

**INDIA-CHINA RELATIONS SINCE POST-INDEPENDENCE: CHALLENGES AND
FUTURE PROSPECTS**

Thounaojam Naresh Singh, M. A. in Political Science, Lovely Professional University
Dr. Birendri, Assistant Professor, Department of Political Science, Lovely Professional University

Abstract:

Indian Foreign policy was always changed or shaped by looking at the relations of the two Asian giants. Before Independence of India there was lots of incidents going on, as we can trace back many incidents like origin of Tibet dispute, acceptance or dis-acceptance of border line drawn in between India and China, showing solidarity to each other's mutual colonization, etc. This work will be focusing on the relationship between India and China since post-independence. The actual relations between these two Asian giants traced back to after 1949, when Kuomintang government was took over by Communist party of China under the leadership of Mao Zedong. During the time India try to maintain the friendship with China till 1959, when Dalai Lama was given political asylum by India. Then 1962 Sino-Indian war broke out because of giving asylum and the friendship relations came to an end. After this war China turn his interest to Pakistan and China tried to start proxy war against India by giving aids to Pakistan. This took place for many years and China- Pakistan relations were very much improved because of having rivalry interest against India. After the Post-Cold war era the relations turns out to be in a good way. The trade relations help these two Asian Giants to bring in a good relations even though they have border dispute. When boundary dispute broke out also didn't affect the trade relations and their relationship turn out in a good way as compare to pre Cold-War. There were lots of high officials exchanges took place and even high profile person like president, Prime Minister, Ministers and even high ranked military personnel visit from India as well as from China. This work will focus on the objectives as follows,

1. To understand the positions of China and India relations in present global context.
2. To identify contemporary issues between China and India.
3. To analyze the past and present incidents occurred between China-India.
4. To identify the future Prospect of the two Asian giants.

Introduction:

India-China relations always helped to shape the foreign policy of India. In March 1947, the Asian Relations Conference was being held at New Delhi. By that time Jawaharlal Nehru stayed as the interim Prime Minister, as India was not yet independent. Chiang Kai-Shek's KMT (Kuomintang) government sent Chinese delegates, an objection was made by them to a map where Tibet was not included in China's area. India's recognition of the Tibetan delegation got protested against by China. However, China is facing civil war between the authority of Kuomintang (KMT) government lead by Chiang Kai-Shek and Communist Party of China lead by Mao Zedong. Kuomintang (KMT) government expired to gripped power completely in late September 1949. They escaped to Formosa (Taiwan), and mainland China was governed by Communist Party of China. China wanted to liberate the Tibetan people from Lamaism (Tibetan Buddhism) and feudalism, by reasserting control over Tibet. India aspire to give full autonomy to Tibetan inside Chinese suzerainty but did not achieved. Eventually China and Tibet signed a settlement on May 23, 1951, by limiting Tibetan autonomy under full Chinese sovereignty in certain matters. At the end of Korean War, direct negotiations between India and China begin to improve the atmosphere by India's mediatory efforts.

India's principled stand during the Korean crisis (1950-53) was appreciated by China. India and China started negotiations for a comprehensive trade agreement. The result of signing agreement on 29 April 1954, gives a long term duration of eight years regarding trade and intercourse among the China and India in the Tibetan Region. India accepted China's full sovereignty over Tibet by surrendering India's extra-territorial rights in Tibet. The Prime Ministers of India and China delivered a joint statement highlighting the five principles guideline popularly known as the Panchsheel for

bilateral relations between the two neighbors. With all these relations, there continues to be present a complex boundary dispute between the two Asian giants.

December 30, 1949, People's Republic of China first got its recognition as a sovereign country from India. India fully supports the claim of China for representation of the permanent members of United Nations. Both are adjusting their parts in international system at emerging period of post-cold war. In place of existing unipolarism, both are becoming more alert towards the need for securing multi-polar world. Both are now world's two largest and fastest developing economies having nuclear powers. They are having lots of issues but still their trade relations is quite good.

Review of Literature:

This paper has been written by receiving many ideas from this mentioned reviews below and arranged those ideas in sequence, according to the incident occurred during time periods respectively.

VN Khanna in his book **Foreign policy of India (2007)** in chapter 6 India and its neighbors: China summarizes many basic ideas about India-China relations. He writes "The arrival of western imperialism in Asia had disturbed the traditional friendship. In population, human resources and potential, India and China, the two giants of Asia, far outstrip any other country of Asia." Which means that India and China have great relations before the arrival of western imperialism and at that time, these two Asian giant had surpass other country of Asia in resource and wealth. This book has access to the history of India and China starting from Post Second World War and by situating all the incident in a detailed order with specific time.

Sandy Gordon in work **Sino-Indian relations and the rise of China**, try to find measures to the future of the relationship between the two rising giants of Asia. To find the measure, we needs to know the answer of three questions, first, will India and China rise relatively equally?, second, If they don't rise equally, what will be the balance look like and how will it shape Asian security?, and third, will the US going to involve in balancing of security and what might be the evolving relations between India-US referring to rising China? He answers to these every questions in his work.

P.Stobdan in his work **India's Tibet Policy**, writes about China's political stands on Tibet problems in post-Mao era. China started suggesting Dalai Lama to return and live in China as he recognized Tibet as China's integral part. Dalai Lama's first talk with China started in 1979 and he was quite close to accept China's demand in 1988, but Lhasa's frequent riots made the situation critical. New series of talks started since 2002, continuing till 2007 talks. After all these talks, China started fresh points a) considering Tibet as historical part of China, b) whole Arunachal Pradesh as part of China. Still this conflict did not gets resolve after many talks took place from time to time.

Amit Ranjan in his article **India-China boundary Disputes: an overview**, the boundary dispute was traced back from the 'Great Game', which was the extreme rivalry tensions played in a time period of British Empire between Russia and Great Britain. He sum up a point, whenever there is Sino-Indian talks, this border disputes came to be a hot topic. It is mention about the history of how the border lines were drawn at that time and how it became as never ending dispute between these Asian Giants.

Subhashis Sen in his article **Sino-Indian Border Dispute**, mention the historical facts about how Ladakh became Indian Territory in western sector and about Arunachal Pradesh in eastern sector, claiming by China on the basis of their imperial control in the past without proper documentation. It is quite complicated to understand the reality of border lines in eastern as well as western sector. In eastern sector, no proper accepted documents from both side as only McMahon Line is accepted by India, where as in western sector, India consider Johnson Line as border line and McCartney-McDonald Line by China.

Mohd Aarif Rather in his article **China's role in the India-Pakistan conflict**, mention many incident took place between India and Pakistan and what strategic stand did China take in each events. It is more focused on China's role during 1965, 1971 India-Pakistan war and post-cold war period. Lastly, he point out that China still considers Pakistan an important partner to help secure strategic objectives.

Duni Chand in his research work **Sino-Indian Relations in the Post-Cold War Era**, mention many historical facts and incidents from the beginning of China's independent. The main focusses of his paper was on China and India's relationship in post-cold war time. After the post-cold war, India and China's relations has turn to good relations and they focusses more on trade relations and bilateral ties. Even if they have territorial disputes, the trade relations still continues without affecting. I learn a lot in this book from Post- Cold war era till somewhere around 2015.

Manjeet S. Pardesi in his article **India's China strategy under Modi continuity in the management of an asymmetric rivalry**, writes about India's strategic actions towards China under Prime Minister Narendra Modi. He starts writing from history of relationship having towards Tibet, border dispute, and till the Modi's government time. It mention about Trade, in it we see how the relations gets good form from beginning and still it is increasing in trade relations.

Research Methodology:

The research methodology for this paper is primarily based on secondary data sources. Secondary data sources includes published documents, books, journals and online articles. This research paper aims to observe the relationship between India and China by gathering systematic data from library research. This research paper has involved historical, empirical and descriptive study.

The Problem of Tibet:

Tibet was the buffer state keeping India and China geographically apart from each other for thousands of years. The political system of Tibet was built on Buddhist faith and its governmental activity was grip in the hands of their spiritual leader, Dalai Lama. Tibet was considered a powerful country for long period. In the course of eighteenth century, conflict was there for choosing the sixth spiritual leader (Dalai Lama) with Tibetan and the Mongols. In late nineteenth century, leaders of British-India settled an agreement with China delimiting the Indian-Tibetan border. Tibet remained recognize as part of China after China took over Tibet capital, Lhasa and the seventh Dalai Lama was chosen of its choice. Tibetan rulers rejected China's course of action. Meanwhile, Russia began to intervene in Tibetan matters aiming to take Tibet under its influence. India's Governor General, sent British Indian soldiers, under Colonel Francis Younghusband to look over the influence Russian in 1904 and to bring Tibet under the British Umbrella. In 1906, British accepted Chinese suzerainty over Tibet by concluding a treaty with China and British India and in 1907 Russia also accepted of dealing with Tibet issues only through China.

Tibet enforced Chinese soldiers to vacate the Plateau when the Chinese revolution broke out in 1911, headed by Dr. Sun Yat-Sen. Shimla convention 1914 was held, between the representatives of British India, China and Tibet. This convention accept the Chinese suzerainty over Tibet, but Tibet was given partition into Outer Tibet and Inner Tibet. "The autonomy of Outer Tibet was accepted, and China agreed not to interfere in its internal affairs, nor give it representation in Chinese parliament, nor station its troops nor appoint its civil servants, nor to turn it into a Chinese colony" (VN Khanna, 2007, page113). Chinese again try to control Tibetan foreign matters and its domestic policy during 1933-1939 under Kuomintang (KMT). After the Second World War, Chinese government were unable to govern over Tibet. At that time, Tibet insisted as an autonomous country. India got interested in Tibet as self-governing state and as buffer state between India and China. Tibet's status remained unclear during the time of China's civil war between Kuomintang (KMT) and the Communists. As civil war ended, Chiang Kai-Shek lead Kuomintang (KMT) government was defeated by Mao Zedong lead Communist party of China in 1949. The newly formed government of People's Republic of China (PRC) was established on October 1, 1949.

In January 1, 1950, People's Republic of China (PRC) announced that liberation of Tibet would be one basic task of People's Liberation Army. This announcement to liberate Tibet was repeated later by prominent leaders of China, when K.M. Panikkar (Indian Ambassador) visited China. Prime Minister of China gave an assurance to use negotiations to seek their goal and not by armed military act. With this assurance, Indian government got satisfaction and started to talk about China-Tibet issue, as soon as Dalai Lama seek support from India. In October 1950, Chinese assurance of resolving its

issue peacefully between Tibet was rejected and started to launch a complete scale invasion. Because of the invasion by China's action, India protested against China and also having desire on full Tibetan autonomy within Chinese suzerainty, but China rejected India's stand and blamed of being inclined by the imperialist influences. Consecutively, India accepted Chinese suzerainty over Tibet and tried to show, there was no intention to interfere in Chinese internal affairs. For first time, Dalai Lama escape from Tibet and Tibetan issues were raised in United Nations, but unfortunately this attempts were unsuccessful. On May 23, 1951, an agreement entitled to give recognition of Tibet under full sovereignty of China was signed between China and Tibet by giving limited autonomy to Tibet in some certain matters. "The agreement promised Tibetan 'autonomy' but provided that China would regulate Tibet's external relations; that Chinese army would be posted in Tibet for its meaningful defense, for reorganization of the Tibetan Army and to eventually merge it in the Chinese Army; that full respect would be given to the Dalai Lama who would return to Lhasa; that there would be full religious freedom in Tibet; that China would cooperate in Tibet's development; and that an administrative and military mission of China would be based in Tibet" (VN Khanna, 2007, page114). Thus, Tibet became Chinese territory. China and India relations were not in good position aftermath of Tibet issues. But India tried to maintain the friendship relations even if their relations were adversely affected even though India got disappointed by China's policy agreement on Tibet.

India's Tibet policy remains a factor for several criticism. As India sacrificed Tibetan autonomy for the sake to please the Communist rulers of China and their friendship ties. India continued supporting China's claiming on the representation of permanent seats in the United Nations. India's principled stand on Korean crisis (1950-53) was appreciated by China. Respectively after the appreciation of India's position, the talks for wide spreading trade agreement on India and China started. India's right over Tibet was surrendered by giving up stations of Indian army unit. For the reason of these factors the relations among India and China became better.

In June 1954, New Delhi, Chinese Premier Chou and Indian Prime Minister Jawaharlal Nehru delivered a joint statement highlighting the five principles which was popularly known as Panchsheel was formalized. Under this principles they both accept Tibet as a part of People's Republic of China. Consecutive four years of signing the panchsheel agreements had been reported as the years of 'Sino-Indian honeymoon' and 'Hindi-Chini Bhai-Bhai'. India-China's friendship reach the highest point at Bandung Conference held in April 1955 and later, this Bandung Conference will sparked the organizations of developing countries like NAM and the G77. India supported morally and diplomatically to Chinese claim over Formosa and the off shore islands of Quemoy and Matsu. Also on other side India's Claim over Goa was supported by China from Portuguese.

Among the major issues between India-China, Tibet issues can be mentioned every time. Within five years of Panchsheel agreement, Chinese government try to dominate Tibet and started interfering in religious matters. Because of these Chinese action Tibetan organized a revolt against China. In mid-March 1959, Lhasa, capital of Tibet, sudden uprising emerged, leading the outbreak of conflicts amongst the Tibetans and Chinese forces. This revolt was suppressed by Chinese by using too much force and their forces entrenching over the Indian border. The autonomy of Tibet comes to an end. Since 1959, The Dalai Lama escaped again from his country to India and was followed by thousands of supporters. Dalai Lama was given political asylum to India, but India give advice not to start up any anti-China resistance. Indian government had already recognized Tibet as a region of China, India made an advice to Dalai Lama and his followers not to interfere in the developmental activities in Tibet. Nehru was criticized for his inaction and giving political asylum to Dalai Lama in the aspect of Tibet events.

India's sympathies towards Tibetans were not appreciated by China, even though Chinese legal position in Tibet was fully supported by India. Good friendship relations between China and India stop continuing because of granting asylum on humanitarian ground by India. The grant of asylum was termed as an enemy-like act by China and accused India of being expansionist. There proclamation was not acceptable. China imposed limitations on India's tourism and trading services. The reality about Tibetan issue was because of China's failure in making their own policy. Also, Nehru's

philosophy was criticized by Chinese media. But he tried to urge his people to belief in good friendship which India and China have before.

The Panchsheel Agreement:

The Panchsheel, or Five principles of peaceful coexistence, was signed in 1954 by India's Prime Minister Jawaharlal Nehru and China's Premier Chou En-Lai. This Agreement was signed to form the tension having between China and India on Tibet issues easier by considering Tibet as part of China. This agreement was known for a victory of Indian diplomacy, because it helps to prevent from going to war between the two nations. It remains an important symbol of China-India relations till contemporary period and will go further. The main principle points of the Panchsheel agreement are:

1. Mutual respect for each other's territorial integrity and sovereignty;
2. Mutual non-aggression;
3. Mutual non-interference;
4. Equality and mutual benefit; and
5. Peaceful co-existence.

After this agreement, trade and confidence between India and China gained lots of strength and friendship ties. The five years of the agreement was defined as the years of "Sino-Indian honeymoon" and the slogans "Hindi-Chini Bhai-Bhai" were also raised. In April 1955, this agreement were adopted by the Conference of Afro-Asian Nations at Bandung (Indonesia) which is popularly referred to as Bandung Conference with minor modifications. This Bandung conference will spark into Non-Aligned Movement (NAM) in 1961.

The Border Dispute:

After the end of "Sino-Indian honeymoon" period, India realize her attempt towards the development of friendly co-operation with China had failed. The origin of border disputes between India and China starts from the extreme rivalry between Russia and Great Britain played in a period of British Empire. There are two key areas of dispute, first in the Eastern sector (Arunachal Pradesh, covering an area of around 83,740 sq. km/ 32,330 sq. miles) and second one in the Western sector (Aksai Chin, covering an area of around 37,250 sq. km/ 14,380 sq. miles). The border dispute between the two Asian giants has been the never ending phenomenon. On every occasion, if there is a Sino-Indian official visit, this border dispute is being the hot topic till contemporary period. "To address their boundary disputes, they have engaged in frequent dialogues (17 rounds of focused dialogues can be counted between 1988 and 2015), but nothing substantive has yet been yielded through such engagements" (Amit Ranjan, 2016, page 101).

The Eastern sector and the McMahon Line.

In October 1913 to July 1914, Simla Convention was held between British India, Tibet and China. This Convention was held to help an agreement regarding the position and to draw the boundary of Tibet. Henry McMahon, the British negotiator at that time drew a boundary map between Tibet and India in the eastern sector and attachment was made to that agreement. The agreement was initiated by all three representative, but the proposed Sino-Tibet boundary was soon objected by Beijing and refused the final detailed map. The negotiators of British India and Tibet, signed the Convention and drawn border line was known as McMahon Line. Henry McMahon was instructed by Neville Maxwell, not to sign bilateral agreement if China refused to signed, but it was signed without the presence of Chinese representative and the declaration was kept secret.

By signing the Simla Agreement, the Anglo-Russian Convention, 1907 had been violated, in which both China and India had accepted not to negotiate with Tibet. British make sure not to place the McMahon Line in the maps until 1937, nor was Simla Convention publish until 1938. China argued on Simla Convention and McMahon Line as unlawful, as China considered Tibet's government as simply a local government with the absence of treaty-making power. There was no objection from Tibet to any other parts of the McMahon Line. In 1947, Tibetans sought India to give recognition for trade authority in Tawang, southern part of McMahon line and in return, India requested to carry on

the relations on the basis of former British government's agreement. The governor of Assam declared, Tawang as British Indian land undoubtedly but was control by Tibetans and the locals living in Tawang also have no idea that they are not Tibetan. China and India argue each other on their territorial claims that they control North-East Frontier Agency (NEFA) or Arunachal Pradesh on their past history.

The western sector: the Johnson-Ardagh Line and Macartney-MacDonald Line.

With Regards to the boundaries in the western sector, the earliest treaties was issued in 1842. Ladakh got annexed into the state of Jammu in 1834 by the Sikh Confederacy. In 1841, Sikh Confederacy annexed Tibet and as a reply to that annexation, Chinese forces defeated them back. Chinese forces reached Ladakh and Leh was surrounded by Chinese forces aiming to capture it. The Sikh and Chinese made a peaceful treaty by signing the representations from Kashmir, the Dalai Lama and the Chinese Ruler in 1842, by giving terms of acknowledgement of the old boundaries of Ladakh and Tibet and neither of them will give interference with each other's integration of territory. In spite of that, the parts of boundary were clearly recognized, the Karakoram Pass, the Pangong Lake and other areas, particularly Aksai Chin, were not demarcated.

The lack of clarity in the line of borders were there in entire time of British rule. In 1865, a proposal of the Trigonometrical Survey of India by William Johnson, followed an unauthorized journey for frontiers including Aksai Chin as part of India from Ladakh as far as Khotan without official approval of the British. There were lots of criticism on Johnson's work for having whole inaccuracies and explanation of his unreasonable Patent of the border line. The British government formally expressed on disapproval and resigned from the survey. In 1897, the William Johnson's line was further modified by Director of Military Intelligence, Sir John Ardagh, following the Crest of the Kun Lun Mountains and this line was popularly identified as 'Johnson-Ardagh Line'. This line was also not accepted by the British, due to the concerned of how dangerous Russian expansionist was on that region, even though he argued on his line was more defensible.

In 1893, the British consul general, George Macartney, received a proposal map on boundary from Hung Ta-chen, senior Chinese official at Kashgar. This proposed borderline map positioned the Lingzi Tang plains, which situates at the south of the Lakhsang range, in the region of India and Aksai Chin proper, which situates at north of Lakhsang range, in the region of China. The proposal was accepted by Macartney and sent to British government. British officials supported this borderline proposal along with the Karakoram Mountains. Sir Claude MacDonald presented this line in a note to China, in 1899 and this line is popularly known as the Macartney-MacDonald Line. The Qing government did not give any responds to that note given by the British. Although there was no boundary as officially declared or negotiated, China believe this Macartney-MacDonald Line had been the accepted boundary.

Both the lines were used as British maps of India. Macartney-MacDonald Line was used till 1908 as a boundary. Central power in China was collapse as a result of the Xinhai Revolution. After First World War, Johnson-Ardagh Line was used officially by British. According to map of "Peking University Atlas", published in 1925, Aksai Chin was in India. There was no attempts to build an outposts or did not try to control over the parts of Aksai Chin by British and also the issues were not argued with the government of China or Tibet. India believe this Johnson-Ardagh line had remained as accepted boundary.

Over the period of times, variety of boundary maps were printed by British and China amongst themselves, but border remained without official demarcation. In India Post-independence period, there is no official boundary line between India and China. During 1951, invasion of Tibet, road was built between Xinjiang and Western Tibet passing through Aksai Chin and the existence of the constructed road was only identified by Indian Government in 1957. In 1954, India claimed the Johnson-Ardagh Line as the border, with India insisting the Aksai Chin as part of Ladakh. The Chinese position on the border was, the Macartney-MacDonald Line was the only border which gets accepted by the Chinese and also Aksai Chin was already an actual possession of China. In 1950s, Nehru hopes to create an alliance with China and to resolve the disputes was failed at the end of the decades. Many tension were increased in the border areas. The Government of India giving asylum to Dalai Lama and others gave rise to many tensions, when People's Liberation Army of China launch an operation

against Tibet Rebellion in 1959. "In 1960 Zhou En-Lai unofficially offered to drop the claims over Aksai Chin, but Nehru refused to make any concessions or to negotiate until China withdrew troops from Aksai Chin" (Amit Ranjan, 2016, page 106).

After November 1961, forward policy was launched by India, which involved an attempt to suspend China's supply lines and military positions at current Chinese posts in territorial borderline areas. At that point, China was under terrible conditions on economic reform under its Great Leap Forward program and facing military threats from Taiwan and proxy involvement of US in conflict through Laos. On 20 October 1962, when China's situations were improved, they attack India in both eastern and western sectors. On 21 November 1962, the armed conflict was there till Chinese announced a unilateral ceasefire and the conflict areas were the eastern sector (south of McMahon Line) and western sector (North of Macartney-McDonald Line). The withdrawal acceptance around the ceasefire Line was recognized as Line of Actual Control. After the ceasefire, People's Liberation Army (PLA) of China were withdrew till 20 km north behind the McMahon Line in Eastern sector, but Aksai Chin was still occupied by PLA, holding 20 km behind the Johnson Ardash Line. It was observed by different researchers on their paper that, since past till present periods of time, many steps were taken to resolve the border dispute but still it is difficult to solve the boundary problems. Hence, India and China needed 'out of the box' solution to resolve this border dispute.

Sino-Indian war 1962:

The Sino-Indian situation gets highly heated. To start the situation of this war, Chinese Army bypassed the McMahon line in Arunachal Pradesh on 8 September 1962, and Indian Territory was under China's control. From Political pressure, on October 13, 1962, Nehru stated to media that Chinese troops will be thrown out from Indian Territory. Aftermath of that statement made by Nehru, Chinese started a huge attack on October 20, 1962 in Arunachal Pradesh and in Ladakh. In Arunachal Pradesh side, two Posts which is consider as an important post of India were captured within a day. On October 25, China's forces had entered India's territory about 16 miles south from McMahon Line. Nearly two weeks later, Chinese started attacking on massive scale on November 15 in both the sectors. Next day, Chinese troops crosses Bomdila and reaches to Assam plain area. On other side, Chinese troops captured Ladakh's entire area which were claimed to be Chinese land by them. Indian forces were suffering with heavy casualties, none the less China losses more than India. In spite of this hard situation, there was no declaration of war amongst these countries and even the diplomatic missions stayed functioning normally without closing it down.

India requested Britain and United States to help India in military needs for the war especially for mountain warfare. But on November 21, 1962, unilateral ceasefire was suddenly announced and their troops started withdrawing 20 km from the Line of actual Control on their sides. China suggested three points ceasefire proposal earlier on 26 October 1962 but the proposal was rejected by India. On September 8, 1962, India also suggest China to restore the status quo ante and was rejected by China. China humiliate India's position for going closer to American imperialist camp. Even though India got humiliated by China, She did not change her policy and continued supporting China regarding Taiwan and Tibet.

Sino-Indian Relations, since 1965:

China sifted his position to Pakistan and gives military and economic supply to Pakistan. During 1965, war between Pakistan and India, China show his anger towards India by giving support to Pakistan. During the period of war, on September 16, 1965, Chinese gave a petition to India, asking to remove 56 military establishments on Sikkim border, which was constructed illegal in China's view. China giving three days, date line for removal of an ultimatum was shown as a solidarity by China to Pakistan. China-Sikkim-India Boundary dispute put up by China to show solidarity over Pakistan was rejected by Prime Minister Shastri, because it was a fabricated claims counter over Sikkim-China border against India and all China's claim on India's territory was rejected by Prime Minister himself.

During the period of Indira Gandhi, a lot of ineffective initiatives were taken. In June 1967, two embassy officials of China were arrested for spying in Delhi. China attacked Indian posts in Nathu la, Cho la and again Nathu la on September 1967, October 1967 and April 1968 respectively. In 1970,

China was criticized by many countries and they stopped hostile actions against Indian post. After this, Sardar Swaran the then Indian External Affairs Minister called for new developments in Sino-Indian relations.

In 1971, Bangladesh crisis, China continues to show their aggressive actions towards India by supported Pakistan and this crisis will lead to India-Pakistan war. Even though Chinese government giving aids to Pakistan, will result into defeat of Pakistan and Bangladesh got its Independence. Then, China got his permanent seat on United Nations in 1971. After the war, China exercise his veto by blocking admission on United Nations and showing the position on the side of Pakistan. In January 1972, Indira Gandhi the then Prime Minister of India was confident and hoping to restore good relations between India and China, in spite of having China-Pakistan alliance. Then in October 1975, another frontier hostility broke out in eastern sector where four Jawans lost their life at Tulung La in Arunachal Pradesh by ambushing.

In May 1974, nuclear test was conducted in Rajasthan desert by India. India's views in nuclear program was making clear by saying, it simply aimed at peaceful proposes and was not working to create nuclear weapon. On other side, China's views was on blackmailing other smaller neighbors by blasting nuclear. China again support Pakistan in Kashmir issue and giving assurance to Pakistan against India's nuclear blackmail.

The response China gave on Sikkim revolt (1974-75) was quite strong. Revolt was rose by people of Sikkim opposing towards their ruler the Chogyal, and afterwards requested for merger within Indian Union and was accepted by becoming Indian state. China accused India of being expansionist. China said that it "absolutely does not recognize" Sikkim's position as India's area and was trying to build "a great Indian Empire with the backing of Moscow." (VN Khanna, 2007, page 124). Sikkim was recognized finally by China as an Indian state in 2006.

In 1976, Mao Zedong Expired and on other side, in India Mrs. Indira Gandhi's government lost to hold the power in 1977. Morarji Desai as Prime Minister of India came to power and decided to normalize the relations between India and China. Wang Pingnan, the then senior diplomat visit India and met Prime Minister Desai and Atal Behari Vajpayee, Foreign Minister. Vajpayee was invited to visit China by Wang. Prime Minister Desai clearly said that for his government, border issue was going to be primary concern and full normalization between India and China will achieve only when Border issue gets resolved. In February 1979, Vajpayee visited China. After he returns from China, he expressed Lok Sabha that beginning in the direction of normalization had been made.

Post-Cold War era:

After Cold War was ended, Soviet Union was collapse and both India and China gets a lots of challenges. The world at that time gets a great instability resulting the developments in the post-cold War. China and India try to normalize the relations and conditions after Post-Cold War because the aligned superpower Soviet Union was no longer available. Post-Cold War era had widened the positions of national security interests of China and India. China started shifting its position of economic interests to military interest and India had continued its attention on military interests and at that time progressively integrating economic interests by starting LPG (Liberalization Privatization and Globalization). "As the balance of payment crisis occurred during 1990-1991, India had to carry out economic reforms, and gradually shift from the nationalized, domestically oriented economic policy that had prevailed since independence to one that was more open and liberal" (Duni Chand, 2016, page 96-96).

In December 1991, Chinese Premier, Li Peng visited India. Earlier to the visit, power holder of India's government changed, headed by P.V. Narsimha Rao in place of Prime Minister. At the time of Li's visit, a document was signed for continuation of trade between the border of India and China after 30 years of gap. By signing the memorandum, Gunji in Uttar Pradesh and Pulan in Autonomous Tibet Region turn out to be the Indian Trade Mart and the China's Trade Mart respectively. Later China and India signed Trade Protocol by the India's Commerce Minister, P. Chidambaram and China's Minister of Foreign Trade and Economic Relations, Lilanquing. India started exporting tea, engineering products, jewels, iron ore, chrome ore, tobacco, processed diamonds, yarn and synthetic

fibre, and by importing raw silk, metals and minerals including coking coal, chemicals and petroleum goods.

In 1992, fourth and fifth meetings were held on both side in different time period, February 20 and 21 on Delhi and October 27 to 29 on Beijing. These meeting includes the participation of Defense Ministry from both countries and decided to organize flag meeting amongst the border personnel at Bumla and Spanaggar Gap twice in every year. In July 1992, after thirty years of gap border trade started working.

In September, 1993, a visit of P.V. Narsimha Rao to China was a land mark for progress in relationship between India and China. The features of the Summit was the first document to conclude the agreement on retaining Peace and Tranquility on actual control line of Sino-Indian border and to restore the relations. This agreement became Asia's first step towards disarmament.

In June, 1994, they celebrated Panchsheel's fortieth anniversary by doing conference on both Delhi and Beijing with scholars and policy makers present. In these conference, participants points out the importance of Panchsheel in era of post-cold war. Again in October 1994, K.R. Narayanan the then Vice President of India's visit to China provides confirmation on improving relationship between the two countries. Relations for restoring banking was signed as a Memorandum of understanding and according to this, branch of Reserve Bank of India was to gets open in Shanghai, whereas in Mumbai gets open Bank of China's branch.

In 1995, eighth and ninth round of Joint Working Group was held. These rounds agreed to demolish 4 posts of military in Wangdong area, to increase visit of military officers with rank of major general and settled to establish two meeting places in Bumla Dichu (eastern sector) and Lipulekh near Pithoragarh (middle sector) to be held twice a year.

In 1996, Jiang Zemin few days after the visit of Pakistan visited India. Both countries signed an agreement on CBMs (Confidence Building Measures) in the ground of Military in Line of Actual Control. This agreement was commented by various commentary as first no war agreement signed between China and India.

In 1997, tenth Joint Working Group's meeting was held, in this they approved agreement on Confidence Building Measures to the field of Military and interchanged instruments of authorizations. Both think that the visit of high level military officials will result on motivation between the armed forces.

In 1998, under the leadership of Prime Minister Atal Bihari Vajpayee, give a quaked to the world by conducting three explosions of nuclear test in Pokharan. After this test China consider this act as extreme move against complete ban of nuclear weapons towards world trends of banning nuclear weapons. A letter was sent to US President Bill Clinton by India's Prime Minister A.B. Vajpayee, pointing out the nuclear test was done because of the perceived nuclear intimidation from China. Then the India-China relations lead the positive approach to bad position and China resume supporting Pakistan.

A lot of activities between the two Asian giants took place in early 90s by observing. We witnessed a number of high level leaders visited on each countries giving hopes by restoring confidence and trust. In principle, border issue had maintain to agree the status quo to provide accommodations in specific territorial interests. During this normalization period, Chinese viewed on Kashmir issues change its position. After the Pokharam-II nuclear test all the good relationship between these countries had change to bad relations again.

Post Pokharan-II:

India's nuclear test of 1998 in Pokharan was strongly criticize. Under the Chairmanship of China conducted a special meeting to discuss this Pokharan issue, with five permanent members of United Nation Security Council on 4 June, 1998. By the resolution of 1172 on June 6, had advice to cease the missile production and to join the negotiation treaty for banning such extreme nuclear products and to continue the bilateral talks on Kashmir issue.

At that time, having lots of tension between these Countries, the bilateral trade was growing positively in 1998 increasing to 5% of growth. Because of the quick revival of economic relations in trade and commerce helps in changing the political commitment between both sides.

In 1999, Eleventh Joint Working Group meeting was resumed in Beijing which was going to be held in 1998, November because of India's nuclear test. There was no important progress made but on India's side, tried to show positive approach to improve the relationship between India and China. In June 1999, Jaswant Singh the then External Affairs Minister of India visit China, in his meeting with government of China, agreed to honor both sides as 'no threat'.

In April 2000, the two Asian giants celebrate diplomatic relationship of 50 years. In 26th April, Twelfth meeting of Joint Working Group was conducted in New Delhi. Two sides headed by the then China's Vice Foreign Minister and India's Foreign Secretary, and they review the confidence Building Measures and showing satisfaction on their talks. "India's bilateral trade volume with China, which was US \$ 264 million in 1991, reached US \$ 2,914 million by year 2000" (Duni Chand, 2016, page 108).

In 2001, during the nine days (9 to 17 January) visit of Chairman of PRC, Li Peng described India as influential country in Asia and played a prominent role in multipolar world. Thirteenth Joint Working Group meeting was conducted in Beijing on 31 July, started an approach to look forward and accepted for bilateral relations to retain further high level exchange. After 9/11 attack on America, both China and India worked together to counter against terrorism.

In January, 2002, China's Premier after ten years, visited New Delhi. This visit shows a positive interaction of politics at high level. Premier Zhu Rongji, was offering to share intelligence with India on Northeast and Jammu and Kashmir's development. On that visit in Delhi, India and China signed six agreements which includes science and technology and cooperation in outer space, tourism, and supply of hydrological data at the time of flood season in Brahmaputra River. Fourteenth Joint Working Group meeting was conducted on 21, November, and this meeting decided to exchange the maps in western sector at next meeting of Joint Working Group.

In 2003, there were lots of high level visit going on, amongst those Indian Prime Minister A.B. Vajpayee visit was the most important one after ten years of visit. During the visit, ten agreements were signed and discusses about issues of border, Sikkim and cross border terrorism. This visit was to give an important message to all communities of the world as an example of coming closer of China and India in international context.

Prime Minister Manmohan Singh's Era:

In 22 May, 2004, Manmohan Singh became Prime Minister of India. China and India try to continue a good neighboring bilateral relations. India and China were going to a right direction and both try to continue cooperation of mutual benefits. Fifteen round of Joint Working Group had conducted in Beijing on 30 and 31, March, 2005, and this meeting was the last meeting conducted by the Joint Working Group. In this meeting, both side discussed on reviewing the clarification of the Line of Actual control and confidence building measures.

In 2005 April, Premier Wen Jiabao visited India, in this visit both countries sign up a Joint Statement which will make a strategic and partnership of cooperation between India and China, resulting peace and prosperity. This strategic partnership creates a way forward in bringing up the strong bilateral ties between the two Asian giants.

In Jul, 2006, China and India resume a historic trade route which did not functioned for over 44 years through Nathu La Pass. This trade route was closed in aftereffects of 1962 war. In November, 2006, Hu Jintao visited India and both countries discussed on many issues. This visit was marked as "a year of friendship between India and China". They tried to improve the relations, trust, cooperation and their strategic relationship between the two countries.

Manmohan Singh, Prime Minister of India and Hu Jintao, President of China had conducted a joint declaration, this declaration was known as Singh-Hu Joint Declaration. The Singh-Hu declaration was known for a great ten point strategic and cooperative partnership.

1. Ensuring Comprehensive Development of Bilateral Relations.

2. Strengthening Institutional Linkages and Dialogue Mechanisms.
3. Consolidating commercial and Economic Exchanges.
4. Expanding All Round Mutually Beneficial Cooperation.
5. Installing Mutual Trust and Confidence through Defense.
6. Seeking Early Settlement of Outstanding issues.
7. Promoting Trans-border connectivity and cooperation.
8. Boosting Cooperation in Science and Technology.
9. Revitalizing Cultural Ties and Nurturing People to people Exchange.
10. Expanding Cooperation on Regional and International Stage.

This joint Declaration prove themselves as mutual partners and not a rivalry opponents.

On other side, India and China's trade relations keep on increasing. *"According to data of the General Administration of Customs of the Republic of China, India-China bilateral trade in 2006 grew up by 33.87 per cent over the year 2005 to reach US \$ 25.06 billion. The target of reaching bilateral trade of US \$ 20 billion by 2008 set by the two countries in April 2005 was reached in October 2006 itself. As per the statistic of the General Administration of Customs of the Chinese Government, India's export to China in 2006 recorded a total volume of 10.64 billion US dollars increased by 7.05 per cent while India's imports reached US \$ 14.58 billion increased by 62.35 per cent over 2005"* (Duni Chand, 2016, page 121).

In September 2008, India-US nuclear cooperation agreement was signed. Chinese official media defined this action as dangerous act on China. Recently after the nuclear deal, India and China's relations were not stable. India imposed a ban over import of China's Toys products for safety and health measures, dairy products for containing high melamine level and not having International Mobile Equipment Identity (IMEI) number for all mobile phones, the banning of import lasted till December 2009 in some products.

In 2008, trade relations of India and China reach worth of US \$ 52 billion. USA was first largest trade partner before but was replaced by China as the largest partner in trading relations and they tried to make stable conditions of increasing ties in trading. During 4th East Asia Summit, Manmohan Singh the then Prime Minister of India speaks on negotiation procedure of the free trade agreement with China.

In December 2010, Wen Jiabao the then Chinese Premier came for three days visit from 15 to 17. At that visit, both countries signed six agreement and target of bilateral trade was fixed at US \$ 100 billion by 2015. A Strategic Economic Forum was establish to discuss micro-economic strategic impacts in changing world's economic site.

In 2011, Manmohan Singh visited China particularly at Sanya from 12 to 15 April to take part in BRICS Summit and also for bilateral meeting with Hu Jintao. India's Chief Minister of Bihar, Gujarat and Madhya Pradesh visited China in different time period. For 'year of Exchange' celebration, 500 Indian delegates went to China to celebrate. 2012 was known as year of friendly cooperation between India and China.

In 2013, Manmohan Singh went to China on 22 to 24 October, during the visit these Asian giants signed an agreement related to boundary, trans-boundary River, startup the power service equipment center in India, road communication and including three agreement on starting sister-city partners. The most important agreement was on 'Border Defense Corporation Agreement'.

China and Prime Minister Narendra Modi:

Narendra Modi holds power as Prime Minister of India after winning election against Congress. He try to reconsider the Indian foreign approach's objective and target. Modi had a hard time regulating trade of China-India, expecting more China's direct investment, looking how assistance was done by China to Asian Development Bank, solving regional issues and trying to neutralize China. India's government try to neglect the border issues and focusing on developing the balance relations between India and China in the region.

China's government congratulate Modi for winning the election and showing the aspiration for developing a strong ties with Modi's government. Modi also express that for making the India's foreign

policy, China has been the priority. Modi's government want to relationship between China by proposing to increase economic mutually, to increase relationship amongst the people and working together related to bilateral issues.

In July 2014, during the BRICS summit held in Brazil, Prime Minister of India, Narendra Modi and President of China, Xi Jinping meet together. In that summit, Modi express a peaceful resolution for border disputes. Xi invite Modi for Asia-Pacific Economic Cooperation's meeting and officials from Indian foreign office stated that both accept on peaceful resolution on territorial dispute. In September 2014, Xi visit to India, Modi give a warm welcome to Ahmedabad and it was marked as first one to visit outside Delhi.

In February 2015, Indian External Affairs Minister Sushma Swaraj went to China for expanding the India-China relations. She proposed six point formula to strengthen the relations, aiming both the Countries to make the century as Asian Century. From the starting of Modi's government, border dispute's question was debated for several times, they share relations in many multilateral bodies and also they share their views on extremism and terrorism on growing issues. In May 2015, Modi also visited China, in that visit 24 agreements were signed and also give an announcement for e-visa facility for tourists.

In May 2016, Pranab Mukherjee the then President of India went to visit China, during that time, memorandum of understandings related to education and research came to a conclusion.

In April, 2018, Modi and Xi conducted a first informal Summit in China, Wuhan. This Summit was held to interchange the views on bilateral issues and global importance by focusing on prior of national development.

In 11-12 October 2019, was held the second formal Summit in Chennai between Xi and Modi, this summit make stronger the bilateral ties and further deepen the interaction in global context. Also Modi participated in 13 June 2019, Shanghai Cooperation Organization leaders' summit in Bishkek, in 30, June 2019, the 14th G-20 Summit in Osaka, and 13 November 2019 11th BRICS Summit in Brasilia sharing stages with China.

In 1 January 2022, new China's land border law had passed, providing full responsibility to the People's Liberation Army to counter against "invasion, encroachment, infiltration, provocation" and for safeguarding the Chinese areas. On western sector, a bridge was constructed on Pangong Tso Lake which territory is being claim by India from beginning. On eastern sector, fifteen places was being renamed on the basis of its historical, cultural and administrative jurisdiction at India's state Arunachal Pradesh.

These incidents change the good bilateral relations to worse relationship again. Whenever it comes to the border disputes issues, they are extremely aggressive towards other. On September 14, in The Hindu newspaper state that "India, China confirm withdrawal of troops from PP15 in Ladakh", expecting good relations for the SCO summit 15-16 September. In November 14, 2022, NDTV state that "China underscores Stable Relations with India Ahead of G20 Summit in Bali", India is going to hold the presidency for a year. Still the relations between India and China is being observed and it is difficult to predict the relations in International relations.

Conclusion:

India and China being the world's oldest civilizations, they have shared many historical relations for more than 2000 years. The bilateral relations of both the Asian giants were giving developments not only to themselves but to the World. They are marked and predicted as upcoming super power in the world context in future. Their relationship is quite interesting not because they are predicted as next super power country but how they have developed till now by having lots of issues like war, conflicts and disputes, but instead they developed cooperation and peace as well.

There only unwanted relations is border disputes. If we can overall tackled this disputes by good solutions, it is sure that they will become super power sooner. But unfortunately, it is difficult to resolve the border disputes. As resolving border dispute means losing some areas from each side and this means that the prestige of the government having to the world will be lost. It is very important to maintain the prestige of a Country in the global International context.

The relations of India and China till 1991 was difficult to say they were good or bad. But after the period of Cold war, the relations gets change to another track. As Indian policy change to Liberalization Privatization and Globalization helps in the relations of China and India. From this period their trade relations became good and continuing till the present period even if their territorial disputes came to unstable.

Reference:

- Khanna V.N. (2007). *Foreign Policy of India*. 6th edition. Vikas Publishing House PVT LTD.
- Stobdan P. (2008). *India's Tibet Policy*. Academic Excellence.
- Balakrishnan T.K. (2010). *Foreign Policy of India: problems and paradoxes*. Mohini Publishers and Distributors.
- Amit Ranjan. (2016). *India-China boundary disputes: an overview*. Asian Affairs.
- Sali M.L. (1998). *India China Border Dispute*. A.P.H. Publishing Corporation, New Delhi.
- Subhashis Sen. (2014). *Sino-Indian Border Dispute*. Indian History congress.
- Mohd Aarif Rather. (2019). *China's Role in the India-Pakistan conflict*. Kapur Surya Foundation.
- Duni Chand. (2016). *Sino-Indian Relations in the Post-Cold War Era*. Himachal Pradesh University, Shimla.
- Dinakar Peri. (14 September 2022). *India, China confirm withdrawal of troops from PP-15 in Ladakh*. The Hindu, New Delhi.
- NDTV. (14, November, 2022, 8:54 pm IST). *China underscore stable relations with India ahead of G20 Summit in Bali*.
- Joe Thomas Karackattu. (2017). *India-China Border Dispute: Boundary-Making and Shaping of Material Realities from the Mid-Nineteenth to Mid-Twentieth Century*. ResearchGate.
- Neville Maxwell. (2015). *India's China War*. Natraj Publisher.
- Mihir Bhonsale. (2018). *Understanding Sino-Indian Border Issues: An Anslysis of Incidents Reported in the Indian Media*. Observer Research Foundation.
- Chietigj Bajpae. (2015). *China-India Regional Dimensions of the Bilateral Relationship*. Air University Press.
- Surya P. Sharma. (1965). *The India-China Border Dispute: An Indian Perspective*. Cambridge University press.
- Joseph R. Stauffer. (1967). *Sino-Indian Border Dispute-1962*. U.S. Nabal War College Press.
- Surjit Mansingh. (1994). *India-China Relations in the Post-Cold War Era*. University of California Press.
- Mahanty J.N. (1996). *Sino-Indian Relations in the Post-Cold War Era*. Indian Political Science Association.
- Manjeet S. Pardesi. (2021). *India's China strategy under Modi continuity in the management of an asymmetric rivalry*. International Politics 59, 44-66.