

Chapter 1

Introduction

China is not merely an important civilization and a fast-growing power, it is also India's largest neighbour, makes the significance of studying Sino-India relations. India and China emerged from the shadows of colonial rule around the same time, and marched on separate paths for their tryst with destiny. While India adopted a democratic form of government in 1947, in 1949 the Communists took the reins of China in their hand. The complex nature of Sino-India relations was evident within the first fifteen years of their bilateral relations: changing from promises of eternal friendship to a border war in 1962. The dual nature of Sino-India relations has been a recurrent phenomenon throughout modern history. Ranging from hardened stands on the border issue to recognition (by India) of Tibet as part of China; from competitive bidding for energy resources to increasing bilateral trade; from perceptions of encirclement to increased cooperation in multilateral fore, Sino-India relations are an intricate web of interests. The purpose of this dissertation is to examine the prospects of Sino-India relations in the last 10 years.¹The scope of the dissertation will focus upon the core issues of the border dispute, regional geopolitics, and economic relations.

India and China have emerged as the two rapidly growing economies and their relationship has gone beyond the bilateral dimension and global and strategic significance. Looking into the future, despite all kinds of positive for the following reasons:

First, the leaders of both the countries have taken long term strategic perspective about mutual relationship which provides a clear guidance and solid political basis for the sustained development of relations.²

Second, China and India relations have acquired new dimensions. The two countries established the Strategic and Cooperative Partnership for Peace and prosperity in 2005,

formulated the Ten- Pronged Strategy in 2006, and signed a Shared Vision for 21st Century in 2008. All these have provided guidelines and roadmaps for the development of strategic partnership.

Third, China and India relations are expanding and deepening in an all-round manner, and have extended into almost all human endeavours which have yielded tangible benefits to the people of both the countries.

Fourth, China and India enjoy growing shared interests. As two emerging economic powers, China and India have become important trade partners. They also share similar views on many important global and regional issues and closely coordinate and cooperate with each other within the framework of BRICS, BASIC, G20 and others issues like the financial crisis, climate change and international trade negotiations. Both are committed to the idea of promoting and building a harmonious world order for common prosperity.

Fifth, China and India relations have matured over the year. While striving to seek mutually acceptable solutions to the boundary issue and other differences, both sides agree not to let these differences stand in the way of cooperation. Furthermore, the two countries have set up relevant mechanisms, such as Special Representative Talks on border issue, strategic dialogues and so on. All these platforms have played very useful roles in addressing relevant issues and maintaining stable relations between the two countries.

The past 60 years have clearly proved that when China and India live in amity and understand and support each other, the two countries grow faster and people benefit. It has also proved that cooperation, communication, consultation and dialogue are the best means to handle relations. We have more common interests than differences. Chinese President Xi Jinping has emphasized that the good neighbourly friendship and cooperation between China and India and their common development, not only benefit our two peoples but also serve the peace and

development of Asia and the entire world. Indian Prime Minister Dr. Manmohan Singh has time and again said that there is enough room in the world for India and China to prosper together.³

China and India need to enhance their mutual trust which is vital to a sound and stable relationship. Without trust there can be no genuine relations. Without trust, there can be no sustained and meaningful cooperation. The two countries should maintain the momentum of high level interaction: expand exchanges and cooperation at all levels and in all fields. The very recent visit by the Indian President to China will surely enhance mutual trust and cooperation between the two countries. As two fast growing economies, China and India hold great potentials for cooperation in trade and investment.⁴ The two sides should expand the scope of trade, improve trade configuration, and strive to reduce the trade imbalance. At the same time, the two countries should try to reach a regional trade arrangement and take effective way to remove trade and investment barriers, in order to foster an environment conducive to sustainable development of bilateral economic cooperation and achieve a win-win outcome. The two countries should enhance exchange and cooperation in the fields of education, tourism, religion, science and technology, and increase interactions between the academic communities and media sectors of the two countries. Exchanges between youths of both sides should be further expanded. The China Festival in India and Indian Festival in China which have recently opened will surely serve as an invaluable platform for promoting mutual understanding and friendship. China and India must remain important partners in regional and global affairs, strengthen coordination and cooperation, and continue to play an active role in promoting multi polarization and democratization of international relations and safeguard the common interests of developing countries. The two countries should respect and accommodate each other's interests and concerns and appropriately manage the outstanding issues through consultations on equal footing and in a spirit of mutual

understanding. The two sides must follow the political parameters and principles that both have agreed upon, including the Five Principle of Peaceful Co-existence, and strive to seek a fair and reasonable solution acceptable to both the sides.

The populations of China and India account for 40 per cent of the World's total population. A meaningful cooperation between China and India will not only benefit the two countries and its people, but also the peace and prosperity of Asia and the world at large at the beginning of a new cycle of 60 years, China – India relations is poised for a major breakthrough, with new and rare opportunities. The two countries must join their efforts to take our relations go greater heights.

Theoretical Framework

The outward outlook of Western states was therefore something to be emulated, but Nehru's international politics, of friendship went further by encompassing policies, namely nonalignment and Panchsheel (peaceful coexistence), whose history he traced back to ancient India, that would challenge the 'fear complex' that Western modernity had produced and which, he suggested to a newspaper in 1933, was the cause of half the troubles of the world war. 5

Realism

Kenneth Waltz's Theory of International Politics 'is one of the most influential IR theories rooted in assumptions about anarchy and the struggle for survival, realists see the world as an arena of competition. Waltz prescribes a balance of power as the best way to manage this competition, and characterizes this as the dominant phenomenon. In international relations Waltz's theory has been further expanded by Stephen Walt, into something known as balance of threat. Under the realist umbrella there are two major variants: offensive and defensive realism.

Offensive Realism

John Mearsheimer builds upon the context of anarchy and adds three assumptions to Waltz's theory: rationality, offensive capabilities, and uncertain intentions. Pursuit of hegemonic power, rather than balance of power, is the offensive realist's route to survival. Mearsheimer also adds non-structural variables to the realist frame in the form of regional and global geopolitics. The offensive realists predict more war and competition, especially when a power maximizing state collides with the balancing actions of a security seeker. Critics also contend that offensive realists fail to appreciate how uncertainty itself may be a reason for states to cooperate, and that cooperation is also a form of self-help.

Defensive Realism

Defensive realists envision more possibilities of cooperation under certain sets of conditions. Robert Jervis argues that two security-seeking states may inadvertently end up hurting each other's security, thereby setting off a spiral leading to war. He explains Britain's dilemma with respect to the security of maritime routes to its colonies, and Germany's apprehensions over the rise of Russia before World War II in these terms. The dynamics at work between the U.S. and China during the Korean War also exemplify. How states can be drawn into conflict due to perceived threats to sovereignty and security. According to defensive realists, the security dilemma is intractable, but can be mitigated through signalling, balance and differentiation of offensive and defensive means. Conversely, territorial disputes, interests other than security, misperceptions, and aggressive policies make the security dilemma insolvable. The Cold War is an example of how certain conflicts may well be a product of irreconcilable differences and a security dilemma.

The three main positions articulated in the literature addressing the prospects of Sino-India relations include the hyper-realists, appeasers, and pragmatists. These positions correspond to

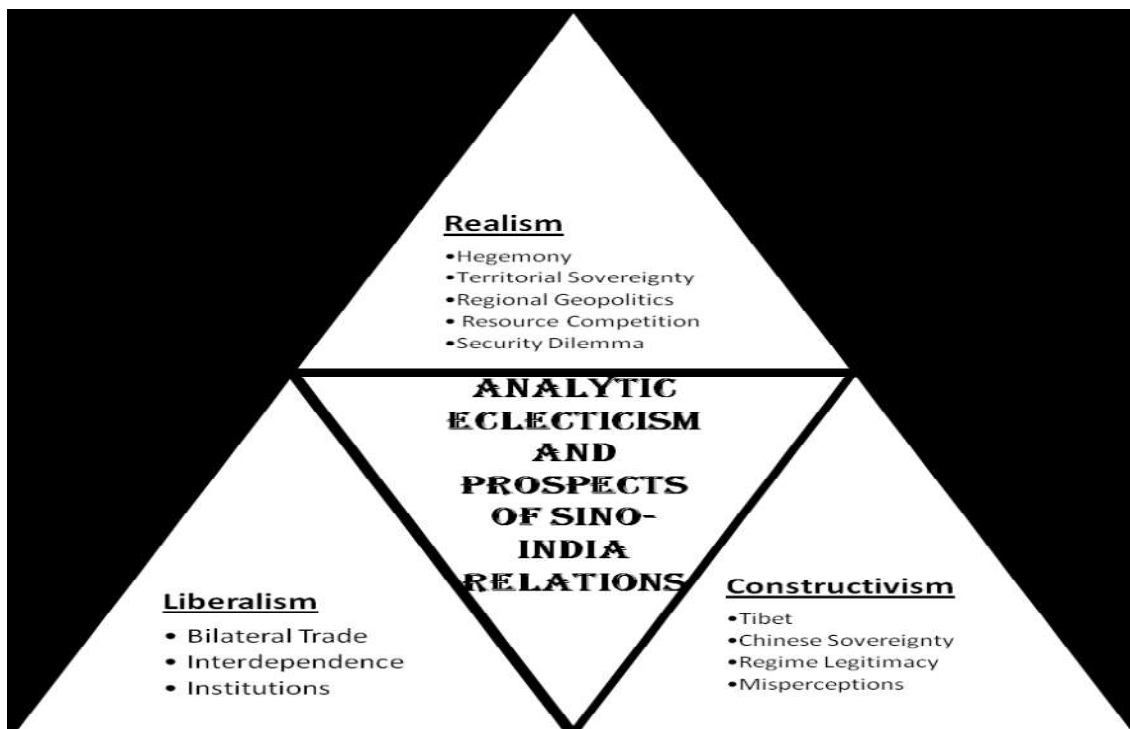
perceptions about China as a clear and present danger, as a benign neighbour, and as a long-term competitor that can be managed through engagement. Conceptually, these frameworks draw inspiration from the IR theories of realism and liberalism, with the pragmatists following the middle path based on defensive realism.

Hyper-Realists

Hyper-realists argue that due to the border dispute, the prospects of improvement in Sino-India relations are unlikely. Beijing's lack of alacrity over the border issue is viewed as strategic ambiguity aimed at containing India's rise. Hyper-realists argue that geopolitics dominates the Sino-India relationship. China's relationship with Pakistan, and forays in the Indian Ocean Region (IOR), are seen as encirclement strategies, prompting India's Look East policy. Increasing energy demands in both countries. However, there are empirical incongruities in this literature that lie in hyper-realists 'inability to explain occasions of cooperation in Sino-Indian relations. The hardliner prescriptions also run the danger of pushing India and China down the path of an arms race and increasing the chances of conflict.

The complex web of power, security, perceptions, and interdependence is not unique to Sino-India relations. In China's relationship with Taiwan we see strong evidence of power and competition, reinforced by the constructed ideas of Chinese sovereignty.⁶ However, one also cannot ignore the security dilemma on both sides, at the same time there is growing economic interaction with its positive fallout. Similarly, China's relationship with Japan reflects a mix of realist, liberalist, and constructivist elements. The deterrence value of the U.S.-Japan alliance and ambiguities about the role of Japan during a future Taiwan crisis reflect shades of both offensive and defensive realism. While Sino-centric images of Asia and memories of humiliation at the hands of the Japanese add to the competition, their growing bilateral trade

and interactions in the Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN) and the ASEAN Regional Forum (ARF) have assumed significant momentum.⁷ Peter Katzenstein, for instance, recognizes. The prospect of relations between any two countries can be understood as purely competitive, pragmatic, or purely cooperative. Competitive relations are marked by use or display of force, asymmetric warfare, and containment policies. Cooperative relations imply the absence or unimportance of differences, and relations are marked by a high level of societal exchange, mature institutions, open borders, and complex interdependence. If competition and cooperation identify the left and right extremes of the spectrum, pragmatism lies at the centre. Pragmatic competition is marked by negotiations short of reconciliation, and substantial engagement by government and non-government organizations. However, nations engaged in pragmatic competition continue to factor in the other's a potential enemy for military planning reposes. Incidents of violence cannot be ruled out, but are few and far between.



The key argument of this thesis is that the border dispute, regional geopolitics, and economic competition, catalysed by misperceptions, ensure that Sino-India relations will be competitive in nature. However, rising bilateral trade, and the imperative for peaceful economic development will keep the level and nature of competition at a pragmatic level through 2020.⁸ This thesis assumes that both India and China are rational actors motivated by self-interest, and acknowledges antecedent conditions to include geography, different political systems, and conflicting claims related to inter-state borders. The three sub-arguments to be examined relate to the border dispute, geopolitics, and economic relations.

Colonial Legacy and the Sino–India War of 1962

Aksai Chin was left under British control under the 1904 Anglo–Tibetan treaty, whereas the McMahon line agreed to by British and Tibetan officers at Shimla in October 1914 placed the border to the East. The 1904 treaty was rejected by the Qing Dynasty in China, and despite attendance and tacit acceptance of the McMahon Line by the resident Chinese representative, Beijing did not sign the 1914 treaty. On assuming power, the People’s Republic of China (PRC) renounced all prior foreign agreements as unequal treaties imposed upon it during the —century of humiliation¹¹ and demanded renegotiation of all borders. The Chinese annexation of Tibet in 1950 brought the reality of an expansionist power closer to the consciousness of Indian leaders, but, with strong convictions over Indian-Chinese friendship, Nehru acted pragmatically and did not support Tibet's independence. However, repudiation of the McMahon line by the Chinese brought to the fore the differences in perceptions of the Sino-India border, with direct repercussions for India's own territorial integrity. The granting of asylum to the Dalai Lama and his followers in 1959 made China equally apprehensive about India's long-term intentions. The discovery of a Chinese road having been built in Aksai Chin as a communication link between Xinjiang and Tibet renewed Indian fears and sparked a flurry of activities.⁹ The diplomatic failure to resolve the border dispute, and growing

misperceptions, prompted India to pursue an ill-fated Forward Policy aimed at establishing poorly tasked and poorly equipped military outposts along India's version of the border. Moves and counter-moves finally led to the Sino–India War in October 1962. Militarily, the Chinese victory was complete and India's defeat absolute. The war was a watershed for India, deeply affecting its psyche.

In 1967, there was another bout of artillery fire and a border skirmish at Chola in the Eastern Sector, highlighting the sensitivities surrounding the border dispute and the danger of inadvertent escalation.

The partnership agreement

At the end of Chinese premier Wen Jiabao's four day visit to India in April 2005, he and Indian prime minister Manmohan Singh signed a Joint Statement in which the two sides agreed that the bilateral relationship had acquired a "global and strategic character," creating the foundation for the establishment of an "India- China Strategic and Cooperative Partnership for peace and Prosperity"(Joint Statement India/China 2005). The Statement reiterated the intention of both sides to decouple contentions bilateral issues from the development of the overall relationship on the basis of "mutual and equal security. Development and prosperity," and called for "jointly addressing global challenges and threats".

On the political level, the two sides acknowledged the importance of high- level exchange between governments, parliaments, and political parties and agreed to "maintain and strengthen the momentum of such exchange" by holding regular meetings between the leaders of the two countries.¹⁰ However, the frequency of such meetings was left unspecified. At the people to people level, the Statement noted that a "Cultural Festival of China" was underway in India and would be followed by a "Cultural Festival of India" in China later in 2005. Such cultural exchanges were deemed valuable in promoting "mutual awareness" and

deepening the “friendship between the two peoples” and in facilitating the development of cooperation in other areas.

The Statement focused on economic cooperation as an “important dimension” of a stronger India- China relationship, set a bilateral trade target of \$25 billion or higher by 2008, and welcomed the report of the Joint Study Group (JSG) established to examine complementarities in trade and economic cooperation, which identified measures to remove impediments to economic exchange. The JSG recommendation on the creation of an Indian China Regional Training Arrangement to facilitate trade in goods and services and investments in identified sectors led to an agreement to appoint a Joint Task Force to study the feasibility of this JSG recommendation.

The Statement called for cooperation in the areas of science, technology, education, healthcare, information, tourism, youth exchange, agriculture, dairy development, sports, and other fields. It also underscored the importance of “mutual connectivity” in the area of transport and communication, agreed to work jointly to enhance direct air and shipping links, tourism, and people to people contacts, and announced the signing of a memorandum of understanding on liberalization of civil aviation links between the two countries. The two sides agreed to “cooperate in exchanging flood season hydrological data on trans-border Rivers,” and to work together in the field of energy security and conservation, “encouraging relevant departments and units of the two countries to engage in the survey and exploration of petroleum and natural gas resources in third countries.

In the area of security, the two sides agreed to broaden and deepen defence exchanges and enhance already existing confidence building measures.¹¹ On the question of the boundary dispute, both sides noted the work of the special representatives of the two countries and “welcomed the conclusion of the Agreement on the political Parameters and Guiding

Principle for the Settlement of the Boundary Question, “which committed them to a “political settlement of the issue in the context of their long term interests and overall bilateral relationship” in the meantime, they endeavoured to make “joint efforts to maintain peace and tranquillity in the border areas” in accordance with the 1993 and 1996 agreements and sought early clarification and confirmation of the LAC. Last, they concluded a Protocol on Modalities for the Implementation of Confidence Building Measures in the Military Field along the LAC in the India- China border areas.

In the area of regional and international relations, the two sides acknowledged that each country played an important role in the establishment of the twenty first century international political and economic order and expressed their desire “to develop closer and more extensive understanding and cooperation”, to support the “democratization of international relations and multilateralism” and to work toward the establishment of a “fair, rational, equal and mutually beneficial” international order, and to “promote North-South dialogue and South – South cooperation, “The United National, the Statement noted, was important in promoting “global peace, stability, and common development,” UN reform the two sides argued, should be “comprehensive and multifaceted” and increase the representation of developing countries. In another significant asymmetry, the Statement did not offer unequivocal Chinese support for India’s aspirations for a permanent seat in the United National Security Council, limiting the Chinese side to the vague formulation that China “understand and supports India’s aspirations to play an active role in the UN and international affairs.” This was in marked contrast to the strong support that India’s first Prime Minister Jawaharlal Nehru offered for China’s post World War 2 bid for a seat on the UN Security Council.

On the issue of terrorism, China and India insisted that the threat from terrorism was seamless and global, and its eradication required the “strengthening of the global legal framework.” Both sides agreed to cooperate on this issue through the instrumentality of the bilateral

dialogue mechanism on counter terrorism. ¹²With regard to their respective roles in the global economy, the two sides agreed to strengthen their cooperation in the WTO to safeguard the rights of developing countries and work together to “preserve stability and growth.” In the hortatory section of the Statement, the two sides declared that they were “ware of their linked destinies as neighbour’s and the two largest counties of Asia,” and agreed that they would join together to “contribute to the establishment of an atmosphere of mutual understanding, trust and cooperation in Asia and the world at large, and facilitate efforts to strengthen multilateral coordination mechanisms on security and cooperation.”

Review of Literature

There are number of books and articles have been written on India-China relations to understand and evaluate the different aspects of their relationship

Maharajakrishna, Rasgotra’s, *The New Asian Power Dynamics*, is an attemptto elaborate the chronological development of India China relations. India and China re-established their diplomatic ties in early in 1980s, the Rajiv Gandhi’s visit to China in 1988 became a milestone to restart these relations. Since then, relations have been growing day by day. ¹³

Shudhirkumar Singh’s *Post 9/11 Indian Foreign Policy Challenges and opportunities*, explains Chinese intervention in South Asia through the help and support to Pakistan and other South Asian countries which pose a challenge to India’s policy makers.¹⁴

Harsh V. Pant’s,*The rise of China Implications for India*, explains China’s rise in the field of military and infrastructure development and its resource accessibility in the Middle East, Africa, South and Southeast Asia. Pant describes that these Chinese efforts will definitely impact on India.¹⁵

Surinder Kumar Singla's *India and China: Comparative Economic Performance* is a fine work on India China economic relations. This work provides a comprehensive analysis of economic relations between India and China in disaggregative and comparative manner. Growth and composition of trade between the two countries has been examined through various trade related indices. Various dimensions of India's exports to China have been assessed in detail.¹⁶

RumelDahiya and Ashok K. Behuria , *India's Neighbourhood –Challenges in the Next Two Decades*, examines the issues of cooperation and discord between India- China relationship. While these two nations are emerging in Asia, issues like continued trade imbalance and competition for depleting resources, the unresolved border and Tibet issue are still creating friction in their relations. ¹⁷

Ravi Vohra and P.K. Ghosh's, *China and the Indian Ocean Region*, examines China's maritime relations with South Asian countries which are interpreted as part of perceived Chinese encirclement of India and it's string of pearls strategy.¹⁸

Y. Yangama Reddy's, *India China Relations- Changing Profile in the 21st Century*, evaluates The development of India- China relations under the NDA and UPA governments. The various non- traditional security threats like terrorism and energy security have been discussed in detail. ¹⁹

Mohan Malik's, *China and India- Great Power Rivals*, explains the triangular relationship between India, China and Pakistan. The India China border war, simultaneously established the entente cordiale between Pakistan and China.²⁰

N.S. Sisodia, *Towards A New Asian order*, is fine work to understand the China's hydro hegemony in Asian Region. As China is an upper riparian nation, its policies construction of

the dams and mega water projects on the rivers which originate from Tibet would create water problems for lower riparian countries like India and Bangladesh.²¹

D. Tripathi and B.R. Deepak's *India and China relations- Future perspectives*, describes the historical background, problems and the future perspectives of India China trade and economic engagement. Since 1990s when the two countries opened their economy, the trade has been growing steadily, except during 1998-99 following the India explosion in Pokhran which downed the trade between two countries. ²²

R.S Yadav and Suresh Danda's, *India's Foreign Policy Cotemporary Trend*, describes the importance of nations security for India and China. In classical science, national security is understood and defined. As protection from external aggression, i.e. military defence against military threats or attacks. But in modern times, broad definition on national security is needed which involves non- military and internal threats, which are posed to national security and are certainly, in some circumstances, no less dangerous than the external military threats.²³

Muchkund Dubey's , *India's foreign policy – Coping with the changing World*, describes the positive and negative issues between India and China. India-China relations are struggling with many unresolved issues like unbalance trade, border issues and China's military assistance to Pakistan. However, Dubey also offers some policy prescriptions to India to meet a possible challenge of China.²⁴

K.R. Gupta's, *India's International Relations*, explains the political, defence, economic and strategic aspects of India- China relations.²⁵

AmerdeepAthwal's, *China- India Relations- Cotemporary Dynamics*, is an attempt to re-evaluate the China's 'String of Pearls policy'. This book also examined the India's 'Look

East Policy' which have often mischaracterized as a direct response to increasing Chinese presence in the Indian Ocean region, by Realist thinkers.²⁶

Objective of Study:

1. To understand the Indo- China relation from 2004 to 2012.
2. To identify the area of disputes between India and China
3. To analyse the India and China strategic relations.

Hypothesis:

1. China increasing strength challenges India Security.
2. What is India China border dispute and how did it originate.
3. What attempts have been made by the two countries in order to resolve the border disputes.
4. What are India China strategic relations and what strategies have been followed by China to become dominate power in Asian.

Methodology:

The present study is based on historical, comparative and analytical method. By taking all the dimensions of problem in its bilateral, regional and global context, it follows a holistic approach. This work largely is based on both primary sources such as government white paper, India parliamentary debates, foreign ministry publications, discussions and speeches of various leaders of India as well as china and secondary sources such as academic writing such as book, newspaper, journal and online resources. The analytical methods tries to figure out the two obvious polemical lines of thoughts; one looks China as an emerging threat and long term rival whereas another school of thought find China as a strong ally which provides

an opportunity for compatible international players. The major part of dissertation is based on secondary sources. The recent publications on China and its policy formulations for South Asia are properly structured to squeeze the trends and symptoms of good and bad relations between the two countries.

Structure of the dissertation:

For the sake of convenience and providing a logical picture of India-China relations present study has been divided into five chapters.

The First chapter provides a brief introduction of India and China relations and it highlights the major theoretical framework of bilateral disputes. It also includes the survey of literature.

The Second chapter is India and China strategies relations. In this chapter explain strategic move of the both are country.

The Third Chapter is border Dispute between India and China relations. This chapter presents a historical narrative of the Sino-India border dispute, and analyses it from a theoretical perspective. The border conflict between China and India continues to be the most contentious issue between the two countries, causing their relationship to be competitive. The intricate connection of this dispute with the Tibetan issue suggests that it menaces China's construction of identity and government legitimacy, thus adding to the security dilemma.

The Fourth Chapter deals with the economic relations between India and China. It covers the trade investment and cooperation in different sectors of economy in the post –economic reform period.

The Five and lastly the conclusion of the study have been started.

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