

a sort of chain reaction theory which proliferates itself. At the moment in Germany, the physical sciences—engineers and other scientists—rank only in the middle, by international comparison.

If Germany wants to put itself into a position of being able to cooperate in such a program, we have to return to the Humboldt system of education, where classes are not directed at transmitting some Internet information, but rather toward the student's personal character; where classes communicate values which are not personal greed, designer clothing, the "I have to have that" mentality, but develop creativity as the center of a humanist society—and also as the center of any functioning economy.

That means that Europe will only be able to solve the strategic and economic crisis, if we recall, at the same time, the best traditions of our 2,500-year European history—the Greek classics, the great tragedies of Aeschylus and Sophocles, Plato, the ideas of the Italian Renaissance, which were echoed at the same time in Ukraine, Poland, Lithuania, and Holland, the German classics, the music of Bach to Brahms, the Weimar Classical period. We must also look to China, which is consciously orienting to its 2,500-year Confucian and neo-Confucian history, and where there are immense parallels between the Christian-Platonic and the neo-Confucian history. China has contributed richly to beauty in poetry and painting.

When Iranian Prime Minister Khatami visited the Pope recently in Rome, and both spoke about a dialogue of cultures—that is the idea: the Arab Renaissance, which, under the Abbassid dynasty in the seventh and eighth century, belonged to the most developed period of mankind. We must revive the contribution of Egypt to universal history, and naturally also that of Sudan and other nations.

We have to give some thought to the reason why Wilhelm von Humboldt said that Sanskrit was the most developed language in the world: What does that tell us about the high period of Indian culture? The Chinese language is especially suited to communicating ideas; there is the wonderful richness of the Russian poets, especially my favorite poet, Alexander Pushkin, whose 200th birthday we celebrate this year.

If we look at the world that way, not only to speak about a new, just world economic order, a Eurasian Land-Bridge, which should be extended to Africa and Latin America, the ideas of *Populorum Progressio*, the development of all people, but also to connect that to the idea of a cultural Renaissance of humanity, which awakens the best aspects of universal history and draws upon it to make a contribution for the 21st century—only if we approach problems that way, can we not only avert the acute threat of world war, but also, I am absolutely convinced, then it will be possible to overcome notions such as "oligarchy," the idea of empires and hegemonism, as we would overcome childhood illnesses, and turn to those tasks which are more appropriate to human dignity.

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Devendra Kaushik

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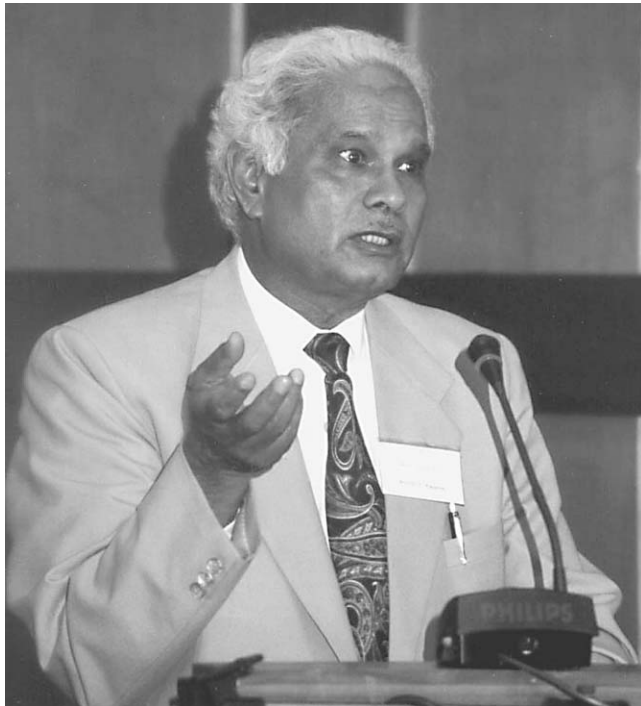
## India-Russia-China cooperation in the Survivors' Club

**Anno Hellenbroich:** *Prof. Devendra Kaushik is Professor of Central Asian Studies at the School for International Studies, Jawaharlal Nehru University, in New Delhi. He is also Chairman of the Maulana-Adsat Institute for Asian Studies, in Calcutta. Over many years—I believe he said 40 years yesterday—he has studied the relations between India and the Soviet Union, and now, of course, with Russia. He has extended these studies to Russia, India, and China, and has made proposals for economic cooperation. Today, he will present us the Indian view of the cooperation of the Survivors' Club nations, China, India, and Russia. Professor Kaushik: [Subheads have been added.]*

As we deliberate here in Bonn on the world's present financial and economic crisis, and the way out of it, a full-scale war is being illegally waged by the NATO military forces against Serbia. "Humanitarian" reasons of stopping atrocities against the Albanian minority in the Kosovo province of Serbia and its "ethnic cleansing" by the "rogue" state of Yugoslavia, headed by dictator Milosevic, are advanced, to justify this war in the Balkans, which is fraught with the dangerous possibility of triggering a world conflagration.

In India, it is difficult for us to comprehend this sudden groundswell of sympathy and concern in London for the victims of "ethnic cleansing." It appears that Tony Blair, who is the most energetic champion of this war, and who has dragged the United States into it through his special relation with [U.S. Secretary of State] Madeleine Albright and [Defense Secretary William] Cohen, has forgotten the "ethnic cleansing" of minority communities in both parts of the Punjab, following the partition of India by the British in 1947, on a scale unheard of in the history of humankind. Blair and company would not like to be reminded about the forced migration of millions of refugees to India from the East Bengal province of Pakistan in 1971, on account of bloody repression by the military junta in Pakistan. It is obviously of no concern to them how, more recently, ethnic cleansing of the minority community took place in the Srinagar Valley of Kashmir, as a result of terrorist activities launched from across the border.

The fact of the matter is, that "prevention of ethnic cleansing" in Kosovo is not the real cause of the war.



*Indian scholar of Asian studies Prof. Devandra Kaushik surveys the growing rapprochement among the members of the "Survivors' Club."*

It is simply a pretext for it. I have no expertise in economics to offer here any serious analysis of the ongoing international economic and monetary crisis, but as an historian and political analyst, I do visualize the connection between the already-bankrupt global economic system, run by the international financial oligarchy, and the recurrent eruptions of wars in the Gulf, the Middle East, and the Balkans. Also, we hear of preparations for war in the Far East, against the "rogue state" of North Korea.

In India, we feel greatly concerned that NATO plans going global in pursuit of its strategy of punishing "rogue states" in any part of the world. NATO proposes to be the prosecutor, judge, and the executioner at the same time.

In India, we have taken serious note of the proposed new direction of the NATO strategy, as outlined in the March 8 speech of the Chairman of the U.S. Joint Chiefs of Staff, Gen. Henry H. Shelton, at the 50th anniversary conference of NATO held in London. General Shelton's plea for preparing NATO to "cope with the very real threat to our people, our territory, and our military forces posed by weapons of mass destruction (WMD) and their means of delivery" and for "re-defining its mission . . . reflecting the geopolitical landscape to which it is anchored," and for seeing threats as being located "beyond NATO territory" and for having the ability to "respond quickly and effectively to crises, either within territory of areas of fundamental interest to the Alliance," are bound to cause serious concern in India and in other countries like

China, Russia, and Iran.

The two world wars in the twentieth century, which took a toll of millions of human lives, were caused not by the division of Europe into rival military alliances, the Triple Alliance and the Triple Entente, and the desire of the German people under the Hitler regime to reverse the unjust Versailles diktat. To accept these as the real causes of these wars would be oversimplistic, of rather deeper causes lying embedded in the system of world imperialism. Imperialism, which represented a higher stage of development of capitalism, based on international finance capital, resulted in an intensification of inter-state rivalries fuelled by a mad race for grabbing colonies for the sake of raw materials and markets. Similarly, the aerial bombardments and naval cruise missile attacks on Iraq and Serbia are the result of the deep crisis which has currently afflicted the world economic system dominated by international speculative finance capital. The causality of the war in the Balkans must be understood seriously. It lies in the near-collapse of the world financial system.

NATO, which is the military instrument of the Anglo-American financial oligarchy, has launched a war in the Balkans to divert attention from the imminent collapse of the world economic system. The rump state of Yugoslavia has been chosen for attack, to deliver a warning to the states of China, India, and Russia (under its new government), which are unwilling to accept the IMF-dictated financial globalization.

### **Survivors' bloc rebuffs BAC**

The world has thus come to be divided into three groups of power blocs, against the background of the international financial crisis which has gone berserk after it struck the Southeast Asian "Tigers" in 1997, then moved on to grip South Korea and Japan, and spread to Russia and Brazil, threatening the American economy itself in the wake of the collapse of the LTCM hedge fund. Thus, we have the Anglo-American bloc or "British-American-Commonwealth" [BAC], which represents the powerful financial interests still dominating the world.

The second group consists of the continental European states, which, on account of their relatively weaker position, plays a second fiddle to the dominant Anglo-American bloc.

The third group, which may be described as the "survivors' bloc," includes China and India. Russia has also joined it, after the financial collapse in August 1998. The new government led by Prime Minister [Yevgeni] Primakov, with [Yuri] Maslyukov as his First Deputy, has declared its intention to do away with the IMF-dictated "shock therapy" reforms, and to take firm measures to resurrect the physical economy through a policy geared to growth of national industries. Malaysia and Iran are other members of this "survivors' bloc."

There is a growing realization among leaders of these nations, that the military, political, and economic policies

of the Anglo-American bloc pose a serious threat to their existence as sovereign nations, and that they must create, through their joint efforts, conditions to ensure their survival in the face of increasing military and economic offensives by the Anglo-American bloc, which is getting desperate on account of the ever-deepening world financial crisis.

The India-Russia-China strategic triangle is an important prerequisite for rebuffing the drive of the Anglo-American bloc to dominate the world through imposition of its speculative finance-run global economic system, which is threatened by imminent collapse of the unmanageable bubble economy which the present, sharply declining physical economy is no longer in a position to sustain.

### **The potentials of the strategic triangle**

This strategic triangle is not just a pipe dream. It has a strong, objective basis for its realization. The three countries are close neighbors and have old, common historical and civilizational roots, and linkages, binding them together. Barring controversy over borders, common to many neighboring states, and some brief armed clashes on their partially demarcated frontiers, there has been no prolonged adversarial relationship or wars among them.

Russia and China are Pacific states, and India is an Indian Ocean country, but they have a common geopolitical relationship with landlocked Central Asia.

These three powers, by virtue of their vast human, natural, and scientific resources, are capable of cooperating in the interest of mutual prosperity and peace and stability in the world. All three are nuclear and space powers, and possess the material and scientific capability to promote high-tech development. The internal stability, territorial integrity, and border security of Russia, India, and China, face a common threat from religious extremism. They also face a common problem of foreign-supported secessionist movements threatening their territorial integrity.

The Indo-Russian relationship, which faced some problems in the aftermath of the collapse of the Soviet Union, soon started looking up. It was only during 1992, that these relations remained under a cloud, as the Kozyrev pro-Atlanticist line dominated the foreign policy course of Moscow. Yeltsin's January 1993 New Delhi visit, however, broke the ice, and the strategic character of their ties was restored after Prime Minister Narasimha Rao's Moscow visit in June 1994. The Moscow Declaration committed both countries to supporting each other in preserving the territorial integrity of their multi-ethnic, multi-confessional states. Subsequent visits by the Russian Prime Minister and the Indian Prime Minister and Defense Minister, resulted in agreements for long-term cooperation in the military and economic fields.

The Sino-Indian détente initiated more than a decade ago with Rajiv Gandhi's visit to China, has progressed successfully, notwithstanding the controversy over the [Indian nuclear tests at] Pokhran II, with Beijing taking offense at the

Indian Defense Minister's characterization of China as a threat to Indian security. The damage caused to Sino-Indian relations by this statement, was made up by Prime Minister B.A. Vajpayee's statement that the Defense Minister's opinion regarding the Chinese threat was his personal one, and did not represent the government of India's official view. Vajpayee reiterated India's commitment to improving relations with China. Bilateral trade between India and China has registered a threefold increase, and the Chinese supply of enriched uranium to the Tarapur nuclear power plant in India, and China's offer to share with India an oil field acquired by it in the Uzen region of Kazakstan, have given a new momentum to Sino-Indian bilateral relations.

The growing warmth in Russian-Chinese and Russian-Indian relations, makes one optimistic about positive developments in India-China relations, as well. The Russian-Chinese Joint Statement, signed after the conclusion of President Jiang Zemin's visit to Moscow in November 1998, to further the mutual understanding between Beijing and Moscow on upgrading their ties to the strategic level, reached during Jiang's earlier visit in April 1997. The Joint Statement calls for a multipolar world, and warns against attempts to make the twenty-first century an exclusive "American," "European," or "Asian-Pacific" century. It favors "fostering conditions, so that big powers do not make efforts at widening or creating new military alliances." The Joint Statement also makes a plea for ensuring the "economic security of sovereign states," and for the "exclusion of attempts at using currency or financial levers to impose political or economic conditions which infringe on the legitimate national interests of a particular country."

The reference to the significance of the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty (NPT) and the Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty (CTBT) in the context of the situation in South Asia, however, calls for further efforts on the part of the three powers to evolve a commonly acceptable approach to nuclear disarmament. The dialogue between India and China was resumed, despite initial setbacks after Pokhran II. A delegation of the Indian Ministry of External Affairs visited Beijing, and it was agreed by the two sides to revive the meetings of the Joint Working Group, which had not met for a long time. The experiment by India of the Agni II intermediate-range missile recently has made no difference to the desire of both sides to continue their dialogue. Formal protests by China notwithstanding, the spokesman of the Chinese Foreign Ministry has declared that China remains committed to improving its relations with India. National People's Congress chair Li Peng, then visiting Pakistan, and Premier Zhu Rongji, speaking from the United States, made no criticism of the Indian missile test.

### **Central Asia question**

There is a long-term community of interests among Russia, China, and India in the Central Asian region, which has

become a cockpit of contention and competition with the activation of the Anglo-American bloc's interest in exploiting its vast oil and gas reserves. If President Carter had declared the [Persian] Gulf region as an area of vital interest for America, President Clinton, at the instance of the Anglo-American oil giants, has extended this to the Caspian region.

Geopolitical gameplans are being prepared with the sole objective of seeing Russia out of Central Asia, where, as a leading Eurasian power, it has a legitimate role to play. Thus, oil and gas pipelines are being projected to bypass Russian territory. Iran is also being isolated, by pressuring the Central Asian states. A new bloc of Central Asian, Caucasian, and CIS [Commonwealth of Independent States] states is being created, at the instigation of the Anglo-American bloc, to keep Russia out of this region. This bloc consists of Georgia, Uzbekistan, Ukraine, Azerbaijan, and Moldova (GUUAM). Baku is being encouraged to pump its oil to the Georgian port of Supsa on the Black Sea, instead of the Russian port of Novorossiysk. Work is in progress for transporting the Caspian oil by a pipeline, to be laid from Baku to the Turkish port of Ceyhan on the Mediterranean coast.

But it may not be easy to keep Russia out of Central Asia and the Caucasus, because the new oil pipelines favored by the Anglo-American bloc pass through eastern Turkey, where the Kurd rebels can create trouble, and transporting oil through Georgia is also problematic, because of unrest in Abkhazia. For its part, Russia is actively engaged in convincing the Western oil companies that transportation by the northern route, passing through Russia, was two to three times cheaper than the route passing through Georgia, Turkey, Ukraine, etc. The Russian organization engaged in surface transport, Transvest, has offered several alternative economic routes which avoid the troubled region of Chechnya.

The largely energy resource-based American geopolitical gameplan in Central Asia and the Caucasus, is thus facing a multitude of problems. The Islamic rivals to Russia—Turkey, Iran, and Pakistan—are unable to substitute for Russia in Central Asia. Of the three southern neighbors, neither Turkey nor Iran nor Pakistan can become a “regional economic powerhouse.”

The Pakistani objective of acquiring a strategic hinterland in Central Asia does not coincide with the interests of the Central Asian states, which would not like to lose a larger market in India. China, which is otherwise close to Pakistan, opposes Pakistan's efforts to play an Islamic card, for fear of repercussions in Xinjiang. By virtue of its location, Turkey itself is exposed to Russian power, and its large trade with Russia compels it not to spoil its relations with Russia. Iran competes with Pakistan, as it does with Turkey, for its influence in Central Asia. Despite a decline in Central Asian trade with Russia, its relative weight is far larger than its trade with the Economic Cooperation Organization (ECO) partners—Pakistan, Iran, and Turkey—which is only 13.7% of exports and 13% of imports. A Central Asian alliance headed by Uz-

bekistan to curtail the Russian role, has failed to take off, with Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, and Tajikistan remaining deeply suspicious of irredentist and great power aspirations in Tashkent.

China, together with Russia, are left as the strongest powers having legitimate interest in Central Asia. Bordering directly on the area, China has far fewer limitations than its Middle Eastern rivals. It has larger financial resources than Turkey, Iran, and Pakistan, and is more compatible with the economies of the Central Asian states, which can use its territory to gain access to the Pacific, and on to the Far East and Southeast Asia. Beijing remains geared to the objective of precluding any upsurge of Islamic or nationalist agitation among its Muslim peoples—the Kazaks, Kyrgyzes, and the Uighurs—residing in Xinjiang. In the interest of achieving this objective, it is pursuing a policy of developing trade and economic relations with its Central Asian neighbors, and supports their governments and their relationship with Russia.

The Chinese policy in Central Asia has also another objective. Energy consumption and demand for it in China is expected to grow in a big way in the next century. Stability in Xinjiang and Central Asia is not just politically desirable, but also an essential prerequisite of China's continued economic growth and modernization. To preserve peace and political stability in the oil-rich Xinjiang, which is also important on account of the nearby location of the Lop Nor nuclear test ground, it is important to develop strong ties with Russia by supporting Moscow's interests in Central Asia.

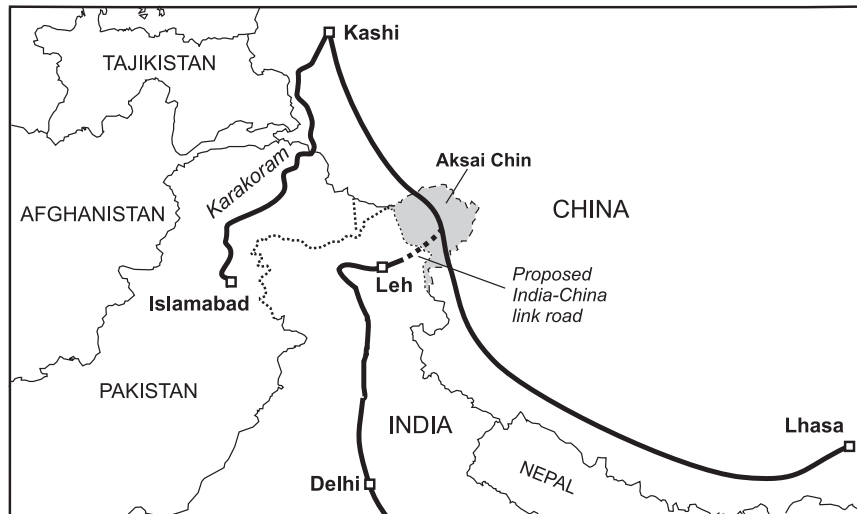
In June 1997, China's National Petroleum Company, in an open tender, competing with the U.S. oil giants Texaco and Amoco, won a major oil concession in the Aktyubinsk area of Kazakhstan. By this agreement, China will invest \$9 billion in this oil venture and build a pipeline to Xinjiang. In August 1997, the Chinese also won a tender for 60% of oil in the Uzen field. Beijing has offered to India a portion of its oil concessions in Kazakhstan for joint production. China is taking active steps to meet its increasing future oil requirements by pursuing equity oil from regions as far apart as Latin America and Central Asia.

India is also concerned about its oil imports, which are growing at the rate of 10% annually and are expected to reach a level higher than 270 million tons by 2020. The Central Asian region has the potential for becoming an important source of energy security of the South Asia subcontinent. Because of their close proximity, both Central Asia and India stand to gain as one of the world's biggest oil-producing areas and energy markets.

Because India, China, and Russia are vulnerable to threats to their territorial integrity from religious extremism, their collaboration in Central Asia is quite natural. The June 1994 Moscow Declaration jointly signed by President Yeltsin of Russia and then-Indian Prime Minister Narasimha Rao, reiterated the resolve of their governments to continue their joint opposition to any efforts to stir up inter-ethnic or inter-religious discord and to destabilize state governments and bor-

FIGURE 1

## Proposed road to link India, China, and Central Asia



*Building a road to link India, through the Himalaya Mountains, to the Tibet-Xinjiang highway in China, would have an important political and economic impact on both countries and on the Central Asian nations. China and Pakistan cooperated in the 20-year project, completed in 1978, to build the Karakoram Highway, north of the Line of Actual Control between India and Pakistan. The Aksai Chin, an uninhabited plateau through which a trade route has run since ancient times, was one of the areas disputed in the 1962 border conflict between India and China; it is on the Chinese side of the Line of Actual Control. A project in which India and China would coordinate construction of a link road over the Aksai Chin, would make the area one of international cooperation.*

ders. In a state visit, both Indian and Central Asian leaders openly stated their condemnation of religious extremism and fundamentalist terrorism instigated from across the borders. India supported Iran's efforts to build the rail track between the Persian Gulf port of Bandar Abbas and Ashgabat, the capital of Turkmenistan.

### New roads and 'bus diplomacy'

India has yet another option for reaching Central Asia through an overland route: New Delhi can explore the possibility of reaching an agreement with Beijing for opening up an overland route to Central Asia through the Xinjiang region of China. It has only to join the Tibet-Xinjiang road built by the Chinese through the Aksai-Chin territory, claimed by India.

Tajikistan, Kyrgyzstan, and Kazakstan are known to be taking keen interest in using the Chinese-built Karakoram Highway to gain access to the Pakistani seaport of Karachi. Tajikistan has recently linked its city of Kharog in the Pamir region, with the Karakoram Highway. The distance from Kharog to Karachi via Islamabad is roughly 3,200 kilometers. From Kharog to the Indian port of Kandla through Ladakh, works out to about 3,800 kilometers.

India does not have to construct a long road to join the Tibet-Xinjiang road passing through Aksai-Chin. It just has

to build a relatively short link-road joining the Line of Actual Control with the Tibet-Xinjiang road.

This route also has great political significance. In mid-April, Indian Prime Minister Vajpayee, when discussing in an interview on Zee-television about extending his "bus diplomacy," already begun with Pakistan, to Dhaka in Bangladesh, said that he was being advised to also "take the bus" to China. The Prime Minister said that he was enthusiastic about this idea. This could be done if this link-road were to be built.

The availability of an additional overland route to the sea, from the landlocked Central Asian states to Kandla through Xinjiang and Ladakh, will provide greater comfort to them. The opening of this new route can act as a precursor to the laying of a pipeline from Xinjiang to India by joining one under construction by the Chinese for exploitation of the recently acquired oil concession in Kazakstan, which Beijing has offered to share with New Delhi.

An advance in the direction of closer cooperation among Russia, China, and India, for ensuring the security and sta-

bility of the newly independent Central Asia states, is bound to upset the new geopolitical gameplan of the Anglo-American bloc, to create a balance of power favoring the continuation of a unipolar world under the "soft hegemony" of the United States. An Asian regional security structure is gradually coming up, as a result of increasing cooperation among the three Central Asian states, Kazakstan, Kyrgyzstan, and Tajikistan, and their neighbors, China and Russia.

Following the Shanghai agreement on building confidence in the military field on border areas, concluded in 1996, and the agreement on mutual reduction of military forces in border areas signed on April 24, 1996, these five states issued a joint statement on July 3, 1998 in Almaty, after the summit meeting of their heads of state. The signatories to the joint statement, reiterated the need for establishment of an equitable international political and economic new order, for common peace and prosperity in the twenty-first century, and declared their determination to turn their relationship of good neighborliness, friendship, and cooperation, into a sustained and important factor for the stability, security, and development of the entire Eurasian region. They also decided to encourage large-scale and long-term cooperation in all economic fields, including the construction of oil and gas pipelines and railway, highway, and water and air transport, and welcomed all interested countries and companies to

participate in these projects. The heads of the five powers declared at Almaty, that they attached importance to cooperation in the field of energy on an equal and mutually beneficial basis. India would do well by actively participating in the measures outlined in the Almaty statement, to help build an atmosphere of confidence and cooperation in its neighborhood.

Russia, India, and China make up 22% of the Earth's surface and more than 40% of its population. All three countries have a strong common interest in stability and development in all parts of the world. Their strategic alliance for peace, stability, and development, which is not an exclusive geopolitical military alliance, alone can effectively counteract the Anglo-American bloc from securing the interests of international financial oligarchy. This alliance has all the potential to create a new world financial and economic order, based on equity and justice for all nations.

When Russian Prime Minister Primakov first put forward the concept of a "strategic triangle" of Russia, China, and India during his visit to New Delhi in December 1998, he was fully aware that this idea had an historical basis, and that a certain urgency had been imparted to it in the context of the Anglo-American military action against Iraq. At that time, the initial reactions of New Delhi and Beijing were not supportive, although the idea was not rejected outright. The Indian position, articulated by Prime Minister Vajpayee, was that India had the best of relations with Russia, and was working to improve relations with China.

### Survivors react to NATO bombing

The situation, however, changed in the wake of the NATO attack on Yugoslavia. Prime Minister Vajpayee, while calling on NATO to respect the provisions of their own founding treaty and end the attacks on Yugoslavia, declared that he would be talking to Russia and China on the subject. A Press Trust of India report quoted him saying that the government was considering the possibility of forming an India-Russia-China axis following the unilateral NATO action.

The destabilization of the Vajpayee government, which was defeated in a confidence motion by one vote, so soon after this statement by the Prime Minister, has left many guessing whether Vajpayee has not been penalized for this stand against the Anglo-American bloc. The destabilization game is also going on in Moscow, where the Chubais, Chernomyrdin, Gaidar, and Nemtsov crowd is prodding Yeltsin to sack Primakov. The people in the countries forming the "survivors' bloc" must mobilize themselves for resolute action against this destabilization game. The hope for survival of humankind, in its struggle against predatory attacks on national sovereignty, lies in forming the strategic triangle of India, Russia, and China. This triangle alone is capable of stopping the NATO aggression in the Balkans, which might grow into a world war, and of taking the initiative for creating a new international financial and economic order.

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## Qian Jing

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# Toward a just world order: a Chinese view

**Anno Hellenbroich:** *Thank you, Professor Kaushik, for the optimistic note, for showing us some problems and how they can be solved.*

*I would now like to introduce our last speaker in this session. Prof. Qian Jing is a member of the Chinese Academy of Social Sciences in Beijing. He is an expert on Chinese literature and philosophy. He is now working in an advisory capacity on international affairs, and deals with regional economic development projects in China. In the past, he has published articles on, for example, "The Soros Phenomenon," and an internal memorandum on "Analysis of Recent Globalization and the Chinese Financial Crisis." Today he will speak on the topic, "The Path toward a New, Just World Social, Political, and Economic Order: A Chinese View." Professor Qian:*

### Introduction

I am sorry I can't follow the example of our Prime Minister Zhu Rongji, who can speak without a text.

First I want to say some words about the Kosovo crisis.

As you know, the attitude of our government toward the Kosovo crisis has been restrained.

Among the common people, there is a lot of anger. For example, in Shanghai, movie audiences demanded to see Yugoslavian movies, making many phone calls to TV stations and also through the Internet, asking where they can see movies about the anti-fascist war [Yugoslavia in the Second World War]. So, the television has broadcast two movies, and even at a late hour, people stay up to see them. Many Chinese people are going to the Yugoslavian Embassy to donate money, food, medicine, clothing, and so forth. You should understand our reaction. China suffered so many wars during this century. We really love peace and are against war.

On the level of scholars, including military researchers, I can summarize the conclusions as follows:

We understand very clearly that the so-called "air strikes" are really a touch-stone for practicing the new role of NATO. Thus, NATO is being made into a new tool for military tasks. The first aim, is to take over a military policing role in Europe and to impose the so-called new international order, particularly in the Balkans.

We should seriously ask the question: since NATO is being used as a new tool, who is the real master of the tool? On the surface, you could say it is America's tool. However,