.

The delay in clearance to the four member of team of experts by the Chinese authorities to visit the lake site at Tibet and lack of authentic data about the lake has created confusion and panic among the people in the area who were spending sleepless nights.

The local administration has already evacuated about 4,000 people from sixty vulnerable villages in Mandi, Kullu, Shimla, Kinnaur and Bilaspur districts.

These included 25 families from Tattapani, 11 families from Thali and 14 families from Randhol and Baladi villages in Mandi district, and all the families from Jagatkhana and Brow in Kullu district.



RISING FEARS Waters of the Sutlej gush in full force in Rampur, Himachal Pradesh, on Wednesday.

PTI

THE LAKE WAITING TO BURST: Satellite Images

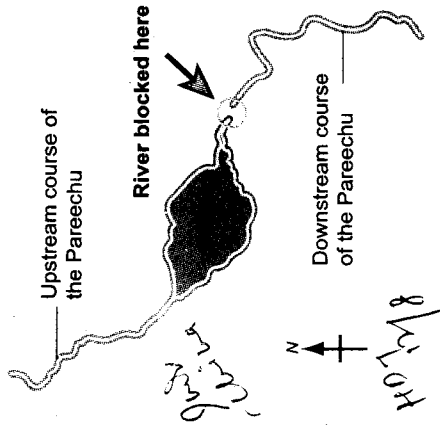
Landslips across the Pareechu river in China's Tibet province have blocked its course, and the water has backed up to form a lake. The lake, situated some 35 km from the India-China border, has continued to grow in size since the end of June and the water now threatens to burst forth down the river. The Pareechu joins the Spiti river at Sumdo village in Spiti taluk of Himachal Pradesh. The Spiti later merges with the Sutlej. Two images from the Indian Remote Sensing satellite show the region in detail on two dates.



July 16: Lake area 123 ha



August 9: Lake area 188 ha



Area of lake estimated from satellite images

May 10:	No formation
July 16:	123 ha
July 26:	140 ha
Aug 9 :	188 ha

Infographic: K.G. Rangarajan

Source: National Remote Sensing Agency, Department of Space

China warns of overflow any time

'India getting constant updates'

By Amit Baruah

NEW DELHI, AUG. 11. Chinese authorities said today that the lake created by a landslide on the Pareechu river which flows into Himachal Pradesh could overflow "any time." A statement from the Chinese Embassy maintained that the departments on the Chinese side had been working day and night to monitor the situation and study measures to cope with the situation.

"Taking full note of the concern of the Indian side, the Chinese side has carefully studied the suggestions and requirements of the Indian side and conveyed the relevant information to the Indian side in time," an Embassy spokeswoman said.

Difficult terrain

"The blockage of the river is located in the Ali Prefecture of China's Tibet that features high altitude, remoteness, difficult terrain and poor transportation and communication... the increase of the rainfall and water flow from the upper reaches results in a continuous rise of water level and possibility of the lake bursting or overflowing at any time. Moreover, landslide, mud-rock flow and river way blockade happen intermittently as well," the statement said.

"In spite of the poor natural conditions and many difficult-

ties, China's departments and personnel concerned have sent several working groups to visit the landslide site. We have conveyed... information collected to the Indian side in time and reminded the latter to make preparations for disaster prevention. We would continue to brief the Indian side on the latest development in a timely manner," it added.

'Consult experts'

Gaurav Vivek Bhatnagar reports: The Indian Government is in constant touch with its Chinese counterparts for getting updates on the condition of the artificial lake that has led to fears of flooding in many parts of Himachal Pradesh along the Sutlej, the Union Home Minister, Shivraj Patil, said here today.

Declaring that China had already provided some information on whatever they say and the Ministry of External Affairs has been talking to them through the Embassy.

Himachal alerted

Noting that "what needs to be done, need not be suggested by us (Centre) alone," Mr. Patil said the Himachal Government had also been contacted for taking all precautionary measures. "We have asked them to involve ex-

perts to handle the situation." The defence forces and other agencies in the State had also been alerted. Stating that it was always difficult to assess how much water would collect in a dam as it was a natural phenomenon, Mr. Patil denied that there was a delay in assessing the situation and described it as "something happening in nature."

Speaking at the inauguration of the National Institute of Disaster Management premises here, he said the Government was in the process of developing a system which can mitigate a natural disaster by providing timely help to the affected.

Satellite image

A PTI report from Shimla said that as per the data available from satellite imageries provided by the National Remote Sensing Agency, Hyderabad, the artificial dam's depth could be about 60 m, which meant a discharge of 140 million cubic metres of water if the dam bursts. The Central Water Commission and Survey of India officials are reportedly trying to find the lake's depth at various points with the help of earlier contour maps to assess the exact volume of water.

'Life normal in Rampur': Page 11

Himachal dam can't take Tibet lake spill

■ Evacuation in HP, Punjab's safe

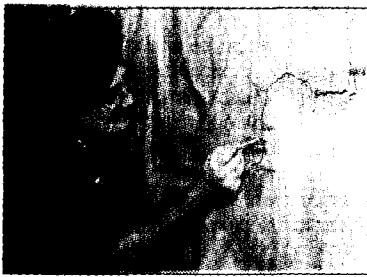
ROYDEN D'SOUZA
NEW DELHI, AUGUST 10

OVER 100 million cubic meters of water has accumulated in the artificial lake on the Pareechu river 35 km inside Tibetan territory by Tuesday afternoon, prompting authorities of the Sutlej Jal Vidyut Nigam Ltd (SJVN) to press the panic button.

Y.N. Apparao, CMD of SJVN, said on Tuesday evening that according to the latest information, the depth of water in the artificial lake was calculated at 60 m. Apparao said that late on Monday, all five sluice gates of the Nathpa Jhakri reservoir were completely opened and water in the

reservoir emptied as much as possible.

There is a threat to the Nathpa Jhakri reservoir's dam, as the maximum cumulative discharge capacity of the five sluice gates is about 6,000 cumecs. Look-



Mapping area under threat

ing at the sheer depth and volume of water accumulated in the artificial lake in Tibet, authorities are bracing for the worst. "There

CONTINUED ON PAGE 2

Nathpa Jakhri can't hold Tibet lake water, situation grim, say officials

could be a breach at any moment in the lake. The reservoir can handle a maximum depth of 25 m water at the reservoir mouth and about 16 m depth of water can be absorbed at the powerhouse," Apparao said. "The situation is grim," he said.

Late on Monday, the sheer volume of water that had accumulated in the artificial reservoir on the Pareechu prompted the complete closure of the 1,500 MW Nathpa Jhakri hydel project.

Engineers at the project site completely shut down all the 250 MW turbines and opened all five sluice gates of the reservoir.

The water level in the reservoir was brought down to the bare minimum, anticipating a breach in the artificial lake on the Pareechu—a tributary of Sutlej—35 km inside Tibetan territory, and 200 km from the Nathpa Jhakri hydel project.

The Sutlej Jal Vidyut Nigam Ltd (SJVN) authorities said they received information about the creation of the artificial lake on July 29, which was caused by a landslide after heavy rains.

In 2000, a flood in the river Sutlej had caused flood waters to enter the powerhouse of the Nathpa Jhakri hydel power project, apart from causing damage to the access road and a few bridges.

"This however, is a more serious situation, with a 100-ft tidal wave feared," sources in SJVN said.

1 AUG 2004

SOS to Beijing to avert deluge

HT Correspondent
New Delhi, August 9

THE CENTRE on Monday requested China to examine the possibility of releasing excess water collected in an artificial lake formed on the basin of the Pareechoo river, a tributary of the Sutlej river, in Tibet following incessant rains.

The situation, described as "alarming", came up for discussion at the meeting of the Cabinet Committee on Security. Later in the day the Home Ministry's Disaster Management Cell reviewed the situation in Himachal Pradesh, which is likely to witness floods in river Sutlej if the lake overflows.

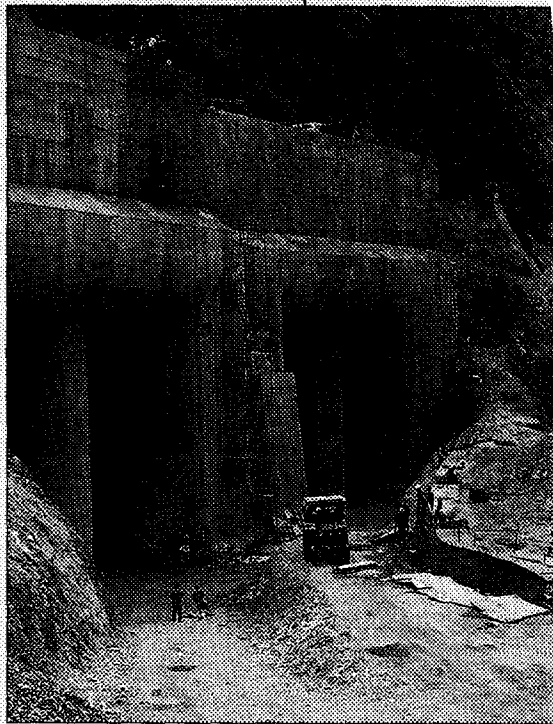
The State has already been put on red alert. Home Ministry sources said the Chinese authorities, who were in constant touch with the Centre, have assured that China was looking at the possibility of finding an outlet for the water collected in the lake.

"But the problem the Chinese authorities were facing was that it has been raining for the last 24 hours in the Tibetan region. If the weather clears it is possible that some water may be released in the Pareechoo river," an official remarked.

According to information received by the Disaster Management Cell an estimated 49 million cubic metres water is estimated to have collected in the lake.

Ministry officials said if it continues to rain in the Tibetan region the lake dam formed by landslide might collapse leading to flash floods in Himachal.

The Centre has already put the Army and the ITBP on high alert. Home Ministry officials said once the "immediate crisis" was tackled the Centre will work out a long-term strategy with China to deal with the problem, including the possibility of constructing a dam on Pareechoo river.



PTI

The walls of the two diversion tunnels of the Kol dam being raised to prevent flooding due to excess water collecting in the Pareechoo Lake in Tibet. The authorities are trying to save the tunnels, constructed at a cost of Rs 200 crore.

Team for China awaits clearance

HT Correspondent
New Delhi, August 9

INDIA IS awaiting clearance from China for a four-member technical team to inspect, as early as possible, landslide area and artificial dam in Tibet that may burst and trigger flash floods in Himachal Pradesh.

"We are awaiting clearance from the Chinese side," spokesperson for the Ministry of External Affairs said. He said the timing of the visit would also depend on the physical conditions prevailing in Tibet, where the weather was pretty bad with heavy

rains and landslides.

"We have been in constant touch with the Chinese authorities," he said, adding that both sides were closely monitoring the situation.

People on both sides of the river have been asked to move to safer places as a precautionary measure as the artificial dam created by the landslide, which blocked Pareechoo river, is likely to burst soon because of heavy rains there.

"Naturally the idea is to monitor as much as possible and do whatever is humanly possible," the spokesman said.

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3277

China-India ties reviewed

By P.S. Suryanarayana

SINGAPORE, JULY 29. The new positive trends in China-India interactions were reviewed by designated officials of the Central Committee of the ruling Communist Party of China (CPC) during their meetings with a visiting delegation of the Communist Party of India (CPI) in Beijing today.

The five-member CPI delegation, led by the party's National Secretary, D. Raja, is now in China on a weeklong visit. Besides calling on the Secretary in the CPC's Central Committee Secretariat, He Young, at the

Great Hall of the People in Beijing, the delegation met Hu Zhenmin and Cai Wu, both ranking party officials, separately. The CPI team had a discussion with the Vice-Chairperson of the All Chinese Federation of Trade Unions, Huang Yan Rong, as well.

Summing up the overall thrust of all these meetings, Mr. Raja said, over phone from Beijing, that the Chinese interlocutors emphasised the need to continue the current process of China-India talks on various issues, including the border question and economic relations. He

said the CPC leaders and the CPI delegation exchanged views on the issue of foreign direct investments in both India and China.

Issues such as Iraq, the denuclearisation of the Korean peninsula and Palestine were also discussed. The Chinese side reiterated that India and Pakistan would have to sort out the Kashmir issue bilaterally, Mr. Raja said.

The CPI delegation was also briefed on the political orientation of the CPC on socialism with Chinese characteristics and the country's current economic policies.

India and China: a shifting paradigm

By C. Raja Mohan

Until recently politics had been in command of Sino-Indian ties. Now economics has begun to drive the relationship.

40-10 29/7

THAT THE relationship with China is among the more exciting ones in India's global engagement has been borne out again this week with two sets of talks taking place simultaneously in the capital. One was about resolving the longstanding boundary dispute and the other was about expanding partnership through comprehensive economic cooperation. The exploration of opportunities on these two fronts are in fact inter-related. Together they constitute what one might call, paraphrasing one of Mao Zedong's slogans in a different context, "walking on two legs." Thanks to the new efficiency and speed, Sino-Indian relations have never been as sound as they are today.

Is this a new beginning or a passing phase? Is the current momentum in bilateral relations sustainable? These questions are indeed relevant. For, the absence of normal neighbourly relations between India and China has been a geopolitical reality in Asia for decades. That past, it can be asserted now, is no longer a guide to the future. It is possible to argue that Sino-Indian relations are on the threshold of a paradigm shift and that the current level of cooperation between the two is only the tip of the iceberg. As political problem-solving and deepening economic cooperation begin to take root, the nature of the Sino-Indian engagement could be radically different in the coming years.

Any suggestion of a paradigm shift would surprise both enthusiasts and sceptics on Sino-Indian relations. The official engagement between New Delhi and Beijing has reached a level of maturity that has not been anticipated by either side of the long divisive debate on China within the nation. Within a short span of time after the brief chill that descended on Sino-Indian relations following the nuclear tests of May 1998, New Delhi and Beijing have rapidly transformed their bilateral relationship. The public debate on China has tended to lag behind the official policy direction.

Underlying this transformation has been a new Indian pragmatism that has evolved over the years in approaching the relationship with China. That realism began with the visit of Atal Bihari Vajpayee to China in 1979. It broke a big taboo in Indian thinking about the relationship with China after 1962. Nearly a decade later Rajiv Gandhi travelled to China to produce that elusive political breakthrough — the simultaneous pursuit of a solution to the boundary problem

as well as a rapid normalisation of bilateral relations. Both Mr. Vajpayee and Rajiv Gandhi had to face intense opposition from their own parties and the foreign policy establishment against what was seen as "adventurism" in the diplomacy towards China.

This institutional resistance, however, succeeded during the 1990s in slowing down the pace of Sino-Indian rapprochement. Mr. Vajpayee did pick up the threads again during his visit in 2003 and opened the doors for a more purposeful negotiation on the boundary dispute and a more imaginative approach to future economic cooperation. More fundamentally, Rajiv Gandhi and Mr. Vajpayee were instrumental in burying the victim mentality that India carried since the 1962 war with China. A new generation in India with greater self-confidence about its own future is now capable of thinking about the difficult issues with China in a more relaxed manner.

That the initiative for recasting the relationship with China has come from both Congress and the Bharatiya Janata Party is an important guarantor of national consensus, which is so necessary to deal with the emotive boundary question with China. The third round of talks on the boundary dispute this week have demonstrated the commitment of the Congress Government to pursue the process initiated by its predecessor with equal vigour. This has provided the much needed assurances to the Chinese on the continuity in India's approach to the boundary question. There is no reason to believe that the Manmohan Singh Government will not keep the BJP leadership fully in the picture on the boundary negotiations with China and preserve the current valuable national consensus.

India and China are negotiating their boundary dispute in a radically different manner. In the past they argued on the basis of historical precedent and legal claims. While both sides have inherited what seemed inflexible positions, they have agreed to resolve the question within the overall political perspective of the evolving bilateral relationship. In short the current negotiation is a political one rooted in their calculus of national interest. Beijing and New Delhi have

agreed that there has to be "give and take" in resolving the boundary dispute. Those mutual concessions will have to be worked out — on the basis of a broad set of principles — in the coming rounds of boundary talks.

The second factor transforming the relationship is an economic one. The dramatic expansion of bilateral trade in recent years has provided a stabilising element that did not exist before. Starting from a few hundred million dollars in the mid-1990s, bilateral trade touched \$7.5 billion last year and is expected to cross \$10 billion this year. Coupled with India's commerce with Hong Kong and Taiwan, Greater China today is already India's third largest trading partner. While the Sino-Indian trade has many structural limitations, it has not showed any signs of slowing down and continues to grow rapidly.

This booming commerce has laid the foundation for a solid relationship based on expanding stakes in mutual cooperation. The relationship is no longer tied to nice sounding political rhetoric in good times and mutual recrimination in bad. Until recently politics had been in command of Sino-Indian relations. Now economics has begun to drive the relationship. It is in this context that India and China have begun to discuss comprehensive economic cooperation. This could be the first step towards the consideration of a free trade area between the two nations. If India is looking at free trade arrangements within South Asia and with South East Asia, it stands to reason India begin to explore a similar arrangement with China.

The Manmohan Singh Government has been somewhat cautious about free trade agreements. That caution is apparently rooted in the determination to ensure that commitments made abroad are in tune with domestic economic considerations. Over the long run however, the Government cannot but be aware of the fact that deeper engagement with China, which is on its way to becoming the world's second largest economy, is both necessary and inevitable. Deepening Sino-Indian economic cooperation will also become one of the building blocks of a future Asian economic community, which could em-

ulate the many features of European economic integration.

The political consequences of expanding Sino-Indian economic cooperation would not necessarily be linear. As the interaction between two of the world's largest economies begins to gather momentum, it will have profound consequences. One, it will result in greater pace of economic integration between the two Asian giants and their abutting regions. Multiple layers of economic integration involving India, China, South Asia and South East Asia are already under consideration. There can be no preferred exclusive spheres of economic influence for New Delhi or Beijing. The former cannot be kept out of South East Asia and the later will not opt out of South Asia.

In both these areas India and China have been seen as rivals in the past. But in future New Delhi and Beijing might find new opportunities to cooperate in trans-regional energy and economic projects in both the regions. The national oil companies of India and China today bid for equity oil all around the world and occasionally find themselves in the same consortium, for example in the Sudan. There is no reason why the emerging large corporations in both countries will shy away from thinking about participation in mega projects in their own neighbourhood.

The logic of economic integration will ensure that the remote regions of both the countries that border each other — Xinjiang, Tibet and Yunnan in China and Kashmir, Sikkim and the Northeast in India — will be brought closer to each other as well as regional markets. At present trade between the two countries is at the national level. Political sensitivities are preventing natural economic cooperation between neighbouring regions in the two countries. This is both unwise and unsustainable from an economic standpoint. Both countries now have an interest in developing their frontier regions bordering each other. Border trade and transit trade are essential to improve the living standards of people across the Sino-Indian boundary.

Trans-frontier economic cooperation that will restore historic trading routes, access roads and pilgrimage rights will create a new framework in which the boundary issue can be settled. Delineating a linear border will be less difficult if the two sides maintain the focus on the trans-boundary interests of communities. The paradigm shift in Sino-Indian relations will then be complete.

'China-India border talks constructive'

40-11 287
By Our Special Correspondent

NEW DELHI, JULY 27. The third round of China-India talks on solving the boundary dispute ended here today. The talks between the National Security Adviser and India's Special Representative, J.N. Dixit, and his Chinese counterpart and Executive Vice-Foreign Minister, Dai Bingguo, were held in a "friendly, constructive and cooperative atmosphere," according to an External Affairs Ministry news release.

The talks involved reviewing the guiding principles for the talks that had been formulated in the previous two meetings. The two sides agreed to hold the next meeting in Beijing at a "mutually convenient date."

Mr. Dai Bingguo called on the Prime Minister, Manmohan Singh, and handed over a letter from the Chinese Premier, Wen Jiabao. He also called on the External Affairs Minister, Natwar Singh.

The boundary settlement talks were upgraded to the level of Special Representatives (SRs) and since then two rounds of talks were held between the then National Security Adviser and Principal Secretary to the Prime Minister, Brajesh Mishra, and Mr. Dai Bingguo.

Analysts feel that the appointment of SRs reflects political will on the part of Beijing and New Delhi to negotiate a final settlement on the border dispute. The Cabinet Committee on Security chaired by Dr. Singh had on Saturday finalised the brief for the meeting.

১০/৭/৬৬

৯৭ দিনের সঙ্গে কথা এগোল

স্টাফ রিপোর্টার, নয়াদিল্লি, ২৭ জুলাই: সীমান্ত বিবাদ মেটতে ভারত-চীন উচ্চ পর্যায়ের বৈঠক আজ 'বন্ধুত্বপূর্ণ, গঠনমূলক এবং সহযোগিতার' মধ্যে শেষ হল। পরবর্তী বৈঠক হবে বেজিংয়ে।

নয়াদিল্লিতে নতুন সরকার আসার পরে সীমান্ত সমস্যা নিয়ে এটাই ছিল প্রথম চীন-ভারত বৈঠক। আগে সীমান্ত সমস্যার সমাধানে যে সব দিকনির্দেশিকা ও নীতি গ্রহণ করা হয়েছিল, তা নিয়ে আজকের বৈঠকে সবিস্তার আলোচনা হয়। নিয়ন্ত্রণরেখা নিয়ে এখনও যে অস্পষ্টতা রয়েছে, তা দূর করার প্রক্রিয়াও রয়েছে। সীমান্ত সমস্যার সমাধানে আস্থাবর্ধক ব্যবস্থা বাড়ানো নিয়েও আলোচনা হয়েছে। গত বছর বাজপেয়ীর চীন সফরের পরে বেজিং কার্যত সিকিমকে ভারতের অঙ্গরাজ্য হিসাবে মেনে নিতে শুরু করেছে।

নিয়ন্ত্রণরেখা নিয়ে মত পার্থক্য দূর করতে দু'পক্ষই মানচিত্র বিনিময় করেছে।

বিক্ষোভে স্কুল-কলেজ ৭ দিন বন্ধ করলে

তিরুঅনন্তপুরম, ২৭ জুলাই: প্রবল ছাত্র বিক্ষোভের মুখে আগামী সোমবার পর্যন্ত রাজ্যের সমস্ত স্কুল কলেজ বন্ধ রাখার সিদ্ধান্ত নিল কেরল সরকার।

ইঞ্জিনিয়ারিং কলেজের এক দলিত ছাত্র মাইনে দিতে না পেরে আত্মহত্যা করেন। এর পরেই রাজ্য জুড়ে শুরু হয় ছাত্র বিক্ষোভ। আগেই কাল এবং আজ শিক্ষা প্রতিষ্ঠানগুলি বন্ধ রাখার সিদ্ধান্ত নিয়েছিল সরকার। আজ শহর জুড়ে বিক্ষোভ দেখায় সিপিএম এবং এসইউসিআই-এর বিভিন্ন সংগঠন। — পি টি আই

ANANDAPAZAR PATRIKA

২০ ১১

India-China talks begin, statement likely today

By Our Special Correspondent

NEW DELHI, JULY 26. The third round of talks on solving the India-China boundary dispute began here today. There was no official word about the talks and the External Affairs (MEA) Ministry spokesperson said a statement is likely tomorrow, concluding day of the talks.

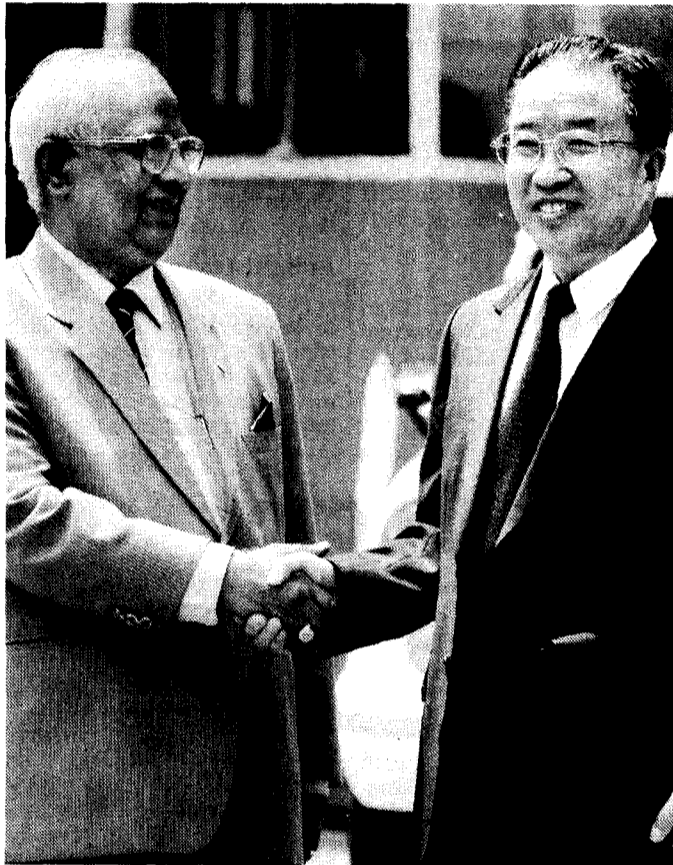
The National Security Adviser and India's special representative, J.N. Dixit, and his Chinese counterpart and Executive Vice-Foreign Minister, Dai Bingguo, held the talks.

Mr. Dixit received the Chinese Minister at his South Bloc office and the two reportedly went over the ground that has already been covered. The Indian side comprises the Ambassador in Beijing, Nalin Surie, the Additional Secretary in the MEA, Nirupama Rao, and other senior officials.

The previous National Democratic Alliance Government had taken the decision to upgrade the talks and the then National Security Adviser, Brajesh Mishra, led the first two rounds of talks. It is understood that both sides have managed to narrow down the differences in perception on the approach to the problem.

They also acquainted each other with some technical irritants such as the marking of contours on the maps.

India had earlier insisted on a sector-by-sector approach to solving the problem while China wanted a package deal. The two sides have now agreed to discuss the problem on a sector-by-sector basis but announce the agreement once the



The National Security Adviser, J.N. Dixit, with the Vice-Foreign Minister of China, Dai Bingguo, before the third round of boundary talks in New Delhi on Monday. — Photo: V. Sudershan

differences on all the sectors are sorted out.

The 4,000-km-long border is divided into three sectors for the sake of convenience as early as in the 1950s. Both sides agree on the boundary for the middle sector but serious differences persist on the eastern and western sectors.

The Indian brief for the talks was finalised at a meeting of the Cabinet Committee on Security on Saturday. Chaired by the Prime Minister, Manmohan Singh, the 90-minute meeting reviewed the progress so far, outlined the brief for Mr. Dixit and its expectations from the Chinese side.

চিন-ভারত মুক্ত বাণিজ্যের লক্ষ্যে ফের বৈঠক আজ

বেজিং, ২৫ জুলাই: অবাধ বাণিজ্য চুক্তির পথে এগিয়ে যাওয়ার লক্ষ্যে আগামী কাল নয়াদিল্লিতে ফের বৈঠকে বসছেন চিন ও ভারতের অফিসার এবং বিশেষজ্ঞরা। এই নিয়ে গত চার মাসের মধ্যে দু'বার দু'দেশের শীর্ষস্তরের অফিসারদের মধ্যে বৈঠক অনুষ্ঠিত হতে চলেছে। দ্বিপাক্ষিক বাণিজ্য এবং লম্বি বাড়ানোই ওই চুক্তি স্বাক্ষরের লক্ষ্য বলে সরকারি সূত্রে জানানো হয়েছে।

ভারত-চিন যৌথ সমীক্ষা গোষ্ঠী বা জয়েন্ট স্টাডি গ্রুপের এই বৈঠক সর্বপ্রথম অনুষ্ঠিত হয় বেজিংয়ে গত ২২ মার্চ। দু'দেশের মধ্যে বাণিজ্য এবং আর্থিক সহযোগিতা বাড়ানো নিয়ে বেশ কিছু উদ্যোগের সূত্রপাত হয় তখনই। আলোচনা ইতিবাচক পরিণতির দিকে এগোলে মুক্ত বাণিজ্য চুক্তি বা 'ফ্রি ট্রেড এগ্রিমেন্ট' ছাড়াও সার্বিক অর্থনৈতিক সহযোগিতা চুক্তি বা 'কমপ্রিহেনসিভ ইকনমিক কো-অপারেশন এগ্রিমেন্ট' স্বাক্ষরিত হওয়ার কথা।

বেজিংয়ে অনুষ্ঠিত প্রথম বৈঠকের আলোচনার সূত্র ধরেই শুরু হবে আগামী কালের বৈঠক। প্রধানত দু'টি দেশের বণিক মহলের মধ্যে আদান-প্রদানের পথ প্রশস্ত করাই হবে এই বৈঠকের প্রথমিক লক্ষ্য। কারণ, এই সম্পর্ক জোরদার হলে সহযোগিতার ক্ষেত্র প্রসারিত করতে বেশি সময় লাগবে না বলে সরকারি সূত্র থেকে আশা প্রকাশ করা হয়েছে। শিল্প ও বণিক মহলের মধ্যে এই সংযোগ গড়তে আগামী পাঁচ বছরের জন্য একটি পরিকল্পনা প্রস্তুত করবে জয়েন্ট স্টাডি গ্রুপ। এই গোষ্ঠীতে যে-সমস্ত অফিসার ও অর্থনীতিবিদ রয়েছেন, তাঁদেরই বিশ্বের এই দু'টি দ্রুত উন্নয়নশীল রাষ্ট্রের মধ্যে সহযোগিতার নতুন নতুন ক্ষেত্র খুঁজে বের করার দায়িত্ব দেওয়া হয়েছে। এই সংক্রান্ত সমীক্ষা রিপোর্ট এবং সুপারিশ ২০০৪ সালের ডিসেম্বরের মধ্যে পেশ হওয়ার কথা।

উল্লেখ্য, গত ২০০৩ সালের জুন মাসে ভারতের তদানীন্তন প্রধানমন্ত্রী অটলবিহারী বাজপেয়ী এবং চিনা প্রধানমন্ত্রীর যৌথ সিদ্ধান্তের ফলেই গঠিত হয় এই জয়েন্ট স্টাডি গ্রুপ।

উল্লেখ্য, ২০০৩ সালে দু'টি দেশের বাণিজ্যিক লেনদেন ৫৩.৬ শতাংশ বেড়ে ৭৬০ কোটি ডলার স্পর্শ করেছে। এ বছরই তা সর্বপ্রথম ১ হাজার কোটি ডলার অতিক্রম করবে বলে দু'পক্ষই দাবি জানিয়েছে। সাম্প্রতিকতম চিনা পরিসংখ্যান অনুযায়ী ২০০৪ সালের জানুয়ারি থেকে মে মাসে দু'দেশের মধ্যে মোট বাণিজ্যের পরিমাণ ইতিমধ্যেই ৫৪৫ কোটি ডলারে পৌঁছে গিয়েছে। আগের বছরের তুলনায় তা প্রায় ৮৮ শতাংশ বেশি। চিনে ভারতের রফতানি ১১২ শতাংশ বেড়ে হয়েছে ৩৫৮ কোটি ডলার। ভারতের আমদানি প্রায় ৫৪ শতাংশ বেড়ে ১৮৭ কোটি ডলার স্পর্শ করেছে।

— পি টি আই

Panchsheel was a long time ago

INDIA and China recently marked the 50th anniversary of the signing of the Panchsheel Agreement of '54 amidst much bonhomie. Both countries had then pledged that they would conduct their relations on the basis of "non-interference" in each other's internal affairs and sovereign "equality". China soon began arming and training insurgents in the Northeast, making a mockery of its pledge of "non-interference". This interference ceased only when Deng Xiaoping decided to end all support for communist insurgencies in South-east Asia, including that to the Burmese Communist Party in the '80s. The Burmese communists used to provide the logistic support for Naga and Mizo insurgents to enter China's Yunnan Province.

But does China wish to treat India as an "equal" in its global diplomacy? An analysis of its nuclear policies shows that it follows a policy of "containment" of India and wishes to reduce this country to the status of a vassal state. This has been evident from the unprecedented assistance that it has provided Pakistan to enable that country to develop nuclear weapons and missiles capable of targeting Indian cities. The assistance still continues. The animus of Chinese rulers towards India emerges clearly in the records of discussions between Mao and Zhou En Lai, on the one hand, and Richard Nixon and Henry Kissinger, on the other. Despite overwhelming evidence to the contrary, China's assistant foreign minister, Shen Guo Fang, responded in '96 to allegations about the Sino-Pakistan nuclear nexus by asserting: "China ... has never transferred equipment or technology for producing nuclear weapons to any other country, nor will China do so in future". How then did A.Q. Khan transfer to Libya the design of the nuclear weapon that China tested in October '66, wrapped in the shopping bag of his Rawalpindi tailor?

When China conducted its first nuclear test in '64, its government solemnly announced that it would



China reserves the right to deploy nuclear weapons but doesn't want us to do so

G. PARTHASARATHY

never be the first to use nuclear weapons against any country at any time and under any circumstances. With this in mind, a group of Indian strategic analysts, led by K. Subrahmanyam, asked Qian Qichen, the Chinese foreign minister, in 1988, why India and China could not sign an agreement on "no first use". Qian then quipped that as India claimed it did not possess nuclear weapons there was no meaning in such an agreement.

Around '88, Rajiv Gandhi as prime minister decided that India would covertly go ahead and develop a nuclear arsenal. China's stance, at that time, was that the Nu-

posed a multilateral treaty on "no first use" of nuclear weapons in '94 to the other four "recognised" nuclear weapons powers: USA, Russia, France and UK. On September 4, '94, Presidents Jiang Zemin and Boris Yeltsin signed a doctrine of "no first use" by undertaking not to be the first to use nuclear weapons against each other. While the Americans rejected the Chinese proposal for "no first use", President Clinton signed an agreement on "non-targeting" of each other's nuclear arsenals with China, barely two weeks after India conducted its nuclear tests — in '98. Clinton revived fears of Sino-US collusion directed against

China's response to Natwar Singh's proposal, that came on June 29, confirmed that it wishes to reduce India, like its other neighbours, to the status of a vassal

clear Non-proliferation Treaty (NPT) was an instrument of "hegemony" and discrimination. But, in '92, shortly after India commenced building its nuclear arsenal, China acceded to the nuclear non-proliferation treaty and demanded that all others do likewise. It also diluted its pledge that it would never be the first to use nuclear weapons, stating that it applied only to states that were members of the NPT, or parties to a nuclear weapons free zone. Since India, Israel and Pakistan, were the only nuclear nations that had not signed the NPT, China's new nuclear doctrine reserved its right to resort to the first use of nuclear weapons against India.

Even as it excluded India from a "no first use" guarantee, China pro-

posed a multilateral treaty on "no first use" of nuclear weapons in '94 to the other four "recognised" nuclear weapons powers: USA, Russia, France and UK. On September 4, '94, Presidents Jiang Zemin and Boris Yeltsin signed a doctrine of "no first use" by undertaking not to be the first to use nuclear weapons against each other. While the Americans rejected the Chinese proposal for "no first use", President Clinton signed an agreement on "non-targeting" of each other's nuclear arsenals with China, barely two weeks after India conducted its nuclear tests — in '98. Clinton revived fears of Sino-US collusion directed against

India by proclaiming that this agreement would demonstrate "mutual confidence" and "serve as a helpful counterweight" to recent nuclear tests in South Asia. Former US deputy secretary of state, Strobe Talbott, has now revealed that it was China that drafted the UN Security Council to adopt the highly condemnatory and one-sided Resolution 1172 after our tests. It is important to recall all this when analysing Natwar Singh's perfectly straightforward proposal, that India, Pakistan and China should evolve a "common nuclear doctrine" for strategic stability in Asia. This proposal has resulted in India and Pakistan declaring that "the nuclear capabilities of each other, which are based on their national se-

curity imperatives, constitute a factor for stability". China's response, that came on June 29, however, confirmed that it wishes to reduce India like its other neighbours to the status of a vassal of the Middle Kingdom. Responding to a query on Natwar Singh's proposal, its assistant foreign minister, Shen Guo Fang, pompously proclaimed: "The international community should stick to the principles in the NPT as well as the consensus reached in UN Security Council Resolution 1172." Shen thus reaffirmed that China condemns India's nuclear tests of 1998 and that it wants India to immediately stop its nuclear weapons programme, refrain from weaponisation, cease development of ballistic missiles capable of delivering nuclear weapons and halt production of all fissile material for nuclear weapons. He would also like the Security Council and the UN secretary general to have a role in addressing Indo-Pakistan issues including the "core" issue of J&K.

Shen's comments confirm that while China reserves the right to manufacture and deploy nuclear weapons, it does not want India to follow suit. This is particularly odd, given China's role in the development and deployment of nuclear weapons and missiles by Pakistan. It is also pertinent that while the US and its G-8 partners no longer speak of Security Council Resolution 1172 (drafted by China) and broadly accept the reality that India, Pakistan and Israel possess and will retain their nuclear and missile programmes, it is China alone that categorically demands that India should accede to a treaty that it labeled as an instrument of "hegemony" for over two decades.

But all this should not deter us from engaging China on issues of nuclear strategy and disarmament, or from strengthening our nuclear and missile potential, by developing missiles like the Agni 3. China, like other great powers, only respects nations that are militarily and economically strong and self-reliant.

20 JUL 2004

Revitalising Panchsheel

By K. R. Narayanan

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IT WAS Premier Zhou En-Lai who put forward the Five Principles of Peaceful Co-existence for the first time while opening the bilateral talks between China and India on the relations between the two countries over the Tibet region of China. Later when the formal negotiations started, Chang Han Fu, leader of the Chinese delegation, reiterated these Principles as guidelines for the solution of outstanding problems between the two countries. The leader of the Indian delegation welcomed the Five Principles saying that though India had not formulated these principles as the Chinese side had done, she had been following them as the basis of her foreign policy since she attained Independence. He suggested, at the concluding session of the talks, that the Principles should be incorporated in the preamble of the agreement on Trade and Inter-course between India and the Tibet region. It was thus that "Panchsheel" appeared in a document on international relations for the first time on April 29, 1954.

Prime Minister Nehru of India welcomed Panchsheel with open arms, pointing out in Parliament that it was an ancient phrase in India that the Lord Budha had used in the moral context. He added that the phrase was adopted by the Indonesian Government and that when he heard it in Indonesia it struck him as a happy phrase, which he thought was of great importance to the world today. In China the idea of the Five Principles can be traced back to ancient times. The great Chinese philosopher, Confucius, spoke of harmony in the midst of differences and outlined certain ethical principles of human conduct. Thus it might be said that the Five Principles arose from the civilisational matrix of Asia and, in its modern form (as stated in the 1954 Agreement between China and India), was a new and creative contribution to the theory and practice of international relations from the ancient continent of Asia. The ancient idea of Panchsheel was reborn in Beijing in the modern form. It is, I believe, of continuing relevance to the vastly changed and changing world of today and tomorrow.

It is important to recall today the context in which the Five Principles were promulgated. After the victory of the Chinese Revolution, the first plenary session of the Chinese Peoples' Consultative Conference adopted a Common Programme that contained most of the core principles of Panchsheel on the basis of which new China proposed to conduct its relations with the nations of the world. The immediate context was that of regulating relations between India and China. There was also the wider context of relations with countries of Asia, Europe, and the world. The relationship between the new Asia and the old colonial powers of Europe and the West was at the time occupying the minds of world statesmen at the Geneva Conference on In-

As co-originators of the Panchsheel, it is the internationalist duty of China and India to march forward, revitalise their friendly relationship, and project the Five Principles for the peace, progress, and stability of the world.

do-China. It was in June 1954 during the course of the Geneva Conference that Prime Minister Nehru invited Zhou En-Lai to visit India.

That visit turned out to be an important event at a critical moment in the history of Asia. As a young man, I had the good fortune to witness the tremendous mass reception that Zhou En-Lai received in India. Wherever he went there were hundreds and thousands of people greeting the Chinese Premier with the slogan "Hindi-Chini Bhai-Bhai." Extensive discussions took place between the two Prime Ministers on how peace could be established in Asia, especially South East Asia, and how the area of peace there could be extended to the rest of the world.

They came to the conclusion that it was not through military pacts and alliances, which divided the nations in a bitter cold war, but through the Five Principles or Panchsheel (recently signed between China and India) that a system of collective security or collective peace, as Nehru preferred to call it, could be established in Asia. They visualised Panchsheel agreements of this type between China and Burma, Burma and India, China and Indonesia, then Indonesia and India and so on — and between as many countries as possible in Asia and the rest of the world. The Panchsheel idea caught the imagination of people in Asia and the world at a time the great powers and the developed world were pursuing the Cold War and a bitter ideological conflict.

The Five Principles came to be accepted almost universally by countries and finally by the United Nations Organisation. In a series of active and independent international moves, Premier Zhou En-Lai and Prime Minister Nehru visited countries in Asia, Africa and Europe and signed with most of them agreements embodying the Five Principles. The Asian-African conference held in Bandung accepted the Five Principles, expatiating them into the Ten Principles of Bandung. The Conference of Non-aligned nations in Belgrade accepted them as the core principles behind the non-aligned movement.

Panchsheel became the presiding principle of the Asian-African movement for equality and freedom against the prevailing colonial and imperialist domination of the world. The United Nations accepted the Five Principles as a code of conduct in international relations, with Dag Hammarskjold describing them as a reaffirmation of the obligations and the aims of the United Nations. On December 11, 1957, Yugoslavia, Swe-

den and India, moved a resolution in the United Nations containing the Five Principles; it was adopted unanimously.

Unfortunately today, even after the end of the Cold War, peace and forces of hegemonic domination cast dark shadows over the world. In this new context, the Five Principles have become intensely relevant in the conduct of international relations. Respect for the sovereignty and integrity of nations, for non-interference in the internal affairs of nations, for non-aggression, for equality, and for peaceful co-existence has become the pillar on which a just and peaceful world order is being erected. We hear now new trines of internationalism, the end of sovereignty and indeed of the state itself being advanced by political theorists of the developed world. The new stage of development, there is also the doctrine of a unipolar world in which one power or a group of powers with enormous economic and military power seeks to lord over the rest of the world.

China and India believe in a multipolar world where power is diffused over several centres in a world of diverse diversities and differences in terms of culture, language, religion, economic condition, and political persuasion. Unipolar and interventionist theories and practices are unsustainable and opposed to democratic and pluralistic world order. Recognition of sovereignty, non-aggression and non-interference in the internal affairs of states are equality and mutual benefits are peaceful co-existence constitute the irreducible minimum on which a viable world order is based.

Globalisation should not become the worldwide manifestation of the highest and subtlest form of capitalism but as Mahatma Gandhi envisaged "a federation of friendly interdependent nations" where no one dominates or exploits another. The appropriate code of conduct for a globalised world would be the Five Principles of Peaceful Co-existence and not the overlordship of one super power or group of nations. The United Nations should be at the core of this world order. Any intervention for the sake of human rights or democracy should be by the United Nations or by the express approval of the United Nations. For this purpose, we believe the United Nations should be reformed and the U.N. Security Council expanded and made more representative of humanity as a whole, including representation on it of the great and populous and democratic developing countries of the world.

I believe that China and India as the co-authors of the Five Principles

an work together to bring about such a democratic transformation of the world body to serve the interests and aspirations of humankind. In this context, let me quote what the great Chinese leader Deng Xiaoping said in December 1988: "In recent years there has been comment about the next century being the Asia Pacific century. I do not agree with this view. Even if the Far Eastern region of the Soviet Union and the Western part of the United States and Canada are included, the population of the world still comes to only about 300 million whereas the combined population of two countries [China and India] is 1.8 billion. If China and India fail to develop, it cannot be called an Asian Century." Deng's words ring true today.

Thanks to the economic reforms launched by Deng and vigorously pursued by successive leaders, China is today dazzling the world with its economic progress. India too has broken out of its slow growth syndrome and become a moving, changing, progressive economy. At this juncture, much that India and China can do together — and do to mutual benefit — is to co-operate with each other. Such cooperation, also bringing in other fast-developing countries of the region, will usher in the true Asian Century that Deng Xiaoping visualised. With China and India, the new century will be moving steadily towards the Asian destiny — not a destiny isolated from the rest of the world but as part and parcel of the destiny of the world. In the new century, co-operation between the two largest countries of Asia and the world is a historic necessity.

As co-originators of the Panchsheel, it is our internationalist duty to march forward, revitalise our friendly relationship, and project the Five Principles for the peace, progress, and stability of the world. One of the major issues today is defending the pluralistic world order where nations can evolve, grow and prosper according to their own genius. Jawaharlal Nehru observed in the 1950s that "it should be open to each country to develop in its own way, learning from others and not imposed by them. Essentially this calls for a new mental approach. The Panchsheel and the Five Principles offer that approach." Today we have to generate that mental approach which Panchsheel put forth so refreshingly during the 1950s, the golden years of Sino-Indian relations. We have to work together to make the Five Principles, in the words of Premier Zhou En-Lai, "shine over the whole world" — for our mutual benefit and for peace, friendship and co-operation among nations.

(This is based on former President K.R. Narayanan's keynote address at a seminar organised in June 2004 in Beijing to mark the 50th anniversary of Panchsheel.)

পঞ্চশীল : ভারত-চীন

সম্পর্কের পথ

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সময় কখনও মরুপথে পথ হারায় না।
লিখেছিলেন রবীন্দ্রনাথ। সময় ফিরে আসে,

চাণক্য সেন

পারেনি। সাংবাদিক সম্মেলনে চৌ এন লাই
এমনকি পঞ্চশীলের কথাও উল্লেখ করেননি।

ইতিহাসে অনেক পুনরাবৃত্তি হয়। বিশেষ করে গভীর, বৃহৎ
চিন্তাভাবনা তাদের চিহ্ন রেখে যায় সময়ের সৈন্যদলে।

পঞ্চাশ বছর আগে ভারত ও চীন যৌথভাবে পাঁচটি নীতিতে
সহমতে পৌঁছেছিল, বিভিন্ন দেশের মধ্যে সম্পর্কের ক্ষেত্রে যা
মানবিক দিকগুলির এক আদর্শ চেহারা তুলে ধরে। ওই নীতিগুলি
পঞ্চশীল হিসেবে পরিচিত। প্রাচীন ভারতের বৌদ্ধিক চিন্তার সূত্রে
মেলানো ওই 'পঞ্চশীল'। দ্বিতীয় বিশ্বযুদ্ধ শেষ হওয়ার পর
আন্তর্জাতিক রাজনীতিকে শাসন করত যে 'ঠান্ডা যুদ্ধ', তাকে
চ্যালেঞ্জ করেছিল 'পঞ্চশীল'। প্রথম বিশ্বযুদ্ধের মতো বিজয়ীদের
মধ্যে স্বাক্ষরিত কোনও শান্তিচুক্তিতে শেষ হয়নি দ্বিতীয় বিশ্বযুদ্ধ।
বরং যুদ্ধশেষের পরেই শুরু হয়ে গেল 'ঠান্ডা যুদ্ধ', সারা পৃথিবীকে
প্রায় খাড়াখাড়ি দুটি ভাগে ভাগ করে।

ভারতের প্রধানমন্ত্রী জওহরলাল নেহরু তখন সবে শুরু করেছেন
জোটনিরপেক্ষতার ধারণা গড়ে তুলতে। এশিয়া ও আফ্রিকার যে-
সব দেশ উপনিবেশ থেকে মুক্তি পেয়ে সবে জাতি গঠনের প্রক্রিয়ায়
চুকেছে, সেই দেশগুলির কাছে যেন মন্ত্রবৎ হয়ে উঠল
জোটনিরপেক্ষতা। মিশরে রাজতন্ত্র উৎখাত হল এক রক্তপাতহীন
বিপ্লবে, সেনাবাহিনীর নেতৃত্বে। আবদেল নামের নতুন প্রজাতন্ত্রের
প্রথম প্রেসিডেন্ট নাগিবের হাত থেকে দায়িত্ব নিলেন।

ব্রিটিশ-ভারতের অঞ্চল চেহারা থেকে রক্তশ্রোতের মধ্য দিয়ে জন্ম
নিল ভারত ও পাকিস্তান, শুরু থেকেই পরস্পরের প্রতি যুযুধান দুই
প্রতিপক্ষ। পাকিস্তান চলে গেল আমেরিকার দিকে। ভারত-চীনের
ভবিষ্যৎ নিয়ে বসল জেনিভা সম্মেলন। দিয়েন বিয়েন ফু-তে
পরাজয়ের পর ফরাসিরা তো আমেরিকার হাতে সব ছেড়েই
দিয়েছিল। এক উপনিবেশ-উত্তর সংযুক্ত জোটনিরপেক্ষ
ভিয়েতনাম গড়ার জন্য ভারত ও চীন একসঙ্গে কাজ করল। কিন্তু

মার্কিন বিদেশ সচিব জন ফস্টার ডুলেস জেনিভা চুক্তিকে স্বীকৃতি
দিতে চাইলেন না। ভারত ও পাকিস্তানের মডেলে ভিয়েতনামকেও
ভাগ করতে চাইলেন প্রতিবেশী দুই যুযুধান দেশ হিসেবে।
কমিউনিস্ট উত্তর ও মার্কিন অনুগত দক্ষিণ, এই দুই ভিয়েতনাম।
বিশ্ব রাজনীতির সেই সজ্জিমা পুরোক্ষ বিদেশি আধিপত্য থেকে
সদ্য মুক্ত এশিয়ার বৃহত্তর দুটি দেশ দৃঢ় ও কল্পনাময় অবস্থান নিল।

দেশের ভেতরে ও বাইরে রাজনৈতিক-আদর্শগত চাপান-উতোর
সামলে দুটি দেশ একসঙ্গে তুলে ধরল পাঁচটি নীতি, যা সেই সময়ের
বিশ্ব রাজনীতির অক্ষর পুরোপুরি বিপরীত। জওহরলাল নেহরু
এবং চৌ এন লাই, দুই দেশের দুই নেতার বৈঠক উপলক্ষে
'পঞ্চশীল' ঘোষিত হয়নি। দুই নেতা ব্যক্তিগতভাবে নিজেদের
চিনতেও না তেমন। দু দেশের সরকার একটা বাণিজ্য চুক্তির জন্য
কথাবার্তা বলছিল। তারা অনুমান করেছিল, এই উপমহাদেশ থেকে

ব্রিটিশরা চলে যাওয়ার পর একটা শূন্যতা তৈরি হবে তিব্বতের
মর্যাদা নিয়ে। আর সেই অবকাশে ভারত-চীন সম্পর্ক অনেকটাই
প্রভাবিত হবে। মার্কিন মদতপুষ্ট চিয়াং কাইশেকের শাসন এবং
জাপান সাম্রাজ্যবাদের বিরুদ্ধে দীর্ঘ, ধারাবাহিক লড়াইয়ে জেতার
পর চীনে কমিউনিস্ট সরকার তৈরি হওয়ার জন্যই এই দুই দেশের
সম্পর্ক নিয়ে অনেক সংশয়ও ছিল। বাণিজ্য চুক্তির কথাবার্তা
বলছিলেন চীনে ভারতীয় রাষ্ট্রদূত রাখবন এবং চীনের সহকারী
বিদেশমন্ত্রী হানফু। তাঁরাই সই করেন সমঝোতাপত্রে।

ওই পাঁচটি নীতির খসড়া করেছিলেন চৌ এন লাই, সম্ভবত
চেয়ারম্যান মাওয়ের সম্মতি নিয়ে। সামান্য রদবদল করে নেহরু
সেটি অনুমোদন করেন। ১৯৫৪ সালের ২৯ এপ্রিল চুক্তি সই হয়।
মজার কথা হল, ওই চুক্তিতে দু দেশের সরকার আকাঙ্ক্ষা প্রকাশ
করে বাণিজ্য ও সাংস্কৃতিক সম্পর্ক উন্নয়নের। কোন দুই দেশ?
ভারত এবং তিব্বত-সহ চীন। শুরু থেকেই, তিব্বত যে চীনের অংশ,
তা স্বীকৃত হয়ে গেল। বাণিজ্য সংক্রান্ত সম্পর্ক পঞ্চশীলের নীতির
ভিত্তিতে চলবে ঠিক হলেও সামগ্রিক দ্বিপাক্ষিক সম্পর্কেও ওই
নীতি মেনে চলার কোনও প্রতিশ্রুতি ওই সমঝোতাপত্রে ছিল না।

পাঁচটি নীতি হল: একে অন্যের সার্বভৌমত্ব ও ভূখণ্ডনির্ভর
সংহতিতে সম্মান করা, অনাগ্রাসন, সহাবস্থান, একে অন্যের
অভ্যন্তরীণ বিষয়ে নাক না গলানো।
বান্দুং সম্মেলনে এই পাঁচটি নীতি বেড়ে হয় দশ। ভারত ও মিশরের
উদ্যোগে, যাতে সামিল হন চীনের চৌ এন লাই। তিনি সদ্য স্বাধীন
দেশগুলির প্রথম আফ্রো-এশীয় সম্মেলনের যাবতীয় কৃতিত্ব ও
আলো নিজেদের দিকে টেনে নিতে পেরেছিলেন। ভালই চলছিল সব।

কিন্তু পঞ্চশীল কখনও 'দশশীল' হয়ে ওঠেনি।
পঞ্চাশের দশকেই ভারত ও চীনের সীমান্ত-বিরোধ পঞ্চশীলকে
যথেষ্ট আহত করে। ১৯৬২ সালে সীমান্তযুদ্ধে তা একেবারেই
বিলুপ্ত হয়ে যায়। কোরিয়ায় মার্কিন যুক্তরাষ্ট্রের সঙ্গে যুদ্ধে হাজার
হাজার সৈন্যকে হারিয়ে চীনের মনে হতে থাকে, ভারতের
অবস্থানের পেছনেও আমেরিকার হাত রয়েছে। হ্যাঁ, মাও সে তুঙের
চীনও ভেবেছিল এ কথা।

সোভিয়েতের সঙ্গে সম্পর্কের অবনতি, দীর্ঘ তিন দশকের চীন-
সোভিয়েত ঠান্ডা যুদ্ধ, সোভিয়েত-মার্কিন ঠান্ডা যুদ্ধ— সব কিছু
মিলিয়ে ভারত ও চীনের সম্পর্কের ওপর দীর্ঘ ছায়া পড়েছিল।
১৯৬০ সালের এপ্রিলে চৌ এন লাই দিল্লিতে তাঁর শীতল সফরে
৬টি বিষয় উল্লেখ করেন। সীমান্ত-বিতর্কের সীমাংসায় এগুলিই
ভিত্তি হতে পারে বলে তিনি পরামর্শ দেন। ভারত তা মেনে নেয়নি।
লাদাখের সীমান্ত বিষয়ে চীনের বক্তব্য নিয়ে ভারত সন্তুষ্ট হতে

এই দীর্ঘ শীতল সম্পর্ক একটু বদলাতে শুরু করে ১৯৭৭ সালে
কেন্দ্রে জনতা সরকার ক্ষমতায় আসার পর। চীনের এক বাণিজ্য
প্রতিনিধিদল দিল্লিতে এসে ভারতের প্রধানমন্ত্রী ও বিদেশমন্ত্রীর সঙ্গে
দেখা করেন। বিদেশমন্ত্রী বাজপেয়ীকে চীন সফরের আমন্ত্রণও
জানান। বাজপেয়ী তা গ্রহণ করেন। ১৯৭৮ সালেই প্রথম চীন
সফরে যান বাজপেয়ী। চীন-পাকিস্তান কারাকোরাম সড়কের
কিছুটা পাক-অধিকৃত কাশ্মীরের ভেতর দিয়ে যাওয়ায় বিতর্ক শুরু
হলে, ১৯৭৮ সালের গ্রীষ্মে বাজপেয়ীর সফর কিছুটা পিছিয়ে যায়।
জনতা শাসনের শেষ দিকে, ১৯৭৯ সালের ফেব্রুয়ারিতে বাজপেয়ী
চীন সফরে যেতে পেরেছিলেন। কাশ্মীরের মানুষের আত্মনিয়ন্ত্রণের
অধিকারকে সমর্থন করে চীন আবার দু দেশের সম্পর্কে তিলে ও
বিস্তৃত করে। বাজপেয়ী তাঁর সফরে মাও-পরবর্তী নেতাদের কাছ
থেকে প্রতিশ্রুতি আদায় করেন যে, তারা ভারতের অবিচ্ছেদ্য অঙ্গ
নাগা ও মিজোরদের সংগঠন বিষয়ে আর কোনও উল্লানি দেবেন না।
তবে কম্পুচিয়ায় চীনের আগ্রাসনের প্রতিবাদে বাজপেয়ী তাঁর চীন
সফর ছোট করে ফিরে আসেন।

এর পর সদ্য ক্ষমতায় ফেরা প্রধানমন্ত্রী ইন্দিরা গান্ধীর হাতে দায়িত্ব
বর্তায় চীনের সঙ্গে সম্পর্ক ভাল করার। ১৯৮০ সালের মে মাসে
বেলগ্রেডে প্রয়াত প্রেসিডেন্ট টিটোর অভ্যুত্থানে যোগ দিতে গিয়ে
ইন্দিরা ঘরোয়া বৈঠক করেন চীনের কমিউনিস্ট পার্টির নেতাদের
সঙ্গে। ৩০ দিনের মধ্যে দেশের বিদেশ সচিব এরিক
গনজালভেসকে পাঠান চীনে, কথাবার্তার জন্য।
গনজালভেস চীনের রাজধানী ছাডার আগেই, চীনের পরবর্তী
পর্বের অবিসংবাদী নেতা দেং জিয়াও পিং এক ভারতীয়
সাংবাদিককে বলেন, সীমান্ত-বিতর্ক মিটিতে পারে 'প্যাকেজ ডিল'-
এর মাধ্যমে। চীন ম্যাকমোহন লাইনকে মেনে নিচ্ছে পূর্বের সীমান্ত
হিসেবে, ভারতও পশ্চিম সীমান্তে স্থিতাবস্থা মেনে নিক। তবে এ-
সব চিন্তার কোনওটাই গনজালভেসকে প্রস্তাব আকারে দেওয়া
হয়নি আলো।

এই সব নানা প্ররোচনা সত্ত্বেও, প্রধানত দুটো কারণে ভারত-চীন
সম্পর্কের ভেতর কিছু উফতা আসতে শুরু করে। চীনে দেং
জিয়াও পিং-এর নেতৃত্ব এবং আফগানিস্তানে সোভিয়েত
অনুপ্রবেশ। চীনের বিদেশমন্ত্রী হুয়াং হুয়া ১৯৮১ সালের জুনে
ভারতে আসেন। ৩০ বছরেরও বেশি দিনের বাতিল কাগজের
তুপ থেকে পুনরুজ্জীবিত হল পঞ্চশীল। তিনি ইন্দিরা গান্ধী ও
বিদেশমন্ত্রী নরসিংহ রাওকে চীনের মাটিতে নেমস্তম্ব করেন।
নরসিংহ রাও কেন যাননি, তা এখনও স্পষ্ট নয়। ইন্দিরা যাওয়ার
ব্যাপারে উৎসাহী হলেও ১৯৮৪ সালের ৩১ অক্টোবর ব্যক্তিগত
দেহরক্ষীর গুলিতে নিহত হন।

চার বছর পর ১৯৮৮ সালে রাজীব গান্ধী যান চীন সফরে। সম্ভবত
ভারতের কোনও নেতার চীনে সবচেয়ে গুরুত্বপূর্ণ সফর সেটাই।
রাজীবের সঙ্গে ছিলেন সোনিয়া, বিদেশমন্ত্রী নরসিংহ রাও,
মন্ত্রিসভার আরও দুই সদস্য। চীনের গুরুত্বপূর্ণ নেতা দেং জিয়াও
পিং-এর সঙ্গে রাজীবের বৈঠক ছিল খুবই তাৎপর্যপূর্ণ। চীন ও
ভারতের বিদেশনীতিতে ফিরে এল পঞ্চশীল। দু দেশের ভেতর
সম্পর্কের প্রধান নীতি হিসেবে ফিরে এল পঞ্চশীল, যৌথ
বিবৃতিতে সে কথা বলাও হল।

সেই থেকে ভারত-চীন কূটনৈতিক সম্পর্কে পঞ্চশীল যেন এক
জীবনসূত্র। সর্বোচ্চ পর্যায়ে দু দেশে বেশ কয়েকবার সফর বিনিময়
হল। চীনের প্রধানমন্ত্রী লি পেন্গ ভারতে এলেন ১৯৯১ সালের
ডিসেম্বরে। চীনের প্রধানমন্ত্রী চৌ এন লাই ভারতে সফর করার ৩১
বছর পর লি পেন্গ ভারত সফরে এলেন। ১৯৯৩ সালের সেপ্টেম্বরে
চীনে গেলেন প্রধানমন্ত্রী নরসিংহ রাও। সই হল এক গুরুত্বপূর্ণ
চুক্তি। সেই থেকে দু দেশের সীমান্তে এক চমৎকার শান্তি ও নীরবতা
বজায় রয়েছে এ পর্যন্ত।

তিন বছর পর চীনের কমিউনিস্ট পার্টির প্রধান ও প্রেসিডেন্ট
জিয়াও জেমিন ভারতে আসেন। ভারতের নেতাদের সঙ্গে
কথাবার্তার ফলে সীমান্তে শুরু হয় অন্য উদ্যোগ। ভারতের
রাষ্ট্রপতি কে আর নারায়ণন ২০০০ সালে যান চীন সফরে। তবে
ভারত ও পাকিস্তানের যুগপৎ পরমাণু বিস্তারণ ভারত-চীন
সম্পর্কের ভেতর কিছুটা সমস্যা তৈরি করলেও তা খুবই কম
সময়ের। ভারতের প্রধানমন্ত্রী বাজপেয়ী ২০০৩ সালে চীনে যান
এক উচ্চপর্যায়ের রাষ্ট্রীয় সফরে।

এই মতো সীমান্তে বিরোধ সীমাংসার খোঁজ চলতে থাকে, গতি
পায়। দু দেশের বাণিজ্যের পরিমাণ হাজার কোটি ডলার ছাড়িয়ে
যায় সাত বছরেই। আগামী তিন বছরে দেড় হাজার কোটি ডলারের
প্রতিশ্রুতি তৈরি হয়। এক দেশ অন্যের দেশে বিনিয়োগ শুরু করে।
অর্থনীতি, প্রযুক্তিগত সহযোগিতা, তথ্যপ্রযুক্তিতে বিপুল
বিনিয়োগের প্রতিশ্রুতি টের পাওয়া গেল। দু দেশের নৌবাহিনীর
যৌথ মহড়া শুরু হতে থাকে, তথ্য বিনিময় শুরু হয়, সেনাকর্তাদের
সফর চলতে থাকে।

যাই হোক, পঞ্চশীল এখনও তার চূড়ান্ত, প্রত্যাশিত শীর্ষে
পৌঁছেয়নি। শান্তিপূর্ণ সহাবস্থানের পাঁচটি নীতি পৃথিবীর কল্পনার
আওতায় আসবে তখনই, যখন ভারত ও চীন নিজেদের মধ্যে
শান্তিচুক্তি সই করবে। বন্ধুত্ব ও সহযোগিতার চুক্তিতেও,
পঞ্চশীলের ভিত্তিতে। আশাবাদীরা বলবেন, সে-সময় বেশি দূরে
নয়। নিরাশাবাদীরা অবশ্যই বলবেন অন্য, বিপরীত কথা।

14 JUL 2006

'India, China seriously engaged on border issue'

By Amit Baruah

NEW DELHI, JUNE 30. The former President, K.R. Narayanan, believes that India and China have seriously engaged each other in a bid to resolve their border dispute after the appointment last year of Special Representatives to address the issue.

Talking to *The Hindu* today, Mr. Narayanan, who paid a visit earlier this month to Beijing in connection with the 50th anniversary celebrations of Panch-



sheel, said that growing contacts between India and China as well as the expansion of the trade relationship would have a positive bearing on this process. "All this will act as a fillip to this process."

"The approach is such that something concrete and beneficial will come out of it," he said about the talks going on between the Special Representatives. "It will be a long haul, it [a possible settlement] will not be sudden." Pointing out that the term "mutual adjustment" was being used in connection with the border issue, Mr. Narayanan said it remained to be seen what exactly the phrase meant. "During the process of negotiations, we may find out what the term means."

Mr. Narayanan, India's Ambassador in Beijing from 1976-78, said he had visited China both as Vice-President in 1994 and then as President in 2000. "It was a very good visit," he said recalling his trip to Beijing as President.

The former President, who was in Beijing to address a major international seminar on the 50th anniversary of Panchsheel earlier this month, said he could see how rapidly China was changing for the better. "People's health is so much better. You can see it on the streets."

Asked what role China would play on the global stage, Mr. Narayanan said Beijing was already a world power. "It is playing an independent role, something like

our non-alignment in the pursuit of foreign policy. They don't gang up with one side."

Nobody can say that Sino-American relations were one of conflict, he said, adding that like with India, the Chinese were willing to set aside their differences with the United States, and develop their relations.

To a question on the Chinese approach to Iraq, he said that Beijing had taken a position similar to Paris on the issue. China has been saying that the world is not unipolar and they want to work with others to establish a multipolar world.

Mr. Narayanan said the Chinese Government had gone out of its way to treat him with courtesy during his recent Beijing visit. "I was invited to deliver the keynote address at the Panchsheel seminar along with the former Chinese Vice-Premier, Qian Qichen," he said adding that two former American Secretaries of State, Henry Kissinger and George Schultz, the former German Chancellor, Helmut Kohl, as well as the former U.N. Secretary-General, Boutros-Boutros Ghali, attended the seminar. "They [his Chinese hosts] gave precedence to me, they treated me like a chief guest." Asked whether India and China could play a joint role in world affairs, the former President said the two countries were already cooperating in the World Trade Organisation (WTO) and other multilateral fora.

Mr. Narayanan was convinced that the "five principles" of Panchsheel were still relevant in today's world. In his June 14 Beijing address, he argued that respect for the sovereignty and integrity of nations, non-interference in internal affairs and non-aggression and equality were the pillars on which a "just and peaceful" world order could be erected.

"China and India believe in a multipolar world where power is diffused over several centres in a world of infinite diversities and differences in terms of culture, language, religion, economic conditions and political persuasions. Unipolar and interventionist theories and practices are unsustainable and opposed to a democratic and pluralistic world order."

PANCHSHEEL CELEBRATIONS PART OF CHANGING PERCEPTIONS

A 'new spring' in India-China ties

Wen Jiabao, Chinese Premier, in Beijing

June 29. — Among the main reasons the golden anniversary of the Panchsheel (or Five Principles of Peaceful Coexistence as it is known here) was celebrated jointly with India on such a grand scale is a "desire" among the Chinese leadership to improve relations with India, according to diplomatic analysts.

The Chinese Premier, Mr. Wen Jiabao, gave the keynote address at a well-attended special commemoration ceremony on Monday, where he lauded the contribution of Panchsheel in maintaining world peace as its principles were enshrined in the UN charter, while saying that the Chinese President, Mr. Hu Jintao, had spoken with and congratulated his Indian counterpart, Dr. APJ Abdul Kalam, while he himself had spoken with Prime Minister Dr. Manmohan Singh.

At the reception by the Indian ambassador,

Mr. Nalin Surie, the cream of Chinese government and society gathered to laud relations with India and the joint gift of Panchsheel to the world.

In a country where indications of "profound change" are provided by small gestures, a senior Chinese official said today that a "good atmosphere" had been created with the new UPA government proclaiming its "commitment" to improving relations with China and continuing the initiative of politically appointed special representatives to handle the border dispute. "We want a fair and reasonable solution that is based on mutual accommodation and mutual adjustment," Mr. Shen Guofang, the assistant minister for foreign affairs, said. "We want a solution that both sides are comfortable with," Mr. Shen said while speaking to a group of media representatives from India.

The third round of the special representatives' meeting is scheduled to be held shortly, (around the end of July or so) in New Delhi,

between the recently-appointed national security adviser, Mr. JN Dixit, and Mr. Dai Bingguo. "We want the third meeting to determine the guiding principles for a solution to this dispute," Mr. Shen said, hoping the matter would be resolved soon through dialogue.

Though Chinese officials and scholars do not spell out what the "mutual accommodation" and "adjustment" is, the suggestion is some Indian concessions on the eastern sector (particularly, a scholar noted, Tawang, which is sacred to Tibetan Buddhists, in exchange for Kailash, sacred to Hindus, for example) would result in Chinese "adjustments" on the western sector. "This is how China has sorted out its border problems with most other countries," a senior official said.

And, unlike relations with Pakistan, ties with Beijing are progressing on a variety of other fronts, with bilateral trade set to cross the \$10 billion mark by the end of this financial year, well before the targeted date.

India, China renew vows on Panchsheel

Press Trust of India
Beijing, June 28

THE CHINESE leadership on Monday warmly greeted their Indian counterparts on the 50th anniversary of the founding of the Panchsheel principles, which they said offered a 'political foundation' and a 'fundamental guarantee' for bilateral ties to progress healthily and steadily.

Panchsheel, jointly initiated by former Prime Minister Jawaharlal Nehru and his Chinese counterpart Zhou Enlai on June 28, 1954, includes mutual respect for sovereignty and territorial integrity, mutual non-aggression, non-interference in each other's internal affairs, equality and mutual benefit and peaceful co-existence.

Jointly developing and deepening the long-term constructive and cooperative partnership between China and India on the five principles conforms to the fundamental interests of the two persons and will continuously contribute to peace, stability and development in Asia and the entire world, Chinese President Hu Jintao said.

In his message to his Indian counterpart, APJ Abdul Kalam, Hu said China would like to make joint efforts with all other countries, including India, to continuously enrich and carry forward the spirit of the five principles so as to make fresh contributions to human peace and progress.

"The formation of the five principles of peaceful coexistence, initiated jointly by China and India 50 years ago, was a pioneering effort in the 20th-century history of international relations and an important contribution to the cause of peace and development of humanity," said Hu, also general secretary of the ruling Communist Party of China.

He noted that over half a century, the five principles have withstood the test of history, won extensive recognition from the international community and become a major set of norms governing state-to-state relations.

"At present, the five principles are still of tremendous relevance as a guide for action for world peace and common development," the Chinese president said. "China will firmly pur-

sue the independent foreign policy of peace, forge and develop friendship and partnership with neighbours and remain committed to good neighbourly and friendly relations and mutually-beneficial cooperation with surrounding countries," he said.

Chinese Premier Wen Jiabao, in his message to his Indian counterpart, Manmohan Singh, said the five principles are a political foundation for China-India relations and a fundamental guarantee for the relations to progress healthily and steadily.

The Chinese government highly values its friendship with India and is ready to work together to further enhance the mutual understanding, reinforce exchanges and cooperation in various fields and resolve the issues left over by history so as to continuously add new strength to the bilateral relationship.

"I'm convinced that, through the concerted efforts of both sides, there will be an even brighter future for the long-term constructive partnership between China and India," he said.

India, China agree to enhance ties

100-11
2/16

By P. S. Suryanarayana

SINGAPORE, JUNE 21. The External Affairs Minister, K. Natwar Singh, and the Chinese Foreign Minister, Li Zhaoxing, today expressed satisfaction over the upturn in bilateral ties and agreed to enhance relations. The two leaders, attending the Asian Cooperation Dialogue (ACD) at the Chinese city of Qingdao, met for the first time since the assumption of office by a new Government in New Delhi. They reviewed the overall state of interactions.

While they did not appear to have gone into specific issues in detail during their 35-minute meeting, the two leaders were understood to have expressed the hope of sustaining the border talks.

Speaking to reporters after the meeting, Mr. Li said China and India "will work together for the further promotion and enhancement of [their] good relations." Accepting Mr. Singh's invitation to him to visit India, Mr. Li said he would be able to fulfil his long-time "dream." Mr. Singh held bilateral meetings with the Japanese Foreign Minister, Yoriko Kawaguchi, and the Singapore Foreign Minister, S. Jayakumar.

THE HINDU

2 JUN 21

All not okay with India-China trade

SF 10
8/15
Press Trust of India

BEIJING, May 30. — Despite the record-breaking spree witnessed in India-China bilateral trade, New Delhi is concerned by the "narrow" composition of the trade basket, official sources said here.

"We are greatly heartened by the positive momentum in our bilateral trade. Yet, both countries need to examine its various parameters closely, particularly the narrow composition of the trade basket and the insufficient use of each other's comparative advantages," an official source said. "For sustainable high volumes of bilateral trade, diversification of the trade basket is not only important but imperative," he said.

India and China could benefit from expansion and diversification if they explored new areas for cooperation, sources said while pointing out that tremendous potential exists in fields like agriculture, dairy industry, food processing, auto-components, pharmaceuticals, health care, machine tools and information technology.

India-China bilateral trade during the first quarter of this year achieved an impressive growth of 87.68 per cent at \$3.13 billion, an all-time record.

While Indian exports to China zoomed 124.10 per cent to \$2.12 billion during Jan-March period, China's exports to India grew by a modest 39.94 per cent to \$1.01 billion, according to Chinese Customs.

However, the impressive performance in India-China trade during the first quarter was primarily on account of the high growth of iron ore exports from India, sources said.

Indian export of ores, slag and ash has maintained a high growth rate, with its value going up from less than \$250 million in the first quarter of last year to \$1.16 billion in the first quarter this year.

Export of ores, slag and ash accounts for over half of India's total exports in January-

India-China bilateral trade during the first quarter of this year achieved an impressive growth of 87.68 per cent at \$3.13 billion, an all-time record. While Indian exports to China zoomed 124.10 per cent to \$2.12 billion during Jan-March period, China's exports to India grew by a modest 39.94 per cent to \$1.01 billion

March, 2004, which amounted to \$2.12 billion, thus showing the extreme dependency on a single item of export, the sources said.

Despite the rapid increase in exports, the composition of the export bundle remained skewed in favour of primary products.

Apart from ores, slag and ash, other main items of Indian exports to China are iron and steel; plastics; cotton yarn; organic and inorganic chemicals; miscellaneous grains and seeds; salt, sulphur and tone; mineral fuels and precious stones.

India currently ranks number one in the list of countries exporting ores to China.

Meanwhile, sources placed high hopes on the work of the Sino-Indian Joint Study Group (JSG) on Trade and Economic cooperation, which met for the first time here in March, to work out a broad based framework of economic cooperation between the two neighbouring nations which are also the fastest developing nations.

"The JSG has started its work," an official source said, adding it will examine potential complementariness in expanded trade and economic cooperation, draw up a programme for the development of India-China trade and economic cooperation for the next five years. "We expect the group will complete its work by the end of this year," the official said.

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Suryanarayana

Optimism in China on ties with India

By P. S. Suryanarayana

SINGAPORE, MAY 15. Experts on India, associated with China's political establishment, today expressed the belief that the present change of government in New Delhi might prove conducive to the "positive" development of the bilateral relationship.

While the Chinese Government has not so far made known its policy orientation towards India, in the specific context of the poll outcome, China's former Ambassador in New Delhi, Zhou Gang, sounded a general note of optimism. Speaking from Beijing, Mr. Zhou told *The Hindu* in Singapore that he thought the new government in India "will continue the process of improvement of bilateral relations" with China.

The development of friendly ties between India and China was in the interests of the two countries and would help promote "peace and stability in the region, in particular, and also the world at large," he said.

Recalling the role that Sonia Gandhi's "late husband" had played by visiting China in 1988, Mr. Zhou said the current state of "friendly relations will not be affected" under a government that might be led by her.

Wang Hongwei, a long-time expert on India, said: "I don't think there will be a very major change in India's foreign policy towards China"

as a result of the latest elections.

Noting that "the bilateral relations have improved very much" following the "very successful visit" to Beijing by Atal Behari Vajpayee as Prime Minister last June, Prof. Wang pointed out that "India's policy [towards China] was not formulated by a single party." While New Delhi evolved its policy "through consensus" among the political parties in India, "mutual understanding and mutual trust were greatly strengthened" following Mr. Vajpayee's visit.

Referring to Rajiv Gandhi's diplomatic odyssey that helped "improve and normalise" ties with China, Prof. Wang felt that Ms. Gandhi "will continue the trend started by her husband." Indeed, the development of relations with China seemed to be a "long-term policy of the Congress [party]." The latest political change in New Delhi could, therefore, produce "some positive effect" on the Sino-Indian equation, Prof. Wang said.

Ma Jiali, associated with the China Institute of Contemporary International Relations, saw the current Indian political changes as "a good sign for bilateral relations," given that Rajiv Gandhi's visit to Beijing in 1988 was really "a milestone." With the Congress, too, having been "active" in fostering Sino-Indian *bonhomie*, there should now be "no change in direction." In fact, "the pace may be faster, not slower" under a government led by Ms. Gandhi, Ma Jiali said.

THE HINDU

16 MAY 2000

চিনের মানচিত্রে সিকিম ভারতে

বেজিং, ৬ মে— ভারতের সঙ্গে সম্পর্ক উন্নত করার লক্ষ্যে চিন গুরুত্বপূর্ণ পদক্ষেপ নিয়েছে। এই প্রথম তাদের সরকারি মানচিত্রে দেখিয়েছে, সিকিম ভারতের অন্তর্গত। সদ্য প্রকাশিত 'ওয়ার্ল্ড অ্যাফেয়ার্স ইয়ারবুক- ২০০৩/৪'-এ সিকিমকে আলাদা দেশ হিসেবে দেখানো নেই। গত বছর সিকিম আলাদা স্বাধীন রাষ্ট্র হিসেবে এই ইয়ার বুকেই উল্লিখিত হয়েছিল। সিকিম ভারতের অন্তর্গত মেনে নিলে সিকিম-চিন সীমান্তকেও স্বীকার করবে চিন। ১৯৭৫ সালে সিকিম ভারতের অন্তর্গত হয়। এই সীমান্ত 'ম্যাকমোহন লাইন'-এর অংশ হলেও বেজিং তা স্বীকার করেনি।

ভারত মানচিত্রে এই পরিবর্তন "লক্ষ্য করেছে।" সরকারি সূত্রে খবর, ২০০৩ সালের জুন মাসে প্রধানমন্ত্রী অটলবিহারী বাজপেয়ীর চিন-সফরকালে সিদ্ধান্ত নেওয়া হয়েছিল। সিকিম-প্রসঙ্গটিকে এবার ভারত-চিন দ্বিপাক্ষিক আলোচনা থেকে সরিয়ে রাখা হবে। — পি টি আই

ANADABAZAR PATRIKA

7 MAY 2004

China keeps its word on Sikkim

By Amit Baruah

NEW DELHI, MAY 6. Sikkim no longer figures as an "independent nation" in the world map and index of the annual yearbook published by the Chinese Foreign Ministry.

The Chinese Government has thus fulfilled its assurance to the Government of India that Sikkim's status would be corrected in the official Ministry yearbook. (According to a Press Trust of India report from Beijing, the "World Affairs Yearbook 2003-2004" showed Sikkim as part of India.)

"As you are aware, during Prime Minister's [Atal Bihari Vajpayee's] visit to China in June 2003, a process was started by which Sikkim would cease to be an issue in India-China relations. In this regard, we have taken note of the latest developments," the External Affairs Ministry spokesman said today.

A copy of the yearbook was reported to have been handed over to officials in the Ministry of External Affairs some time ago. The yearbook was

put into circulation several weeks ago. With this, China has taken a significant step in meeting Indian concerns on the status of Sikkim. On December 18, 2003, *The Hindu* reported that Beijing had decided that the new yearbook would not show Sikkim as an independent nation.

The Chinese Premier, Wen Jiabao, informed Mr. Vajpayee during a meeting on October 8, 2003 in Bali, Indonesia, that China had removed Sikkim from the list of independent countries that figured on the official website of its Foreign Ministry. During and after the June 2003 meetings at the leadership level between the Indian and Chinese Governments, a clear message was sent out by Beijing that it had no intention of retaining Sikkim as an "issue" in bilateral relations.

Changes on the country's official maps, too, it was conveyed to the Indian side, would take place. As the first step in this process, the Chinese side has appropriately amended the official yearbook.

THE HINDU

7 MAY 2004

Nathu La to open by July

Deborshi Chaki in Gangtok

May 6. — Sino-Indian border trade via the Nathu La pass is set to begin by July this year. High level sources disclosed, the Union home ministry has already conveyed the decision to Sikkim government. Confirming the move, former political advisor to the chief minister, Mr BB Goor-oong, said today that the letter written to chief minister Mr Pawan Chamling by the Union home secretary has set a July deadline for the formal opening of the pass between India and China.

Senior state government officials involved in chalking out the Nathu La opening said that initially the opening would be "symbolic", followed by token visa exchanges. Actual trade will, however, take some time to begin. Earlier, speaking on the issue, senior Sikkim Democratic Front leaders said, building of infrastructure, especially highways and warehouses, will take a few years. Observers here said the decision to open up the pass might do its bit to sooth China's dissatisfaction over the delay in the opening of the pass. China's state run *China Daily* had in the recent past lamented India's "lethargy" over the matter, Rajya Sabha MP from Sikkim, Mr PT Gyamtso said.

China map shows Sikkim in India

NEW DELHI, May 6. — China has formally changed its maps, showing for the first time today, that Sikkim was a part of India. Considered a significant move indicative of a thaw in the boundary problem that has plagued bilateral relations, the world map in the just-published *World Affairs Year Book: 2003-2004* has stopped showing Sikkim as a separate country and doesn't mention Sikkim in its index of countries. This, analysts said, shows recognition of the current India-China border.

The official Chinese publication last year had shown Sikkim as a separate country in the map and mentioned it among "independent" nations.

New Delhi welcomed the move, but downplayed it, merely "taking note of the latest developments". A serious dialogue to resolve the boundary dispute began after Prime Minister Mr Atal Behari Vajpayee's visit to Beijing last June. The dialogue is being handled at the political level Mr Brajesh Mishra, national security adviser, and Chinese vice foreign minister Mr Dai Bingguo. — SNS

THE STATESMAN

7 MAY 2004

High road to tension

NOTWITHSTANDING the euphoria over the thaw in Sino-Indian ties, marked among other things by the prospective opening up of the Nathula trade route, trade diplomacy has not been without its share of complications in Sikkim as well as the country at large.

Speculation is rife on whether and when the narrow corridor that connects Tibet and Sikkim should be made accessible. Then there is also the issue as to what should be the volume of traffic — cargo and human — from both sides.

Sikkim seems to be divided over claims of affluence that Nathula is expected to generate once route is thrown open. While hopes of prosperity are high in border towns such as Siliguri and Gangtok, slated to emerge as flash points in the anticipated trade boom, scepticism prevails in several quarters over the volume of actual trade possible and the feasibility of such claims that there will be significant improvement in the economic condition of the people.

Not surprisingly, there have been many voices of dissent. Groups like Sikkim Bhutia-Lepcha Apex Committee, that claims to represent over one lakh indigenous Bhutia-Lepcha people, have cited demographic imbalance as one of the greatest risks that Nathula could expose the state to. SIBLAC,

The proposed opening up of the Nathula trade route, hyped as an important step towards maintaining good ties with China, is fraught with dangers, says

DEBORSHI CHAKI

which led a delegation to New Delhi last year, has demanded appropriate safeguards from the state and Central governments towards the protection of the identities of ethnic groups. The people perceive a threat to their identity from the already existing vast migrant workforce, expected to multiply once the trade route becomes functional. The group pressed for mandatory use of photo-identity cards for all visitors and more stringent laws pertaining to settlement of non-locals in the state.

forces.

Security agencies also caution that the threat to internal security posed by Chinese infiltration will only be maximised after Nathula is laid open. While the state and Centre have tried their best to ward off such apprehensions, a significant section of the security apparatus, nevertheless, believes that such threats could be next to real.

The strategic location of Sikkim and North Bengal — on the narrow tract connecting West Bengal to Assam and other north-eastern states and referred to as "chicken's neck" — is a vital stretch where several divisions of the Indian military are stationed. The Army, of course, takes great care to protect and conceal their exact locations. The extent of vulnerability that Nathula might expose the region to, though, is debatable. According to experts, there have been quite a few pointers including the arrest of a suspected ISI agent near an Army formation in Sikkim.

And last but not the least, it is also feared that the route may lead to an onslaught of Chinese propaganda. Border areas in Sikkim and Arunachal have long been exposed to such devices, radio transmissions from Chinese occupied Tibet being a major medium.

(The author is the Gangtok-based Correspondent of The Statesman.)



Bhutia-Lepcha monks at a demonstration in New Delhi. — AFP

Reports indicate that the Army, which is due to submit its assessment to the Nathula Trade Study Group by August 2004, has listed its own set of concerns. Major-general Avadesh Prakash, who recently took over the as the general officer commanding of 17th Mountain Division stationed in Sikkim, reaffirmed this although refusing to comment on its implications.

However, there has been no denying the fact the Army, if not averse to the idea of opening up Nathula, has not been very sup-

portive of it either. There is a certain degree of distrust in the Army about Chinese policy vis-à-vis Arunachal Pradesh and the Chinese base in Myanmar's Coco Islands near the Andamans. In response to the Chinese presence in there, India set up its first tri-service command in Andaman and Nicobar Islands. Incursions reported in Arunachal in the recent past and the presence of a listening post and an airstrip built by China in Coco Islands have been reason enough for worry for the Indian

INDIA-CHINA MILITARY COOPERATION

THE PROPOSAL TO hold a joint army exercise with China has come not a day too late. It marks another step forward in the smoothly developing bilateral relationship between the two Asian giants and neighbours. A military exercise involving the two armies is a logical follow-up to the joint naval exercise off the Shanghai coast. Given the fact that peace and tranquillity reign on the long Sino-Indian boundary as a result of a breakthrough high-level understanding forged in December 1988, and that political as well as trade relations are on the upswing, this kind of cooperation can help in creating a better environment for going about the task of resolving the boundary dispute in an amicable way on the basis of give and take. Once a new Government assumes office in New Delhi after the 14th general election, it should be possible for the military establishment to concretise the proposal for a joint army exercise.

Over the years, there has been a steady increase in India's joint military exercises particularly with countries in the eastern region. A newfound bonhomie with the Southeast Asian countries has resulted in the Indian Navy taking up regular exercises with Singapore, Malaysia, Thailand, Indonesia and Vietnam, among others. In addition, the Navy has undertaken goodwill visits to the Indo-China region, calling on Cambodia for instance. The military cooperation with Singapore is on an altogether different footing, with a whole range of training facilities provided to the city-state's Navy and Army. Likewise, the full potential of longstanding friendship with

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Vietnam is now being realised on the military front, with a strategic partnership and a full-fledged training facility extended to that brave and resourceful country. The Indian Navy has been leading this process. Considering that India is endowed with a very long coastline and prides itself on being a sea-faring nation from antiquity, it is not surprising that cooperation on the sea-front comes to it naturally. Until now, these exercises were with countries that were seeking closer economic cooperation with India and looked to it for reassurance at a time when China was thinking big.

In the post-9/11 era, India has been forging new equations in Asia. After a series of confidence building measures, the United States establishment seems to have decided to move closer to India in terms of military cooperation and sharing of intelligence, although the implications of the newly conferred status of 'major non-NATO ally' on Pakistan are yet unclear. A joint naval exercise with the U.S. has been followed up with another involving the Army. The *INS Tarangani*, a cadet training ship of the Indian Navy, is returning to Kochi after a 15-month-long sailing during which it touched the shores of 18 countries and took on board a few cadets from most of them to provide hands-on training and interaction with nearly 70 Indian cadets. This cruise has taken the vessel through the Gulf, southern Europe, and the U.S. besides Australia and East Asia. When the first joint army exercise with China takes place, it will add a welcome new dimension to a healthily developing bilateral relationship.



Defence minister George Fernandes shakes hand with his Chinese counterpart General Cao Gangchuan in New Delhi on Monday

India, China will observe each other's military exercises

TIMES NEWS NETWORK

New Delhi: Continuing with the new upswing in bilateral defence ties, India and China on Monday decided to exchange officers to observe each other's military exercises and explore the possibilities for more joint exercises between their armed forces.

The two sides also reaffirmed their commitment to continue maintaining peace and tranquillity along their around 4,000-km-long border and observed that "an early resolution of the boundary question would give a boost to bilateral relations".

This came after delegation-level talks led by visiting Chinese defence minister General Cao Gangchuan and his Indian counterpart George Fernandes. "Both sides presented new proposals to strengthen and develop defence exchanges and confidence-building, as also encourage friendly interaction between border personnel posted at the Line

of Actual Control," a ministry official said after the talks.

The two countries also agreed that training, including Chinese language training in defence institutions in India, and sports and cultural exchanges between their armed forces should be increased.

The Chinese minister later called on Prime Minister Vajpayee and held talks with external affairs minister Yashwant Sinha. Gangchun also presented a brief overview of the international situation and recent major domestic developments in China, notably the National People's Congress.

The Indian and Chinese armed forces have generally remained suspicious of each other ever since the 1962 conflict. But with Fernandes himself visiting China in April 2003, the two sides have now begun to interact with each other. This included a three-day search-and-rescue joint exercise between Indian and Chinese warships recently.

India, China to increase defence contacts

By Sandeep Dikshit

NEW DELHI, MARCH 29. India and China have agreed to increase contacts and interactions between their defence establishments and armed forces.

The measures agreed upon to improve bilateral ties during a meeting here today between the Chinese military delegation led

by the Defence Minister, Cao Gangchuan, and the Indian team led by George Fernandes include increased friendly interaction between the personnel at the Line of Actual Control and granting the observer status to the military officers at each other's military exercises.

Officials described Gen. Cao's five-day tour to various Indian

military establishments as part of the confidence building measures. While Mr. Fernandes mooted the proposal for joint exercises when he was in China last year, the offer for hosting the Indian armed forces officers to observe future Chinese military exercises was made by the visiting side. Mr. Fernandes reciprocated the offer. It was also

agreed to initiate Chinese language training in defence institutions in India and further sports and cultural exchanges.

On the boundary question, both sides expressed themselves in favour of an early resolution and examined new proposals to strengthen and develop defence exchanges and confidence building.

Mr. Fernandes expressed the hope that the momentum of high-level visits would be sustained. While he was happy over Gen. Cao's visit within a year of his own visit to China, Gen. Cao recalled Mr. Fernandes' visit to China at the height of the SARS epidemic and thanked him for the medicines sent by India.

Photo on Page 14

A boost to ties with China

India
China

5-3
2/3

Srinjoy Chowdhury in New Delhi

March 24. — For the Chinese defence minister, General Cao Gangchuan, a tour of Mumbai's Mazgaon Docks and Bangalore's Hindustan Aeronautics Ltd, both crucial defence production centres, have been planned. For the Indian and Chinese troops along the border, more friendly exchanges are a possibility.

The Chinese defence minister, along with a 13-member delegation, will reach India on Friday for a five-day tour. While this is being seen as another step towards normalising India-China ties, discussions between General Cao and Mr George Fernandes could relate to several major issues including protecting sea-lane traffic, increased naval exercises and anti-terrorism issues. More exchanges in terms of Chinese armed forces personnel coming to India for courses and vice-versa are also possible.

Mr Fernandes has had a successful tour of China some months ago, during which he had discussions with the top leadership. General Cao's visit is being considered significant while border talks continue. One naval exercise has already happened and further efforts, this time off the coast of India, is a possibility. Both countries have a strong interest in protecting the sea-lanes and checking piracy. The pirates, for a while, were extremely active in the South China Sea and Malacca Straits area. The two countries could look at joint work in checking international terrorism.

25 MAR 2004

THE STATESMAN

25 MAR 2004

India, China discuss economic ties

By P. S. Suryanarayana

SINGAPORE, MARCH 24. India and China have begun talks to evaluate the "possibility" of signing a comprehensive economic cooperation agreement (CECA) and a free trade agreement (FTA).

These two ideas dominated the first meeting of the Sino-Indian Joint Study Group (JSG) on Trade and Economic Cooperation. The two-day meeting concluded in Beijing on Tuesday.

The Chinese Minister of Commerce, Bo Xilai, told the Joint Chairman of the JSG and the Deputy Governor of the Reserve Bank of India, Rakesh Mohan, that there were "strong economic complementarities" between the two countries.

While this gave rise to hopes of a "bright future" on the bilat-

eral economic front, there were other "encouraging" signs too. Mr. Bo identified these as the fast-developing economies of the two countries and their excellent cooperation in the bilateral and multilateral fora at this time.

He expressed the belief that bilateral ties would look up through "joint efforts." Bilateral trade is now of the order of \$7.6 billion.

Dr. Mohan noted the existence of an "enormous potential for [bilateral] economic cooperation," according to a press release issued by the Indian Embassy in Beijing today.

He drew attention to the similarity of developmental challenges and economic concerns that the two countries faced in this context.

The JSG, co-chaired by the

Chinese Vice-Minister of Commerce, An Min, too, was recently constituted on the basis of a mandate contained in the India-China Joint Declaration signed during the Prime Minister, Atal Bihari Vajpayee's visit to Beijing last June.

Besides working out a five-year plan for India-China trade and economic cooperation, the ISG is expected to submit "proposals" on long-term issues such as the feasibility of a detailed examination of the scope for a bilateral CECA and FTA.

The recommendations, which the JSG was now hoping to make by the end of 2004, would then be processed by the two Governments for definitive decisions regarding any negotiations, if considered necessary, for the crafting of a bilateral CECA and FTA, ac-

cording to diplomatic sources. The momentum in India-China diplomatic engagement, at this time of an electoral process in India, is considered significant.

The Chinese Defence Minister, Cao Gangchuan, will arrive in India on March 26 for what is being seen as an important visit.

While bilateral defence ties as also peace and tranquillity along the India-China Line of Actual Control are expected to be discussed, it remains to be seen whether the recent revelations about the activities of a Pakistan-based nuclear-proliferation "mafia" would also figure in the talks between Gen. Cao and the Defence Minister, George Fernandes. Gen. Cao would reach India from Pakistan during a three-nation tour.

নাথু লা খুললে চিনা পণ্যে রাজ্যের বাজার ভাসার আশঙ্কা

স্টাফ রিপোর্টার: কম দাম, আবার জোগানও প্রচুর। ঠিক যে কারণে সারা বিশ্বের শিল্প মহলের কাছে চিনের জিনিস ভীতির কারণ হয়ে দাঁড়িয়েছে, সেই একই ভয় রাজ্যের মুখ্যমন্ত্রী বুদ্ধবাবু ভট্টাচার্যেরও। সিকিমের নাথু লা দিয়ে পশ্চিমবঙ্গের বাজার চিনা পণ্য ভরে যেতে পারে বলে তিনিও আশঙ্কা প্রকাশ করেন।

শনিবার ইন্ডিয়ান চেম্বার অব কমার্সের ৭৬তম বার্ষিক সাধারণ সভায় বুদ্ধবাবু উপস্থিত ছিলেন। নাথু লা দিয়ে চিন-ভারত বাণিজ্য সম্পর্কে এ দিন তিনি তাঁর এই উদ্বেগের কথা প্রকাশ করেন। তিনি বলেন, “ওরা চেষ্টা করবে ওদের উৎপাদিত পণ্য এখানকার বাজারে ভরিয়ে দিতে। যা আমাদের পক্ষে সমস্যার কারণ হবে।” এ প্রসঙ্গে পরে এক প্রশ্নের উত্তরে তিনি বলেন, “নাথু লা চুক্তিতে এক দিকে যেমন পশ্চিমবঙ্গের লাভবান হওয়ার সম্ভাবনা রয়েছে, তেমনি চিনা পণ্যে স্থানীয় বাজার যদি ভরে যায়, তা হলেও চিন্তার কারণ।” মুখ্যমন্ত্রীর সহজ যুক্তি, “ওরা শুধু দিতে জানে, নিতে চায় না”।

চিনা পণ্য নিয়ে বুদ্ধবাবুর এই আশঙ্কা বা উদ্বেগ নিছকই

যে কথাই নয়, তারও প্রমাণ এ দিন মিলেছে। বিষয়টি নিয়ে তিনি ইতিমধ্যে কেন্দ্রীয় বাণিজ্য মন্ত্রকের সঙ্গে প্রাথমিক আলোচনা করেছেন। এমন কী কেন্দ্রীয় বাণিজ্য মন্ত্রী অরুণ জেটলিও যে বিষয়টি সম্পর্কে ওয়াকিবহাল, তাও তিনি জানান। কারণ, কেন্দ্রীয় সরকার ইতিমধ্যে চিন থেকে আমদানি করা পণ্য নিয়ে বাজারে একটি সমীক্ষা চালিয়েছে। তাতে তেমন আশঙ্কাজনক তথ্য না মিললেও আগাম সতর্কতা যে জরুরি, কেন্দ্রীয় বাণিজ্য মন্ত্রকও তা মনে করছে। বিষয়টি নিয়ে প্রয়োজনে অরুণ জেটলির সঙ্গে পরে তিনি কথা বলবেন বলে বুদ্ধবাবু জানান।

অবশ্য দেওয়া-নেওয়ার এই অর্থনীতির খেলায় রাজ্য সরকার সমস্ত উদ্যোগ থামিয়ে দিয়ে যে হাত-পা গুটিয়ে বসে থাকবে বা রয়েছে, তা নয়। স্বপ্নের টয় পার্ক থেকে ভারত-সহ আঞ্চলিক বাজারে খেলনার বাজার ধরার জন্য তিনি চিনা খেলনার প্রযুক্তি আমদানি করতে এক বছর ধরতে চেষ্টা চালিয়ে যাচ্ছেন।

মুখ্যমন্ত্রী এ দিন এক প্রশ্নের উত্তরে জানিয়েছেন, চিন-ভারত বাণিজ্য চুক্তির সজাবনার কথা মাথায় রেখে

উত্তরবঙ্গের পরিকাঠামোকে আরও বেশি করে টেকে সাজানোর পরিকল্পনা নেওয়া হয়েছে। সিকিমের মুখ্যমন্ত্রীর সঙ্গে এ ব্যাপারে আলোচনাও হয়েছে।

বুদ্ধবাবু আরও বলেন, চিন পশ্চিমবঙ্গ থেকে ইম্পোর্ট কিনাছে তাদের দেশে আয়োজিত আসন্ন ওলিম্পিকের জন্য। চিনা পণ্য নিয়ে বুদ্ধবাবুর আশঙ্কাকে একদম উড়িয়ে দেয়নি কলকাতার বাণিজ্য মহলা। তবে তাঁরা বলেন, ভারতীয় ক্রেতাদের কাছে চিনা পণ্যের বিশেষ কদর নেই। ভারতের তুলনায় সে দেশের পণ্যের গুণগত মান বিশেষ ভাল নয় বলে তাঁরা বাজারে থেকে জেনেছেন।

এ প্রসঙ্গে ইন্ডিয়ান চেম্বারের সেক্রেটারি জেনারেল নাজিব আরিফের পরামর্শ, সতর্কতা নিশ্চয় জরুরি। তবে তার থেকেও বেশি জরুরি চিনের বাজার ধরার জন্য আগেই সুনির্দিষ্ট পরিকল্পনা ছকে ফেলা। ইন্ডিয়ান চেম্বারের সভাপতি বিক্রম থাপার এ দিন মুখ্যমন্ত্রীর কাছে জার্জি রেখেছেন, শুধু নাথু লা নয়, কুলমিং দিয়েও চিনের বাজারে প্রবেশ করতে। তাতে স্থানীয় ব্যবসায়ীদের অনেক বড় বাজারে ধরার সম্ভাবনা রয়েছে।

29 FEB 2004

Conditions are favourable for resolving the Sino-Indian border issue

Bounds of the possible

J.N. DIXIT

The prime ministers of India and China decided to address the Sino-Indian boundary question in a separate category and in a substantive manner during Atal Bihari Vajpayee's visit to Beijing in 2003. A Sino-Indian joint working group, established under the co-chairmanship of the foreign secretary of India and the vice-minister of the Chinese foreign office dealing with India, was responsible for discussions on the boundary issue after this decision was taken.

The brief to this latter working group was based on the exchange of views between Rajiv Gandhi and the Chinese leader, Deng Xiaoping, in December 1988. The terms of reference in the brief said that the substance of the boundary question could be addressed satisfactorily only after an environment of mutual trust and cooperation was built up. The approach to resolve the problem should be gradual. Besides, the boundary question should not stand in the way of expanding the cooperative relationship between the two countries. In the first phase of the question relating to the boundary, India and China should agree to maintain stability, peace and the avoidance of confrontation on the line of actual control. The ultimate solution to the boundary question should be based on mutual adjustments, mutual understanding, mutual accommodation. The specifics in these regards could be discussed over a period of time.

During the period between 1988 and 2003, the successive governments of India and China acted on the above brief. A comprehensive agreement on maintenance of peace and tranquillity on the line of actual control was signed in September 1993. This agreement was followed up by another in November 1996, stipulating further confidence building measures to be implemented by both countries.

The decision by Vajpayee and his Chinese counterpart, Wen Jiabao, to designate their respective senior advisors to deal with the boundary question in separate negotiations (in June 2003) during Vajpayee's visit to Beijing signified some important undercurrents of Sino-Indian relations. The decision implied that the mutual resentments and suspicions which emerged between India and China after the nuclear weaponization of India in 1998, have been removed. Nearly one and a half decades of interaction to evolve a working relationship had reached a stage where both sides felt that there was an atmosphere of sufficient trust and political will to move towards this most important problem affecting bilateral relations between the two countries.

Indian and Chinese leaders came to the assessment that the boundary question should be separated from issues related to interim stabilization of

the line of actual control and that the boundary issue should be addressed with a higher sense of priority and with political will. Considerations of development and long-term security required that both countries insulate the boundary issue from possible misunderstandings or confrontation.

It is in this context that Brajesh Mishra, principal secretary to the prime minister, and Dai Bingguo, executive vice-minister of the Chinese foreign office, were designated to negotiate a solution to the boundary issue parallel

to the work being done by the joint working group and its expert sub-committees on stabilizing the line of actual control and fashioning confidence-building measures.

Mishra and Dai have had two meetings, one in Delhi on October 23 and 24, 2003, and the second one in Beijing on the January 12 and 13, 2004. Two rounds of discussions within a short span of seven months after the decision in June indicates operational seriousness in dealing with the boundary issue. Details of these two rounds of discussions were not made public. It is, however, reasonable to speculate that there is parallelism in perceptions regarding regional stability and security between the two countries which have impelled them to address this historically burdened problem.



with the work being done by the joint working group and its expert sub-committees on stabilizing the line of actual control and fashioning confidence-building measures.

Indian priorities regarding China are clear, mainly structuring a stable and cooperative relationship, stabilizing bilateral relations in the context of India's and China's nuclear weapons and missile capacities, expansion of economic and technological cooperation wherever such cooperation is mutually beneficial, constructive engagement with China on political and strategic matters to balance off or remedy possible mutual competition or containment by one of the other detrimental to each other's interests.

China's views on the boundary question would be influenced by its attitudes to south Asia. These are rooted in Chinese perception about likely developments in regional politics and power equations. China has undergone profound transformation over the last two and half decades. It has undertaken extensive economic modernization and reforms successfully. Eco-

“ Brajesh Mishra and Dai Bingguo were designated to negotiate a solution to the boundary issue ”

nomical liberalization with political discipline is the governing principle of China's domestic politics. The focus is on stability and growth, and a concern that external relations should have equilibrium, ensuring that they do not interfere with the domestic social and political agenda of the Chinese.

It is obvious that India has a similar approach and similar concerns. It is ironic that both India and China watch each other's respective relations with the United States of America with alertness. The Chinese concern is that Indo-US cooperation should not have orientations antagonistic to Chinese interests. India is similarly concerned, that Sino-US cooperation does not result in the US accepting an over-arching role for China in managing the stability and security of the Asian region.

Resolving the boundary question

would contribute to a practical relationship between India and China. That levels of mutual trust and reasonableness have increased is obvious. Factors which contribute to the process are a convergence of views between India and China on issues related to international terrorism, US-dominated unipolarity of international political equations, trends in the globalization of the world economy which discriminate against developing countries, and the interventionist trends in the foreign policies of the US and some Western democracies which have resulted in tension in the Asian region.

What are the prospects of resolving the boundary question and what are the policy orientations which could be adopted?

The issue is permeated by emotion and memories of negotiations between 1956 and 1961, and the 1962 Sino-Indian war. Both countries have vital security concerns regarding their states and provinces close to the boundary. There are Indian parliamentary resolutions affirming legitimacy of the boundary as it existed at least in theory during British rule in India. A way out has to be found from these resolutions (or 1962 and 1994-95), for flexibility in India's negotiating stance.

Whatever solution is fashioned, it has to be responsive to the perceived interests of the two countries. There are some in the strategic community and experts in both countries who feel that given the present ground reality based on the line of actual control, there should be no hurry in resolving the boundary question. Indian commentators have a sceptical view that China may not really be interested in resolving the question. This assessment stands questioned by the joint decision of the two governments to have separate prioritized negotiations on the boundary issue.

What could be possible options regarding the negotiating stance to be adopted by the two countries?

Both India and China should discard the historical arguments related to boundary negotiations of the past. The boundary should be demarcated on the basis of recognized principles of international law. The latest cartographic methods should be used to discern and identify the geographical features stipulated by international law for demarcating the boundary. A geographical survey of the region should be undertaken jointly.

Once this basic work is completed, principles of mutual understanding, mutual adjustment and accommodation could be applied in the negotiations to find a solution which should conform as closely as possible to the existing realities in terms of jurisdiction, territorial and demographic affiliations. A solution should be responsive to the security and geo-strategic interests of both countries.

It is easier said than done, but the effort by Brajesh Mishra and Dai Bingguo is worth it for the wellbeing of the peoples of India and China.

The author is former foreign secretary of India

India rethinks China policy

By C. Raja Mohan

The change in India's ties with China appears structural and it has now acquired an unprecedented momentum.

WHILE THE media attention in India remains riveted on the roller coaster relationship with Pakistan, the Government is quietly transforming ties with China. For all the expectations, the peace process with Pakistan remains fragile. It is vulnerable to a rapid mood swing in New Delhi, which could be triggered by a major terrorist incident. The progress in the Indo-Pakistan relationship seems to depend on the survival of one man — Pervez Musharraf — and his policies. In contrast, the change in the ties with China appears structural and has now acquired an unprecedented momentum. The cooperation between the two nations has been institutionalised and covers a wide range. There is that rare national consensus within both nations on the need to intensify bilateral relations.

Nothing illustrates the changed policy towards China under the Government led by the National Democratic Alliance than a recent speech by the Defence Minister, George Fernandes. Six years ago, immediately after the NDA led by the Bharatiya Janata Party took charge in New Delhi, Mr. Fernandes issued a series of public statements critical of China. It generated a media controversy at home and political consternation in Beijing and tended to confirm the image of Mr. Fernandes as a "China-basher." The nuclear tests of May 1998 and India's reference to the China factor in its decision to become a nuclear weapon power brought a harsh response from Beijing. A deep chill descended on bilateral relations. Since then, India and China have come a long way.

In a lecture last week in memory of Air Chief Marshal P.C. Lal, Mr. Fernandes summed up the transformation in Sino-Indian relations with reference to his own past statements: "To set the record straight — may I once again clarify that as the Indian Defence Minister — in response to a hypothetical exigency, I had qualified China as a 'potential threat number one'. However, since then, there has been a very positive tenor in the Sino-Indian relationship and this was amply reflected during the visit of our Prime Minister, Sri Atal Bihari Vajpayee, to China in June 2003. The future prospects, in short, are promising and both countries have reiterated this determination at the highest political level on both sides."

This was not an anodyne diplomatic statement. Mr. Fernandes was in

fact addressing a provocative question that formed the subtitle of his address: "Prospects for Sino-Indian Relations: adversarial, competitive or mutually supportive?" It was a poser that sums up India's own enduring anxieties about China. Mr. Fernandes, to his credit, sought to provide frank answers.

Since the period of 1959-1962, when Sino-Indian friendship turned into hostilities, New Delhi wore its own concerns about China on its sleeve. But rarely has the Indian leadership acknowledged the concerns of Beijing. Struck by the mirror image in Beijing, Mr. Fernandes quotes what the then Chinese Prime Minister, Zhou Enlai, told the U.S. National Security Adviser, Henry Kissinger, about the India-Pakistan war in 1971 and the liberation of Bangladesh.

While India feared China might open a second front against it in 1971, this is what Mr. Zhou believed: "The worst possibility is what I told Dr. Kissinger — the eventuality that you would all attack China — the Soviet Union comes from the north, Japanese and the U.S. from the east, and India into China's Tibet." Statesmanship is about recognising the anxieties of the other side and factoring them into any bilateral engagement.

Fortunately for India and China, the normalisation of relations after the nuclear tests did not merely restore *status quo ante*. The dramatic expansion of bilateral trade and economic cooperation in the first years of the millennium has created a different template for bilateral relations. From \$200 million in the early 1990s, bilateral trade shot up to \$5 billion in 2002 and touched \$ 7.5 billion last year. It is expected to touch \$10 billion this year.

"Doubling this figure in the next few years is not inconceivable and there are many areas where the two countries can complement each other", Mr. Fernandes says. For decades, India and China have dealt with their ties entirely through the political prism. The two neighbours at last have a blossoming economic relationship that offers a solid foundation for the future and an insurance against political uncertainties.

Mr. Fernandes is quick to point out

the prospects for competition, say, in the field of foreign direct investment. But he quotes Mr. Vajpayee to underline the difference between "healthy competition and divisive rivalry." This differentiation has already led, according to Mr. Fernandes, to a new "level of maturity" in bilateral relations, which allows the two nations to "address our differences with a greater sense of urgency without letting them come in the way of development of relations in other areas."

The differences are indeed being addressed. During Mr. Vajpayee's visit to China last June, Beijing had agreed to recognise Sikkim as part of India. The discussion on the boundary dispute has been elevated to the political level and the Special Representatives have held two rounds of negotiations to hammer out "guidelines and principles" for the settlement of the boundary dispute. Mr. Fernandes says these talks have been "friendly and constructive and there is much clearer understanding of each other's position."

Even more important, Mr. Fernandes points to the understanding between the two countries "that there is no fundamental conflict in the strategic and national priorities of India and China, and that neither mutual exclusion nor containment is a valid policy choice." India and China have historically been suspicious about the other's relationships with the major powers, in particular the United States and Russia. Their relationships with the third parties have often had a lasting and negative effect on their bilateral ties. Now, Mr. Fernandes says, "China and India are consolidating their respective bilateral relations with the United States, the European Union, Russia and Japan and none of these relationships are to be construed as being zero sum."

In other words, India will neither join the U.S. to contain China nor align with Beijing in a bloc against Washington. Both are interested in a multidimensional engagement with all the major powers. But cynics would argue that as rising powers in the same neighbourhood, India and China are bound to clash if not tomorrow the day after. Both are involved in modernising their militaries

and increasing their reach. Will they, then, run against each other in their shared neighbourhood of Asia?

Underlining the objective reality of the growing strategic capabilities of the two sides, Mr. Fernandes confronts the question: "We must ensure that whatever be the nature of the military profile that China and India acquire in the near future, this must be managed in such a way that there is no mistrust or needless anxiety. Individually and together, such capability must be seen as contributing to regional and global stability." It is not often that India has said that Chinese military strength could be a stabilising force in the region.

The Indian military and the Red Army have been at the forefront of those in both countries who remain distrustful of the other. Mr. Fernandes points to the change taking place, including the recent joint naval exercises. "It is encouraging that despite the adversarial inheritance that India and China have had in the past, today both militaries are moving towards a stable working relationship," he says.

As India and China deal with constructing a stable relationship, Mr. Fernandes highlights two residual problems. One is the "deficit of trust" on China's partnership with Pakistan. "We have had some abiding concerns about China's relationship with Pakistan. This is an area where the deficit of trust must be redressed for it would have a positive bearing both on the bilateral relationship and the overall regional ambience."

Mr. Fernandes finally zeroes in on the larger problem that has prevented cooperation between the two countries — "the deficit in understanding and knowledge" about the other society. Despite being two large neighbours with historic ties, neither side knows enough about the internal political and social dynamics across the border. Mr. Fernandes hopes that the plans for cooperation on tourism and increased people-to-people contact will help plug this huge deficit.

Although it started off on a wrong note in 1998, the Government is now handing over to its successor a new relationship with Beijing and a sensible framework for long-term cooperation. That must go down as one of the most important achievements of the NDA Government, for the incipient Sino-Indian *entente* has the potential to radically alter India's security environment and restructure the geopolitics of Asia.

India-China trade crosses \$7 billion

Statesman News Service

NEW DELHI, Feb 20.— Bilateral trade between Asian giants, China and India, crossed the \$7-billion mark in the first nine months of the current financial year, making the projected target of \$10 billion set by leaders of both countries, appear within easy reach, officials indicated.

Despite witnessing an increase of 59 per cent in 2002-03, and bilateral trade topping \$7 billion, the India-China Joint Study Group will hold its first meeting in March to chalk out a roadmap for further and swifter growth in trade and investment. "Trade in 2002-03 increased by 59 per cent and during the current financial year, reportedly, bilateral trade has already crossed the \$7-billion mark," the special secretary in the ministry of commerce, Mr S N Menon, said.

He was speaking at the first Indo-China Industry and Commerce Leaders' meeting, organised by the Federation of Indian Chambers of Commerce and Industry today.

According to Mr Menon, given the "distinct business complementarities" the two nations shared, the target of \$10 billion in bilateral trade by 2005, set by the Prime Minister, Mr Atal Behari Vajpayee, and the Chinese Premier, Mr Wen Jiabao, appeared a rather modest goal.

"Our Prime Ministers have signed many agreements during June 2003 at Beijing, each designed on relevant aspects of cooperation and for taking things forward. This Joint Study Group has since been constituted and its first meeting is likely to be held sometime in March 2004," Mr Menon, said.

THE STATESMAN 21 FEB 2004

China claims progress in border talks

Press Trust of India

BEIJING, Jan. 16. — Progress has been made at the latest round of India-China boundary talks and the level of mutual trust between the two Asian giants has increased to give a solid foundation for bilateral ties, a senior Chinese official said today.

"China-India relations are developing very well. Especially, we have improved our mutual trust, which is important for bilateral relations," Chinese vice-foreign minister Mr Wang Yi said.

"Without mutual trust we cannot take our bilateral relations forward. This is the most important development," said Mr Wang, who was the chief guest at the Republic Day reception hosted by the Indian ambassador to China, Mr Nalin Surie, here.

The Indian embassy hosted the reception 10 days in advance of the Republic Day as Chinese people will be on a week-long holiday to celebrate the lunar new year which falls on 22 January.

Secondly, Mr Wang noted that the bilateral economic cooperation between China and India is developing rapidly.

According to official estimates, India-China trade in 2003 was expected to hit an all-time high of nearly

\$7 billion. ^{\$1.2}
On the border issue he said, "We have made progress. Gradually, we are building a very strong foundation for the future of our bilateral ties." Mr Wang, who himself has led several rounds of India-China boundary negotiations in the past, however, didn't go into the details of the talks, which were held in-camera as per an understanding reached between New Delhi and Beijing.

National security adviser Mr Brajesh Mishra and executive vice-foreign minister Mr Dai Bingguo held the second round of boundary talks here on 12-13 January which have been described officially as "positive and constructive."

Mr Wang is the senior-most Chinese official to comment on the latest round of talks between Mr Mishra and Mr Dai, the two special representatives of the two governments tasked with resolving the vexed boundary issue.

Yesterday, Chinese foreign ministry spokesman Mr Kong Quan, commenting on the Mishra-Dai meeting, noted that the border issues between the two countries have existed for a long time and China hopes they can be resolved in the spirit of "mutual adjustment, understanding and concession."

India, China explore border issue

Secrecy shrouds second round of top-level consultations

Press Trust of India
Beijing, January 12

INDIA AND China on Monday held high-level talks aimed at finding an early solution to their protracted boundary dispute which could lead to a qualitatively new relationship between the two Asian giants.

The second round of two-day high-level negotiations between National Security Adviser Brajesh Mishra and Chinese Executive Vice Foreign Minister Dai Bingguo which began on Monday were held at the tightly-guarded Diaoyutai State guesthouse, official sources said without divulging the details of the talks.

According to an understanding reached between Beijing and New Delhi, the details of the deliberations between Mishra and Dai, both special representatives of the two governments, would be kept secret.

Indian Ambassador to China, Nalin Surie also participated in the negotiations, which remained inconclusive.

Ahead of the meeting, the Chinese Foreign Ministry had expressed hope that the two sides could "positively explore" the framework of resolving the boundary issue at the second round of talks.

Both Mishra and Dai were nominated as "special representatives" by Prime Minister Atal



National Security Adviser Brajesh Mishra leaves for the second round of India-China boundary talks in Beijing on Monday.

Bihari Vajpayee and his Chinese counterpart, Wen Jiabao, respectively, during Prime Minister Vajpayee's historic visit to China in June last year.

The decision to appoint special representatives to examine the political dimensions of the

border dispute was one of the major achievements of Vajpayee's visit to China.

Mishra is accompanied by senior officials from the Ministry of External Affairs as well as officials from the Prime Minister's office.

On Tuesday Mishra is expected to call on Chinese leaders and further discuss the outcome of his negotiations with Dai. Mishra is also expected to brief the Chinese leaders on the latest situation on the India-Pakistan front after Prime Minister Vajpayee's successful meetings with Pakistani leaders on the sidelines of the Saarc summit in Islamabad.

China has already welcomed the peace initiatives taken recently by both New Delhi and Islamabad.

Meanwhile, analysts say that an early resolution to the Sino-Indian boundary dispute will help both New Delhi and Beijing to fully normalise their relations since the vexed border issue has hindered bilateral ties from booming to its fullest potential.

The first round of talks between Mishra and Dai was held in New Delhi on October 23-24 which has been described by both sides as "constructive".

India says China is illegally occupying 43,180 sq kms of Jammu and Kashmir including 5,180 sq km illegally ceded to Beijing by Pakistan under the Sino-Pakistan boundary agreement in 1963.

On the other hand, China accuses India of possessing some 90,000 sq km of Chinese territory, including the whole of Arunachal Pradesh.

UK bank union to enrol Indian staff with a vengeance

Vijay Dutt
London, January 12

IF YOU cannot beat them, join them. The banking union Unifi is set to follow this with a vengeance. Most bank employees' unions had, so far, been expressing their anger at outsourcing to India by major banks like HSBC, Lloyds TSB and Barclays.

They all said moves to shift call centres to India was motivated by greed. But no amount of protests helped. Even the ministers said that outsourcing to countries like India would be good for the British economy as it would give competitive edge to the companies here.

So now Unifi that represents 158,000 workers in the UK, has decided to change its policy.

Unifi has, for this purpose, joined forces with Union Network International (UNI), a global trades union congress, to offer representation to over 50,000 employees in India. UNI has followed it up by holding meetings in Bangalore and Hyderabad. It is publicising the services provided unions and officials.

The staff at Indian call centres receive on an average only 10 per cent of the salary paid to the staff at call centres in Britain. But unions here believe that even that low salary is high in India in comparison to what others earn in the country.

The agent who helps in the membership drive would earn about £1375 (Rs 110,000) a year.

সীমান্ত-সমস্যা নিয়ে ভারত-চিন

বসছে আজ

বেজিং, ১১ জানুয়ারি— পাকিস্তানের পর এ বার চিন। সার্ক সম্মেলনে পাকিস্তানের সঙ্গে সম্পর্কের নতুন সমীকরণ তৈরি হওয়ার পর চিনের সঙ্গে সম্পর্ক শোধরানোর পথে হাঁটিতে চাইছে ভারত। দীর্ঘ সময় ধরে চলা আসা সীমান্ত বিবাদ মেটাতে আগামীকাল বেজিং-এ দ্বিতীয় দফার উচ্চ পর্যায়ের বৈঠকে বসছেন দু'দেশের বিশেষ প্রতিনিধি দল। সীমান্ত-সমস্যার অবসানে এই বৈঠকেই দুই দেশ গ্রহণযোগ্য সমাধান সূত্রের খসড়া তৈরি করতে পারবে, বলে দু'পক্ষই আশাবাদী। ভারতের তরফে প্রতিনিধি দলের নেতৃত্ব দিচ্ছেন জাতীয় নিরাপত্তা উপদেষ্টা ব্রজেশ মিশ্র। আগামীকাল তিনি বৈঠক করবেন চিনের 'এক্সিকিউটিভ ডাইস ফরেন মিনিস্টার' দাই বিন গুয়োর সঙ্গে। বেজিং-এ মিশ্র চিনের প্রথম সারির কিছু নেতার সঙ্গে আলোচনায় বসবেন বলে জানা গিয়েছে।

ভারত-চিন সীমান্ত ইস্যুতে দু'দেশের প্রতিনিধিদের প্রথম দফা বৈঠক হয় গত বছর ২৩ ও ২৪ অক্টোবর। ওই বৈঠককে গঠনমূলক আখ্যা দিয়েছিল দু'পক্ষই। প্রসঙ্গত, গত বছর জুনে অটলবিহারী বাজপেয়ী চিন সফরে যাওয়ার পরেই সীমান্ত সমস্যা সমাধানে বিশেষ প্রতিনিধি দল গঠনের ব্যাপারে এক মত হয় ভারত-চিন দু'দেশ। — পি টি আই

ANADABAZAR PATRIKA

12 JAN 2004