

India - China

India & China relations are influenced by social construction. There are different schools of thought which shape India's China policy. It is said that India-China relations have been influenced by illusions, perception & attitudes. India and China relations are not bilateral relations.

USA, Japan and other countries are also involved in this relation. India-China relationship is a relationship with global consequences. According to Tanvi Madan, ^{Brooking expert on India's foreign policy}, there are 3 schools of thought w.r.t. India-China relations.

- Idealist
- Pessimists
- Pragmatists

India - China relations & India's China policy can be traced to the time of Nehru.

During his time there was a debate between Nehru and Patel on dealing with China.

Nehru's point of view

Chief elements of Nehruvian policy are

- Nehru didn't consider China as a threat.
- Nehru was sure that there will not be any aggression by China though there can be some incursions on border.
- Nehru believed that China's priority lies elsewhere & China has no reason

at the time of independence -
army, India & China.

to commit aggression on India.

- Panchsheel to be the optimal policy we can have towards China.

- Nehru was more concerned with infiltration of ideas, that is communist ideas and had taken actions against the communists in Indian political system.

- For Nehru, China was not a threat in immediate context.

- Nehru and Krishna Menon (MoDef.) believed that non-alignment is the best policy for India.

- Nehru believed that India should not take any such actions which provoke China.

Patel's view

- Patel had a pessimistic view about China.

- Patel was critical of Nehru's acknowledgement of Tibet as a Chinese territory.

- Tibet's status as a buffer state was important for India's security.

- He predicted that China had territorial ambitions.

- He wanted India should have sufficient deterrent capacities against China.

Present debate also revolves around above thinking.

View of Optimists

- China is a global player.

- China is well integrated in intⁿ system.

- China will not take any action to destabilize itself.

- They believe that China-Pakistan friendship have been overemphasised by Indian media. For them, there is no formal guarantee by China that it will come for Pak's support in case of any future Ind-Pak war.

In fact, China had not supported Pakistan during Kargil crisis.

- This school of thought also believe that there is no rivalry betⁿ India & China as projected by Western media in Latin America, Africa and other regions of third world.

- They believe Chinese involvement in S Asia will be mutually beneficial & support projects like BIM Corridor and Maritime Silk Route.

- They also support Chinese entry in SAARC.

- They believe that China is serious about solving the border dispute.

- China-India economic engagement is going to be a game changer.

- They believe China's support is critical for India in multilateral forums.

- They view USA as a negative & destructive force that does not stabilise rather destabilise Asia.

- They believe Nehru's confusing policies on Tibet, i.e., granting asylum to Dalai Lama and 'forward policy' of building military bases is responsible for 1962 war.

India should go for engagement with China & India should assert its strategic autonomy from USA.

- Pessimist school of thought

- We should understand China's strategic culture.
- China's strategic culture has shown greater inclination for use of force and coercive diplomacy with neighbours.
- India should have sufficient deterrence against China.
- India's military weakness will invite Chinese aggression.
- There has been no concrete achievements of India-China border talks.
- China keeps on transgressing the borders which India thinks are settled.
- India should make its One-China Policy conditional to China accepting Kashmir as an integral part of India.
- At present China has 2 Kashmir policies.
 - ✓ China does not consider POK as a disputed territory. China considers only Indian part of Kashmir as a disputed territory.
 - ✓ China does have a strategic increment policy for India.
- China does not have good intentions in S. Asia.
- China & India rivalry or at least competition is real in Latin America, Africa, C. Asia & other regions of global South.
- China's support for India at multilateral forums can't be taken for granted!
- China may create obstacles for India's entry in UNSC, Nuclear Suppliers Group.
- Closer Indo-US engagement effectively

balances China & forces China to have more responsible behaviour.

This negative balance of trade that is still continuing may spoil the relationship.

China is not interested in solving the border dispute at present but it will eventually seek military action when it will gain definite superiority.

China and Pakistan relationship is higher than mountain, sweeter than honey.

China has always supported Pak's point of view in multilateral forums.

China is the only country that accepts & propagates that Pakistan is the worst sufferer of terrorism.

- Pragmatists' view

- China is one such country regarding which it is difficult to predict the moves.

- China is a pragmatic country.

Chinese actions will depend upon no. of factors.

- ✓ Its domestic situation

- ✓ Its external relations

- There may not be an aggression in near future, but there is no scope for getting complacent. There will be no aggression only till the time we are prepared (or situations do not favour).

- India should follow constructive engagements, containment and engagement - Congagement.

- Their prescription is India need to be alert and prepared all the times.

Present govt's policy towards China.

- It is moving in more pragmatic direction. Earlier govt was guided by idealist and liberal perspective. Previous govt. emphasised that there is too much space for both India and China. Previous govt emphasised on shared destiny. Previous govt. also focused on management of peace & tranquility at borders.

BDCA
Agreement

- It is guided by 'engagement'.
- There has been a purpose to go to Bhutan, Japan & Vietnam before Chinese President's visit to India.
- In the past we had alienated our friends like Vietnam not so that we do not annoy China.
- Present govt. is giving clear indications that it will go for strategic engagement with Chinese neighbours and will enhance the security and defence dimension.
- Before Chinese visit, PM of India has criticised expansionist policies.
- At the same time, PM talks about Asian century & millennium of exceptional synergy.
- India - China from INCH to MILES.

Major issues in India-China relations.

Border Issue

India-China border has 3 sectors.

- The Western sector

known as Aksai Chin region

Here China is in de-facto control of

33,000 sq. km of territory which India claims as its territory. The line demarcating de facto control zones is known as LAC, Line of Actual Control.

Middle Sector

It includes pocket in H.P., Uttarakhand.

Sikkim also lies in this sector. Uptil 2005

China did not recognize Sikkim's accession to India as legitimate.

boundary
disrupter.

Eastern Sector

Here China questions India's occupation.

China claims 90000 sq. km area (Arunachal Pradesh) as its territory under Indian occupation.

The boundary betⁿ India & China is recognised by India only. This is known

as McMahon line. China considers this boundary as imperialist line. Chinese claims keep on changing. Sometimes they are limited to Taiwan track only but sometimes it claims entire Arunachal Pradesh.

Chinese claims on Taiwan are on religious ground. China claims it to be the birthplace of 6th Dalai Lama.

In this context it is suggested that India should make similar claims w.r.t. Kailash Mansarovar lying in Aksai Chin region.

Status

- Indian claims are stronger in Arunachal Pradesh.

The reason is population markers are there and people are willing to remain with India.

- Regarding Aksai Chin / Western sector, the claims of both the countries are disputed.

There are no identification markers in Aksai Chin region.

- Strategically, Aksai Chin is more important for China because it is a connecting link betⁿ 2 troubled regions of China Xinjiang region and Tibet.

- In the past it has been reported that China wanted a package deal by which India should recognise Chinese claim on Aksai Chin. In return, China will acknowledge Indian claim on Arunachal Pradesh.

missed opportunity
only possible deal that could take place

- India approach has been to go sectoral rather than package deal.

According to the analysts, neither China is entirely wrong nor India is entirely wrong.

The present borders of India are actually created by the Britishers. Non-western world never had concept of territorial states.

There were transitional zones betⁿ empires.

These are transitional zones and both countries have to accommodate each other.

Regarding India-China border, British India tried to settle the boundary. However they remained unsuccessful. British had offered 2 maps to China.

- Known as Johnson Line

This map put Aksai Chin under India's control.

- McDonald Line

This put Aksai Chin in China's control.

In Eastern Sector, Britishers called Simla Conference, where representatives of Tibet & China were present. Britishers offered McMahon Line which was accepted by Tibetan representative but not accepted by Chinese representatives.

Border Issue Developments

+ Panchsheel Agreement, 1954

Context: China has established its control over Tibet.

- British India had traditional rights in Tibet.

- Panchsheel agreement was to settle Tibetan issue betⁿ India and China.

Purpose of Panchsheel

- To clarify India's stand w.r.t. Tibet

- India & China boundaries were unsettled

& Tibet was the 1st CBM (Confidence building measure)

(India Tibet Trade Agreement)

westphalian world order.

Agreement acknowledges Chinese
sovereignty over Tibet.

given up its traditional rights
which it had as an inheritor of.

has 5 principles,
which will adopt in resolving
disputes.

1. Respect for each others' territorial integrity
and sovereignty.

2. Non interference in each others' domestic affairs.

3. Non aggression.

4. Mutual benefit.

5. Peaceful co-existence.

Significance of Panchsheel principles.

- It is a framework of relations
based on westphalian notion of sovereignty.

- It was first used for the 1st time in context of
Sino Indian agreement on Trade in Tibet.

- It has been adopted by other
countries.

- Also 'ASEAN way' is based on
these principles.

- The Gandhian Doctrine also includes
these principles.

- It was not limited to regional/
bilateral policy. They became foundational
for NAM also.

- Over time, relevance of Panchsheel
has diminished on the ground of increasing
economic & acceptance of R2P Doctrine.

- It is not a state to interfere. However
it is a state to interfere. However

Tibet
Nuclear
Palestine, Parliament

Panchsheel continues to remain imp principles in regional sphere atleast in Asia. They continue to have relevance in India-China relations.

Relations since Panchsheel Agreement

- China accuses India of not observing Panchsheel & interfering in Tibetan affairs.
- India accuses China of not observing Panchsheel. China had gone for aggression against India in 1962.
- India has an objection w.r.t. China's involvement in Kashmir & in North-Eastern States.

1962 War

Reasons

- Chinese scholars hold Nehru responsible for 1962 war. In India also both idealists & realists hold Nehru responsible.
- Chinese arguments
 - India has granted asylum to Dalai Lama & recognized the ^{P.L.'s} govt. in exile.
 - China also suggest that without India's help, it was not possible for Dalai Lama & its followers to escape from China.
 - They also accused India of ~~allowing~~ ^{organising} training camps in partnership with CIA for Tibetan rebels in Darjeeling.
 - Nehru's Forward Policy of establishing India's military bases in Western sector.

- Nehru was criticised in Parliament & in Indian Press for Panchsheel as he missed the opportunity to settle the boundary dispute in return of recognition of Tibet as a Chinese territory.
- In 1957 India came to know about the Highway constructed by China in Aksai Chin region.
- In 1959 India gave asylum to Dalai Lama.

20/11/14

Tibet as a factor in India-China relations

- Tibet has been a buffer zone between India and China. Tibet is the source of many rivers and has a significance as a water resource.
It has a strategic significance because of its location. That is why countries like USA have also been involved in Tibetan affairs.
- Tibet's association with China shows continuity and change. Tibet has been under Chinese empire, at ~~at~~ ^{the} same time it has also been autonomous. It depends upon situation of Chinese Empire.
- Tibet acted as a buffer zone between British Empire and Chinese Empire.
- After establishment of communism, China established its control over Tibet by force.
- U.S.A. has been involved in Tibet from the very beginning and U.S. Congress also has Tibet Relations Act.
- China accuses U.S. of intervention in domestic affairs.
- China is insecure w.r.t. Tibet. China feels that India can use Tibet issue as a bargaining card.
- Though Govt. of India recognises Chinese sovereignty over Tibet, but at the same time recognises Tibetan Govt. in Exile under Dalai Lama.
- Democracy in India is an excuse.

- to allow Tibetans to protest.
- India has failed to address Chinese insecurities of Indian design in context of Tibetan issue.
- It is believed that India-China relations will not improve till they resolve border dispute. China will not be resolving border dispute until and unless it gains complete confidence in Tibet. If border issue will be resolved, India will be more free to support Tibetans.
- One more complication has been added with Chinese plans of constructing dams on Tsangpo / Brahmaputra river.
- + However it is also believed that in future it may be Tibet will lose its importance and other issues like India-China rivalry on oceans, Indo-US relations, China-Pakistan relations or India-China trade relations may acquire the centerstage.
- There has been a change in India's Tibet policy. Officially India supports for Tibetan cause is getting diluted. India prefers to keep Tibet issue under carpet & is more interested in expanding relations with China.
- Recently Foreign Minister has expressed that India should make its One China Policy conditional to China's recognition of Kashmir as Indian territory. It shows that Tibet issue will continue to dominate and a major factor for trust deficit of China towards India.

1962 War: Consequences

- It impacted India-China relations & there was a complete silence in this relationship for long.
- It was a comprehensive victory for China.
- Most of NAM countries took position favourable to China.
- It has shaken faith of Nehru in his diplomatic skills.
- It was a personal shock for Nehru & one of the factors for his death.
- Pakistan viewed itself as if it can win war against India, became a reason for all-weather friendship between China and Pakistan.
- In order to strengthen its friendship, Pakistan has given 5800 sq. Km area known as Trans-Karakoram Tract in Shaskgam Valley to China.
- USA realised the importance of Pakistan because of growing nearness between Pakistan & China.
- China conducted nuclear test in 1964.
- China supported Pak in 1965, in principle.
- China even threatened to open 2nd front against India near Sikkim.
- China again put pressure on India in 1971 War, condemned India as an imperialist country.

India - China relations after 1962 War.

- In 1978, Chinese President Deng Xiao Ping announced Chinese policy of economic modernisation and peaceful rise. China will go for friendly neighbourhood policy & will focus on internal development.
- There was a change of govt. in India & Atal Bihari Vajpayee as a Foreign Minister visited China in 1979 to break the ice. However he has to return empty handed. In same year, China invaded India's friend Vietnam.

- 80's

- In 1981, India - China started first round of talks on border. There were 8 rounds of talks betⁿ 1981 - 87. In these rounds of talks, China agreed proposed package deal, but India did not accept.
- In 1987, India granted statehood to Arunachal Pradesh. It was responded by China with an incursion in Sum Do Rong Chu Valley.
- In 1988, Indian PM Rajiv Gandhi visited China.

Achievements

- > For the first time countries could agree on the necessity to resolve the border issue.
- > One of the defining principle of India-China border dispute resolution came into existence: Any resolution has to be "fair, reasonable and mutually acceptable".

diplomatic
victory
for
India.

> Establishment of joint working group of military personnel to work out the details and to suggest the measures to ensure peace and tranquility at borders.

> It also started mechanism of flag meetings.
• Mar

— Narsimha Rao's visit to China in 1993

Outcome: An agreement on peace and tranquility on borders.

Features of the agreement

- Till the final resolution of dispute, both countries will observe the status quo at LAC.

- Neither side shall use force by any means.

- In case military personnel of each other oversteps they will be immediately pulled back.

Daulat
Beg
incident

— In 1996, Chinese President Jiang Zemin visited India, resulted into an agreement on military Confidence building measures.

Features of military CBMs

- reduction of forces near LAC.

- Reduction of weapons near LAC.

- No dangerous military activity near LAC.

- In case 1 country is taking military exercise, they have to inform the other side.

- Regular flag meetings.

Impact of this agreement

- Overall climate of India-China relations improved.

- India-China economic engagement also started.

- In 1998 Operation Shakti and India giving reason as China is a major threat for India's security. It shocked China because relations were in the state of qualitative improvement. However China's response was mild, it did not put any economic sanctions against India. China's response was mild because China wanted to communicate to U.S. that even nuclear India is not a balance against China.

- 1999 Kargil conflict

For the 1st time there was a change in position of China. Like U.S.A. China also asked Pakistan to act with restraint and solve the matter bilaterally & peacefully.

- 2003 Indian PM Vajpayee's visit to China.

Significance of the visit

- It resulted into the evolution of "Guiding Principles" and political parameters for resolution of border disputes.

- A new mechanism to be introduced, i.e., special representative level talks over joint working group.

Other achievements of visit

- It opened border trade at Nathula Pass in Sikkim. It is an indirect recognition by China of Sikkim's legitimate accession to India.

- 2005 Chinese Premier Wen Jiabao visited India.

It resulted into launching of "India-China Strategic Partnership"
Content of Strategic Partnership

• Cooperation on global issues.

It signifies 2 things.

1. Border is not the only issue in India-China relations. There are wider set of issues for them to interact.

2. Relationship has graduated from bilateral level & has acquired global dimension.

• In this visit guiding principles and political parameters came into existence.

1. Panchsheel will be at the core of any resolution.

2. Whatever solution that will emerge has to be fair, reasonable & mutually acceptable.

3. Differences on boundary should not impact other aspects of relations.

4. Agreement will be on equal footing and both sides will have to make adjustments.

5. Both sides will take into account

> National sentiments

> Interest of the population settled in the area.

> Historical evidences

> Practical difficulties

6. Demarcation of boundary will be along easily identifiable geographical features.

7. Resolution will be in 3 stages.

a. 1st stage completed. It was agreement on principles.

b. 2nd stage completed: Ground work.

c. 3rd stage remains pending i.e. Final acceptance.

MUMU-MAMU
practical adjustments

View

View of India

- India considers resolution of border dispute as a core strategic concern and will be a game changer.

China's view

- China not interested in final agreement. China only interested in peace and tranquility at borders.
- China will resolve when it will get distinctive edge over India.
- For the 1st time China has acknowledged the urgency of resolving border disputes during the recent visit of Chinese President to India.

- 2008 India & China have established institutional linkages and dialogue mechanism & have brought 12 point declaration for Comprehensive Development in overall relations. Same year Indian PM visited China & launched "India China Shared Vision for 21st Century".

- 2010 Chinese premier visited India resulting into

- India-China strategic dialogue (annual).
- India-China Strategic economic dialogue.
- A new mechanism for cooperation and coordination at border.

- BRICS Summit 2013.

Significance

New Chinese President outlined his 6 point proposal for India - China relations.

charm offensives.
Chinese gestures.

He held that India China relations are one of the most imp. bilateral relations.

He also held that close neighbour is more important than distant relative.

5 point proposal

1. Continue strategic communication, i.e., High level talks.
2. Harness each others' competitive strength.
3. Strengthen cultural ties & understanding between our people.
4. Collaboration on multilateral forums.
5. Accomodate each others' concern, proper handling of differences and each others' core concern.

His views on boundary issue.

At BRICS Summit, he held that it is a most complex leftover of history & solving will not be easy.

- Chinese Premier's visit to India in 2013.

Indian expectations were high but none of Indian concerns were addressed either on dam or trade issues.

= The then PM Manmohan Singh's visit to China Dec. 2013

Outcome Border Defence Cooperation Agreement (BDCA)

China was interested in this agreement.

Purpose of this agreement

• To maintain peace & tranquility at border.

It is an addition to previous agreements.

Features of BDCA

- Regular consultation betⁿ Defence forces at all levels. First at the level of border, then betⁿ regional Head Quarters, then betⁿ Ministers of Defence.
- Establishment of Hotlines and communication links.
- In case forces come to face to face situation
 - > Both sides will exercise max restraint.
 - > They will refrain from taking any provocative action.
 - > No side will use or threaten to use force.
 - > In case of any apprehension that the other side has intruded, they can seek clarification at earliest.
 - > No tailing of each others' patrol.

Recent visit of Chinese President

- Informal interaction betⁿ Chinese President & Indian PM.
- It also symbolised the rise of regional diplomacy and increasing role of states in foreign policy.
- China invited India in BCIM corridor & Maritime Silk Route Project.
- India & China entered into 15 agreements in Trade, Finance & Culture.
- China promised investment of \$20 billion in next 5 years.
- China promised to establish 2 industrial parks (Gujarat & Maharashtra).
- China promised to give market access to Indian products.

Great
Game

Project
Mausam
by PM.

RSTV. Xi Jinping's visit.

- to address trade deficit.

- 2015 will be Visit China & Visit India Year.

- China offered support for India at SCO & UNSC.

China's Maritime Silk Route

Context of Maritime Silk Route Policy.

- It starts in the context of U.S. attempts to contain the rise of China. USA has proclaimed its 'Asia-Pivot' Policy which is now preferentially known as 'rebalancing'.
- Asia-Pivot policy indirectly aims at containment of China.

Salient features of Asia-Pivot policy are

- Strengthening bilateral security alliances
- Deepening America's relationship with rising powers
- Greater engagement in East Asia.
- Expanding trade and investment
- Advancing Democracy and Human Rights
- Broadening military presence.

It was first pronounced by Hillary Clinton in her article titled "America's Pacific Century".

- U.S.A. also propagates the theory that rise of China is not in the interest of Chinese neighbours.

- U.S.A. has also propagated 'String of Pearls Theory'.

String of Pearls Theory

- It was first published in a Journal of U.S. Defence Dept titled 'Energy futures in Asia'.

• U.S.A has warned India that China has containment policy. China is building commercial ports which can be converted into naval ports, Thus manipulating India's insecurity w.r.t. China in South Asia. Chinese govt. denies that it has any containment policy. However Govt. of India accepts U.S. Theory. This has started India-China rivalry on oceans. China increasing its presence in Indian ocean and India increasing its presence in Pacific.

malacca strait
Chinese dilemma

Alfred P Mahan.

21/11/14.

Important ports in so called String of Pearls

1. It starts with Hainan Island in South China Sea. | controlled by part of China.
2. Woody Islands where China is developing Air-strips. | controlled by China
3. Coco Islands, Myanmar | Myanmar
China has a listening post
4. China is developing deep sea port at Kyau Kpyo in Myanmar.
5. China is constructing a canal through Isthmus of Kra. Thailand - Myanmar Border.
6. Deep container port at Hambantota, Southern Sri Lanka.
7. Deep sea port at Gwadar, Baluchistan Pakistan.

String of Pearls also involves deepening of political and diplomatic relations with the countries of Indian Ocean Region.

India's response China has got observer status in SAARC and is dialogue partner in IOR ARC Indian Ocean Region.

Renamed as IOARRA

India's response

- Govt. of India believes that China has String of Pearls policy.
- India also has its own pearls in the ocean.

navy - earlier called
Cyndhella's services

- India has a full fledged naval base at Andaman and Nicobar Islands.
- India has listening post at Madagascar.
- India has defence and maritime cooperation with Seychelles.
- India is developing Sittwe port in Myanmar.
- India also has RADAR stations in Maldives.
- It is reported that Mauritius has leased Agaléga Islands to India.
- India also has an understanding with Oman to use Thumrait airbase for resting purposes.
- India is also involved in building Chabahar port in Iran. This port gives (Afghanistan access to the sea).

- India is also involved in naval diplomacy.
- India is a founding member of Indian Ocean Naval Symposium (IONS).
 - India conducts MILAN MILAN exercises twice a year with navies of S.E Asian countries.
 - India and Japan have also started bilateral naval exercise known as JIMEX.
 - We already have naval exercises with USA (Malabar exercises), Russia, France.

- India is upgrading its naval strength, the only country in Indo Asia with 2 aircraft carriers, INS Vikrant and INS Vikramaditya.

decommissioned

- India is developing Tejas helicopters.
- Involved in coproduction of 5th generation

fighter aircraft ~~per~~ with Russia.

- India has acquired nuclear powered a submarine (Russia) INS Chakra (Aruba Class).
- Domestically build Arishtant
- Amphibious transport Dock INS Jalashwa.
- In 2007, India has given its naval doctrine which talks about maintenance of freedom of high seas.

Recently a civil society group in China has published "Blue Book" which mentions that China has an interior position in Indian Ocean and China has to strengthen its position.

India is involved in revival of IOAARC an organisation that has been languishing for long.

IOAARC Indian Ocean Rim Association for Regional Cooperation.

- Founded in 1997 by 7 prominent countries of the Region. imp most imp
- India, Australia, Mauritius.
- Presently it has 20 members and 7 dialogue partners. imp dialogue partners USA, China, Japan, France, Egypt.

Objective of IOAARC

- Trade Liberalisation among Rim countries.
- It has gone for new objectives more preene

PM Gold
9:30

in IOARC Summit at Bengaluru.

Presently Areas of cooperation

- Maritime Security and Piracy.
- Disaster Risk Education.
- Fisheries management
- Trade and Investment facilitation
- Academic and technological cooperation
- Culture and Tourism
- Gender empowerment

- It has to

It has been recently renamed as IORA
(Indian Ocean Rim Association)

- It covers 2 billion people, 11% of global trade and GDP of \$6.5 trillion

Principles of IORA

- Decision by consensus
- Open regionalism
 - voluntary commitments,
 - no rigid structure
 - no binding treaties.
- It excludes inclusion of bilateral issues.

Present status of IORA

- It is in the state of revival. Both India and Australia have started giving importance to the organisation in context of rise of China.

Maritime Silk Route Project

- The so called String of Pearls is strategic in orientation and aims to build China's hard power.

In recent years China's relations with its neighbours have deteriorated.

China is also having domestic issues.

Hence China wants to improve external environment.

- China wants to counter U.S. thesis that rising China is a threat to its neighbours. China wants to project that China is a responsible player. Partnership with China can be more beneficial than partnership with U.S.A.

- Maritime Silk Route Project was announced for the 1st time by Chinese President at ASEAN Summit in Indonesia. Later on Chinese Premier also announced the formation of Maritime Cooperation Fund in 2013. Initi

- Initially the focus was on South East Asia but now it also involves countries of South Asia and Indian Ocean region.

- It has Strategy has 9 points (2+7)

1. Deepening strategic trust with neighbours
2. Economic development based on mutual benefits.
3. Good neighbour treaties with ASEAN countries.
4. More effective use of China-ASEAN relations.
5. Joint infrastructure projects
6. Financial risk management.
7. Closer Maritime cooperation

8. Enhanced collaboration on security
9. Greater people-to-people contact.

History of ^{Maritime} Silk Route

- The golden age of Maritime Silk route was betn 2nd century BC to 13th century BCAD.
- Commodities traded include silk, cotton, spices and precious stones.
- New silk Route will increase the reach of China upto Mediterranean Sea.
- Target is to cover 3 continents Asia, Africa, Europe.
- China is not the only country talking about revival of Old Silk route.

USA and Turkey have also talked about similar initiatives.

However no other country is pursuing the project with such interest and energy like China.

- At present 20 countries are included in the project.

China has invited India to be a part of the project. The reasons are

- India's strategic location in Indian Ocean.
- China also proclaims to build Asian Century.
- China wants to counter attempt of U.S.A., Australia and Japan to bring India in their league.
- Formally China has mentioned that it looks India as an essential partner.

C. Rajamohan

on land.

Response of Govt. of India.

/PIB

- Govt. of India is reluctant and India has also launched an alternative project known as Project Mausam. It has been started under Ministry of Culture.

Declared objectives of Project Mausam.

- To reconnect and reestablish community betⁿ countries of Indian Ocean.
- At a microlevel, cultural cooperation will be promoted.
- As such it is a multidisciplinary project and new avenues of cooperation will be explored.

Whether India should Join Maritime Silk Route Project?

Arguments against

- Views of former Ambassador Kanwal Sibal
- India should not join because it challenges India's strature in South Asia and Indian Ocean.
- It will allow China to pursue string of Pearls more comfortably.
- Till border dispute is not resolved, the dream of Asian century can't be realised.
- India should collaborate with like-minded countries like Japan and Australia, which are also eager to increase their frontiers.
- India should rather focus on effective naval response.

- Arguments in favour.

Views of C. Rajamohan.

- India should join.
 - India can't stop China.
 - India can't stop neighbours joining hand with China.
 - India needs to understand emerging maritime dynamics.
 - India's influence in Indian Ocean region is not simply challenged by China.
 - India overlooks presence of U.S.
 - China has developed capabilities to establish its influence beyond its neighbourhood.
 - India can also shape the agenda.
 - India should not have blinkered vision w.r.t. China.
 - It will boost India's connectivity also.
- C. Rajamohan gives further guidelines.
- India should pursue active diplomacy.
 - should go for multiple alignments, collaborate with any country trying to reconnect the continent.
 - India should ensure that neighbours do not transgress India's security concerns.
 - India should draw red lines for neighbours.

- Views of Kantti Vajpayee.

- India needs a strategic vision and India can't afford to be childish in dealing with China.

Other issues: Water Issues.

- Present concern is Chinese plans to construct dams mega hydroelectric projects on Brahmaputra river (Tsangpo). As reported China has planned to build at least 36 dams. Presently work started on Zangmu Project. Next project in line is Dagu, Jiaocha and Jiexu.
- China also is said to have water diversion scheme from South towards North & East. S.W. $\rightarrow$ N.E.
- China claims that these dams are run of the river scheme and will not impact availability of water or would not cause any destruction or disaster.
- India China do not have any water sharing agreement. Tibet is a source of origin of 3 rivers where India has concerns.
 - Brahmaputra
 - Indus
 - Sutluj
- They have only an understanding on data sharing during flood season.
- Practically China is reluctant to share data or inform India in time.
- * It is suggested that India should work with Bangladesh and Nepal to pressurise China to have an agreement.

China in South Asia

- China has an active engagement policy in South Asia.
- China is a 3rd party in every relation of India with its neighbours, with the exception of Bhutan.
- Objectives of China's policy in S. Asia
 - Marginalize India in long run
 - Limit India's status as a regional power
 - Increase China's leverage in S. Asia
 - Build capacities of Pakistan to balance India
- Comparison betⁿ China presence in S. Asia and India's presence in S.E. Asia (Chinese neighbourhood).
 - String of Pearls vs Look East Policy.
- China has much deeper presence in S. Asia.
- India's presence in S.E. Asia is primarily economic.
- China's engagement is comprehensive

What should be India's approach?

- Views of David Malone
 - India should learn anxiety management and develop a therapy to soothen itself rather than exaggerating the fears.
 - India should convince neighbours that India is not a threat but opportunity.
 - It should strengthen S. Asian vision
 - It should not give any signals that it is insecure.
 - India should have autonomous approach & should not allow itself to be a pawn in any country's wider strategy.

USA.

- C. Rajamohan
- India's China policy has following features
- Say nice things in public
- Nurse intense grievances in private.
- Avoid direct confrontation.
- Best policy option is continue the rhetoric of NAM and go for multiple alignments.

Afghanistan factor in India-China relations.

- They have started dialogue on Afghanistan.
- India is observer country in SCO and now China also supports India's entry as a full member.
- Optimists view that there is a lot of scope of cooperation betⁿ the 2 countries in Afghanistan in context of religious extremism.
- Pessimists:
 - There is not much scope.
 - The way India needs China, China doesn't need India.

Comparison betⁿ Chinese and Indian engagement in Afghan

- India has given \$2 billion as a developmental aid whereas China has given only \$250 million
- On the other hand China has made huge investments of \$4.4 billion in Afghanistan's copper mines.