

# CONCLUSION

## Conclusion

“From friendship to confrontation, from confrontations to détente and then to normalization, Sino-Indian relations have gone through a tortuous process”. Both India and China have paid a price for past errors, from which both have many lessons to learn and many questions to reflect upon.

India recognized China within two months of establishment of People’s of China. Among non-communist countries India was second to do that after Burma. Also, India fought for China’s entry into the world body organization subsequently. India always withstood for China’s cause at all fronts – national and international. India supported China in establishing a sound society and nation building when China was passing through formative phases. In 1954 India and China signed the five principles of peaceful coexistence or Panchsheel, assuring each other’s territorial integrity and peaceful coexistence.

The Sino-Indian relationship entered into bright phase in 1955. India sincerely wanted China’s participation in international affairs. In April 1955 an Afro-Asian Conference was held in Bandung, China participated in the conference, which became possible because of good offices of Nehru. China got an opportunity to enter into world diplomacy and at the first instance could succeed to woo the Afro-Asian nations away from India’s leadership. China had the ambition to lead the uncommitted block and to become the spokesman of Asia. Nehru was the stumbling bloc to the Chinese designs. From 1954 to 1957 the Sino-Indian relations were very cordial and it was called as honeymoon days. The foreign policy of China had a dual role to perform, on the one hand it had to show that good neighbourliness was its perennial concern and on the other that it had the most important military strength in Asia.

The worsening of the relationship was unfortunate. The bitterness of relationship grew over the cartographic invasion of China. India was surprised to see an officially circulated Chinese map where incorrect boundary alignment between India and China was shown and that also incorporated 50,000 sq. miles of the Indian Territory in China. For nearly a decade New Delhi sincerely wanted a peaceful and good neighbourly China. But the imperial image pursued by China could not provide friendly atmosphere. Side by side the flight of Dalai Lama to India added fuel to the fire. In July 1959 the Chinese forces entered into Ladakh and arrested the Indian patrol party in Aksai Chin. A similar action was observed in NEFA in August 1959. The intension was that both the regions fell in China. In September 1959 Chou En Lai, the Chinese Premier, demanded 50,000 sq miles of the Indian territory and within a fortnight the Chinese forces entered into Ladakh and waged a limited war.

In April 1960, the two Premiers met but their talks did not result in resolution of differences. In 1961 under pressure from the opposition Nehru, adopted a forward policy the purpose of which was to establish some symbolic posts both in Ladakh and NEFA. The fortification of the Indian border with the creation of many out posts came as 'irritants' to undeclared intentions. This provoked them to cross the McMahon Line on September 8, 1962 and initiated a large scale war on both eastern and western sectors, on October 20, 1962. The Chinese troops overwhelmed the Indian frontier posts. The Chinese proposal for ceasefire and disengagement after sufficient entry was turned down by India, which demanded a status quo on the border as on September 8, 1962. On November 21, 1962 China declared unilateral ceasefire and its decision to withdraw. The Chinese attack was a great unexpected shock for India. China exhibited its 'middle kingdom' attitude towards a harmless neighbour India) in South Asia. The entire momentum of friendship and spirit of Panchsheel shattered down at this time.

The years between 1963 to 1975, could be termed as the period of stalemate between India and China. The borders were far from stable and peaceful. The Indian Prime Minister Mrs. Indira Gandhi adopted a flexible posture and indicated her willingness to reopen a dialogue with China without any preconditions. In response to India's overtures, during the May day parade at Beijing on May 1, 1970, Chairman Mao shook hands with the Indian Charge d'Affaires, signalling China's intention to normalise relations with India. But the hopeful pointers evaporated due to Bangladesh crisis and later on the political crisis in Sikkim. The relations that remained frozen for long time were again brought to life by Indira Gandhi in 1976 by upgrading the Chiefs of the Mission. This was the first step taken by India towards the process of negotiations. India announced the appointment of Shri K.R. Narayanan as India's ambassador to China and China responded quickly.

With the installation of Janta Party regime in India, the new External Affairs Minister, Shri A.B. Vajpayee visited China in 1979. He identified the border problem as the key obstacle to the process of negotiated settlement. The Chinese assurance of stopping support to insurgency in the northeast and the gesture of reopening the holy places of Kailash and Mansorover to India pilgrims was one step forward in the process of negotiated settlement.

The direct contacts at the highest political level began in 1980's when Mrs. Gandhi came back to power. In May 1980 the Prime Ministers of both countries met at Belgrade and decided to continue the process of improvement in bilateral relations. More substantial talks took place in June 1981, when the Chinese Foreign Minister, Huang Hua visited India and held extensive talks with Indian leaders. Both sides decided to hold official level talks on bilateral problems and issues. The ice had been broken down between India and China. The period of 1980's proved to be the turning point in the history of Sino-Indian relations because from that year onward the process of negotiated

settlement had gathered momentum. The Border talks started in 1981 and concluded in 1998. Eight rounds of official level talks were held to resolve the border issue alternatively in Beijing and New Delhi at Vice-Minister level. The first four rounds were focussed primarily on the development of basic negotiating principles, and the second four dealt with “the situation on the ground”. Among these five were held during Indira Gandhi’s regime and three during Rajiv Gandhi’s Premiership.

Rajiv Gandhi picked up the threads of Indira Gandhi’s China policy, modified them in the face of rapid changes in India and China in particular and in international arena in general. The New India Premier, Mr. Rajiv Gandhi evinced keen interest in improving ties with China. In his first meeting with Chinese counterpart, Zhao Ziyang at New York, both agreed that there was need to push forward the efforts to find a equitable solution to border problem and to promote friendship between the two countries. The years 1986 and 1987, however, witnessed a tense atmosphere on the Sino-Indian borders, because of Chinese intrusion in the Sumdorong Chu valley in Arunachal Pradesh. China also lodged a protest against India’s decision of granting statehood to the union territory of Arunachal Pradesh. Both sides, however, did not allow bilateral relations to deteriorate. By the end of 1987, the eighth round of official level talks had made little progress, with each side reiterating its stated position.

Indian Premier, Rajiv Gandhi decided in a bold move to visit China in December 1988. The historic visit of Rajiv Gandhi to China was a great leap forward in the process of negotiated settlement of Sino-Indian boundary dispute, as no Indian Prime Minister had visited China since 1954. During his visit, two Joint Working Groups on border and economic relations were constituted. The commission was to make concrete recommendations for an overall solution of the boundary question within a definite time frame; and to ensure peace and tranquillity in the border areas. Joint Working Group was an

advancement of the previous mechanism. The leaders of two countries also agreed to increase cooperation in economic, cultural and technological fields. The two sides expressed full faith in the five principles of Panchsheel and indicated their desire to promote good neighbourly and friendly relations on the basis of these principles.

The subsequent establishment of Joint Expert Group consisting of diplomatic and military officials under the Joint Working Group contributed to the deepening of understanding between two countries. Between 1989 to 2005, the Joint Working Group has held fifteen rounds of talks, of which ten Joint Working group meeting were held between 1989 and 1997. The continuing process of negotiated settlement suffered a setback in early 1998 due to India's nuclear explosions at Pokharan and statement given by Indian Defence Minister, George Fernandes that China was India's threat no.1 China strongly condemned the tests and described them as 'outrageous contempt' for the international community. Despite this India tried to give a projection that it wants the best of relations with China and would like the dialogue to continue. Remaining four more meetings were held till 2002, but the problems in all three sectors remained largely unsettled.

Side by side the continuation of high-level political interactions contributed in more tangible manner to enhanced understanding between both nations. As a result of the summit level talks, Sino-Indian relations registered all round improvement. On the border issue, the agreement of 1993 and 1996 were significant developments and both nations agreed to ensure peace and tranquillity on the Line of Actual Control, on one hand and move forward, on the other with Confidence Building Measures. India and China seemingly were pursuing step-by-step approach to resolve the intractable and vexed issue of border. *To broaden the base of bilateral relations, both nations move forward to cooperate in the areas of economy, trade, science and technology etc.*

At the political plane, as a result of the Prime Ministerial Summits of the years 2002 and 2003, Sino-Indian bilateral relations registered upward trend. The political input to a large extent enhanced the overall quality of bilateral relations. In particular, Prime Minister A.B. Vajpayee's China visit was quite successful and may be put in the same league as earlier Prime Ministerial visit of Rajiv Gandhi in 1988 and Narasimha Rao in 1993. A significant progress has been made during A.B. Vajpayee's visit to Beijing in June 2003, in solving some of the questions related to Tibet and Sikkim, which helped in improving bilateral relations between India and China. Similarly, the resumption of defence relations and high level defence exchanges enabled the military establishments to enhance mutual trust and understanding.

On the vexed border issue following positive steps could be underlined-maintenance of peace and tranquillity, initiation of various confidence building measures, exchange of maps according to sectors and seeking clarifications on each other's position continued a pace. Further more, with the appointment of Special Representatives on the border issue another step forward has been taken in the right direction. It seems that the adoption of political approach would go a long way in resolution of this long standing problem in Sino-Indian relations. Between 2003 to 2007, special representatives have held eleven rounds of talks. By now both India and China had adopted a pragmatic approach to solve their boundary as well as other disputes.

As we have seen that both the countries had adopted different mechanism from time to time to resolve the boundary dispute but could not fully reach at its final solution due to different reasons-such as lack of political will, differences exist on claims from both sides, Sino - Pak collaboration, USA factor, differences of opinion on both sides, domestic problem, Tibet problem, lack of proper preparatory work, Indo-Soviet encirclement, India's nuclear test, small incidents on border areas and recently the wording of Chinese

Ambassador Sun Yuxi, "Arunachal Pradesh as Chinese territory" cast negative impact in the process of negotiated settlement. It always seems after a particular negotiation or visit of leaders that it would produce concrete results and solutions of the problem but thereafter it remains as it was.

The entire panorama of Sino-Indian relations presents a picture in which both the countries seem to be preponderant and cautious of their security perspective in Asia. Since both are assertive in establishing their positions in South Asia, their diplomacies and instrumental approaches are also effective while exercising their powers at their respective fronts.

Presently, the era of conflict has withered away and optimism seems to emerge in positive direction. China has started to change its perception towards India and other South Asian neighbours. Hopefully the prolonging boundary issue is likely to be resolved in near future as it is encouraging to note that the other strategic, trade, economic and political relations between India and China have been established in recent past.

The end of the cold war has also provided a more benign global environment for China's growth. It withstood the impact of the disintegration of the former Soviet Union by hastening the reforms, which benefited millions of population. Between 1988 and 2007 there was brisk exchange of highest-level visits by Presidents, Vice Presidents, Premiers and Foreign Ministers between India and China. In this connection two agreements were very important.

1. Agreements on the Maintenance of Peace and Tranquillity along the Line of Actual Control in India and China border areas (September 1993).
2. Agreement on Confidence Building Measures in military field along the Line of Actual Control in Sino-India border areas (1996).

Taken together these two agreements reflected the political determination of decision making authorities of the two countries. Viewed in its totality the relationship between India and China has assumed a more wholesome character where differences are managed imaginatively and where government act as facilitators for a wide spectrum of activities to be undertaken by diverse sections of the two people with in and outside by the two governments. After Pranab Mukherjee's visit to China in May 2006 and Chinese President Hu Jintao's visit to New Delhi in November 2006, the year 2006 has been declared as year of Sino-Indian friendship.

The fast changing political climate has to surmount diverse challenges. Most importantly these challenges appear in the form of non-compromising behaviour, US and Pakistan factor, lack of political will or to only linger on the issue etc.

In order to safeguard the precarious balance of power between India and Pakistan, China gradually developed a close defence relations with Pakistan and carefully nurtured it. Chinese arms transfer and nuclear assistance to Pakistan can prove counter productive to India, which is the preponderant power of the region. India was against China's attempt to supervise the subcontinent in the wake of May 1998 nuclear test (Pokhran) or to mediate in New Delhi-Islamabad rivalry during Kargil conflict May 1999, because India perceives Beijing as part of problem rather than part of solution.

Evidently the Sino-Pak relationship survived and prospered through numerous changes at domestic and international levels. India continued to remain concerned with this entente and its impact on India's peace negotiations with China and its role on South Asia in general. But on the other hand triangular relationship may play a positive role in the peace process between China and India. It implies four important parameters:

1. Three of them are more or less independent decision makers regarding their foreign policies. (Independent thinking)
2. Each of them is well aware with the fact that its behaviour to any other state has implication to the other one. (Behavioural reactions)
3. There is tendency for two of the countries to going up against the third. (Alliance formation)
4. All three expect mutually influencing relationship to endure for sometime. (Protractedness)

All three of them are independent and autonomous but at the same time try to manage their alliances or axis to deter any external force to impact upon them from any other corner of the world. Moreover each is well aware of behavioural reaction and their repercussions on their mutual relations. If they move in positive direction it would yield a good result in solving boundary debacle. If Pakistan does not get concerned with improved relations between India and China and India also does not take any burden of Sino-Pak collaborations the chances of political and territorial tensions would improve in future.

Another important factor that many times hindered in Sino-Indian negotiation is divergent perception for their capacities to dominate South Asian region. Not only India and China but there are others also who play vital role-negative or positive in regional power balance like Soviet Russia, Sri Lanka and Pakistan etc. But the primary factors have been the Sino-Soviet prestige issue and the Sino-Indian territorial tensions.

China perceived itself as part of South Asia because of geographical contiguity, historical, linkages and common heredity with the mongoloid group of people in India, Nepal and Bhutan. Consequently, China considers itself in the intra-regional affairs of South Asia. On the other hand India had its own

role and perception because of its pre occupied perception of Indo-centric character or 'big brother' attitude. It viewed China's attempt to forge close relations with its South Asian neighbours as hostile act.

These perceptual differences many times created menace in peace process. If these two major powers accept each other's importance in South Asia and remain 'non-egoistic' on some important issues like leadership, resources, territory and ideology and relations with neighbours etc-both may come much closer to each other. And while coming closer to each other India and China may form a pan-Asian solidarity.

Another external force is US factor which has directly affected Sino-India relations, India-Pakistan and Pakistan China relations. From cold war to post cold war and from post cold war to the era of terrorism - US has been taking keen interest in South Asia but since 2001 attack on WTC it has completely involved in South Asia and Central Asia and tried to implant its military roots in the entire region in the name of 'war against terrorism'.

There are different perceptions related to the US factor especially from two sides India and China each of them takes US moves in accordance with its security perception. India worries that China may use its permanent membership in UN Security Council and its relationship with Washington to block New Delhi from taking its appropriate place on world stage. According to some analyst there are some discomfiture in triangle-US, China and India. This is because US has paid more attention to China in comparison to Delhi in Asia Pacific and its world affairs. Its policies concentrated on equation with China, alliance with Gulf countries and stable defence relations with Pakistan etc. It did not consider India a significant country, besides US and China has common interest to urge India to take part in international non proliferation regime to give up nuclear weapons.

On the other hand India has also been very important for US in South Asia and US-India share same challenge of rising China to their respective dominance in the world and South Asia.

Another perception from Chinese side is that India by virtue of its geopolitical situation, naval capabilities, unresolved boundary disputes and history of hostility with China is an ideal country for US to face any eventuality or crucial time of conflict with China. China wonders whether India is going to line up with US against China or join China and Russia to push for a multi-polar world order against the US hegemonism. If India does not participate in containing China, China's development will lighten US strategic pressure on India and if India joins force with US to contain China the future years may be very challenging to India.

But the above perception and estimate that might not prove true, there is possibility of emergence of another kind of world order-as India, Russia and China; India, US and EU; India, Japan and Central Asia and India, Pakistan, Russia, China and Japan all collectively together etc. These orders would present a different kind of phenomenon in South Asia and the world.

At this crucial juncture when entire world is moving towards disorder and chaos and US doctrines of hegemony, pre-emption and war against terrorism are trying to dominate the world behaviour and activities, a strong 'Asian order' can stand as 'off the stream', bulwark. If 20<sup>th</sup> century belonged to US and Europe, 21<sup>st</sup> century may well belong to Asia. The entire Asia comprising of South Asia, Far East, West Asia, Central Asia, Eurasia may collaborate with African continent to face such types of challenges.

China, India and Russia share many common interests in promoting democratic international relationship and safeguarding international security and stability. Evidently there are various tireless organisational efforts which may lead to entire Asia towards cooperation and peace instead of tensions and

threats. These efforts would take time and attitudinal changes in nation's behaviour will also face many challenges to reach the ultimate peace and order. The process is not a bed of roses. The establishment of space nuclear programmes and frequent cross border disturbances make India careful and cautious of the surrounding activities but still there are many rays of hope for betterment if both India and China keep their mindset clear in decision making to each other. But even after the parleys of 27 years, the border issue is awaiting resolution, from the above study, it can be conclude that the aim and objectives of various mechanism adopted for negotiated settlement were the same but the method of work is quite different. The border issue is jittery as both sides hold divergent views. Now the time has come to rethink over the whole matter for the overall solution of the boundary problem, first and foremost, both India and China may forget the past.

There is need of attitudinal approach rather than institutional approach. Negotiations, Joint Working Group, Expert Group, Special Representatives and good offices – all need a strong base of attitude of willingness to be successful and practical. Action and practicality will do stronger than rhetorical deliberations in meetings. India must not talk of 1963 Parliament resolution that talks of taking back every inch of Indian territory. Similarly, China may stop the rhetoric that it does not recognise the so-called Arunachal. If both sides are sincere, they may immediately withdraw these remarks and stop publishing them over their official websites. It is obvious that India does not need Chinese certification for any recognition; and so is the case with China. Meanwhile, more border areas should be opened for trade. It is hoped that the CBMS in border areas, the alignment of the LAC, and increased trade ties and people to people contacts between India and China would build trust and ultimately lead to a fair and reasonable solution of the border problem. The construction of roads is good development but India has to be very careful because road may open the possibility of Chinese army in Indian territory.

Therefore, understanding between two countries is essential. Border question would be resolved by negotiations involving 'give and take' diplomacy on both sides along the Line of Actual Control. The need for confidentiality should not be a pretext for keeping the public completely in the dark about the negotiations on the boundary questions.

In recent past China has resolved many disporatic boundary disputes with Russian states (CIS), ASEAN states and Japan then, why not with India. But there is sheer need of strong determination and accommodative approach of both the countries somehow loss and gain are the essential part of political solutions. India and China would have to forego with some perseverance and patience also. This careful policy making applicable strategies, determined mind set, expedite practices and unselfish spirit to resolve the problem – may bring out the permanent solution.

In the changed geopolitical situation in the world, both sides may adopt benign approach towards each other. This is the right time to show political will and obliterate the dark cloud of 1962 that has eclipsed the bright sun of Sino-Indian amity.

Either as competitor or potential partners relation between India and China will have a tremendous effect on the stability of South Asia as well as on the leadership alignments with in the third-world in the emerging global system. Both India and China two most important Asian powers must come forward with creative initiative to build on effective structure of Asian peace and stability. The rise and peaceful development of China would be incomplete without the comprehensive improvement of its relations with India. Conversely, India's success is positioning itself as a global or strategic partner of major powers – US, EU, Russia, Japan, ASEAN, Central Asia, France and Italy etc. would have not been achieved without the rapid improvement in Sino-Indian relations. Their determination to work together in different fields

i.e. strategy, economy, security, terrorism, ecology, global warming, territorial demarcations and other global commons - is a harbinger that two civilizational states would have a beneficial impact on Asia in first decade of millennium. The world would see more positive results and epochal changes in the long journey of Sino-Indian negotiation process in the time to come.

The current phase of negotiations has recently started. The future visit of Congress President Sonia Gandhi and Prime Minister Manmohan Singh later this year would likely to emphasis on “Consistency in Policy” and position should further be insisted on removing the basis for “misunderstanding”. It cannot be foretold that how much time an efforts would be required to solve the boundary issue completely but still there are positive anticipations for bright future.