CHAPTER – V

SINO-INDIAN RELATIONS – PROCESS OF NORMALISATION DURING POST-COLD WAR ERA
Rajiv Gandhi’s visit to China in 1988 had broken the long impasse between India and China. It opened new avenue for bilateral cooperation given the changed global scenario which was amicable for the two countries to move further in direction of constructive and cooperative engagements. During the post-cold war era change in the Chinese attitude was witnessed owing to the following reasons.

First; Unipolarity of world order propelled the need for a multipolar, equitable and just world order has been shattered by the US hegemony. Second; Economic issues had taken precedence over political issues. China started massive economic reform programmes which worked as a catalyst to promote Sino-India Relations. Third; rapprochement and unification processes at many other parts of world inspired and provided conducive environment to both India and China to cooperate and come closer. Fourth; the impact of Gorbachev’s Perestroika and Glasnost unleashed the wave of liberalization and globalization which led far reaching consequences. In such a changed scenario it was difficult for India and China to remain untouched. Fifth; the visit of Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi to China in 1988 proved to be an ice melting phenomenon, which broke the long jam in the bilateral relations. It provided opportunity for the leaders of the two countries to make fresh beginnings in bilateral relationship based on mutual trust.
and lastly; the 1988 was not 1962, as circumstances has changed since then.¹

In the backdrop of these developments India and China began their journey in the post-cold war world with more vigor, mutual trust and confidence. Their favourable mutual perception and attitude of constructive cooperation led the two countries to enhance bilateral exchanges in political, military, economic, cultural and many other fields to further the confidence Building measures and to resolve the long pending bilateral problems.

**Change of Government in India**

The post-cold war scenario was marked by political instability in India. Rajiv Gandhi lost the general elections in India and V.P. Singh of Janatha Dal party became the Prime Minister of a coalition government in 1989 but his government could not survive long as his government lost majority the parliament and he resigned. The new government’s policy towards China was spelt out in the President’s address to Parliament on 20th December 1989. “The process of further understanding and cooperation between India and China will be continued in my government also. It is hoped that the boundary question can be resolved in a fair and reasonable manner”.² Chandrasekhar, the dissident leader of Janatha Dal became the new Prime Minister with the outside support of Congress Party in November
1990. This government lasted only for few months and new elections took place in India in May–June 1991. Meanwhile Rajiv Gandhi was assassinated in May 1991 which was a big blow for the Congress Party and the country. In 1991 elections Congress party emerged as the biggest party but short of majority. Therefore, P.V. Narasimha Rao formed the new government with support of other parties which completed its term of five years. However, political instability in India did not affect the India-China bilateral relations as it moved ahead smoothly.

Late in 1989 it was decided that Indian Foreign Minister I.K. Gujral would visit China early in April 1990, since the last high level exchange had been Wu Xue Qian’s visit to India on October 11th, 1989 on a week day visit to New Delhi.³ Qians discussion was the first highest level discussion with Government of India. Later the Chinese Foreign Minister Qian Qiehers arrived in New Delhi on March 21st 1989 for talks. Both sides had reaffirmed their desire to continue developing better relations. Foreign Minister Qichen expressed his confidence that both the Chinese and Indian people have the ability and wisdom to find a reasonable solution to the boundary problem.⁴ The Indian visiting delegation of Janatha Dal party led by its Vice-President Rama Krishna Hegde visited China on June 7th, 1989 which was received by Jiang Zemin the General Secretary of Government. Another positive development in the process of normalization of Sino-Indian relations
was Foreign Minister V.C. Shukla’s meeting with his Chinese counterpart Qian Qichen in Beijing in February 1991 and the resulting decision to reopen Consulates in Bombay and Shanghai.5

This was followed by the visit of India’s Commerce Minister Subrahmanian Swamy to Beijing with the two sides agreeing to open border trade. A trade protected was signed by these two methods on February 1991.6 Besides this, Joint Working Group regularly met as per schedule Cultural and commercial exchanges continued to take place. Economic and trade relations were also expanding at good pace.

Meanwhile drastic changes took place in international politics which also contributed towards improved India – China relations. First of all cold war ended formally and USA – Soviet Union rapprochment took place. Sino-Russian enemity came to an end and they too moved towards rapprochement.

Meanwhile China also had faced internal problems which created disturbances in smooth functioning of government. Rise of Muslim Nationalism in the Chinese province Xinjiang and demonstration by dissident students protesting against the Chinese authoritarian system. They were demanding more political reforms and restoration of rights of people. Chinese government brutally suppressed the movement better known as Tiananmen Square massacre. Internal disturbance in Tibet in form of Tibetan uprising perturbed Chinese leadership. However, China did not succumb to this internal crisis and managed to get over it. So
the internal Chinese crisis could not leave lasting effects on its foreign relations especially with India.

Li Peng Visit to India December 1991:

Li Peng, Prime Minister of China visited India in December 1991. Prior to his visit there was a change of Government in India. P.V.Narasimha Rao became the Prime Minister as his party did well in the midterm elections held in May–June 1991. Li Peng was the architect of post Tiananman Square foreign policy of China aimed at stabilizing political situation at home. He did his best to ameliorate the international reputation of China in the aftermath of Tiananman Square incidents. Li Peng held meetings with top Indian leaders in which number of issues of national and international importance were discussed. Li Peng, a seasoned politician met President R. Venkataraman, and Vice President Shri S.D. Sharma. He was more practical and realistic in approach and was not given away to emotive and conceptual articulation of attitudes.7

During his visit many agreements related to Science and Technology, Agriculture, Civil Aviation were signed. Both sides agreed to enhance co-operation in the field of research also. Cooperation in economic sphere and other fields, including resumption of border trade, reopening of Consulate-general in Bombay and Shanghai took place.

Prime Minister Narasimha Rao and Prime Minister Li Peng both urged that JWG instead of being busy in Bharatnatyam and Chinese
Opera should concentrate on working out specific measures to maintain peace and tranquility along the Line of Actual Control. Both Prime Ministers announced that neither side would allow the existing boundary differences to stand in the way of further developing and promoting bilateral relations.\textsuperscript{10}

Both leaders agreed specifically to pull back from their existing position which was in close confrontation in Wang Dong section. The two premiers expressed their opposition to the use of Human rights issue by the developed countries to pressurize the developing countries. Both leaders agreed to create a New World Order based on five principles. Both India and China expressed their concern over the serious imbalance of world forces that made it increasingly difficult for developing countries to resolve their political and economic problems.\textsuperscript{11}

China had shifted from its Kashmir policy and did not take Pro-Pakistan stand as it always used to. Instead Mr. Li Peng said that Kashmir problem was the inheritance of India and Pakistan and it should be solved peacefully and through negotiations which fulfill the aspiration of Kashmir people as well.\textsuperscript{12}

In February 1992, China's Deputy prime Minister informed the visiting Indian Minister for Personnel, Public Grievances and Pensions Margret Alwa that China would like to share experience and cooperation with India in the fields of management, administration and training.\textsuperscript{13}

\textbf{President Venkatraman Visit to China}
After Li Peng's visit to India, one round of Joint Working Group was held in February 1992 whereby Information about the military presence of both countries was exchanged. Then in May 1992 Indian President Mr. R. Venkatraman went to China where he met all the top leaders of China. Chinese President Mr. Jiang Zemin informed him about the economic liberalization, modernization programmes being carried out in China. Chinese leaders also discussed the results of this reform programme in India.

Indian Defence Minister Sharad Pawar went to China, two months after President Venkatraman visited China. His visit was termed significant in these words. "There would have been little scope for a second visit soon after the first unless there was a suitable signal".14

Sino-Indian Exchange at Earth Summit, 1992:

Indian Prime Minister Narasimha Rao had an opportunity to meet Chinese Premier Li Peng during the Earth summit in Rio De Janerio in June 1992. Li Peng expressed his hope for early visit of Rao to China. Li Peng also showed satisfaction with the draft agreement by Joint Working Group of both countries over Line of Actual Control. Both leaders also agreed that foreign secretary and Vice Minister's talks should expand their agenda to cover coordination between Indian and Chinese delegation at the United Nations and other multinational fora. 15

Narasimha Rao Visit to China September 1993:
P.V. Narasimha Rao, the Indian prime Minister continuing the series of efforts to normalize India – China relations, paid a visit to China in September 1993. The aim of the visit was to sign an agreement on maintenance of peace and tranquility along the line of Actual Control. The visit was greeted as a new phase in bilateral ties based on mutual confidence and better understanding. It was a pleasant coincidence that Prime Minister Rao had accompanied Rajiv Gandhi during his historic China visit in 1988 as his Foreign Minister. This time he went to China as a Prime Minister for signing an unimportant accord a step in direction of Confidence Building Measures (CBMs).  

Narasimha Rao’s visit took place within the vastly changed international context. It was the first high level summit meeting after the disintegration of Soviet Union. And the emergence of United States of America as the only super power with the self assumed role of the police man of the world. The shift in the focus of international relations was to Asia – Pacific and also shift from strategic to economic issues. Significance of the visit also lies in the fact that Prime Minister Narasimha Rao, after becoming Prime Minister instead of visiting Russia and USA, preferred to visit China which showed the importance attached to China in his foreign policy priorities.  

Attempt was made by both leaders to establish a certain commonality of interest and they articulated the desire to establish a
meaningful and constructive relationship. This desire was concretized in four agreements that reflect the concern on both sides with the urgent need to introduce stability into world affairs, particularly in the region and neighborhood.

Four agreements between India and China during Prime Minister Rao’s visit were signed. The most important of them was the Agreement to Maintain Peace and Tranquility along the Line of Actual Control (LAC) and not to use or threaten to use force against each other. The two sides also signed a protocol on extending border trade across Shipkila pass. A five-year agreement relating to environmental cooperation and another agreement concerning Radio-TV cooperation was also signed. The agreement on the border along the Line of Actual Control had two objectives. One was to stabilize the military situation along the Line of Actual Control and to set up a mechanism for preventing any Line of Actual Control into a real delineated Line.

**Joint Working Group (JWG) Talks during the Period**

First Round: Beijing, July 1989: Held in the backdrop of Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi’s historic visit and India’s continued support to China despite western sanction following its Tiananmen Square crisis. The meeting demonstrated the sincerity towards evolving CBMs.

Second Round: New Delhi, August-September 1991: The two sides started by ascertaining “the Principles & Parameters” that should ‘govern the settlement of the border issue’. It established the first
critical "mechanism:" that imitated periodic meetings between Indian and Chinese military commanders to "maintain peace and tranquility" along the borders.

Third Round: Beijing, May 1991: With minority government of Prime Minister Chandra Shaker having just faced disqualification of its Foreign Minister V.C. Shukla and the general election approaching (in June 1991) neither side was expecting any major decision.

Fourth Round: New Delhi, February 1992: For the first time senior military officials were part of the JWG which decided that military commander meet at Bumla and Spanggur at least twice a year in June and October. They also agreed for setting up "hotline" links between these commanders.

Fifth Round: Beijing, October 1992: Trying to increase frequency of their meetings, the JWG met twice in 1992 which strongly reinforced mutual understanding of each other leading to some major decisions in their next border talks.

Sixth Round: New Delhi, June 1993: The JWG (a) agreed to open new border trade points at (i) Garbyang and Gunji in India’s Utranchal and (ii) Shipkila in India’s Himachal Pradesh and (b) suggested measures for increased transparency about mutual military positions and activities along the LAC; and (c) recommended that the JWG should meet more often.

Other Exchanges
As a part of military exchange, a Chinese naval training Frigate Zhen came on a goodwill visit to Bombay in November 1993. Then in the middle of December 1993, a high powered Chinese Military Delegation led by Lt. General Xu-Huizi Vice-Chief of General Staff, Peoples Liberation Army visited New Delhi and held talks with Indian Army Officials on Confidence Building Measures and methods of troop reductions along the Sino-Indian border. This was the first time in three decades that a Chinese military team had visited India.

In June 1994 a high level Chinese trade delegation led by Madam Wu Yi, Minister, Foreign Trade and Economic Cooperation arrived in New Delhi and held discussion with the Indian side for promotion of bilateral trade at Fifth Joint Working Group on Economic Relations and Science and Technology. In this connection a trade protocol for 1994-95 was signed by Indian Commerce Minister Pranab Mukherji and Wu Yi. India assured China of supporting its entry into G.A.T.T. whereas Chinese reciprocated by saying that Beijing would support New Delhi’s entry into A.P.E.C.

**Chinese Foreign Minister in New Delhi, July 1994:**

Qian Qiachin, the Chinese Foreign Minister once again played the role of guest when he visited India from 17th to 19th July 1994. Both sides reaffirmed their wishes to strengthen bilateral ties. Common areas of interest were also explored such as economic issues, new
world order in international relations and human rights. Cooperation in all the fields was sought to be strengthened.\textsuperscript{27}

Chinese Defence Minister General Chi Haotian visited India in September 1994 and during his visit it was agreed to accelerate efforts to reduce the border tension and take steps to consolidate economic ties. Regular meetings between the post commanders telecommunications links had been established between Indian and Chinese sector commander. His meeting was a part of the ‘Confidence building measures’ at the highest level. His Talks with Indian Prime Minister and other top leaders on bilateral and regional problems besides defence, trade and commerce were said to be fruitful.\textsuperscript{28}

**Vice-President K.R. Narayanan in China, October 1994:**

K.R. Narayanan was the first Indian Vice-President to visit China in October 1994. The visit provided further confirmation that the improvement in Sino-Indian relations has acquired a momentum that could prepare the ground for the resolution of the border dispute. It also laid the foundation for what can be a revival of the earlier friendly ties between the two Asian giants.\textsuperscript{29} An Memoranda of understanding was signed to restore banking relation which severed 38 years ago, therefore Reserve Bank of India and Bank of China were to open office in each other’s major cities. Reserve Bank of India was to open its branch in Shanghai and Bank of China to open its branch in Mumbai.
Another agreement related to simplifying of Visa process was also signed.

In May 1996 General Elections in India, Congress Party suffered a defeat and BJP emerged as the largest single party with 160 seats and it got the chance to form the government. But this government could not prove its majority in the parliament therefore in June 1996, Deve Gowd formed the United Front Government with 13 political parties in alliance and Congress Party supporting from outside. This period is marked by political instability in India. Nevertheless India-China relations moved ahead normally with two Foreign Ministers I.K Gujral and Qian Qiachen met in Jakarta on 24th July, 1996 and made their decision to resume talks on border issue. They also discussed the forthcoming visit of Chinese President to India.

**Jiang Zemin in India: November 1996:**

Ignoring the domestic political scenario in India, in the end of 1996, Jiang Zemin President of China visited India. The highlight of the visit was the signing of a land mark agreement on Confidence Building Measures (CBMs) between the two countries along the disputed border. The agreement lies in the fact that both countries now explicitly committed themselves against the use of military capability against each other. Some defense experts have described this as 'Partial no war pact' Both sides agreed that neither side shall use its military capability against the other.
Another agreement on maritime transport was also signed. The agreement on cooperation for combating drug trafficking and other crimes was also signed. The other agreement concerns the maintenance of an Indian consulate in Hong Kong after the colony unites with the mainland in 1997.

Chinese President also said “It will be our collective contribution to humanity if we become stronger and more developed”. On border issue, the Chinese side maintained that the problem was left over from history and should not be solved in haste. Both the sides expressed satisfaction with the progress made by JWG over the boundary issue. Overall the visit of Chinese president proved by fruitful and opened the way for further Confidence Building Measures. India China relations in January 1997 commenced with the visit of an Indian parliamentary delegation headed by Minister of State for Law and Justice Ramakant Khalap to China.

In February 1998, there were midterm elections in India and change of government took place whereby the 14 party coalition government under the leadership of Atal Behari Vajpayee came into power. At this, time PLA Chief Fu Quanyou visited India from 26th-30th April 1998. He met various military officials, Prime Minister Atal Behari Vajpayee and Foreign Minister George Fernandes. He also witnessed Tibetan protestors, which put him at unease.
JWG Meetings during the Period:

Seventh Round: Beijing July 1994: In this round among other things the JWG recommended measures to avoid troop’s concentrations on border and setting up more meeting points between their military personnel on the border.

Eighth Round: New Delhi – August 1995: The two sides agree to dismantle 4 military posts in the Wangdong area which was the first concrete action in terms of their proposed military disengagement on the border.

Ninth Round: Beijing-October 1996: Though clearly overcast with the forthcoming visit by the Chinese President the JWG agreed to expand their CBM’s and recommended for two more points for annual meetings between their military commanders on the border: (i). Lipulekh in the middle sector and (ii). Dichu in the eastern sector.

Tenth Round: New Delhi-August 1997: This round was concluded in the aftermath of Jiang Zemin’s India visit which had impact over the outcome of this round. The two sides ratified agreement extending CBMs to the military field (signed on November 29th, 1996) and exchanged instruments of ratification.

It was in May 1998 that the Indian Defense Minister George Fernandes gave a statement regarding China as ‘enemy number one of India’. The Fernandes episode was yet another, another crisis broke out
with Indian Nuclear tests. India conducted series of nuclear explosions that seriously frustrated Sino-Indian relations.

Confidence Building Measures (CBMS):

The third distinct yet reinforcing levels of normalization activities relating to Sino-Indian relations was through slow process of institutionalizing a series of confidence building measures (CBMs) over a period of twenty three years. The eight rounds of officials level talks (1981-87) and the deliberations of Joint Working Groups (1989-1997) resulted in Confidence Building Measures between the two countries. As a result, the confidences building measures were incorporated in the two Agreements. The first Agreement in September 1993 and the Second Agreement in November 1996. While the first two processes paved the way for improved relations, it was the third process of developing confidence building measures which not only institutionalized the relationship but also proved the fact that the process of normalization was bearing fruits.

The 1993 and 1996 agreements contain numerous declaratory information exchanging and constraining provisions. The scope and limitation of these two documents to some extent reflect the attitudes of China and India to confidence building measures, military transparency and verification procedure. Nevertheless, the two documents contain specific provisions that lend themselves to the possibility of cooperative
monitoring including limitation on the scale of military exercises, no-fly zones for military aircraft, limitation and reduction of the size of military forces and certain equipment along the LAC, and notification and exchange of information on natural disasters and diseases.

Cooperative monitoring proceeds from the identification of verifiable provisions of arms control and confidence building agreements to the selection of both the available and appropriate technology based tools and potential locations for the implementation. While designing specific monitoring models, their political technical and economic feasibility should also be taken into account.35

The 1993 and 1996 Sino-Indian Confidence Building Measures agreements can be seen as the crowning achievements in the long process of normalizing bilateral relations. The major features of the two Sino-Indian agreements, divided into declarative, information exchange and constraining Confidence Building Measures are listed below.

Declarative Principles:

- Neither side shall threaten to use force against the other.
- Both sides shall strictly respect and observe the LAC.
- Both sides shall seek a fair, reasonable, and mutually acceptable settlement of the boundary question.
• Each side will keep its military forces in the border areas along the LAC to a minimum level.

Information Exchange Measures
• Setting up of the diplomatic military experts group to hold regular meetings on implementation.
• Establishing hot lines and increasing meetings between border troop commanders and other authorities at designated points.
• Exchanging information on natural disasters and diseases along the border.

Constraining Confidence Building Measures
• Limiting the size of military forces within agreed zones along the LAC including setting ceilings on the number of main battle tanks and infantry combat vehicles with main guns of 75 mm or larger, mortars with a caliber of at least 120 mm, surface – to – air missiles and surface–to-surface missiles each side can have (the limits remain to be negotiated).
• Avoiding large – scale military exercise involving more than one division (15,000 troops) and providing prior notification to the other side on exercise involving more than one brigade (5,000 troops).
• Prohibiting combat aircraft flights within 10 km of the LAC without prior notification; however unarmed transport aircraft and helicopters are permitted to fly up to the LAC.
• Prohibiting firing blasting and hunting within 2 km. of the LAC.

• Self-restraint institutions of face-to-face confrontation.

Indeed in the ten meetings of the Joint Working Group between 1989 to 1997, the two countries have come a long way from their dramatically opposite positions on the Sino-Indian border to create a conducive environment for resolution of the problem. This was done by evolution of several confidence and Security-Building Measures (CSBMs). For instance there was an agreement on meetings between the military commanders of the two sides taking place at least twice a year and setting up ‘hotline’ links between these commanders (1992); opening up of more border trading posts and measures for increased transparency about military positions and activities along the Line Of Actual Control (LOAC) (1993); avoidance of troop concentrations (1994); and dismantling military posts in some areas (1995). Following an agreement reached during Prime Minister Narasimha Rao’s visit to China in September 1993, a Sino-Indian Expert Group was set up in February 1994 to assist the Joint Working Group comprising high ranking diplomats, surveyors and military personnel from both sides. At its 10th round of talks held in New Delhi in August 1997, the Joint Working Group ratified the agreement on extending CBM’s to the military field as decided during President Jiang Zemin’s visit to New Delhi in November 1996. In May 1998 India carried
out nuclear tests and made unwarranted accusation under the pretext of the 'China Threat' that seriously frustrated Sino-Indian relations.

**Resumption of Bilateral Exchanges**

In the month of the October 1998, the first delegation of Indian academician visited Beijing at the invitation of the Chinese to attend a seminar on the future of Sino-Indian ties organized by institute for Contemporary International Relations (ICIR).

In response, a 16 member Chinese delegation traveled to many Indian cities. Besides these, various other Sino-Indian Businessmen and experts continued to exchange visits at their normal pace.

The next Indian initiative was the then President of India K.R. Narayanan’s meeting with Chinese Ambassador to India Zhou Gang and a former Ambassador Cheng Ruishang in January 1999 wherein latter was informed that Chinese did not pose a threat to India.

In February 1999, for the first time after the May 1998 impasse, senior Chinese and Indian officials met formally in Beijing. The main purpose of the meeting was to kick start of the Joint Working Group that had been stalled which eventually held in April 1999. Around this time Tibetan Leader Dalai Lama met Indian Prime Minister in New Delhi although that was a courtesy visit but China took it seriously.

The Indian Foreign Minister Mr. Jaswant singh visited China in June 1999. During the visit both India and China initiated a security...
dialogue that encompassed the nuclear issue as well. Both sides agreed to clarify their position along LAC, to enhance mutual exchange of visits at various levels and boost bilateral trade and economic cooperation. Both the sides reaffirmed their position that neither side treats each other as threat.36

Kargil Conflict and Chinese Neutral Posture

In April 1998, BJP government was thrown out of power when the AIADMK Supreme Jayalalitha withdrew its support to the government in April 1999. At the same time grave crisis unfolded when Pakistan army regulars and Talibanese Mujahidis intruded into Kargil district of India in May 1999.

During the whole crisis India witnessed a neutral Chinese attitude which was a distraction from major Chinese foreign policy course of 'all weather friendship' with Pakistan.

Signs of hope came only when External Affairs Minister Jaswant Singh visited Beijing (in June 1999) for talks with his Chinese counterpart. Chinese Foreign Minister Tang Jiaxuan told Jaswant Singh that his visit was an important step in the present process of improving bilateral relations. Tang pointed out that the prerequisites for the development of Sino-Indian relations should be that neither side should see the other as a threat and that the five principles of peaceful Co-existence should be taken as the basis. The two sides also agreed to
jointly celebrate the Fiftieth Anniversary of the establishment of Diplomatic Relations on April 1\textsuperscript{st}, 2000.

Within two months passed India and China held a detailed discussion in New Delhi on ways to settle their border row. On November 24\textsuperscript{th}, 1999 border talks were held between India and China by the expert groups of each country at New Delhi. Both the sides discussed possible recommendations to settle their three – decade old dispute.\textsuperscript{37}

An important event in the bilateral relations of India and China is to celebrate on April 1\textsuperscript{st}, 2000 the fiftieth anniversary of their diplomatic relations. On the same day Indian and Chinese army authorities held a commemorative border meeting in east Sikkim’s Natu La (pass).

The meeting was represented by a 10 member delegation each from Yuagn garrison of China’s people’s Liberation Army (PLA) and the Natu La Brigade of the Indian Army.

**Beijing thanks India for support on Human Rights issue:**

China has thanked India for its support in defeat in an American sponsored resolution in Geneva criticizing the Chinese record on Human rights on April 28\textsuperscript{th}, 2000.

In a letter to External Affairs Minister Jaswant Singh his Chinese counterpart, Tang Jiaxuan expressed Beijing’s appreciation of the valuable Indian gesture at the United Nations Human Rights Commission.
Beating back the US resolution on human rights became a major political objective of China at a time when Sino-US relations are passing through a difficult phase.

Tang’s letter added to the improving political atmosphere between the two countries. On the eve of the 12th meeting of the Sino – Indian Joint Working Group on the boundary question which opened in New Delhi. A series of bilateral exchanges since Jaswant Singh traveled to China in June 1999, have begun to put the bilateral relations back on track.38

The resumption of military ties which were suspended after India’s Nuclear Tests signal with the arrivals of a delegation from India’s National Defence College in China on May 21st, 2000.

President Narayanan in China, April 2000:

President K.R.Narayanan visited China in May 2000. The visit took place to mark the completion of 50 years of India – China relations. The visit of Indian President helped in creating a friendly atmosphere underpinning the ‘historical necessity’ and great contemporary advantage of developing Sino-Indian amity since the visit was the first high level after May 1998, and that is also to mark the 50 years of diplomatic ties between India and China. Therefore the contentious issues were not discussed. Jiang Zemin promised to scale high and look far. And from that strategic height the two countries must continue
to work for a constructive partnership of cooperation’s 21st century cooperation.\textsuperscript{39}

About the LAC, Jiang Zemin observed, “The boundary question is one left over by history. The leader of the two countries reached an important consensus that boundary questions shall be resolved through negotiations and pending that, the two sides shall make joint efforts to maintain peace and stability along actual control”.\textsuperscript{40}

Amid this scenario Chinese Foreign Minister visited India from 21\textsuperscript{st} - 22\textsuperscript{nd} July 2000 at the invitation of Jaswant Singh the then External Affairs Minister of India. The two Ministers reaffirmed the desire to develop bilateral relations in all areas. There was agreement between the two sides to expedite the process of clarification and confirmation of the LAC in the India – China border areas.\textsuperscript{41} In December 2000, China agreed to cooperate with India in order to stop smuggling of Chinese goods that had resulted in anti dumping measures against Chinese manufactures.\textsuperscript{42}

\textbf{Li Peng in India}

Li Peng Chairman of standing Committee of the National People’s Congress visited India from 9\textsuperscript{th} - 17\textsuperscript{th} January 2001. Prior to his visit Li Peng said, “We think India is a major country of South Asia and also in Asia that will play a bigger role in the multipolar world.”\textsuperscript{43} India attached great importance to the visit as Li was second highest ranking Chinese leader. During his weeklong visit Li held discussions with the top Indian
leaders. During his talks with the Indian Prime Minister Atal Behari Vajpayee, he expressed satisfaction at the progress made on the clarification of the LAC and hoped that the process of demarcating of the border would be completed soon. He told the media persons that China and India did not pose any threat to each other and that the historical issues between the two countries could be settled through negotiations. He expressed Chinese willingness to enhance trade and economic cooperation with India. He said that China has not supplied any nuclear technology to Pakistan.

Other Exchanges

The momentum of visits continued as India and China moved ahead in different areas of bilateral relations. Such as trade, cultural exchanges, security dialogues, science and technology cooperation etc; Murosili Maran, the Commerce and Industry Minister led the Indian delegation for the 60th session of the India-China Joint Economic Group on Economic Relations and Trade, Science and Technology in Beijing on 21st and 22nd February 2000. During Maran's visit India and China signed an agreement on issues relating to the World Trade Organisations WTO and also signed a Memorandum of Understanding for setting up a Joint Working Group in the field of steel.

The Minister for Information and Technology Pramod Mahajan visited China from July 15-21, 2000. During his visit an MOU on cooperation in the IT sector was concluded. Then Satya Narayan Jatia
the then Labour Minister visited China from 26-30 September, 2000. An MOU on cooperation in the field of labour was signed. The Chinese Vice-Minister for Labour paid a return visit from 21-25 October 2000.

From November 4-7, 2000 Human Resources Development Minister Murali Manohar Joshi visited China and discussed cooperation in the field of education. The Chinese Vice-Minister for education visited India from December 5-7. Another important dignity to visit India was Li Changchan member of the Politburo of the CCP and party Secretary of Guandong province visited India from 12th 18th May, 2001. During his visit both sides exchanged views on various bilateral, regional and international issues. Li said that our commonalities outweighed our differences.

During May 2001, Indian Chief Air Staff Air Marshal Tipnis visited China and met Chinese Defence Minister Chi Haotian and the Chief of General Staff Fu Quangyou and PLA Air Force Chief Shun Yao. During May only Chinese naval ships visited Mumbai. Dr. Najma Heptullah, Deputy Chairperson, Rajya Sabha led a Parliamentary cum – Business cum Trade delegation to China form July 1-7, 2001 at the invitation of Li Peng Chairman of NPC. During the visit both sides expressed their desire to strengthen bilateral economic relations and the need for further contacts between the businessmen of two countries to enhance their understanding of each other’s economy and market.
Suresh Prabhu, the Minister of Power visited China from 17-23 September 2001. After the September 11 event of terrorism both sides pledged to work together to fight the terrorism. Jagmohan the then Minister of Tourism visited China from November 8-11, 2001. During his visit both sides agreed to explore the vast potentials in the tourism industry. During the same year giving momentum to their bilateral ties the two countries composed an Eminent Persons Group which aimed to enhance bilateral understanding and to open two track diplomacy.

**September 11th, 2001 Terrorists Attack on USA – Impact on Sino-Indian Relations:**

When terrorists attacked USA on September 11th, 2001 India and China agreed that they should maintain close cooperation and establish a bilateral dialogue against terrorism. Chinese leaders also remarked that since both countries feel threatened by the US, they should cooperate to counterbalance America. According to Zhou Gang, China’s Ambassador to India, the threat is not from China to India and not from India to China it comes from other places. It is quite realistic for India and China to improve bilateral relations to co-operative partnership.44

When Terrorists attacked Indian Parliament on December 13th, 2001. China condemned all forms of terrorist activities. It also urged both India and Pakistan to exercise restraint and engage in dialogue to resolve their differences.

**Zhu Rongji in India: January 2002:**
Chinese Premier Zhu Rongji’s visit to India from 13-18 January 2002, has been held as a milestone in the Sino-Indian relations. The visit was important in the wake of two events, ongoing tensions between India and Pakistan in which Chinese Premier looked reluctant to be dragged into this. The second important factor was US operations in Afghanistan and the Chinese fear for an increased presence of US in the region.

During his visit, Premier Zhu met President Narayanan, Vice President Krishna Kant and had extensive discussions with Vajpayee the Prime Minister of India on bilateral regional and international issues. Chinese Premier stressed that China was willing to work with the Indian government and the people to continuously push forward Sino-Indian Relations on the basis of five principles.45

In order to facilitate the personal exchanges between the two countries the Chinese side decided to open a regular flight from New Delhi to Beijing from March 2002. Regarding border issue, the two sides expressed satisfaction over the progress made over the years by the JWG and Experts Groups.

Another breakthrough of Zhu’s India visit was the establishment of a bilateral dialogue mechanism against terrorism. During Chinese Premiers India visit another significant progress was made in the economic sphere. On 14th January, 2002 India and China signed six major agreements in New Delhi. Two of them were concerning Science
& Technology and the others on cooperation in outer space, tourism phytosanitary measures and supply of hydrological data by China to India in respect of Brahmaputra River during the flood season. Chinese Premier also visited IT city of Bangalore and invited Indian IT specialist to come to China and invest there. The visit was fruitful as it further consolidated bilateral relations between the two countries. The Chinese interest in Indian IT sector opened a new avenue for bilateral economic cooperation.

**Jaswant Singh in China:**

Jaswanth Singh the External Affairs Minister of India paid a five day visit to China from March 29th to April 2nd, 2002. Mr. Singh’s visit marked the creation of direct air corridor between India and China. The substantive decisions taken during his visit was to accelerate the peace process of demarcation of the LAC, the initiation of the first ever bilateral dialogue on combating terrorism and a political determination to intensify economic cooperation made Mr. Singh to comment that his visit could lead to a qualitative transformation of the bilateral relationship. The decision to put a time frame on exchanging map on the Western and Eastern of disputed border was another breakthrough.

**JWG Meeting during the Period**

The Joint Working Group on border was formed in 1989 after Rajiv Gandhi’s China visit in 1988. From 1989 to 1997 10 Rounds of talks were held between the two countries. The Eleventh JWG
meeting was originally scheduled for November 1998. Because of Indian nuclear testing and deterioration of bilateral relations, China cancelled the meeting. The meeting was reconvened on April 26th, 1999 in Beijing. The Foreign Secretary K. Raghunath from Indian side and the Vice-Foreign Secretary Yang Wenchang represented the Chinese. However no substantial progress was made by this meeting.

The twelfth Round of border talks began on 26th April 2000 in New Delhi, Chinese Vice Foreign Minister Yang Wenchang led the Chinese delegation, and Indian side was led by Foreign Secretary Lalit Mansingh. Both sides reviewed the existing CBMs and expressed satisfaction over the talks. The thirteenth meeting of the JWG held in Beijing on 31st July 2001 adopted a constructive and forward looking approach. Both sides agreed that the present momentum in bilateral relation should be maintained and enhanced through further high level exchanges. The fourteenth JWG meeting was held on 21st November 2002 in New Delhi. China’s Vice Foreign Minister Wang Yi led the Chinese delegation while Foreign Secretary of India represented the Indian side. It was decided that the exchange of maps in the western sector of the LAC would be discussed at the next meeting of JWG.

During the 16th Party Congress in November 2002 Jiang Zemin, the president of China handed the mantle of leadership over to 60 years old technocrat Hu Jinato. 59 years old technocrat Wen Jiabao
replaced Prime Minister Zhu Rongji. The third generation of leadership is believed to be pragmatic and forward looking. The Chinese people were expecting greater cultural and social freedom. In year 2003 Indian leadership sent distinct signals to the new Chinese leadership. India expressed that it was committed to a better and friendly relationship with China.

**George Fernandes in China:**

In the changed domestic scenario in China, George Fernandes, the Defense Minister paid a weeklong official visit to China from 21-28 April 2003 at the invitation of Chinese Defense Minister General Cao Gangehans. His visit was important and got appreciation from the Chinese as it was in the wake of SARS crisis when the whole world put China on quarantine. During his weeklong visit Fernandes also met the Chinese Premier Wen Jiabao, Chairman of Central Military Commission and former President Jiang Zemin and Vice Chairman of CMC General Guo Boxiong. Both sides decided to step up military to military exchanges, hold a counter terrorism dialogue and increase CBM to maintain peace along the LAC, paving the way for the final solution of the boundary dispute. Fernandes emphasized that India and China were good neighbours and as members of international anti terrorism alliance they have cooperated well.

**Vajpyee’s China Visit:**
On June 22nd, 2003 Vajpayee became the fourth Indian Prime Minister to visit China in five decades of Indian independence. Like Fernandes tour Vajpayee was also defying WHO’s advisory suggestion of postponement of travels to China in view of the SARS scare.

On arrival in Beijing Vajpayee said that there was a compelling geographical, political and economic logic for closer relations between our two countries. He said that India attached high priority to relations with this important neighbour. Vajpayee further remarked that India and China have developed a wide canvas of mutually beneficial cooperation and have been developing and diversifying our relations even while simultaneously addressing our differences. Whereas Chinese Prime Minister Wen Jiabao said, “the visit of Indian prime minister is the beginning of new era in China India Relations”.

During his visit, the Prime Minister held extensive talks with President Hu Jintao, Chairman of Central Military Commission and former president Jiang Zemin, Chairman of Standing Committee of the National People’s Congress Wu Bangguo and Vice President Zeng Qinghong. The talks were said to be held in sincere and friendly atmosphere. Both the sides discussed wide ranging issues including border, Sikkim and cross border terrorism. The Chinese President said that Vajpayee’s visit would impart momentum to bilateral relations in all its spheres and build trust and confidence. This visit would send a
message to the entire international community that India and China were coming closer.

Both the sides reiterated their old positions on border. Wen Jiabao said, "Historical burden left over by the colonialists". He said further, "The Chinese side stands for a fair, reasonable and mutually acceptable solution to the issue, a solution that can be found through bilateral talks in accordance with the principle of consultation on equal footing and mutual accommodation and mutual adjustment".53

**Special Representatives Level Talks:**

Therefore an important outcome of the visit was to initiate Special Representative Level Talks to expedite the progress on boundary issue. Consequently India named National Security Advisor Brajesh Mishra as its Special Representative and Chinese side named Dai Bingguo, its senior most vice Minister in the Ministry of External Affairs as its Special Representative to hold talks on border issue. Both sides agreed to continue maintenance of peace and tranquility on the LAC and to have high level dialogue and decided that foreign ministers of the two countries would meet annually.54 India again recognized Tibet as an integral part of China and not to allow anti China activities by Tibetans in India. By agreeing to start border trade with India through Sikkim, China recognized India's sovereignty over Sikkim.

During Vajpayee’s China visit India and China signed a Joint Declaration and Nine Documents including cooperation in economy, law
and justice, science and technology energy, education, simplifying of visa procedure and culture. Most significant of all documents was the “Declaration on principles for Relations and Comprehensive Cooperation” between the PRC and Government of India. The Joint Declaration accorded highest priority to the promotion of socio economic development and prosperity of both India and China, the maintenance of peace and stability in the region and world, strengthening of multipolarity at the international level, and enhancing the positive factor of the globalization.

At the end of his visit, Vajpayee commented that India had discussed boundary dispute as never before and a roadmap was now ready for its resolution.

**Special Representatives Talks:**

The Special Representatives of the two countries met for the first time on October 23rd and 24th, 2003 to discuss boundary problem in detail. The second round of Special Representatives talks held in Beijing from January 2004. Indian side was represented by Brajesh Mishra, whereas the Chinese side was represented by Dai Bingguo.55

Indian Prime Minister Manmohan Singh held talks with visiting Chinese State Councilor Tang Jixuan on October 27th, 2004, and both spoke highly of the bilateral relations between China and India. During the meeting, Tang said Sino-Indian relationship had reached a stage of
comprehensive development and had strong influence to the region and the world as well.

External Affairs Minister K. Natwar Singh on June 23rd, 2004 concluded his visit to China on a highly positive note, meeting his counterparts from countries like China, Japan and Pakistan.

The third round of Special Representatives talks was held on July 26-27, 2004 in New Delhi. After the change of government in India, J.N. Dixit was the new interlocure of the Indian side. It was hoped the new Indian interlocutor was due to take some time to establish personal rapport with Chinese counterpart.56 In October 2004, six member delegation led by Xinjiang and Governor Ismail Tiliwaldi visited India. Economic agenda centered the Xinxiang India talks. In November 2004, Chinese Premier Wen Jiabao met Indian Prime Minister Manmohan Singh during the ASEAN Regional Forum Meeting in Vientine, Laos.

The fourth round of Special Representatives talks took place in Beijing on 18th and 19th November 2004, Indian side was represented by J.N. Dixit, the Chinese Executive Vice – Foreign Minister, Dai Bingguo, met to carry forward the sensitive parleys which took place in New Delhi in July 2004 between the two interlocutors.57 In December 2004 General Vij, Chief of Indian Army Staff visited China.
On January 23-25, 2005 when the two countries sat on a strategic
dialogue they were pushing on their bilateral talks into a new stage.
The Chinese vice Foreign Minister Wu Dawai and Indian Foreign
Secretary Shyam Sharan held talks. The two countries agreed to
enhance their regional and global role. The bilateral talks aimed at
broadening the scope of Sino-Indian bilateral relations while providing
both countries with a platform to exchange notes on regional and
global issues of common concern.

Fifteenth Meeting of JWG:

The 15 Round of JWG took place in Beijing from 30-31, March,
2005. The Indian delegation led by Foreign Secretary Shyam Sharan,
the Chinese delegation led by Vice Foreign Minister Wu Dawai. The
discussion marked a resumption of dialogue in the JWG process after a
gap of two and half years. They reviewed the ongoing process of LAC
clarification and Confidence Building Measures. Both sides agreed to
further Confidence Building Measures in border areas and to promote
mutual trust and confidence which was essential for the objectives of a
settlement of the boundary question. The 15th meeting of Expert Group
was held in Beijing on March 29th, 2005. The Chinese People’s
Association for Friendship with Foreign Countries (CPAFFC) and the
China –India Friendship Association hosted a reception in March 2005
to mark the 55th anniversary of the establishment of diplomatic relations
between China and India.
Premier Wen Jiabao in India:

The Chinese Premier Wen Jiabao visited India from 11-14 April 2005. During his visit India and China announced a new “Strategic Partnership” pledging to resolve long standing border dispute and boost trade and economic development between the rising power. The agreement signed on 11th, April 2005 marked an important shift in relations between Asian giants which fought a war in 1962 and have had long regarded each other with suspicion.

Singh Said, “India and China together can reshape the world”. Both sides agreed to a framework for addressing longstanding difference over their 2175 miles long border promising to resolve the dispute through “Peaceful and friendly consultation”. Both countries signed other agreement on Trade and Economic Cooperation, Technology sharing, and Civil Aviation linking major cities of both countries.

Chinese authorities handed over the rectified map to the (depicting Sikkim as part of India) which was demonstrative of the fact that “This is no longer an issue in India-China Relations. It is something which has been now put behind us”, Change of Chinese attitude was witnessed with a map showing the Sikkim as part of India. On Tibet, commitment was made by India not to allow political activities by Tibetans in India were reiterated in this meeting. “Strategic and
Cooperative partnership for peace and prosperity” was the main achievement for the two countries whereby they agreed to take bilateral cooperation in that direction. The CBMs along the LAC strengthened further.

The Fifth round of Special Representatives talks took place in New Delhi simultaneously with the summit level meeting. A joint task force to study the detailed China-India Regional Trading Arrangement was also decided to set up.

On July 4th 2005 President Hu Jintao met Indian Foreign Minister Natwar Singh in Kazakh capital where India was participating as an observer. In the same month at Gleangles, Scotland during the G8 Summit Indian Prime Minister Manmohan Singh met with Chinese President. Chen Shuyin, Vice – President of China National Textile and Apparel Council, during his visit to Mumbai on August 24, 2005 proposed that India and China should work together after the elimination of quotas and push individual advantages for mutual benefit.63

The Sixth Round of special representatives talks took place in Beijing whereby both sides agreed that momentum of growth of China India strategic and cooperative partnership has provided more favourable condition for the settlement of boundary issue that date back many years. The Indian side was represented by M.K. Narayan
and Chinese side was represented by Dai Bingguo. The two sides held that signing of the agreement on the political parameters and guiding principle for the settlement of the boundary question between India and China laid sound groundwork for the settlement of the vexed boundary problem.

Chinese President Hu Jintao and his Indian counterpart Abul Kalam exchanged congratulations on the launching of the Sino-Indian Friendship Year and vowed to further develop the bilateral ties and boost cooperation in 2006. China and India are good neighbors with a long standing friendship between the two peoples, said Hu in his congratulatory message.

The establishment of the Sino-Indian strategic cooperative partnership oriented to peace and prosperity in 2005 marked a new stage for the development of the bilateral ties, and the declaration on setting the year 2006 as Sino-Indian Friendship Year demonstrated the common aspiration of the two governments and two peoples to strengthen good neighborly relations, expand mutually beneficial cooperation and boost common development.

Chinese President Hu Jintao said “In the year 2006, China will take the Sino-Indian Friendship Year as an opportunity to boost the traditional Sino-Indian friendship, expand bilateral dialogues, exchanges and cooperation in various fields to enrich the contents of bilateral ties and push forward the development of the bilateral strategic cooperative
partnership". Kalam said in his message that the far-reaching historic and cultural exchanges between the two ancient civilizations of India and China have greatly contributed to the civilization of human beings. The launching of the Sino-Indian Friendship Year is a landmark in the history of bilateral relations and India looks forward to taking the Friendship Year as an opportunity to further deepen and enrich the bilateral relations, he said. Chinese Premier Wen Jiabao and his Indian counterpart Manmohan Singh also exchanged congratulatory message over the Sino-Indian Friendship Year.

India - China Strategic Talks:

From 9th to 11th January 2006 India-China Strategic and Cooperative Dialogue took place in Beijing in which both countries accepted the fact that they were committed to settling the dispute considering the current aim of developing friendly relations. Both sides showed their willingness to solve the boundary problem on the basis of the "Strategic and Cooperative Partnership for peace and Prosperity" that China and India had agreed upon during Wen Jiabao's visit to New Delhi in April 2005.

From March 10th to 12th, 2006 Special Representatives of India and China met in New Delhi and then Kumarakom in Kerala for the Seventh Round of Talks on the boundary question to search guiding framework to resolve boundary issue. Although nothing much was disclosed but the talks concluded in cordial atmosphere and
representatives expressed hope that in the next two or three meetings guiding framework would be evolved.\textsuperscript{66}

China has pledged to step up strategic and cooperative relations with India in 2006, a year of friendship between India and China. Chinese foreign Minister Li Zhaosing made the remark during a meeting with visiting Indian Minister of Defence Pranab Mukherji. Li Said that China attaches great importance to relations with India, noting that the common prosperity of China and India, with one third of the world's population would be huge contribution to mankind.

Then Special Representatives of India and China finished the Eighth Round of Talks on boundary question in Beijing on 25-26 June, 2006. Chinese side was represented by Vice Foreign Minister Dai Bingguo and Indian side was represented by national Security advisor, M.K. Narayanan. The two sides exchanged views on framework of resolving the boundary question in a friendly and frank atomosphere.\textsuperscript{67}

In July 2006, China and India restarted long awaited border trade through Nathu La pass, a historical trade route that has been closed for 44 years.

\textbf{Hu Jintao in India: November, 2006:}

"India China friendship year 2006" reached its climax with the visit of Chinese President Hu Jintao in November 2006. The visit of Chinese President is significant as it was the visit of any Chinese President to India after the gap of 10 Years. It is worth mentioning here that Jiang
Zemin the then Chinese President visited India in 1996. During his visit Hu met Indian President APJ Abul Kalam, Vice President B.S. Shekhawat, Prime Minister Manmohan Singh, UPA Chairperson Sonia Gandhi, L.K. Advani Leader of opposition and many other leaders. During his visit the leaders of the two countries have noted with satisfaction the all round progress made over recent years in India China relations and their regional and multilateral cooperation’s. They reiterated the shared vision and fundamental principles for the future development of India China relations as embodied in the Declaration of principles for Relations and Comprehensive cooperation of June 23rd, 2003 and April 11, 2005 signed between the prime Minister of the two countries.

Leaders of both the countries agreed that an early settlement of the boundary question will advance the basic interest of the two countries and it should be pursued as a strategic objective.

The two sides also agreed to promote Cooperation in Nuclear energy. Consistent with their international commitments, they agreed that “international civilian nuclear cooperation” should be advanced through innovative and forward looking approach while safeguarding the effectiveness of global non-proliferation.68

The major outcome of the visit was a 10 point strategy proposed by both countries in a joint declaration for further development of
bilateral relations. The strategy is aimed at fully realizing the potential for cooperation in a wide range of areas, upgrading China-India relations to a qualitative new level and further substantiating and reinforcing their strategic and cooperative partnership.

Besides this 12 agreements of mutual interest were also signed during the three days of wide ranging discussion. Describing his visit as highly successful the Chinese president felt that his visit and its outcome would improve bilateral relation and contribute to the region and the world.69

Moreover both sides agreed to expand cooperation in Trade, Finance Information and Technology, Energy, Science and Technology Agriculture, Human Resources, Education and other fields.70

At the end of the visit both sides reiterated that at the fulcrum of their efforts was their collective political will to enrich and reinforce their strategic and cooperative partnership for peace and prosperity, and to resolve their outstanding issues in a focused sincere and problem solving manner.

The first bilateral interaction between India and China in 2007 was the two Special Representatives continued their talks and the Ninth round of border talks took place from 16-18 January 2007 in New Delhi. The two Representatives M.K. Narayanan and Dai Bingguo of China continued with their talks on a framework for the boundary
on the basis of the agreement on “Political parameters and Guiding principles”. The talks were held in an open, free, cooperative and constructive environment.71

The Tenth round of Special Representatives talks took place in New Delhi and Coonoor from April 20-22, 2007. The two Representatives M.K. Narayanan and Dai Bingguo of China continued with their talks on a framework for the boundary on the basis of the agreement on “Political parameters and Guiding principles”. The two sides expressed their satisfaction with the outcome of their talks.72

China took very cautious approach about the Indo-US Nuclear Deal which was agreed in July 2007. However deadlock over the deal is going on between the ruling UPA coalitions in India whereby left front, which was major part of the coalition has strong objections against this deal. Nevertheless Indian government was determined to go ahead with the deal. Growing Indo-US proximity in the wake of the deal has alarmed the Chinese leadership. Moreover a possible formation of US-Indian-Japan axis has put the Chinese leadership under pressure. The recent Indo-US-Japan-Australia Naval Exercise (September 2007) has changed the Chinese calculations.73 All these developments, of late have softened the Chinese attitude towards India whereby it agreed to talk the Brahmaputra river matter, and even ready to support Indian candidate for the permanent membership of the security council.
The Eleventh round of Boundary talks between India and China took place from September 24-26, 2007 at Beijing. The discussion took place on the framework for the settlement of the India China boundary questions. Talks were held in a friendly environment; however it remained inconclusive as nothing concrete came out of this.

Therefore, during the post–cold war era, relations between India and China acquired good momentum and revived the hope of making the 21st century an Asian Century.

**Manmohan Singh's Visit**

From a number of reasons, 2007 went by without a reciprocal high level from India. It bears repeating that the commitment at the highest political level for normalization has helped the India-china relationship stay on even keel, even as it weathered a fair share of storms. In retrospect it has been these high level meetings which have provided the occasion to iron out differences and remove misunderstandings not to mention, the opportunity to develop personal rapport as was displayed between Wen Jiabao and Manmohan Singh during the latter's visit to Beijing from 13-15 January, 2008. The case for a regular exchange at the highest level, which would play its own stabilizing role in the process of normalization, is itself evident.

The tone, tenor and outcome of the Indian prime Minister Manmohan Singh’s visit to China, when juxtaposed against similar high level interactions over the last five years appear to be almost
self-reflexive in characters. The earlier visits were preceded by considerable anticipation about the outcome and as discussed in the earlier chapters, each marked by a major breakthrough of sorts – appointment of the Special Representatives in 2003 (Vajpayee's China visit), the formulation of the political Parameters and Guiding Principles and the establishment of a “Strategic and Cooperative partnership for Peace and Prosperity” in 2005 (Wen Jaibao’s India visit) and the agreement on a ten-pronged strategy to provide more substance to the strategic and cooperative Partnership in 2006 (Hu Jintao’s India visit). The January, 2008 visit by contrast, seems almost like a contemplative pause or an introspective interlude–taking cognizance of the miles yet to cover between them, but responding to the similar strategic concerns that are increasingly confronting them. It was marked by a resolve to get this crucial equation right because, as Manmohan Singh said, the rise of India and China must be seen as a “Global public good” which will benefit the world – a statement which acquires significances in the light of impending reports of a global economic slowdown and the importance of developing economies such as India and China in cushioning it.\footnote{76}

In the year 2008 the following agreements were entered mutually by these countries.

> MOU for Cooperation between the Planning Commission, ROI and National Development and Reform Commission, PRC.
> MOU on Cooperation between Ministry of Railways, ROI and Ministry of Railways. PRC.
> MOU between Ministries of Housing Urban Poverty Alleviation, ROI and Ministry of Construction PRC.
> MOU between Indian Council for Cultural Relations and Chinese People’s Association for Friendship with Foreign Countries on India-China Joint Medical Mission.
> MOU between the Indian Council for Cultural Relations and Chinese People’s Association for Association for Friendship with Foreign Countries on cooperation in culture.
> MOU on cooperation between Geological Survey of India (GSI) and China Geological Survey in Geo-Sciences (CGSG).
> MOU between Department of AYUSH, Ministry of Health and Family Welfare, ROI and State Administration of Traditional Chinese Medicine (SATCM), PRC Covering Cooperation in Traditional Medicine.
MOU between NABARD and Agricultural Development Bank of China on Mutual Cooperation.

Protocol of Phytosanitary Requirements for the Export of Tobacco Leaves from India to China between the General Administration of Quality Supervision, Inspection and Quarantine, PRC and the Ministry of Agriculture, ROI.

The Twelfth Round of Boundary Talks:

China and India met for the 12th Round of Boundary talks at Beijing on 11th and 12th September, 2008 to resolve the complicated boundary dispute. India was represented by M.K.Narayanan, Indian National Advisor and China was represented by Dai Binguo, the state Councilor. Both were pragmatic candid and friendly but no specific agreements had been reached. After a year –long hiatus, the boundary talks were held amid some tension in bilateral ties in the wake of attempts by China block a consensus on the India – specific wavier at the NSG meet in Vienna earlier this month.

Beijing’s stand at the Nuclear Suppliers Group (NSG) upset New Delhi, which conveyed its unhappiness to Chinese Foreign Minister Yang Jiechi during his visit to New Delhi in the second week of September 2008.

India and China discuss out – policy cooperation:
India and China military level talks on anti-piracy cooperation were held at Singapore on May 30th, 2009 represented by Admiral Suresh Mehta Chairman of Chiefs of Staff committee from India and Chinese deputy chief of the General Staff Ma Xiaotian on the sidelines of the Asian Security Summit (ASS) held at Singapore. Both have explored new proposals for Cooperation in the ongoing anti-piracy operation along the Gulf of Aden. India also reaffirmed its commitment in which international trade and economic development can proceed unhindered. General Ma later told “every time we (China and India) have new consensus and new proposals .... We had a very indepth exchange of views where we made new proposals.”

**Manmohan Singh and Hu Jintao review ties:**

Against the backdrop of heightened rhetoric on the border issue, Prime Minster of India Manmohan Singh and the Chinese President Hu Jiantao met at Yekaterinburg to review the relationship between India and China. They reiterated their intention of pursuing close ties and give a fresh push to their high level dialogue on the disputed boundary between the two countries.

**13th Round of Boundary Talks:**

One Major reason for souring of the relationship between India and China was the border issue; positive developments in the bilateral relationship in the last few years have over shadowed the vexed
border dispute. India and China wanted to find a fair, reasonable and mutually acceptable solution to their complete boundary dispute and hoped the discussions would further strengthen their "Strategic partnership". On the pretext, China and India met at New Delhi on 7th and 8th August 2009 for the 13th Round of Boundary talks.

National Security Adviser M.K. Narayanan headed the Indian delegation and China’s State Counselor and Vice Minister for Foreign Affairs Dai Bingguo led the Chinese team. Precise details of the border talks have never been revealed by either side. Although no substantive outcome took place but on the boundary question, both sides expressed satisfaction at the progress being made through the Special Representatives mechanism and reiterated that pending the settlement of the boundary issue peace and tranquility healthy relationship with China goes beyond the boundary issue.80

The 13th round of talks between China and India made little progress in the resolution of their territorial disputes. While Sino-Indian relations have enjoyed steady improvement over the last decade, failure to resolve the border issue will continue to impede full normalization of bilateral relations. Both the countries promised cooperation in energy climate change and Trade negotiations. Beijing and New Delhi have made great efforts in building a strategic and cooperative partnership for peace and prosperity. Over the years, these have translated into and are built upon summit meetings, high level visits and military to military
contacts.\textsuperscript{81} But India is still worried about the Chinese policy on Arunachal Pradesh.

**Indian President Prathibha Devi Singh Patil Visit to Beijing:**

Skirting continuous issues Indian President Pratibha Singh Devi Patil visited Beijing on 27\textsuperscript{th} May 2010 and held discussion with the top Chinese leadership. She was the first Indian President to visit this country in a decade. She held wide range of discussion with her counterpart Hu Jintao as well as Premier Wen Jiabao. But controversial issues like Visas for Chinese Telecom companies and Sino – Pakistan did not figure in the discussions. She sought Chinese support for New Delhi’s permanent membership of the UN Security Council during the talks. In return China supported India’s aspiration of becoming a permanent Member of the UN Security council.\textsuperscript{82}

**The Fourteenth Round of Boundary Talks:**

China and India met for the Fourteenth Round of Boundary talks at Beijing on November 29\textsuperscript{th} and 30\textsuperscript{th}, 2010 represented by Shiv Shankar Menon, India’s National Security Advisor and Dai Bingguo, the Chinese State Councilor. The Talks with high level diplomacy ended with ‘Steady Progress’ and ‘Commitment to seek a fair deal on the border dispute. The details of the border talks were not divulged but both sides released positive indicators. The two sides discussed unresolved disagreement including Chinese stapled visas, India’s suspension of high level defense exchanges and the Chinese footprint.
in infrastructure projects in Pakistan occupied Kashmir. The talks were focused on finding a framework for a final settlement of disputed areas in the western and Eastern sections of the border. 

**China and India relations Commonsensical:**

The Chinese envoy to India Zhang You stated before the scheduled arrival of Chinese Premier Wan Jiabao to India, that ‘China-India relations were’ very fragile and need special care and guidance to avoid a war of words. China and India relations can be damaged as they are fragile and will be very difficult to repair. Therefore, they need to be handled carefully.

**Wen Jiabao visit with Trade delegation to India:**

The Chinese Premier Wen Jiabao made a three day visit to India along with a trade delegation of 300 businessmen to give further impetus to the already booming bilateral trade relations. Indian Prime Minister Manmohan Singh and Wen Jiabao on December 15th 2010 met at New Delhi and came close to addressing one of India’s major concerns – redressing the trade imbalance Wen said that there is enough space in the world for both China and India to grow and enough areas for them to cooperate. He also discussed the notion of rivalry or vicious competition between the Chinese ‘dragon’ and the Indian ‘elephant’.
Wen also visited Tagore international school in New Delhi on the same day and interacted with the students. ‘India and China are friends’, this was the message Wen had given to the students. "Friendship between our two countries has a time honored history which can be dated back to 2000 years".

But China remained non-committed on issues of ‘core’ concern stated to India such as stapled visas to people from J&K, Chinese infrastructure projects in POK, Pakistan sponsored terrorism directed against India and border dispute. Hotline between India and Chinese PMs operationalized and both PMs set a bilateral trade target of $100 billion by 2015.85

Though China tried to block a loan from Asian Development Bank to India in 2009 for the development of Arunachal Pradesh, India succeeded in securing the loan with the help of USA and Japan. China expressed displeasure at ADB. The year 2009-10 saw continuing high level engagement with China including meetings on the sidelines of major international and regional events. During these meetings there was fruitful exchange of views and the leaders of both countries agreed to continue and strengthen efforts to build a strategic and cooperative partnership between the two countries. With convergence of interest on issues like Doha Round of WTO negotiation, climate change and global financial crisis both the countries continued to interact constructively on
global issues except the divergent issues like border disputes, Arunachal Pradesh issue, Tibet problem and so on which continued to be the issues blocking the Sino-Indian Relations.86

**China to reinforce trust with Neighbours:**

China in a national defense white paper issued on 30th March 2011 said it would seek to expand confidence building measures with its neighbours as well as stick to a defence policy that was defensive in nature. The white paper the seventh that China has issued since 1998, portrayed a strained regional security environment describing Asia-Pacific region in particular as ‘Volatile’. Paper also said ‘Pressure builds up in preserving China’s territorial integrity and maritime rights and interests though without referring to specific territorial disputes.

The paper did not specifically mention about the territorial dispute with India and defense exchanges with India which are currently suspended after China objected to the visit of the Northern commands army chief because the ‘sensitive’ region of Kashmir was under his Jurisdiction. This followed China issuing stapled visas to Indian citizens in J & K seen by Indian officials as China questioning Indian sovereignty in the region.87

**India and China to address irritants in ties:**

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The first meeting of Man Mohan Singh the Indian Prime Minister and Hu Jintao, the Chinese President met at Sanya in China on April 13, 2011 and held talks on various issues especially on border issue. Both agreed to work towards removing all major irritants impacting bilateral relationship including the border issue. Both agreed to setup a mechanism on Coordination and consultation on border affairs, resume second level defense exchange, initiate high-level economic dialogue. China also convinced to resolve the issue of issuing stapled visas to Indians domiciled in Jammu and Kashmir.

An Overview:

The India-China theatre is a hot bed of activity during the post - cold war era. Chinese intrusions on the border are on the rise, leading to protests by India. As china intensifies its military buildup, India is huffing and puffing to catch up. Separately china is building strategic stakes in India's neighborhood while India appears to be watching helplessly. Inspite of fourteen rounds of border talks held between these two countries the boundary dispute remained unsolved and unresolved because China has been repeatedly intransigent. In the other hand India and China are on the same page on global issues and on trade they are dancing their way to the bank. Through all this, India maintains a strange policy of appeasing the dragon. India allows the Dalai Lama to visit Arunachal Pradesh in the teeth of Chinese howls, but pretends that intrusions by China have happened for years and the definition of
peace and tranquility is the absence of violence. It all boils down to a failure to resolve the perennial problem of border dispute. This is quite evident in the statement made by India and China very recently. Nirupama Rao, the Foreign Secretary of India says India – China relations if you go by record of three decades at least, I would in fact, argue that it has become stronger. That the foundations have become much more stable”. At the same time China’s Ambassador to India, Zhang Yan says “China – India relations are very fragile and very easy to be damaged and very difficult to repair. Therefore, they need special care in the information age”.

But Chinese analysts are increasingly recognizing the growing important of India as an important and rising power. Such assessments are based on India’s recent economic growth, its active great-power diplomacy and ‘look east” policy, and its increasing military capabilities and changing defense posture. Beijing has been carefully watching growing Indo-US ties in recent years, especially in the areas of defense and nuclear cooperation. China is also concerned with India’s growing naval capabilities and its ambitions regarding the Indian Ocean, which is critical to China’s energy security.

India is also developing its long-range missile capabilities and cementing its conventional build up in the Sino-Indian border region. In addition, New Delhi seeks to reinforce its territorial claims by encouraging migration to Arunachal, seeking international recognition of
the status-quo on the ground, and establishing formal administration. China seeks both opportunities and challenges in its relationships with India in the coming years. Beijing recognizes New Delhi’s desire to play a more prominent role on the global stage, and is carefully assessing how India’s growing economic power, military capabilities, and its more active great-power diplomacy could affect China’s national interests. Overall, Beijing remains confidence that it can manage if not resolve differences and disputes between the two countries, and promote bilateral cooperation as China and India continue their upward trajectory toward great-power status. It is also sanguine about the prospects of reaching a final resolution to their territorial disputes.
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4) Ibid.


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33) Renmin Ribao, 30th November, 1996.


38) *Asian News Digest*, April 30-May 6, 2000, p.238.


54) *Ibid*.


58) *www.ipcs.com*.


61) *www.peoplesdaily.com*


65) *Ibid*.


69) *Xinhua*, 30th May, 2006.


71) *Ibid*.

72) *Ibid*.


78) *The Hindu*, 3rd May, 2009, p.11


87) The Hindu, April 1, 2011, p.15.
88) The Hindu, April 14, 2011.