

# No rivalry with China: India

"The East Asia Summit is the  
beginning of a process"

Amit Baruah

**NEW DELHI:** "We don't see any rivalry between India and China," a senior External Affairs Ministry official said on Friday when asked if New Delhi viewed Beijing as a rival in the context of the first-ever December 14 East Asia Summit in Kuala Lumpur.

"We are not looking at that kind of scenario [of any confrontation with China]," Rajiv Sikri, Secretary (East) in the Ministry, told presspersons ahead of Prime Minister Manmohan Singh's departure for Kuala Lumpur on Sunday morning.

Apart from the 10 member countries of the Association of South-East Asian Nations (ASEAN), India, China, South Korea, Japan, New Zealand and Australia have been invited for the inaugural East Asia Summit. Russian President Vladimir Putin is expected to attend the meeting as a "guest."

Mr. Sikri admitted that the East Asia Summit was the beginning of a process. "We are not clear what the outcome will be," he said, adding that the summit was not going to supplant any existing cooperation mechanism. The leaders were expected to discuss future cooperative arrangements in Asia.

"What shape it [the summit] will take, it's difficult to say."

## The summit is not going to supplant any existing cooperation mechanism

The Secretary was, however, clear that the 10-member ASEAN grouping would be in the "driver's seat" as far as the summit was concerned.

Pointing out that India did not look at the East Asia Summit in geographical terms, Mr. Sikri said it was likely that leaders of the 16 nations would agree to meet again. Asked what was India's view about the fact that the United States was not invited for the summit, the Secretary felt that the process was open and inclusive. Future membership would be determined by countries meeting the criteria laid down by ASEAN.

On the free trade area (FTA) accord between India and ASEAN as part of the framework agreement for comprehensive economic cooperation signed in October 2003, Mr. Sikri stated that the two sides had now reached a consensus on rules of origin.

However, issues such as sensitive and negative lists remained to be sorted out. It would require a few more months for the two sides to conclude the deal.

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The Hindu

# Boundary issues with China will be tackled, Manmohan Singh tells Elders

419-12  
2/12

## "Special Representatives are going through various stages of negotiations"

Sub. China

Special Correspondent

**NEW DELHI:** Prime Minister Manmohan Singh on Thursday assured the Rajya Sabha that all border disputes between India and China would be "tackled" when the Special Representatives of the countries worked out the "actual framework" on delineation and demarcation of boundary.

Intervening during question hour to answer a query raised by Shahid Siddiqui (Samajwadi Party)

• Assurance to Rajya Sabha

• No timeframe set for final settlement: Ahamed

on whether India had taken up with China the issue of the (Indian) boundary ceded to it by Pakistan in Kashmir, Dr. Singh said it would be difficult to give a categorical answer.

The two Special Representatives were going through various stages

of negotiations. The first stage was for delineation of border on the broad principles agreed to between the Chinese Prime Minister, Wen Jiabao, and himself in a pact signed by them during the former's visit to India earlier this year. "When the Special Representatives work out

the actual framework of delineation and demarcation, all areas of dispute will be tackled," he said.

Earlier, Minister of State for External Affairs E. Ahamed said no timeframe had been set for the final settlement of the boundary question, although both sides had expressed the conviction that an early settlement would advance the basic interests of the two countries and should, therefore, be pursued as a strategic objective.

The sixth round of talks between

the Special Representatives was held in Beijing from September 26 to 28, which marked the second phase of negotiations. During this phase, the two sides were mandated to work out an agreed framework for a boundary settlement on the basis of the pact. Such an agreed framework would provide the basis for the delineation and demarcation of the India-China boundary to be subsequently undertaken by civil and military officials and surveyors of the two sides.

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THE HINDU

# India, China to resolve boundary dispute: PM

Statesman News Service

NEW DELHI, Dec. 1. — The special representatives appointed by India and China to resolve border disputes are looking at all aspects of the issue, the Prime Minister, Dr Manmohan Singh, informed the Rajya Sabha today.

“The two representatives appointed by the Prime Ministers of India and China are going through various stages,” the Prime Minister said, intervening during Question Hour. In the first stage, a broad principle guidelines on the delineation process had been signed during the Chinese premier’s visit to India.

The second stage was to work out a framework agreement for actual delineation and marking of borders. “When

that stage of the talks is reached, all the issues would be dealt with,” the Prime Minister said in response to SP member, Mr Shahid Siddiqui’s query whether the issue of areas of Kashmir ceded by Pakistan to China would also be discussed by the two nations “It will be difficult for me to give a categorical answer,” Dr Singh said.

Earlier, the minister of state for external affairs, Mr E Ahamed, said the special representatives had met six times. “They would be meeting for the seventh time in New Delhi,” he said without elaborating.

In another intervention on the question of regional disparities, the Prime Minister said Orissa and Bihar would be the biggest beneficiaries of the National Rural Employment Guarantee Scheme to be operational in 150 districts.

DEC 1 1999

# Chinese team to visit Nathu La tomorrow

11-member delegation arriving in the Sikkim capital

Special Correspondent

**KOLKATA:** A high-power Chinese delegation from the Tibet Autonomous Region will visit the Nathu La Pass on Wednesday. It will see the progress made in the setting up of infrastructure for resumption of bi-lateral trade on this side of the border. This is for the first time since talks on the re-opening of trade route through the Pass were initiated between the two Governments a high-power committee is visiting.

The 11-member team will also

be visiting the Sherathang trade mart, about 7 km from Nathu La, which will serve as the centre for the exchange of items between the traders once the route is opened, a senior official of the Sikkim Government told *The Hindu* on Monday. It will also be inspecting the "corridor" separating the mart with the Pass which Chinese traders will be traversing once trade resumes.

The delegation of top officials of the People's Government of the Tibet Autonomous Region includes its Deputy Secretary-General, the Deputy Director of

the Foreign Affairs Office, Director, Office of Border Trade Affairs Management, Deputy Director-General of the Department of Communication and Deputy Director General, Lhasa Customs. Counsellor, Embassy of the People's Republic of China in India, will be accompanying the delegation that arrives in Gangtok on Tuesday and leaves Sikkim on October 27. The members met officials of the Commerce Ministry in New Delhi during the day. An invitation has been extended to Central and Sikkim officials to visit the trade mart in Tibet.

সিয়াচেন-বিতর্ক নিয়ে একমত দু'পক্ষই

# আগে কাশ্মীর মেটাতে ফের চাপ পাকিস্তানের

ইসলামাবাদ, ৪ অক্টোবর: আগে কাশ্মীর সমস্যার সমাধান, তার পরে অন্য সব কিছু। ভারতের অবস্থান কার্যত নাকচ করে আজ বিদেশমন্ত্রী নটবর সিংহকে এই কথা শুনিয়াই দিলেন পাক প্রেসিডেন্ট পারভেজ মুশারফ ও প্রধানমন্ত্রী শওকত আজিজ।

মুশারফ আজ রাওয়ালপিন্ডিতে নটবরকে স্পষ্ট বলেছেন, কাশ্মীর সমস্যা সমাধানে অগ্রগতি হওয়া দরকার। সেটাই মূল বিষয়। দিল্লি বারবারই বলে আসছে, কাশ্মীরে পাকিস্তানের মদতে সীমান্ত-পার সন্ত্রাস বন্ধ না হলে সমস্যা মেটার পথে এগোনো সম্ভব নয়। পাকিস্তানের মাটিকে ভারত-বিরোধী সন্ত্রাসের কাজে ব্যবহার হতে দেওয়া হবে না বলে মুশারফ যে আশ্বাস দিয়েছিলেন সে কথাও এ দিন তাঁকে মনে করিয়ে দেন নটবর। কিন্তু সেই বক্তব্যকে বিন্দুমাত্র আমল না দিয়ে পাক প্রেসিডেন্ট জানিয়ে দিয়েছেন, সন্ত্রাস বন্ধের জন্য তিনি যথেষ্ট করেছেন। কাশ্মীরে এখন যা ঘটছে তার পিছনে মোটেই পাকিস্তানের মাটি থেকে কোনও মদত যাচ্ছে না। ওটা 'স্থানীয় সমস্যা'র বহিঃপ্রকাশ। নটবরের অবশ্য দাবি, শান্তিপূর্ণক্রিয়ায় সন্ত্রাসকে ছায়া ফেলতে দেওয়া উচিত নয়, ভারতের এই বক্তব্য মেনে নিয়েছেন পাক প্রেসিডেন্ট।

মুশারফের মতোই কাশ্মীর নিয়ে আজ চড়া সুরে নটবরের সঙ্গে কথা বলেছেন শওকত আজিজ। সাফ জানিয়ে দিয়েছেন, কাশ্মীর সমস্যার সমাধান না হলে ভারত-পাক বাণিজ্য বৃদ্ধি অসম্ভব। এ কথা শুধু নটবরকে একান্তে বলেই ক্ষান্ত হননি শওকত। বৈঠকের পরে রীতিমতো সরকারি বিবৃতি দিয়ে জানিয়ে দিয়েছেন, "পাকিস্তান মুক্ত বাণিজ্যের পক্ষপাতী ঠিকই, কিন্তু কাশ্মীর সমস্যার সমাধান না হলে ভারতের সঙ্গে মুক্ত বাণিজ্য করা সম্ভব নয়। সুতরাং দু'দেশের বাণিজ্য ও আর্থিক সমৃদ্ধির পথে কাটা এই সমস্যার আশু সমাধান করা দরকার।" এবং সেই লক্ষ্যে ভারত, পাকিস্তান ও কাশ্মীরের মানুষকে নমনীয়তা, উদারতা ও সাহস দেখাতে হবে, বলেছেন শওকত। বস্তুত সব পক্ষের কথা বলা হলেও এই মন্তব্যের মূল লক্ষ্য যে দিল্লি, সে বিষয়ে কূটনীতিক মহলের সন্দেহ নেই।

কাশ্মীর নিয়ে বেশ কিছু দিন ধরেই সুর চড়া করছিল পাকিস্তান। সম্প্রতি নিউ ইয়র্কে রাষ্ট্রপুঞ্জের সাধারণ সভার অধিবেশনে তাঁর বক্তৃতায় কাশ্মীর ও প্যালেস্তাইন সমস্যাকে এক বন্ধনীতে দাঁড় করিয়েছিলেন মুশারফ। সেই মন্তব্যের জেরেই অধিবেশনের ফাঁকে মনমোহন সিংহের সঙ্গে তাঁর বৈঠক প্রায় ভেসে যায়। চার ঘণ্টা আলোচনার পরেও নতুন কোনও দিশা দেখা যায়নি। মুশারফের মন্তব্য নিয়ে দিল্লির কড়া আপত্তির মুখে একটা সময় মনে হচ্ছিল, সুর নরম করতে চলেছে ইসলামাবাদ। 'ব্যাক চ্যানেল' কূটনীতি ফের শুরু করার ব্যাপারে ফের আগ্রহ দেখিয়েছিল তারা। কিন্তু রবিবার নটবরের ইসলামাবাদে পৌঁছনোর দিনই কুয়ালা লামপুরে পশ্চিমী দুনিয়াকে কাশ্মীর সমস্যা সমাধানে এগিয়ে আসতে অনুরোধ করেন শওকত। সেই আহ্বানের মধ্যেই ছিল অশনি সংকেত। যা আজ সত্যি প্রমাণিত হল।

মুশারফ ও শওকত আজ আলাদা আলাদা ভাবে নটবরকে যা বলেছেন তাতে এটা স্পষ্ট যে, দ্বিপাক্ষিক সম্পর্ক নিয়ে দিল্লির অবস্থান মানতে পাকিস্তান নারাজ। দিল্লি বারবারই বলে আসছে, কাশ্মীর সমস্যা মেটানো নিয়ে তাদের কোনও তাড়াহুড়ো নেই। আটাল বহরের সমস্যা চটজলদি মেটানোও সম্ভব নয়। বরং দ্বিপাক্ষিক সম্পর্ক ভাল করার দিকেই আগে নজর দেওয়া উচিত। সেই যুক্তি মেনেই শুরু হয়েছে দু'দেশের সার্বিক আলোচনা, আস্থা বাড়ানোর প্রক্রিয়া, নিয়ন্ত্রণ রেখার দু'পারে বাস চলাচল। কিন্তু পাকিস্তানের আজকের অবস্থান সেই উদ্যোগকেই কার্যত চ্যালেঞ্জ জানাল।

যদিও প্রকাশ্যে দু'দেশই জানাচ্ছে, নটবরের এই সফরে দ্বিপাক্ষিক সম্পর্কের অগ্রগতি হয়েছে। যেমন সিয়াচেন। দীর্ঘদিনের বিতর্কিত এই এলাকা নিয়ে পাকিস্তানের আশ্বাস পেতে সক্ষম হয়েছে ভারত। সিয়াচেন থেকে সেনা সরানো নিয়ে আগেই খানিকটা একমত পৌঁছেছিল দু'দেশ। সেনা সরানোর আপত্তি না-থাকলেও ভারতের বক্তব্য ছিল, সেনাবাহিনীর বর্তমান উপস্থিতির একটা প্রমাণ ভবিষ্যতের জন্য রেখে দেওয়া প্রয়োজন। তাতে রাজি ছিল না পাকিস্তান। এ বারে দু'দেশের বিদেশমন্ত্রীদের দু'দিনের বৈঠক শেষে যৌথ বিবৃতিতে বলা হয়েছে, জানুয়ারিতে পরবর্তী সার্বিক



আলোচনার আগেই সিয়াচেন-প্রশ্নে 'গ্রহণযোগ্য' সমাধানে পৌঁছনোর চেষ্টা হবে। পাক বিদেশমন্ত্রী খুরশিদ কাসুরি বলেছেন, "একটা নির্দিষ্ট সীমা পর্যন্ত বোঝাপড়া হয়েছে।"

স্যর ক্রিক জলাভূমি নিয়ে যৌথ সমীক্ষাতেও একমত হয়েছে দু'দেশ। চলতি বছরেই সমীক্ষার কাজ শেষ করার ইঙ্গিত রয়েছে। প্রয়োজনে জল-সীমান্তের পুনর্বিন্যাসের কথাও ভাবা হবে। বৈঠকে ঠিক হয়েছে, নিয়ন্ত্রণরেখার দু'পারে বিচ্ছিন্ন পরিবারগুলির মধ্যে যোগাযোগ বাড়ানো হবে। যৌথ বিবৃতিতে ঘোষণা করা হয়েছে, নানকানা সাহিব ও অমৃতসরের মধ্যে বাস চালুর বিষয়ে দু'দেশের কর্তারা ২৫-২৬ অক্টোবর বৈঠকে বসবেন। রাওয়ালকোট-পুষ্কোর মধ্যে বাস চালুর বিষয়েও বছর শেষ হওয়ার আগে নির্দিষ্ট সিদ্ধান্তে পৌঁছতে চায় দু'দেশ।

ইরানের সঙ্গে পাইপলাইন তৈরির কাজকে এগিয়ে নিয়ে যাওয়ার বিষয়েও মতৈক্য হয়েছে। পাইপলাইন নির্মাণে দায়বদ্ধতার কথা স্বীকার করে বলা হয়েছে, দু'দেশের উন্নয়নেই এই প্রকল্প ইতিবাচক ভূমিকা নেবে। — পি টি আই

# Sixth round of India-China boundary talks completed

✓  
✓  
10-12  
29/9

P.S. Suryanarayana

**SINGAPORE:** The Special Representatives of India and China completed the sixth round of talks on the boundary question in Beijing on Wednesday. "This marked the beginning of the second phase of negotiations under the mechanism of Special Representatives," the Indian Embassy in the Chinese capital said in a press release.

The two sides agreed to hold the next round of talks in New Delhi at a mutually convenient time, which "will be decided later through the diplomatic channel."

In the second phase, "the Special Representatives are man-

• **Beijing discussions friendly, constructive**

• **Neither side comments on specifics**

dated to work out an agreed framework for a boundary settlement on the basis of the [existing] 'Agreement on Political Parameters and Guiding Principles for Settlement of India-China Boundary Question.'" The agreement was signed during the visit to India by Chinese Prime Minister Wen Jiabao on April 11, 2005.

The three-day, sixth round was held between National Secu-

rity Adviser M. K. Narayanan and China's Vice-Foreign Minister Dai Bingguo.

Echoing the Chinese Foreign Ministry's description, the Indian Embassy said: "The two Special Representatives held their talks in a friendly, cooperative and constructive atmosphere."

## Meeting with Foreign Minister

Mr. Narayanan also held talks with Chinese Foreign Minister Li Zhaoxing and Chairman of the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference Jia Qinglin, who is a Member of the Standing Committee of the Politburo of the ruling Communist Party of China, in Beijing on Tuesday.

# Sino-Indian talks raise fresh hopes

*2009* *KT* *the* *China*  
*Search for package solution to disputes*

**PRESS Trust of India**  
Beijing, September 27

THE SIXTH round of India-China boundary talks entered the second day on Tuesday with a senior Chinese leader urging for an early solution to the vexed border dispute between the two Asian giants.

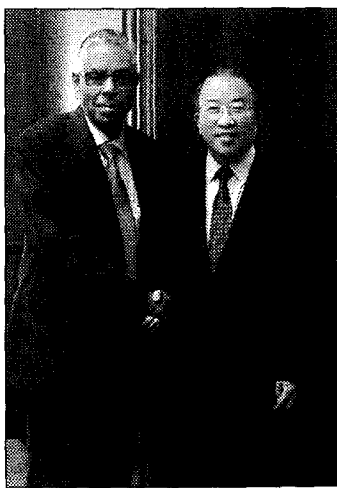
Welcoming national security advisor M.K. Narayanan to China, the Communist Party Politburo Standing Committee member and chairman of the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference (CPPCC), Jia Qinglin hoped that the ongoing sixth round of border negotiations would lead to an early settlement of the boundary issue.

Narayanan, who is also the Indian Special Representative to the India-China boundary talks, began a second round of talks with his Chinese counterpart, Dai Bingguo here at the picturesque Diaoyutai State Guest House, venue for major international meetings, including the North Korean nuclear issue.

He is also scheduled to call on Chinese foreign minister Li Zhaoxing later on Tuesday.

The Special Representatives of India and China are tasked with finding a "package" solution to the Sino-Indian boundary dispute from the political perspective. Narayanan and Dai have

## BORDER BONHOMIE



India's national security adviser M.K. Narayanan with Chinese vice-foreign minister Dai Bingguo in Beijing.

met several times informally and formally in Shanghai and Beijing since Saturday in an attempt to find an early solution to the protracted boundary issue. Indian Ambassador to China Nalin Surie, joint secretary East Asia, ministry of external affairs, Ashok Kantha and other

senior officials are also attending the in-camera talks.

The Special Representative mechanism to address the border issue was created during the June 2003 visit of the then Prime Minister Atal Bihari Vajpayee to China. The two sides agreed to each appoint a Special Representative to explore, from the political perspective of the overall bilateral relationship, the framework of a boundary settlement.

India and China had agreed on the Political Guiding Principles on settling the border issue during Chinese premier Wen Jiabao's visit to India in April this year. The principles stresses that the differences on the boundary question should not be allowed to affect the overall development of bilateral relations.

### Lesson for UK: Brown

Britain has to invest more in education to face the tremendous challenge it faces from millions of highly educated people from India and China, the global economic powerhouses, treasury chief Gordon Brown, Prime Minister Tony Blair's heir-apparent, said on Tuesday. "China and India are producing four million graduates a year. We must agree that a Labour Britain will have 15 years of education from the age of three to 18," he said.

## Sikkim is no longer an issue: China

**PRESS Trust of India**  
Beijing, September 27

CHINA ON Tuesday said Sikkim was "not any more a question" with improvement in relations with India as the two sides ended their talks aimed at resolving the vexed border issue.

"With the improvement of relations between the two sides, this isn't any more a question within our relations," Chinese foreign ministry spokesman Qin Gang told reporters when asked whether China views Sikkim as an Indian territory.

Qin declined to make any further clarifications on the Chinese stand on the Sikkim issue.

His comments came as national security adviser M.K. Narayanan and Chinese vice-foreign minister Dai Bingguo concluded their sixth round of Special Representatives-level border talks here. India and China had in the past signed an MoU to start border trade through Nathula Pass in Sikkim and Tibet. New Delhi had interpreted Nathula's acceptance as the Indian trade point to be Beijing's first step towards fully recognising Sikkim as an integral part of India.

A joint statement issued at the end of Chinese premier Wen Jiabao's visit to India in April had merely stated that "both sides reviewed with satisfaction the implementation of the memorandum on the border trade through the Nathula Pass between the Tibet Autonomous Region of the People's Republic of China and the Sikkim State of India."

28 SEP 2009

THE HINDUSTAN TIMES

## Dai, Narayanan hold talks



**SHARING OPTIMISM:** National Security Adviser M.K. Narayanan and Chinese Vice Foreign Minister Dai Bingguo in Beijing on Monday. - PHOTO: PTI

P. S. Suryanarayana

**SINGAPORE:** India's Special Representative M.K. Narayanan and his Chinese counterpart, Dai Bingguo, on Monday began the sixth round of talks in Beijing on the sensitive boundary question. The latest round, being held in camera like the earlier ones, is expected to continue on Tuesday as well.

Taking place under new "political parameters" and "guiding principles" that the two countries agreed to in April, the cur-

rent round is seen as particularly important.

Neither side made a formal comment on the talks. Speaking earlier, the Chinese Foreign Ministry spokesman expressed the belief that the two countries would be able to evolve a solution in the spirit of the "guiding principles." China has emphasised the importance of finding a "fair and reasonable" settlement through a process of "equal consultation and mutual understanding and accommodation."

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# India, China joint exercises in N-E

SHIVAROOR  
NEW DELHI, SEPTEMBER 23

IF THE current level of strategic dialogue between the armies of India and China is anything to go by, the middle of next year could see the two carry out joint exercises in the sensitive high-altitude border sectors of the North-East.

The understanding is a result of 10-day visit by DG Military Operations (DGMO) Lt Gen Madan Gopal and two senior officers to Beijing for specific discussions on "upgrading confidence building measures to the level of operational co-operation". The team returned on September 12.

The DGMO was accompanied by Assam-based GOC 21 of the Mountain Division, Maj Gen Karan Yadava and Director MO 1 at the Army HQ, Col Sanjay Jha, a functioning member of the Joint Working Group (JWG) with Beijing.

Following the intelligence-

sharing memorandum signed when Home Minister Shivraj Patil visited China earlier this month, the Army now wants to move towards a similar understanding on military intelligence cooperation, a proposal hinted by People's Liberation Army (PLA) chief General Liang Guanglie on his visit to New Delhi a few months ago.

Meanwhile, National Security Advisor M.K. Narayanan is expected to visit Beijing later this month to continue discussions on the Line of Actual Control (LAC) and to take ahead the dialogue between the special advisors of the two countries, appointed following the New Delhi visit of Chinese premier in April this year.

Defence Minister Pranab Mukherjee, who was given a detailed briefing by the officers at the division here, said all possible efforts were on to make sure that the intentions of the April joint statement held good in the long term.

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27 SEP 2001

NEW DELHI

for a while

# India, China seek consensus on Iran

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**S. Rajagopalan**  
Washington, September 21

INDIA, CHINA and Russia have jointly mooted a consensus approach to deal with the Iran nuclear issue even as the US and key European Union players are coordinating moves for an early reference of the matter to the UN Security Council.

At a trilateral meeting in New York on Tuesday, external affairs minister Natwar Singh and his counterparts from China and Russia (Li Zhaoxing and Sergei Lavrov) agreed that their delegations would work together on this issue at the International Atomic Energy Agency in Vienna.

India has stuck to its stand on a diplomatic resolution of the tangle. After Prime Minister Manmohan Singh apprised President George W. Bush of the Indian position last week, the External Affairs Minister conveyed the same message to Secretary of State Condoleezza Rice on Tuesday.

Ten days ago, Rice had publicly urged India, China and Russia to support the US-EU 3 (France, Britain and Germany) plans to refer Tehran's suspected nuclear weapons pursuit to the UNSC for possible sanctions. Apart from the Iran issue, the three foreign ministers also exchanged

views on several other issues. The meeting, held at the Chinese Permanent Mission in New York, endorsed the Indian proposal for convening a trilateral business conference.

The business meet, likely to be held along with the next meeting of the three Foreign Ministers in New Delhi sometime in 2006, will consider ways

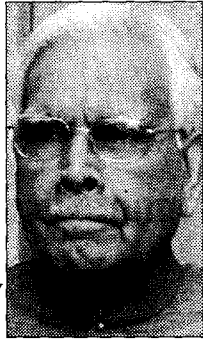
to strengthen and expand cooperation in a number of areas. Singh identified energy cooperation as a thrust area.

The meeting welcomed the Indian initiative to convene a Round Table Conference of North and Central Asian Oil Supplies and Principal Buyers in New Delhi in November.

The Chinese foreign minister also welcomed India's participation in the Shanghai Cooperation Organisation.

He felt this could serve as another important forum for the three countries to strengthen their cooperation.

It was agreed that the issues of terrorism and drug trafficking, which have been on the agenda of trilateral meetings, should also be pursued under the Shanghai forum. The meeting also reviewed the progress on UN reforms, including expansion of the Security Council, and implementation of the Outcome Document.



**Natwar Singh**

# India, China to seek solution to border row

Special envoys to meet later this year

**NEW YORK:** India and China have agreed to seek a "reasonable solution" to the boundary question with "greater urgency" and are looking forward to the meeting of special representatives later this year.

The agreement was reached at a meeting here on Wednesday between Prime Minister Manmohan Singh and Chinese President Hu Jintao on the sidelines of the UN General Assembly.

The leaders felt that guiding principles and political parameters would form the basis of a solution to the long-standing dispute.

Briefing reporters, External Affairs Ministry spokesman Navtej Sarna said the leaders felt that the two countries had an opportunity to look for a pragmatic solution based on the political parameters agreed between them.

The Prime Minister referred to the agreement reached on political parameters and guiding principles to resolve the boundary question and said they were looking forward to the meeting of special representatives later this year in China.

"We have an opportunity to look for a pragmatic solution based on these principles," he said.

Mr. Hu agreed that the two countries should work for a solution based on these principles, the spokesman said.

The Prime Minister thanked China for its support for India's participation in the ITER nuclear project in Europe.

Mr. Hu briefed Mr. Singh on six-party talks on the nuclear programme in North Korea. There was also an exchange of views on Iran, the spokesman said, adding there was a simi-

larity of views between the two countries on Teheran.

They had extensive discussions for over half-an-hour. They noted that this was the fourth meeting between them in the past one year and that relations between the two countries had developed in a positive direction in recent times.

Mr. Hu referred to what Mr. Singh had told him on an earlier occasion that India and China were not adversaries but partners. He said the strategic and cooperative partnership between the two countries would benefit Asia as well as the entire world. Mr. Singh endorsed this view, the spokesman said.

He said India and China had launched the partnership when Premier Wen had come India last year. This promised prospects of prosperity and peace not only for the two countries, but also for Asia and the world, he said.

Mr. Hu said in this spirit, China had supported India in becoming an observer at the Shanghai Cooperation Organisation and attending the East Asia Summit.

Mr. Singh referred to economic relations between the two countries and said they agreed it would be possible to double trade between the two countries in the next two to three years rather than five years.

"Therefore, we must aim higher. The two leaders agreed to launch a regional trade arrangement between the two nations and to schedule a meeting of the Joint Commission at an early date", the spokesman said.

The leaders agreed to boost bilateral ties by stepping up mutually beneficial cooperation in various fields. — PTI

# India and China set up encounter at Nathu-la

AMIT UKL

Siliguri, Sept. 9: A confrontation between Indian and Chinese soldiers is brewing on the border.

The "fight" will take place minus guns and other weapons, though, when the two sides take on each other in a friendly game of volleyball on September 15 at Nathu-la, 14,500 ft above the sea level.

This is the first time soldiers from the two sides are meeting for a sporting event in such a manner. "The game is part of an ongoing process of confidence-building between the two sides," said a senior officer of 33 Corps, which is stationed across north Bengal and Sikkim.

The October 2 date for the opening of Nathu-la for trade with China may not be cer-

tain, with the Chinese ambassador to India saying that the infrastructure on their side is not ready yet. But the tie will go ahead regardless.

"The Chinese team and officials will visit the venue, which is an open space about 100 metres from the border, two days before the match," the officer said. The visit will not just be a reconnaissance of the spot but can be seen as

a bid to acclimatise the players to the rarefied conditions at that height.

"The Chinese team will have a practice session on the at day," said the officer. They will be checking out how long they can keep up their stamina at a place where just breathing normally is sometimes a problem.

The proposal for the game was made by the Indian side

during the last biannual flag meeting between the garrison commanders. Once the idea was floated, the Chinese army took just a couple of days to officially agree to the tie.

Of course, the decision on India's part to offer to host such a match took some time to be finalised, as it had to be cleared first by the defence ministry, which then forwa-

rded it to the external affairs department, the officer said.

The timing of the game was fortuitous, coming as it does between the ongoing Beijing visit of home minister Shivraj Patil and the visit by national security adviser M.K. Narayanan on September 26. Improving India-China relations is clearly the flavour of the month.

The Indian Army team,

which has been picked from personnel in the various units of 17 Mountain Division, is preparing hard for the match. China, after all, is known to have very good volleyball players.

The competition is expected to be stiff and, though not drawing as much attention as an international game of cricket or tennis, is keenly awaited.

# Delhi, Beijing ink pact to share intelligence

Patil visit clinches MoU, boost for boundary talks

PALLAVI AIYAR

BEIJING, SEPTEMBER 9

FROM regarding each other suspiciously as potential security threats, India and China have taken a step towards becoming partners in sharing intelligence and fighting crime with an MoU between the Indian Ministry of Home Affairs and the Chinese Ministry of Public Security.

The MoU was signed during a five-day visit by Home Minister Shivraj Patil to China and provides for both sides cooperating in combating terrorism, exchanging experience on anti-hijacking and hostage situations as well as working together in preventing illegal cross-border trade in narcotics, armaments and wildlife products.

The mechanisms for implementing the MoU, however, remain unclear and Patil declined comment on these. Patil said the signing of the MoU made it clear that the Indian government does not think Beijing has intentions of meddling in India's internal security and that it would "contribute useful information to both sides on areas of common concern like terrorism".

China holds that "East Turkmenistan" terrorists active in the country's western Xinjiang province have bases in south Asia and has in recent days expressed anxiety over their activities.

Patil also met Chinese Premier Wen Jiabao for a 40-minute discussion during which both sides expressed their confidence in solving



## Beijing's first Gandhi

BEIJING: Peering out from behind his characteristic glasses with a look of gentle wistfulness, the statue of Gandhi is at odds with its stern-looking neighbouring busts of Poland's Paderewski and Cuba's Jose Julian Marti Perez. Unveiled on Friday by Home Minister Shivraj Patil in one of Beijing's popular parks, the Mahatma's sculpture is the first publicly displayed statue of an Indian leader in Beijing. — *ENS*



Patil meets Chinese Premier Wen Jiabao at the Great Hall of People on Thursday. *PTI photo*

the border dispute soon. National Security Advisor M.K. Narayanan will fly to Beijing later this month to carry forward the political dialogue on the boundary question.

Patil stressed that Premier Wen was "very, very, encouraging, affectionate and understanding and remembered his trip to India in April fondly".

As part of his China itinerary, Patil looked in at the Beijing Police Training Academy which he said was "outstanding" noting in particular, "the modern and speedy vehicles available to policemen for chasing criminals". Patil who was in China after a gap of 12 years said he was amazed at the progress that had taken place in Beijing in the interim. "They have done so much for their economy, you can really see the changes," he said.

## India, China sign MoU on security coop

BEIJING, Sept. 8. — Union homeminister Mr Shivraj Patil today met Chinese Prime Minister Mr Wen Jiabao and discussed ways to enhance bilateral ties and inked a key MoU on security cooperation between the two neighbours. Mr Wen warmly welcomed Mr Patil, who is here on a five-day official trip, and said the high-level visit will further promote Sino-Indian relations. Describing his visit to India in April as a "successful" one, Mr Wen, who met Mr Patil at the Great Hall of the People, said China attaches high

importance to good neighbourly relations with India. Earlier, Mr Patil held official-level talks with Chinese State Councillor and minister for public security, Mr Zhou Yongkang. The talks lasted nearly 90-minutes. The two ministers will discuss security issues and ways to forge closer cooperation in combating terrorism, officials said prior to the talks. Besides terrorism, closer cooperation between the police of the two countries — to tackle border crimes — will also be discussed. — PTI

THE STATESMAN

No repeat of history, vows neighbour

# Nathu La trade to miss deadline

# Forget past, we're pals now: China

OUR SPECIAL CORRESPONDENT

New Delhi, Sept. 6: India and China are likely to overshoot their October deadline to start border trade at Nathu La. Indications are trading might begin only by mid-next year.

Prime Minister Manmohan Singh and Chinese counterpart Wen Jiabao had set October as the deadline when the latter came calling in April this year.

Chinese ambassador Sun Yuxi said the process had been delayed by insufficient infrastructure and non-existence of proper roads on the Chinese side.

"Once the border trade starts, it could reach anything between \$500 million and \$1 billion in no time," Sun claimed.

The ambassador said experts from the two countries would soon meet to decide on customs and immigration and other related issues.

China is keen to restart trade not only at Nathu La but at other traditional posts also, he added.

Restarting trading at Nathu La is not only about enhancing commerce between the two countries.

If and when it begins, it would also be an official recognition by China that Sikkim — Nathu La happens to be part of that state — is an integral part of India.

Till recently, China had refused to recognise this.

During his April visit, Wen had brought a copy of the new official map of China that showed Sikkim as a part of India.

The trading volume between the two sides is worth over \$14 billion.

The ambassador said that given the way it was increasing, trade volume might touch \$20 billion by the end of the year.

OUR SPECIAL CORRESPONDENT

New Delhi, Sept. 6: China today said it does not want any more hiccups in its relations with "strategic partner" India though the two sides don't see eye to eye on what sparked the 1962 war.

"We are now partners, not rivals. We are friends, not enemies.... If you talk too much of the past, it is out of fashion," China's ambassador in New Delhi Sun Yuxi said.

"We will make sure that what happened in history will never happen again."

A series of meetings be-



Sun Yuxi: Hopeful

tween the two sides are lined up this month, including one in less than 10 days between President Hu Jintao and Prime Minister Manmohan Singh on the sidelines of the UN General Assembly. Signals from Beijing indicate it does not want any shadow cast on bilateral ties before the meetings.

At a seminar on Sunday, the two sides had publicly aired differences over the 1962 war. Defence minister Pranab Mukherjee termed it an "invasion", provoking the Chinese consul-general in Mumbai to lodge his protest. Sun, however, said China would not like to pursue the matter.

"I am sorry if there are any misunderstandings on the

issue. Between friends there should be no misunderstanding. We must have a forward-looking relationship," he said.

Sun was speaking on the occasion of the 40th anniversary of the Tibetan Autonomous Region. The idea was to tell the world Tibet is an "integral part" of China and to showcase its achievements under Chinese rule.

The occasion, being held in India for the first time, was also a pointer to China's confidence about its current relations with India.

Sun said the forthcoming meeting between Hu and Singh would give a push to the strategic partnership the two sides had entered into this April.

Home minister Shivraj Patil left for Beijing today to hold talks with the Chinese leadership on fighting global terror, building close relations between the police of the two countries and taking steps to check cross-border crime.

India and China are to sign a memorandum of understanding (MoU) on exchange of security-related information and sharing of intelligence.

Patil will observe the functioning of the police in Shanghai and Beijing during his five-day trip. This is part of the Centre's plan to modernise the police force, especially in Delhi and Mumbai where the crime-population ratio is among the worst in the world.

Sources said the two sides would seek to sign an MoU on extradition of criminals.

Between September 26 and 28, national security adviser M.K. Narayanan will be in Beijing to hold talks with Chinese counterpart Dai Binguo on steps to demarcate boundaries and resolve the border row.

Sun said China's opposition to the G4 resolution on UN reforms did not mean it was against India's entry into the Security Council. "Our main opposition is on Japan." //

# We are friends, says China

Indo-  
China  
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## It is not fashionable to talk of the past, says Ambassador Sun Yuxi

Amit Baruah

**NEW DELHI:** Playing down the exchange of words between Defence Minister Pranab Mukherjee and Chinese Consul-General Song De Heng in Mumbai, China's Ambassador to India Sun Yuxi declared on Tuesday that India and China were now partners, not rivals; friends, not enemies.

Answering questions at a press conference to mark the 40th anniversary of the formation of the Tibet Autonomous Region (TAR) in China, he said, "If you talk too much of the past, it is out of fashion." He remarked that he was "sorry to see misunderstandings among friends."

### "It is history"

"Whatever happened in the past is history and we want to put it back into history. What happened in history [between India and China] will never happen again," Mr. Sun, who just returned from Lhasa, maintained. Pointing out that the Tibetan issue had already been resolved by India and China, he said it had now become a factor in promoting bilateral relations between the two countries. "Tibet is no longer an issue."

Stating that China was ready to open border trading posts, Mr. Sun said the modalities of immigration, customs and other issues of trade through the Nathu La between Sikkim and TAR were still being discussed with India.

### Border trade

It is only a matter of time before border trade through this route is opened. He expected trade through the Nathu La to be opened some time in the middle of next year.

Favouring direct flights between Lhasa and Indian cities, Mr. Sun said the issue of opening an Indian consulate in the TAR capital should be handled through diplomatic channels. So far, there was no proposal from the Indian side.

Asked about negotiations with the Dalai Lama, Mr. Sun said he must acknowledge that Tibet and Taiwan were integral parts of China. Pointing out that the Dalai Lama and his followers were engaged in separatist activ-

79  
• Tibet no longer an issue

• Trade through Nathu La likely next year

• Joint military exercises a good idea

• No tension along the borders

ities, he said there remained a "large gap" in the positions of the two sides.

### Talks with Dalai Lama

"I don't think we need any help from outside," he said when asked whether China wanted India's assistance in helping to negotiate with the Dalai Lama. Talks had been held with representatives of the Dalai Lama, the latest round having taken place in Switzerland. On the possibility of joint military exercises between India, China and Russia, he said, "Personally, I think, it's a good idea." However, this was an issue that would have to be discussed by the defence departments of the three countries.

### No tension along border

Mr. Sun revealed that during the recent China-Russia military exercises, a number of "observers," including Indian representatives, were invited. "We will continue this practice of inviting India."

According to him, India and China had discussed joint mountaineering and training missions.

"There are no tensions along the border," he said, pointing out that the two militaries were celebrating festivals and holding sports meets.

### Security Council

On China's opposition to the G-4 resolution on United Nations Security Council expansion, Mr. Sun said Beijing did not want Japan to enter the Council as a permanent member. In his view, China was not repentant about its wartime past and its leaders continued to visit shrines honouring the war dead.



## **India, China begin talks on oil cooperation**

NEW DELHI, Sept. 5. — In view of growing concerns over energy security because of rising crude oil prices in the international market, India and China have initiated a preliminary dialogue to coordinate and cooperate in the field of oil exploration, production and for acquiring oil fields in the global market at competitive prices. The Task Force constituted by the petroleum ministry and headed by the additional secretary, Mr Talmiz Ahmad, is leaving for China this week to explore areas of cooperation between the two giant oil importing countries.

The decision to cooperate in the energy security field was taken last year when India and China locked horns over acquiring oil blocks in the international market. The intense competition led to increase in the prices of oil blocks. This will be the first meeting between senior officials of the two governments after the hike in prices. — SNS

# RAW and IB oppose Chinese firm's plans

## Govt Fears Snooping, Stalls Telecom Giant's Expansion Proposal On Security Grounds

By Navika Kumar/Times Now

New Delhi: Raising concerns about China's focus on cyber warfare, the government has put on hold Chinese telecom company Huawei Technologies' proposal to induct foreign equity to the tune of \$60 million (Rs 264 crore) for its Indian arm.

The government is evaluating the risks in exposing strategic Indian telecom networks to the Chinese with the defence ministry, RAW and the Intelligence Bureau (IB) upping the ante on the proposal. The dilemma facing the government involves a choice—between cheap Chinese equipment and national security.

The issue was discussed at a high-level meeting headed by cabinet secretary B K Chaturvedi a few days ago. Alarm bells have been sounded as it is felt that there may not be enough capability or technical expertise to build adequate safeguards to address security concerns in the sensitive area of telecommunications.

The department of telecommunications (DoT) has expressed the view that the presence of Chinese telecom equipment companies does give telecom PSUs a price advantage, but the defence ministry, RAW and IB have called for caution in exposing telecom networks to possible misuse for espionage activities.

The defence ministry has stated that while there are no specific concerns about the company in question, "there are general security concerns regarding activities of Chinese companies. Safeguards are practically difficult to implement in highly technical areas". RAW was more specific when it noted, "This company has been responsible for sweeping and debugging operations in the Chinese embassy. In view of China's focus on cyber warfare there is a risk of exposing our strategic telecom network to the Chinese."

The ministry of external affairs has said that the company has come in for "adverse notice" with India's security agencies expressing "reservations regarding the company's links with the Chinese military and intelligence establishment, their clandestine operations in Iraq and Taliban-ruled



### ALARM BELLS RING

**PROPOSAL:** Chinese telecom firm Huawei Tech wants to invest Rs 264 crore to expand its Indian arm

**DEFENCE MINISTRY CITES:** General security concerns regarding activities of Chinese companies. Says safeguards in hi-tech sector almost impossible to enforce

**RAW & IB SAY:** Firm involved in anti-espionage activities at Chinese embassy. Warn against exposing strategic Indian telecom sector

**MEA CONCERNED:** About Huawei's links with Chinese intelligence system, clandestine ops in Iraq and close ties with the Pakistan army. Refers to controversy about firm's Bangalore activities in 2001

**CABINET SECY PLAYS SAFE:** Will set up a panel, including intel experts, to review guidelines for participation of foreign companies in projects in sensitive areas and industries. Report expected in a month

Afghanistan, and their close ties with the Pakistan army". The MEA has also pointed out that doubts have been raised by agencies about the company indulging in intelligence gathering activities for China.

In May 2001, Huawei's Bangalore operations created a stir and the government put a ceiling on the number of Chinese people who could work in the company's Indian operations.

Huawei Telecommunications (India) Pvt Limited, which is a subsidiary of Huawei Tech Investment Co, Hong Kong, applied for clearance of its foreign investment proposal in March 2005.

The company has so far been engaged in software research, but the new proposal for investment will allow the company to participate in turnkey telecommunications and information technology as also infrastructure projects, including installation, training and annual maintenance.

► Cabinet secy to form review panel, Page 15

**MATTERS OF POLICY:** *It's time for candid talks between India & China on mutual security*

# Climb the great wall

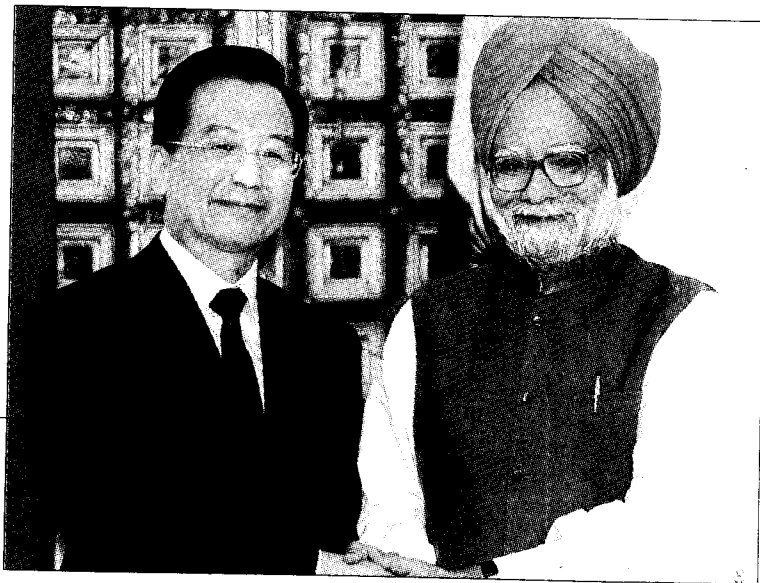
BY A.G. NOORANI

11-6/118

**'B**UT, IF the Indian government, owing to the needs of its internal and external political requirements, is not prepared to hold negotiations for the time being, the Chinese government is willing to wait with patience.' Zhou En-Lai's taunt, in a letter of April 20, 1963, hurt Jawaharlal Nehru for two reasons. Military debacle was one. The other was his awareness that he had missed a good opportunity by rejecting Zhou's offer, at their summit in New Delhi in April 1960, for precisely the reason Zhou mentioned. Nehru confided in a meeting at which Home Minister G.B. Pant and the MEA's Secretary General, N.R. Pillai, were present: "If I give them that, I shall no longer be prime minister of India. I will not do that." He was referring to Zhou's offer based, broadly, on the status in both the sectors — the McMahon Line and the Aksai Chin.

Nehru had wantonly whipped up public opinion, when the boundary dispute erupted in 1959, and played into the hands of an irresponsible opposition. He tied his own hands and those of his successors by rejecting China's offer, which provided a fair solution. He could have educated public opinion. Maps attached to the two white papers on Indian states, in 1948 and 1950, showed the Aksai Chin's boundary as 'undefined'. It is not flattering to us that China could repeat the taunt even 40 years later. On September 12, 2001, Vice Minister for Foreign Affairs Wang Yi told an Indian correspondent that "China was not sure if the Indian political establishment had arrived at a democratic consensus that would be required to sustain the difficult negotiations".

He was not wrong. An Indian diplomat with a capacity for 'thinking out of the box' — unlike some of the self-righteous MEA brood — and deep knowledge of the problem noted this year that "the Chinese seem to think India is still unprepared for such an exercise". This was shortly before India and China concluded the agreement "on the political parameters and guiding principles for the settlement" of the boundary dispute in New Delhi on April 11, 2005. It is a landmark event whose significance must neither be underestimated nor exaggerated. It provides the framework for an accord in broad terms. Only when the two sides agree on the contents that will fall within the framework will its purpose be fulfilled. And, only the prime ministers can accomplish that, aided no



CHIN UP NOW: Wen Jiabao and Manmohan Singh

doubt by their respective foreign ministers.

The agreement is a result of the labours of the special representatives (SRs) appointed by Prime Minister Atal Bihari Vajpayee and Premier Wen Jiabao under the Declaration on Principles for Relations between the two countries which they signed in Beijing on June 23, 2003. Incongruously, while their purpose was "to explore from the political perspectives of overall bilateral relationship the framework of a boundary settlement", it is not political envoys but civil servants who were nominated. Dal Bingguo, Executive Vice Minister, was the most senior official in the Foreign Office. Brajesh Mishra, a retired diplomat who had served in China and as national security advisor, was close to Vajpayee. The accord of April 2005 owed a lot to the labours of these two distinguished officials. It is no disrespect to his successor as NSA, M.K. Narayana, to point out that the April accord brings the two sides to a threshold which only the leaders can cross.

Each of its formulations is laden with history. It brings us back to that promising moment, on December 27, 1959, well before the summit, when Zhou proposed to Nehru that they "reach first some agreements of principles as a guidance to concrete discussions and settlement of the boundary question". In Zhou's presence, Mao had assured Khrushchev, in Beijing on October 2, 1959, that "you will see for yourselves later that the McMahon Line with India will be maintained and the border conflict with India will end". China was sincere about con-

cluding a deal in April 1960.

Nehru replied with superb irrelevance: "How can we reach an agreement on principles when there is such complete disagreement about the facts?" He missed the whole point. Zhou sought to put 'the facts' of both recent and distant history behind and conclude a deal. 'The principles' were the outlines of a deal, not abstractions. The six points he propounded in Delhi suggested a deal.

When we next heard of a deal based on the *status quo*, it was after it had been altered for the worse in the war of 1962. Deng Xiaoping suggested to Krishan Kumar of *Vikrant*, on June 21, 1980, a "package way" based on the LoC: "Then this question can be solved with (sic.) one sentence. For instance, "in the eastern sector, we can recognise the existing *status quo* — I mean the so-called McMahon Line. This was left over from history. But in the western sector, the Indian government should also recognise the existing *status quo*." Later offers were variations on this theme — if India suggests any change in any sector it must accept one elsewhere, in "mutual accommodation".

In 1988, Vice Premier Wu Xueqian explained: "When Comrade Deng Xiaoping mentioned a package settlement, he meant principles" of such a compromise. If they are agreed "then the specific concessions will be dealt with by the delegations." SRs cannot accomplish that. Only political envoys can, in quiet unpublicised meetings reporting directly to the PMs. Once the differences are narrowed

significantly, the PMs can meet to resolve them, leaving the details for officials to fill in.

That is how China concluded all its border accords. They simply laid down procedures for carrying out deals made earlier politically — with Myanmar on January 28, 1960; Nepal, on March 21, 1960; Pakistan on March 2, 1963; Mongolia on March 26, 1963; Afghanistan, on November 22, 1963; the Soviet Union on May 16, 1991; Kazakhstan, on April 26, 1994; Russia on June 28, 1974; Bhutan, on December 8, 1998; Vietnam on December 25, 2000 and Russia, finally, on October 15, 2004 and June 2, 2005.

The April accord states the principles helpfully, but very broadly. India and China will "make meaningful and mutually acceptable adjustments to their respective positions". It will be a "final" and "package settlement", covering all the sectors. The factors they "will take into account" are listed — "historical evidence, national sentiments, practical difficulties and reasonable concerns and sensitivities of both sides" as well as the LoAC. So, also, "natural geographical features to be mutually agreed". Clearly, a lot remains to be settled. The parties will give due consideration to each other's strategic and reasonable interests" (read: the Aksai Chin) as also those of "their settled populations in the border areas" (i.e. Tawang).

The *status quo* will be altered; but its dimensions will depend on the deal the PMs are able to cut. The exercise must be pursued energetically, now.

Wen Jiabao's question to Vajpayee, on June 21, 2003, reflected China's concern: "Some argue that India's relations with the US could be used as a counterforce against China. What is your comment on that?" Vajpayee responded with India's preference for a "multi-polar world order". India must leave none in doubt on its non-alignment — between the US and China.

The time, indeed, has come for candid discussions between India and China on each other's security concerns. At some stage, Pakistan should also be brought in. We need to evolve a livable, stable *modus vivendi* on security in the region by an understanding among the three — India, China and Pakistan. History has bought India and China back to where they were 50 years ago, not as 'rising stars' of Asia but as its rising powers. Now, shorn of innocence and illusions, they can create a future realistically in which both can feel secure.

# Chinese team visits Western Naval Command

Visit to promote relations between armed forces: PLA chief

Special Correspondent

**MUMBAI:** The Western Naval Command literally gave a red carpet welcome to Chief of General Staff of the People's Liberation Army Liang Gaunglie and a delegation accompanying him here on Saturday at its headquarters, INS Angre.

Gen. Liang was received by Vice Admiral Madanjit Singh, Flag Officer Commanding-in-Chief of the Command. He took the general salute at a specially erected post under a ceremonial canopy. He also inspected a guard of honour.

## Looking forward

Later, talking to presspersons through a PLA interpreter, Gen. Liang said the purpose of his visit was to promote relations between the armed forces of the two countries. Besides a high-level exchange of military views, he said, he looked forward to holding joint general exercises with India.

## Warmth and enthusiasm

The Chinese General said the warmth and enthusiasm with which he and his team were received at all the Indian military establishments in the past six days showed the great importance India attached to the visit.

Gen. Liang said in his eight-day visit to the country, he had held talks with Vice-President Bhairon Singh Shekhawat, Defence Minister Pranab Mukherjee and chiefs of the armed

forces on how to promote India-China defence relationship in future.

"There should be more exchange of observers, bilateral exercises, military exercises and exchange in professional delegation. Joint military exercises between our country and the three branches of the armed forces in India, will definitely strengthen the defence relationship between the two countries," he said.

Gen. Liang and the delegation later interacted with the senior officers of the Western Naval Command, the principal combat organisation of the Indian Navy.

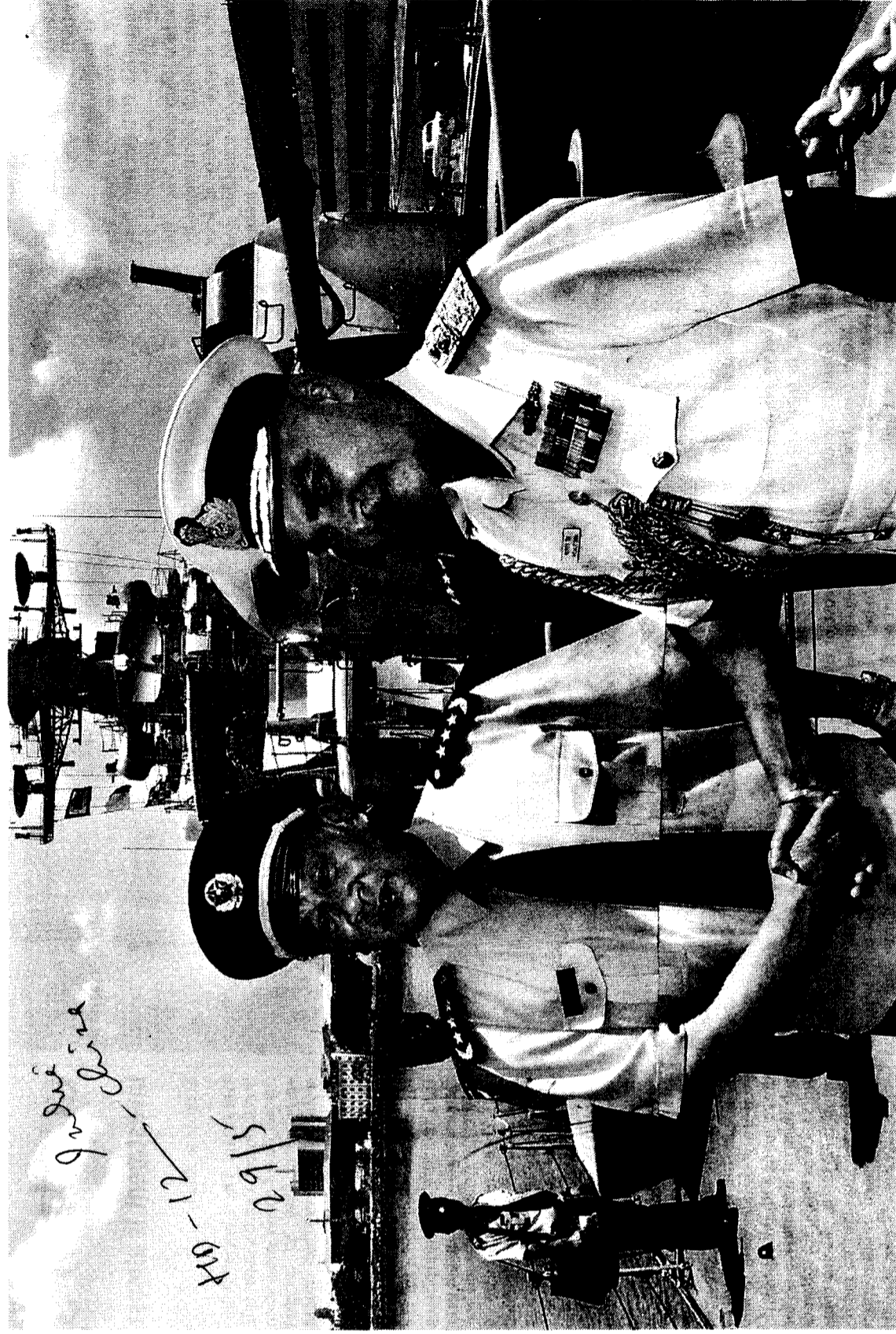
He was taken on board INS Mumbai, a home-built destroyer considered to be a frontline warship of the Western Fleet. He also visited the museum ship, INS Vikrant, where post-Independence naval history is showcased along with some equipment and aircraft.

## Special performance

Admiral Singh not only hosted a reception in honour of the visiting Chinese dignitary but also arranged for a special performance of the Indian classical dance, Bharatnatyam.

This is the fourth visit of a senior Chinese military leader to Mumbai in the past one year. Earlier, Chinese Defence Minister Gen. Cao Gangchuan visited

Mumbai in March 2004. Gen. Liang completed his week-long tour of the Indian armed forces on Saturday.



**STRENGTHENING FRIENDSHIP:** Gen. Liang Gaunglie, Chief of the General Staff of the People's Liberation Army of China, with Vice-Admiral Madanjit Singh, Flag Officer Commanding-in-Chief, Western Naval Command, on board the guided missile destroyer INS Mumbai, in Mumbai on Saturday. — PHOTO: AP

# Army Chief positive on CBMs with China

SNS & PTI

'Beijing willing'

NEW DELHI, May 26. — More confidence-building measures with China, including troop reduction along the border, could be considered if “the present positive trend of peace” continued between the two neighbours, the Army Chief, General JJ Singh, said today.

The Sino-Indian peace and tranquility agreement was holding all along the 4,000-km-long border, Gen. Singh said on the sidelines of an Army-CII seminar on Information Assurance and Risk Management. Interaction between the two armed forces was growing, he said, adding that the two may soon hold joint exercises in counter-terrorism and prepare for UN peacekeeping operations. “We have drawn a roadmap for increasing interaction between the two armed forces which may soon lead to holding of joint exercises in counter-terrorism and preparing for international peacekeeping operations.”

There was a general peace on the McMahon line with a few aberrations due to difference in perception in alignment of the Line of Actual Control (LAC). “We hope that once detailed maps are exchanged in all the three sectors — western, eastern and central, these issues would be resolved.”

The Army has put in force the highest international grade systems to safeguard the country's strategic weapons firing systems as well as armed forces highly classified and high-value communications from tech-savvy hackers, Gen. Singh said.

China is willing to resolve the boundary issue with India on the basis of equality and consultation with mutual understanding and concessions.

This was stated by the Chief of Staff of Chinese People's Liberation Army Gen. Liang Guanglie, during his meeting with National Security Advisor Mr MK Narayanan, who is also India's Special Representative on the Sino-India boundary issue, in New Delhi, the Xinhua news agency said.

Gen. Liang said the Chinese Army was also ready to build confidence measures with the Indian army at the military areas along the Line of Actual Control and continue keeping peace and tranquillity along the border.



Army Chief Gen. JJ Singh welcomes Mr Pranab Mukherjee at a defence seminar in New Delhi on Thursday. — PTI

New Delhi, May 25: The chief of general staff of the People's Liberation Army of China, General Liang Guanglie, and heads of the Indian armed forces have proposed to widen military-to-military relations through bilateral exercises and exchanges of personnel. In the short term, the Chinese navy will be invited to participate in an exercise on India's western seaboard. The Chinese army will also be invited to send a representative to an armoured exercise later in the year.

General Liang Guanglie, who met defence minister Pranab Mukherjee this morning, "made a number of proposals to further expand friendly cooperation between the two armed forces", a defence ministry release said.

Last month, India and China had signed a protocol to institutionalise confidence-building measures along the Line of Actual Control (LAC). Under the protocol, each side informs the other of its military movements. Officially, there has been no exchange of fire along the LAC since 1967.

In another meeting, India's navy chief, who is also the chairman of the chiefs of staff committee, Admiral Arun Prakash, offered to conduct bilateral exercises with the Chinese fleet on India's west coast. In November 2003, the Indian Navy participated in the Search and Rescue Exercise with its Chinese counterpart off the coast of Shanghai. An Indian Army officer was also an observer at a military exercise in China in September last year.

In his 30-minute meeting with General Liang, Mukherjee "emphasised the need to take further the existing good relationship to a new height". Defence ministry sources said General Liang and Mukherjee "shared the view that the two sides and the armed forces must work to promote peace and tranquillity on the border and promote stability and development in Asia".

The two sides note that the Chinese general's visit follows the visit of the Chinese Premier, Wen Jiabao, in April. The military-to-military relations proposed to be charted flow from the agreements on strategic co-operation that were concluded and the protocol on military confidence-building measures along the LAC.

CORRESPONDENT

OUR SPECIAL

Beijing

ties with

defence

Boost to

# India, China to restore road link

Shanghai, May 18

ENGINEERS FROM China and India are preparing to restore a dilapidated highway that could boost trade by radically shortening transport distances, China's official Xinhua News Agency reported on Wednesday.

Surveys are to begin this month on the 1,300 km Stilwell Road that runs between India and China via Myanmar, Xinhua said. There is now no serviceable overland route between China and India. Goods now travel by sea. Reopening the Stilwell Road, named after the late American Gen. Joseph Stilwell, would cut nearly 5,000 km off the distance goods sent between the two countries must now travel.

Plans to restore the route come as China and India seek ways to boost trade. The countries last month agreed to form a "strategic partnership", reflecting a major shift in relations.

Stilwell Road, also known as Ledo Road, was built by Chinese and US troops during World War II after Japanese forces captured the Burma Road. It was abandoned 10 months after it opened in 1945. Many sections have since been reduced to jungle track. The road begins in Ledo, passes through Myanmar and ends in the Chinese city of Kunming.

AP

9 MAY 2005 THE HINDUSTAN TIMES

# China catching up in software race

**JEHANGIR S. POCHA**

**Beijing, May 15:** The Chinese government's statistics have always been the most inscrutable aspect of this country, and last week authorities here bowled another googly.

On May 9, Ding Wenwu, the deputy president in the ministry of information industry (MI), was quoted by the China News Service as saying that the country's software exports in 2004 had exceeded India's.

The news caught the headlines everywhere and pundits began gravely proclaiming the end of India's dominance in the global software industry.

But a little due diligence shows Ding's claim to be hollow. By MI's own numbers, China's software exports for 2004 were \$2.8 billion. In contrast, India's software exports for 2003-2004 were \$3.8 billion, according to the Software Technology Parks of India.

Although China's \$2.8-billion figure represents a six-fold increase since 2000 when China's software exports were \$400 million, the comparison with India looks even more negative when one factors in income from IT-related services. China's figure for 2004 then grows to \$4 billion, but India's jumps to \$12.5 billion.

Still, there is no denying

that China is catching up with India in the software industry. In 2002, Sunil Mehta, vice-president of the National Association of Software and Services Companies (Nasscom), had predicted during a visit to China that in 2005, the country's software exports would be \$1.5 billion and India's would be \$23 billion.

That he underestimated China's potential by 100 per cent while overestimating India's is indicative of how the software competition between China and India is panning out.

Ding said China's growth was the result of smart policies the state council, China's

cabinet, put in place five years ago. These, he said, led to the establishment of 11 national software industry bases, six national software export bases and 172 national key software enterprises. The government and the private sector have also invested billions of dollars in hi-tech financing, technology, professional training and purchase and protection of intellectual property rights.

While India's strength is in enterprise or corporate software, most of the growth in the Chinese software industry has come from the computer games segment. This has sparked the runaway success of numerous domestic gaming

firms, such as the Nasdaq-listed Shanda Interactive Entertainment Ltd. Its chairman and chief executive officer, Chen Tianqiao, is now China's richest person with an estimated fortune of \$1.11 billion.

Significantly, China's largest enterprise software company, the privately-owned Kingsoft Corporation, is also gearing up to enter the big league with a \$100-million to \$300-million initial public offering later this year.

However, China's software industry continues to suffer from manpower problems, according to a recent survey by a committee of the China Youth Software Promotion Project.

The country lacks special institutions to train managerial and technical staff for software development and as a result, companies have difficulty in recruiting qualified programmers, the survey said.

Still, the sheer size of the Chinese software and gaming market continues to attract foreign investment and ironically many Indian companies are leading the way.

Indian software giants like Tata Consultancy Services (TCS), Infosys, Wipro and Satyam are being wooed by high-profile projects, such as Beijing's Zhongguancun Software Park, dubbed "China's Silicon Valley".



# তথ্য-প্রযুক্তিতে ভারত-চীন পৃথিবীর নেতৃত্ব দেবে : ওয়েন

দিল্লি, ১০ এপ্রিল (পি টি আই)— ভারত-চীন সীমান্ত বিরোধ মেটাতে চীনের উপবিদেশমন্ত্রী দাই বিংগুও এবং ভারতের জাতীয় নিরাপত্তা উপদেষ্টা এম কে নারায়ণন আজ মুখোমুখি বৈঠকে বসলেন। বৃহদিনের সীমান্ত সমস্যা মেটাতে রাজনৈতিক নীতি নির্ধারণ করতেই এই বৈঠক। আগামীকাল চীনের প্রধানমন্ত্রী ওয়েন জিয়াবাও ভারতের প্রধানমন্ত্রী মনমোহন সিংয়ের সঙ্গে বৈঠক করবেন। তাঁর সফর নানা দিক থেকে তাৎপর্যপূর্ণ। দ্বিপাক্ষিক সহযোগিতা, বাণিজ্য প্রসার, বিজ্ঞান-উচ্চ প্রযুক্তি ও মহাকাশ গবেষণায়



বাস্গালোরে ওয়েন জিয়াবাও।

ছবি: এ এফ পি

আদানপ্রদানের পাশাপাশি বিগত চার দশকের সীমান্ত বিরোধ মিটিয়ে নিতেও গভীর আগ্রহ দেখাচ্ছে চীন। আন্তর্জাতিক পরিস্থিতির জটিলতা যত বাড়ছে, এশিয়ার নিরাপত্তার স্বার্থে ভারতের আরও কাছাকাছি আসা যে দরকার, চীনা নেতারা তা উপলব্ধি করছেন। সীমান্ত সমস্যার সুষ্ঠু সমাধানে কাশ্মীরে আকসাই চীনের দাবি ভারত এবং অরুণাচলে ভারতীয় অঞ্চলের দাবি চীন ছাড়তে রাজি বলে শোনা যাচ্ছে। তবে রাজনৈতিক নীতি নির্ধারণের মাধ্যমে ও সবদিক খতিয়ে দেখেই এক সিদ্ধান্ত নিতে চায় দু'দেশ। গত ৩০ মার্চ দু'দেশের যৌথ ওয়ার্কিং গ্রুপের বৈঠকে যোগ দিতে বেজিং গিয়েছিলেন ভারতের বিদেশ সচিব

শ্যাম সারণ। বাস্গালোরে ইসরো প্রকল্প ঘুরে দেখে ওয়েন জিয়াবাও রীতিমতো মুগ্ধ। ভারত ও চীনের মধ্যে মহাকাশ গবেষণায় সহযোগিতার আহ্বান জানিয়েছেন তিনি। চীনা প্রতিনিধিদলকে সব কিছু ঘুরিয়ে দেখান ইসরোর চেয়ারম্যান জি মাধবন নায়ার। ওয়েন বলেন, দু দেশ হাত মেলালে সারা পৃথিবীতে তথ্য-প্রযুক্তির নেতৃত্ব দিতে পারবে। আন্তর্জাতিক অর্থনীতির ভবিষ্যৎ যদি আই টি-র প্রগতির ওপর দাঁড়িয়ে থাকে, ভারত-চীন সহযোগিতা সকলের কাছে ঈর্ষণীয় হয়ে উঠবে। আই টি

প্রকল্পগুলি সরজমিনে দেখে চীনা প্রধানমন্ত্রী উচ্ছ্বসিত। তাঁর মতে, দুটি দেশের সম্মিলিত প্রয়াসে তথ্য-প্রযুক্তিতে একশ শতক চিহ্নিত হবে 'এশিয়ার শতক' হিসেবে। দ্বিপাক্ষিক বাণিজ্য বৃদ্ধির ওপরেও বিরাট গুরুত্ব দিয়েছেন তিনি। ২০০২ সালের ৩৬০ কোটি ডলার থেকে ২০০৪ সালে দু দেশের বাণিজ্য বেড়ে দাঁড়িয়েছে ১,৩৬০ কোটি ডলার। ওয়েন জানান, বাণিজ্য বৃদ্ধির বিরাট সম্ভাবনা এখনও রয়েছে। বাস্গালোরের ইনফোসিসে ১০০ চীনা ছাত্রছাত্রী আই টি-র প্রশিক্ষণ নিতে আসবেন বলে প্রধানমন্ত্রী জানিয়েছেন। ছাত্রছাত্রী ও প্রশিক্ষক আদান-প্রদানের ওপরও জোর দিয়েছেন তিনি।

# Sikkim no longer issue with China: PM

Agencies  
New Delhi, April 20

PRIME MINISTER Manmohan Singh on Wednesday briefed Parliament on the visit of Chinese Premier Wen Jiabao to India and the agreement between the two countries envisaging a political settlement of their decades-old boundary dispute.

Members from both sides thumped their desks and greeted the PM's announcement that Sikkim is "no longer an issue in India-China relations".

Singh noted that the joint statement issued at the end of the visit had referred to Sikkim as a "state of the Republic of India". He added that the Chinese side had also officially handed over to India a revised map showing Sikkim as an "integral part of India".

The PM referred to the decision made by the two countries to give a fillip to bilateral economic ties to take the two-way trade from the present \$13 billion to \$20 billion by 2008. He said the two countries agreed to set up a joint economic group to facilitate expansion of trade in goods and services and investment flows, besides other areas.

Singh also expressed satisfaction with the progress achieved in talks with Pakistan President Pervez Musharraf during his recent visit to India.

Declaring that India was committed to peace and friendship with Pakistan, the PM said while redrawing of boundaries was not possible, greater traffic of people and trade across the Line of Control (LoC) would create an atmosphere of mutual trust between the two countries.



Joint statement issued after Chinese Premier's visit referred to Sikkim as state of the Republic of India

He, however, cautioned that the road ahead is not easy. "While I am satisfied with the progress achieved in our talks, we should remain conscious of the difficult-

ties ahead," he said while making a statement in Parliament.

"The difficult issues that divide us have bedevilled relations between India and Pakistan for far too long to hope for an immediate resolution," he said, adding that the threat to the bilateral peace process from extremist forces and terrorist organisations had not been eliminated.

He said he told President Musharraf "that the whole process of serious and sustained dialogue hinges on building an atmosphere of trust and confidence, free from violence and terror."

He hoped that Pakistan would live up to the assurances made during Musharraf's visit and ensure that the current peace dialogue is not hindered by "violence and terror".

He described their talks as

"substantive" and said they covered a wide range of issues, including Jammu and Kashmir, economic cooperation and transport links.

Noting that Musharraf and he agreed to continue the discussions in a "sincere, purposeful and forward-looking" manner, he said, "We have agreed to work together to carry forward the process and to bring the benefit of peace to people of our two countries and, in particular, the people of Jammu and Kashmir".

"The joint statement (issued after Musharraf's visit) also contained a pledge that terrorism would not be allowed to impede the peace process. It underlines the importance of the peace process and the degree of improvement of relations between the two countries," Singh said.

2 APR 2005 THE HINDUSTAN TIMES

# The capitalist road

By shaking off the socialist straitjacket and deepening bilateral cooperation, India and China could push globalisation in a new direction, writes CLYDE PRESTOWITZ

Chinese Prime Minister Wen Jiabao has been in India this week talking peace, free trade, and technology cooperation – but the real message was the end of 600 years of Western dominance. “Together,” said Indian Prime Minister Manmohan Singh, “India and China could reshape the world order.”

How they might do that was spelled out in the agreements they reached. First, they made peace by moving to settle an old border dispute, and China indicated support for India's bid to become a permanent UN Security Council member.

Both parties also initiated discussion of a possible bilateral free trade agreement. Last, and by far the most important, they called for combining Indian software technology with Chinese hardware technology to achieve world leadership in the global information technology industry. India and China are inventing a new version of globalisation, which is already negating Western hegemony by shifting wealth and power to Asia.

What is the history of these developments? Six hundred years ago, China and the area that is now India accounted for about 75 per cent of global GDP. Europe was insignificant, and America still lay undiscovered beyond the Atlantic. Then, Portugal's Prince Henry the Navigator led an effort to develop superior ships and nautical technology, enabling his captains to get around Africa and develop sea routes that would evade the Arab/Venetian-controlled overland caravan tracks to the riches of the East.

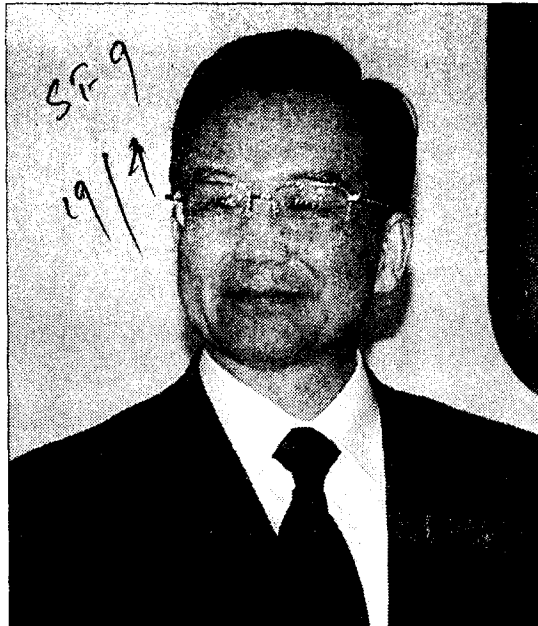
When Vasco da Gama arrived in Calicut in 1497, the first era of globalisation was launched: European countries competed to use their superior technology to create worldwide empires. Earlier in the 15th century, the Chinese had sent great fleets to India, the Persian Gulf, and the South Pacific, but without establishing trade ties or conquering territory. By the

time the Portuguese arrived, the Chinese had gone home and forgotten how to build ships. Five hundred years later, at the dawn of the 20th century, Europe and the USA accounted for the vast bulk of world GDP, while Asia had slipped into increasing economic insignificance.

The first era of European-led globalisation was shattered by the catastrophes of World War I, the Great Depression, and World War II. With the subsequent Marshall and Dodge Plans, which rebuilt Europe and Japan in the 1950s, and with the creation of the International Monetary Fund, World Bank, and World Trade Organization, the USA inaugurated a second era of globalisation.

This era was characterised not by empire but by the advent of the multinational, globe-spanning company that saw the world as its market. As technology shrank time and distance, products like Coca Cola, McDonald's hamburgers, and the Sony Walkman became global brands, and trade and international investment flows grew at a geometric pace. Indeed, for nearly 50 years, international trade grew faster than domestic GDPs and became the main driver of global growth.

Yet the growing use of the term “globalisation” to describe this phenomenon masked a less grandiose reality: In truth, what was going on was more Americanisation than globalisation. The dollar was the world's money. Most of the foreign invest-



BANGALORE, HERE WE COME: Chinese Premier Wen Jiabao is seeking to build a technology axis with India, marking a new global shift.

ment was American. Technical standards like the Windows operating system for the personal computer or TCL/IP for the Internet were all set in the USA. Music and pop culture came largely out of America, which was also the major consumer of the exports of other countries. On top of that, the Communist and socialist world – including China, India, and the old Soviet Union – wasn't playing.

So globalisation really only applied to about half the world – the half dominated by the USA.

It was the death of Mao Zedong in 1976 that began to change all that. The new Chinese leader, Deng Xiaoping, quickly ended Mao's Cultural

Revolution. He took the truly revolutionary step of setting China's 1.3 billion people on the capitalist road by announcing that “to get rich is glorious.” By 1989, China was showing signs of getting rich, even as the Soviet bloc was wheezing on the brink of economic collapse. The fall of the Berlin Wall in November 1989, brought another 500 million former residents of the Socialist Paradise onto the Capitalist Road.

This, in turn, caused a crisis in socialist India. It had long depended on the Soviets for critical goods and for favoured export markets.

When all that disappeared, India was thrown into a financial crisis that ended just short of bankruptcy. It also ended Socialism in India: The new government announced that India, too, would be taking the capitalist road, and that the new business of India would be

business. Thus, in the course of the 1990s, three billion newcomers embarked on the capitalist road.

These newcomers are mostly poor, and a large number are highly skilled yet willing to work at low rates of pay. Moreover, they have come into the global economy at just the moment when dramatic technological change has not only negated time and distance, but also upset all the classic assumptions of international economics.

The global deployment of high-speed internet communication renders geography almost irrelevant: anything that can be done digitally can be done equally well from any location on

the globe. For example, software development is no longer confined to Seattle or Silicon Valley; it can be produced in Bangalore for customers in Silicon Valley just as easily as it can be produced in the Valley itself.

By the same token, express delivery by FedEx or UPS and supply-chain management allow products to be manufactured and delivered to any spot on the planet within 36 hours.

As a result of these developments, China has overwhelmingly become the location of choice for global manufacturing, and India is fast becoming the preferred place for production of software and the handling of outsourced business services.

Not only that but both countries are also racing not to the bottom, but to the top of the value-technology chain. They can do the most sophisticated technology at a fraction of the costs in the West and developed Asia.

This is not the way international economic theory has long held that things should be happening. The classic assumptions hold that technology, capital, and labour are immobile and that low-wage countries focus on labour-intensive production, while developed countries focus on innovation and capital-intensive production.

In fact, all these factors are not only mobile, but instantly so. As a result, globalisation is no longer a matter of Americanisation; globalisation is going truly global at the speed of light.

India and China have become not only the world's fastest growing economies but are also destined to become the world's largest – surpassing both Japan and the USA.

If they do manage to work together, they will surely create the new world order of which Prime Minister Singh spoke.

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# All that is not in actual control

Until there is a left government at the Centre, India's relations with China will continue to be dictated by US interests in the region, writes Achin Vanaik

It is a measure of how far Indian politics has travelled that a Communist Party of India (Marxist) congress and the visit of the Chinese premier should be perceived as essentially unrelated events. Way back in 1964, when the unified Communist Party of India split, the CPI(M) was viewed with suspicion as the pro-China force that had refused to unequivocally support India in the context of the Sino-Indian border dispute and the war of 1962. Today, most Indian admirers of the 1991 neo-liberal turn in economic policy would prefer to berate the CPI(M) for not being sufficiently like the Chinese communist party.

The standard refrain now is that India needs to emulate China in encouraging economic globalization and foreign direct investment inflows as the magic wand that can transform India into an economic superpower. This completely misreads the Chinese economic experience, serving it certainly provides self-serving justifications for India's neo-liberal trajectory. The Chinese "success story" (it has grossly underestimated failures and weaknesses) owes nothing to neo-liberalism and everything to the fundamental transformations carried out as part of its communist past, that is, truly comprehensive land reform and sustained campaigns to eliminate mass illiteracy and establishment of a remarkably widespread public health infrastructure that is now being steadily undermined. Two, an ini-

tial emphasis, in the mid-Seventies and the mid-Eighties, on raising agricultural production and incomes — the "household responsibility system".

Three, an industrial policy aimed at directing foreign capital towards export production and ensuring technology transfer. Also, promotion of domestic backward linkages in the supply of manufacturing inputs while allowing minority shareholdings for outsiders. This was a way of disciplining business while the state maintained overall control over the direction of investments. Four, disciplining labour — supplying cheap labour, working incredibly long hours, while denying them their basic democratic workplace rights.

Even as this Chinese trajectory was assuredly capitalist, it was anything but neo-liberal, except in its attitude towards workers' rights. If the Indian right and centre are mistaken in interpreting the "success" of this experience as a validation of their own neo-liberal orientation, the CPI(M) (and CPI) are simply deluding themselves if they think China is socialist in anything but name.

But do the Chinese premier's visit and the generational change in CPI(M) leadership represent important new possibilities, especially with respect to Sino-Indian relations? A crucial political-psychological breakthrough has clearly been made on the Indian side. For more than two decades, if not longer, it has been evident that the only feasible way the border dispute could be finally settled was for India to accept the *fait accompli* of the 1962 war. China had got most of what it wanted and any final settlement

would now have to be based on give-and-take along the existing line of actual control. Chinese claims and attitudes towards Arunachal Pradesh and Sikkim were always only bargaining counters to be given up, provided India accepted that most of Aksal Chin should rest *de jure*, and not just *de facto*, with China. Dress it up whatever way you like, a final settlement would require legitimizing basic concessions by India, not China.

The Sino-Indian conflict is one that needn't ever have taken place. China always had a reasonable case that should have been recognized but wasn't. So what has changed to make such a final set-

terfuge. It is the US that calls the shots and the dominant classes of every other aspiring major power are firmly on the defensive with regard to it. They are not just structurally locked into a globalizing capitalist order, for whose stability the US government remains the chief guardian, but they are ideologically awed by the model of power and prosperity that the US is supposed to represent. In China and India (as also Russia), elite interests and values both converge, pushing towards befriending and emulating the US.

If China, India and Russia ever move towards a strategic alliance directed against the US, it will only be as the outcome of unexpected developments. Either American power will have been decisively and considerably weakened in the coming decades because of imperial overstretch — an overstretch that will owe little or nothing to the pusillanimous behaviour of these three countries. (Such a US decline will make the risks of establishing countervailing alliances much less, and the benefits much greater.) Or the US will prove to be so inept and arrogant in its behaviour towards all the three countries that it literally forces these otherwise reluctant elites to join up against it.

In the US-China-India triangle it is the Sino-US relationship that is paramount and it is the direction that this takes that will most shape the Indo-US and Sino-Indian relationships. The current US policy towards China reflects and combines two attitudes. One recognizes the value — economic and political — of making China a strategic partner. The other recognizes China's potential as a future strategic rival. Today, and for a

considerable time to come, US policy will be motivated by, and expressive of, both these attitudes. There is no such ambiguity in the Indo-US relationship. As long as either a BJP-led or a Congress-led government is in power, India will interpret or adjust its "national interests" in accordance with US strategic needs in the region, or at worst not put up serious resistance to US perspectives it may be unhappy about. Only a left-led government at the Centre would change this.

But to challenge the BJP and Congress, the CPI(M), as its new general secretary publicly acknowledges, must make a strategic breakthrough in the Hindi heartland — something it still does not know how to do. Traditionally, an ideologically disciplined cadre-based party pursues extra-parliamentary politics even as it operates within parliament. This is a high-potential yet high-risk strategy that will polarize north Indian politics even as it can promise substantial partisan gains. The CPI(M) is not that kind of a party. So can it grow in some other way?

For two decades, north Indian politics has been dominated by lower caste assertion. To successfully hitch onto the dynamics, the CPI(M) must change its own caste profile by providing leadership access to Dalits and most backward classes through proportional representation of such groups in all leadership bodies. On its own this will not provide that strategic breakthrough but it will mark a significant step forward. It is the kind of low fuss, high impact measure that is worth trying by both the CPI(M) and the CPI. What have they got to lose?

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Change of heart

that small minority within the so-called strategic community that has always insisted that China is a strategic opponent and must be treated as such, might feel disappointed at the turn of events.

But a final border settlement will not dramatically alter Sino-India relations. These will remain somewhat wary albeit more relaxed. This is because the crucial determinant of the future evolution of Sino-Indian relations is the United States of America, which both the Chinese and Indian elites are desperate not to offend. The Chinese premier, Wen Jiabao, made this very clear when talking about developing better Russia-China-India ties. This is not sub-

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The author is professor of international relations and global politics, Delhi University

**THE BIGGER PICTURE:** Read beyond the jargon and see the sea-change in Sino-Indian relations

# Found in translation

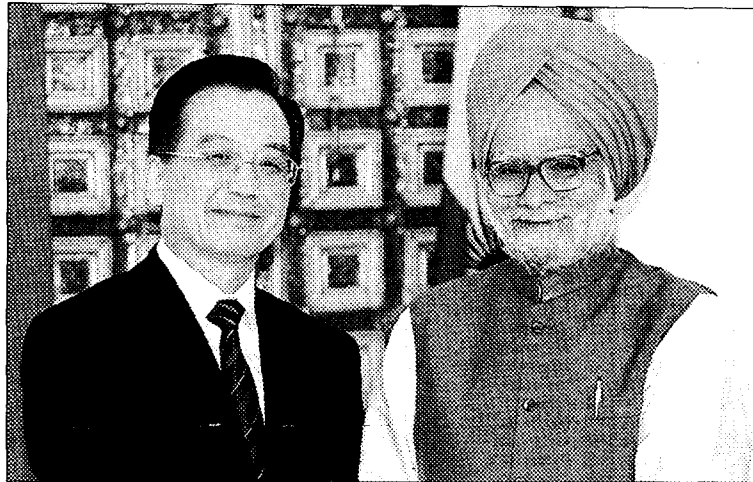
BY MANOJ JOSHI

**A**GREEMENTS BETWEEN India and China have been flying fast and hard. Premier Wen Jiabao's visit this week yielded an important pact on working out a boundary settlement, a joint statement and 11 other agreements. As declarations go, most of them have ranged from the inspiring to the workmanlike, but always, there has been the problem of getting them to yield substance. But, perhaps even more complex, for the layman, has been the task of understanding what they really mean.

In the Fifties, India used 'suzerainty' instead of 'sovereignty' in relation to Chinese authority over Tibet. As an attempt to finesse Tibetan autonomy, it was a failure, as indeed was the recognition in the Fifties that Tibet was an autonomous region of China — the Chinese held out till 2003 for the more specific formulation that the Tibet Autonomous Region was part of the People's Republic of China. If the script is confusing, it's not surprising. It has more to do with the ways of diplomatic discourse when confronted with a difficult problem, rather than inscrutable interlocutors.

The outcome of Wen's visit was replete with several instances that require more than just a simple understanding of English or Mandarin. Take the subject of whether or not China endorsed India's claim to a permanent seat in the UN Security Council. For the record, the Chinese official position was contained in simple language of the joint statement adopted: "(China) understands and supports India's aspirations to play an active role in the UN and international affairs."

But the joint statement is not quite the sum and total of the three-hour conversation between Wen and Prime Minister Manmohan Singh or the intense rounds of preparatory meetings prior to the visit. According to Indian officials, Wen put it differently in his meeting with Singh. If and when — and this is really the heart of the matter — the UN reform does really come up, China would not stand in the way of India getting a UNSC seat, just as parenthetically, and indeed preemptively, it was doing in the case of Japan. Indian officials are correct in saying that this is a significant forward movement since China has not



NEW ROAD AHEAD: Manmohan Singh with Wen Jiabao

gone as far with any of the other principal candidates. The Chinese could not have made it public at this juncture for three reasons, first, they are in the midst of a noisy public campaign questioning Japan's prospective candidature to the UNSC. Second, and the more probable cause, is that China is yet to take a definitive position on the issue.

The next subject requiring some explanation is the breakthrough agreement on the political parameters and guiding principles of the boundary settlement. The two countries made a fitful attempt to resolve the problem through negotiations in the Sixties and failed. Then, after two decades and a war, they resumed their efforts in 1981. Since then they have had some 20 meetings on the issue, without significant progress. The result is that 55 years after they began diplomatic relations, the Sino-Indian border is still marked by a Line of Actual Control, whose course is open to interpretation in several important segments. Efforts to get a commonly agreed line, as part of an agreement to maintain peace and tranquility on the LAC in 1993, have not succeeded. In fact, the Chinese have so far refused to provide a map of their version of the line in the western sector.

So how does a new agreement improve things?

All negotiations in the past were based on historical and legal claims, some pressed on the grounds of geography, others on past treaties such as the one be-

tween the British and Tibetan authorities in 1914, giving rise to the McMahon Line that constitutes the LAC in the eastern sector.

The new agreement recognises that this route — that of official negotiators stressing legal and historical evidence — is a dead-end. What it aims to do instead is to fashion an entirely new Sino-Indian boundary on the basis of a political deal which will be guided by the specific interests of the two sides. Some elements of the deal are obvious — China is keen to retain a major portion of the Aksai-Chin region it already controls because the road linking Xinjiang with Tibet runs through it, India wants to hold on to the Tawang tract because there is a settled population of Indian nationals residing there. In fashioning the agreement, both countries have shed a lot of baggage of the past and the references to the need for 'early settlement' to be 'pursued as a strategic objective' indicate that the boundary issue will not be put on the backburner.

The third conundrum that the Sino-Indian meeting has come up with is that it seeks to pose Sino-Indian relations as a 'strategic partnership'. Just what does this mean? Asked whether China, India and Russia could constitute poles in a new world order to check the US, Wen's answer was an emphatic no. Foreign Secretary Shyam Saran was clearer. The word "strategic and cooperative partnership" must be seen in the context it was used —

"for peace and prosperity". So the aim is not to create a military alliance or a bloc. It is an expression of the fact that Sino-Indian relations now have a wider, indeed global, context, which made them 'strategic.'

This is certainly true. India and China are today at a unique situation in their relationship to the world. But where the sheer scale of China's economic growth, as well as its military strength and UNSC status, has already brought it into the reckoning as a world power, India is still very much on the make. But just as its younger demographic profile can give it an edge on the growth stakes of the future, so too is the fact that it is a *potential*, rather than a real, power. This means that it is not yet quite seen as a threat by anyone — not the US, Japan, the Asean or for that matter, even China. India is thus at a unique juncture, where its very relative weakness is a lever that can extract a larger dividend.

But it needs to work things out carefully. It has to translate not just the Chinese text of the promises made by Wen, but the more familiar English spoken by Condoleezza Rice. Ringing declarations about the 'Asian Century' 'Panchsheel' or 'the world's greatest democracy' mean little. What matters is the substance of agreements and ties, here and now.

What, for example, does China have to offer? Support for a seat in the UNSC, pressuring Pakistan on Kashmir, settling the border dispute, enhancing trade?

Of these, the last two are the only near term issues that look viable. The UN reform is an issue whose future is hazy at this point. As for trade, this is something outside the control of the *laissez faire* Chinese system. If profits are to be made, China will deal with anyone as indeed it does with Taiwan, vilified Japan and putative rival, the US. Any attempt to explain the plate tectonics of emerging Asia must do so in the dynamic framework of China's incredible growth, as well as India's somewhat more modest rise.

That nothing is static and everything is in a state of flux is not philosophy, but a depiction of today's world where traditional alliances and alignments are shifting, whether in western Europe or on the shores of Asia.

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## আপাতত ভাই-ভাই

কূটনীতি শব্দটি ক্রমাগত আপন মর্মার্থের প্রতি দৃষ্টি আকর্ষণ করিতে থাকে, বাহিরের আড়ম্বর বা অনুযঙ্গগুলিকে সরাইয়া আপন গুঢ় চরিত্রের সংকেত দিয়া চলে, সেই সংকেত যথাযথ ভাবে পড়িয়া লইতে পারিলে তবেই কূটনীতির অর্থ বোঝা যায়। চিনের প্রধানমন্ত্রী ওয়েন জিয়াবাওয়ের ভারত সফর উপলক্ষে সেই সত্য নূতন করিয়া স্পষ্ট হইয়াছে। আপাতদৃষ্টিতে এই সফরের সুবাদে ভারতের লাভ হইয়াছে। চিন সিকিমকে ভারতীয় অঙ্গরাজ্য হিসাবে মানিয়া লইয়াছে, সীমান্ত সমস্যা সমাধানের জন্য আলোচনাপর্ব চলিবার সিদ্ধান্ত হইয়াছে, দুই দেশের আর্থিক ও বাণিজ্যিক সহযোগিতা বৃদ্ধির অঙ্গীকার শোনা গিয়াছে। ঈশ্বং গভীর ভাবে ভাবিলে বোঝা যাইবে, প্রথমত, সিকিমের স্বীকৃতিটি তাৎপর্যপূর্ণ হইলেও আনুষ্ঠানিক; দ্বিতীয়ত, চিন ও ভারতের মধ্যে 'সীমান্ত সমস্যা' মুখ্যত তাত্ত্বিক, ইহার সমাধানের উদ্যোগটিও সেই কারণেই পদ্ধতিসর্বস্ব, বাস্তবে দুই তরফই স্থিতাবস্থা মানিয়া লইয়াছে, অন্য কারণে দ্বন্দ্ব উপস্থিত না হইলে সীমান্ত লইয়া কোনও গোল হইবে না; তৃতীয়ত, আর্থিক ও বাণিজ্যিক সম্পর্কে উন্নতির অঙ্গীকারটি সকালে উঠিয়া সারা দিন ভাল হইয়া চলিবার অঙ্গীকারের মতোই, সাধু এবং তাৎপর্যহীন। দুই দেশের রাজনৈতিক সম্পর্ক কোন পথে চলিয়াছে, তাহা এই সকল সুভাষিত পাঠ করিয়া কিছুই বোঝা যাইবে না, সে জন্য ঘটনাবলিকে তাহার রাজনৈতিক পরিপ্রেক্ষিতে বিচার করিতে হইবে।

সেই পরিপ্রেক্ষিতের কেন্দ্রবিন্দুতে রহিয়াছে মার্কিন যুক্তরাষ্ট্র। ঠাণ্ডা লড়াই-উত্তর, আরও বেশি করিয়া ৯/১১-উত্তর দুনিয়ায় মার্কিন আধিপত্যবাদের মহড়া লইবার একটি তাগিদ বিবিধ স্তরে কাজ করিতেছে। চিন এবং ভারত সেই ছকের বাহিরে নয়, বাহিরে হওয়া স্বাভাবিকও নয়। গত দুই বছরে বেজিং ও দিল্লির মধ্যে দ্বিপাক্ষিক পর্যায়ে এবং তৃতীয় দেশের (যথা, রাশিয়া) সঙ্গে সমবেত ভাবে 'প্রতিরোধী' ব্যবস্থা তৈয়ারি করিবার কিছু কিছু উদ্যোগ দেখা গিয়াছে। নিতান্তই প্রাথমিক উদ্যোগ, এবং তাহাদের ভবিষ্যৎও নিতান্ত অনিশ্চিত। তাহার প্রধান কারণ, চিন বা ভারত (বা রাশিয়া) কেহই ওয়াশিংটনের 'বিরুদ্ধে' কাজ করিতে চাহে না, কারণ তাহা এই দেশগুলিরও স্বার্থের বিরোধী। চিনা প্রধানমন্ত্রীর সফরে দুই দেশের মধ্যে কার্যকর সম্পর্ক ভাল করিবার ও ভাল রাখিবার যে উদ্যোগ, তাহা এই কারণেই সংযত। অর্থনৈতিক সহযোগিতা বা সীমান্ত আলোচনার প্রস্তাবগুলি এক দিকে দুই দেশের সম্মিলিত শক্তি বাড়াইবে, অন্য দিকে আমেরিকার আপত্তি উৎপাদন করিবে না। মার্কিন আধিপত্যের ছায়া দীর্ঘ হইতে দীর্ঘতর না হইলে এই দুই প্রতিবেশীর সহযোগিতার তাগিদ অনেক কম হইত, কিন্তু এই সহযোগিতাকে 'চিন-ভারত অক্ষ' নির্মাণের প্রাথমিক উদ্যোগ বলিয়া গণ্য করিলে ভুল হইবে, অতিসারল্যের ভুল।

বস্তুত, এই সহযোগিতার দীর্ঘমেয়াদি ভবিষ্যৎ উজ্জ্বল নয়, উজ্জ্বল হওয়া সম্ভবও নয়। তাহার মূল কারণ, দীর্ঘমেয়াদি বিচারে চিন ও ভারত পরস্পরের প্রতিদ্বন্দ্বী। তাহার অর্থ এই নয় যে চিন ও ভারত ভবিষ্যতে সংঘাতে লিপ্ত হইবে। বস্তুত, তেমন সংঘাত যাহাতে না ঘটে, তাহা নিশ্চিত করিতে উভয়েরই স্বার্থ রহিয়াছে, কারণ তাহা হইবে দুই দেশেরই অর্থনৈতিক উন্নয়নের পরিপন্থী। কিন্তু মৌলিক প্রতিদ্বন্দ্বিতার সত্যটি অনস্বীকার্য। এক দিকে অর্থনৈতিক প্রতিযোগিতা, অন্য দিকে এশিয়ায় তথা বৃহত্তর দুনিয়ায় গুরুত্বপূর্ণ শক্তি হিসাবে আত্মপ্রতিষ্ঠার প্রতিযোগিতা, উভয় দিক হইতেই ইহারা প্রতিযোগী শক্তি। 'হিন্দি-চিনি ভাই-ভাই' হইতে পারে, কিন্তু দুই ভাইয়ের রেষারেরি অস্ত্র নাই। সহযোগিতাকে সেই পরিপ্রেক্ষিতেই দেখিতে হইবে। এবং সে ক্ষেত্রে ভারত চিনের তুলনায় কিঞ্চিৎ সমস্যায় আছে ও অদূর ভবিষ্যতে থাকিবে। তাহার প্রথম কারণ নিশ্চয়ই অর্থনীতির দৌড়ে চিনের তুলনায় তাহার পশ্চাৎপদতা। কিন্তু তাহার পাশাপাশি, অংশত ওই অর্থনৈতিক বৈষম্যের কারণেও, রহিয়াছে আঞ্চলিক রাজনীতির উচ্চাচ অবস্থাও। তাইওয়ান প্রশ্নে চিন যতটা কঠোর এবং স্পষ্টবাক, কাশ্মীর তথা পাকিস্তান প্রশ্নে ভারত তাহার সিকিভাগও নয়। স্বভাবতই মার্কিন যুক্তরাষ্ট্র তথা বৃহত্তর দুনিয়ার সঙ্গে আদানপ্রদানেও ভারত পাকিস্তানের কারণে সর্বদাই সমস্যায় থাকে। স্বভাবতই এই সমস্যাকে চিন পরিপূর্ণ ভাবে ব্যবহার করে। চিনের সঙ্গে সত্য অর্থে সমানে সমানে সম্পর্ক রচনা করিতে চাহিলে ভারতের দুইটি অবশ্যকর্তব্য: এক, অর্থনৈতিক উন্নয়নের গতি বাড়ানো এবং দুই, পাকিস্তান-সমস্যার সম্মানজনক সমাধান। সেই সমাধান কিন্তু পাকিস্তানের স্বার্থে ঘটতে পারে না, তাহা ঘটতে হইবে ভারতের স্বার্থে। কিন্তু তাহার জন্য আবার পর্যাপ্ত আর্থিক সামর্থ্য জরুরি। অর্থাৎ, এক কথায়, অর্থনীতিই চাবিকাঠি। কার্ল মার্ক্স, অন্য পরিপ্রেক্ষিতে, যেমন বলিয়াছিলেন।



## On the fast track

**T**HERE CAN BE no doubt that Prime Minister Manmohan Singh and Premier Wen Jiabao have taken relations between India and China to a qualitatively new plane, in the process emerging as taller leaders in the eyes of the world. By sealing a “strategic and cooperative partnership,” the two economically fastest growing countries in the world have embarked on a new and visionary path that promises long-term stability and development in the region. Traditionally, the two countries have taken a step forward with every top-level visit, but Premier Wen’s meetings mark a paradigm shift in how these Asian partners perceive each other. For those living in the time warp of looking at bilateral relations through the 1962 lens, the 11 agreements produced by the two sides should serve as a reality check. The “political parameters and guiding principles” settled to address and resolve the boundary dispute have provided a progressive basis on which the Special Representatives can work to craft a framework of a “package” solution. The most important of these principles are: not allowing the differences on the boundary question to “affect the overall development of bilateral relations”; the non-use of force or the threat of force; a friendly and businesslike effort to find “a fair, reasonable and mutually acceptable solution ... through consultations on an equal footing” and with the overall bilateral political perspective in command; and the commitment to give due consideration to the “historical evidence, national sentiments, practical difficulties, and reasonable concerns and sensitivities” of both sides. Further, the “modalities” agreed upon for implementing military confidence building measures along the Line of Actual Control hold immense value for the final settlement of the boundary dispute.

Premier Wen’s vision of India, China and Russia as strategic partners who will help restore a multilateral approach to world affairs underlines the importance Beijing attaches to New Delhi’s role in the international arena. Can this be a sign of China gradually coming around to supporting India’s bid for a place in an expanded United Nations Security Council? The agreements on taking the economic relationship forward reflect mutual political will to cement the new partnership. India and China already have a bilateral trade in excess of \$13 billion; a regional trade agreement — a joint study group will study its feasibility — could double that. An RTA may even serve as a forerunner to an eventual India-China Free Trade Agreement; Beijing is eager to pursue this but the proposal does not appear to have enough supporters in New Delhi just yet. Indian industry would do well to prepare for what cannot and must not be stopped.

At this stage, the main possibilities for economic cooperation seem to be in the information technology sector, between India’s software development houses and China’s hardware manufacturing industry. Building on this and other complementarities can help to remove the last vestiges of suspicion between the two countries, to the benefit of the people of both.

# ভারত-ঘনিষ্ঠতায় আমেরিকা না চটে, সতর্ক চিন

জয়ন্ত ঘোষাল • নয়াদিল্লি

১৩ এপ্রিল: কংগ্রেসের সঙ্গে রাজ্যস্তরে বোঝাপড়ার জন্য মমতা বন্দ্যোপাধ্যায় ঠিক তত দূর যেতে রাজি, যত দূর গেলে বিজেপি চটে যাবে না। রাজ্য রাজনীতিতে এই অঙ্কটাই কংগ্রেস-তৃণমূল ঐক্যের পাথর বলতে গেলে চিনের প্রাচীর। ঠিক সেই একই যুক্তিতে ভারতের সঙ্গে সুসম্পর্ক বচনায় বেজিং তত দূরই এগোতে চায়, যত দূর এগোলে আমেরিকার রোষের মুখে পড়তে হবে না তাদের। চিনের প্রধানমন্ত্রী ওয়েন জিয়াবাওয়ের ভারত সফরের শেষে এটাই কূটনৈতিক নির্যাস।

মার্কিন বিদেশসচিব কন্ডোলিজা রাইসের গত মাসের ভারত সফরের পর মনমোহন সিংহও চিনের সঙ্গে নাটকীয় ভাবে এমন কোনও কাণ্ড ঘটাতে চাননি, যাতে ভারত-মার্কিন কূটনৈতিক সম্পর্কে সমস্যা হয়।

এ কথা সত্য যে, ভারত ও চিন পরস্পরের

অনেক কাছে চলে এসেছে। বাজপেয়ীর বেজিং সফরের সময় চিন সিকিমকে স্বীকৃতি দেওয়ার অঙ্গীকার করে। কিন্তু প্রত্যাশিত ঘোষণাটি করতেও এত সময় লাগল আমেরিকার জন্যই।

রাষ্ট্রপুঞ্জের নিরাপত্তা পরিষদে ভারতের স্থায়ী সদস্যপদের জন্য সংয়ালের প্রসঙ্গে এই কারণে চিন প্রকাশ্য ঘোষণায় যেতে রাজি নয়। বিদেশসচিব শ্যাম সারন সাংবাদিক সম্মেলন করে যে দিন

চিনের সমর্থনের কথা জানান, তার পরের দিনই জিয়াবাওকে যথেষ্ট সতর্ক সুরে বলতে হয়, চিন এখনই এ ব্যাপারে প্রকাশ্যে মতামত দিতে চাইছে না। আসল কথা হচ্ছে, চিন এই ব্যাপারে প্রকাশ্যে সওয়াল করে আমেরিকাকে চটাতো চায় না। পাকিস্তানের সঙ্গেও কি এত দিনের সম্পর্ক বিলুপ্ত



ওয়েন জিয়াবাও

করা তাদের পক্ষে সম্ভব? বরং ভারত ও পাকিস্তানের সম্পর্কে সমদূরস্থ নীতি বজায় রাখতে, নিরপেক্ষ থাকার কৌশল নিতেই চিন অনেক বেশি আগ্রহী। প্রধানমন্ত্রী মনমোহন সিংহ অবশ্য আজও বলেছেন, রাষ্ট্রপুঞ্জ ভারতের দাবিকে চিন যে সমর্থন করেছে, সেটাই যথেষ্ট অগ্রগতি।

গত কয়েক বছরেই স্পষ্ট, সম্পর্কের নতুন একটা অক্ষ গড়ে তুলেছে চিন-ভারত-রাশিয়া। বাজপেয়ী প্রধানমন্ত্রী থাকাকালীন আমেরিকায় এই চিন দেশের বিদেশসচিব বৈঠকে বসে বিশ্ব-কূটনীতিতে আলোড়ন তুলেছিলেন। কয়েক মাস আগেই চিনের প্রধানমন্ত্রী লাওসে আসিয়ান-সম্মেলনে মনমোহন সিংহের সঙ্গে হাত মিলিয়ে সগর্বে ঘোষণা করেন, “গোটা পৃথিবী আমাদের

এই করমর্দনের দিকে তাকিয়ে।” সে দিন এই প্রশ্নও উঠেছিল, গোটা পৃথিবী বলতে কি বস্তুত বোঝানো হচ্ছে আমেরিকাকেই? কিন্তু যাই বোঝানো হোক, সতটা হল, সীমান্ত-বিবাদে নিরসন নিয়ে প্রচুর কথা এবং ইন্দিরা গান্ধীর সময়েই দু’দেশের মধ্যে এই প্রশ্নে কার্যকর কর্মসূচী হলো, আজও তা ঘোষণা করা যায়নি। বাজপেয়ী জমানায় ব্রজেশ মিশ্র আলাপ-আলোচনা করে যে সমাধানমুত্র দিয়েছিলেন, আজ সেটা নিয়েই কথা হয়ে চলেছে। চিনের মধ্যস্থতাকারী এ মুহূর্তে স্পষ্ট দেড় ঘণ্টার বৈঠকে করেছেন ভারতীয় প্রতিনিধি সঙ্গে। তবুও বিবাদ নিরসনের যোক্ষা হল না।

অর্থনীতির ক্ষেত্রে ভারতের রাজার চিনকে আকৃষ্ট করে, তবু দিনের শেষে এ সব হার মানে রাজনীতির কাছে। তাই ধীরে ধীরে “নীতি নিয়ে এগোনো। চিনে বৌদ্ধমন্দির নির্মাণের ঘোষণা করেছে তাই ভারতের বিদেশসচিব পাণ্ডি দেন আমেরিকায়।



# Fuel enough for dragon and elephant

Siddharth Varadarajan

**A** RECURRENCE theme in most writings on the emerging international energy scenario is the pressure that rising Chinese and Indian demand for oil and gas is exerting on world prices. Though oil prices have risen and fallen through the better part of the past two decades and cyclical movement still exists, there is little doubt that we are entering a period of a secular upward trend in the price level. The reasons for this are not hard to find. On the supply side, despite the many great discoveries of the past 10 years, most oil majors like Shell and Chevron-Texaco are having difficulty finding fresh reserves to replace those they extract in any given year. And on the demand side, despite the sluggishness still evident in Japan and Western Europe, the rapid economic growth witnessed across most of Asia is leading to a rapid surge in net imports of oil into the region.

## Rising demand and dwindling supply

China alone accounts for 40 per cent of the growth in world oil demand since 2000. Asian gas imports too are rising, though the scale of the new discoveries in Iran, the Persian Gulf, Central Asia and other smaller fields in Myanmar, Bangladesh and India means landed prices will depend less on rising demand than on any economies of scale effected in the mode of transportation, such as multi-destination pipelines.

Against such a background of rising demand and dwindling supply, it is tempting to assume India and China are rivals in the quest for new — but eventually finite — sources of oil. Even if the possibilities for cooperation are substantial, it is a fact that China has been much more focussed than India on the hydrocarbons front. At the Asian energy conference in New Delhi this January, Prime Minister Manmohan Singh sounded a

## India and China can be partners, not rivals, in the quest for energy security.

warning: "China is ahead of us in planning for its energy security." "India can no longer be complacent," he said. Despite generating substantial internal production, China has been a net importer of oil since 1993. According to reliable estimates, its internal reserves at Daqing and elsewhere are likely to run out by 2020. Though there is some possibility of exploiting oil in the Tarim basin, the costs involved are substantial. With the Chinese economy continuing to grow, its need for imported oil will only go up.

## Chinese response

The Chinese response to this scenario has been multi-pronged. First, it is building U.S.-style strategic petroleum reserves at four locations in Zhejiang, Shandong, and Liaoning provinces with the aim of having at hand 30-75 days consumption as reserve. Alongside this, it is paying closer attention to security issues along its vital sea lines of communication (SLOCs). Beijing's areas of concern are the Straits of Hormuz and Malacca (where 80 per cent of Chinese imports pass through), Luzon, and Taiwan. The Chinese presence in Gwadar in Pakistan and the Myanmar coast is linked more to energy security concerns than to any threat from — or challenge to — India. China today is extracting oil in more than 12 countries around the world. In addition, it recently entered into a \$100 billion 25-year agreement for supply of LNG from Iran. When Canadian Prime Minister Paul Martin went to China in January 2005, the two countries agreed on an energy partnership for the 21st century that might give China access to the Athabasca tar

sands. Also in January, following Chinese Vice-President Zeng Qinghong's visit to Caracas, Chinese firms signed a \$400 million investment deal involving as many as 15 Venezuelan oil fields. The last two deals have sent alarm bells ringing in Washington, which fears losing its power as a monopsonist: More than 95 per cent of Canadian oil exports today go to the U.S., which is also Venezuela's single largest customer.

As for land-based supply routes, work has already started on a 1,000 km pipeline from Atasu in Kazakhstan to Alataw in Xinjiang. When completed, China can bring in as much as 10 million tonnes of oil annually through this route. The Chinese side was also keen on a 2,400 km pipeline from Angarsk in eastern Siberia to Daqing. But the Japanese, who have their own energy needs to worry about, want the Siberian pipeline to go to Nakhodka on the Sea of Japan. For the moment, Tokyo appears to have convinced Moscow about the viability of this route, though Beijing has also mooted a cooperative plan that would help both countries. It stands to reason that energy figures prominently amongst all the issues underlying the recent increase in tension between China and Japan.

Given China's large global footprint in the energy sector, what kind of policy should India have? ONGC Videsh Ltd (OVL) faces strong competition from Chinese firms in most territories and lost out the chance to buy Shell's 50 per cent share in Angola's lucrative Block 18 when the Angolan state company, Sonagol, exercised its pre-emption rights to hand the stake over to CNPC. In pursuing this deal, the Chinese Gov-

ernment backed up CNPC's bid with an offer of \$2 billion worth of development assistance. All India could offer was concessional funding for a \$200 million rail deal. While the Indian side laments the lack of transparent audit procedures in China — which enables Beijing to be more 'flexible' in sealing up contracts outside — it is also true that Indian companies are not aggressive enough. Despite India wanting a share of Kazakhstan's booming energy sector, for example, no Indian energy sector company has seen fit to open an office in Almaty or Astana to scout for opportunities.

## Focussed partnership

But if India and China have squared off in Angola and also Indonesia and Sudan, there are also examples of cooperation. Both countries have a partnership in the Yahavaran oil field in Iran, as well as the Greater Nile oil project in Sudan. There is also talk of collaboration in Russian projects where India could take an equity stake with a view to supplying not its own but Chinese markets.

Going beyond specific corporate tie-ups, there is tremendous strategic sense in India and China evolving a focussed partnership on the energy security front. Indeed, one may argue that as far as Central Asian energy resources are concerned, India and China are natural allies because both share an interest in ensuring that the battle over export routes is settled in favour of Asia rather than Europe or the United States. When Central Asia has an energy surplus and South and East Asia have energy deficits, it is logical that transportation routes be established between these two regions over the shortest possible distance.

If the U.S. has its way, oil and gas from Turkmenistan, Uzbekistan and Kazakhstan will travel westward through the Caspian Sea, Georgia and Turkey. And India and China, which currently pay an 'Asian premium' for oil from West Asia, will find themselves paying more for Central Asian resources. Thus the two countries have a stake in ensuring that the energy resources of Asia are used within the continent. Specifically, this means working together to ensure that the U.S. effort to isolate Iran is frustrated. No doubt there are other mutually beneficial routes.

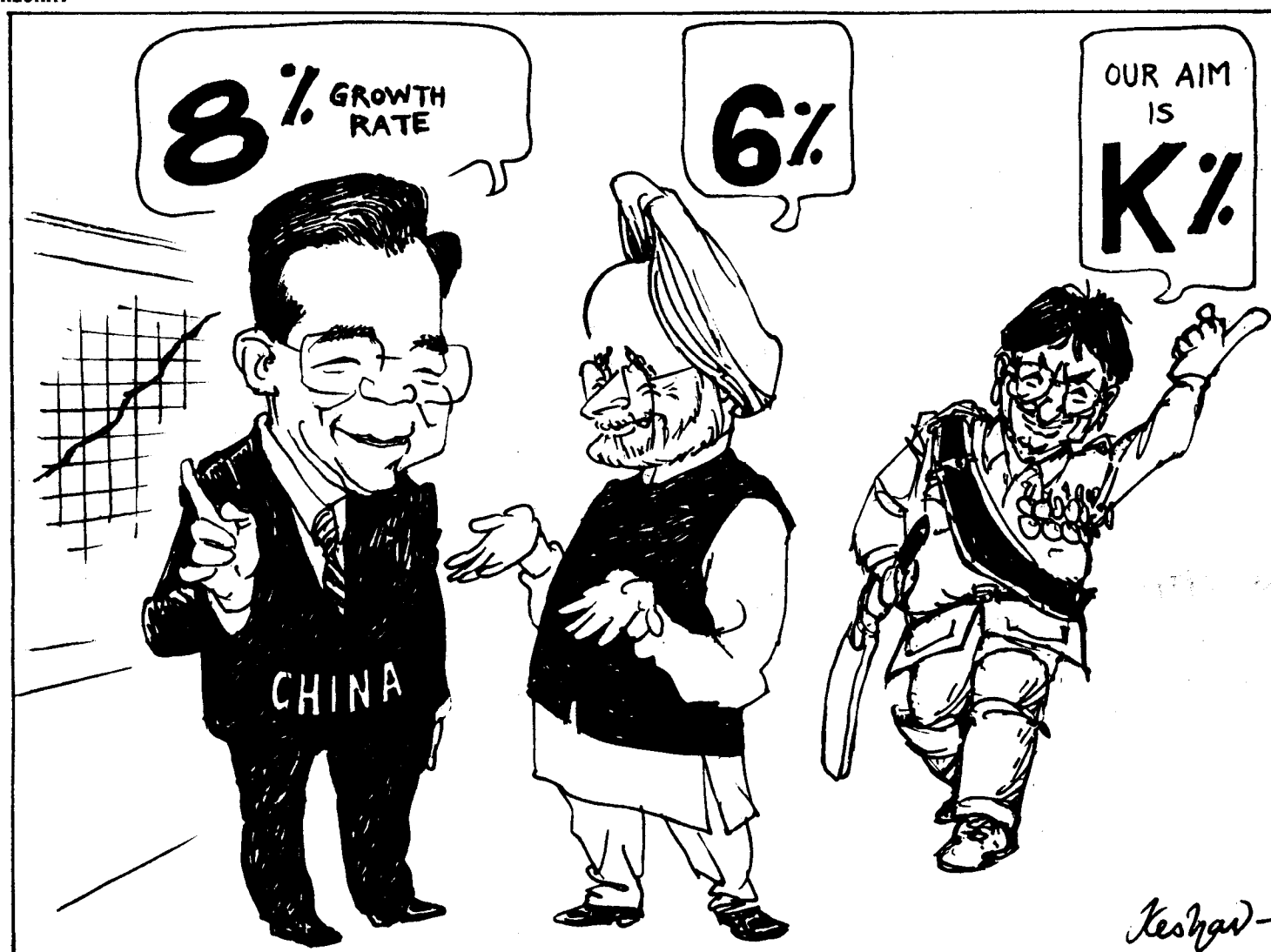
When Xinjiang Autonomous Region chairman Ismail Tiliwandi visited New Delhi last year, he broached the subject of a direct gas pipeline from China to India. And there is also a suggestion, made recently by Sudha Mahalingam of TERI, for the export of hydro-electricity from Kyrgyzstan to India via High-Voltage Direct Current (HVDC) lines through Xinjiang. But a pipeline through Iran remains the best bet for India, not just because it will eventually let us tap into Central Asian gas but also because of the positive geopolitical spin-offs.

## Proposed pipeline

Most tantalising of all is the proposal floated by India's Petroleum Minister, Mani Shankar Aiyar, for the Iran-Pakistan-India gas pipeline to be extended across north India, Assam and upper Myanmar all the way into China's southern Yunnan province. Because it is equidistant from Central Asia and China's eastern seaboard, Yunnan is perhaps the region hardest for Beijing to supply. For the Chinese side, such a pipeline would be a good alternative to the proposed pipeline from Sittwe on the Myanmar coast to Kunming in Yunnan. And for India, having China as an end user for Iranian or Central Asian gas would lessen the chances of Pakistan ever turning off the tap.

The 21st century will not be an 'Asian century' unless the two biggest countries in the continent work as partners. And what better place to start than energy, the control of which helped the U.S. establish the previous century as an American one?

KESHAV



# Border issue: 'India, China for political, not technical solution'

Amit Baruah

**NEW DELHI:** India and China have taken a major step forward in agreeing to an 11-point "political parameters and guiding principles" to resolve their long-standing boundary dispute. The two sides were envisaging a "political settlement" and not a "technical solution" to the issue, senior officials said on Wednesday.

The guiding principles, they pointed out, provided the basis for proactively addressing the issue as a "strategic objective." By stating that it was a strategic objective, India and China had ensured that this issue would not be put on the backburner.

Pointing out that a sector-by-sector approach was not being contemplated, the officials maintained that the two sides would take an overall view of the three sectors. This would involve an "inter-sectoral trade off," they maintained.

Article III of the guiding principles holds: "Both sides should in the spirit of mutual respect and understanding, make meaningful and mutually acceptable adjustments to their respective positions on the boundary issue, so as to arrive at a package settlement to the boundary question. The boundary settlement must be final, covering all sectors of the India-China boundary."

The officials said the guiding principles had broad political support in the country, with the Prime Minister, Manmohan Singh, consulting the Bharatiya Janata Party and the Left parties on the issue. The guidelines were in line with a decision taken by the previous government, they maintained.

## A win-win situation

Pointing out that the principles were a win-win situation for both India and China, it was made known that informal discussions on the second stage of arriving at a framework for final delineation and demarcation (in the third stage) had already started.

14 APR 2005

THE HINDU

## ‘ভাই’ ভারত, রাষ্ট্রপুঞ্জে তবু সমর্থন নয় চিনের

স্টাফ রিপোর্টার, নয়াদিল্লি, ১২ এপ্রিল: একেই বলে বহুরাষ্ট্রে লঘুক্রিয়া।

ভারতীয় বিদেশসচিব কাল বলেছিলেন, নিরাপত্তা পরিষদে স্থায়ী সদস্যদের প্রক্ষে চিন ভারতের পাশে আছে। কিন্তু আজই চিনের প্রধানমন্ত্রী ওয়েন জিয়াবাও বুঝিয়ে দিয়েছেন, এই প্রক্ষে ভারতকে প্রকাশ্যে এখনই সমর্থন করা হবে না।

রাজধানীতে আজ আই আই টি-র একটি অনুষ্ঠানে জিয়াবাও পঞ্চাশের দশকের সেই চেনা শ্লোগান ‘হিন্দ চিনি, ভাই ভাই’-এর পুনরাবৃত্তি করেন। হিন্দিতে নিজে ওই শব্দ চারটি উচ্চারণ করে বলেছেন, এশিয়ায় ভারত ও চিন মোটেও প্রতিদ্বন্দ্বী নয়। বরং, প্রতিবেশীসুলভ বন্ধুত্ব রয়েছে তাদের মধ্যে। কিন্তু এত সবের পরেও সরাসরি বলেননি, তাঁরা স্থায়ী সদস্যদের জন্য ভারতের দাবিকে সমর্থন করছেন। বরং কিছুটা অস্পষ্টতা রেখে তাঁর বক্তব্য, রাষ্ট্রপুঞ্জ-সহ আন্তর্জাতিক মঞ্চে ভারতের ‘বৃহত্তর ভূমিকা’ আশা করে চিন।

জিয়াবাওয়ের কথায়, “ফের বলছি, আন্তর্জাতিক বিষয়ে ভারতের গুরুত্বপূর্ণ ভূমিকাকে আমরা গুরুত্ব দিই। ভারত জনবহুল এবং গুরুত্বপূর্ণ উন্নয়নশীল দেশ। ভারত যে রাষ্ট্রপুঞ্জে বৃহত্তর ভূমিকা চাইছে, তা আমরা বুঝি এবং সমর্থন করি।” কূটনৈতিক মহলের মতে, মূলত জাপানের ভয় এবং পাকিস্তানের আপত্তির জন্যই চিন প্রকাশ্যে ভারতের দাবিকে সমর্থন জানাবে না। টোকিও-ও চায়, রাষ্ট্রপুঞ্জে স্থায়ী সদস্য সংখ্যা বাড়ুক এবং তাতে জাপানের জায়গা হোক। কিন্তু জাপানের অন্তর্ভুক্তি বেজিঙের কাছে কাম্য নয়। ভারতে এসেও জাপান সম্পর্কে তাঁর মনোভাব স্পষ্ট করতে কসুর করেননি জিয়াবাও। তাঁর কথায়, “জাপানের উচিত তাঁর নিজের ইতিহাসের মুখোমুখি হওয়া। স্থায়ী সদস্য হওয়ার জন্য জাপানের চেষ্টার বিরুদ্ধে সম্প্রতি বেশ কিছু দেশে বিক্ষোভ দেখছি।”

এর সঙ্গে রয়েছে পাক আপত্তি। ভারতের স্থায়ী সদস্যপদ পাকিস্তানের কাছে কখনওই গ্রহণযোগ্য নয়। এশিয়ায় চিনের মিত্র হিসাবে পরিচিত পাকিস্তান বেজিঙের উপরে এ নিয়ে ক্রমাগত চাপ দিচ্ছে। ভারতের সঙ্গে নতুন ‘কৌশলগত মিত্রতা’ গড়ে উঠলেও পুরনো বন্ধুর বক্তব্যকে পুরোপুরি অগ্রাহ্য করার মতো অবস্থায় এখনও আসেনি চিন। একটি প্রশ্নের জবাবে আজ জিয়াবাও যা বলেছেন, তাতে স্পষ্ট, দ্বিপাক্ষিক সম্পর্ক ‘কৌশলগত স্তরে’ উঠে গেলেও এই বিষয়টি নিয়ে বেজিঙের খোলাখুলি সমর্থন এখনও পায়নি দিল্লি।

কূটনৈতিক মহলের বিশ্লেষণ, ভারতকে সমর্থন কোন মাত্রায় থাকবে, তা-ও স্পষ্ট নয়। দিল্লি চায়, ভেটো-সমত স্থায়ী সদস্যপদ। চিন যদিও বা নিরাপত্তা পরিষদে ভারতের অন্তর্ভুক্তি দেখতে চায়, তারা ভারতের ভেটো-শক্তির পক্ষপাতী কি না, সেটা জানা যায়নি। তাই চিন এটাও বলে দিয়েছে, কী ভাবে রাষ্ট্রপুঞ্জে সংস্কার হবে, তার জন্য এখনও কোনও ঐকমত্য হয়নি। বিদেশসচিব সারন অবশ্য এর পরেও বলেছেন, “এই বিষয়ে অবশ্যই অগ্রগতি হয়েছে। চিন বলেছে, ওরা ভারতকে পরিষদে স্থায়ী সদস্য হিসাবে দেখলে খুশি হবে।”

13 APR 2005

ANADABAZAR PATRIKA

# Future could belong to Asia if India, China work together: Wen

By Our Staff Reporter

**NEW DELHI, APRIL 12.** Emphasising that the 21st century could belong to Asia if India and China developed relations and worked together, the Chinese Prime Minister, Wen Jiabao, today said that the two countries were not rivals but friendly neighbours.

Addressing and interacting with students and the faculty of the Indian Institute of Technology, Delhi, Mr. Wen walked away with not just applause but also the goodwill of the students charmed with his reconfirmation that the slogan "Hindi-Chini-Bhai-Bhai" still held good.

In a speech laced with quotes from Mahatma Gandhi, Jawaharlal Nehru and Rabindranath Tagore, Mr. Wen said he did not agree with the belief that India and China were rivals or competitors. "Some see China and India as competitors. But I disagree. To view India and China as only rivals is not right. China

and India are friendly neighbours and can be cooperative partners," Mr. Wen said.

With the topic of his speech being a guarded affair till the very end, Mr. Wen spoke out in favour of cooperation in different fields. Borrowing a quote from Tagore which he made after his

visit to China, Mr. Wen said: "Today I feel as if I have returned to my native soil," adding that he was "simply touched by Indian aspirations" and impressed with the tremendous strides made by the country in the past 11 years. India and China were among the fastest growing

economies of the 21st century, and the expansion of economic cooperation was one of the key priority areas. Combining the strong points of both countries could help achieve a faster and greater development.

Emphasising the need for developed countries to close

ranks, he said: "India hopes to play an important role in the U.N. and we extend our support." It was important to carry forward the tradition of peace. "We wish to see India prosperous and developed. Also, a prosperous and developed China is in India's interest." The students were more than happy, when Mr. Wen said he was ready to take more questions even after the official function was over.

When a student asked about a possible increase in exchange of students, Mr. Wen said: "Exchange of students represents an important channel for the young to interact. We can probably do this by increasing the current quota of Indian students allowed to study in China." He had proposed to the Prime Minister, Manmohan Singh, an exchange project with 100 young Indians going to China to understand the country better and 100 young people from China coming to India.

## "Japan should face up to history"

By Our Diplomatic Correspondent

**NEW DELHI, APRIL 12.** The Chinese Premier, Wen Jiabao, was all smiles at his press interaction here this morning. He adopted a serious demeanour only once when it came to dealing with a question on a new Japanese history textbook, which reportedly plays down wartime atrocities.

In response to a question, Mr. Wen said that the core issue between Beijing and Tokyo was

Japan's need to "face up to history." During the "war of aggression" in the last century, Japan had inflicted huge suffering on the people of Asia and other parts of the world.

Referring to the recent protests in China and other neighbouring countries that targeted Japan's efforts to enter the United Nations' Security Council as a permanent member, he said these protests should lead to a "deep and profound reflection" by Japan. According to

him, only a country which respected history and took responsibility and which could win the trust of the peoples of Asia and the world would be in a position to take greater responsibilities in the international community.

Mr. Wen said that China and Japan were close neighbours. "We need to take history as a mirror and continuously move forward and strengthen ties between China and Japan," he added.

# Wen silent on

# UNSC seat

Statesman News Service

## When it's *Bhai Bhai* again

NEW DELHI, April 12. — The Chinese Premier, Mr Wen Jiabao, today said he backed a "bigger role for India in the UN", but did not explicitly support India's candidature for a permanent membership of the Security Council.

Mr Wen told reporters: "We (China) attach great importance to the role of India in international affairs. India is a very populous country and is also a very important developing country. We understand and support India's aspiration to play an even bigger role in international affairs, including in the UN."

This is what the joint statement released yesterday stated. But, the foreign secretary, Mr Shyam Saran, had gone beyond that to say that China had conveyed that it would be "happy" to see India as a permanent member of the UNSC. Today, however, Mr Wen didn't mention this fact.

Stating that his visit had taken bilateral ties to a

NEW DELHI, April 12. — Once again the slogan of *Hindi Chini Bhai Bhai* reverberated during the Chinese Premier's address to the students of IIT, Delhi, today. He quoted from Gandhi, Tagore, Amartya Sen, and Deng Xiaopeng to assert that the two countries should ensure better economic growth. — SNS

new level, Mr Wen said three major results had been achieved. The first was the upgradation of ties to establish an India-China strategic and co-operative partnership for peace and prosperity.

Secondly, the two sides had agreed on the "guiding principles and the political parameters" for settling the boundary dispute. He added that Sikkim was no longer an irritant. Thirdly, the two sides had agreed on a five-year plan for comprehensive cooperation in economy and trade.

More reports on page 4

13 APR 2005

THE STATESMAN

# Silent shift in China policy

Devi Prasad  
In New Delhi

April 12. — The Political Parameters and Guiding Principles for the settlement of the boundary dispute include a significant change in policy for India.

For the first time, an official document mentions a "package settlement" for the Sino-Indian boundary question. This is a departure from India's stand for a sector-by-sector settlement of the 4,700-km boundary while China had always asked for a package deal. The political document now calls for both sides to make meaningful and mutually acceptable adjustments "so as to arrive at a package settlement to the boundary question". "The boundary question must be final, covering all sectors of the India-China boundary".

The Line of Actual Control is divided into three sectors — the 2,176-km western sector of Ladakh

## Wen visit very successful: China

BEIJING, April 12. — Describing the Sino-India agreement on the "Political Guiding Principles" to resolve the boundary issue as an important achievement, China today said that Premier Mr Wen Jiabao's visit to India was "very successful" and "very fruitful". Chinese foreign ministry spokesman Mr Qin Gang said here that Mr Jiabao's 9-12 April visit had an important achievement in that the two countries had reached an agreement on the "Political Guiding Principles" which mainly states that the two countries would proceed from the overall bilateral relations, seeking a "fair and reasonable solution to the boundary issue that is acceptable to both sides through equal consultations". Mr Jiabao returned here today after a week-long tour to South Asian countries including India and Pakistan. — PTI

and Aksai Chin; the 554-km middle sector and the 1,326-km eastern sector bordering Sikkim and Arunachal Pradesh.

Foreign secretary Mr Shyam Saran had said that by a "package settlement" India meant that it would have a "certain overall balance in terms of whatever adjustments that need to be made". "You cannot say I am going to settle this part first and then I will look at another. That will not allow that kind of overall balance to emerge," Mr

Saran said.

This is certainly a change from the decades-old Indian policy which had hoped to move slowly on the boundary issue. It had been dictated by a distrust of the Chinese and the recognition that boundaries and sovereignty were emotive issues. After 1949, China had said it did not recognise the 1914 MacMahon Line as it was negotiated between Britain and Tibet. India had, however, asserted their continuing importance.

13 APR 2005

THE STATESMAN

## CHINA CALLING

There is a growing warmth in the relations between India and China. The visit of the Chinese premier, Mr Wen Jiabao, has been an outstanding success. Nevertheless, it would be naïve to assume that China will not present a strategic challenge to India, and New Delhi must, therefore, continue to prepare for this possibility. China has finally recognized Sikkim as a part of India, and the visiting premier handed over new, official maps showing the state as a part of Indian territory. Similarly, China has formally supported India's candidature for a permanent seat in the United Nations security council. New Delhi and Beijing have also agreed to a set of political parameters and guiding principles to resolve the boundary dispute. In addition, the two countries reached an agreement on the modalities to implement confidence-building measures along the Line of Actual Control by improving contacts between the two militaries.

Trade ties between the two countries have also scaled unprecedented heights. In this context, a large number of agreements were signed and a report of the joint study group on trade and economic cooperation was made public. Caution, however, needs to be exercised even as relations with China continue to improve. From this perspective, there have been many warning signs already. By far the most serious concern is the China-Pakistan relationship and the help provided by Beijing to Islamabad's nuclear programme. Beijing has clearly regarded a nuclear-armed Pakistan as a crucial regional ally and as a vital counterweight to India's growing capabilities. While the movement on Sikkim is encouraging, Beijing's refusal to recognize Arunachal Pradesh as a part of India, Chinese inroads into Myanmar, including the reported construction of a Chinese naval facility on the Coco islands, and Beijing's recent overtures to the monarchy in Nepal should be of deep strategic concern to India.

The possibility of a future clash of interests between India and China over trade and influence in Asia should also not be wished away. It is thus the spirit of realpolitik rather than misguided notions of Hindi-Chini *bhai bhai* that must inform the relationship. Cooperation with China must, of course, be accelerated at all levels. But India must continue to expand cooperation with many of China's neighbours. This includes naval exercises in the South China Sea with Vietnam and other countries in the region, improved military ties with Singapore and other south-east Asian states and greater activism in Asian multi-lateral forums. The strategy must not be to position New Delhi explicitly as a counterweight to China, but to enlarge the space of Indian interests from the Malacca Straits to the Persian Gulf in order to emerge, potentially in the medium-term future, as a key balance to China.

WEDNESDAY 13 APRIL 2005

## Free trade with China

### Free Trade Within India

**W**ILL India gain from a free-trade agreement with China? Yes, if India accelerates the pace of internal reform. Any change from a given situation will leave some people better off and some others worse off. Those who lose out will cry blue murder, while those who benefit might be more discreet about their gains. Most often, protests against change are loud and draw attention, while support for change remains muted — unless political leaders make bold to hail it, explaining to the people the larger consequences of change. Freeing up trade with China would be no exception. China is now one of the world's growth engines, one of the most efficient manufacturing sites in the world, whose low-cost output helps hold the priceline for consumers around the world. To conjure up a picture of Indian and Chinese manufacturers competing with each other in every single line of economic activity is what the naysayers do when they forecast doom for Indian players weighed down by multiple handicaps. Of course, there would be some degree of competition that would not be swiftly resolved in someone's favour. But more importantly, there would be a reallocation of business lines, with producers in each country moving into those areas in which they do relatively better. The enhanced availability of more efficiently produced goods and services would make producers in both countries even more competitive in their areas of comparative strength. As capabilities change, these configurations would change further. This is conventional economics. Denying such a possibility, so as to defend positions of vested advantage, is conventional politics. Enlightened leadership would seek to break out of convention.

To realise the benefits of easier access to better quality goods and services derived from closer integration with the world calls for ever more flexible markets and stronger institutions of governance. The real question is not, dare we take on the Chinese? The real question is, does our political leadership have the guts to stamp out power theft, slash government flab, free up markets in labour and energy and remove the continuing stranglehold of the bureaucracy over entrepreneurship? Look within to look east.

13 APR 2005 *The Economic Times*



# China supports India's UNSC bid

Nilova Roy Chaudhury  
New Delhi, April 12

CHINESE PREMIER Wen Jiabao has conveyed China's support for India's claim to a permanent seat on the UN Security Council. Speaking to members of the media on Tuesday, however, Premier Wen chose to use the more restrained language of the Joint Statement, saying, "We fully understand and support India's aspirations".

"China reiterates that we attach great importance to the important role of India in international affairs. India is a very populous country and is also a very important developing country. We fully understand and support the Indian aspirations to play an even bigger role in international affairs, including in the UN", he said.

"I have conveyed this to Prime Minister Manmohan Singh", Wen said, concluding his interaction with the media.

Official sources on Tuesday, however, indicated that the assurance of support was far more categorical during delegation-level talks. According to diplomatic analysts, the fact that Wen chose to return to answer the question on Tuesday morning also was indication that China was "positive" in its support for India's claims.

Since the issue of Chinese support for India's UNSC claims was "not central" to the agenda of the talks between the two leaders, the Joint Statement "reflected" the forward movement. "There were many more substantial bilateral issues to talk about", a senior offi-

## When students were charmed

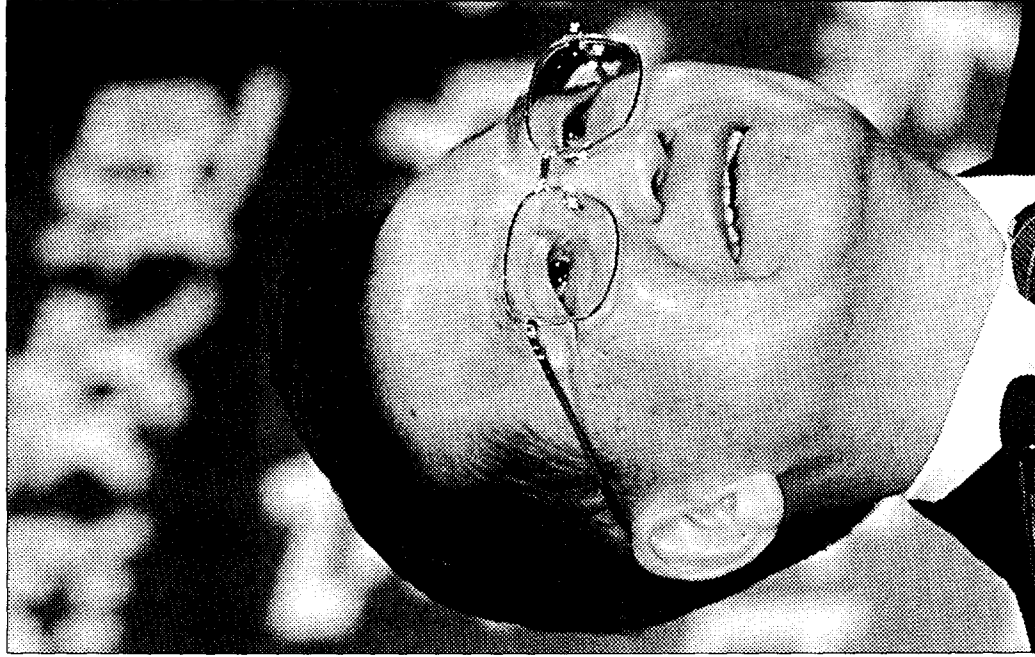
REACHING OUT to the youth in New Delhi, Wen Jiabao said on Tuesday that China would host 100 students from India on a reciprocal basis and advocated enhanced exchange of scholars. Addressing students of the IIT, Delhi, Wen established a rapport with them in an interactive session. While charming the audience, he was impressed by the calibre and knowledge of the Indian students. "I would like to see an increase in the quota for Indian students for studies in China... the same can be done by India."

PTI, New Delhi

cially categorically stated.

Foreign secretary Shyam Saran said on Monday that there was a "definite forward movement" in China's position and New Delhi "had every reason to be satisfied" with China's assertion that it would "be happy to see" India at the UNSC. Public assertions as was the case with Sikkim, will follow the private assurance of support, sources indicated.

With this assurance, India has support from four of the P-5 in the UNSC, with the US choosing to remain non-committal.



AP

Chinese Premier Wen Jiabao in New Delhi on Tuesday.

## LF thumbs up for Indo-China deal

HT Correspondent  
New Delhi, April 12

LEFT PARTIES have praised the Indo-Chinese agreements to have a "strategic and cooperative partnership" between the two countries.

Describing Chinese Prime Minister Wen Jiabao's visit to the country as a success, the CPI(M) politburo welcomed the agreement on the "political parameters and guiding principles for the settlement of the India-China boundary question".

The agreement containing 11 Articles said the boundary question differences should not be allowed to affect the overall development of bilateral relations.

The boundary question would be resolved through peaceful and friendly consultations. "Neither side should use or threaten to use force against the other by any means", it said.

Welcoming the "content and direction" of the agreements signed at the "historic" summit, the CPI(M) hoped that the near future would see a much closer cooperation between the neighbouring nations.

Meanwhile, the CPI central secretary issued a statement here: "The principles agreed upon in the matter of resolving the border dispute are a great leap forward in guiding the delineation of the border between the two countries."

## INTERNATIONAL Nuke experts arrive in Pak, meet officials

ISLAMABAD: International anti-proliferation experts met Pakistani officials for the first time on Monday amid concern about a nuclear black market run by A Q Khan. The Nuclear Suppliers Group team met Foreign Secretary Riaz Mohammad Khan. They also held talks with Additional Secretary Tariq Usman Haider who handles nuclear-related matters.

## Myanmar in Asean chair: No agreement

MACTAN: South East Asian Foreign Ministers, meeting in the Philippine island of Cebu, failed to reach a consensus on Monday on the issue of Myanmar's Asean chairmanship next year.

## NATIONAL NETWORK SC notice on Dalit Christian quota

NEW DELHI: The Supreme Court on Monday issued notice to the Centre on a petition raising the issue of grant of reservation benefits to Scheduled Castes even after their conversion to Christianity.

## Ghising heads for New Delhi talks

SILIGURI: The GNLF's demand for an 'alternative' to the Darjeeling Gorkha Hill Council will form the agenda for tripartite talks in Delhi on April 14. Ghising left for the talks after an "urgent call" from the Home Ministry.

# Decks cleared for 'adjustments' along boundary to settle dispute

■ WEN VISIT | Political will exists to settle dispute, PM tells Wen; framework in Phase 2 of SR talks, delineation in Phase 3; China map has Sikkim in India

PRANAB DHAL SAMANTA  
NEW DELHI, APRIL 11

PRIME Minister Manmohan Singh today set the tone for the second phase of negotiations between Special Representatives of India and China on the boundary question by conveying to Chinese Premier Wen Jiabao that New Delhi has the "political will" to take decisions necessary for a settlement of the boundary dispute. This will involve "mutually acceptable adjustments" along the boundary.

According to Foreign Secretary Shyam Saran, the sentiment was reciprocated by Jiabao who underlined the importance of enunciating a vision and broader perspective by the political leadership as that is what will determine the future of Sino-Indian relations.



Wen Jiabao and Manmohan Singh promise new chapter in Sino-Indian ties. Anil Sharma

"In the second phase, the Special Representatives will come out with a framework for boundary settlement while the third phase is where the actual delineation will take place," Saran said.

Both leaders today en-

dorsed the set of 11 guiding principles that will serve as the political parameters within which a solution will be worked out. These have been drawn up after four rounds of talks between the two representatives and re-

flect the Indian position to recognise existing ground realities in areas of dispute

The guiding principle mention that a boundary settlement must be "final" and along "well-defined"

CONTINUED ON PAGE 2

## The 11 political parameters & guiding principles to a new future

Agreement between India and China on political parameters and guiding principles for settlement of the India-China boundary question:

■ **ARTICLE I:** Differences on boundary question should not be allowed to affect overall development of bilateral relations. Two sides will resolve the boundary question through peaceful and friendly consultations. Neither side shall use or threaten to use force against the other. Final solution of boundary question will significantly promote good neighbourly and friendly relations

■ **ARTICLE II:** The two sides should, in accordance with the Five Principles of Peaceful Coexistence, seek a fair, reasonable and mutually acceptable solution to the boundary question through consultations on an equal footing, proceeding from the political perspective of overall bilateral relations

■ **ARTICLE III:** Both sides should, in the spirit of mutual respect and mutual understanding, make meaningful and mutually acceptable adjustments to



their respective positions on the boundary question, so as to arrive at a package settlement to the boundary question. The boundary settlement must be final, covering all sectors of the boundary

■ **ARTICLE IV:** The two sides will give due consideration to each other's strategic and reasonable interests, and the principle of mutual and equal security

■ **ARTICLE V:** The two sides will take into account, inter alia, historical evidence, national sentiments, practical difficulties and reasonable concerns and sensitivities of both sides, and the actual state of border areas

■ **ARTICLE VI:** The boundary should be along well-defined and easily identifiable natural geographical features to be

mutually agreed upon between the two sides

■ **ARTICLE VII:** In reaching a boundary settlement, the two sides shall safeguard due interests of their settled populations in the border areas

■ **ARTICLE VIII:** Within the agreed framework of the final boundary settlement, delineation of the boundary will be carried out utilising means such as modern cartographic and surveying practices and joint surveys

■ **ARTICLE IX:** Pending an ultimate settlement of the boundary question, the two sides should strictly respect and observe the line of actual control and work together to maintain peace and tranquility in the border areas. The Joint Working Group and Diplomatic and Military Expert Group shall continue their work

under the Agreements of 7 September 1993 and 29 November 1996, including the clarification of the line of actual control and the implementation of confidence building measures



■ **ARTICLE X:** Special Representatives on boundary question shall continue their consultations in an earnest manner with the objective of arriving at an agreed framework for a boundary settlement, which will provide the basis for

the delineation and demarcation of the India-China boundary to be subsequently undertaken by civil and military officials and surveyors of the two sides

■ **ARTICLE XI:** This agreement shall come into force as of the date of signature and is subject to amendment and addition by mutual agreement in writing between the two sides

# Comrades show fresh faces

## Beijing ties take off in strategic leap

PRANAY SHARMA

**New Delhi, April 11: Wen Jiabao this afternoon crossed a bridge all Chinese leaders had shunned for 30 years. Then he unfurled a roadmap to build a "new bridge of friendship" to the future.**

The Chinese Premier has put it in black and white that Sikkim is part of the Indian republic.

Minutes after he signed a joint statement with Prime Minister Manmohan Singh, Wen pulled out a copy of the latest world map brought out by the Chinese government and pointed out to his hosts that Sikkim has been shown with the rest of India.

The gesture did add a dramatic element to the long-expected formalisation. But more far-reaching was another feature in the joint statement — the world's two most populous nations will enter into a "strategic and cooperative" partnership.

"We are going to put in place a bridge of friendship linking our two countries, a bridge that will lead both of us to the future," Wen said.

Singh and Wen also agreed on a roadmap to settle the boundary dispute involving Arunachal Pradesh and Aksai Chin which is now in China. The two leaders signed several agreements that will allow more passenger flights between the two countries, efforts to boost trade and expanded military cooperation. (See chart)

Till now, India and China had confined themselves to a "cooperative" partnership. Now the word "strategic" has been prefixed to the relationship. The label "strategic" has several connotations. Couched in diplomatese, the statement suggested that the new partnership need not be limited to bilateral issues and can cover global concerns.

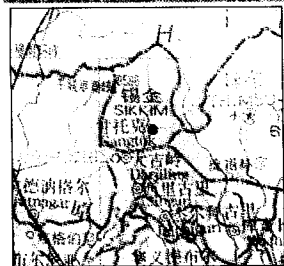
"As two large developing countries, both India and China were aware of each other's important role in the process of promoting the establishment of a new international political and economic order," the statement said.

"Both sides share common interests in the maintenance of peace, stability and prosperity in Asia and the world at

large, and share the desire to develop closer and more extensive understanding and cooperation in regional and international affairs."

Keen not to cause too much concern among the other big powers and allay suspicion of a new axis in the region, India later clarified its position on the "strategic" partnership.

### BHAI, BHAI !!



Wen's map showing Sikkim as part of India

### India-China

- Strategic partnership
- Sikkim on India map
- Boundary framework
- \$20-billion trade by 2008
- Joint film production
- More flights every week
- Bid for free-trade pact
- Exchange of river data
- Military confidence boosters
- 2006: India-China friendship year

"It is not a military alliance and not directed against this or that region... The main aim of this partnership was for peace and prosperity," foreign secretary Shyam Saran said.

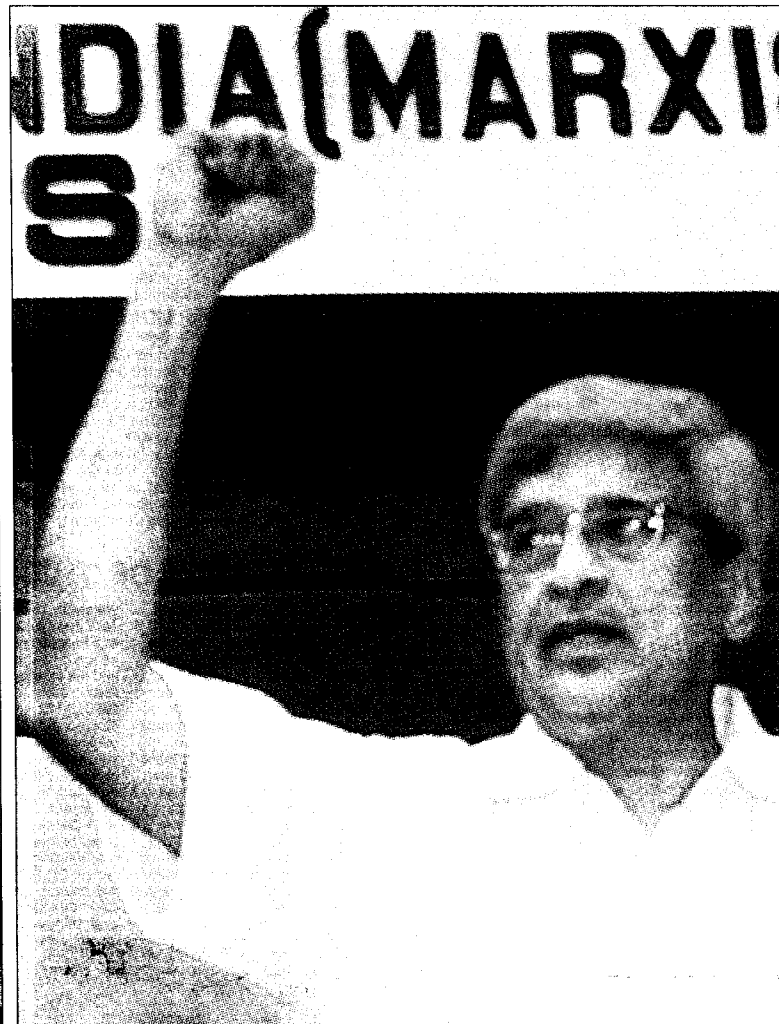
Saran said the success of the Premier's visit and his discussions with the Indian leadership lies in the fact that India and China now see each other as partners, not rivals.

He pointed out that though there were bound to be fields where they would compete with each other, the "new maturity" in relations will help the two sides look at greater areas where they can complement each other and cooperate.

Emphasis has been given to the economic front and the countries have decided to start a financial dialogue. The trade volume between the two has already reached over \$13.6 billion. But they now want to achieve \$20 billion by 2008 and start negotiations on setting up an India-China Regional Free Trade Arrangement.

■ Wen & Singh show, Page 6

## WEN WAVES IN THE GOOD NEWS, WHAT'S IN THE FIST?



(Left) Wen Jiabao waves as he arrives for talks with Manmohan Singh. Prakash Karat at the party congress after his election. (Reuters and PTI)

## 56-Karat chief & wife give party shine

MONOBINA GUPTA

**New Delhi, April 11: The CPM today ushered in a younger leadership by naming Prakash Karat its general secretary and inducting four new members into the politburo, three of whom are in their late fifties.**

One of them is Brinda Karat (in picture), the first woman member of the party's highest decision-making body. Also for the first time, there will be a wife-husband team — Brinda and Prakash — in the politburo.

The 18th party congress ended with 56-year-old Karat taking over from Harkishen Singh Surjeet, 89. Surjeet has led the party since 1995.

But the party turned down Surjeet and Basu's request to relieve them from the politburo. Basu, 91, had made repeated requests citing ill health. They will continue in the politburo as well as the central committee — the second layer in the CPM hierarchy — as they had to give in once again to the collective



will of the two bodies.

After taking charge, the new general secretary set a daunting goal for the party and himself. "The CPM is the third largest party in Parliament and the biggest contingent of the Left Front. But we are not satisfied. We want to make the CPM a strong all-India force," Karat said.

While there has been much speculation ever since it became known that Karat would take over about his ability to deal with political partners, mainly the Congress, in the seamless manner in which Surjeet used to operate, the

### NEW CPM

- **Go for youth:** Prakash Karat, 56, replaces H.S. Surjeet, 89, as party chief
- **Gender bender:** Brinda Karat becomes first woman in politburo
- **Power couple:** Brinda and Prakash, CPM's answer to Hillary and Bill Clinton
- **Go for old:** Chittabrata Mazumdar, pushing 70, gets a seat
- **And don't let the old go:** Basu and Surjeet stay in politburo
- **60+ and still young:** Average age of politburo is 63 after taking in fresh blood

new party chief's first public pronouncement summed up the CPM's crisis and his challenge.

Outside Bengal, Kerala and Tripura, the party does not matter. Its importance in today's national politics is circumstantial rather than stemming from its own growth.

If this forms the larger backdrop, the immediate task of coping with coalition politics may actually be simpler, though Karat has little experience.

As he put it: "For the CPM it is not an issue of a generational change. For us it is the

leadership, not the personality, which matters."

Surjeet has done most of the job of coordinating with allies and Sitaram Yechury, also a politburo member, much of the rest. Basu has helped whenever required. All three will be around to interact with Sonia Gandhi's Congress, particularly.

"Basu and Surjeet wanted to be relieved of their responsibilities. We discussed and refused to accept the requests," Karat said.

An insistent Basu suggested that he and Surjeet could be kept in the central committee

and not the politburo. "We said it is not possible. After that, Basu suggested that they could be associated as special invitees. But even that we turned down," Karat added.

The circumstances of this rejection are happier than they were in 1996 when the party shot down the proposal of sharing power in Delhi Basu and Surjeet had supported.

The average age of the new 17-member politburo is 63. Although three of the new members — Brinda, K. Varadarajan and B.V. Raghavulu — are in their late 50s, CPM leader Chittabrata Mazumdar's appearance as the fourth does not quite signify turning to youth.

Mazumdar is in his late sixties and his induction in the politburo could be bad news for Buddhadeb Bhattacharjee since the labour movement veteran has been a steadfast objector to the Bengal chief minister's reform measures. Reform-resistance could be strong in this politburo, led by Karat himself.

■ More reports on Page 8

# China backs India's bid for U.N. Council seat

Ind. China  
11/4  
12/4

## ● New map shows Sikkim as part of India

By Amit Baruah

**NEW DELHI, APRIL 11.** China today came out in support of India's bid for a permanent seat in the United Nations' Security Council as the two countries upgraded their ties to the status of a "strategic and cooperative partnership." They also agreed on a set of 11 political parameters and Guiding Principles to resolve the boundary dispute.

A total of 11 agreements were signed and a report of the Joint Study Group on trade and economic cooperation was made public as the Prime Minister, Manmohan Singh, and the visiting Chinese premier, Wen Jiabao, held trailblazing discussions here today.

As promised, China recognised "Sikkim State" as part of the "Republic of India" and handed over a new, official map to India clearly showing Sikkim as part of Indian territory.

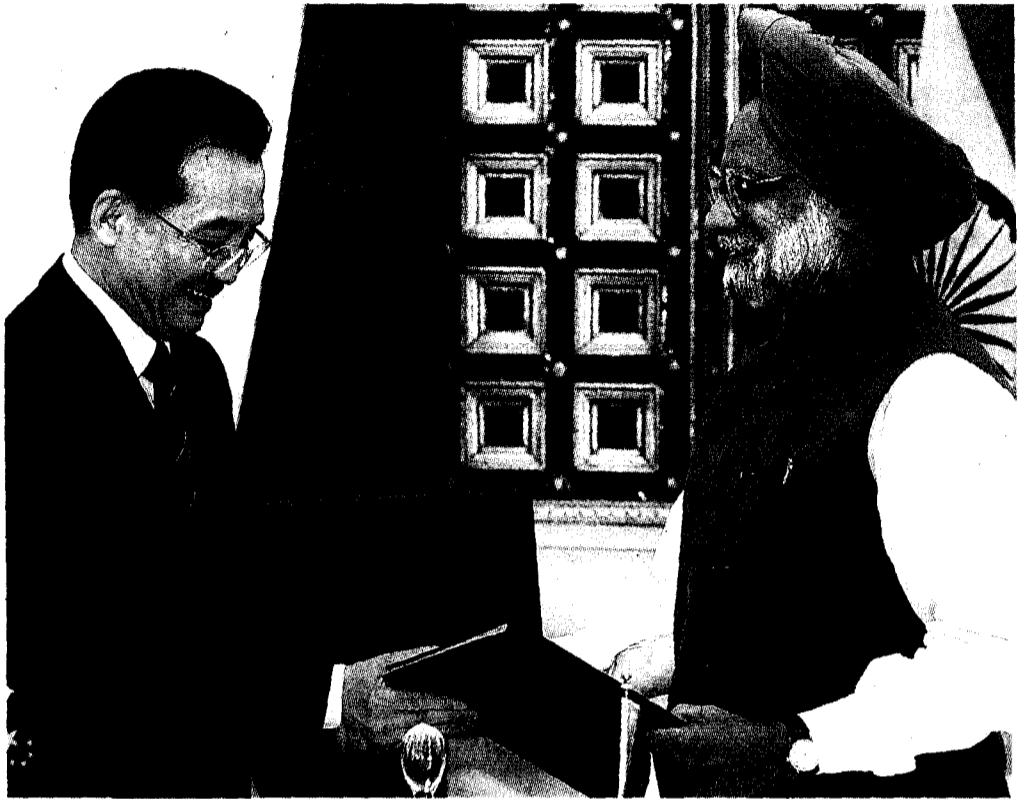
The two countries reached agreement on the "modalities" to implement the confidence-building measures along the Line of Actual Control (LAC) by enhancing contacts between the two militaries, giving previous information of planned exercises, adding border meeting points in the eastern and middle sectors of the LAC and eschewing the use of force in any "face-to-face" situation.

A joint statement said that India and China agreed that their relations had now acquired a "global and strategic" character. "The leaders of the two countries have, therefore, agreed to establish an India-China strategic and cooperative partnership for peace and prosperity."

The two Prime Ministers also agreed to appoint a joint task force to study the feasibility of and the benefits that may flow from an India-China regional trading arrangement while setting up a "financial dialogue mechanism" to facilitate diversifying economic cooperation.

Briefing presspersons on the talks, the Foreign Secretary, Shyam Saran, said that both Dr. Singh and Mr. Wen stated that they had the political will to resolve their boundary dispute.

According to the joint statement, both countries were convinced that an early settlement of the boundary question would advance the basic interests of the two countries and should,



**A LANDMARK PACT:** Chinese Prime Minister Wen Jiabao and Prime Minister Manmohan Singh exchanging documents after signing the agreements of mutual cooperation in different fields, at the Hyderabad House in New Delhi on Monday. — Photo: Rajeev Bhatt

therefore, be pursued as a "strategic objective."

### Guiding Principles

The "Guiding Principles" stated that the two countries were seeking a "political settlement" of the boundary question in the context of their overall and long-term interests. "Neither side shall use or threaten to use force against the other by any means," the agreement said.

"Both sides should, in the spirit of mutual respect and mutual understanding, make meaningful and mutually acceptable adjustments to their

respective positions on the boundary question, so as to arrive at a package settlement to the boundary question. The boundary settlement must be final, covering all sectors of the India-China boundary," it said.

"In reaching a boundary settlement, the two sides shall safeguard due interests of their settled populations in the border areas," the accord said. The two Special Representatives would now work to set up a framework for a settlement.

The process of exchanging maps to clarify the LAC would continue parallel to the work of the Special Representatives on

the basis of already agreed parameters, with the objective of arriving at a common understanding of the Line's alignment. The two countries also agreed to take steps for the "controlled release" of accumulated water of the "landslide dam" on the Pareechu river

"The two sides agreed to cooperate in the field of energy security and conservation, including, among others, encouraging relevant departments and units of the two countries to engage in the survey and exploration of petroleum and natural gas resources in third countries."

India and China also signed agreements on mutual assistance in customs matters, expansion of civil aviation links, two protocols on phyto-sanitary requirements for exporting bitter melon and grapes to China, a protocol on forming an India-China Film Cooperation Commission and a memorandum of understanding for constructing an Indian-style Buddhist temple in Luoyang, China.

For text of relevant documents, go to <http://www.meaindia.nic.in/evhome.htm>

### Highlights

- Task force to be set up to study the feasibility of a Regional Trading Arrangement.
- 2006 designated as the year of India-China friendship.
- Cooperation in petroleum sector.
- No use of force in encounters between military personnel.
- New points for border meetings in the eastern and middle sectors of boundary.
- Trade target set at \$20 billion or higher by 2008.

CHINA ACKNOWLEDGES INDIA'S SOVEREIGNTY OVER SIKKIM

# Partnership for peace

Statesman News Service

NEW DELHI, April 11. — India and China today laid down the “political parameters and guiding principles” to settle border disputes, even as China acknowledged India’s sovereignty over Sikkim. The two Asian giants also upgraded bilateral relations to a “strategic and cooperative partnership for peace and prosperity”.

Chinese Premier Mr Wen Jiabao and Prime Minister Dr Manmohan Singh presided over a ceremony where 12 agreements were signed. A joint statement described Mr Wen’s visit as opening a “new chapter” in bilateral relations. The year 2006 would be observed as the Year of India-China friendship.

It was clarified that the strategic partnership was not a military alliance. “We have common concerns and positions on certain issues, for which we can work together. Also, it concretises our stand that our relations have a global impact,” foreign secretary Mr Shyam Saran said.

The 11 articles of the “political parameters and guiding principles” for settlement of the boundary question were signed by two special representatives — national security adviser Mr MK Narayanan and Chinese vice-foreign minister Mr Dai Bingguo. The first article reiterated that the boundary dispute should not affect the overall improvement in bilateral relations and that neither side should use or threaten force.

“The two PMs felt that in the recent past political leaders have given the vision to resolving the issue which could not be solved at the bureaucratic level,” Mr Saran said.

Article 3 urges both sides to make “meaningful and mutually acceptable adjustments to their respective positions on the boundary question”.

The document signed today also indicates the broad limits in which



FIRMNESS IN THE GRIP: Dr Manmohan Singh greets Mr Wen Jiabao. — AFP

both sides will find a politically acceptable solution “in the context of their overall and long-term perspective”. “In the next phase, both sides will work out the adjustments which will be

broad in character,” Mr Saran said. The third and last phase will be the necessary delineation on the ground.

The joint working group will continue to seek an early clarification and

## ‘Forward movement’ to Security Council

NEW DELHI, April 11. — China has reportedly indicated that it is willing to see India as a permanent member of the Security Council. This was conveyed by Mr Wen Jiabao to Dr Manmohan Singh. This is being described as a “forward movement” by China. However, it was not explicitly stated in the joint statement which only said that China supports India’s aspirations “to play an active role in the UN and international affairs”. Foreign secretary Mr Shyam Saran said there is still a difference on how to approach UN reform. India is planning to introduce a resolution in the General Assembly for Security Council expansion, while China has said that it would prefer the “consensus” method. — SNS

confirmation of the Line of Actual Control and the exchange of maps on various sectors will be completed.

Another important agreement was that on the protocol on modalities for the implementation of CBMs in the military field along the Line of Actual Control.

China today handed over an official map which shows Sikkim as a part of India. The joint statement also explicitly describes border trade through Nathula Pass as between “Tibet autonomous region of the People’s Republic of China and the Sikkim State of the Republic of India”. “Sikkim is shown in the same colour as India... This issue is now behind us,” said Mr Saran. The same map, however, shows Arunachal Pradesh as a part of China.

New Delhi again reiterated that it will not allow Tibetans to engage in anti-China political activities in India.

Mr Wen met President Dr Kalam, Vice-President Mr Bhairon Singh Shekhawat, external affairs minister Mr Natwar Singh and Mr LK Advani.

More reports on pages 4 & 9

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THE STATESMAN

WEN & SINGH SHOW

# Border settlement principles in place

**OURSPECIAL CORRESPONDENT**

**New Delhi, April 11:** India and China today reached an agreement that will help them resolve the decade-old boundary dispute without disturbing the "overall development" of ties.

Chinese Premier Wen Jiabao and Prime Minister Manmohan Singh were present as the agreement on "political parameters and guiding principles" was signed this afternoon.

Although no timeframe has been set, there are clear indications that the two sides are keen to make the "required adjustments" for an

early settlement of the dispute.

"The differences on the boundary question should not be allowed to affect the overall development of bilateral relations. The two sides will resolve the boundary question through peaceful and friendly consultations. Neither side shall use or threaten to use force against the other by any means," Article I of the document states.

The understanding is also significant as it comes days before Pakistan President Pervez Musharraf is due to arrive in Delhi for talks with the Indian leadership.

Despite the Srinagar-Muzaffarabad bus service

adding pace to the peace process, Musharraf has been firm on the need to move forward on Kashmir, which he has described as the "core issue" in bilateral ties.

Delhi might cite the example of the Beijing document to convince the Pakistan President that differences on Kashmir should not be allowed to impact relationship between the neighbours.

The nine points agreed on by the two sides — they had been firm up yesterday during a meeting between special representatives Dai Bing Guo and M.K. Narayanan — would provide a framework to help reach a settlement on the boundary issue.

Among them is mutual understanding to make meaningful and acceptable adjustments to the countries' respective positions and also to accept that the settlement must be "final", covering all sectors of the boundary.

The document says the two sides should give importance to each other's "strategic and reasonable" interests on the principle of "mutual and equal" security.

"Historical evidence, national sentiment, practical difficulties and reasonable concerns and sensitivities of both sides and (the) actual state of border areas" should be taken into account while going for a final solution, it adds.

and China to foster a long-term constructive and cooperative partnership" are best served "on the basis of the five principles of peaceful co-existence, mutual respect and sensitivity to each other's concerns and aspiration and equality".

It added that the relationship should be upgraded at all levels while addressing differences in "a fair, reasonable and mutually acceptable manner".

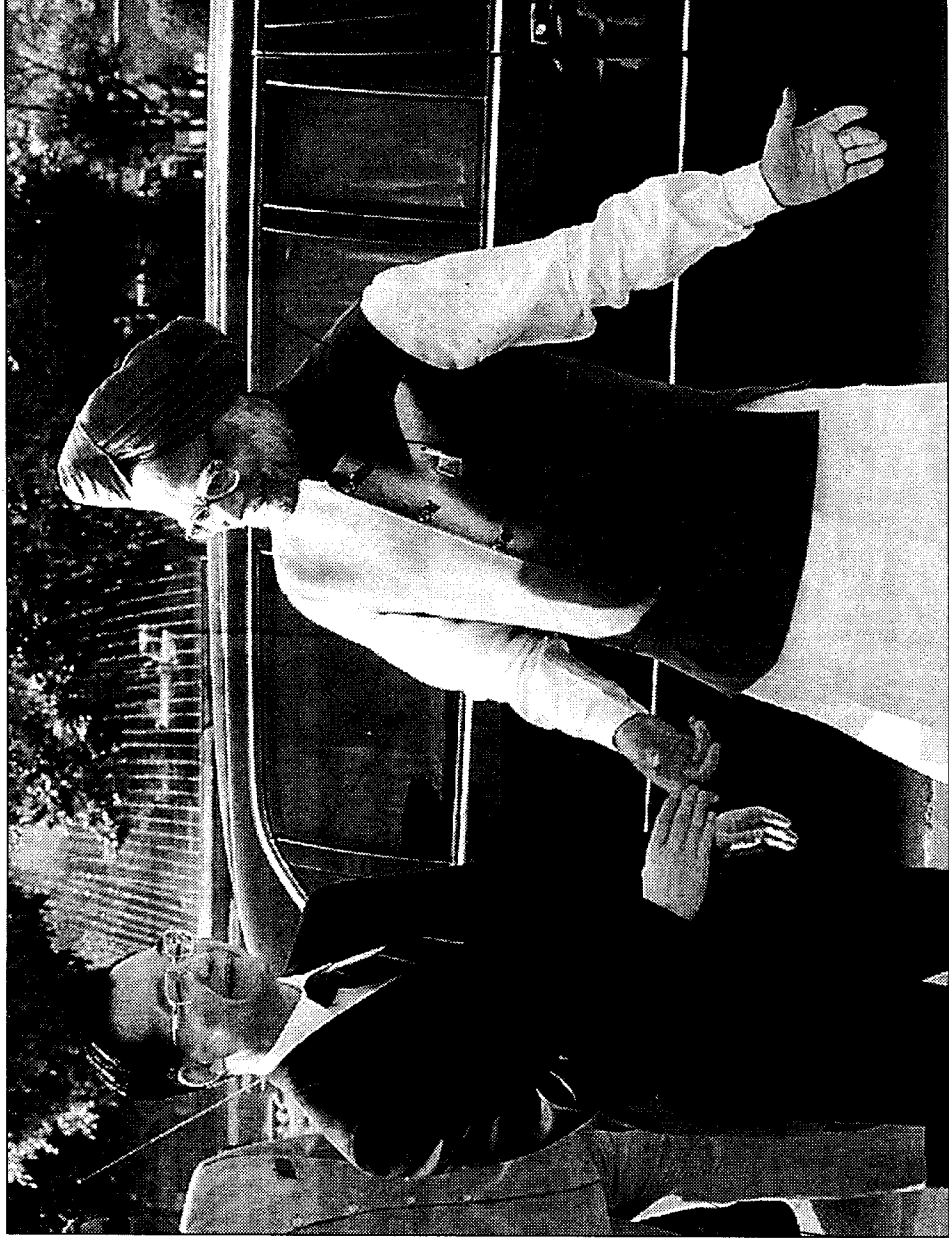
Foreign secretary Shyam Saran said the significance of the document lies in the fact that the leaderships of the two countries have made an attempt to resolve the boundary crisis.

Members of the India-China Joint Working Group, which looks after the Line of Actual Control, would exchange maps of the western and eastern sectors to clarify their perceptions of the boundary.

Throughout the entire process, Delhi and Beijing have agreed to maintain "peace and tranquillity" along the Line of Actual Control. They signed a pact this afternoon to start implementing military confidence-building measures, which the two countries had put forward in 1993 and again in 1996.

The agreement stressed that "the fundamental interests of the people of India

## WEN BONDS, DELHI WHOOPS



Wen Jiabao and Manmohan Singh at Rashtrapati Bhavan. Picture by Rajesh Kumar

# Threat of two hot frontiers recedes

SUJAN DUTTA

**New Delhi, April 11:** India's strategic vision of military conflict is set for a dramatic correction with the signing of a pact with China today that will institutionalise confidence-building measures along the Line of Actual Control (LAC).

The implementation of confidence-building measures (CBMs) between the militaries of India and China — as agreed upon in the protocol signed today — will mean that India's threat perception in the borders to the east and the north will be lowered considerably.

The protocol — on "modalities for implementation of confidence-building measures in the military field" — will pave the way for India to focus on a conflict scenario on a single front only.

India's military and strategic planners have always been bedevilled by the nightmare scenario of conflict erupting on two fronts — with Pakistan and China — simultaneously.

Since India and China signed the agreement on peace and tranquillity and initiated confidence-building measures in 1996, the actual measures on the ground have been limited to the protocol says in the event of intrusion by aircraft.

ensure that the decision is followed through and the CBMs are actually implemented," army sources said.

Under the protocol signed today, each side will inform the other well in advance before holding a major military exercise (involving more than 15,000 troops) and will ensure that the manoeuvres will be directed away from positions held in frontline deployments.

The 1996 agreement had laid down that each side will inform the other within five days of completing an exercise.

The protocol signed today lays down that each side will inform the other at least 15 days in advance of the type of manoeuvres, level and duration.

The 1996 pact had not limited the time in which one country could ask the other for clarifications. The latest protocol binds the two sides to the time limit of 15 days.

The protocol also restricts the movement of combat aircraft within 10 km of the Line of Actual Control but sorties closer to the LAC may be flown with prior information.

## THE NATION AT A GLANCE

### Medical quota rap on states

**NEW DELHI:** The Supreme Court today asked state governments to devise ways to fill up the 50 per cent seats in the all-India quota for post-graduate medical courses reports our legal correspondent.

A bench of Justices Y.K. Sabharwal and D.M. Dharwadkar asked the director-general of health services and the Medical Council of India to submit details on this. The court also issued a notice to the Centre on a petition seeking reservation benefits for Dalit Christians — those who are Scheduled Castes but have converted to Christianity.

A division bench of Chief Justice R.C. Lahoti and Justice G.P. Mathur issued the notice after hearing counsel Prashant Bhushan for the petitioner, Centre for Public Interest Litigation, and posted the final hearings for August.

Bhushan has argued that "when reservation benefits were available to Dalits following Hinduism, Buddhism or Sikhism, there is no reason why Dalit Christians should be not given similar benefit". He said this would fulfil the constitutional mandate of "equality before law".

In another case, the court vacated the non-bailable warrant against gutka baron Rasiklal Dharwal on the ground that he had "cooperated" with the CBI in its investigations with the underworld nexus with certain gutka manufacturers in the country.

### Revenge attack on priest

**PATNA (PTI):** A senior priest of the Patna archdiocese was stabbed by a criminal in Mokama on Monday, apparently for speaking out against extortion.

Mathew Uzthuthal, parish priest of the church in Mokama, 80 km from here, was at home when gangster Gyan Kumar allegedly walked in and attacked him with a knife.

Uzthuthal, 65, was stabbed in the chest and throat. He was taken to the mission hospital adjacent to the church, where an emergency operation was carried out. "His condition is stable, though he is on oxygen and is being given blood," said Doctor-Sister Anselm.

Senior superintendent of police N.H. Khan has confirmed the attack. "The culprit has been identified and police have registered an FIR. A hunt is on for the accused," he said.

Police sources said Kumar had made extortion threats to the priest and other Christians in the area. He was also said to be sore with Uzthuthal for not helping him when he was in jail in connection with a murder. Kumar came out from prison a few days ago and has been threatening the priest ever since, the sources said.



# Beijing beckons Bollywood

SEEMA GUHA

led to both countries engaging at various levels, including the export of Indian filmmaking. Import of Indian films is being seen by government officials as a positive sign.

Wen Jiabao's visit to India is being seen by government officials as a positive sign.

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TIME OUT

**Schoolchildren play cricket in Utaranchal's Utarkashi district on Monday. (PTI)**

## New Valley highway

● **JAMMU (PTI):** The Mufti Mohammad Sayeed government will construct an alternative four-lane Jammu-Srinagar National Highway and open it to traffic by 2008.

Minister for works Ghulam Ahmed Mir said work has begun in many sectors under the north-south corridor express highway project. The new road will shorten the distance from Jammu to Srinagar by 70 km and increase traffic speed from the present 25 km per hour to 50 km per hour.

## Infant found

● **COIMBATORE (PTI):** Railway staff found a 10-day-old girl in the waiting room of the railway station here. The baby was found when the room was being cleaned. She was handed over to a home.

## Delhi fire

● **NEW DELHI (PTI):** A fire broke out at Maharashtra Sadan in the Copernicus Marg area of the city. Two fire tenders doused the flames. Maharashtra government officials blamed

construction workers, who were renovating the building, for the blaze.

## Mercury drops

● **CHANDIGARH (PTI):** Maximum temperatures dropped across north India in the last two days by 2 to 7 degrees Celsius because of northerly winds. However, the temperatures will be in the normal range by this weekend, a Met official said. Srinagar recorded a high of 15.2 degrees Celsius, 3 degrees below normal. Chandigarh was at 29.4 degrees Celsius, 4 degrees below normal on Sunday.

## Statue protection

● **CHENNAI (PTI):** Iron grilles are being erected around statues of leaders in the state, chief minister Jayalalitha told the Assembly. Caste clashes had earlier erupted when statues of leaders like Ambedkar were garlanded with shippers.

## Poachers held

● **SRINAGAR (PTI):** A duo allegedly involved in hunting wild animals and smuggling the skins were held in Kupwara on Sunday. Police seized 15 deer skins from them.



Fans have brought out 44 posters, each measuring 10 feet by 120 feet, of actor Rajnikanth's new film *Chandramukhi*. Each poster is split into 126 pieces and is pasted in three rows.

# Beijing beckons Bollywood

Wen Jiabao and Manmohan Singh at Rashtrapati Bhavan. Picture by Rajesh Kumar

SEEMA GUHA

**New Delhi, April 11:** The rolling greens of Switzerland may soon give way to Chinese locales on the silver screen if the protocol on the India-China Film Cooperation Commission signed today takes off well.

The protocol, the first of its kind to be signed with China, envisages a comprehensive agreement on entertainment. It will allow both countries to open their film facilities, including studios and locations for each other.

The pact is an indication of how well political relations between the nations have progressed since the 1962 war. "Today there is a new confidence in relations which has

led to both countries engaging at various levels, including tapping the entertainment industry," a senior official said. "The protocol will open the doors to widespread cooperation by the film industries of the two countries."

If nothing else, it will help film producers exploit the exotic locations of a country so far unexplored by Bollywood. Officials feel on-location shooting will take off with a bang, though other aspects may take longer to develop as Mumbai has little knowledge of China's film industry.

All are not impressed, though. "As an independent filmmaker, I am not jumping with joy at the thought of shooting in China. In a tightly-controlled political system, there is lit-

tle room for anyone to make a meaningful, serious film," said Sanjay Kak, a documentary filmmaker. "At a technical level, it could yield fruit," he said. He also agreed that for Bollywood it could yield rich dividends especially as the Chinese are believed to enjoy Hindi masala movies.

The film commission will meet every six months alternately in Beijing and New Delhi to work out the nitty-gritties between the film industries.

To familiarise the audience with each other's films, festivals will be held and, if they succeed, they will become annual features.

The commission will consider increasing the import of each other's films and exchange of technical knowhow on

## Suspension stick for IISc police

OUR SPECIAL CORRESPONDENT

**Bangalore, April 11:** An embarrassed Karnataka chief minister Dharam Singh today hinted on suspending some police officials for the lapse in security at the Indian Institute of Science campus during the visit of Chinese Premier Wen Jiabao.

Yesterday, when the Chinese Premier was in discussion with top scientists of the institute on its premises, a Tibetan refugee, Tenzing Tsundue, climbed a tower of the building and raised slogans against China and Wen for 20 minutes. The Premier was on the ground floor at the time.

Tenzing hurled pamphlets, waved a Tibetan flag and unfurled a "Free Tibet" banner from the balcony of the tower. He was later arrested for trespass and violation of prohibitory orders.

Official sources said the chief minister hauled up the top brass of the city police at a meeting this morning.

The suspension orders will come soon on the report of K.R. Srinivasan, DGP, Corps of Detectives. Srinivasan has been instructed to complete the probe in three days.

film-making. Import of Indian films is being seen by government officials as a positive sign.

China as the country has restrictions on the number of foreign films imported. Apart from helping film crews hunt for locations, the two sides will also facilitate the marketing and distribution of films in each other's country. At a later stage, there may be joint productions too.

Animation films are popular in China and the country has a developed expertise in making animation spots.

"The commission has also been asked to explore avenues for bilateral cooperation in developing animation and facilitating their diffusion," a statement issued after signing the protocol said.

## Free-trade chant rises

OUR CORRESPONDENT

**New Delhi, April 11:** China is expected to emerge as one of India's largest trading partners with the two countries planning to shoot for a bilateral trade target of \$30 billion by 2010.

The two countries — which along with Brazil and Russia form the famous BRIC (Brazil, Russia, India and China) axis of the best emerging economies — are also proposing to start work on a feasibility study to establish a regional trade agreement (RTA) between themselves.

The two nations are independently pursuing the idea of establishing a free-trade

confidence-building measures in the military field" — will pave the way for India to focus on a conflict scenario on a single front only.

India's military and strategic planners have always been bedevilled by the nightmare scenario of conflict erupting on two fronts — with Pakistan and China — simultaneously. Since India and China signed the agreement on peace and tranquillity and initiated confidence-building measures in 1996, the actual measures on the ground have been tentative.

Even during Operation Parakram — the full-scale mobilisation of the Indian military in 2002 — army headquarters was looking over its shoulder to ensure that the deployment of troops along the border with Pakistan did not leave a yawning gap on the Chinese frontier.

But the agreement signed today binds New Delhi and Beijing to sustained peace-making measures along their disputed frontiers. It is a gradual step from the 1996 agreement, army sources said.

"The 1996 agreement provided the institutional framework. Today's agreement will

ed the time in which one country could ask the other for clarifications. The latest protocol binds the two sides to the time limit of 15 days.

The protocol also restricts the movement of combat aircraft within 10 km of the line of Actual Control but sorts closer to the LAC may be flown with prior information.

The protocol says in the event of intrusion by aircraft, the two sides will hold a flag meeting within 48 hours to clarify the position. Investigation into such an event has to be completed in a month and the result will have to be communicated through a flag meeting.

New Delhi and Beijing have also agreed that if troops come face to face because of disputes along the LAC, they will refrain from using force, return to base and inform headquarters. No side will put up landmarks on the spot of such a dispute.

The protocol says two new points along the border will be opened for meetings between the troops in addition to three existing spots.

arrangement with the 12-member Association of South East Asian Nations (Asean) and an RTA between them will help create a pan-Asia common market of close to 3 billion consumers, almost half the world's population.

"We have set an objective (in the joint statement) to increase the two-way trade volume from \$13.6 billion at present to \$20 billion by 2008," said Chinese Premier Wen Jiabao. "We plan to take it to \$30 billion by 2010."

Addressing industry captains at a joint meeting organised by the Confederation of Indian Industry and the Federation of Indian Chambers of Commerce and Industry (Fic-

## Ahead: 42-flight week

OUR SPECIAL CORRESPONDENT

**New Delhi, April 11:** Indian and Chinese airlines can fly up to 42 flights a week to either country by next year.

In a landmark aviation pact signed here today, the two Asian neighbours agreed to allow up to 14 additional flights a week from this summer from each side, which would go up to 28 flights a week this winter and stabilise at 42 flights a week in summer 2006.

The pact says both countries can designate one or more state-run or privately-owned airlines to operate on specified routes.

The airlines designated by India shall be entitled to operate scheduled air services in

both directions from any point in India to any three intermediate points and on to any six points in China at its discretion. These flights may go on to any three points beyond, with the restriction that only two of those airports would be in one country. Chinese airlines will enjoy similar rights.

Cargo services of designated airlines of both countries will be entitled to fly in from any other nation to either of the two nations and then fly on to any place of their choice with unlimited capacity entitlements.

Officials said charter operations between the two countries would be governed by the charter regulations of the respective countries.



Chinese artists perform a drum dance during a cultural programme inaugurated by Premier Wen Jiabao and Prime Minister Manmohan Singh in New Delhi. (AFP)



# ভারত-চীন সীমান্তে চালু হল সেনার আচরণবিধি

সৌভদ্র চট্টোপাধ্যায় • নয়াদিল্লি

১১ এপ্রিল: দু'দেশের দীর্ঘদিনের সীমান্ত-ক্ষত যখন শুকোনোর পথে, তখন নতুন করে দুই সেনাবাহিনীর মধ্যে যাতে সংঘাত না হয়, তা নিশ্চিত করতে চায় ভারত ও চীন। এই লক্ষ্যে প্রকৃত নিয়ন্ত্রণরেখায় একগুচ্ছ বিধিব্যবস্থা চালু করা হল আজ থেকে। অন্য দেশকে আগেভাগে জানিয়ে অনুশীলন থেকে শুরু করে ভুলবশত নিয়ন্ত্রণরেখা পেরিয়ে গেলে কী করণীয়, তার নির্দেশিকা জারি করেছে বেজিং ও দিল্লি। বলা হয়েছে, দু'পক্ষই প্রকৃত নিয়ন্ত্রণরেখাকে সম্মান করবে এবং কঠোর ভাবে মেনে চলবে। প্রতিরক্ষামন্ত্রী প্রণব মুখোপাধ্যায় বলেছেন, “নিয়ন্ত্রণরেখা এলাকায় দু'দেশের সেনার আচরণ নিয়ে আগে অলিখিত রীতি ছিল। এখন সেটাকে আনুষ্ঠানিক চেহারা দেওয়া হল।”

১৯৯৩ এবং ১৯৯৬ সালে দু'পক্ষের মধ্যে সীমান্তে সেনাবাহিনীর গতিবিধি নিয়ে যে চুক্তি হয়েছিল, তার ভিত্তিতে এ বার থেকে কিছু নতুন বিধি চালু হল। এগুলি হল— ● একটি ডিভিশন বা ১৫ হাজারের বেশি সেনা নিয়ে নিয়ন্ত্রণরেখার কাছাকাছি এলাকায় অনুশীলন থেকে দুই দেশ বিরত

থাকবে। যদি তা হয়ও, তাহলে অনুশীলনের মুখ যেন অপর দেশটির দিকে না থাকে। ● নিয়ন্ত্রণরেখার কাছে ৫ হাজারের বেশি সেনার অনুশীলন থাকলে ফ্ল্যাগ বৈঠকের মাধ্যমে অন্তত ১৫ দিন আগে তার বিস্তারিত বিবরণ অপর পক্ষকে জানিয়ে দিতে হবে। ● যদি সামরিক বিমানের আকাশসীমা লঙ্ঘনের অভিযোগ ওঠে, তাহলে ৪৮ ঘণ্টার মধ্যে ফ্ল্যাগ বৈঠক চাওয়া যেতে পারে। ● নিয়ন্ত্রণরেখা পেরিয়ে যদি সামরিক বিমান নিয়ে যেতে হয়, তা হলে আগে থেকে অনুমতি নিতে হবে। যদি জরুরি কারণে সামরিক বিমানকে অন্য দিকে নামতে হয়, তাহলে তার সুরক্ষা নিশ্চিত করতে হবে। দু'দেশের সেনারা মুখোমুখি চলে এলে কী হবে, তা নিয়েও নিয়ম তৈরি হয়েছে। বলা হয়েছে, কোনও পক্ষই আর না এগিয়ে সেই এলাকায় অভিযান বন্ধ করবে। মুখোমুখি এলে কোনও পক্ষই ভয় দেখাবে না, জোর খাটাবে না।

প্রতি বছর সীমান্তে দুটি অতিরিক্ত বৈঠক হবে দুই সেনাবাহিনীর মধ্যে। ভারতের সেনা কম্যান্ড এবং চীনের সংশ্লিষ্ট সেনা এলাকার মধ্যে নিয়মিত আদানপ্রদান হবে। প্রাকৃতিক বিপর্যয়ে কোনও সেনা অন্য দিকে চলে গেলে তার সুরক্ষা দেওয়া হবে।

12 APR 2005

ANANDABAZAR PATRIKA

# China, India play cool

NEW DELHI, April 11. — If Indian and Chinese militaries come face to face along the Line of Actual Control (LAC) because they have different views on where the Line actually is, they shall exercise self-restraint and avoid an escalation, but also simultaneously return to their bases and inform their respective headquarters, that would lead to border meetings or diplomatic engagement.

This is one of the decisions taken by the two countries to avoid tensions. The protocol signed today between India and China on the modalities for the implementation of Confidence Building Measures in the areas along the LAC is another attempt to look for peace and

work towards a settlement of the boundary issue.

The protocol comprises seven articles, the first of which talks about observing the LAC and working to maintain peace and tranquility. Several major issues are being looked at to ensure peace.

■ Neither side will hold exercises involving more than 15,000 troops near the LAC. If they are to be conducted, they should be not be directed against each other. If there is an exercise involving 5,000 troops, prior intimation and all details should be given to the other side during a flag meeting.

■ If there is violation of airspace by military aircraft, there is provision for a flag meeting within 2 days for a clarification. The results after the inves-

## Temple tribute

NEW DELHI, April 11. — India will be building a Buddhist temple in China, even as both countries agreed to increase air links from 14 to 42 flights per week by the summer of 2006. These were among the slew of agreements signed in the presence of the visiting Chinese Premier, Mr Wen Jiabao and Prime Minister, Dr Manmohan Singh. The Indian-style Buddhist temple would be built in an area of 2,667m in the international garden for the Luoyang white horse temple. India will provide the architectural design of the temple and the landscape planning. — SNS

tigation about the intrusion have to be placed within four weeks. There is agreement about overflying or landing of military aircraft on the other side.

■ There is also a decision to have more border meetings in the western, central and eastern sectors. There will be more meetings between the two armed forces regarding training and sporting and cultural activities. ■ There are also provisions regarding situations when personnel from one side crosses into the other side and how they are to be returned. There is also ways of ensuring that the two sides work together during a natural disaster like an earthquake or the spread of an infectious disease in the border area.

The Vice-Chief of Navy, Vice Admiral Yashwant Prasad, today left for China on a week-long trip as part of a plan to increase ties between senior officers on both sides, adds another report.

12 APR 2005

THE STATESMAN

# India, China envisage \$20 b trade

NEW DELHI, April 11. — India and China today adopted a five-year plan on economic cooperation while seeking to raise bilateral trade to \$20 billion by 2008 from the current \$13.6 billion. In addition, the two countries have decided upon a joint feasibility study on the Free Trade Agreement, visiting Chinese Premier, Mr Wen Jiabao, told in a meeting organised by FICCI and CII.

This decision follows a report of the Joint Study Group that deliberated over a year to examine the potential complementari-

ties between the two countries in expanding trade and economic cooperation. The JSG identified measures in seven areas, including trade in goods and services, investment, economic cooperation, regional trading agreement. It also recommended expeditious implementation of measures to remove the impediments and facilitate enhanced economic engagement within an agreed time frame.

The JSG was presented to Prime Minister, Dr Manmohan Singh, and his Chinese counterpart, Mr Jiabao at a signing ceremony by commerce minister,

Mr Kamal Nath, and the Chinese commerce minister, Mr Bo Xilai. In his address to the India-China Business Cooperation Conference, Mr Kamal Nath referred to Mr Jiabao's visit as signalling "the tremendous importance attached by the Chinese government at promoting trade and business between the two countries".

Mr Kamal Nath made two suggestions to augment the bilateral flow of trade and investment. Firstly, the composition of the export basket needed to change to make it more broad-based in favour of higher value-added items, especially the

drug, pharma, chemical and services sectors.

Secondly, there should be greater focus on investment flows between India and China. India's total contracted investment in China, amounting to \$235 million, is mainly in pharma, auto components, software and machine tools. Investment flows from China into India have not picked up as well, though companies like the Haier group have achieved significant access to the Indian market.

The JSG also recommended early conclusion of a Bilateral Investment Protection Agreement so as to

provide a bilateral framework for investment.

Besides agreeing to work together in energy security and strengthen cooperation in the WTO, India and China also decided to support an "open, fair, equitable and transparent rule-based multilateral trade system".

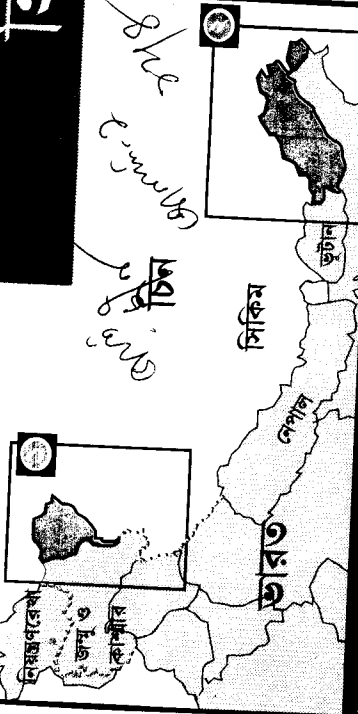
Both the countries also signed an MoU in the civil aviation sector under which they can designate one or more airlines to operate on the specified routes. The MoU was signed in pursuit to the technical level talks held between the two countries at Beijing January this year.

12 APR 2005

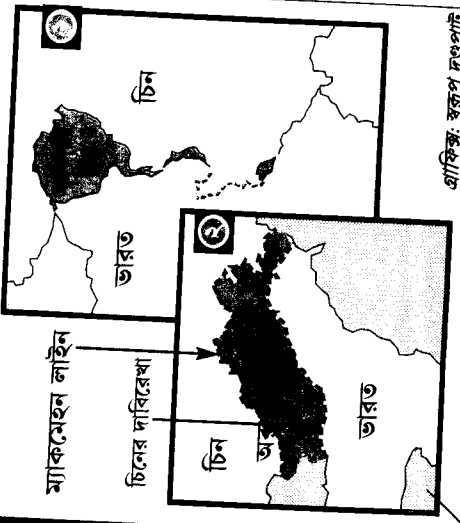
THE STATESMAN

# হিন্দী-চিন

- সিকিমকে ভারতের অঙ্গরাজ্য হিসাবে স্বীকৃতি
- পারস্পরিক কৌশলগত সহযোগিতা
- সীমান্ত-সমস্যা সমাধানে ১১ দফা নির্দেশিকা
- আর্থিক সহযোগিতায় পঞ্চবার্ষিকী পরিকল্পনা
- নিরাপত্তা পরিষদে ভারতের স্থায়ী সদস্যপদের দাবিতে সায়
- বিমান পরিবহণ নিয়ে সমঝোতাপত্র
- বর্ষায় শতক্র ও ব্রহ্মপুত্র নিয়ে তথ্য বিনিময়



যৌথ সমীক্ষক গোষ্ঠীর রিপোর্ট হাতে দুই প্রধানমন্ত্রী। সোমবার দিল্লিতে।



গ্রাফিক্স: স্বরূপ দগুপাট

# সিকিমকে স্বীকৃতি দিল চিন, সীমান্ত সমস্যায় পথনির্দেশ

স্টাফ রিপোর্টার, নয়াদিল্লি, ১১ এপ্রিল: সিকিমকে ভারতের অঙ্গরাজ্য হিসাবে মেনে নেওয়া। বাকি সীমান্ত বিবাদ মেটাতে ১১ দফা 'রাজনৈতিক মাপকাঠি ও পথনির্দেশিকা' তৈরি। রাষ্ট্রপঞ্জের নিরাপত্তা পরিষদের স্থায়ী সদস্য হিসাবে দিল্লির দাবিকে সমর্থন। চিনের প্রধানমন্ত্রী ওয়েন জিয়াবাওয়ের এ বাণীর ভারত সফরের এটাই নির্ধারিত।

জিয়াবাওয়ের এই সফর ঐতিহাসিক, অত্যন্ত অর্থপূর্ণ এবং ফলদায়ী বলে মন্তব্য করেছে কেন্দ্র। দু'বছর আগে তৎকালীন প্রধানমন্ত্রী অটলবিহারী বাজপেয়ীর চিন সফরের সময়েই সিকিম নিয়ে বরফ গলতে শুরু করে। আজ দুই প্রধানমন্ত্রী, মনমোহন সিংহ এবং ওয়েন জিয়াবাও যে যৌথ বিবৃতি দিয়েছেন, তাতে একদা 'বিতর্কিত' সিকিম প্রসঙ্গে বলা হয়েছে, "চিনের তিব্বত স্বাধীনতা অঞ্চল এবং ভারতের সিকিম রাজ্যের মধ্যে সীমান্ত বাণিজ্য নিয়ে যে চুক্তি হয়েছিল তার পর্যালোচনা করে দু'পক্ষই সন্তুষ্ট।" এই প্রথম সিকিমকে ভারতের অঙ্গরাজ্যের স্বীকৃতি দিয়ে চিনের প্রতিনিধি দল তাদের একটি নতুন সরকারি মানচিত্রও আজ নয়াদিল্লির হাতে তুলে দিয়েছে।

সারন জানিয়েছেন, অরুণাচল ও আকসাই চিনের মতো বাকি এলাকার সমস্যা তিন ধাপে মেটানো হবে। পথনির্দেশিকা তৈরি করা হিল প্রথম ধাপ। ভারতের জাতীয় নিরাপত্তা উপদেষ্টা এম কে নারায়ণন এবং চিনের কার্যনির্বাহী উপ-বিশেষজ্ঞ দাই কিনগুয়ো যে 'রাজনৈতিক পথ নির্দেশিকা'য় স্বাক্ষর করেছেন তাতে বলা হয়েছে, সীমান্ত নির্ধারণের সময়ে

কুটনৈতিক সূত্রে বলা হচ্ছে, চিন এবং ভারতের সীমান্ত সমস্যার গ্রহণযোগ্য সমাধান একটাই। তা হল, আকসাই চিনের উপর থেকে ভারতের এবং অরুণাচল প্রদেশের উপর থেকে চিনের দাবি প্রত্যাহার। তবে এ কাজ করার আগে মনমোহন সরকারকে দেশে রাজনৈতিক একমতা তৈরি করতে হবে। তবে প্রধানমন্ত্রী আজ জিয়াবাওকে বলেছেন, "প্রয়োজনীয় সিদ্ধান্ত নেওয়ার রাজনৈতিক সাদিচ্ছা আমাদের আছে।" ওয়েন জিয়াবাওও বলেছেন, "ভবিষ্যতে ভারত ও চিনের

এর পর পাঁচের পাতায়

# স্বীকৃতি দিল চিন

প্রথম পাতার পুরো স্পর্শক কী হবে, রাজনীতিবিদরাই তা নির্ধারণ করবেন। ভারত ও চিন যৌথ একে অপরের সহযোগী হিসাবেই দেখে, দু'দেশের কর্তারা আজ তা বারবার বলেছেন। সারনের বক্তব্য, "এত দিন চলছিলম সহযোগিতার পথে। এখন কৌশলগত দিকও যুক্ত হল।" আর্থিক, বাণিজ্যিক ও সাংস্কৃতিক সহযোগিতা বাড়তে এ দিন দু'দেশের মধ্যে মোট ১২টি চুক্তি সই হয়। গত দু'বছরে দ্বিপাক্ষিক বাণিজ্যের যে প্রসার ঘটেছে তাকে বিশ্ময়কর বলেও তা আরও বাড়ানো সম্ভব বলে যৌথ সমীক্ষক গোষ্ঠীর মত। ২০০৮ সালের মধ্যে দ্বিপাক্ষিক বাণিজ্যের পরিমাণ বাড়িয়ে ২ হাজার কোটি ডলারে নিয়ে যাওয়ার ব্যাপারে সহমত হয়েছে বেজিং ও দিল্লি। দু'দেশের মধ্যে চলাচলকারী অসামরিক বিমানের সংখ্যা আরও বাড়তে সমঝোতাপত্রও সই হয়েছে।

নিরাপত্তা পরিষদে ভারতের স্থায়ী সদস্যপদের বিষয়ে চিনের ভূমিকাকে ইতিবাচক বলেছে বিদেশমন্ত্রক। সারন জানান, "চিন বলেছে, ওরা ভারতকে পরিষদে স্থায়ী সদস্য হিসাবে দেখলে খুশি হবে।" তবে তারা একই সঙ্গে বলেন, রাষ্ট্রপঞ্জের সংস্কার সম্পর্কে এখনও একমতা হয়নি। তবে নিরাপত্তা পরিষদে ভারতের অন্তর্ভুক্তি নিয়ে আমেরিকার আপত্তির প্রেক্ষিতে আর এক স্থায়ী সদস্য চিনের আজকের মন্তব্য ভারতের বড় প্রাপ্তি।

# India & China can make IT together: Wen

Srinivasa Prasad  
Bangalore, April 10

PREMIER WEN Jiabao on Sunday threw China's doors wide open for cooperation with Indian knowledge companies. This, he said, would help the two nations take the leadership position in the world and signify the coming of an "Asian century" of the IT industry.

He pointed out that India had the advantage in software and China in hardware, and agreed with a suggestion that India-China cooperation was like two pagodas (Buddhist temples with different levels: software and hardware). "I strongly believe that if we join hands together, we will be able to set a new trail in the IT business world," he said at Bangalore's Tata Consultancy Services (TCS).

Wen, who arrived on Saturday evening, mentioned neither the competition between India and China, nor outsourcing, but instead stressed what most Indian IT industry leaders are increasingly talking about: the two nations should try to beat the rest of the world together, instead of each other.

IT industries in China and India have been eyeing each other with suspicion for some years, but have also been probing the collective benefits they can reap in the growing global market by joining hands. "Competition is global. It's not just from one country," said TCS CEO S. Ramadorai.

Wen is the third Chinese premier to visit Bangalore in four years and voice such ideas. While Li Peng's visit four years ago achieved little, Zhu Rongji's surprise invitation to Infosys, two years ago, to invest in China met with bureaucratic hurdles in that country. Wen's call for cooperation today is the most vocal and no-strings-attached invitation so far and comes at a time when the world's IT market is growing breathtakingly fast.

See Page 3

## TOUR DIARY

**Infotech deal:** Wen wants China to learn from India's success in IT & India to invest in China. India wants to service its global customers from China and tap that country's vast market. By coming together, China could become India's gateway to the East and tap the West via the India route



**Border breakthrough:** India and China will sign an agreement on guiding principles for the boundary when Manmohan Singh meets Wen on Monday. Special representatives of the two countries firmed up the deal on Sunday

**Tibetan touch:** A Tibetan staged a dramatic protest atop Bangalore's Indian Institute of Science when Wen was interacting with scientists on the ground floor. Tenzin Tsundue unfurled a Tibetan flag and a banner with the message 'Free Tibet', shouted slogans and threw down pamphlets denouncing China

PTI



# Border issues to top agenda

Manoj Joshi  
New Delhi, April 10

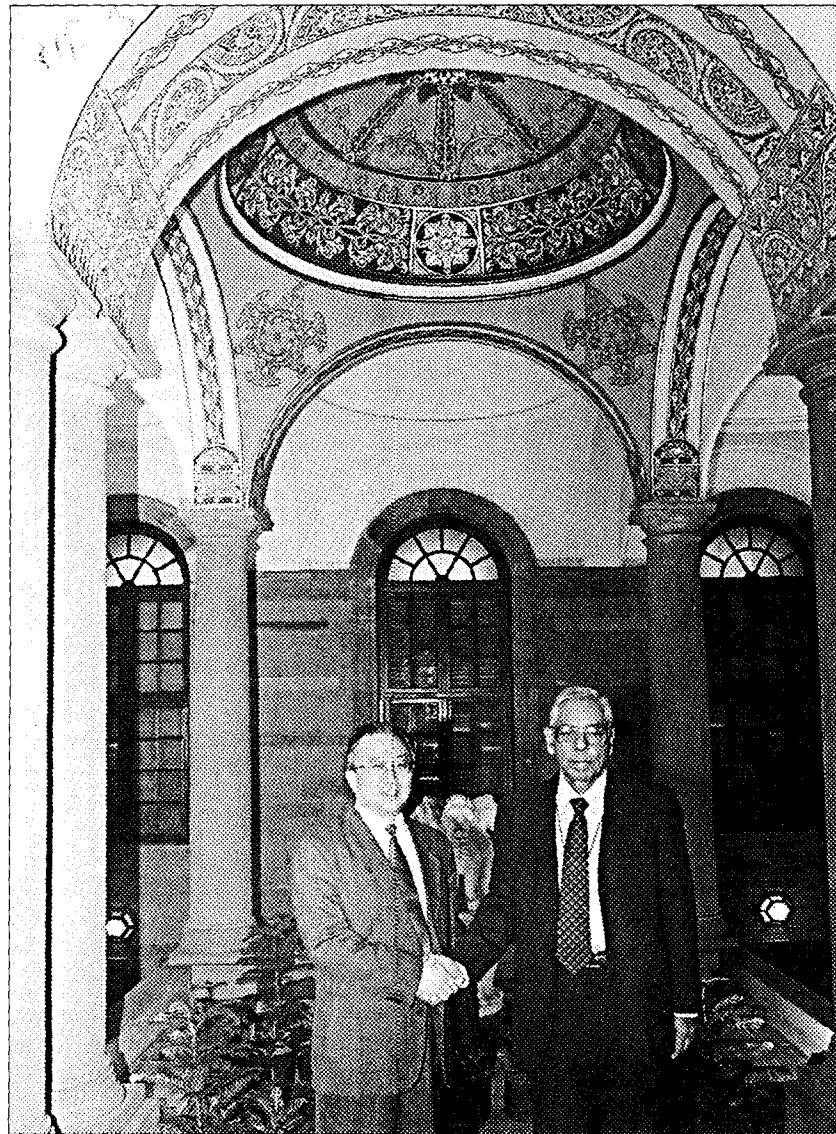
THE INTENTIONS have been announced in advance, choreographed, too, by the special representatives — Dai Bingguo of China and M.K. Narayanan (before him, J.N. Dixit and Brajesh Mishra). At their first high-level interaction, in Vientiane last year, Prime Minister Manmohan Singh told his Chinese counterpart Wen Jiabao: "We shall show accommodation but accommodation must take into account ground realities."

On March 14, Wen conceded that a border settlement must be based, besides the usual formulations, "on an accommodation of reality". Earlier this month, he repeated that it must be based on "mutual accommodation, respect history while taking reality into account".

So the centrepiece of Wen's visit to India will be an agreement on the political parameters and guiding principles of resolving the dispute over the Sino-Indian border, one of the last great unsettled frontiers of the world — and that, too, between two nuclear-armed powers who have even fought a war over it.

The new agreement — based on a 2002 decision to apply a political push to never-ending border negotiations conducted by joint working groups — will technically lead to an entirely new boundary.

The two sides will then fashion a framework for implementing this agreement, and get down to the nitty-gritty of adjustments on the ground along the existing 4,056 km Line of Actual Control. Based on a clause of the agreement to uphold geo-



PTI  
National security adviser M.K. Narayanan with his Chinese counterpart, Dai Binggou, before the border dispute talks in New Delhi on Sunday.

graphical and historical benchmarks and not to disturb settled populations. China could accept a broad adjustment leaving Arunachal Pradesh and the Tawang tract in India.

The clause on upholding

the security concerns of the other side (as well as geographical markers) could see India conceding a greater portion of the Aksai Chin — through which China's strategic Xinjiang-Tibet highway runs.

## Mansarovar talks

JAMMU AND Kashmir has pushed for discussions on the re-opening of the Leh-Kailash Mansarovar route in talks with China.

"The state government has taken up with the Union home ministry the issue of the re-opening of the route to Kailash-Mansarovar from Leh, and urged that it be put on the agenda of the talks with visiting Chinese Premier Wen Jiabao," disclosed science and technology minister Rigzin Zora, who hails from Ladakh. "We are confident that this issue would be discussed in detail during the Sino-Indian talks now", he said.

HTC, Srinagar

# “Guiding principles” on border issue finalised

● Chinese side expected to present fresh map on Sikkim

By Amit Baruah

NEW DELHI, APRIL 10. India and China have clinched a set of “guiding principles” on how to address their border dispute following a meeting between Special Representatives, M.K. Narayanan and Dai Bingguo, at the Prime Minister’s Office today.

The Chinese side is expected to present to India a newly printed official map that shows Sikkim as a part of India. It is likely that this map will be presented during talks between the visiting Chinese Premier, Wen Jiabao, and the Prime Minister, Manmohan Singh, on Monday, South Block sources told *The Hindu* tonight.

The “guiding principles,” which have been under negotiation for several months, were given finishing touches at the first-ever meeting between Mr. Narayanan and Mr. Dai, the sources said. It is understood that one of these principles contains a formulation to the effect that existing populations would be “protected.”

The agreement on the “guiding principles” came as Mr. Wen arrived in the capital from Bangalore. The External Affairs Minister, Natwar Singh, received him at the airport. Later in the evening, the Congress president, Sonia Gandhi, called on Mr. Wen at the Taj Palace Hotel.

The sources said there had been much opening and re-opening of the “guiding principles,” but it had now been finally settled and would be issued by the two Prime Ministers tomorrow. They felt that it would be a “major step” in the direction of a final boundary settlement.

## Three-tier arrangement

India’s concerns have been taken care of in the principles, which will be part of a three-tier arrangement to settle the border dispute: the principles, a framework for the settlement and then the actual delineation and demarcation of the border.

The External Affairs Ministry spokesman put out a brief response after the talks between Mr. Narayanan and Mr. Dai: “The Special Representatives met today and had fruitful talks with a view to finalising the doc-



**FIRMING UP TIES:** External Affairs Minister Natwar Singh welcoming Chinese Prime Minister Wen Jiabao at the Palam Airport in New Delhi on Sunday. — Photo: V. Sudershan

uments on guiding principles for signatures tomorrow.”

The spokesman also regretted an incident during Mr. Wen’s visit to the Indian Institute of Science in Bangalore. “This is an unfortunate incident. The miscreant has been promptly apprehended and the State Government of Karnataka

is conducting an investigation. Premier Wen Jiabao is an honoured guest of this country and all efforts are being made to ensure a complete success of this visit,” he said.

Interestingly, on arrival in Bangalore on Saturday, Premier Wen linked a settlement on the boundary issue with the overall

trajectory of bilateral ties between India and China.

According to Mr. Wen, the two sides should “bear in mind the larger picture, expand exchanges and cooperation in all areas and properly settle questions left over from history.”

**Editorial on Page 10**  
**Another report on Page 11**

MONDAY, APRIL 11, 2005

## LOOKING BEYOND THE BOUNDARY

THE VISIT BY Premier Wen Jiabao to India — the first by a top Chinese leader after the generational change of guard in Beijing — is an excellent opportunity for both sides to reiterate that the bilateral relationship is increasingly one of shared interest, agreement, cooperation, and warmth. Following Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi's breakthrough visit to China in December 1988, bilateral relations have progressed hearteningly. Over the past 16 years, except for a short-lived aberration that came with India's May 1998 nuclear weapon tests, successive Indian governments located at different points in the political spectrum have acted wisely to consolidate the gains of what, in retrospect, can be recognised as Rajiv Gandhi's most enduring achievement. The Joint Declaration signed during Prime Minister Atal Bihari Vajpayee's visit to China in 2003 demonstrated the maturity the bilateral relationship had attained. There has been a friendly dialogue on the boundary dispute, reflecting mutual willingness to be guided by a big picture vision of bilateral ties — the "strategic high ground," in Premier Wen's words. Since the 2003 decision to elevate the dialogue to the level of Special Representatives, New Delhi and Beijing have held four rounds of talks to arrive at a framework, or "guiding principles," for settling the dispute. There are expectations on the Indian side that such a framework will be settled during Premier Wen's New Delhi visit, or soon after.

The breakthrough achieved in 1988, with the blessings and active encouragement of Deng Xiaoping, lay in India and China agreeing, for the first time, at the top political levels not to use force to alter the *status quo* along the Line of Actual Control; and that peace and tranquillity would be assured along the long, unsettled boundary at both the military and political levels. Once that progressive framework was put in place, many good things followed. It is unrealistic to expect any early settlement of a dispute that is at least five decades old and has always needed a give-and-take approach, as opposed to unilateralism. What is clear is that bilateral ties will be better served by going boldly and imaginatively for an expansion of the bandwidth of the relationship. New Delhi and Beijing held their first strategic dialogue in January, signalling

intent to find common ground and cooperate on a range of international issues. Such convergence exists, for instance, in the principled opposition by the two countries to the United States-led invasion of Iraq, and on certain key World Trade Organisation-related issues. With China and India among the world's leading energy consumers, there is realisation that in this crucial sector cooperation is more sensible than competition. While Beijing is still ambiguous about India's bid for a permanent seat in the United Nations Security Council, New Delhi will certainly welcome recent remarks by Premier Wen, the second-ranking Chinese leader, that his country "understands" India to be a "major developing country that plays a positive role in regional and international affairs ... [and is] ready to see a greater role of India in the international arena, the U.N. included."

The importance China attaches to strengthening its economic ties with India was evident from Premier Wen's decision to begin his four-day visit to India at Bangalore, the country's software capital. China has been an open admirer of India's emerging status as a software 'superpower,' and prospects of cooperation in the field of information technology are exciting. From \$ 2.9 billion in 2000, the level of bilateral trade has jumped to more than \$13 billion, bringing the target of \$25 billion by 2010 within reach. It is well known that the Chinese Premier is keen on concluding with India an agreement for what can become the world's largest Free Trade Area. New Delhi should go boldly for this, notwithstanding apprehensions expressed by protectionist business lobbies. It is true that China, on a spectacular long-term trajectory of close to two-digit annual economic growth, has made major inroads into the Indian market. But over the past few years, many significant sections of Indian industry and business have shed traditional fears and suspicions, with some leading companies setting up operations in China. Increased trade and economic cooperation and people-to-people contacts between the two "Asian giants" hold the key to regional peace, stability, development, and prosperity. All this will pave the way for a strategic partnership, which China has proposed and India should grasp with both hands.

11 APR 2005

THE HINDU



# Wen sees Asian century in IT

Statesman News Service

BANGALORE, April 10. — Chinese Premier Mr Wen Jiabao said today that India and China can easily lead the world if they cooperate in the information technology sector, harnessing their respective advantages in the two pagodas called software and hardware.

Translated into reality it would herald the coming of the "Asian century in the IT sector," Mr Wen said.

Which is why, Mr Wen, who is on a two-day visit to the city en route to New Delhi, said the bilateral interaction during his four-day stay in India, would prove historical and significant.

Most of his time in the city was spent at the offices of the Tata Consultancy Services, Huawei Technologies, the Indian Space Research Organisation and Indian Institute of Science.

During his first interaction with the IT sector at the city office of TCS, he said the two countries

## Finishing touches to 'guiding principles'

NEW DELHI, April 10.— India and China today put the finishing touches to the "guiding principles" for the settlement of the boundary dispute, which will be formally signed tomorrow in the presence of Mr Wen Jiabao and Dr Manmohan Singh. The Chinese Premier arrived in Delhi this evening from Bangalore. The special representatives of both countries, national security advisor Mr MK Narayanan and Chinese vice-foreign minister Mr Dai Bingguo met today to tie up the loose ends of the document. — SNS

Details on page 4

should take advantage of their deep-rooted friendship.

This could be done by increasing cooperation between their corporates and the people. In this context, he complimented the TCS for successfully setting up its operations in China while at the same time inviting more Indian companies to set up shop in his country.

The development of the IT sector, he said, was dependent on the human brain or human resources and the market. China and India, together, had a lot of intelligent people with the world providing an ever broadening market for the IT sector.

"I strongly believe if we join hands, we will certainly be able to set a new trail in the IT business world," Mr Wen said. It was in this context that he added that if the two countries could cooperate, "we would be able to lead the world "and would signify the coming of the Asian century of the IT industry."

He said that if the two countries believed that IT symbolised the future of science and technology as also the economy, then Sino-Indian cooperation in IT would herald prosperity for them.

Underlining the advances made by the two countries in IT, he said that while India was leading in software development, China was ahead in hardware.

Nasscom team to visit China:

page 11

# Delhi, Beijing work on 'guiding principles'

Statesman News Service

NEW DELHI, April 10. — India and China today put the finishing touches on the "guiding principles" for the settlement of the boundary dispute, which will be formally signed tomorrow in the presence of the Chinese Premier, Mr Wen Jiabao, and the Prime Minister, Dr Manmohan Singh.

A day before, the Special Representatives of both countries, national security advisor, Mr MK Narayanan, and Chinese vice-foreign minister, Mr Dai Bingguo, met today to tie up the loose ends of the document.

An official Indian statement described the talks between the Special Representatives as "fruitful with a view to finalis-

## Wen meets Sonia

NEW DELHI, April 10. — UPA chairperson Mrs Sonia Gandhi today called on the visiting Chinese Prime Minister, Mr Wen Jiabao, and are understood to have discussed the ongoing efforts to improve relations between the two neighbours. Among the issues that figured in the meeting was the scope for enhancing business relationship between India and China, official sources said. Mr Wen had earlier expressed his desire for enhanced cooperation between the two countries, particularly in the IT sector. — PTI

ing the documents on Guiding Principles for signatures tomorrow". An agreement on the document of guiding principles, which is also expected to include political parameters, is only an initial step towards

settling the boundary question. After this will follow the difficult part of negotiations to finally delineate the boundary, based on the agreed guiding principles.

It was after the 2003 Vajpayee visit to China that both countries decided to appoint Special Representatives for the boundary issues. Today's meeting was the fifth round of the Special Representatives. Two had been held by Mr Brajesh Mishra, followed by two more by the late JN Dixit.

There had been indications in the run-up to the visit from the remarks of Chinese leaders and Indian officials who had talked about an emerging consensus on the boundary dispute. Further, the SRs would also discuss the issue of bilateral relations from a "political perspective".

Experts say there are indications that the boundary settlement may be based on

"ground realities" and a policy of not displacing settled populations. India and China share a 3,351-km-long boundary and have fought a war in 1962. A core issue of the dispute has been the state of Arunachal Pradesh, which is shown a part of China in Chinese maps.

A joint working group on the boundary issue had also met in Beijing last month after a gap of two years. The Indian delegation had been led by the foreign secretary, Mr Shyam Saran. Besides signing the document on guiding principles, several agreements on civil aviation, trade, customs co-operation, setting up a financial dialogue and water resources will also be signed tomorrow.

Tomorrow, Mr Wen has a packed schedule, starting with a ceremonial welcome at Rashtrapati Bhavan.

# CHINA AND INDIA

## Cooperation Or Conflict?

By HARSH V PANT

According to observers, the global political architecture is undergoing a transformation with power increasingly shifting from the West to the East. The two most populous nations on the earth, China and India, are on their way to becoming economic powerhouses and are shedding their reticence in asserting their global profiles. Japan is gradually flexing its military muscle and the South-east Asian economies are back in business after the setbacks of the 1997 financial crisis. Whether it is such hopeful prospects or the challenges ahead in the Korean peninsula, Taiwan, and Kashmir, it is clear that this will, in all likelihood, be an Asian century.

### Improving relationship

The future will to a large extent depend on the relationship between China and India. According to the United States National Intelligence Council Report on emerging global trends, by 2020 the international community will have to confront the military, political and economic dimensions of the rise of China and India. Bilateral relations between China and India will define the contours of the new international political architecture in Asia and the world at large. This importance of their relationship is not lost on China and India. In one of his meetings with the Indian Prime Minister, the Chinese Premier, Wen Jiabao is reported to have remarked: "When we shake hands, the whole world will be watching".

As of today, however, the trajectory of Sino-Indian relations remains as complex as ever. Whether there is cooperation or conflict in Sino-Indian relations will to a large extent be determined by how deftly the two nations address each other's strategic concerns.

Certainly, much water has flown down the Ganges since the former Indian Defence Minister George Fernandes called China India's "enemy number one" and India's former Prime Minister Atal Behari Vajpayee wrote to the US President that Indian nuclear tests were a response to the threat posed by China. Since then the two sides have travelled a long way. The high-profile visit of the Chinese Premier to India is just one of the many manifestations of significantly improved

Sino-Indian ties.

Bilateral ties took a jump-start with the visit of the Indian Prime Minister to China in June 2003, the first by an Indian Premier in a decade. The joint declaration expressed the view that China was not a threat to India despite all the previous rhetoric to the contrary. The two states appointed

about \$13 billion at present. The two nations are even evaluating the possibility of signing a comprehensive economic cooperation agreement and a free trade agreement by the end of this year.

Both states are also taking steps to upgrade their military-related cooperation, leading to greater understanding on the



special representatives in order to impart momentum to border negotiations that have lasted 24 years, with the Prime Minister's principal secretary becoming India's political-level negotiator. India also acknowledged China's sovereignty over Tibet and pledged not to allow "anti-China" political activities in India. On its part, China has acknowledged India's 1975 annexation of the former monarchy of Sikkim by agreeing to open a trading post along the border with the former kingdom and later by rectifying its official maps to include Sikkim as part of India.

### Pakistan factor

Soon after assuming office in May 2004, the Indian government led by the Congress party also made it clear that it would continue to work towards improving bilateral relations. In his first address to the nation, Dr Manmohan Singh emphasised further development and diversification of Sino-Indian relations.

India and China have strengthened their bilateral relationship in areas as distinct as cultural and educational exchanges, military exchanges, and science and technology cooperation. Bilateral trade has recorded a rapid growth from \$265 million in 1991 to

bilateral military front, something that would have been unthinkable just a few years ago. As a first step, the Chinese and Indian navies carried out joint search and rescue operations off the Shanghai coast in November 2003. Both states are also seeking to cooperate on the nuclear front with China planning to import heavy water from India to be utilised in the pressurised heavy water reactors near Shanghai.

Many observers have also pointed out a subtle shift in Beijing's stance on Pakistan vis-à-vis India. China's "neutral" position during the Kargil conflict and the intense Indo-Pak war-like crisis following the terrorist attack on the Parliament in New Delhi is for many a reflection of China's sincerity in its attempts to improve its relations with India. China is also seen as playing a central role in encouraging Pakistan to negotiate with India by using its leverage over Pakistan. In keeping with China's attempts to project itself as a responsible regional player, China is seen by some as supporting peace and anti-terrorist efforts in South Asia by cooperating with the US and India.

Despite this noticeable upswing in Sino-Indian bilateral relations, the divergent strategic perceptions of the two nations con-

tinue to complicate this relationship. The perception remains that China is actively seeking to prevent India's rise as a major regional player. China has tried hard to maintain a rough balance of power in South Asia by preventing India from gaining an upper hand over Pakistan.

China has consistently assisted Pakistan's nuclear weapons and ballistic missile programmes to counterbalance India's development of new weapons systems. India's preoccupation with Pakistan reduces India to the level of a regional power while China can claim the status of an Asian and world power. Moreover, even as India and China share similar concerns regarding Islamic terrorism in Kashmir and Xinjiang, respectively, China has been rather unwilling to make a common cause with India against Pakistan.

### Allaying concerns

A close Sino-Pakistan strategic relationship is also one of the reasons why the Indo-Pak peace process has failed to move forward towards some substantive conclusion. So long as Pakistan continues to believe that it has China's unstinted support for its anti-India policies, Pakistan will continue to drag its feet on taking serious steps towards containing cross-border terrorism in Kashmir. China's use of India's neighbours to curtail Indian influence has not been restricted to Pakistan.

On its part, China is suspicious of Indian attempts to forge closer ties with the US. While realising that it would take China decades to seriously compete with the US for global hegemony, China has focused its strategic energies on Asia. China's emphasis on projecting its rise as peaceful is merely aimed at allaying the concerns of its neighbours lest they try to counterbalance its growing influence.

India and China are two major powers in Asia with global aspirations and some significant conflicting interests. As a result, some amount of friction in their bilateral relationship is inevitable. How this friction and the ensuing competition between the two regional giants is managed will determine the future of Asia as the locus of global politics in the 21st century. As we welcome the Chinese Premier, our leaders should go beyond the clichés and rhetoric and articulate India's concerns to China in clear and unmistakable terms.

# Strategic partnership with China

By Subramanian Swamy

The Chinese Prime Minister, Wen Jiabao, has arrived in India and is poised to give shape to the developing option of strategic partnership between India and China. The moment has thus arrived when Sino-Indian relations have to be analysed in a broader global and multilateral strategic perspective rather than in the usual rhetoric of bilateral problems that has characterised the relations.

A strategic partnership has necessarily to be viewed in the broader sweep of the following three perspectives: economic benefits; global influence; and enhancement of national security. With the globalisation process in full swing, economic issues have become crucial especially since every country's economic system is becoming increasingly interdependent not only for resources but also because of outsourcing, and also due to the vulnerability of the economic system to destabilisation by international financial flows.

Starting in 1980 and with varying decisiveness, both China and India made an ideological break with the Soviet economic model and moved toward reforms that charted their path to a globally competitive market economy.

Since then, India and China have had impressive growth rates and now together account for 18 per cent of world GDP, and 38 per cent of the world's population. But further progress will depend on both countries carrying out financial sector reforms since India and China have quite recklessly milked the system and brought it to the brink of a crisis.

A financial crisis in India or China will not destroy their economies but set them back. Both will recover but only after major changes in economic strategy and reform. But China and India will, because of their respective basic strength in

knowledge sectors, achieve a large share of world economy in the 21st century. The only alteration in such a scenario — after a financial crisis — will be that India will recover quicker because of a relatively better developed financial system. By 2025, it will overtake a 'hard-landed' China.

The world economic scene in 2025 would therefore be probably triangular involving the U.S., China and India. The question is how the three countries may relate substantively, bilaterally, and tri-laterally with one another.

Since technological innovation based on new R&D is the driver of economic growth, and the U.S. is far ahead of India and China in that crucial area, it would not be sensible for either country to alienate the U.S. For China driven by an export-led strategy, the U.S. is even more important than for India. The U.S. is China's biggest export market, of products largely from the outsourcing of manufacturing in China by pro-American East Asian countries, and enabled by the U.S.-patronised multinational corporations and foreign joint ventures in China that account for half the Chinese exports. To expect then that China will partner India strategically against U.S. interests does not make sense in the economic dimension.

## Clash of interests

Moreover, India may soon be in a clash of economic interests with China. Three areas are obvious:

(i) Rising wage rates in export-oriented labour-intensive industry of Chinese labour well above Indian wage rates, coupled with India's born-again manufacturing sector, will divert manufacturing outsourcing of East Asia (ASEAN) to India. If the Indian Government seizes this opportunity by cutting down the vexing high transaction costs (due to corruption, bureaucratic hassles, etc.), we

shall be in a position of hurting China. Only the U.S. can delay this from the East Asia end.

(ii) China has enjoyed a huge advantage in modernised textile industry and computer hardware. India has begun to catch up, and by 2010 it will become a competitor. This will give the U.S. a new option for hi-tech outsourcing and production relocation which will work against the Chinese economic interest.

(iii) If India recovers from its imminent fiscal crisis — by adopting far reaching new reforms — then the growth rate will accelerate above the present annual trend rate of 6 per cent in GDP. This means a huge demand for resources, such as oil and finance, that will have to come from abroad and in competition with China. Since Kuwait, Saudi Arabia, and later perhaps Iraq, will be the sources for oil, again the U.S. will be a factor in controlling India's vital supplies.

Not only that, India may be in a position to snatch the economic advantage from China after 2010. But at the rate we are going in higher education and given that U.S.-educated Indians are increasingly returning home to set up cutting edge technology companies, India may be able after 2020 to challenge even the U.S. in pioneering research and innovation. That however will be perceived as a threat to U.S. economic interests. The present outcry in U.S. against outsourcing to India will then be nothing compared to the roar that be heard. If China is able to replicate the same (which will require more democracy for intellectuals), then the Intel CEO Craig Barrett's famous quip may become real: That India and China together can "eat America's lunch."

Thus in the economic dimension, a partnership between India and China will for long remain highly diluted because of a fundamental fault line that divides the two countries. For at

least two decades, Chinese economic growth necessitates a relaxed U.S. attitude. Hence, whatever the atmospherics generated by the visit of the Chinese Premier to India and however sweet he sounds, the bottom line is that China will, for the foreseeable future, not cross the U.S.

*Realpolitik* requires that we know who will be whose "natural ally" and in what situations, and what for? These are open questions today, and require a great deal of intellectual debate.

Of course India and China are geographically, culturally and historically natural partners. Geographically as neighbours with a long boundary. For more than 5000 years of history, the two nations have been interacting with each other peacefully and normally, except for a period of 20 years (1958-78). No two neighbours of any size in any continent can claim such long period of peaceful co-existence and cultural contact, without naturally being partners.

Strategic partnership however can have meaning only if the benefit from the partnership is more than the loss likely to be imposed by those interests the partnership is directed against. Such partnership does not mean hostility or even enmity with third non-partner countries. It however means that "when the chips are down" for one partner, the other partner will stand firm in support.

In the case of China, history, cultural, and geography binds us together with it as natural partners. However, merely because of that, or since the Chinese have proposed that India and China discuss strategic partnership now, should we jump at it and urge the Chinese to clinch it or should we wait until India is much stronger economically and militarily, and close the gap with China first? Should we not also wait to see the outcome of a probable financial crisis in India and China?

## Question of timing

Moreover, we must be clear about what India can afford to give China in a partnership, what we need to take from that country and what we can do together to make the partnership worthwhile and compensate for the cost of alienating the United States. Thus the timing of forging a strategic partnership becomes crucial.

Indians will have to decide by the calculus of alternatives: cost-benefit of a possible U.S.-India strategic partnership against China *versus* India-China compact against the U.S. The third alternative: a China-U.S. alliance against India would be a great setback for us that we shall have to strive to prevent. It is not probable that it will come about but is not impossible to imagine.

So far, the U.S. has never proposed a U.S.-India strategic relationship, and is unlikely to do so in the near future. Such a relationship if it comes about will for now, and for the next 50 years, be an unequal one. It is unacceptable to India because it will then be a junior partner. There will be no joint decision-making on major issues.

This requires listing exhaustively, the various scenarios of the next decade and how the U.S. and China would react for or against Indian interests with or without strategic partnership. These outcomes must be aggregated and graded to get an overall score on the costs and benefits. Only then a decision on strategic partnership can be made. At the moment I know that such an exercise has not been done ever by official Indian strategists or even in academic institutions. Until that is done, we should not rush into a strategic partnership discussion with China.

(The author is a former Union Cabinet Minister and a former professor of economics at Harvard University. He still teaches every summer at Harvard.)

11 APR 2005

THE HINDU

# Sino-Indian ties soar to new heights

## Wen Jiabao, Manmohan Singh Sign Landmark Statement For Peace

**New Delhi:** Heralding a new dimension in bilateral ties, India and China on Monday agreed to work for an "early" settlement of the vexed boundary question, establish a strategic and cooperative partnership for peace and prosperity and further promote exchanges in the military field.

After wide-ranging discussions here, Prime Minister Manmohan Singh and visiting Chinese Premier Wen Jiabao signed a landmark joint statement and witnessed the signing of 12 accords, including a protocol on modalities for implementation of confidence building measures (CBMs) in the military field along the Line of Actual Control (LAC).

In an agreement outlining 11 political parameters and guiding principles, the two sides decided to make "meaningful and mutually acceptable adjustments" to their respective positions on the boundary question to arrive at a "package settlement" which is "final", covering all sectors of the India-China boundary. The agreement, signed by national security adviser M K Narayanan and Chinese executive vice foreign minister Dai Bingguo, said the two sides would

sive negotiations, the two sides agreed that the boundary should be along "well-defined and easily identifiable" natural geographical features to be mutually agreed upon.

The joint statement said both sides were convinced that an "early settlement of the boundary question will advance the basic interests of the two countries and should, therefore, be pursued as a strategic objective". The two sides agreed to complete the process of exchanging maps indicating their respective perceptions of the entire alignment of the LAC to arrive at a "common understanding" as soon as possible. The two sides inked a protocol on modalities for the implementation of CBMs in the military field along the LAC under which they agreed to avoid holding largescale military exercises in close proximity to the LAC.

Going by their assurance that Sikkim was no longer an issue between China and India, the joint statement said both sides reviewed with satisfaction the implementation of the memorandum on border trade through the Nathula Pass between the Tibet Autonomous Region of China and "Sikkim state of the Republic of India".



**Manmohan Singh with Wen Jiabao during the ceremonial reception at Rashtrapati Bhavan in New Delhi on Monday**

give due consideration to each other's "strategic and reasonable interests", and the principle of mutual and equal security.

Declaring that differences on the boundary question should not be allowed to affect the overall development of bilateral ties, the two sides decided to seek a fair, reason-

able and mutually acceptable solution to the vexed issue through consultations on an "equal footing".

They agreed to take into account historical evidence, national sentiments, practical difficulties and reasonable concerns and sensitivities of both sides, and the actual state of border areas. After inten-

Neeraj Paul

Reuters

10 Apr 2005

# The frontier of dispute

PHOTO: SAMRAT CHOUDHURY



**WHATS ON:** The aim of the map making exercise is to fix the line in time and space. Once the Line of Actual Control is clearly delineated on maps, it can be used as a starting point for the boundary negotiations.

**THE AIM:** Is to ensure that the Line of Actual Control, through negotiations based on mutually acceptable principles, can be transformed into a boundary. According to the Chinese, this would involve some territorial adjustments.

road from Bum La, now on the Line of Actual Control, to Tawang, when they attacked in 1962. They then marched down to Bhalukpong in two weeks. Fears that they would repeat their performance prompted India to build an all-weather motorable road thereafter. The road has since been maintained and improved by the Border Roads Organisation. Efforts are on to widen it. Road construction workers — mostly women — and machinery dot the entire stretch from Bomdila to Tawang.

The army is a constant presence. It's there all along the road from Tezpur, where corps commander Lt General AS Jarmwal sits. In Tawang itself, the two colours most in evidence are the maroon robes of

“don't think about the statement” that Tibet is a part of China, he says.

For a place that reveres the Dalai Lama, there is a complete absence of any “Free Tibet” banners or posters. Local police officials confirm the absence of any such movement in Tawang. They also say that the Tibetans, who arrived in the Dalai Lama's wake, now control business in Tawang — and that's building into a grouse for the local Monpas.

The only political banners and posters at Tawang are for the Congress and BJP. Days away from the visit of China's premier Wen Jiabao to India, there's no excitement among the civil population in Tawang. Almost no one has heard that he's

The army, of course, has heard of Jaibao's visit. They have the arduous task of holding the Tawang Tract that the Chinese have consistently claimed for themselves. Ever since Prime Minister Indira Gandhi decided in the late 1970s that Tawang would have to be defended at all costs, they have been based here in strength.

There is a brigade headquarters at Tawang. A senior army officer here says that all is well on the border and has been for long. “They are on their heights and we are on ours”, he says. The Line of Actual Control is easy to discern on the ground because of this, the officer adds.

The army and ITBP who together man the Chinese border here, however, are not

## HU & WEN



**Wen Jiabao**

A Han Chinese native of Tianjin, was born in September 1942. He is a

India has it. China wants it. Yet life in Tawang, the town that is the unlikely hurdle to India-China peace, goes on with scarcely a flutter





Based on the mutually acceptable principles, can be trans-formed into a boundary. According to the Chinese, this would involve some territorial adjustments.

**BURMA**  
Line of Actual Control  
Area claimed by China

**INDIA**  
MEGHALAYA  
NAGALAND

**INDIA**  
MEGHALAYA  
NAGALAND

**INDIA**  
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NAGALAND

**INDIA**  
MEGHALAYA  
NAGALAND

India has it. China wants it. Yet life in Tawang, the town that is the unlikely hurdle to India-China peace, goes on with scarcely a flutter



**Samrat Choudhury**  
Tawang

**G**ETTING TO Tawang is half the battle. The road begins to wind skywards a few kilometres after near Tezpur where a king named Baluka once reigned. It's now the border post between Assam and Arunachal, the place where the buses and Sumo taxis halt for a bit and border guards check your inner Line Permit. From here to Tawang is little over 300 kilometres. It takes more than 10 hours to cover this distance.

Till after the 1962 war, there was no 'pukka' road here. Travellers to Tawang were few and far between. Life in the mountain village used to revolve around the 400-year-old monastery of the Mera Lama. People sent their children to the monastery to study, and paid obeisance and taxes in the form of yak's milk and rice to the Tibetan rulers. Delhi and Beijing were worlds away, and even the empire-building British only knew it as a distant Shangri-La. They never ruled Tawang.

The first Indian administrator in Tawang was Major R Khating of the Indian Frontier Administrative Service who walked up here in February 1951. Connections with India remained distant, and relations had to be airdropped till years after.

Now there's a proper motorable road that snakes over the 13,747 ft high Se La pass all the way to Tawang and beyond. It's an Indo-China joint venture in infrastructure development: the Chinese built the

road from Bum La, now on the Line of Actual Control, to Tawang, when they attacked in 1962. They then marched down to Bhalukpong in two weeks. Fears that they would repeat their performance prompted India to build an all-weather motorable road thereafter. The road has since been maintained and improved by the Border Roads Organisation. Efforts are on to widen it. Road construction workers — mostly women — and machinery dot the entire stretch from Bomdila to Tawang.

The army is a constant presence. It's there all along the road from Tezpur, where corps commander Lt General AS Jamwal sits. In Tawang itself, the two colours most in evidence are the maroon robes of monks and the green fatigues of army men.

Tawang's long time SP Tashi Lama says there's no crime to speak of in Tawang. Then he points outside his window and says, "In any case, everything from there onwards is under the army". The 'there' is the next cluster of buildings less than a kilometre away. Lama estimates that of Tawang's total population of 34,700, more than 10,000 are soldiers.

This could pose a problem to the Indian negotiators, but that's another story. The local people in Tawang are the Monpas. They are almost all Buddhist, and most belong to the Gelugpa sect of which the Dalai Lama is the head. The photos of His Holiness are everywhere in Tawang. In April 1989, when he escaped Lhasa disguised as a soldier, this was the first stop on his journey into India. Here the Dalai Lama had spent four days in the Tawang monastery before heading to Bomdila.

The Dalai Lama's moral authority over the Monpas is unquestionable. But the Monpas are not Tibetans, and they know it. "Our language is completely different", says local taxi driver Tshiring. "We are different from Tibetans", hotel receptionist Tenzing is at pains to explain. Even the monks at the Tawang monastery, which is still a centre of life and of power here, distinguish themselves from Tibet and Tibetans.

Thupten Gonpo is the founder-principal of the school for monks at Tawang monastery. He says, "Previously Tawang was part of Tibet. Now it is part of India, and what the Dalai Lama says about Tibet doesn't affect us". People at the monastery

"don't think about the statement" that Tibet is a part of China, he says.

For a place that reveres the Dalai Lama, there is a complete absence of any "Free Tibet" banners or posters. Local police officials confirm the absence of any such movement in Tawang. They also say that the Tibetans, who arrived in the Dalai Lama's wake, now control business in Tawang — and that's building into a grouse for the local Monpas.

The only political banners and posters at Tawang are for the Congress and BJP. Days away from the visit of China's premier Wen Jiabao to India, there's no excitement among the civil population in Tawang. Almost no one has heard that he's coming, and no one seems to care. Cricket is everyone's favourite topic. At Deputy Commissioner K Kholie's office, the DC is busy signing files and watching cricket. The hot topic here is Ganguly's poor form; Kholie's fellow discussant is a bearded, maroon robed monk who turns out to be Thetse Rimpoche, the abbot of the Nyingmapa's Khinmey Gompa.



The army, of course, has heard of Jiabao's visit. They have the arduous task of holding the Tawang Tract that the Chinese have consistently claimed for themselves. Ever since Prime Minister Indira Gandhi decided in the late 1970s that Tawang would have to be defended at all costs, they have been based here in strength.

There is a brigade headquarters at Tawang. A senior army officer here says that all is well on the border, and has been for long. "They are on their heights and we are on ours", he says. The Line of Actual Control is easy to discern on the ground because of this, the officer adds.

The army and ITBP who together man the China border say they have to watch out for gradual encroachment by yak herders more than military incursions. It's still snowing at these heights, but there is a brief summer in May-June when the traditionally nomadic herders from both sides of the border take their yaks to the mountains to graze. Yaks, of course, don't give recognition or respect to either India or China, and often wander from one country to the other. The herders follow, and then the armies. The Indians accuse the Chinese of using the yaks to nibble away at territory. The Chinese claim they are only defending what is theirs. Diplomats in Beijing and Delhi yak-yak over this.

The Tawang Tract is likely to be a sticking point on the road to peace between India and China. Vice Foreign Minister Wu Dawei has described the Sino-Indian border dispute as "an issue left over from his- tory". Both sides are already committed, through a 'Declaration on Principles for Relations and Comprehensive Cooperation' signed during Prime Minister AB Vajpayee's Beijing visit in 2003, to seek a fair, reasonable and mutually acceptable solution to the issue. Jiabao's visit will be an occasion for both sides to work out principles to resolve the border dispute.

The only principle that avoids displacement and distress and political repercussions is the principle that settled populations be left undisturbed. In Tawang, that would be the approximately 25,000 Monpas. Now they are all Hindi speaking, cricket loving, soap-watching Indians. Will that be enough to convince the Chinese that they should leave them undisturbed?

**HU & WEN**



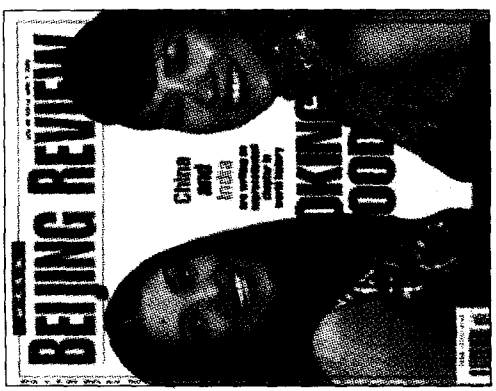
**Wen Jiabao**

A Han Chinese native of Tianjin, was born in September 1942. He is a geological engineer who majored in surveying and prospecting from Beijing Institute of Geology. Wen joined the Communist Party of China in April 1965 and began working in September 1967. He was elected Prime Minister of the People's Republic of China in March 2003.



**Hu Jintao**

Born in December 1942, Hu, a Han, is a native of Jixi, Anhui Province. He joined the Communist Party of China in April 1964 and began to work in July 1965. He graduated from the Water Conservancy Engineering Department of Tsinghua University where he had majored in the study of hub hydropower stations. Hu was elected Chairman of the People's Republic of China in March 2003.



The April 7 edition of the Beijing Review has a special report on India and China. Editor Li Haibo writes that "While many like to label the two Asian nations as competitors,

**Fate Line**

**April 1, 1950**  
India becomes first non-socialist country to establish relations with China. Relations are good.

**1954**  
Zhou Enlai and Nehru exchange visits. It's Panchsheel and Hindi-Chini bhai-bhai time.

**1962**  
China, India accuse one another of attacking. War ensues. Chinese forces march to Assam border.

**1988**  
Rajiv Gandhi visits China. Two sides agree to maintain peace. Chinese premier Li Peng returns visit in 1991.

**1996**  
President Jiang Zemin is first Chinese head of state to visit India. In 1993, PM Narasimha Rao had visited Beijing.

*For the Chinese, it's a friendship among unequals*





# FTA high on Wen's agenda

SNS & CHINA DAILY/ANN

NEW DELHI/BEIJING, April 9.

— A Sino-Indian free trade agreement is expected to be high on the agenda during Chinese Prime Minister Mr Wen Jiabao's four-day trip to India which began today, with China pushing for a decision and India preferring a more cautious approach.

It is likely to be one of the topics of negotiations to improve and facilitate bilateral economic co-operation between the two countries. The two Prime Ministers will also get the report of the joint study group on expanded trade and economic co-operation, which talks about areas of complementar-



Mr Wen Jiabao in Bangalore. — AFP

ities between the two economies.

China proposed an FTA with India during its State Councillor Mr Tang Jiaxuan's visit to the country last October. If it materialises, the FTA will cover the largest number of people in the world.

Sino-Indian trade hit \$13.6 billion last year, up 79 per cent year-on-year. Chinese exports to India increased by 77 per cent to \$5.93 billion, while Chinese imports from India rose by 80 per cent to \$7.68 billion. But officials and trade researchers say that the rate of growth should be far higher.

Mr Sun Yuxi, China's ambassador to India, had said that Sino-Indian trade volume was expected to register a historic high of \$30 billion by 2010 and China is expected to become India's largest trade partner in five years. Closer economic ties between the two Asian neighbours would lay a solid foundation for their political relationship, Mr Sun said.

JNU's Prof. Swaran Singh, an expert on India-China economic relations, said while "India is stepping very cautiously", the international community, especially Asean members, will be keenly observing the developments. Asean's FTA with China and India come into force in 2010 and 2011, respectively. "If the Sino-India FTA comes into force, then along with the Asean FTA, it would form a huge free trade market, attracting attention of other actors, like the USA," he said.

Another report on page 7

# Wen wants questions from history settled

STATESMAN NEWS SERVICE

BANGALORE, April 9. — Chinese premier Mr Wen Jiabao today said that he hoped to work closely with India to further bilateral relations from a strategic perspective in addition to settling questions left over from history "properly".

The Chinese premier, who flew in from Colombo to start his four-day visit to the country, emphasised in a statement that he was looking forward to strengthening Sino-Indian ties.

Mr Wen, who is accompanied by a 100-member business delegation, would be visiting the Tata Consultancy Services and Huawei Technologies offices here tomorrow en route to New Delhi. He was received by the Karnataka chief minister, Mr Dharam Singh, at the airport along with his senior ministers.

In the statement he said: "I am looking forward to an in-depth exchange of views on a wide range of issues, including bilateral ties and other spectra of life." According to him, China attaches "great importance to developing good neighbourly relations and friendly cooperation

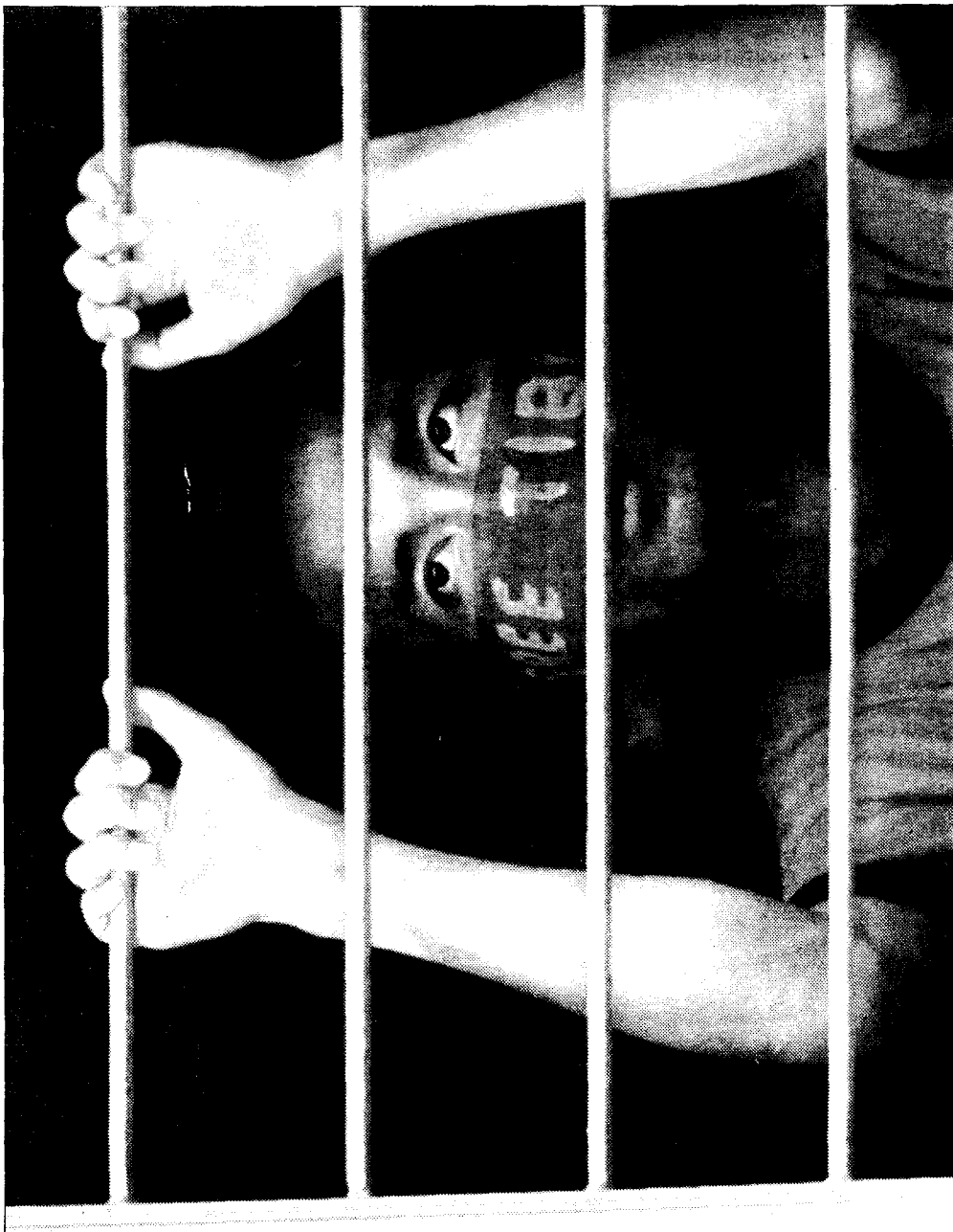
## Border talks

NEW DELHI, April 9. — India today said it was hopeful that a solution to the vexed border dispute with China would be worked out soon but cautioned against expecting overnight results after the visit of Chinese Prime Minister Mr Wen Jiabao. Prime Minister Dr Manmohan Singh and Mr Jiabao "will talk about all important issues and the border question will also be discussed," the home minister, Mr Shivraj Patil, said.

A BJP delegation led by Mr Atal Behari Vajpayee, today met the Prime Minister today to discuss about his bilateral talks with Mr Jiabao. — SNS

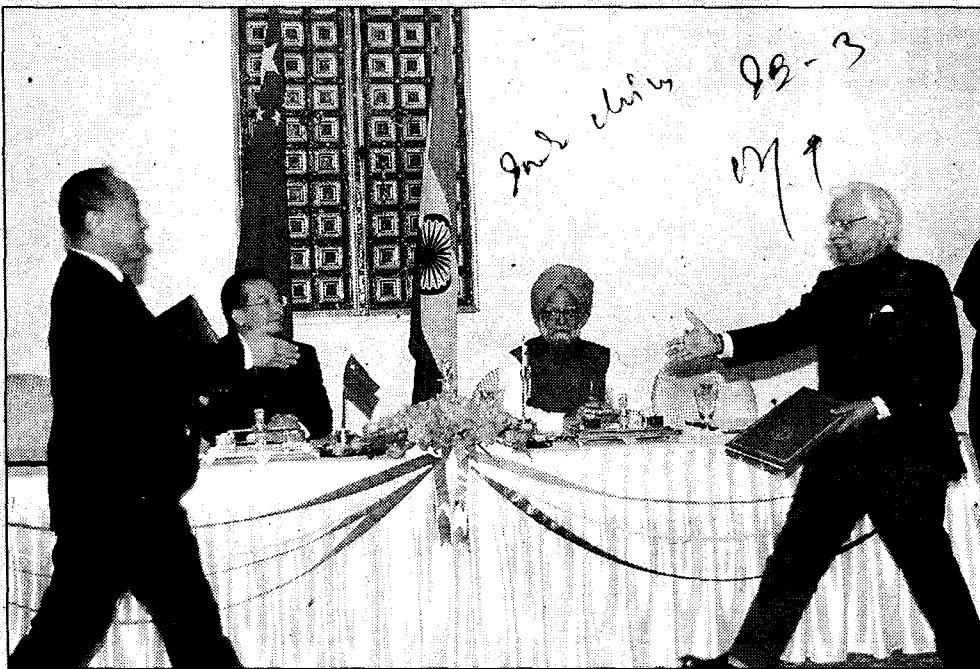
with India". China, he said, stood ready to work with India to view and handle bilateral relations from a strategic perspective.

This, he added, would bear in mind the larger picture, expand and deepen exchanges and cooperation in all areas and "properly settle questions left over from history, with a view to bringing China-India ties to a new high".



A Tibetan refugee protests against the visit of Chinese Prime Minister Mr Wen Jiabao on the campus of a hostel housing Tibetan refugees in Bangalore on Saturday. — AFP

# India, China sign MoU, open up skies



Natwar Singh exchanges documents after signing agreements with his Chinese counterpart Li Zhaoxing as PM and Chinese Premier Wen Jiabao look on at Hyderabad House in New Delhi. (Right) President Kalam with Wen at Rashtrapati Bhawan on Monday. PTI

## MoU gives fifth freedom rights to designated carriers

PRESS TRUST OF INDIA  
NEW DELHI, APRIL 11

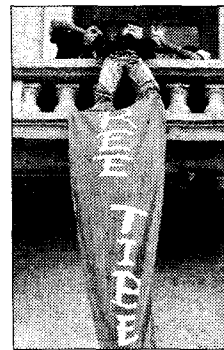
INDIA and China today entered into a memorandum of understanding in the civil aviation sector under which both the countries can designate one or more airlines to operate on specified routes.

The MoU was signed in pursuant to the technical-level talks held between the two countries in Beijing in January, followed by bilateral consultations held here in March, an official spokesperson said.

The substantial ownership and effective control of the designated airlines shall remain with the government of the country, the spokesperson said. The MoU, the spokesperson said, would be in effect from today.

In the agreement, which allows "fifth freedom rights" to designated carriers of both coun-

## Tibetan protest: Probe report today



**BANGALORE:** Karnataka CM N. Dharam Singh on Monday summoned senior police and Home department officials over the breach of security by a Tibetan protester during Chinese Premier Wen Jiabao's visit a day before. The state government had ordered a high-level inquiry into the protest by the Tibetan youth during Wen's visit to the Indian Institute of Science. Singh had also spoken to DGP S.N. Borkar. On Monday, the CM spoke to Home secretary Brahma Dutt, Borkar and city police commissioner Mariswamy. DG

of corps of detectives K.R. Srinivasan, who is conducting the inquiry, is expected to submit his report on Tuesday.

On Sunday, Tibetan activist Tenzin Tsundue had climbed the building and waved a flag and shouted slogans for nearly 15 minutes before security personnel hauled him off. — PTI

tries, an airlines approved by the Indian government can operate any six points in China and go to three more destinations beyond China. Similarly, a Chinese car-

rier would be allowed to operate in any six destinations in India and three more beyond.

The "fifth freedom right" allows a designated airline to oper-

ate from its originating country to another and take passengers from there to a third country. It was also agreed that the designated airlines of both countries may co-terminalise any two points in its own territory.

Charter operations between the two countries will be governed by the regulations of the respective countries. Considering the operation, needs of airlines to meet market demand combination services and cargo services will be operated with dry leased aircraft. Both the countries have also agreed on specified code sharing arrangements.

For all cargo services, the designated airlines of both the countries will be entitled to have unlimited third, fourth and fifth freedom traffic rights with unlimited capacity entitlements for dedicated cargo services.

It was also agreed that the designated airlines of both the countries can co-terminalise any two points in its own territory and any two points in the territory of the other party without any cabotage rights with the exception for airlines designated by India to combine Beijing and Shanghai, Beijing and Guangzhou, Shanghai and Guangzhou.

It was agreed to consider the removal of these restrictions in due course, the spokesperson said.

The designated airlines of both countries will have the capacity entitlement for combination services including 14 weekly frequencies as of 2005 LATA summer season, 28 weekly frequencies as of 2005 LATA winter season and 42 weekly frequencies as of 2006 LATA summer season.

The two sides also agreed that not more than 21 weekly frequencies may be operated by any designated airlines of one country to any destination point in the territory of the other country.



## Wen gets a peek at President's study

### The only other head of state to be invited there was Pakistan PM Aziz

BHAVNA VIJ-AURORA  
NEW DELHI, APRIL 11

CHINESE Premier Wen Jiabao today became only the second head of state to be escorted to President A.P.J. Abdul Kalam's study. And it is only a matter of coincidence that the first was Pakistan Prime Minister Shaukat Aziz.

Both were personally taken to the Rashtrapati Bhavan study by the President himself, who wanted to explain his concept of rural development to them. Wen, who had a 40-minute meeting with Kalam, showed a keen interest in rural development, as it was an issue critical for his country too. Both India and China have large rural populations that is economically weak and have still to catch up with the growth in urban centres.

An enthusiastic President in-

vited Wen and the rest of the Chinese delegation to his study, next to the Morning Room where the meeting was taking place. He switched on his personal computer and showed him his concept paper on rural development, titled PURA — Providing Urban Amenities in Rural Areas.

Kalam explained his idea of rural development to the Chinese Premier, saying the emphasis had to be on improving infrastructure in these areas. The President even gave Wen a copy of his concept paper, informing him that the Government was already working on its implementation.

Kalam and Wen discussed other common areas of interest, said the President's spokesperson, which included bilateral relations and cooperation in the fields of Information Technology, biotechnology, nanotechnology and space research.

Wen lands, race in Delhi  
to choose right words

# Last shot at China riddle

OUR BUREAU

**New Delhi/Bangalore, April 9:** Chinese Premier Wen Jiabao touched down in India's technology capital this evening, adding a sense of urgency to a last-ditch effort in the political capital to iron out the edges in a document that could take bilateral relations to a higher level.

"China stands ready to work with India to view and handle our bilateral relations from a strategic perspective bearing in mind the larger picture, expand and deepen exchanges and cooperation in all areas and properly settle questions left over from history with a view to bringing China-India ties to a new high," Wen said in a statement issued soon after landing in Bangalore.

Shorn of the trademark Chinese riddle, Wen seems to suggest that Beijing is keen to resolve the boundary dispute—"questions left over from history"—an area where hectic efforts are on to formalise a breakthrough.

Wen's gateway to India—Bangalore—was also highly symbolic, though the venue was chosen for logistical reasons.

The southern city, whose software campuses have helped India join China among the world's fastest-growing economies, could one day face stiff competition from Beijing. Wen, who will visit a few infotech facilities in Bangalore tomorrow before leaving for Delhi, tonight invited such companies to invest in his country.

In Delhi, foreign secretary Shyam Saran and Chinese vice-foreign minister Wu Dawei were racing against time this evening to remove glitches in the wording of the document that will allow the two giants to enter into a "strategic partnership". If the differences are sunk, the document will be signed jointly by Wen and Prime Minister Manmohan Singh.

Both India and China agree that the time has come to look at each other more as partners than rivals. "What was essentially viewed as an

adversarial relationship is now being seen as a potential partnership," a senior foreign ministry official said.

But differences persist on how the new relationship should be defined. China is keen that the two sides enter into a strategic partnership. India is not averse to the idea, but it wants to choose the words of the new relationship with caution.

One of the key concerns in Delhi is that any commitment to the Chinese should not foreclose its options with the West, especially the US. But India will also be keen to send a signal to America at a time when a perception is gaining grou-

## ON THE TABLE

- Strategic partnership
- Boundary issue framework
- Nepal relations
- Financial dialogue mechanism
- Water resources talks
- Civil aviation
- Cultural exchanges

## INDIA NEEDS

- Statement saying Sikkim is an integral part of India
- Soothing words on Beijing's ties with Islamabad

## CHINA NEEDS

- Reassurance that a line will be drawn on Tibetan activism
- Clarifications on growing Indo-US ties

nd that Islamabad has had a more fruitful relationship than Delhi with Washington.

Besides the strategic partnership, the thrust of Wen's tour will be on two areas—settlement of the boundary dispute and stronger economic ties.

Delhi has been insisting on an unambiguous statement from China that Sikkim is an integral part of India. Once this comes through, the foreign ministry feels the two sides will be in a position to come to an agreement on the "guiding principles and political parameters" (the framework) to resolve the boundary dispute.

■ See Page 6

# Border deal in sight

## India, China inch towards resolving old dispute

Nilova Roy Chaudhury  
New Delhi, April 8

INDIA AND China are close to arriving at an agreement on the vital aspects of the boundary dispute, official sources indicated. Chinese special representative appointed for the boundary issue Dai Bingguo will arrive in New Delhi directly for a meeting on Sunday with Indian special representative and NSA M.K. Narayanan ahead of Premier Wen Jiabao's official engagements in the Indian capital. It will be the fifth meeting of the special representatives, appointed in 2003 to provide political impetus to the long-stagnant border issue.

Vice-foreign minister Wu Dawei will skip the Bangalore leg of the Chinese Premier's visit to meet foreign secretary Shyam Saran in Delhi on Saturday.

The most significant outcome of Premier Wen's visit, beginning on



Wen Jiabao at Colombo on Friday.

Saturday in Bangalore, is likely to be the agreement defining the political parameters and 'guiding principles' on the long-disputed boundary issue.

Agreement on these principles will determine the future framework agreement in which details of territory

swaps, if any, will be worked out when special representatives of both countries meet next. Also giving momentum to the gradual improvement in ties during the 'landmark' visit is a protocol on more confidence-building measures, along the lines of the 1993 agreement to maintain 'peace and tranquility' along the LAC (line of actual control). India's attitude is to "proactively deal with to resolve" all outstanding problems with China, putting issues like the border dispute and Sikkim "behind us", an official said. While the Chinese claim the Sikkim issue is a 'thing of the past', India would like "an authoritative declaration" — maybe official maps or otherwise, affirming Sikkim's status as a part of India.

Manmohan Singh on Friday presided over a meeting of the CCS to discuss the broad issues that would figure during the talks the two leaders will hold on April 11.

09 APR 2006

THE HINDU

## India, China to agree on protocol on CBMs

By Amit Baruah

NEW DELHI, APRIL 8. India and China are scheduled to agree on a protocol containing confidence-building measures relating to the Line of Actual Control (LAC) during the Chinese Premier, Wen Jiabao's visit. His main day of official meetings is on April 11.

Briefing presspersons on Mr. Wen's visit, which begins tomorrow in Bangalore, senior of-

ficials said that the text had been finalised and India and China should be able to sign this document, which had been under negotiation for some time, on Monday.

The officials also said that a "considerable amount of work" had been done on the "guiding principles and political parameters" of a boundary settlement between India and China and the finishing touches to this document would be given in the

discussions on Saturday and Sunday. Besides these two key accords, agreements on civil aviation, trade and customs cooperation, the setting up of a financial dialogue between the two countries and another on sharing information on cross-border rivers had already been clinched.

Pointing out that there had been an issue relating to the creation of a "natural dam" on the Pareechu river in Himachal

Pradesh last year, the officials said the idea was to share information on river flows through this new agreement.

New Delhi, contrary to a recent statement made by the Chinese Ambassador to India, Sun Yuxi, that Sikkim was no longer an issue between the two countries, felt that an authoritative statement on Sikkim being part of India was called for.

Pointing out that some forward movement had taken

place on Sikkim, the officials said that more progress was required to ensure that Sikkim was no longer an issue in India-China relations.

The officials, who did not give any details about the "guiding principles" on the boundary settlement, said these principles would be applied to the framework of a border settlement in the next phase of discussions between the Special Representatives of the two countries.

India needs to engage with China, but with realism

# Of actual control

SWAPAN DASGUPTA

**T**he choreography preceding the visits of Chinese dignitaries to India seem to follow a broad script. First there are the over-hyped media reports hinting that the infuriatingly complex border dispute may be within smelling distance of a settlement. Second comes a flood of inanities from the *People's Daily* or from an officially-worded "interview" of the chief guest advising both countries to "shoulder a common responsibility to push forward the process of building a multi-polar world", and so on. Finally, Beijing's Indian cheerleaders make their entry to tell the beautiful people that an India-China tango would become the envy of the world.

The foreplay of Chinese premier Wen Jiabao's three-day visit to India has been no different. South Block has let it be known that a giant step towards the resolution of the border dispute may be taken with the agreement on the "guiding principles" for a settlement. In his interview to PTI, Wen Jiabao informed us that the two countries have "reached an important consensus that they should handle the relations from a high strategic ground, bearing in mind the larger picture."

China's understanding of the "high strategic ground" has always proved difficult to comprehend but India has chosen to underplay the fact that any "guiding principles" agreement has not been preceded by complete agreement on what constitutes the line of actual control. China has so far refused to exchange maps of its existing position in Aksai Chin, despite India being ready with its version. This would prompt the conclusion that any agreement on "guiding principles" would be purely cosmetic. China, it would seem, will not be averse to keeping the settlement of the boundary dispute in abeyance till a more opportune moment.

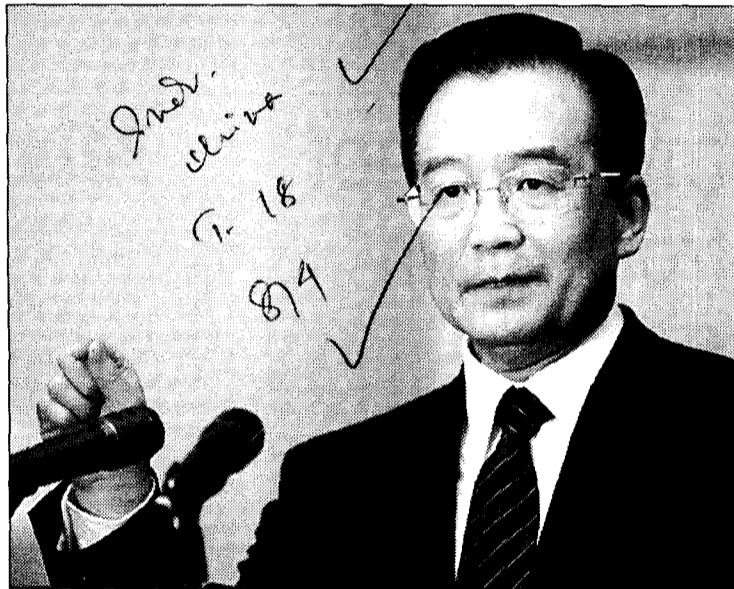
**N**or does the unwillingness of India to raise the awkward features of its relation with China stop here. It has become customary for China to set the pace of bilateral relations. From the time Mao Zedong smiled enigmatically at the Indian ambassador in the mid-Seventies to Deng Xiaoping's famous interview suggesting that differences must await another generation for resolution, it is China that invariably makes the first move. India is reduced to responding.

This time too Wen Jiabao bowled a veritable googly by asserting that the creation of a free trade area between India and China had become a "logical agenda" in view of the

tenfold increase in bilateral trade in the past decade. Whether the Chinese initiative owes anything to the United States of America's offer to transform India into a world power is a matter of conjecture. However, the timing of the offer seems to be linked with China's anxiety to project itself as a world power that values economics above politics. Since the US discovery of India as a potential strategic partner is not unrelated to Washington's concerns over China's possible emergence as the dominant power in Asia, it would be safe to conclude that China will leave no stone unturned to reassure New Delhi that it has nothing to

tary hardware have enhanced its stature in Islamabad. Given the fierce mood of anti-Americanism throughout the Islamic world, it is regarded by many in Pakistan as a more acceptable ally than the US.

The tragedy is that India is wary of raising China's involvement in Pakistan and, for that matter, other strategic questions relating to the neighbourhood, with Beijing. In dealing with China, Indian diplomacy has suffered from a strange diffidence. India has often given the impression that it is over-awed by China and anxious to go to any extent to please it. The celebration of the foreign minister, K. Natwar



**There will be many takers for Wen Jiabao's assertion that China poses no threat to anyone**

fear, apart from legitimate commercial competition, from Beijing.

There will be many takers for Wen Jiabao's assertion in Pakistan that China poses no threat to anyone. That may be true for the short-term. However, it is worth considering the rationale behind China scuttling the moves at the United Nations to enlarge the security council. Why is China anxious to prevent Japan and India assuming leadership roles in Asia?

It is also difficult for China to gloss over its deep involvement in Pakistan. Wen Jiabao's India visit will be preceded by his three-day visit to Pakistan where he will warn his hosts of the adverse consequences of 'cosying up excessively to the US. China, in fact, has crafted its relations with Pakistan quite adroitly. Its pretence of non-interference in the internal affairs of that country, its indulgent wink at Pakistan's complicity in the export of nuclear know-how to countries like Iran, Libya and North Korea, and its constant supplies of mili-

and members of the Congress. Jairam Ramesh, a Congress member of parliament of distinction, who wrote a series of articles last year in this newspaper overplaying China's nebulous historical links with India, has now promoted the concept of "Chindia" which denotes the synergy between the two big Asian powers. Indeed, the small group of professional Sinologists in India — mainly academics and retired diplomats — convey the unmistakable impression that they are more concerned with China's interests than with India. The prime minister, Manmohan Singh, sanctified this intellectual slavishness last year when he praised China's economic achievements, adding that "I think that's the role model we have to look at". It is astonishing that the prime minister did not weigh the significance of his words.

**O**ne of the primary casualties of this fawning over China has been our traditional links with Tibet, the "autonomous region" of China whose deep ties with India were abruptly snapped following the communist takeover. True, India has given sanctuary to the *dalai lama* and other Tibetans fleeing communist oppression. Yet, over the years the Tibetan refugees have been converted into non-people. Notionally, India retains a so-called Tibet card to play against China when expedient. However, sheer non-use has made this hand redundant. India has not even made a pretence of being sympathetic to those fighting human rights abuses and the demographic transformation of Tibet. Next week we are certain to find the police in both Bangalore and New Delhi using extremely heavy-handed measures to ensure that Wen Jiabao is not embarrassed by Tibetan demonstrators.

Being an important neighbour and an emerging military and economic power, it is important that India engages actively with China. However, it is equally important that this relationship is tempered with realism and an understanding of the implications of China's rapid rise on our neighbourhood. It is possible to admire China and at the same time be extremely critical of the ruthless single-mindedness and lack of humanity that accompanies its quest for its objectives. Unfortunately, as things stand, the pace of bilateral relationship is being determined by China on its own terms. An independent Indian perspective is sorely lacking in the conduct of Sino-Indian diplomacy. We paid for this very grievously in 1962 and we may have to pay another heavy price in the next two decades.

# China gives jolt to India's UNSC bid

Agencies  
UNHQ, April 5

IN A setback to India and other G-4 nations, who are seeking an early resolution on expansion of UN Security Council, China has said any decision on the issue should be made not by vote in the General Assembly but through consensus. This, many fear, will stall or even scuttle the process.

China's UN ambassador Wang Guangya told reporters that the main objective of the expansion should be to increase the number of members from the developing world because there was an imbalance in the council composition.

China, Wang said, has not yet made up its mind on various candidates seeking permanent membership, but a full discussion among member-states is required to reach a consensus, the absence of which would be detrimental to the UN. Wang's comment came after Secretary-General Kofi Annan's call for enlarging the Council by September when a summit of world leaders is scheduled at the United Nations. Annan had also asked member states not to use the excuse of consensus for delaying the Council reforms. Asked if the demand for consensus may rule out any expansion of the Council given opposition to almost every country, Wang, who is President of the Council for this month, said broad agreement is still possible, provided there is no imposition of timetable.

The G4 countries — India, Brazil, Japan and Germany — which are supporting each other's bid for permanent seats plan to seek a vote in the Assembly on a resolution calling for expansion of the Council with addition of six permanent and three non-permanent members, but without mentioning any names.

In Islamabad, Pakistan says ties between China and India will not alarm it. But, they said, Islamabad had to realise China was now dealing with the region on a pragmatic basis, with economics setting the agenda, and Pakistan could no longer take a special

relationship with China for granted. "China is becoming a global player and it wants to have good relations with India. It's focusing on its economy," said commentator Talat Masood, a former Pakistani general.

Evidence of the new reality was China's even-handedness over the rivalry between India and Pakistan and trying to nudge both along a path of reconciliation, analysts said.

"Pakistan foreign policy pundits must quickly come to terms with the fact that Prime Minister Wen Jiabao may not have any special pro-Pakistan feelings," analyst Sirajuddin Aziz wrote in the 'Dawn' newspaper. China has its own legitimate long-term interests ... there is an entirely new leadership in China whose vision is based on the realities as they exist today."

Meanwhile, Premier Wen Jiabao starts his South Asian tour in Pakistan on Tuesday and while he will, undoubtedly, reaffirm the close political links the neighbours enjoy, business is expected to dominate his talks. Wen was due to arrive on Tuesday afternoon with a 70-strong delegation of business people and officials, and will meet Prime Minister Shaukat Aziz in the evening.

On Wednesday he will deliver a keynote address to an Asian ministerial meeting and then travel to the eastern city of Lahore on Thursday before heading for Bangladesh, Sri Lanka and India. "It's a chance to reaffirm the old and special relationship but it's the economic aspects that will be focused on," said Shireen Mazari, head of Pakistan's Institute of Strategic Studies. "We already have a very good political, military and strategic relationship, we're also interested in the economic side."

China and Pakistan have had close ties for decades and China has long been Pakistan's main source of weapons. On the eve of Wen's visit, the Pakistan navy signed contracts for four Chinese frigates.

They are also producing a fighter aircraft together. China also provides Pakistan with hundreds of millions of dollars in development financing.



Chinese Premier Wen Jiabao inspects a guard of honour in Islamabad on Tuesday.

AFP

## A new threat to outsourcing?

ing from the Indian experience in sun rise sectors.

They are many who continue to be convinced that India, which excels in software, and China, which is doing better in hardware, could together become the world leaders in IT, pushing the US to the sidelines in the long run.

Details of Wen's itinerary have not been made public but indications are he will visit two tech companies — one Indian and one Chinese — and the Indian Institute of Science in Bangalore. He is likely to visit TCS, the In-

**Srinivasa Prasad**  
Bangalore, April 5

**CHINESE PRIME MINISTER** Wen Jiabao's weekend visit to Bangalore, by coincidence, comes at a time when a debate is raging over whether China will beat India in outsourcing or whether the two countries should become partners instead of competitors. While Wen's visit is likely to pep up this debate, China, at the moment, appears to be keen on exploiting India's impressive talent pool by signing joint ventures and learn-

chairman Azim Premji had said that in the coming years China will become the "biggest threat" to India in outsourcing, even though that country suffers from scarcity of people educated in English. But China, he said, will overcome that handicap in the next five to 10 years.

Premji's warning comes after the Global Outsourcing Report released by Horasis and Going Global Ventures predicted that India would lose its number one position in outsourcing to China by 2015.

dian IT leader with a large presence in China, and Huawei Technologies, a Chinese company with huge operations in Bangalore. Besides, he is likely to interact with some important technology leaders based in Bangalore.

His visit will see the usual pronouncements on how the two countries have made great economic strides but, more importantly, will give a fresh impetus to the ongoing debate over how the two are placed in the business of outsourcing. Only on Monday, Wipro



# Wen's trip of great significance: China daily

By Amit Baruah

NEW DELHI, APRIL 5. India and China can benefit enormously by making the best use of "each other's rise" as a source of growth for "their own development", the official *China Daily* said in a commentary days ahead of the Chinese Premier, Wen Jiabao's arrival in India on a four-day visit on April 9.

"The overall development of Sino-Indian rapport has its own concrete foundation. As neighbours who have each adopted an independent foreign policy and first put forward and advocated the Five Principles of Peaceful Co-existence, both countries have similar views on major regional and international issues," the commentary, posted on the newspaper's website, said.

Both countries shared the desire to contribute to a stable and prosperous Asia. "They al-

so should shoulder a common responsibility to push forward the process of building a multi-polar world and democratising international relations," it stated, listing the common approaches of India and China.

"A peaceful international environment and amiable surroundings are crucial for both countries. The convergence of their strategic objectives and interests has served as a catalyst for bringing the two Asian nations closer," the commentary, entitled "India Trip of Great Significance", said.

## Space for both

"Competition between the two is inevitable. But there is more than ample space in the world economy for the two fast-growing economies, since the process of development in each country has led to increasing similarities between China and India, and both could benefit enormously by

making the best use of each other's rise as a source of growth for their own development."

The choice of April for the Premier's visit to India was symbolic of the increasing significance that China had been attaching to its relations with India. "For it was also in April, 55 years ago, that China and India, the two most populous nations in the world, formally established diplomatic ties."

## "Best of terms"

In November 2004, Premier Wen told his Indian counterpart, Manmohan Singh, in Laos, that "despite earlier ups and downs, the two countries were now on the best of terms".

Referring to a brief souring of relations due to New Delhi's nuclear tests in May 1998, the newspaper said that mutual understanding was enhanced and a mechanism for dialogue

on security set up in 1999.

"Thanks to efforts made by both sides over the past several years, great strides have been made in improving bilateral relations and the frosty period is being seen as merely a fleeting phase from a historic perspective."

Rapport was quickened in the recent past, especially when the then Indian Prime Minister, A.B. Vajpayee, paid a historic visit to Beijing in June 2003, the first tour of China by an Indian Prime Minister in a decade.

## "Threat to neither"

"During his visit, the two nations signed the Declaration on Principles for Relations and Comprehensive Cooperation, a legal document guiding the development of bilateral ties in the new century. This laid a solid foundation for furthering mutual cooperation on all fronts."

06 APR 2005

THE HINDU

# Offer Wen fringe benefits

**D**URING the visit of Chinese Premier Wen Jiabao, that begins this weekend, India is expected to announce an agreement on the broad principles for a final settlement of the boundary dispute with Beijing. But does New Delhi know what it would want to do with the long Chinese frontier? Traditionalists in India want a "boundary of separation" with the Middle Kingdom. What Prime Minister Manmohan Singh should be looking for, instead, is a "boundary of contact" with China. The two notions about the Sino-Indian frontier are as different as chalk and cheese.

As the boundary dispute begins to lose some of its political salience, the PM should boldly discuss with Wen the prospect of throwing open the 3,000 km long Sino-Indian border that stretches from the Karakoram mountains in the northwest to the Lohit Valley in the northeast. Ever since the Peoples Liberation Army entered Tibet 55 years ago, one of India's highest national security priorities has been to get a settled and peaceful boundary with the northern neighbour. For a while in the '50s, India assumed it had one. When it discovered that the assumption was mistaken, its drifted into a war with Beijing by 1962.

In the last 15 years, India and China have brought peace and tranquility to these borders. Now they are negotiating a set of guiding principles for the boundary settlement. The principles, in turn, would hopefully generate the space for the politically empowered Special Representatives to negotiate the "give and take" on territorial claims. As the Special Representatives develop the political framework, the experts will slowly delineate a line on the map and eventually demarcate it on the ground.

This Indian script on the boundary talks with China is at once clinical and prudent. So focused on drawing the badly needed final line between Indian and Chinese sovereignties, the script has no space for a long-



We should be looking for a 'boundary of contact' with China

C. RAJA MOHAN

term vision of the boundary we wish to have with China. The dominant view in Delhi seeks a frontier of separation with Beijing. It will at best permit a bit of border trade and some controlled movement across it here and there. A frontier of contact, on the other hand, envisages massive transit trade, easy movement of people and goods across the border, transborder energy pipelines and genuine contact and cooperation between the provinces along the linear boundary.

For those who want a delimited but frozen frontier with China, the principle is a simple one that has animated Indian strategic thinking since the Chinese regained control

border school wants to re-establish India's trans-Himalayan presence.

When Atal Bihari Vajpayee went to China in June '03, he signed an agreement on reopening border trade in Sikkim at the Natu La. For the official India it was a mechanism to formalise the long-delayed Chinese recognition of Indian sovereignty over Sikkim. That it had nothing to do with trade at Natu La is palpable from the fact that nearly two years after the agreement we have not moved an inch towards implementing it. It has been a victory for the close border school. The open border school is a minority in Delhi. It, however, is gaining support in all the provinces along the

**Free trade and overland transit rights to Afghanistan are at the top of Indian demands on Pakistan. Why can't we adopt the same approach to China?**

of Tibet — you stay out from the southern slopes of the Himalayas and we won't mess with you on the Tibetan plateau. In contrast, the enthusiasts for an open border argue that in a world where regional economic integration has become the norm, preventing the Chinese economic presence from seeping down the Himalayas is neither feasible nor desirable.

An open border with China, they argue, will allow India to return to its traditional economic and cultural hinterlands in Tibet and Xinjiang north of the Himalayas. The close border school is built on a defensive mindset about "protecting" sub-Himalayan regions from Chinese influence. The positive open

Sino-Indian frontier. Chief Minister of Sikkim Pawan Chamling wants more than border trade at Natu La. He demands tourism as well as transit trade for the benefit of Sikkim.

If a bus can run between Srinagar and Muzaffarabad across the Line of Control in Kashmir, Chamling wants to know, why can't one operate between Gangtok and Lhasa? Similar questions are being asked in Ladakh. Why not a bus service between Demchok and Lake Manasarovar and Mount Kailash? Why can't Delhi re-build the historic trade routes between Kashmir and Xinjiang running through the Karakoram pass? The chief ministers of Arunachal Pradesh and Assam want the re-

opening of the Stilwell Road to China through upper Burma.

Most political leaders of the Northeast wonder why Delhi is opposed to sub-regional cooperation with neighbouring southwestern China. When they wake up some day, the leaders of Uttar Pradesh and Bihar might discover that Tibet is only a stone's throw away and accessing it through Nepal is an old but smart idea. West Bengal's Marxists might remember Kolkata, until a few decades ago, was the gateway to Lhasa and Tibet. When it comes to Pakistan, Delhi is decidedly in favour of the open border school. Free trade and overland transit rights to Afghanistan are at the top of Indian demands on Pakistan. Why can't we adopt the same approach to China? Could India offer its ports to goods from western/southern China in return for gaining overland access to Yunnan, Tibet and Xinjiang and beyond to Central Asia?

The pressures from the border regions will eventually compel Delhi to recognise that borders are ultimately about people. When it figures out the stakes for economic growth and the prospect for vote gathering in the frontier regions, the Indian political class might discover the virtues of open borders with China. Manmohan Singh can, however, choose to move away from the instrumentalist view of the border settlement with China and emphasise its potential to bring prosperity to India's border regions. He should offer Wen Jiabao a joint infrastructure initiative to develop trade and transport corridors across the shared frontier.

Given the nature of the beast, the bureaucracy will advise Manmohan Singh to wait until India gets its own act together and matches the massive Chinese infrastructural development across the border. Looking at it another way, a cross-border infrastructure initiative with China could be the long awaited strategic incentive to rapidly develop India's frontier regions.

05 APR 2005

INDIAN EXPRESS

# Border solution possible: Wen

Agencies  
Beijing, April 3

SUGGESTING THAT India and China should handle their relations from a "strategic high ground", Chinese Premier Wen Jiabao on Sunday said that a solution to the boundary issue was possible if the two sides showed mutual accommodation "while taking reality into account."

Relations between the two countries have entered a "new period of comprehensive cooperation", which far outweighed differences, Wen said in an interview ahead of his four-day visit to India beginning April 9.

"We both regard each other as important partners in exchange and cooperation enjoying growing political trust", said Wen, who will be holding extensive parleys with Prime Minister Manmohan Singh and other leaders during the visit.

## BORDER ISSUE

Asked whether he saw a breakthrough in resolving the vexed boundary dispute in the near future, he said, "China and India have reached an important consensus. That is, both sides should view and handle the relations from a strategic high ground bearing in mind the larger picture, and refuse to let questions left over from history disrupt and impede the development of bilateral relations".

Discounting concerns voiced by the advocates of the so-called 'China threat' campaign, he said both India and China were "sincere friends, not adversaries."

"China is dedicated to peace, development and cooperation in international affairs, which are determined by its chosen path of peaceful development... This is a path that makes China a country never seeking hegemony", he said. Observing that peace and tranquillity had prevailed in the Sino-Indian border areas thanks to concerted efforts by both sides, Wen said special representatives on the boundary question had had four meetings, where the two sides conducted "useful" discussions on the political guiding principles with "sound progress".

"I believe that, as long as the two sides act in a spirit of mutual understanding and accommodation and respect history while



Manmohan Singh being welcomed back by Pranab Mukherjee and Natwar Singh at Palam airport on Sunday.

## Crucial meet

Top army commanders begin a four-day conclave on Monday to take stock of the situation at the Sino-Indian and Indo-Pak borders ahead of summit level talks with Beijing and Musharraf's visit

## McMahon line

The conclave will discuss details of the McMahon line dividing India and China to help in crucial discussions between PM Manmohan Singh and his Chinese counterpart Wen Jiabao

## Common strategy

Defence minister Pranab Mukherjee will set the pace for discussions at the biannual Commanders' Conference. He will lay down the common strategy on the border issue in his speech

taking reality into account, they will be able to find a mutually acceptable solution to the boundary questions through negotiations on an equal footing", he added.

## UNSC CLAIM

The Chinese Premier said he was ready to see a "greater role" for India in the international arena, including the UN.

Asked whether China would support India's case for a permanent membership of the UN Security Council with full veto rights, he said, "China supports reasonable, and necessary, reforms to the Security Council so that it will get a bigger representation, especially that of the developing countries."

"India is a major developing country that plays a positive role in regional and international affairs. I fully understand India's position since I am ready to see a

greater role for India in the international arena, the UN included."

## RELATIONS WITH PAK

Asked how he saw the recent developments in India-Pakistan relations, Wen said both were "important countries in the region and they both shoulder a major responsibility for stability and development in South Asia".

"Proceeding from the larger interests, leaders of the two countries set in motion their comprehensive dialogue and promoted regional cooperation — with positive results. China welcomes and supports these efforts", he said.

China, he said, hoped that India and Pakistan could keep up the momentum of their current dialogue, increase mutual trust, seek to resolve all their differences peacefully towards an amicable co-existence, enhance their mutually beneficial cooperation and work together to promote peace

and development in the region.

As a close neighbour to South Asia, China valued its growing friendship with all countries there.

"We hope to see excellent relations between China and India, between China and Pakistan, and between India and Pakistan", Wen said.

## SAARC AND CHINA

On reports that China was keen to join the seven-nation Saarc grouping, he said, "We are willing to join our neighbours in deepened neighbourliness and friendship and achieving common prosperity".

Brushing aside apprehensions that, as strong rivals economically and politically, India and China could never become true friends, he said, "There is no conflict of fundamental interests" between the two countries.

Wen said, "China and India are sincere friends, not adversaries."

## Cooperation in global oil quest on the cards

Reuters  
Beijing, April 3

COOPERATION BETWEEN India and China to secure energy needed to fuel their growing economies is likely to be on the agenda when Chinese Premier Wen Jiabao visits India this week.

Both countries are competing to tap resources where most Western companies cannot — or dare not — compete, in the volatile trouble spots from Sudan to Myanmar, as well as facing off in less difficult environments.

But politicians, including oil minister Mani Shankar Aiyar, have started talking of energy cooperation as political relations, marred by a 1962 border war, warm. With a rapidly growing oil demand, and increasing dependence on imports — last year over 40 per cent of China's crude and some 70 per cent of India's came from abroad — the two countries have more than just their rivalry in common.

And they are linked by similar business models, with cash-rich, state-controlled oil firms seen having more appetite for risk than companies beholden to earnings-conscious shareholders.

"Although there is competition, both sides share a common aim," said Zhou Fengqi, a high-level adviser in the Energy Research Institute of China's powerful National Development and Reform Commission.

"There is a basis for cooperation between the two sides, because they are both developing countries with oil demand... but the specifics of any cooperation still needs to be researched."

## Bidding wars

A deal could include agreements for each country to refrain from bidding wars, or working on joint projects in areas of interest. "We are always pitted against each other to the advantage of the third country", Aiyar had said in February.

04 APR 2005

THE HINDUSTAN TIMES

# Paswan rejects Nitish's move to form govt

**Patna:** Apparently rejecting JD(U) chief ministerial candidate Nitish Kumar's missive to non-RJD parties eliciting their support for forming a popular government, LJP President Ramvilas Paswan said on Sunday there was "no relevance" to it as long as the JD(U) continued its bond of friendship with the saffron party.

"There is absolutely no relevance to the letter purported to have been written by Kumar seeking LJP's support for government formation as long as JD(U) continues its bond of friendship with the BJP," Paswan told reporters on the sidelines of the second day of his party's conclave here to review the poll outcome and explore ways for installing a government minus RJD and BJP.

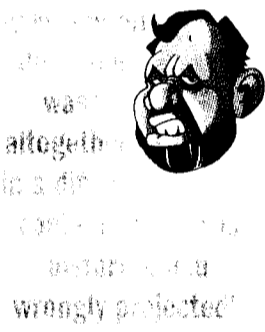
"Even we have not gone through the text of the letter after we came to know that there is no mention about JD(U)'s position on continuing its ties with the saffron party," he said. Nitish Kumar had on Saturday sent separate letters to six non-RJD parties, including LJP and 17 Independents with a copy of a Common Minimum Programme. Maintaining that the LJP treated the issue of govern-

ment formation "secondary one," Paswan said his party wanted to ensure peace and social harmony.

"Feeling of insecurity among the people is being addressed to. There is improvement in law and order and steps have also been taken to improve civic amenities under President's Rule," Paswan said, describing President's Rule as "a panacea" of Bihar's problems.

While reacting to media reports that the LJP had softened its stand on the issue of taking support from the BJP to form the government, Paswan said, "My statement in Ranchi a couple of days ago on the issue was altogether in a different context and it was distorted and wrongly projected." Paswan had in Ranchi reportedly said that the

JD(U) should first sever ties with the BJP and the issue of taking inside or outside support from the BJP would be decided later. He said that there was no change in his stance on having no truck with either the RJD or BJP. "Another issue of paramount importance was making a Muslim leader the chief minister on which we are adamant," he said. PTI



# Centre has set ball rolling: J&K Mansarovar talks likely with China

KAVITA SURI  
STATESMAN NEWS SERVICE

JAMMU, April 2. — India is again likely to take up the issue of re-opening the Kailash-Mansarovar road via Demchok in Ladakh to Tibet during Chinese Prime Minister Mr Wen Jiabao's visit next week.

The Centre had earlier taken up the matter with China several times but without any positive outcome. In fact, a couple of years ago, China had virtually turned down this Indian request. But this time, India can keep its fingers crossed.

In his reply to the resolution on opening of the Demchok Road, moved by former Union minister Mr P Namgyal, J&K tourism minister Mr Ghulam Hassan Mir said in the Legislative Council that the government had already taken it up with the Centre and according to a Central government communiqué, the matter was "under consideration".

The Mansarovar road was used by traders of Central Asia dealing in Pashmina, wool and salt. The road was closed following the 1962-war with China and the people of Ladakh, who share a common language and culture with Tibet, had to suffer the most.

For the past few years, the J&K government has been requesting the Centre to open the motorable roads to the Kailash Mansarovar lake in Tibet. The existing Kailash Mansarovar route passes through Uttar Kashi, a highly landslide-prone area. Presently, pilgrims from India use the traditional route from Qiangla Mountain Pass and Lipulekh Pass in Pithoragarh district of Uttar Pradesh, but the road conditions are very poor. The proposed route is a motorable one from Leh via Demchok. India had also proposed opening a new route from Hanle in East-



## NATHULA MAY ALSO FIGURE IN PARLEY

ON BOARD SPECIAL IAF AIRCRAFT, April 2. — The resumption of trade between India and China through Nathula in Sikkim may be discussed during the forthcoming visit of the Chinese premier Wen Jiabao to India starting 9 April, home minister Mr Shivraj Patil said today. Mr Patil, who is on a visit to Sikkim and Arunachal Pradesh to assess the internal security situation in the two North-eastern states told reporters accompanying him: "When the Chinese premier comes, it (the resumption of border trade) may be discussed." Patil is scheduled to visit the 4,790 feet high Nathula on Monday along with Sikkim chief minister Mr Pawan Kumar Chamling and a host of senior civil and defence officials. The Sino-Indian agreement on resumption of border trade through Nathula in Sikkim was made when former Prime Minister Atal Bihari Vajpayee visited China in 2003. The reopening of the route was deferred after UPA came to power at the Centre. — SNS

ern Ladakh bordering Himachal Pradesh.

A 280-km stretch from Leh to the border village of Demchok is motorable. The 700-km route from Leh can be accessed through Manali and Srinagar by road, Chandigarh, Jammu, Srinagar and Delhi through regular flights and crosses the Changthang Valley famous for Pashmina. This ancient route, traditionally used by pilgrims from Northern India visiting Kailash Mansarovar in China, if opened would reduce the length of journey to just seven days.

After crossing the border, the next town on the Tibet side is just 15 km away. This is on a plain with very good roads. The base camp is barely 250 km away which the pilgrims can reach in the shortest time. The route will also be economical for lakhs of Hindu pilgrims visiting every year, who now have to pay through the nose for the journey through China.

Former chief minister Dr

Farooq Abdullah had taken up the matter with prime ministers Mr Atal Bihari Vajpayee and Narsimha Rao. China had turned down India's request citing bad road and weather conditions along the proposed route. Other than asking Delhi to improve road conditions on the Indian side, China had felt Indians were pushing a longer route.

### Sino-Indian relations

On the occasion of the 55th anniversary of diplomatic relations between India and China, the President, Prime Minister and external affairs ministers exchanged letters with their Chinese counterparts. President APJ Abdul Kalam, in his letter dated 1 April to Chinese President Hu Jintao expressed satisfaction that "the way our relationship had made headway in recent years gives us enough confidence and hope for the future of our cooperation." The Chinese Premier will visit India from 9 to 12 April.

which makes all unnatural sex, including homosexuality, a punishable offence.

**IG says DGP made casteist remarks**

**MUMBAI:** IGP Uddhav Kamble has written to the Maharashtra CM, accusing DGP K K Kashtyap of making casteist remarks against him. Kamble has demanded that Kashtyap apologise.

**Gladys Staines is back in Orissa**

**BARBADA:** Scenes of joy were witnessed at the Mayurbhanj leprosy home as Gladys Staines, widow of murdered missionary Graham Staines, returned after being in Australia for nearly nine months.

**Younis Khan not to play today**

**KOCHI:** In a setback for Pakistan, in-form batsman Younis Khan was ruled out of the first ODI against India at Kochi on Saturday. Khan was down with fever.

**NATIONAL INTEREST**

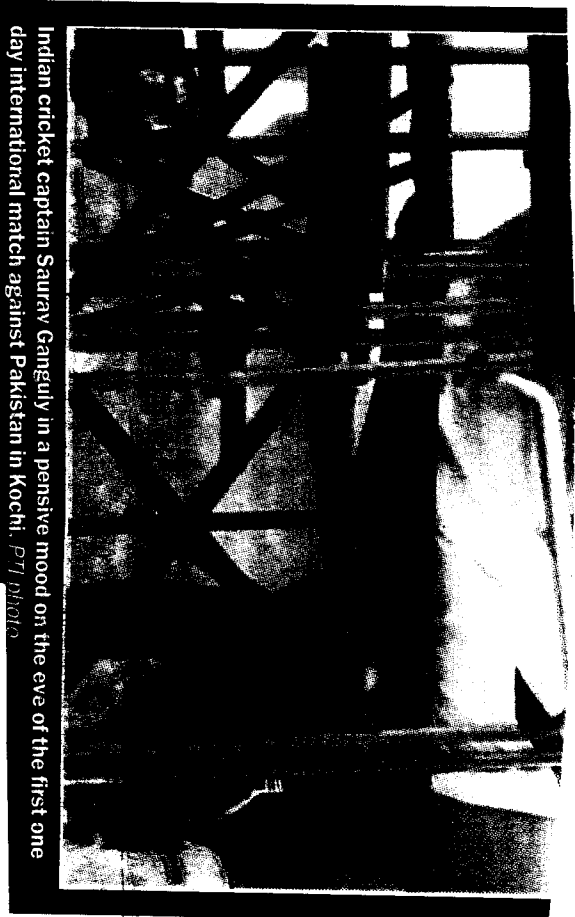
**Spot strategy in the F-16s**

The US hopes to achieve the stabilisation of Pakistan as a moderate Islamic power and take ties with India to a higher level

**BUSINESS AS USUAL**

by UNNAY

February 2005



Indian cricket captain Sourav Ganguly in a pensive mood on the eve of the first one day international match against Pakistan in Kochi. PTI photo

**Scent of Gutkha leads investigators to British Virgin Islands**

**RITU SARIN NEW DELHI, APRIL 1**

THE Gutkha probe has taken on truly global dimensions, with fresh leads pointing to money trails in New York, the United Arab Emirates and tax havens in the British Virgin Islands.

What started as a look at the business rivalry between Gutkha barons Raskal Manickchand Dharwal and J M Joshi, which they allegedly asked Dawood Ibrahim to settle, is also turning into a money-laundering probe.

This line of inquiry has gathered steam as Joshi of Goa Gutkha has already admitted that one of his flagship companies, Global Trade and Trademark Limited (GTNT), is registered in the British Virgin Island.

Dharwal of the Manickchand Group will also be questioned about his links with tax havens once he arrives in New Delhi.

Considering the international nature of the case, the Central Bureau of Investigation has been receiving inputs from the Research and Analysis Wing (RAW) among others.

Fresh inputs reveal that GTNT holds two accounts in the Mashreq bank in New York and Ajman in the UAE. While the company is registered in the British Virgin Islands since 2001, it has its headquarters in Ajman.

Joshi has reportedly confessed to being an "advisor" to the firm and earning upwards of Rs 120 crore from GTNT. The company also has an office

CONTINUED ON PAGE 2

**China to India: Let's build the world's largest free trade area**

**PRANAB DHAL SAMANTA NEW DELHI, APRIL 1**

**EXPLORING**

ways to raise the level of India-China relationship during the visit of Chinese Premier Wen Jiabao next week, China has proposed to develop a free trade area between the two countries. If this comes through, Chinese Ambassador Sun Yuxi said, it will be largest free-trade area in the world.

The proposal is among the 30-odd documents under discussion between various ministries on both sides as diplomats work overtime to set it all up for Jiabao and Prime Minister Manmohan Singh to take it forward. But the FTA is one proposal that, Sun believes, could do wonders in taking forward the idea of combin-



When arrives next week to start new chapter

What I am suggesting is to bring together the factory and the office," said Sun at a media interaction ahead of Wen's visit. With a trade that exceeds \$13 billion—an increase of 79.1 per cent registered in

2004 alone—there is a promise that future holds for both countries. It is this dynamic that has made both countries to work towards a settlement of the historical boundary question.

Yuxi said there were no immediate solutions in the offing, but there could be an agreement reached on some "political parameters" and "guiding principles" this visit. This will be finalised by Special Representatives M K Narayanan and Dd Bingguo who will meet "before or during" the visit.

Foreign secretary Shyam Saran and Chinese Vice-Minister Wu Dawei recently concluded a meeting of the joint working group on the boundary issue at Beijing, where it was agreed that the

CONTINUED ON PAGE 2

**Elderly couple say if meeting daughter, her kids across**

**MIRHANSAN SINGAR, APRIL 1**

**THERE'S**

no mistaking that faraway look, the shine in the eyes of 60-year-old Mohammad Abdullah Bhat as he leans on a pillow. A large black bag lies in a corner, packed with gifts. His wife Ghulam Fatmah (55) can't stop pacing inside the house, her wrinkled face wearing a smile that refuses to go.

the first bus to Muzaffarabad leaves Srinagar, Bhat and his wife will board it to cross the Line of Control that has separated their family for 58 years and kept them away from their daughter ever since she got married in 1988.

Militants may have threatened to turn the bus into a coffin for its passengers "but this elderly couple are not backing out. Nothing can stop them from un-

are already overcome by emotion at the thought of meeting their daughter and her four children.

"We will go. We want to see our daughter. We have never seen her little children. We want to meet them," says Ghulam Fatimah. "It doesn't matter what happens to us. We have to meet her."

Bhat says they are unable to comprehend the militant threat. "If a reunion between a daughter

**Spal free: New Delhi mong fir**

**ISH B. PRADHAN MANDU, APRIL 1**

EXACTLY two months after he was placed under arrest in the wake of a royal coup, former

Maltese Prime Minister Jia Prasad Koira was d along with over 250 vists on Friday. The was welcomed by In- is one that would pave way for reconciliation een constitutional s.

son after 82-year-old hla, the president of Nepal congress (NC) set free, Indian Ambassador to Nepal Shanker Mukherjee met him at his residence in Maharajgunj, NC deputy general secretary Govinda Raj Joshi said. He added that security personnel were withdrawn from Koira's residence.

**Govt plans to hand over radio to community, officials say the Tsunami experience is one reason w**

**When own mohallah is on air, all you will hear is rar**

ANURADHA RAMAN

One of the reasons for bringing a change in the policy ac-

# China wants wider Indian role at UN

Agencies  
New Delhi, April 1

AHEAD OF Premier Wen Jiabao's visit, China on Friday said it wants its border with India to become a bridge for friendship and like to see New Delhi play a "bigger role" at the United Nations and its Security Council.

It, however, remained non-committal on backing India's bid for permanent membership with full veto rights. "We would like to see India play a bigger role (at the UN)," Chinese Ambassador Sun Yuxi said here in the run-up to Wen's first-ever official four-day visit to India from April 9.

On whether China supported India's claim for permanent membership with full veto rights, he said, "People in the UN are now discussing it... There are many different ideas... I don't want to make any specific remark on that... I don't want to influence it in any way."

On the vexed boundary issue, he said, "There could be some political parameters and guiding principles to be settled during this visit," but did not elaborate. Chinese special representative Dai Bingguo will meet his new Indian counterpart and national security adviser M.K. Narayanan for talks on the boundary issue either before Wen's visit or during it, the Chinese envoy said. "Our major effort is to keep our border as peaceful and tranquil areas," he said adding, "We have a common border. We want that the border becomes a bridge for exchanges and friendship." He said border

demarcation would take some more time. "We won't touch any specific point on demarcation," he said.

On the Sikkim issue, he said it has been "already settled. It is completely solved... There is no problem." About the Tibet question, Sun said it was "totally an internal affair" of China. "Three years ago, India publicly declared that Tibet is a part of China. The Indian government has also stated that it will never allow anyone to carry out activities in this country to split China. Tibet is not an issue or a problem. It is already solved," he said.

Wen will travel to Bangalore on April 9 where he will visit major IT companies. His talks with Prime Minister Manmohan Singh and other leaders will be held on April 11. He will deliver a public speech at Delhi University on April 12 before leaving for Beijing.

Over a dozen agreements are likely to be signed during the visit. These included political announcements, pacts for enhancing economic cooperation and a new cultural exchange programme. Sun said a Free Trade Area was being proposed between the two countries. "If achieved, it will be the largest FTA in the world."

Asked about the new India, China, Russia axis, he said this cooperation was not targeted at any other party and was only aimed at strategic economic development. On the issue of Arunachal Pradesh which has not been accepted by China as an Indian State, he said, "that is a disputed area between us."

02 APR 2004

THE HINDUSTAN TIMES

101  
313

# India, China hold border talks

By P.S. Suryanarayana

**SINGAPORE, MARCH 30.** India and China today held high-level talks in Beijing on their border dispute under the framework of the Joint Working Group [JWG]. The parleys will continue tomorrow.

The Chinese Vice-Foreign Minister, Wu Dawei, and the Indian Foreign Secretary, Shyam Saran, co-chaired the current 15th round of the JWG talks. The Indian Ambassador to China, Nalin Surie, was among the top officials taking part.

While neither side disclosed the specifics of today's parleys, the timing of the round was considered significant in view of the Chinese Prime Minister, Wen Jiabao's prospective visit to India in about 10 days from now.

## Wen Jiabao to visit India

As officially indicated, ahead of Mr. Shyam Saran's current visit to Beijing, his discussions with the Chinese leaders, outside the framework of the latest JWG round, are aimed at setting the stage for Mr. Wen's tour of

India next month. A key issue in this category, as spelt out by India, is the discussion on "political parameters and guiding principles for the settlement of the boundary question." Talks on "measures to strengthen the constructive and cooperative partnership," too, forms part of India's check-list for preparations for Mr. Wen's visit to India.

Mr. Wen, too, has identified the border issue among the subjects on his political agenda for his prospective visit to India.

Mr. Shyam Saran today called

on the Chinese State Councillor, Tang Jiaxuan, in this context and is expected to meet the Chinese Foreign Minister, Li Zhaoxing, tomorrow.

The JWG, which held its 14th round of talks in New Delhi in November 2002, is mandated to discuss the boundary question. The related issues that the JWG covers include the "clarification and confirmation of the Line of Actual Control" along the disputed border. The question of "confidence building measures," too, forms part of the mandate for the JWG parleys.

THE HINDU

31 MAR 2005



*India needs to emulate China's pragmatism and assertive pursuit of national interest*

# Rising challenge

BY BRAHMA CHELLANEY

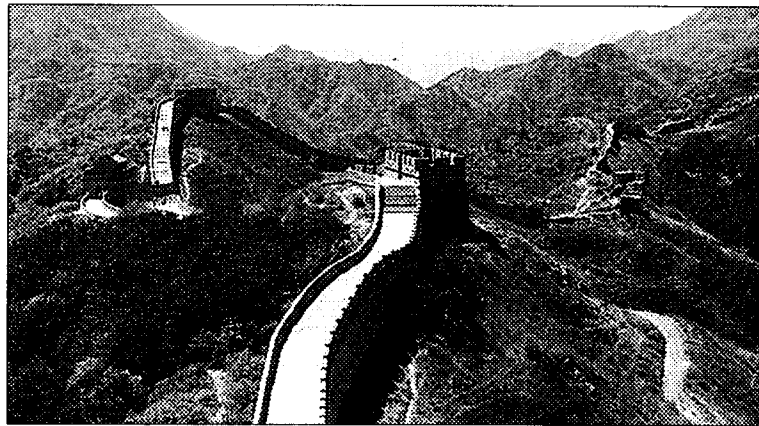
IT HAS become commonplace to compare India's and China's economic march and project future growth on the basis of their present relative advantage. The comparisons inexorably pit India's services-driven growth and institutional stability, founded on pluralism, transparency and rule of the law, against China's resolute leadership, high savings rate, good infrastructure and manufacturing forte. Little noticed, however, is that globalisation threatens China's autocracy, not India's democracy.

Whether China follows a stable or violent path to political modernisation will determine its continued unity and strength. In most other aspects, China knows what it takes to become a great power. While emergent realism in India has yet to overcome traditions of naïve idealism, Beijing epitomises strategic clarity and pragmatism, zealously erecting the building blocks of comprehensive national power.

Broadly, demographics will drive economic growth. Economies with burgeoning young populations clearly have a leg up in the economic-growth race, as nations saddled with ageing citizens like Japan and several in Europe struggle to grow at rates above zero. Which country becomes (or stays) a great power will be decided, however, not by demographics but by the quality of its statecraft and its ability to develop and exploit 'hard power', economic and military. A nation that seeks to be 'politically correct' or goody-goody can never acquire great-power status.

That is where the India-China gulf becomes wide, not merely because one is a politically open and the other a politically closed society. China's ruthless pragmatism and assertiveness contrast sharply with India's sanctimonious worldview. Prone to seduction by praise, India is a nation that yearns to be loved, and feels best when its policies enjoy external affirmation. China, quite the opposite, wants to be held in respect and awe, and never muffles its view when any interest is at issue. Compare Beijing's early warning against Patriot anti-missile system sale to India with New Delhi's silence on the EU move to lift arms embargo on China.

The gulf is not narrower even in the way they approach bilateral ties. India, with its good-boy approach, does not believe in strategic balancing and has no intent to employ



ROAD TO GLOBAL POWER: The Great Wall of China

Tibet or Taiwan for countervailing leverage. The Dalai Lama's recent statement forsaking Tibet's independence as his life's mission was a cry in despair. Short of expelling him and denying refuge to more fleeing Tibetans, India has bended to China on Tibet.

Beijing, in contrast, pursues bilateral ties valuing the multiple strategic cards it holds against New Delhi, including a Himalayan line of control it steadfastly refuses to define (despite hype before any high-level visit about a likely 'breakthrough'), its commitment to maintain Pakistan as a military counterweight to tie down India south of the Himalayas, its new strategic flank via Burma, its budding military ties with Bangladesh and its depiction of three Indian states as outside India — Arunachal Pradesh, Sikkim and J&K. China's latest official map shows that, like Vajpayee's new, superstitiously renumbered street address, there was nothing rational about his claim as PM that he won Chinese acceptance of Sikkim as part of India, in return for his kowtow on Tibet.

The point is that India has been steadily eroding its leverage and room for manoeuvre vis-à-vis its main long-term rival. Loath to shape up to the challenge posed by a rapidly rising China, India has become averse to treating China even as a competitor, preferring to shelter behind the calcinatory rhetoric of cooperation.

Cooperation on equal terms demands the will to face the competition. Today, without being at a disadvantage, India can cooperate with China on what? On promoting a multipolar world, when China seeks to fashion a unipolar Asia? On energy,

when China's annual oil imports have soared 33 per cent, or three times India's, and its egotistical autocrats revel in outbidding others, even if it jacks up prices to artificial levels? On helping China enter Saarc, as Pakistan wants? If growing trade could connote political progress, China and Japan, with ten times larger bilateral trade, would not be locked today in an emergent cold war.

Energy illustrates the surreal cooperation. Eager to play the new 'Great Game' on energy, India, copying China, has made State-owned companies buy oil and gas fields in pariah or problem States. But there is one vital difference: China made many such investments in the Nineties when oil was less than one-fifth of the current price level, while India began acquiring overvalued assets more recently at the high end of the pricing cycle. Multinationals hesitate to acquire such risky assets, but the bureaucrats running Indian and Chinese firms readily gamble with taxpayers' money.

Just like the misconceived idea of sourcing India's main gas imports through Pakistan and opening the Indian economy to Pakistani blackmail, India cannot build 'security' by chasing an antiquated idea that legal ownership of far-flung assets is a better bet than buying oil on the world markets. Instead of fixing its energy mess (reflected in price distortions, cross subsidies, severely restricted competition and lack of a unified energy policy), India is ready to invest up to billion more to buy oil assets overseas, when its commercial nuclear-power industry is crying for smaller funds. It could prove a profligate waste of capital if, emulating Kremlin's recent example, the concerned nations were to

reassert control over their assets. When that happens, China, with its greater power-projection force capability, could recover more of its investments than India.

While romanticised visions of cooperation remain popular in India, China pursues hardnosed realism, laced with a balance-of-power strategy. It backs greater engagement with India, even as it unflappably strives to expand its strategic leverage.

When the main deputy to China's top autocrat arrives in India at the end of next week to talk cooperation, he would have first done his bit to constrict India's strategic options. Starting his tour from Pakistan, his country's 'all-weather' and 'tested-by-adversity' friend, Premier Wen Jiabao would inaugurate the Chinese-built Gwadar port and naval base, close to Pakistan's border with Iran. Gwadar will not only arm Pakistan with critical depth against a 1971-style Indian attempt to bottle up its navy, but it will also open the way to the arrival of Chinese submarines in India's backyard, completing its strategic encirclement.

India has only one credible option now — a single-minded pursuit of comprehensive national power. If instead of industrialising rapidly through infrastructure growth, reform of antediluvian labour laws and open competition in labour-intensive manufacturing, India remains content with a GDP growth of 6.6 per cent versus China's 9.5 per cent, it will find it more difficult to build a level-playing field with Beijing. And if it continues to pare down its defence spending, it will enlarge the asymmetry. While China has maintained double-digit growth in annual military appropriations since 1990, India has allowed its defence spending to plummet from 3.59 per cent of GDP in 1987-88 to 2.35 per cent in the now-opening fiscal year.

More than the global fight against al-Qaeda, a grouping now splintered and holed up, China's rise is going to pose the single biggest challenge to world security in the years to come. Just as India bore the brunt of the rise of international terror, it will be frontally affected by the growing power of an opaque, calculating empire next door. It can ill-afford to persist with its traditions of escapism. An India that remains soft and confused but miraculously enjoys international power due to its size or example is a fantasy. India's main concern now should be to grow rich and strong speedily.

# সীমান্ত সমস্যা মেটাতে চায় ভারত ও চিন

স্টাফ রিপোর্টার, নয়াদিল্লি, ২৯ মার্চ: ভারত-চিন সীমান্ত সমস্যা নিয়ে অচলাবস্থা কাটতে পারে অচিরেই। দু'দেশের মধ্যে বিদেশসচিব পর্যায়ের বৈঠকে যোগ দিতে আজ বেজিং পৌঁছেছেন ভারতের বিদেশসচিব শ্যাম সারন। এই বৈঠকে বড় রকমের অগ্রগতির সম্ভাবনা রয়েছে। ৯ এপ্রিল চিনের প্রধানমন্ত্রী ওয়েন জিয়াবাওয়ের ভারত সফরে আসার কথা। কূটনৈতিক সূত্রের খবর, তার আগে সীমান্ত বিষয়ে নিযুক্ত চিনের বিশেষ প্রতিনিধি দাই বিনগুয়োও নয়াদিল্লিতে জাতীয় নিরাপত্তা উপদেষ্টা এম কে নারায়ণনের সঙ্গে আলোচনায় বসবেন। কাজেই জিয়াবাওয়ের আসন্ন সফরেই সীমান্ত প্রসঙ্গে দু'দেশের কাছে সর্ধক বার্তা আশা করছেন কূটনীতিকেরা।

আকসাই-চিনের দাবি থেকে ভারত ও অরুণাচলপ্রদেশের তাওয়াজ-এর দাবি থেকে চিন পিছু হঠবে বলে তাঁরা মনে করছেন। সেই সঙ্গে ভারত-চিনের মধ্যে দীর্ঘ দিনের এই সমস্যা মিটলে ভারত-পাক সীমান্ত সমস্যাতেও তার প্রভাব পড়বে বলে তাঁদের আশা।

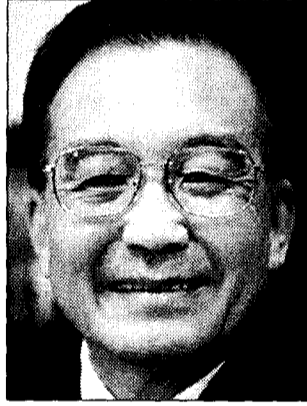
বেজিং-এ দু'দেশের বিদেশসচিব পর্যায়ের (জয়েন্ট ওয়ার্কিং গ্রুপ) বৈঠক শুরু হচ্ছে কাল। কূটনৈতিক সূত্রের খবর, ওয়েনের আসার দিন তিনেক আগে চিনের সীমান্ত বিষয়ক বিশেষ প্রতিনিধি দাই বিনগুয়োও দিল্লি আসার কথা। বিনগুয়োওর সঙ্গে

আলোচনায় বসবেন এম কে নারায়ণন। নিরাপত্তা ও অর্থনীতি—দু'টি কারণেই এখন সীমান্ত সমস্যা মেটাতে চাইছে বেজিং। নয়াদিল্লি তার কূটনৈতিক সুবিধা নিতে চায়। ১৯৯৮ সালের পরে দক্ষিণ এশিয়ায় পরমাণু শক্তির প্রসারে উদ্ভিগ্ন চিন। বেজিং এই মুহূর্তে উত্তর কোরিয়ার সঙ্গে পরমাণু সমস্যা সামলাতে ব্যস্ত। সতর্কতামূলক ব্যবস্থা হিসাবে তাই নয়াদিল্লির সঙ্গে সে বকেয়া সমস্যা মিটিয়ে ফেলতে চাইছে। পাশাপাশি ভারতের সঙ্গে সন্ত্রাস বিরোধী যৌথ গোষ্ঠীও গড়ে তুলতে চায় চিন। ভারত ও চিনের মধ্যে রাণিজ্যিক মুক্তাঞ্চল তৈরির কথাও চলছে বেশ কিছু দিন ধরে। গত বছর দু'দেশের মধ্যে ব্যবসার পরিমাণ ছিল ১৪০০ কোটি ডলার। সীমান্ত-সমস্যার সমাধান হলে তা বাড়বে বলে আশা।

ভারত-চিন সীমান্তের প্রায় ৪,০৫৬ কিলোমিটার এলাকার বিভিন্ন সমস্যা নিয়ে চিনা প্রধানমন্ত্রীর সঙ্গে আলোচনায়

বসবেন দিল্লির শীর্ষ নেতৃত্ব। তৈরি হয়ে গিয়েছে আলোচ্যসূচি। তৈরি করা হচ্ছে সমাধানের নীতি নির্দেশিকাও। যার মধ্যে রয়েছে:

- ১৯৯০ সাল থেকে অরুণাচল প্রদেশের তাওয়াজ ট্র্যাক্ট-এর দখল চায় বেজিং। চিনের ধারণা, এই অংশটি পাওয়া গেলে তিব্বতের উন্নয়নে সুবিধা হবে। এখানেই ষষ্ঠ দলাই লামার জন্ম। বেশ কিছু প্রাচীন তিব্বতি মন্দিরও আছে এই এলাকায়। বেজিং-এর যুক্তি ধর্মীয় কারণেই এই অংশটি চিনকে দেওয়া উচিত ভারতের। তবে কূটনৈতিক সূত্রের খবর, দীর্ঘ দিনের



চিনের প্রধানমন্ত্রী ওয়েন জিয়াবাও

টানা পোড়েনের পরে এ বার সেই দাবি থেকেও সরে আসতে পারে চিন।

- পরিবর্তে ভারতও আকসাই-চিনের দাবি থেকে সরে আসবে। ১৯৫৪ সালের আগে পর্যন্ত ভারতের মানচিত্রে আকসাই চিনের সীমান্ত 'আন ডিফাইন্ড' অবস্থায় ছিল। ১৯৫৪ সালে ভারত ওই এলাকাকে একতরফা

ভাবেই নিজের মানচিত্রে নিয়ে আসে। তার দু'বছর পরে ভারতের অনুমতি না-নিয়েই চিন ওই এলাকায় রাস্তা তৈরি করেছিল। আকসাই চিনের পাশাপাশি মানস সরোবরের দাবিও জানিয়ে রেখেছিল বেজিং।

- সীমান্তবর্তী কারাকোরাম হাইওয়ের দখল চিনকে দেওয়ার প্রস্তাবও রয়েছে। তবে ভারতের দিক থেকে রাস্তার ২০ কিলোমিটার আগে পর্যন্ত জারি থাকবে নিয়ন্ত্রণ।

বাজপেয়ীর জমানাতেই তৎকালীন জাতীয় নিরাপত্তা উপদেষ্টা ব্রজেশ মিশ্রের সঙ্গে বিনগুয়োওর এক দফা বৈঠকের পরে এই বিবাদ মেটার সম্ভাবনা তৈরি হয়েছিল। নতুন সরকার আসার পরে জাতীয় নিরাপত্তা উপদেষ্টা জে এন দীক্ষিতও এই আলোচনা আরও এগিয়ে নিয়ে যান। এমনকী দীক্ষিত তাঁর পূর্বসূরির সঙ্গেও বেশ কয়েক বার এ বিষয়ে আলোচনা করেছিলেন। দীক্ষিতের আকস্মিক মৃত্যু সীমান্ত আলোচনাকে একটু থমকে দিয়েছিল। চিনের সঙ্গে আলোচনায় ভারতের প্রতিনিধি কে হবেন তা নিয়ে বিতর্ক তৈরি হয়।

ভারত সরকার চিনে প্রাক্তন রাষ্ট্রদূত নাখিয়্যারকে প্রতিনিধি করবে বলে স্থির করে। কিন্তু জাতীয় নিরাপত্তা উপদেষ্টা পর্যায়ের কাউকেই দৌত্যের ভার দিতে চাপ দিচ্ছিল চিন। শেষমেশ নারায়ণনকেই দায়িত্ব দেয় নয়াদিল্লি।

Border Dispute, Bilateral Trade Likely to Come Up For Discussion During Wen Visit

# China, India tango big draw on global stage

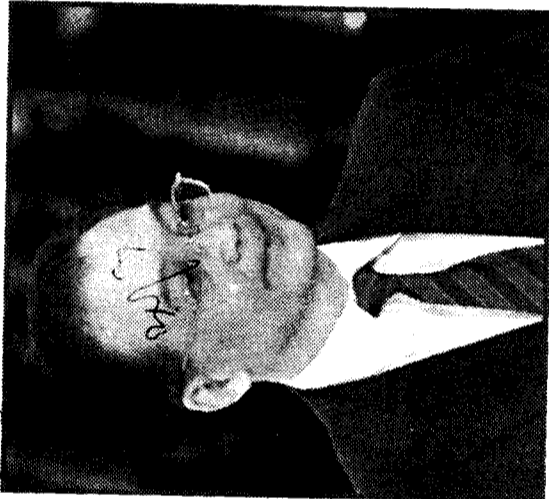
G Ganapathy Subramaniam  
NEW DELHI 29 MARCH

THIS one is getting bigger than 70mm, playing on the Global Theatre. Moving eyeballs away from conflicts like the US-North Korea standoff or the speculation over Uncle Sam doing an Iraq on Iran, blossoming of the China-India axis is turning into a big draw. With promises of comprehensive co-operation on a wide spectrum on areas, anchored by strong focus on business, Chinese premier Wen Jiabao's visit to India in April is expected to outshine the recent whistle-stop tour of US secretary of state Condoleezza Rice. Unfolding is the big picture on India-China relations, the impact of two gigantic Sumo wrestlers joining hands to rewrite the economy landscape, rather than compete with each other as imagined over the years.

Moving away from the traditional mindset, the two fastest growing economies of the world are discovering the strengths of partnership. As the Chinese premier dines with prime minister Manmohan Singh and convenes the bus-

pitality of President APJ Abdul Kalam during his four-day visit, the two countries would have presumably found ways to overcome their border dispute, simmering for decades. That's seen as a big boost to bilateral trade, estimated at \$1.4 billion and growing at a clipping rate. And open the gates for more investment flows across the Great Wall.

The business-like nature of prime minister Wen's strategy is highlighted by his first-stop on the Indian tour, which is considered his most important state visit of the year. He is slated to meet representatives of Indian multinationals like Infosys, apart from Indian Space Research Organisation (ISRO) and China's key investment in India — Huawei Tech. With the run-up for the Hong Kong ministerial meeting of the World Trade Organisation (WTO) having already started, the emphasis on business is only a pointer to the growing co-operation between India and China in key areas like services, apart from agriculture where there is a formal coalition involving the two of the most populous countries of the



world. The impact is sure to be felt in most parts of the globe — from Washington to Johannesburg and Rio de Janeiro to Paris. The Chinese premier would be accompanied by large business delega-

tion and the Bangalore leg is being given as much importance, if not more, than the Delhi action.

"If the two countries join hands, we would step into the Asian decade. It is no longer a question of China versus India. The current position is China and India," said Mr P N Ramchandran, executive director of India-China Chamber of Commerce & Industry. Success stories like Sundaram Fasteners' investment in China have opened a new window of opportunity, he added.

A friendship agreement is expected to be the icing in the cake as the Chinese premier and his counterpart ink a dozen pacts in Delhi on April 11 and 12. The groundwork is already being done by officials of the two sides and key announcements on principles to resolve the border dispute would have

regional as well as global impact. Apart from co-operation in civil aviation, tourism and agriculture, the two sides are also gearing up to talk market access. Apart from the proposed free trade agreement (FTA) which might be phased in with a preferential trade agreement (PTA) in the first phase, the two sides are also thinking of floating the idea of a comprehensive economic co-operation agreement which will go beyond trade.

The situation today is much different from the China-mania that had taken over India Inc at the turn of the Century. Apprehensions over flood of cheap imports hurting the domestic industry do not occupy mindscape anymore. The political situation is also moving on the same track with the tussle over Sikkim having already evaporated and similar resolution in sight for the

Tawang (Arunachal Pradesh) and Akshai Chin (Kashmir). There might be problems in aligning trade interests and WTO goals but the sentiment, as marketmen say, is bullish. Just reminds one of the win-win situation that the world of business often boasts of.

# Delhi, Beijing close to border breakthrough

## India keeps Tawang, China Aksai Chin

Manoj Joshi  
New Delhi, March 26

INDIA AND China are expected to sign a 10- or 12-point agreement spelling out the "political parameters and guiding principles" of resolving their boundary dispute during the visit of Chinese Premier Wen Jiabao next month.

The key principles to be approved include one of not disturbing "settled populations" and the need to consider each other's security concerns, including related logistical arrangements. These principles, applied along the existing Line of Actual Control (LAC), could persuade China to give up its claim to most of the Tawang tract, and India to do the same with a sizeable portion of Aksai Chin. These are the two most contentious areas on the disputed 4,056 km Indo-China border. There could be some give and take elsewhere as well.

With this boundary settled, the only disputed boundary

### At a glance

**What** Agreement spelling out 'political parameters and guiding principles' of resolving the boundary dispute

**When** During China Premier Wen Jiabao's visit in April

**How** By agreeing not to disturb 'settled populations' and recognising each other's security concerns, including logistics. The dispute will be treated on the political plane with historical claims taking a back seat

will be the 740 km that separate India from Pakistan in Kashmir. The principles adopted here will undoubtedly have a bearing on that dispute, too.

The agreement is still being finalised. Foreign secretary Shyam Saran will travel to Beijing next week to continue the talks while Chinese special representative Dai Bingguo is

expected to arrive in New Delhi a few days before Wen to finalise the agreement.

Officials in New Delhi say that Wen's March 14 statement declaring that the boundary could be settled on the basis of "accommodation of reality", in addition to the oft repeated principles of equal consultation and accommodation, has been the catalyst in speeding up the negotiations.

The agreement will place the efforts to settle the border dispute on the political plane. Thus, the guiding principles will studiously avoid geographical guidelines or historical claims that have led to two decades of sterile negotiations. The political parameters of the settlement will be within the ambit of growing strategic ties between the two countries, and efforts by the two countries to give an additional fillip to their burgeoning trade, which touched the \$14-billion mark last year.

Continued on Page 3

### Story so far

Disputed area



1947 Indian maps showed the Aksai Chin border as 'undefined'. Thereafter, India unilaterally changed its maps & claimed the area

1950s China built a road in the region without India's knowledge and consolidated itself there. Staked claim only in 1958

1953 the British and Tibetans signed an agreement defining the eastern border through the McMahon Line. The Chinese representative initialled the agreement but did not sign

1957 Maj Bob Khating took over Tawang, the most important town in the then North-east Frontier Agency, now Arunachal Pradesh. China did not protest

1960 a swap of positions was proposed, but the Chinese maintained their claim to the Tawang tract up to the Se La pass

# China for FTA with India

By Our Special Correspondent

**NEW DELHI, MARCH 24.** With a 79 per cent growth in bilateral trade in 2004 at \$14 billion, China today expressed keenness to have a Free Trade Agreement with India since it feels that closer trade relations could make it easier to solve political issues.

"We have received support from all relevant departments for FTA with India. We want to start discussions... It is for India to take a decision," Sun Yuxi, Chinese Ambassador, told reporters on the sidelines of a

FIEP meeting. "There is still lot for us to do to further enhance bilateral trade and economic cooperation... I believe closer trade relations will make things easier for solving some political issues," he observed.

The Chinese Ambassador indicated that these matters were likely to figure during talks with the Chinese Premier, Wen Jiabao, when he visits India next month. An agreement on agriculture trade was also likely to be finalised during the Premier's visit, he said.

Upbeat over the growth in bilateral trade in last five years, he

said it could reach \$50 billion if all barriers to trade are removed. He wanted India to provide business visas more swiftly besides granting market economy status.

Pointing out that at present about 37 countries have granted China with the status of market economy country, he expressed the hope that the Indian Government could take action early in this regard and recognise China as a market economy country. He also favoured investment protection agreement between the two countries.

THE HINDU 25 MAR 2005

# Infiltration at China border!

Statement News Service

NEW DELHI, March 23. — Only a fortnight away from the visit by China's Premier, Mr Wen Jiabao, the defence ministry said in Parliament that intrusions into India by the Chinese take place periodically.

Replying to an unstarred question by two Rajya Sabha MPs, Mr Pyarelal Khandelwal and Mr Kalraj Mishra, about the "growing strategic activities of Chinese forces along the Indian border", the defence ministry answered: "The government is aware of the periodical intrusions that take place on both sides of the Line of Actual Control. The intrusions result from different perceptions of the LAC by both countries." To ensure such problems do not happen, the two countries are working towards clarifying and confirming the LAC through working group and expert group negotiations, the reply said.

What the reply meant is that the Chinese think parts of India, south of the Line of Actual Control to be in China as they do not agree where the line runs exactly. It is any case difficult to decide where the line runs through the mountains. Currently, the Indo-China strategic dialogue is going on. The first meeting was held this year. During the meeting, bilateral relations, foreign security

## US never promised F-16s to Pak: Envoy

ISLAMABAD, March 23. — The United States has neither promised Pakistan to supply F-16 fighter aircraft nor made any offer to Pakistan and India to sell the aircraft if the two countries abandoned India-Iran gas pipeline project, Washington's envoy to Pakistan has said. "There are certainly no promises," ambassador Ryan C Crocker was quoted in the Pakistan daily Dawn as saying. — PTI

policies and the issues relating to Mr Wen's visit were discussed.

Probably keeping in mind Mr Wen's coming visit, the Indian government is clearing an agreement with the Hong Kong Special Administrative Region of China on mutual legal assistance in criminal matters. This means that after Cabinet approval, the two countries will be able to jointly fight organised crime.

Police shooting armymen: The defence ministry also said that an army officer and a jawan died as a result of Assam Police firing earlier this year. The ministry said it was a case of mistaken identity. The defence ministry said during the last two years 17 cases of rape and 10 cases of murder were reported against army personnel. Guilt has been established in one case of rape and five cases of murder.

## Cabinet to clear weapons treaty

Srinjoy Chowdhury & Devirupa Mitra in New Delhi

March 23. — A decision to ratify fully an international convention that will prohibit or restrict conventional weapons that are excessively injurious or have 'indiscriminate effects' is before the Union Cabinet.

The Cabinet has to ratify Protocol V and the amendment to Article 1 of the Convention. If approved, India will join a handful of countries who have ratified the fifth protocol of the convention on certain conventional weapons (CCW), which deals with the clearance and prevention of the explosive remnants of war.

Formally known as Convention on Prohibitions or Restrictions on the Use of Certain Conventional Weapons Which May Be Deemed to Be Excessively Injurious or to Have Indiscriminate Effects, had been negotiated in 1980 and cleared in 1983.

It had so far four protocols which dealt with incendiary weapons, mines, booby-traps and blinding laser weapons, which have already been ratified by India. A fifth protocol to deal with the remnants of conflict, like unexploded bombs

and abandoned arms was adopted on 28 November 2003. It comes into force after it is ratified by 20 countries.

Under this protocol, the state party under which controls the area where the war remnants are scattered will be responsible for clearance, but it can ask for help from any nation.

Only five countries have reportedly ratified the fifth protocol, Germany reportedly being the latest this month. Incidentally, India chaired the CCW process during 2002 and 2003, when the working group on Working Group on Explosive Remnants of War engaged in negotiations to conclude Protocol V on ERW.

The group of governmental experts on CCW met in Geneva this month. The working group was chaired by India's Mr Jayant Prasad Rao.

It considered issues of implementation of existing international humanitarian legislation in the context of ERW. It studies possible preventive measures, included design modifications in munitions like cluster bombs. The Cabinet is also likely to approve extradition treaties with the Sultanate of Oman, Bulgaria and Kazakhstan.

# India, China draft guiding principles

"mutual understanding and mutual accommodation" and "fair and reasonable settlement" have passed off as principles. New Delhi and Beijing are now looking for a definitive guide to the actual territorial adjustment that the two sides have to make.

Meanwhile, China has welcomed the government's designation last week of National Security Advisor M K Narayanan as the Special Representative for the boundary talks. This ends the brief pause

in recent negotiations caused by the death of J N Dixit in January.

The work on drafting these principles began as a follow-up to then Prime Minister Atal Behari Vajpayee to China in June 2003.

The two sides had then agreed to elevate the negotiations on the boundary dispute to the political level and resolve the question on the basis of "give and take".

Vajpayee's National Security Advisor, Brajesh Mishra, was appointed the

Special Representative for these talks and had two rounds of talks with his counterpart Dai Bingguo. Mishra's successor J N Dixit too held two rounds of talks.

It is believed that the drafting of the "guiding principles" has continued at a lower level since the demise of Dixit. China hopes that the exercise can now be accelerated and clinched through another round of consultations between the two Special Representatives.

While officials have

made considerable progress, political intervention might now be needed to bridge the remaining distance between the two sides. For one, China clearly believes that a substantive adjustment of the current boundary will be necessary for a final settlement.

India, on the other hand, might prefer only marginal modifications in current alignment of the boundary. The differences are now centred around the question of Tawang, which is part of Arunachal

Pradesh. Beijing is looking for significant concessions on Tawang from India and promising similar territorial concessions in Ladakh in return.

For India, the political difficulty of parting with Tawang is inevitably reflected in drafting of the guiding principles. The challenge before the two sides, on the eve of Wen's visit, is to come up with innovative principles that will help them to resolve the Tawang question in a mutually satisfactory manner.

## India, China draft guiding principles to end border row

C RAJA MOHAN  
NEW DELHI, MARCH 7



AS part of preparations for the visit of Chinese Premier Wen Jiabao to India

next month, officials from the two sides are drafting a set of principles that could form the basis for the final resolution of the vexed boundary dispute.

If they could complete the exercise in the next few weeks, the agreement on the guiding principles for the boundary settlement could be announced during Wen Jiabao's visit to India in the second week of April. Such an agreement would be a major political breakthrough in bilateral relations and would make Wen's visit to India a memorable one.

India and China acknowledge that the new guiding principles should not be abstract propositions. For years now, phrases like

CONTINUED ON PAGE 2

# Trading places

Delhi should reciprocate Yunnan's gesture

If Delhi is at all serious about globalisation, it needs to revise its China policy. In August last year, a 70-member delegation from Yunnan in southwest China visited Kolkata to foster economic ties and last week another 16-member team stopped by in the city on its way to Guwahati to participate in a trade fair to explore possibilities in the North-east. According to the Asia Centre, which is engaged in establishing closer trade and cultural ties and sustainable cooperation between South and South-east Asian countries, southwest China is a potential market for India and vice-versa. Since Yunnan's capital city of Kunming is less than two hours by air from Kolkata, the urgency to introduce regular chartered flights was raised during the Chinese team's visit last year. More than this, there is the need to improve surface communications, and herein lies the importance of reopening the World War II Stilwell Road or Burma Road that connects Assam's Ledo with Kunming. Barring some stretches, the road is said to be in fairly good shape and could be improved with cooperation among the three countries concerned. Myanmar's junta has since shed its reservations about this connector because of Karen rebel activities.

Cross or trans-border trade has scope for development and promises enormous benefits for people in the North-east. Trade with Myanmar is legalised though Manipur's border town of Moreh and Meghalaya exports coal and limestone to Bangladesh through Dawki, which earns crores of rupees annually by way of revenue and excise duties. Mizoram is keen on reviving its once buoyant border trade with Myanmar and Bangladesh through Champhai. Therefore, the delay in the scheduled opening of Nathu-la for trade with Tibet last July, can be described as regrettable. Also deserving of reconsideration is West Bengal's case for trade with Tibet through Kalimpong which, before the 1962 Sino-Indian conflict, enjoyed the distinction of being the main "Gateway to Tibet". The UPA needs to do a lot more than just take notice.

THE STATESMAN

24 FEB 2005



# India, China upgrade ties

Press Trust of India

BEIJING, Feb. 18. — With the increase in regional and international influence of China and India, the two countries are upgrading their ever-growing bilateral ties to “strategic relations”, the Chinese state-run media reported today.

“The world’s two most populous nations have for a long time shown a willingness to shoulder more responsibility and play larger roles regionally and internationally,” the “China Daily” said.

The launching of the first ever “strategic dialogue” mechanism fully demonstrates that the two neighbours have already raised relations above a lingering border dispute that once plunged their relationship into an icy period, the report said.

The article, coming ahead of Chinese premier Mr Wen Jiabao’s

## Dhaka ‘willing’

DHAKA, Feb. 18. — Bangladesh has said it is making efforts to resolve all “unsettled” issues with India through negotiations. “I hope dialogues along with government initiatives will play a constructive role to this end,” foreign minister Mr Morshed Khan said yesterday. Unresolved issues between the two countries include the 6.5 km boundary demarcation, handing over of *chhitmahals* or enclaves, and ratification of the 1974 Indira-Mujib agreement by India, Mr Khan said. — PTI

scheduled visit to India in the near future, noted that Chinese vice-foreign minister Mr Wu Dawei and Indian foreign secretary Mr Shyam Saran discussed a range of topics, including globalisation, energy security, reform of the UN, non-proliferation, anti-terrorism and the Iraq and North Korean situations.

THE STATESMAN

19 FEB 2005

THURSDAY, JANUARY 27, 2005

## TOWARDS A STRONG PARTNERSHIP

HP-10

CHINA AND INDIA took a significant step towards their common objective of restoring balance in international affairs by holding their first strategic dialogue. The two countries along with Russia signalled an intent to try and re-establish multipolarity in world affairs when their leaders met in Almaty in October 2004. They proposed to do so not by setting up formal institutional mechanisms but through a process of sustained discussion. While New Delhi's longstanding relationship with Moscow is appropriately described as a "strategic partnership," its interactions with Beijing were confined largely to bilateral issues until recently. With the commencement of the strategic dialogue India and China have begun to look to the big picture, and in particular to common interests, shared perceptions, and coordinated action on the regional and world stage. As the process of dialogue gathers momentum, they could begin to explore the vast potential that exists for cooperative endeavour in a variety of fields. In discussing a wide range of issues during the opening round of the dialogue, the two countries signalled a serious intent to arrive at a common understanding on international affairs. As it is, they have convergent views on some of the most important issues of the time. They have dealt with terrorist threats over a long period and have developed perspectives and strategies that could prove useful in the global campaign against this menace. Given their principled opposition to the invasion of Iraq by the United States, China and India could contribute significantly to the restoration of stability in West Asia if the opportunity arises.

While some biased observers perceive India and China as rivals for preeminence in Asia, the leaders of the two countries appear determined to prove them wrong. The pace of bilateral visits has picked up and will get a further boost when

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Premier Wen Jiabao pays a visit in the first quarter of 2005. The economic relationship has been transformed, with the two-way trade exceeding \$13 billion in 2004. There is some concern that the two countries might become involved in a race to secure energy resources, given the rate at which they have begun to modernise. However, there are indications that the scope exists for them to cooperate in the development of petroleum resources in the Bay of Bengal littoral, Central Asia and other parts of the globe. The record indicates that the strategic approach the two countries have adopted in recent years is both viable and necessary. India and China appear determined to improve their relations in all areas and at all levels even as they address eminently manageable differences, including the boundary question, in a fair, reasonable and mutually satisfactory manner. *Q. V. Chirya*

China, which was once dismissive of India's bid for a permanent seat in the United Nations Security Council, has not come around fully. However, it has made a calibrated shift in its position. Beijing conveyed its understanding of the ambitions of its southern neighbour and indicated that it would support New Delhi's efforts to play a greater role in world affairs. The implications of this nuanced policy statement will only be known over time. It is not very clear whether a linkage should be drawn between this statement and the report submitted recently by the High-level Panel on "Threats, Challenges and Change" that studied U.N. reforms. The panel recommended that the role a country played in ensuring global stability could be one of the main factors to be considered while making a judgment on its eligibility for a permanent Security Council seat. China had indicated earlier that it would study the panel's recommendations before making up its mind on the reconstitution of the Security Council.

27 JAN 2005

THE HINDU

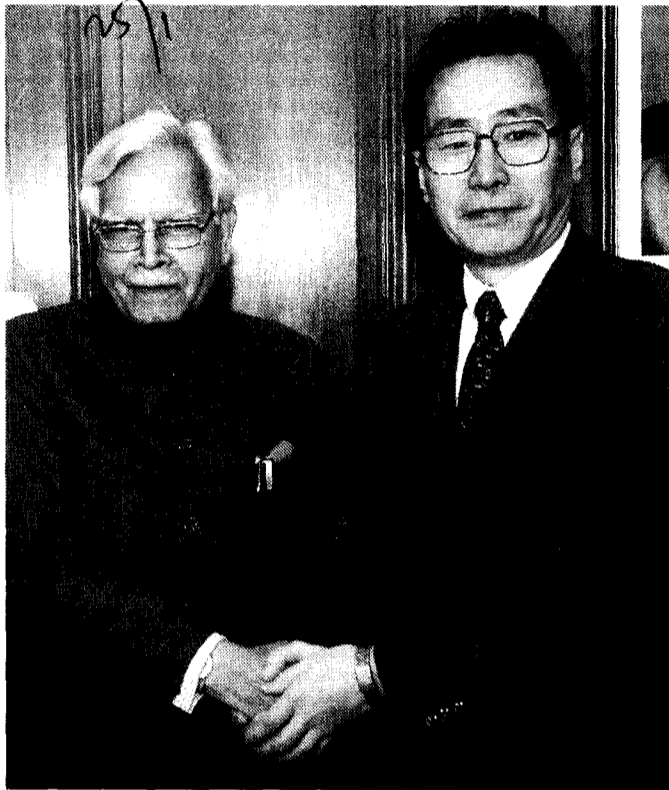
# India, China to improve ties

By Our Diplomatic Correspondent

NEW DELHI, JAN. 24. India and China, at their strategic dialogue today, "noted with satisfaction" that the recent trends in bilateral relations had been positive. Trade was growing rapidly, with preliminary figures for 2004 showing that the annual trade volume had crossed U.S.\$ 13 billion.

"Exchanges and interaction in diverse areas were also continuing. In this background, both sides reiterated their desire to improve the relationship at all levels and in all areas while addressing the outstanding differences, including the boundary question, in a fair, reasonable and mutually satisfactory manner," the External Affairs Ministry spokesman said.

The coming visit of the Chinese Premier, Wen Jiabao, to India, it was felt, would mark a milestone in bilateral relations. "Both sides indicated their readiness to closely work together to ensure a substantive outcome of the visit. Several ideas were discussed. It was agreed that discussions between the two Foreign Minis-



The Chinese Vice-Foreign Minister, Wu Dawei, with the External Affairs Minister, Natwar Singh, before a meeting in New Delhi on Monday. — AFP

tries would continue to prepare for the visit," he said.

"During the meeting, de-

tailed discussions took place on important regional and global issues that shape the present

international environment. There was a broad convergence of views on these issues. Both sides also briefed each other on their respective foreign and security policies," he said.

"Both sides are satisfied with the outcome of the discussions and feel that these have further increased their mutual trust and understanding. The launching of this new dialogue mechanism between the two countries is significant in that it indicates their readiness to look at the bilateral relationship in a long-term and strategic perspective."

According to the spokesman, the leader of the Chinese delegation, Vice-Foreign Minister, Wu Dawei, had a warm and cordial meeting with the External Affairs Minister, Natwar Singh. The current state of bilateral relations came up for review.

Mr. Singh said that India was looking forward to Mr. Wen's visit.

During Mr. Wu's meeting with Mr. Singh, the celebrations for the 55th anniversary of the establishment of diplomatic relations between India and China, which are to begin on April 1, 2005, also came up for discussion.

THE HINDU

# সন্ত্রাসবাদ নিয়ে কথা হল ভারত ও চিনের

স্টাফ রিপোর্টার, নয়াদিল্লি, ২৪ জানুয়ারি: চিরাচরিত বাণিজ্য আলোচনা থেকে সরে এসে এই প্রথম বিশ্ব সন্ত্রাসবাদ নিয়ে দ্বিপাক্ষিক মতবিনিময় শুরু করল ভারত ও চিন। বিদেশসচিব শ্যাম সারন এবং চিনের এশিয়া বিষয়ক উপ-বিদেশমন্ত্রী উ দাওয়েইর মধ্যে দীর্ঘ পাঁচ ঘণ্টার এই প্রথম 'কৌশলগত দ্বিপাক্ষিক আলোচনা' যথেষ্ট গুরুত্বপূর্ণ বলেই মনে করছে দু'দেশের বিদেশমন্ত্রক। ইউপিএ সরকার আসার পরে একবারই দু'দেশ মুখোমুখি হয়েছিল। ভিয়েতনামের লাওসে দু'দেশের প্রধানমন্ত্রী মনমোহন সিংহ এবং ওয়েন জিয়াবাও-এর সেই বৈঠকে গুরুত্ব পেয়েছিল বাণিজ্য এবং সীমান্ত বিষয়ক দ্বিপাক্ষিক ক্ষেত্রগুলি।

আজ বিদেশমন্ত্রকের মুখপাত্র নভতেজ সরনা বলেছেন, "আঞ্চলিক এবং আন্তর্জাতিক বিভিন্ন বিষয় নিয়ে বিস্তারিত আলোচনা হয়েছে। অনেক বিষয়ে মতৈক্যও হয়েছে।" বিষয়গুলি যে কী তা অবশ্য তিনি জানাননি। তবে বিদেশমন্ত্রক সূত্রে জানা গিয়েছে, এই প্রথম আন্তর্জাতিক নিরাপত্তা এবং বিশ্ব সন্ত্রাসবাদ মোকাবেলা নিয়ে খোলামেলা আলোচনা হয়েছে। উঠেছে আফগানিস্তান, ইরান এবং পাকিস্তানের প্রসঙ্গ। এই পর্যায়ের দ্বিতীয় বৈঠক শীঘ্রই চিনে হবে বলে ঠিক হয়েছে।

কূটনৈতিক বিশেষজ্ঞদের মতে, দ্বিপাক্ষিক সমস্যা সমাধানে চিন ও ভারতের বর্তমান নেতৃত্ব অনেক বেশি আগ্রহ দেখাচ্ছেন। জুন মাসে প্রধানমন্ত্রীর চিন সফরের পরে সীমান্ত সমস্যা নিয়ে বরফ গলতে শুরু করেছে বলেই মনে করা হচ্ছে। অবিশ্বাসের বাতাবরণও অনেকটাই ফিকে হয়েছে। এ বার তার ভিত্তিতেই দু'দেশেরই আগ্রহ রয়েছে এমন আন্তর্জাতিক বিষয়গুলিকে আলোচনার টেবিলে নিয়ে আনা হচ্ছে। ইসলামি মৌলবাদের সমস্যায় হাত পুড়তে শুরু করেছে চিনেরও। সম্প্রতি চিনের জিনজিয়াং অঞ্চলে মুসলিম জঙ্গিদের ঘটানো জোড়া বিস্ফোরণে ১৪ জনের মৃত্যু হয়। এর পরে উরুমকিতে আর একটি বিস্ফোরণে ৪ জন মারা গিয়েছেন।

চিনের পক্ষ থেকে আজ জানতে চাওয়া হয়েছে, মধ্য এশিয়ায় তেল, বিদ্যুৎ, জল ইত্যাদি ক্ষেত্রের নিরাপত্তা মজবুত করতে ভারত কী ব্যবস্থা নিচ্ছে। ভারত স্পষ্ট জানিয়েছে, নিরাপত্তা প্রসঙ্গে তাদের সঙ্গে আমেরিকা, জাপান এবং অন্যান্য শক্তিশালী দেশের সঙ্গে সুসম্পর্ক রয়েছে। তবে আমেরিকার সঙ্গে সুসম্পর্কের মাধ্যমে ভারত যে কোনও ভাবেই বেজিং-এর উপরে চাপ তৈরি করতে চায় না সে কথাও জানিয়ে দেওয়া হয়েছে।

সিকিম নিয়ে চিন ইতিমধ্যেই তার পুরনো অবস্থান থেকে সরে এসেছে। যদিও সীমান্ত-বিবাদ পুরোপুরি মেটানোর উপায় নিয়ে আজকের বৈঠকে আলোচনা হয়নি বলে জানানো হয়েছে। প্রকৃতপক্ষে গত বছর জুলাই মাসে পূর্বতন প্রধানমন্ত্রী বাজপেয়ী চিন সফরে গিয়ে যে দ্বিপাক্ষিক প্রক্রিয়া শুরু করেছিলেন, তারই ধারা অব্যাহত রাখতে চাইছে মনমোহন সরকার। বাজপেয়ীর সেই সফরে তাঁর সঙ্গে ছিলেন তৎকালীন জাতীয় নিরাপত্তা উপদেষ্টা ব্রজেশ মিশ্র।

তাঁর উত্তরসূরী জে এন দীক্ষিত সম্প্রতি ব্রজেশের সঙ্গে দু'বার ভারত-চিন দ্বিপাক্ষিক অগ্রগতি বিষয়ে বৈঠক করেছিলেন।

25 JAN 2005

# First-ever strategic talks between India & China

HT Correspondent  
New Delhi, January 24

WHEN FOREIGN secretary Shyam Saran received — and opened talks with — Chinese vice-foreign minister Wu Dawei at Hyderabad House on Monday morning, the level of the bilateral security dialogue was raised to a 'strategic' level.

It was the first time that such senior officials (and not political leaders) were meeting to talk of crucial regional and global issues to try and better understand each other's foreign policy compulsions. And, where possible, better coordinate their respective approaches.

The region-specific security dialogue has, so far, been conducted at the level of joint secretaries. Monday's talks — intended by Beijing to convey the importance with which it views New Delhi — centred on creating a new momentum in bilateral ties. High on the agenda were interna-

tional terrorism, non-proliferation and energy security, with India seeking details on the North Korean nuclear impasse. UN reforms, developments in Iraq and issues relating to Iran and Afghanistan were raised at the talks that lasted over five hours.

The aim of the strategic dialogue is to broaden the scope of the burgeoning bilateral relationship, allowing both sides to exchange notes on global and regional security issues.

There was "broad convergence", the MEA spokesman said, at this "new" dialogue mechanism intended to enhance the strategic and long-term bilateral relationship, and officials got a better sense of their respective foreign policy imperatives.

Wu met External Affairs Minister K. Natwar Singh this evening.

The need to enhance the bilateral relationship through the creation of such a dialogue was raised when Prime Minister Manmohan

Singh met his Chinese counterpart, Wen Jiabao, on the sidelines of the India-Asean summit in Laos last November.

"I won't be able to go into more specific details on what was discussed besides what we've agreed to share with the Press — more or less along the lines and details that we've given", the spokesman said.

To a question on if the border problem had figured in the talks, he said, "It's possible that, as part of the general discussions, the issue may have come up". But he went on to say that the boundary issue was being dealt with separately by special representatives of the two countries.

The talks on Monday finalised the agenda for the crucial visit of Premier Wen, scheduled to take place in March, hoping to give it a "substantive outcome", the foreign ministry spokesman said.

The next round of talks will be held in Beijing.

25 JAN 2005

THE HINDUSTAN TIMES

# India, China hold strategic dialogue

## Trend towards multipolarity welcomed

By Amit Baruah

**NEW DELHI, JAN. 24.** India and China agreed at their first-ever strategic dialogue today that the trend towards "multipolarity" was conducive to international peace and "should be encouraged." Two sessions of dialogue were held between the Foreign Secretary, Shyam Saran, and the Chinese Vice-Foreign Minister, Wu Dawei, — one through the day and the second late in the evening.

"Both sides agreed that the current international situation characterised by globalisation presented an opportunity as well as posed a challenge. They emphasised the need for making international relations democratic in order to face this challenge ..." the External Affairs Ministry spokesman said.

### 'Convergence of views'

Pointing out that there had been "broad convergence" of views on key international and regional issues, he said that the issue of reforms of international

institutions, including the United Nations, came up.

On U.N. Security Council reforms, the Chinese side conveyed its understanding for India's candidature to become a permanent member of the Council. The Chinese side indicated its support for India playing a more important role in the international affairs, including in the U.N.

"The two countries shared the view that terrorism, in particular the possibility of weapons of mass destruction and sensitive technologies falling in the hands of terrorists, presented a grave threat and recognised the importance of international cooperation in meeting this threat. They also agreed that these dangers could not be tackled unilaterally."

It is learnt that the issues such as Iraq, North Korea, Afghanistan, non-proliferation, counter-terrorism and the general question of United Nations' reforms were also discussed. Sources familiar with the discussions said the Chinese side

raised the issue of when India would appoint a Special Representative to continue the talks on the border question.

The Indian side, the sources said, informed the Chinese delegation that a decision on the issue would be taken in due course. The Centre is yet to appoint a new Special Representative after J.N. Dixit's death. The Indian and Chinese Special Representatives are expected to provide a framework to address the India-China border dispute from a political perspective.

According to the sources, a detailed discussion took place on preparations for the Chinese Premier, Wen Jiabao's Indian visit, which is likely to take place either at the end of March or the beginning of April this year. A final decision on the dates is expected soon. He said Mr. Wu, who is the Chinese point man for the six-party talks on the North Korean nuclear issue, called on the External Affairs Minister, Natwar Singh, this evening.

**Push for ties: Page 11**

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THE HINDU

# China talks take off

OUR SPECIAL  
CORRESPONDENT

New Delhi, Jan. 24: The decade-old boundary dispute and other regional issues of importance came up for discussion at the first strategic dialogue between India and China.

The visit of Chinese Prime Minister Wen Jiabao to India, scheduled for March, was also one of the focus areas of discussion.

Chinese vice-foreign minister Wu Dawei held detailed discussions with foreign secretary Shyam Saran and other senior South Block officials.

The strategic dialogue — the first of its kind between the two countries — is a clear indication of how bilateral relations have been progressing over the past few years. But its importance also lies in reports coming out of Delhi in the past few weeks — especially in the wake of national security adviser J.N. Dixit's death, that Saran will in future be the main point man from India to deal with China.

Indications are that Beijing was keen to find out about the Indian position from Saran on the border talks, which, according to sources, have now "entered a critical phase".

The Chinese side is keen to know what kind of a "give-and-take" formula Delhi is willing to accept to ensure a speedy resolution of the border dispute.

When asked whether the border issue came up for discussion, foreign ministry

spokesperson Navtej Sarna tried to play it down, saying, "it is possible that as part of the general discussions, the issue may have come up." But he pointed out that the boundary issue was being dealt with separately by special representatives of the two countries.

Sarna said there was a "broad convergence" of views on important regional and global issues between the two sides. "Both sides also briefed each other on their respective foreign and security policies."

"The two sides agreed to closely work together to ensure a substantive outcome of the visit, which is expected to mark a new phase in the relationship between the two countries."

The spokesperson said both sides were satisfied with the outcome of the discussions and felt that these have "further increased their mutual trust and understanding." Calling the strategic dialogue "significant", Sarna said this "indicates the two sides' readiness to look at the bilateral relationship in a long-term and strategic perspective." The next round of talks will be held in China, though the dates will be finalised by the two sides later.

The Chinese delegation later met the foreign minister Natwar Singh. He told Wu and the other members that India was looking forward to the Chinese Premier's visit as it would be a "major event" in the bilateral relations between the two countries and lead to "substantial results."

25 JAN 2005

THE TELEGRAPH

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# India, China to hold 'strategic dialogue' today

29/1

By Amit Baruah

**NEW DELHI, JAN. 23.** India and China will hold their first ever "strategic dialogue" at the official level on Monday, with the Foreign Secretary, Shyam Saran, heading the Indian delegation, and the Chinese Vice-Foreign Minister, Wu Dawei, leading the Chinese side.

Though a "security dialogue" between India and China has been taking place at the level of Joint Secretaries, Monday's meeting at Hyderabad House will be the first where the two sides will hold talks tagged with

the "strategic" label.

According to South Block sources, bilateral, regional and international issues will be on the table when Mr. Saran and Mr. Wu get down to business tomorrow. The Chinese Vice-Minister will also call on the External Affairs Minister, Natwar Singh, on Monday.

They said the two sides would also focus on a proposed visit by the Chinese Premier, Wen Jiabao, to India, expected to take place some time in March. Given the fact that important, often incremental agreements, are hammered out by the two sides

before such high-level visits, Mr. Wen's visit will require preparation.

A review of the current state of bilateral relations, the role of international institutions and issues like Iraq may also figure in the talks. Officials, however, point out there is no "fixed agenda" as it is for the first time that the two countries are holding such discussions.

Previously, too, officials had taken a cautious line at the Joint Secretary-level "security dialogue" in which the two have hesitated in giving details about the issues discussed.

THE HINDU

24 JAN 2005



# India and China take ties to a new level

Indrani Bagchi/TNN

**New Delhi:** Taking the bilateral dynamic to a whole new level, India and China will start a first ever strategic dialogue here next week. Chinese vice minister Wu Dawei will meet foreign secretary Shyam Saran for a full day's talks on global issues encompassing Iraq, terrorism, nuclear issues and the new world order.

Strategic dialogues are not uncharted territory for India, but the significance of an India-China dialogue is entirely different.

It was in 2004 that the dialogue was proposed by the Chinese side, and accepted with alacrity by India. However, it has taken almost a year for the first interaction to take place. The earlier Chinese special envoy, vice minister Wang Yi has now been replaced by Mr Wu.

The dialogue comes at an interesting time in Sino-Indian relations.

Chinese premier Wen Jiabao is scheduled to visit India in March, which will crystallize a strategic partnership and, if the discussions progress according to plan, even the framework of a comprehensive economic pact.

In the changed world order after 9/11, China and India have taken on what many would call the leadership roles in Asia. A recent CIA projection of the global future points to a shift in global em-

phasis from the US to India and China. As these Asian giants step out into the world to play a bigger game, there is a greater emphasis to boost bilateral relations. What is important is that, in their growth trajectories, India and China are meeting each other in many strategic backyards — Central Asia, Southeast Asia, Latin America and even Africa. China and India are also projected to be the largest energy consumers, making energy security an essential component of each strategic doctrine. Nuclear issues will remain paramount as long as

Chinese missiles carry Pakistani warheads aimed at India. Such issues will be the stuff of the dialogue.

The order of Asian leadership underwent yet another change recently in the aftermath of the tsunami disaster

when India put a strategic step forward to take on the relief and reconstruction in other countries despite being stricken by the calamity. The short-lived "core group" served more than an immediate purpose — it was seen as a template for future Asian alliances, something that did not go unnoticed in Beijing. The political subtext for the dialogue is simple: China no longer sees India as a South Asian power, but as a global contender.

## A New Beginning



Wu Dawei



Shyam Saran

# Sino-Indian ties move to strategic talks

Chinese Vice-Foreign Minister arriving, willingness on both sides to raise engagement level

**PRANAB DHAL SAMANTA**  
NEW DELHI, JANUARY 20

**I**N a bid to take their bilateral relationship to a new level, India and China will initiate the first ever strategic dialogue between the two countries on Monday.

It's learnt that Chinese Vice-Foreign Minister Wu Dawei will be reaching here on Sunday night for talks with Foreign Secretary Shyam Saran.

He is also slated to meet Prime Minister Manmohan Singh and External Affairs K Natwar Singh during his visit.

The dialogue, sources said, is

aimed at broadening the scope of the bilateral relationship, allowing both sides to exchange notes on global and regional security issues. This will provide them a forum to forge greater understanding of respective positions on issues such as terrorism, energy security, disarmament and UN reforms.

More importantly, the talks indicate a willingness on both sides to explore ways to enhance mutual engagement on other pressing issues while continuing to address more



**Saran, Wu Dawei meet Monday**

forward the bilateral relationship.

In fact, this was also emphasised at the meeting between Prime Minister Manmohan Singh and Chinese Premier Wen Jiabao on the margins of the Indo-ASEAN summit in Laos last year.

Both leaders agreed to work towards strengthening economic ties

which have grown significantly in the recent past. This is reflected in the healthy bilateral trade that now stands close to \$13 billion.

Guided by the potential this economic partnership holds for the future, India and China have been discussing prospects of lending a strategic dimension to the relationship. Sources said the strategic dialogue will look to precisely achieve this with the first round aimed at framing the agenda for this interaction.

The Saran-Dawei talks will also prepare the grounds for the upcoming visit of Jiabao who is expected to

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## Sino-Indian ties

be here sometime in March. The Chinese Premier had told the Prime Minister in Laos that the visit was the most important event in his calendar for the year.

# Natwar holds talks with Wen Jiabao

By P.S. Suryanarayana

**JAKARTA, JAN. 6.** India and China today agreed to sustain the "positive momentum" in their bilateral engagement.

The External Affairs Minister, K. Natwar Singh, who met the Chinese Prime Minister, Wen Jiabao, on the sidelines of the extraordinary tsunami summit in Jakarta, later described their talks as a "very good" exercise in positive diplomacy.

Echoing the sentiment, the Chinese Foreign Minister, Li Zhaoxing, who was present during the meeting, told *The Hindu* that "Premier Wen Jiabao and the Foreign Minister [Mr. Singh] have had a very good discussion". Laying emphasis on this aspect, Mr. Li said: "Both sides believe that we are working together to consolidate and enhance the friendship and cooperation further between the two nations and people".

Summing up the discussions, Mr. Singh said the Chinese Prime Minister was "deeply appreciative of what India is doing" to help itself and its tsunami-hit neighbours in the present crisis. While China was aware of India's own efforts, Mr. Wen indicated his country's willingness to be of help. Deeply appreciating China's friendly sentiment, Mr. Singh told him that India was "coping" with the tsunami impact as "we have extensive experience in dealing with natural disasters".

On the "brief review of the satisfactory and comprehensive development of bilateral relations," the External Affairs Minister said Mr. Wen identified trade and economic engagement, science and technology, culture and education as areas of cooperation.

Asked whether the question



**Chinese Premier Wen Jiabao with Foreign Minister K. Natwar Singh at a private meeting during the tsunami summit in Jakarta on Thursday. Donors and world leaders met to discuss the Asian tsunami crisis. — AP**

of India's bid for permanent membership of the United Nations Security Council with the veto right was discussed, Mr. Singh said the issue did not figure at this time.

Noting, however, that the China-India relationship had now "entered a new phase", Indian officials said "both sides agreed that it was necessary to look for ways and means to maintain the positive momentum in the bilateral relationship from a long-term strategic perspective as well as to resolve the border issue". During the talks, Mr. Wen emphasised, too, that he was "greatly looking forward" to his visit to India later this year. Mr. Wen said his visit would be "an important event that would further consolidate India-China relations and

friendship".

## Discussion with Annan

The question of India's bid to become a permanent member of the United Nations Security Council figured prominently in Mr. Singh's meeting with the U.N. Secretary General, Kofi Annan, on the margins of the tsunami summit. In a briefing on the talks, Mr. Singh said he told Mr. Annan that the U.N. High Level Panel had really "skirted the main issue of veto" in regard to the Security Council reform. The External Affairs Minister said he told Mr. Annan that there was no question of India not having the veto right as a possible new permanent member. The Russian President, Vladimir Putin, had already backed

India's credentials for permanent membership with the veto right, Mr. Annan was told.

Mr. Singh said he told the Secretary General that the High Level Panel chief had made a reference to Kashmir as an area of unrest. This was "completely uncalled for" and it was also "not the mandate" of the Panel to raise such issues.

On Iraq, while Mr. Annan hoped that elections could be held there as scheduled now, Mr. Singh made it abundantly clear that the question of India sending troops "does not arise."

Mr. Singh emphasised the centrality of the U.N. in the international efforts to meet the current tsunami challenge.

## Talks with Powell

Mr. Singh held talks with a number of other leaders, including the outgoing U.S. Secretary of State, Colin Powell, who expressed appreciation for the manner in which India had responded to the tsunami challenge at home and in the neighbourhood. The Australian Prime Minister, John Howard, and the President of the Philippines, Gloria Macapagal Arroyo, were among the others whom Mr. Singh met.

Following his talks with the Japanese Foreign Minister, Nobuaki Machimura, a spokesman, Hatsuhiro Takashima, told *The Hindu* that Japan, while being appreciative of India's efforts to help its neighbours overcome the tsunami disaster, outlined Tokyo's willingness to extend aid to the crisis-hit countries.

Mr. Takashima said the Japan-India efforts to coordinate strategies for becoming permanent members of the Security Council came up briefly for discussion.