

Border Issues between India and China: A Study of
Arunachal Pradesh

A Dissertation Submitted
To
Sikkim University



In Partial Fulfillment of the Requirement for the
Degree of Master of Philosophy

By

DigvijayPradhan

Department of Political Sciences
School of Social Sciences

February, 2018

Declaration

I, Digvijay Pradhan, do hereby declare that the subject matter of this dissertation is the record of work done by me, that the content of this dissertation did not form basis of the award of any previous degree to me or to the best of my knowledge to anybody else, and the dissertation has not been submitted by me for any research degree in any other university.

The dissertation has been checked using URKUND and found within limits as per plagiarism policy and instructions issued from time to time.

This is being submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirement for the degree of Master of Philosophy in the Department of Political Science, School of Social Sciences, Sikkim University.

Digvijay Pradhan

Registration No. 16/M.Phil/PSC/05

We recommend that this dissertation be placed before the examiners for evaluation.

Professor M Yasin

Head of the Department

Dr. Durga Prasad Chhetri

Supervisor

Certificate

This is to certify that the dissertation **entitled “Border Issues between India and China: A Study of Arunachal Pradesh”** submitted to Sikkim University in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Master of Philosophy in Political Science is the result of bonafide research work carried out by Mr. Digvijay Pradhan under my guidance and supervision. No part of the dissertation has been submitted for any other degree, diploma, associateship and fellowship.

All the assistance and help received during the course of the investigation have been duly acknowledged by him.

Date: 05.02.2018

Dr. Durga Prasad Chhetri

Place: Gangtok

PLAGIARISM CHECK CERTIFICATE

This is to certify that plagiarism check has been carried out for the following M.Phil dissertation with the help of URKUND software and the result is within permissible limit decided by University.

“Border Issues between India and China: A Study of Arunachal Pradesh”

Submitted by Digvijay Pradhan under the supervision of Dr. Durga Prasad Chhetri of the Department of Political Science, School of Social Sciences, Sikkim University, Gangtok, India.

Signature of the Candidate

Countersigned by the Supervisor

Contents

Declaration

Certificate

Abstract..... *i*

Acknowledgements..... *ii*

List of Acronyms..... *iii*

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION..... **1-9**

Introduction

Rise of Border Issue: Arunachal Factor

Statement of Problem

Review of Literature

Rationale and Scope of the Study

Objectives

Research Questions

Methodology

Chapterisation

CHAPTER 2

INDIA-CHINA RELATION: BORDER ISSUES AND HISTORICAL OVERVIEW..... **10-23**

Introduction

Beginning of India-China Relation

India-China Relation from 1800's

India and China after 1947

Conclusion

CHAPTER 3

ARUNACHAL PRADESH: STRATEGIC IMPORTANCE AND BORDER ISSUES..... 24-32

Introduction

China's Claim in the border

Arunachal Pradesh: Strategic Importance

Conclusion

CHAPTER 4

INDIA-CHINA BORDER NEGOTIATION AND ITS FAILURE.....33-47

Introduction

Border Talks

Border Talk and Evolution of border Talks

The Eight Round talks

Rajiv Gandhi's Visit to China

Conclusion

CHAPTER 5

CONCLUSION..... 48-52

Introduction

Summary of the Study

Summary of key findings

Conclusion

BIBLIOGRAPHY..... 53-63

Abstract

India and China even after being under colonial rule for many years have yet come out as independent rising powers. India and China have been a neighbouring country throughout many centuries. Border issue between India and has increased substantially in past few years. As Indiashares border with China from western sector to eastern sector of India, this has brought manykinds of interaction between both the countries throughout the centuries. The Sino-Indian problem which emerged with the British-India with the marking of the border with McMahon Line which China did not accept has caused a clash between China and India. It can be seen from the Sino-India heavy conflict of 1962, the existence of tension in these borders, andwith the further ongoing conflicts. Chinahas been seen as the powerful nation in South Asia, where it seeks to increase its power globally. India and China not only face the problem in the border issue, it also faces a problem with the water because of the river that generates from the Chinese territory. China and India besides all the problems also shares a trade route with India through these borders playing a crucial role for these nations to co-exist together.

This study consists of a historical background of India and China's relation with special emphasis on border issues. This dissertation examines how India and China has worked together in resolving their problems. The qualitative research methodology was employed in order to collect data from secondary sources.

The findings of the study suggest that Government of India controls the Arunachal Pradesh area which is claimed by China, but in the Tawang district, there is yet a disputed border from the 1962 war which is located inLine of Actual Control that China controls. Arunachal Pradesh also lacks the infrastructural developments especially in terms of road condition whereas on China's side highly modernised roads are available up to the border itself. Another major finding is that the India and China might not be able to resolve the border issue in coming years, yet China holds upper hand to negotiate the border in their terms using the water as a means to negotiate the border. After the current issues in the Dhoklam region border talks has frozen for both the countries.

Acknowledgements

I would like to express my deepest gratitude to my guide and Supervisor Dr. Durga Prasad Chhetri, Associate Professor, Department of Political Science, Sikkim University, for his valuable guidance, help and encouragement throughout the course. The study has provided me with immense knowledge of the topic “Border Issues between India and China: A Study of Arunachal Pradesh”, which would not have been complete without his immense support and supervision. I feel to acknowledge my indebtedness and deep sense of gratitude to my supervisor. I would also like to extend my thankful gratitude to all the faculty member of the Department of Political Science, Dr. Amit K. Gupta, Dr. Om P. Gadde, Ms Swastika Pradhan and Mr. Budh Badhur Lama for giving continuous suggestion and guidance through the course of writing the dissertation.

I would like to thank Sikkim University Library which provided us with the good sources of books. I also convey my gratefulness to my parents for constantly supporting me throughout the course as this dissertation would not have been completed without their immense support. I would also like to convey my gratefulness to my friends for helping me.

Lastly, I thank our God, for providing me with wisdom and knowledge which enabled me to complete this dissertation work.

7th February 2017

Digvijay Pradhan

List of Acronyms

GDP	Gross Domestic Product
J&K	Jammu and Kashmir
KMT	Kuomintang
LAC	Line of Actual Control
MEA	Ministry Of External Affairs
MWD	Military Working Dog
NEFA	North East Frontier Agency
NSG	Nuclear Suppliers Group
PLA	Peoples Liberation Army
POK	Pakistan Occupied Kashmir
PRC	Peoples Republic of China

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

Introduction

India and China being the fastest growing economy in the world today has successfully involved itself in its cultural activities for more than 2000 years (Guruswamy and Singh, 2009). These two nations have coexisted peacefully (Dingle, 2010) mutually benefitting both materially and spiritually. However going back to the history of Sino-India relation in 1900's, the territorial issue seemed to have emerged with the coming of British McMahon Line of 1914 drawn by the British separating Tibet and India (Guruswamy and Singh, 2009). India and China border extend over 2,500miles from North West (Kashmir) till the Tri Junction Myanmar (Burma) (Sali, 1998). The McMahon line which demarks NEFA border was the outcome of Shimla negotiation in 1912 and 1914 (Raghavan, 2010). This event was rejected by the Chinese authority which resulted in the border issue between the two nations. China claims the tribal areas or Tawang belt in Arunachal Pradesh (Mehra, 2007).

In the year 1927 China and India had issued a joint statement in the presence of several depressed nations, but after the war broke out between these two countries in 1962, the relation came down to worst. This also resulted in the mutual antagonism, rivalry, distrust and hostilities. Border Skirmishes took place in the year 1965 during the war between India and Pakistan. In the year 1967 conflict took place on the Sikkim-Tibet border (Nautiyal and Mahapatra, 2015).

India encountering an economical challenge in 1949 had a great depression in its growing power. While India was facing economic challenges, China, on the other hand, was nationally and conceptually strengthening with its principles and ideologies. Tibet in 1950 being invaded by Peoples Liberation Army (PLA) of China resulted in an agreement with Dalai Lama which spelt out Tibet's autonomy. It was through 21 point agreement by which Tibet came under Chinese invasion. India, on the other hand, had to give up all the rights on Tibet that it had during British India after Tibet's coming into an agreement with China, which was signed on 29th April 1954 (Nautiyal and Mahapatra, 2015). This event led India to lose its power changing the bipolar status over Tibet to unipolarity. This event led to the failure of India to obtain an accepted definition of India-Tibet boundary. China's potential with its frightening power and its intension to expand itself was felt by India (Fravel, 2007).

Yet India left its demarcated but undefended border into a risk by failing to force the security to defend it.

Until the year of 1959, the Tibet issue was more in controversy and not the border issues. The border issue came only after 1959. The border roads were commenced in the year 1960's. The relation between these two countries has been characterized by border issues resulting in three major military conflicts namely- Sino-India war in 1962, the Chola incident in 1967, and Sino-Indian skirmish in 1987 (Raghavan, 2010). Though both the countries have successfully attempted to "reignite diplomatic and economic ties" (Shah, 2017), India after the war has failed to sustain a good relation with Chinese.

The period from June 1986 to May 1987 once again saw a marked deterioration in relation over alleged Chinese intrusion Sumdorong Chu Valley in June 1986 renewed tension on the border resulting in armed clashes, and a fresh spate of accusations, counter-accusations and warnings of serious consequences from Beijing. However, in 1987, a decision was reached to upgrade the level of talk from the bureaucratic to the political level. Only after the visit of Rajiv Gandhi to China in December 1988, both the sides agreed to maintain peace and tranquillity in the border regions. The years 1991 to 1997 China and India had high-level visits (Li, 2009).

Rise of border issue: Arunachal factor

Arunachal Pradesh a part of Indian state has been influenced by Tibetan, Burmese and Bhutanese cultures. It is located in the northeastern region of India. Arunachal Pradesh coordinates 27.06 degrees North 93.37 degree east. The total area is 83, 7433 km square (32,333 sq. mi). The State shares 160 km long international border with Bhutan in the west, 1030 km long border which separates the state from China in the north, and a 440 km long border with Burma (Myanmar) in the east (Sali, 1998). Arunachal Pradesh which has been known as NEFA became a union territory in 20th January 1972 and later in 20th February 1987 became the state of India. On the eastern sector i.e. Arunachal Pradesh, China claims about 94,700 square kilometres also including the Kameng Frontier division and three-fourths of the Lohit division of NEFA (Sali, 1998). Tawang and Longju are considered as the most critical area here (Sali, 1998). As Tawang Monastery was built in the 16th century which showed that the land was populated by the Tibetans at that point of time as the monastery of great importance to them (Sali, 1998). Until the year 1912, not much of an interest was shown by British or Mughals in that region. Tibetans too were not sure about where the boundary lied. McMahon Line was drawn as a result of Shimla conference 1914 which was attended by the representatives of Britain, China and Tibet for the proper recognition of the

border. The McMahon line was drawn by British negotiator Henry McMahon. The agreement was initiated by all three representatives in the earlier stage, but the proposed Sino-Tibet boundary was soon objected by Beijing refusing to sign the final and more detailed map. The negotiator from the British and the Tibetan signed the Shimla Convention for the more detailed map. This was not to be signed if China had refused but Neville Maxwell signed it and kept it a secret despite himself instructing the refusal of signing in case of any objection from China. British violated the Anglo-Russian Convention of 1907 along with the Anglo Chinese Convention of 1906 (Ray, 2013).

Statement of the problem

Border issue has increased substantially in past few years. China shares a border with India over the northern regions, this has brought a clash between these two nations throughout the centuries. It can be seen in the Sino-India war of 1962, the existence of tension in these borders, and also with further ongoing conflicts. China also shares a trade route with India through these borders playing a crucial role for these nations to co-exist together. This has affected the economic and cultural relationships of these two nations. The main reason for the problem has been the border issues which have not been solved yet, this has stretched over the years with the exchange of talks between two countries. Arunachal Pradesh sharing the largest border in India and China relation has been the most focused territory demanded by China. In the year 2009, China is the third largest shareholder of Asian Development Bank after America and Japan refused India's plan for a loan for the flood prevention work in Arunachal Pradesh stating that Arunachal is a disputed territory. China accepting the McMahon Line with other countries has made the McMahon line official, yet they tend to ignore and recognize the same McMahon Line drawn by British with India. There has been a report of China entering the Indian territories which have led the Indian army to tighten its security in the international border in Arunachal Pradesh. Indian army has been seen maintaining silence despite many regular intrusions by Chinese Army as reported. Therefore the study conducted has analysed the significance of international border of Arunachal Pradesh area in maintaining the bilateral relation of India and China. As Tawang region being the most demanded area in Arunachal Pradesh by China, the importance of this region has a special strategic interest for both the countries. Hence the research has focused on the Arunachal Pradesh area.

Review of Literature

A. Nautiyal and C. Mahapatra (2014) in their book *India-China Relation- In the Contemporary Era*, opportunities, obstacles and outlook have written about the

transformation of Sino-India relation from the periphery (border) to the centre of the complex international system and its repercussion (consequence leading to action). Strategic trust has been focused on building up a cooperative relation then to confront, economically healthier to complement; than to compete and strategically accommodate each other's interest than to fight over it. The author has focused to create a flourishing relation between India and China than to have a cold and uncomfortable relation in its political, economic arena. Also in the later part, the book discusses the lack of communication, trade and diversion of trade from one country to another.

The chapters by Ma Jiali and PM Kamath are of great value as it discusses the importance of building relation instead of having a conflict with one another. The book has only focused on the relation building; it could have focused also on the impact and the consequences of further conflict. Also, the author could have included the importance of borders and its strategic values for both the countries.

B.R. Deepak (2005) in his book *India and China 1904-2004, A Century of Peace and Conflict* explains the Sino-China relation giving the historical background of 1900's to the 21st century. The relation between British India and China under Manchu in the Himalayan region has been discussed here. The territorial issues with its rising tension in the boundaries of India and China have been brought to the discussion. The Tibet issue has also been viewed here from the British protectorate power over Tibet till the Chinese invasion. The focus has also brought up to bring Sino-India relation regarding Tibet and its leader Dalai Lama. Moreover, the book has brought up some useful information tracing back the history as well as bringing up the contemporary issues. The author could have also focused to trace the issues of Arunachal Pradesh which is considered as south Tibet by China along with its strategic value to India and China.

C.J. Rusko and K. Sasikumar (2007) in their book *India and China: From Trade to Peace* have explained about the Sino-India relation coming out of the conflict zone to trade. The author discusses the growth of India's relation with China from rivalry to trading partners. Also further discusses the trade relation growing into a peace for India and China bringing the common interest to common goals developing and supporting each other. The book has been of great help in explaining the need for India and China to improve its relation from conflict zone to trading partners but has failed to conclude how both the countries move out of the conflict zone resolving the continuous clashes in the borders.

G.N. Rao (1968) in his book *The India-China Border, A Reappraisal* has written about the nature of the dispute along with the geographical factors and historical events that determined

the evolution of India and China's boundary. He has tried to justify China's claim by examining the Indian and Chinese cases and also has critically appraised the arguments that advanced in some quarters. The author then has discussed the Aksai Chin boundary in 1864-1875 and Kashmir boundary before 1947. The author discusses the North East Frontier of India before 1914 collecting the background of the Tawang area along with the numerous exchange of talks between the British, China and Tibet with the demarcated border as an issue. The book has been helpful in understanding the geographical and geopolitical importance of disputed border of India and China relating one another. The book has its limitation as it has only been able to relate events till 1960 where it could have been updated.

L. Li (2008) in her book *Security Perception and China-India Relation* has discussed the changing relation of India and China. The author focuses on the controversial line that if there has been any change in the relation of India and China since the end of cold war. The book also discusses over some influencing topics like the future relationship of these two powers in Asia turning into alliance or rivalry. An attempt has been given to answer these questions by the author. The author with the large variety of literature and secondary sources have tried to explain the security perception of India-China transforming from the cold war mindset to the new security perspective built on comprehensive national strength and cooperative security. She has also tried to explore the concepts influenced by the mutual policies. Also, the author on her basis of analysis has attempted to analyse the way in which India and China can ensure their simultaneous rise in the coming years and decades. The author could have also focused on the importance of improving India and China's relation so that both the countries can have a better role in the development of South Asia.

M. Guruswamy and Z.D. Singh (2009) in their book *India China Relation, the border issue and beyond* have discussed the India China boundary dispute from contemporary conflict resolution view. Historical contours have been traced and elaborated in bringing the contemporary border dispute of India's frontier and evolution of boundary making under the reign of British India. A historical overview has been given in India and Tibet's relationship giving a significant influence on their relation. The events leading to armed conflict in 1962 has been highlighted with China's strategies from the late 1950's towards the Himalayan frontiers. The Author also attempts to evaluate and opine the recent development in the policies of India and China's foreign policies taking South Asian region as a factor. The book has done a good work in explaining the policies of India and China during and after the 1962 conflict regarding the border issues. The Author could have focused also on the strategic importance of the borders along with the need to settle the issues.

M.L. Sali (1998) in his research work *India China Border Dispute: A Case Study on the Eastern sector* has discussed the historical and geographical backgrounds of India and China's borders. The author also has discussed the treaty which delimits and demarks the northern boundary of India along with territorial claims made by India and China on the Himalayan border areas. India bilateral relation with China has been discussed which also talks about India's and China's situation at war the and after the war. The security aspect of McMahon Line border area has also been discussed which includes the analysis of the area, the transport and communications channels and India and China's border conflict resolution. The book has been of great help in understanding the problems along with the historical background regarding the McMahon Line and Arunachal Pradesh in its disputed area on India and China's border. The book could have been more helpful if the problems in that disputed area were discussed.

P. Mehra (2007) in his book *Essays in Frontier History, India, China, and the Disputed Border* has written about the historical background of India and China relation giving rise to the border issue. The author brings out the events that led India and China to the conflict in 1962 and the continuation of the war-like situation between the two. Part three of the book contains the events of India and China of 1962 and after. Nehru's foreign policy with regard to the border dispute with China has been discussed here. India's political situation during 1962 war has also been discussed. The author has focused on the events that led India and China to deteriorate from each other. The author could have also focused on the events leading to border problem along with the policies implemented by both the countries to resolve it.

R.D. Rahman and M.J. Andrew (2006) in their book *China and India: Towards Global Economic Supremacy* has written about the economic development of China and India. The shift in the growth of economy from western countries to two Asian countries bringing fear in the western traders has been discussed. China's popularization of goods over most of the countries and India stocking its exports of IT services which have brought the centre of focus towards Asia from the west. The author has discussed the over growing rate of GDP in China and India and its effects on the two nations emerging as global powers. The main focus has been put to the Sino-India cooperation in their economic and political matter is more than one-third of world's population. The author also brings the global economic game that India and China have to play either with cooperation as their success or rivalry as their failure. The book has been great for understanding the economic relation of India and China with its growing GDP affecting the western growth rate.

S. Raghavan (2010) in his book *War and Peace in Modern India: A Strategic History of the Nehru years* has explained India's struggle for the freedom from the colonial rule. India's strategy of non-violence and dialogue along with India's violence, force and war have been discussed here. India's war with Pakistan over Kashmir in 1947 and with China in 1962 which resulted in disastrously for India has been discussed. The main focus of this book has been the strategy and foreign policy of Nehru in maintaining the fundamental question of war or peace with the Pakistan and China.

Y.Y. Reddy (2013) in his book *India-China Relations, Changing Profile in the 21st Century* has explained common historical experience making these two nations the most important role player in the multipolar world. Common interest has been focused on for both the countries to grow and evolve as natural allies. Nehru's view of cooperation for the buildup of Asian balance has been discussed here. India and China's common interest has been discussed along with the global issues of globalization affecting the national sovereignty, dignity and challenges. The economical shift from Western to Asian continent has been discussed, where India and China has been seen as two Asian giants in the economic landscapes. The treaties regarding the border issues and its violation have been discussed. The book also consists of the Maritime issue which has been of equal importance in the border issue of India and China. Binod Mishra have focused on the three C's i.e. Conflict, Competition, and Containment in Sino-India bilateral engagement for the stabilization of other South and Southeastern Asian regions. The importance of India's northeast for the defense of the nation has been explained by DeepaKarthikeyan. The book consists of useful materials in understanding the historical as well as contemporary issues in India's relation with China.

Rationale and scope of the study

India-China border issue has become the most controversial topic in South Asia. This brings in a lot of questions about India and its relation with China as to how these countries are going to handle its situation in the upcoming future. The study conducted has focused on the geographical importance and impact of borders issues, of Arunachal Pradesh in India-China relation. The study aims to show how borders issue have emerged, also analysing the strategic importance of these regions. The study discusses the measures that have been taken by both the countries to tackle the border issues, along with the failure of efforts put by China and India in solving the problem.

Objectives

1. To understand the historical factors resulting in the border issues between India and China.
2. To highlight the demands that India and China make in Arunachal Pradesh with its strategic importance.
3. To analyse the measures undertaken by India and China and the reason for the failure of efforts on reconciling the border issues between India and China.

Research Questions

1. What are the historical factors and events that led to the India-China border issues?
2. What are the demands made by India and China with its strategic importance in the Arunachal Pradesh?
3. What are the measures undertaken by India and China to settle their border issues with the hindrances leading to the failure of reconciling it?

Methodology

The nature of the study is descriptive and analytical. The descriptive method has been used by collecting the data from the various events that have taken place between the two countries and analytical method is used to analyse the data collected. The Method that has been used here is a qualitative method. This study has included the historical data which will assist in analyzing the nature of India-China border issue.

The area of the study here is Arunachal Pradesh. The field was visited and an observation technique was used to analyse the current status of the area. The districts that were visited are West Kameng district, Tawang district, Papum Pare district. An informal conversation was conducted with the tribes (Manpa tribe mostly) in the particular districts like Tawang and West Kameng. War memorial of 1962 conflict in Tawang district was visited.

The data has been collected from various secondary sources which include books, journals, magazines, seminar papers, newspaper articles and online materials. Hence the research is based on qualitative analysis.

Chapterisation

The dissertation is divided into five chapters.

Chapter 1: Introduction

This Chapter will include the statement of the problems, literature that was reviewed, objectives of research along with research questions and methodology.

Chapter 2: India-China Relations: Border issues and Historical Overview

This chapter will discuss what border issues are, along with the various events and factors that led to the issues in the borders of India and China, a historical study.

Chapter 3: Arunachal Pradesh: Its Strategic importance and border issues.

This chapter will discuss the claims made by both India and China in the NEFA or Arunachal Pradesh along with its strategic importance.

Chapter 4: India-China border negotiations and its failure

This chapter will analyse the various steps being undertaken by India and China to resolve the border issues along with the reason for the failure of their efforts on settling the border problem.

Chapter 5: Conclusion

This chapter will include the effective measures taken by other nations in resolving the border issues along with the measures that can be taken to resolve the same by India and China.

S

CHAPTER 2

INDIA-CHINA RELATIONS: BORDER ISSUES AND HISTORICAL OVERVIEW

Introduction

The boundary's only purpose is to mark, with unmistakable terms. The border is an invisible but also an integral aspect of the social existence of the people in that area. The invisibility state means that the transactions take place anyway without even being authorized by the state. The limit of a territory is marked which allows a state to exercise its sovereign power. A State without a boundary is not likely to be in its existence. Only one sovereign State can exist in one definite territory, therefore one main objective of the nation is to have a secure boundary to maintain peace, stability and finality (Kalha, 2014). Borders can be defined as geographic boundaries of political entities or legal jurisdictions, such as sovereign states, government, federated states, and other subnational entities. Borders are established through agreements between political or social entities that control those areas; the creation of these agreements is called boundary delimitation.

According to Passi (2009), the border is defined as "the adjacent areas lining boundaries". Some borders are of various kinds ranging from state's internal administrative border, or inter-state borders within the Schengen Area are often open and completely unguarded. An example can be Arunachal Pradesh and Assam border. Other borders are partially or fully controlled and may be crossed legally only at designated border checkpoints and border zones may be controlled. An example is India and China border. Borders may also help foster the setting up of buffer zones.

According to Minghi (2005), "Boundaries are perhaps the most palpable political geographic phenomena". Political borders are imposed through human agency. But there are geographical features that constitute as natural borders like rivers, ocean, lake, forest and mountain range. All over the world, such natural borders can be seen and one the important would be Himalayan ranges acting as natural boundary of India and China.

According to Passi (2009), the boundary is defined as "Physical or imaginary lines of contact between the key power containers, the states. Then there is geometrical border which is formed by straight line or arcs regardless of the physical or cultural features of the area. These are the product of colonialism and can be found around countries formed out of colonial holdings, examples can be seen from Africa and the Middle East where borders were drawn considering the lines of latitude and longitude.

As defined by Hagen (2015), “Borders and boundaries are commonly defined as the lines dividing distinct political, social, or legal territories, are arguably the most ubiquitous features within the field of political geography”. Then we have flat borders which are any sort of boundary which does not track an underlying bona fide physical discontinuity. Fiat boundaries are the product of human demarcation for example in demarcating electoral districts or postal districts. Then there is the relict border which is no longer used as the legal boundary at all. But the presence of this boundary can still be seen in the landscape. For example, the boundary which divided East and West Germany is no longer an international boundary, but can still be seen because of historical markers on the landscape and continues to be a cultural and economic division in Germany today.

A border may have been:

- Agreed by the countries on both sides
- Imposed by the country on one side
- Imposed by third parties, e.g. an international conference
- Inherited from a former state, colonial power or aristocratic territory
- Inherited from a former internal border, such as within the former Soviet Union
- Never formally defined

The territory has become a topic for conversation stopper today when India and China are viewed in its relation. As 4,056 km long border of India and China seen is usually about New Delhi and Beijing talk and not the locations along the border regions. William Van Schendel writes about a story of how states are unable in enclosing the people from crossing the border (Schendel, 2005). Therefore border is not exactly the line of control that state constructs it to be, but is something more.

Sociologist Raimondo Strassoldo reminds us of the ‘complex and mental imprints’ that border leaves behind affecting the culture and consciousness of the people (Kurian, 2014). Therefore India and China border relation should not only be seen as the romanticism of Silk Road lore (Kurian, 2014), but the past must be viewed. This route has been a great significance in the exchange of people, goods, ideas, customs, religions, languages etc. India and China today are going towards the wide range of transformation with a new discourse with a state-directed political and economic push to its sovereign edge (Freeman and Thompson, 2011:2). Western China, as well as Northeast India, has received huge funds from their respective central government. Western China received \$512 billion from the Chinese central government in 2009 where Northeast region in India received Rs.122, 086 crores

according to the 11th five-year plan (Ministry of Northeast region, 2012). This step taken has been for the development and strengthening of the borderlands of both the countries. India called it the look East policy which was supposed to bring more development in the northeast region closing the gap between the region and the rest of the country. India's northeast which includes a total of eight states and China including twelve western provinces in the borderland witnesses a massive developmental thrust. Therefore it is not surprising to see borderlands with the intersection of cultural crossroads bringing several disciplinary and policies.

To understand the border more one has to rethink of the border as a centre rather than the margin where a vast network of social and culture flows. There is a constant manipulation of the legal borders by the people of both the side who crosses the boundary for their benefit (Cusick, 2000). Therefore the boundary lines have not only become a problem for the two sovereign powers but also the people in the border lands.

Beginning of India-China relation

In early contacts of India and China, both the nations are seen as neighbours through ages and have been identified as Trans-Himalayan twins, as both the nations belong to a "single Trans-Himalayan region" (Pokharna, 2009). These two countries have co-existed being the centre of spiritual and religious activities in the first millennium, and both countries were also the co-sufferers or colonial twins of the western colonization during the late 19th and early 20th centuries. These relations between India and China are found not by discussing the evolution but by the reliable historical records available. These available records establish that Sino-India interface was always seen as two-way traffic and these two elements of exchange were categorised as material and spiritual cultural exchange (Report, 2010).

In the early contacts, Kautilya in his book wrote about the Silk route using the terms like "MahaCheena" and "Cheen Amshuk" (Silk) (Pokharna, 2009). This meant that the people from China and the Mauryans had a trade link, where silk route was their major commodity. The famous silk route was the most used route, and it was used by the travellers and the pilgrims. There was other routes namely Assam-Burma and Yunnan Route also known as the Southern Silk Route, Tibet Nepal Route, the Maritime Silk Route also known as Sea Route and the Central Asian Route so called the Silk Route (Deepak, 2001).

Figure: 2.1. Map showing geographical location of India and China with their International boundaries.



Source: (Dixit, 2017)

The above map shows the territory of India and China sharing its boundaries. The first and the most important main overland route was Central Asian Route, even though it was not the first to be discovered. This route was mostly important to the Indian and Chinese missionaries and traders. Secondly, Assam-Burma and Yunnan route originated in Chengdu Sichuan province of China (Sali, 1988) is another important route. This route entered Dali, Baoshan and Tengchong of Yunnan province. Later, the route went on and passed through the northern part of Burma (now Myanmar) and entered the Indian state Assam in the northeast of India. This south silk route further connected the Bengal and later merged with the central Asian route. This route was believed to be the first route for the India and China's interface. The third route was the Tibet and Nepal route which was more difficult to access. The last route was the sea route which the Chinese already knew about during the Han Dynasty (206 BC- 220 AD). The Book of Han (Hanshu) records many coastal cities of India. This route passed through the Ceylon i.e. Sri Lanka, Sumatra and Java (Indonesia), Kambaji (Cambodia) and finally reached Canton of China.

The first information regarding India and China's interaction was written by Si Maqian in his book "Records of a Historian: Foreigners in Southwest" in BC 145–BC 90 (Deepak, 2010). The book records and narrates about Zhang Qian (a Han envoy) in the western region and his

return to the court in 122 BC. He had reported that while in Bactria or Bactrinana which is Central Asia (also called Tukharistan, Tokharistan and Tocharistan), Zhang Qian saw Sichuan silk and bamboo walking sticks there. Zhang came to know from the local merchants that they acquired these and the other Chinese products from the Indian markets (Deepak, 2010). This showed that fact that in the second century BC India and China was already having trade relations. Another Chinese historian has written in his book about the trade relation in his book “Early Han Annals” which talks about affairs of Kashmir and its products (pearls, corals, lapis lazuli). These products were seen to be traded by India and China, but Silk item appears to be the major item transported from China to India (Deepak, 2010). Ban Gu has also mentioned in his book about the sea route connecting southern part of India and China, and some states like Huangzhi now identified as Kanchipuram (Tamil Nadu) also having brisk diplomatic and also trade relations with China (Deepak, 2016).

The trade relation further developed and continued during dynasties of Tang (618-907), Song (960-1279), and Yuan (1279-1368). The maritime activities became more intense by this time and Indian, Persian, and Sri Lankan Ships merchants were seen in the Guangzhou as reported (Xianlin, 1991). It is also to be seen here that the countries like Nepal, Sri Lanka and India were having a brisk cultural relation with China. Chinese silk products here remained among the most popular trade items. Later during Ming Dynasty (1368-1644), two new ports arose in the province (Calicut and Cochin). References to other Indian sea ports can also be found such as Mahabalipuram, Goa, Nagapattam, Nicobar, Calcutta, Bombay etc. in the various Chinese literary sources. According to the archaeological discovery and historical literature, India and China have been seen in a continuous flow of cross-cultural currents. The other linkage beside material linkage was religion, i.e. Buddhism. Buddhism flourished in India in the 6th and 5th century BC. The data of historical evidence have been recorded of the exchange of monks from India to China and China to India of various centuries. Buddhism has been spread and shared among the monks of India and China. The table below shows the exchange of monks that took place many decades ago.

Table 2:1 Exchange of Monks from two countries

S. No.	India Monks to China	Arrival in China	Chinese monks to India	Arrival in India
1.	KashyapaMatanga	67	Fahu	About 265
2.	Dharmaraksha	67	Faling	*
3.	Vigha	224	Faxinn	400

4.	Dharmakala	250	Yu Falan	4 th century
5.	Chiyu	306	Yu Daosui	4 th century
6.	Fotudeng	310	Kang Falan	*
7.	(Bodhicinga)	365	Huijun	378
8.	Sanghabhadra	382	Tan Wujei	421
9.	Sanghabhadra	382	Tan Wuje	421
10.	Kumarajiva	397	Daopu	425
11.	Dharmavasas	399	Huilan	440
12.	Prajoatara	4 th century	Zhiyan	5 th century
13.	Budhayasas	406	Zhiyu	5 th century
14.	Premraksha	410	Zhiyuan	5 th century
15.	Budhabhadra	5 th century	Baoyun	5 th century
16.	Dharmakshema	423	Huida	5 th century
17.	Buddhajiva	433	Tancuan	5 th century
18.	Gunavarma	435	Fayong	5 th century
19.	Gunabhadra	479	Daotai	5 th century
20.	Gunavidhi	508	Daoyao	*
21.	Ratnamati	508	Huisheng	*
22.	Bodhiruchi	526	Songyun	*
23.	Bodhidharma	547	Baoxian	*
24.	Paramatra	548	Xuanzang	630
25.	Jinaratna	556	Xuanzhao	7 th century
26.	Narendrayasas	557	Yunqi	7 th century
27.	Jinagupta	590	Zhihong	7 th century
28.	Dharmagupta	626	Wuxing	7 th century
29.	Paraparakamitra	655	Da Chengdeng	7 th century
30.	Natri	676	Dajin	7 th century
31.	Buddhapala	652	Yijing	671
32.	Atigupta	694	Huiji	*
33.	Anjajna	693	Bukong	*
34.	Bodhiruchi	7 th century	Hanguang	*
35.	Raksha	716	Wukong	*
36.	Subhakarasingha	719	Jiye	*

37.	Bhadrabodhi	719-746	Zhiguang	*
38.	Amoghavajra	786		
39.	Prajna	8 th century		
40.	Pundarika	800		
41.	MunishriPradhan	918		

Source: (Acharya., 2008)

Note: The data is not available in some cases because of insufficient information as the event took place many centuries ago which has not been recorded.

In India-China cultural exchange it is difficult to list all of them here, however, the mentioned are those who established great feet in the cultural exchange of India and China's history.

Along with the Buddhism linkage, Hinduism also made entry to China through the routes discussed above. The established Hindu culture relics found in China's Lopnor in Xinjiang, Kizil and Dunhuang grottoes in Gansu, Dali in Yunnan and Quanzhou in Guangdong provinces can be seen. Hindu deity's portraits can be seen in the Frescoes of Kizil and Dunhuang houses (Deepak, 2001). India and China both benefited immensely in the field of literature as also science and technology with its material and spiritual-cultural exchanges. The exchanges of Indian stories, fables, art, medicine etc. reached China and paper manufacturing, compass and gun powder and silk was brought from China. All the interaction between India and China in the early century acted as a catalyst for mutual support in the national liberation struggle in the modern history.

India-China Relation from 1800's

The India China faced a drastic change in their century's old friendship with the colonization by the British in India and China's change to semi-feudal and semi-colonial society. The interactions were affected of both the countries with the drastic domestic changes that were seen. The western colonialism and its gradual expansion eastwards was one the important reason for this. The western colonialism with its affect in India slowed down the pace of India and China making it more slow and sluggish.

The growing anti-imperialist feeling of the people in India and China during the first War of Indian Independence worked as a major way to challenge to the colonial order for the first time 1857-59 in India and the Taiping Uprising seen in 1850-1864 (Tripathi and Deepak, 2012). The Indian and Chinese people reacted here against the common enemy and for the first time, Indian soldiers were seen to be stationed in China. Indian soldiers fought shoulder to shoulder against the imperialist and also the Qing government. The reports were found in the memorials of the Qing army generals or other throne officials, and also the foreigners

who were involved directly in this peasant uprising. Indian soldiers were forced to fight this dirty war as they found the suffering similar to those of their own. India's support in Taiping uprising was concerned with mutual support and sympathy in their common struggle. India and China became natural allies as a result of their common cultural contacts that turned into friendship here in the anti-imperialist struggle.

To reach out the voice of anti-imperialism supporters of Tilak (leader of militant nationalist), carried out meetings of activities like Shivaji's commemorative even far away in Tokyo. Chinese nationalist such as Zhang Taiyan and Sun Yat-Sen supported these activists and developed a deep link with them. Nationalist like M.N. Roy, Borohan, Surendermohan Bose, Lala Lajpat Rai and many others maintained a good relation of friendship with Sun Yat-Sen (supported Indian cause with whole heart). To carry out anti-British activities India also made China as one of their centre. Later with the coming of Gandhi in Indian freedom struggle, he introduced non-violence and Satyagraha (adhering to the truth). The Chinese media paid attention to the freedom struggle and widely published it in various newspaper and journals. The news covered the Non-cooperation Movement (1920-22) and later Civil Disobedient Movement (1931-34) (Raghavan, 2010). The journal covered around 20 articles from 1905-1948, and 65 articles published which covered different aspects of Indian National Movement (Deepak, 2001).

Later during the Second World War new chapter was seen in India and China's relation. China here suffered at the hand of Japanese which affected India also. India assisted China with its medical mission in 1938 as a help for the War of Resistance (Second World War). The bond became even stronger with Nehru's visit to China in 1939 (Raghavan, 2010).

The situation changed when China asked for the support for the war in China-Burma-India war theatre where it at first point of view supported Indian way of not participating in the war unless declared free. In 1940 as President Chiang Kai-Shek visited India; this was specially done for breaking the deadlock of British and Indian National Congress (INC) in India (Tripathi and Deepak, 2012). The 1905-1947 was the time period when India and China rendered support to each other for their common struggle (Tripathi and Deepak, 2012). Nehru was the person for visioning the India-China ties to grow stronger and closer bringing the 'New World' after the war (World War II). The map 2.2 shows the disputed areas of India and China in the western and eastern sector of India.

Figure: 2.2. Map showing the disputed areas of India and China with LAC



Source: (Kumar, 2012)

India and China after 1947

With China occupying Tibet in 1950 till 1954 India-China had an Agreement on Tibet; there was no Chinese intrusion except for the crossing of Aksai Chin by China (Kalha, 2014). The borders were seen to be in a peaceful state. India and China is in an agreement on Tibet issue, Nehru yet felt uneasy about China's intention. Nehru on his note sent on 18th June 1954 to the Secretary-General (MEA), seemed to be in doubt. He writes "Adequate precaution has to be taken" (Kalha, 2014) in terms of China's policies and there should not be any unawareness regarding this matter. This showed doubt in Nehru's mind about the further intention of China, also knowing about the fact that India had no boundary agreement on boundaries.

Earlier in an informal talk between Panikkar and Zhou on 27 September (1951), Zhou pointed out that there was no territorial dispute between India and China. Nehru was not convinced of Zhou's statement here. China would publish a map for any gentle reminder showing Sikkim, Bhutan, Nepal, and NEFA as a part of China in 1954 (Kalha, 2014). China being busy with its construction of roads making highways at a furious speed was yet unable to fully complete the construction connecting the main land China with Tibet. Also on the other side road was being constructed to Indian Aksai Chin region and Xinjiang (Sinkiang) with Tibet. More reports were shared by Bhutia traders who often visited Tibet in the months of summer particularly.

On the Eastern Sector McMahon Line indicated the border quite clearly, whereas on the western sector it was not very clear. The map of 1889 indicated that Aksai Chin was part of

India but the boundary line was still 'undefined'. The boundary was surprisingly shown undefined in the maps of 1903, 1917, 1929, 1936 and 1938 in the western sector. In 1945 all the other areas was shown as a part of Indian Territory but yet the boundary in the western sector was shown 'undefined'. Same was obtained in the years 1950, 1951 and 1952.

Accordingly, Nehru issuing the instruction on 1 July 1954, which stated that a new map should be introduced showing no un-demarcated territory. It should be showing the North and North-Eastern frontier making no reference to any line (McMahon, 1935). There should not be any kind of interference by anyone regarding the policy that has been implemented between India and China about this frontier. After the publishing of the map of the western sector which showed the boundary alignment without any qualification in 1954, Nehru made a return visit to China. Nehru later in 1954 met Mao twice, where he was disappointed in Mao's thesis stating that they were not afraid of nuclear war even in case of the annihilation of the millions of people. Nehru's dislike for Mao's emperor like figure disappointed him.

Nehru still felt uncomfortable about the boundary and later took this issue of Chinese maps with Zhou during his visit to Beijing. The Chinese maps still showing the portion of Indian Territory was discussed, where Nehru clearly stated that boundaries were quite clear and were not a matter of an argument.

In the year 1962, as the border war broke out, it deeply affected the already tensed relationship of two countries. Nehru here felt betrayed with the outbreak of war. Nehru could not believe that China would so brutally repudiate his friendly approach. After less than two years with Nehru's death, it was said that he succumbed to a broken heart. Nehru's daughter, Prime minister India Gandhi (1966-77; 1980-1984), after the war of 1962 was never able to trust China again. She later blamed Zhou Enlai for hastening her father's death. The Sino-Indian relationship entered a period of tensions and hostilities in the 1960s and 1970s.

In August 1971 with India signing the Treaty of Peace, Friendship and Cooperation with the Soviet Union, United States and China gave side with Pakistan in the war of India-Pakistan on December 1971 (Whiting, 1977). The friendly relationship which was gradually entered after 1980's was again disrupted by the 1998 Indian nuclear test. Since the year 2000 the relationship of both the countries has developed and entered into a partnership of friendly cooperation and competition. To mark the 60th anniversary of its established diplomatic ties, China celebrated its "India Year" with India celebrating its "China Year". What follows after this is a brief survey and analysis of both the positive and negative dimensions of their current relationship along with the challenges lying ahead. The two countries still have a complex partnership that somewhat encompass-their "strategic partnership".

India has been feeling an ever-rising China challenges its standing. China, on the other hand, seems quite upset by the closer relation of India and the United States. China here fears that America is going to arm India and help modernize India's economy which will be used to check and balance them. Their border dispute is essentially what has brewed the deep distrust between China and India, though another major factor is their ever-increasing economic disparity despite India's outstanding growth. At a time of fast economic development in both countries, it is hard for either of them to make a territorial concession to the other. Also, in the age of the internet, nationalism in both countries has limited their flexibility to deal with sensitive issues of sovereignty.

The two countries have basically overcome their difficulty resulting from India's nuclear weapons tests in 1998 when the Indian government implicitly used the China threat to justify its tests (Heginbotham et al, 2017). In the economic field, Sino-Indian two-way trade has been rapidly expanding and their mutual investment is also on the rise. In the nuclear and security spheres, China joined the Nuclear Suppliers Group (NSG) in 2004 (Twomey, 2008), which more or less relieved India's concern over China's transfer of sensitive nuclear technology to Pakistan. (India remains concerned, however, about China's continuing interest in providing light-water reactors to Pakistan in fulfilment of the "grandfather clause" to its joining the NSG.) Given the U.S.-India deal involving cooperation on civilian use of nuclear energy, China and India agreed in 2006 that the two countries will follow suit (Twomey, 2008). In fact, before China joined the NSG, it exported light enriched uranium to India in the late 1980s (Medeiros, 2005). The two countries have also carried out joint military exercises in recent years and India has even used its defence budget to aid China's combat of the SARS (severe acute respiratory syndrome) epidemic in 2003 (Gill, 2010; Report, 2003).

While Beijing and New Delhi have yet to resolve their border issues, they have strengthened their military CBMs (Confidence-building measures), and the two sides have designated special representatives to engage in well-authorized talks on the border question (Chansoria, 2016). India has stated unequivocally that Tibet is a part of China while China has virtually accepted India's annexation of Sikkim (Twomey, 2008). The two Asian giants have even officially declared that they have a "strategic partnership".

The growing relation of both the nation has today come up with a border trade which has increased the level of interaction between these two countries. China sharing border from North of India (J&K) till the North East of India (Arunachal Pradesh) has developed many issues leading both the countries to come together and also clash against one another. However, both countries have agreed to respect the Line of Actual Control here; the area just

north of Tawang is seen as a potential flashpoint (Tate, 2015). The 1962 war which poised for the spoiling relation between India and China resulted in the closure of border trade through Nathu La pass (Chaudary, 2017). But after 44 years the pass has been reopened for the trade to function. This was for the benefit of both the nations in order to achieve more developed economy and also for the avoidance of war.

In Indo-China relation marked by their connect borders, China still doesn't seem to end its border issues with India. India, on the other hand, has many reasons to end this border issue at the earliest. In the case of China Myanmar border dispute, both the countries have resolved their border dispute in 1960 (Gilboy and Heginbotham, 2012). China is aware of its action, knowing it would hamper the desired goal China aims for has been proved wrong. Their relation has only strengthened the trade between the two and has also improved their relation making them an only reliable partner. This was during the nation's self-imposed isolation period.

Despite growing economic and strategic ties, there are several hurdles for India and the PRC to overcome in order to establish favourable relations (Jeff, 2009). Though bilateral trade has continuously grown, India faces massive trade imbalance heavily in favour of China (Jeff, 2009). The two countries have failed to resolve their long-standing border dispute and Indian media outlets have repeatedly reported Chinese military incursions into Indian territory. Both countries have steadily established heavy military infrastructure along border areas (Jeff, 2009). Additionally, India remains wary about China's strong strategic bilateral relations with Pakistan, while China has expressed concerns about Indian military and economic activities in the disputed South China Sea (Krishnan, 2011).

China and India are separated by the formidable geographical obstacles of the Himalayas. China and India today share a border along the Himalayas with Nepal and Bhutan acting as buffer states (Shah, 2017). Parts of the disputed Kashmir region claimed by India are claimed and administered by either Pakistan (Azad Kashmir, Gilgit and Baltistan) or by the PRC (Aksai Chin). The Government of Pakistan on its maps shows the Aksai Chin area as mostly within China and labels the boundary "Frontier Undefined" while India holds that Aksai Chin is illegally occupied by the PRC (Eekelen, 2015).

Although the evidence is inconclusive, the most plausible deduction is that this internal reassessment of India lies behind the recent hardening of China's stance on the territorial dispute and a whole range of other issues in China-India relations.

“If, as some protagonists of China Claim, our northern boundary has not been fully determined, then it is possible that genuine misunderstanding lies at the root of the problem,” S. Gopal (2009) writes in his Forward, “but if the Indian case on the boundary has evidence overwhelmingly in its favor, then clearly the Chinese have been exploiting the issue in order to disrupt relation when it suited them.”The Chinese are concerned that the U.S.-India nuclear deal and related agreements that would bring about a major shift in the power balance in South Asia that is currently tilted in China’s favour. The recent strengthening of China’s strategic presence in Pakistan, Sri Lanka, Bangladesh, Myanmar and overtures to the Maldives should, therefore, be seen against this backdrop.

Despite protestations to the contrary from India and the United States that New Delhi is unwilling and unlikely to play the role of a closely aligned U.S. surrogate such as Japan or Britain, China’s Asia strategy is based upon the premise that maritime powers such as the U.S., Japan, Australia, and India would eventually form an informal quadrilateral alliance to countervail continental China. The fact of the matter is that China and India are locked in a classic security dilemma: one country sees its own actions as self-defensive (Lal, 2008), but the same actions appear aggressive to the other. India feels the need to take counter-balancing measures and launch certain initiatives to stay independent of China such as the “Look East” policy which is perceived as challenging and threatening in China.

Like China, India is actively seeking to reintegrate its periphery with the framework of regional economic cooperation. Like China, India seeks greater international status and influence commensurate with its growing economic power. However, like any other established status quo great power, “China wants to ensure that its position remains strong vis-à-vis challenger India for strategic, economic and geopolitical reasons” (Ved, 2007). Through closer strategic ties with India’s neighbouring countries, China is warning India not to take any counter-measures to balance Beijing’s growing might.

China’s activities have led to a meltdown in the Sino-Indian disputed borders. A smaller “cold war” has been taking place between the two countries at a diplomatic level for past many years now. The rapid development in Tibet, the constructions of railways, roads and increasing military infrastructure very close to the Indian border and Nepal border can be seen as “preempting any possible destabilization of Tibet post-Dalai Lama”.

There have been few more positive developments with the border disputes so far. Both the nation has successfully completed the high-level visit, without any problems or dramatic events taking place till 2016. Though this development does not guarantee any kind of

conflict in the region and it is, therefore, the need for the status quo indeed a compulsion, not considering only as a requirement.

Conclusion

The border has many other terms like fences, walls etc. The border has played a crucial role in the sovereignty of various nations. This has led to the coming up of many identities in the world. The border has existed in the case of India and China throughout the centuries and has played an important role in the exchanges of culture, religion, trade and many more. India and China relation has been based on the historical border. These two countries have suffered a war in 1962 and much war like situation thereafter. India and China's common border has both positive and negative effect on their bilateral and other relations too.

CHAPTER 3

ARUNACHAL PRADESH: ITS STRATEGIC IMPORTANCE AND BORDER ISSUES

Introduction

Since the past few decade, India and China has been extending their economic links which has been an important part of their bilateral relation. India and China both have been a fastest growing economy which has attracted a tremendous amount of global attention (Ramesh and Fritzen, 2009). These two countries have vouched to progress with their bilateral and multilateral co-operation with a constant process in forming better policies, but however, the biggest drawback that these two countries face is the massive border conflict between them. India and China have been involved in the border dispute where China claims most part of Arunachal Pradesh in the eastern sector and Aksai Chin in the western sector as its own (Panda, 2016). China claims about 90,000 square kilometres in the North Easter territory India, where Arunachal Pradesh has atotal of 83,743 sq. km (Sebastian, 2017); this has led to China's intrusion into the Indian territory multiple times.

Figure: 3.1. Map of Arunachal Pradesh



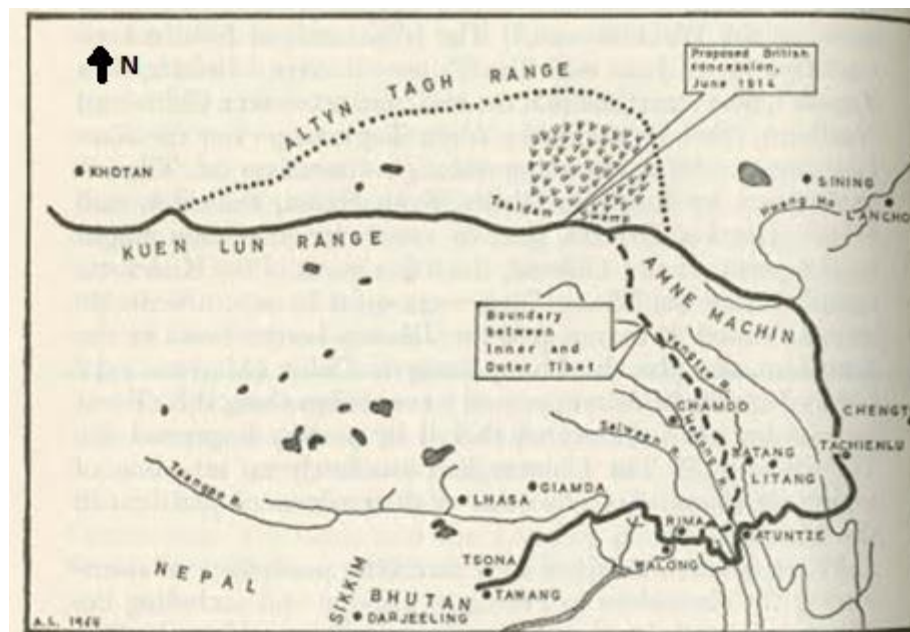
Source: Ministry of Development of Northeastern Region, Government of India.

Arunachal Pradesh is also one of India's 29th states and it is covered by the Himalayas. This state is also surrounded by the Indian state of Assam to the south and then by Nagaland to the

southeast. It shares a border with China's occupied Tibetan border. Later, Bhutan lies to the west and Myanmar lies to the east of the state.

China's interest in claiming Arunachal Pradesh can be reasoned with the China not accepting the McMahon Line that was decided in the Shimla conference in 1914 (Roy, 2017). This was also because Chinese representative was not present when the McMahon Line was declared. The British administrative drew up the 885 km McMahon Line as the boundary between India and China in Shimla conference (Prescott, 1978). The map given below in figure 3.2 shows the McMahon Line according to the Shimla conference.

Figure: 3.2. McMahon Line as proposed by British in Shimla Conference



Source: (Lamb, 1966)

This Line that was drawn did not seem important at its early stages, in fact it was forgotten till the year 1935 until the document was accidentally stumbled upon by the deputy secretary (Alamgir, 2008). With this, the British tend to update the maps which would show the Line as an official boundary between China and India.

After India became Independent in 1947 inheriting all rights and facilities which British enjoyed in regard to Tibet. Here again, a problem arose as Tibet was not recognized as a fully sovereign nation internationally (Alamgir, 2008).

India's intention was to fully integrate itself into a modern international system had India to get all the most important Lines drawn by the British and to show a rapid integration of modernity. This also showed the reason for India to go on war with China in 1962, as it was not only China's aggression but also India interest of wanting to achieve its sovereignty like in western countries (Shah, 2015).

In the year 1962 India and China went on with a heavy conflict (Lamb, 1966). India lost the war and as a result, China captured the land of Arunachal Pradesh till the Kameng district. It can be seen that major part of the state was under cease of Chinese forces during the 1962 war, which was held temporarily by the Chinese forces (Shakya, 1999).

The Chinese forces withdrew back after reaching the maximum extent of what was claimed by China (Sadler, 2011). China's forces went back to its original post which was their pre-war position at the Line of Actual Control.

China's Claim in the border

After coming to power, the People's Republic of China (PRC) stated that it will renounce all prior foreign agreements because those treaties were imposed upon them during the "century of humiliation" (Shen, 2010). A slow forward move towards the McMahon Line was taking its shape so as to establish a new de facto boundary that would make the Shimla agreement official. What happened was that the McMahon Line was forgotten until about 1935, but then British government decided to publish it in the 1937 edition of Aitcheson's Collection of Treaties (Lamb, 1966).

China demanded that all treaties signed needs to be renegotiated including border agreements prior to 1949 (Guo, 2007). The Sino-India border dispute is the major territorial dispute, other than the South China Sea which China has not resolved. China's growing assertiveness in its territorial claims, especially on Arunachal Pradesh, and its relentless development of infrastructure in Tibet has been a threat to India (Shen, 2010).

After the independence, it was in 1954 that North East Frontier Agency (NEFA) were created (Guruswamy, 2003). During this period there were development activities were carried out in NEFA like the construction of roads especially to link the plains with the administrative headquarters of Kameng and Subansiri division. It was during the rebellion in Tibet that India China relation sharply deteriorated with India's grant of asylum to the Tibetan leader Dalai Lama. By the year 1959 summer both the sides faced a contest in the NEFA border, and surprisingly this led to the clash (Raghavan, 2006:3887). The first clash occurred at Longju towards the end of August where both the sides accused one-another of provocations. Beijing pointed that the Indian posts at Longju and other two points lay north of McMahon line as marked on the original maps represented in 1914. On the other side Delhi, pointed out that whatever the dispute was about the exact alignment of the line, the use of force was gratuitous and Nehru considered it as "the culmination of progressive Chinese unfriendliness towards India" (Raghavan, 2006:3887). After the Longju incident, the government of India was questioned after the leaks and reports about the frontier. In the Parliament, questions

were raised to Nehru that if China had refused to accept McMahon line, to which he responded in such a way that the issue would not be publicised. Nehru even had queries about the road through Aksai Chin which had been constructed by China (Panda, 2001). Nehru also defined the difference between the McMahon Line and boundary in Ladakh that was not defined (Dawa, 1997).

It was during this time on 7 November 1959 that Chou En-lai Chinese premier proposed for the withdrawal of troops by both India and China to twenty kilometres from the McMahon line. This was well followed during the decade of cordial Sino-Indian relations but escalated again during the Sino-Indian War of 1962. During the 1962 war, the People's Republic of China army (PRC) captured most of the NEFA. However, China soon declared victory and voluntarily withdrew back to the McMahon Line (Ron, 2009).

The claims of China on areas south of the McMahon Line were based on the traditional boundaries (Jain, 1989). India's stand is that the boundaries which China proposed in Ladakh and Arunachal Pradesh have no written basis and no documentation of acceptance by anyone apart from China (Smith, 2013). India's stand is that China claims on the NEFA territory were on the basis that it was under Chinese imperial control in the past, while Chinese argues that India claims on the territory was on the basis that it was under British imperial control in the past (Gupta and Luthi, 2016). The last Qing emperor's 1912 edict of abdication authorized its succeeding republican government to form a union of "five peoples, namely, Manchus, Han Chinese, Mongols, Muslims, and Tibetans together with their territory in its integrity" (Weale, 1918).

After the 1962 war India is viewed to be in able to prevent China's external aggression in its own sphere, also it triggered how the relationship would likely to develop at the broader Indian Ocean and also global level (Scott, 2011). India's claim line in the eastern sector follows the McMahon Line. The line drawn by McMahon on the detailed 24–25 March 1914 Shimla Treaty maps clearly starts at 27°45'40"N, a trijunction between Bhutan, China, and India, and from there, extends eastwards (Maxwell, 2015). India's stand on the treaty was to follow the main watershed ridge divides of the Himalayas based on memos from McMahon and over 90 percent of the McMahon Line does, in fact, follow the main watershed ridge divide of the Himalayas (Eekelen, 2015). India also claims that territory south of the high ridges near Bhutan (as elsewhere along most of the McMahon Line) should be part of Indian Territory and north of the high ridges should be Chinese territory (Elleman, 2005). In India's view, the two armies would be separated from each other by the highest mountain ranges in the world (Lyons, 2016).

China calls the north eastern states as “southern Tibet” and in 2006 China raked up the issue of Arunachal Pradesh aiming to fuel up the problem. China claims that north east part of India belongs to them (Panda, 2001). During the same period, there were repeated incidents of incursion along the Himalayan border by the Chinese army. Tibet remains the core issue that divides India-China and Beijing using the Tibet to lay claim on additional territories on the basis of alleged Tibetan ecclesial or tutelary link to them.

The reason behind China’s claim to Arunachal Pradesh is as a bargaining chip to compel India to recognize the occupation of Aksai China plateau, in the Ladakh region of the state of Jammu and Kashmir. This is the reason why it withdrew from Arunachal Pradesh in 1962 but retained its territorial gains in Aksai chin (Ron, 2009). The reason behind resurrection behind the claim of Arunachal Pradesh is largely coincided with Beijing eyeing its rich water resource. China is also planning to build dams along the Tibet-Arunachal Pradesh border which would be three times bigger than three gorges dam in China and also capable of producing 38-gigawatt Motuo dam (Bhola, 1989). China’s resource-driven claim of Arunachal Pradesh is similar to the way it became covetous of the Japan-controlled Senkaku island and Diaoyu island.

The resurrected claim to Arunachal is linked with China’s strategy to compel India to gradually accept that Tibet as part of China. Whatever the leverage India had on Tibet issue was lost when it acknowledged Tibet as part of the territory of the Republic of China rather than autonomous region within China which happened in 2003 (Terrence, 2014). This led to the strengthening of China’s long-standing negotiation stance: what it occupies is Chinese territory and what it claimed must be shared.

Though China claim whole of Arunachal, China in private has asked India to cede states most strategic Tawang valley, a critical corridor between Lhasa and Assam which is of utmost military importance because of its strategic importance as it overlooks the so-called chicken neck which is a narrow land which connects its north east region with rest of the country (Acharaya, 1999).

Another reason behind China’s claim to Arunachal Pradesh is as a bargaining chip to compel India to recognize the occupation of Aksai China plateau, in the Ladakh region of the state of Jammu and Kashmir. This is the reason why it withdrew from Arunachal Pradesh in 1962 but retained its territorial gains in Aksai chin.

Arunachal Pradesh: Strategic Importance

China and India both the countries having signed a numerous number of pacts and agreements are still lacking to solve its border issues for peaceful border negotiations. In this relation, a further conflict is visible centering on the Arunachal Pradesh, in Tawang region.

India and China sharing its border with Arunachal Pradesh in the Northeast of India, both the countries here have its political and strategic reasons to keep their border safe. The main issue in the bilateral relationship is the symbol of territorial sovereignty with the legality of both the counties. The 90,000 sq Km of the 125,000 sq km of the disputed area has become a deal for the early settlement.

China bases its claims by citing the historical ties which existed between the Tawang monastery of Arunachal Pradesh and Lhasa Monastery of Tibet (Goswami, 2012). China argues that since Tibet is in their control so should Arunachal Pradesh also be. Another reason is, as the sixth Dalai Lama, Tsangyang Gyatso was born in Tawang this makes Arunachal more the territory of China (Ranade, 2013).

China agreeing to India's claim to Arunachal Pradesh entails the recognition of McMahon line which would lead to an implication that 1962 war was Beijing's aggression and its forces crossed the line (Kapur, 2011). Beijing described this was as self-defence against Indian invasion making this a critical legal and psychological issue. China used similar statement during its clash with the USSR in the year 1969. Acceptance of McMahon Line is a big compromise for the PRC's with India's border yet the same line was used to settle the China-Myanmar boundary issue.

India as now gives priority to its development in economic and military capacities viewing the controversies over China's Tawang or Southern Tibet, and suspicious of China's rising power (Hsu, 2008). In China's view, India is resisting its growth, also believing that India is expanding its strength to dominate the Indian Ocean. This is the reason both the countries claim to be acting in its self-defence. It is also one of the reasons for both these countries resulting in the balance of power. The reason behind the resurrection of the claim of Arunachal Pradesh is largely coincided with Beijing eyeing its rich water resource. China is also planning to build dams along the Tibet-Arunachal border which would be three times bigger than three gorges dam in China and also capable of producing 38-gigawatt Motuo dam (Kapila, 2016). China's resource-driven claim of Arunachal is similar to the way it became covetous of Japan controlled Senkaku island and Diaoyu island (Elleman, Kotkin and Schofield 2013). The resurrected claim to Arunachal is linked with China's strategy to compel India to accept gradually that Tibet as part of China. Whatever leverage India had on

Tibet issue was lost when it acknowledged Tibet as part of the Chinese territory rather than an autonomous region within the country which happened in 2003 (Dahiya and Behuria, 2012). This led to the strengthening of China's long-standing negotiation stance, what it occupies is Chinese territory and what it claimed must be shared.

Though China claims the whole of Arunachal Pradesh, China in private has asked India to cede its most strategic Tawang valley, a critical corridor between Lhasa and Assam which is of utmost military importance because of its strategic importance as it overlooks the so-called chicken neck which is a narrow land which connects its north east region with the rest of the country (Dahiya and Behuria, 2012). There are multiple reasons for China's demand or claims for the Arunachal Pradesh as its territory. Firstly, the Tibet factor where the Upper Siang district of Tawang has a strong and visible Tibetan presence. China fears the clandestine Pan-Tibetan Movement from across the Indo-China border would threaten them (Centre for Asian Strategic Studies-India, n.d.). The presence of the Dalai Lama brings fear for this movement along with the Tibetan Government in Exile (Dharamsala), in Himachal Pradesh (Panda, 2001).

Tawang being another important region holding a place of a major strategic importance in China's context. Arunachal Pradesh provides a major security to the kingdom of Bhutan. If the state is captured by China, Bhutan would get surrounded by Chinese territory and would be unfavourable for India's security which would benefit China to get control over India's northeast.

Another important reason is that China's control over Tawang would also give an easy access to the Siliguri Corridor (Chicken's neck of India which connects north East Indian states) a location of strategic importance. The Chicken neck acts as an important area as it connects the whole of Northeast India which if blocked will be difficult for the Government of India to control.

Arunachal Pradesh is in a strategic location, in any future conflict with China it would be the shortest route to China (Pokharna, 2009). This would be advantageous for India and would cost China more. For any air operation for China, Arunachal Pradesh would provide a multi-layered air defence for India as a deterrent and this would be detrimental to China.

With China realizing the strategic importance of this region, it is allegedly involved in various matters in the area (Centre for Asian Strategic Studies-India, n.d.). China has provided many insurgency groups in India's northeast, which has been seen as insurgency groups there have been using Chinese rifles (Nepram, 2002). The insurgency groups have been actively causing violence against the Indian government already. This has become a severe concern for India's

security and its sovereignty. Thus the strategic importance mentioned above clearly provides reasons for the PRC's interest to acquire Arunachal Pradesh.

Water is another issue that India and China face. Water is regarded as a precious commodity which is an essential need for human existence. In geopolitical mechanics, the preciousness and possession of water make it as a strategic commodity. There are four rivers that flow from China to India (Ahmad, 2014). In the contemporary world water as an essential commodity can be a source of contention and also cooperation. In terms of India and China besides border issue, the water issue is becoming another major area of concern. Indian strategic thinking is that dispute relating to water can be another reason for the war between India and China. China's plan for its construction of dams, diverting the water for its own advantage has brought India into dissatisfaction. As there are four rivers that flow into India from China, Chinese strategic advantage with the rivers in its territory makes it possible for her to counter a balance with India with many other issues. Four rivers that flow from the North of Mount Kailash are Tackok Khabab (flows from east of Mt Kailash), Ma Cha Khabab (flows from North of Mt Kailash), Langchuen Khabab (flows from North of Mt Kailash) and Senge Khabab (flows from west of Mt Kailash) (Ahmad, 2014). The strategic advantage of water with China combined with the Line of Actual Control and its claim in the Indian territories further makes the water issue more complicated.

India with its location being at lower riparian is a vulnerable prey to any kind of major storage project plan with the river Brahmaputra (YarlungTsangpo). The political situation of two countries makes it hard to imagine China playing a role of an upper riparian who will release re-regulated water flows to the river from its power house immediately.

India is a dagger piercing into the Indian Ocean, the prominence of India is inevitable and undeniable when India's geography and its politico-social and Politico-economic aspects are looked (Kapur, 2010). India's diversity in geography and population has made it a centre of discovery throughout centuries. Arunachal Pradesh is certainly an element deeply connected to India's cultural diversity. The importance of Arunachal Pradesh is not only geographical for India but also political, economic and cultural (Kishan, 2009). While China may look at Arunachal Pradesh as a strategic fortress and an economic boost in the mostly dry southern China, India sees a cultural link with Arunachal Pradesh, it is factually undeniable to differentiate between Arunachal Pradesh and the other parts of North eastern India. While for example there is a geographical and cultural difference between Tibet and China and for that matter between India and Tibet. There is no geographical difference between Northeastern India and the rest of the subcontinent. Arunachal Pradesh is a continuation of the Indian

Plateau and certainly different from that of China (Agnihotri, 2002). China's economic hegemony is undeniable. As an ancient civilization and continuous growth through centuries, China may see legitimacy in governing most of the Asian Subcontinent, with matters of ethnicity and economic hegemony as priorities for the Chinese Government (Verma, 2013). Arunachal gives India a higher land altitude in strategic positioning in the region (Warikoo, 2009). The importance of Arunachal Pradesh is as vital as that of Sai-chin and that of historical Kashmir for India. The high altitude of Arunachal Pradesh gives an Aerial advantage to any military positioned there over the South Asian plains and that of the Bay of Bengal (Chau, 2014). Hence, both India and China would like to have their militaries positioned there. Arunachal Pradesh is a great defensive and attacking location. It will give the attacking advantage to China militarily, while it gives a great defensive wall to India against any Chinese incursion. Another vital element of Arunachal Pradesh is its abundance of natural resources. The rich mineral region is a fertile farming land with climate a similar to alpine slopes. Water supply coming through Arunachal Pradesh is life assuring to a billion dollar farming industry in the Bengal region. This is understood from the flow patterns and tea estates located in Assam and many farmlands and scenic beauties in the North Eastern states of India.

India has to improve its military capabilities and simultaneously work on diplomacy and strategic partnership with the neighbouring countries. Diplomacy is key for India if it wants to tackle China's Military and economic powers (Babbage, 2016). Arunachal Pradesh gives that diplomatic edge to India too to be more prominent with assisting neighbouring countries in situations such as natural disasters. Arunachal also gives India the edge to be closer and maintain the ties with Bhutan at this level which is seen now. Bhutan is a country that brings International boundary between India and China. It allows the presence of a third party in India-China relations and helps with greater international diplomacy.

Conclusion

The border issues have become common among the most nations. India and China tend to be one of the nations which suffer the same fate. The common border that these countries share gives a strategic importance which can be used to gain sovereignty over one-another also helping their growth globally. Both these nations have their own strategic importance of the border which helps them keep acheck on one another. The globally accepted truth can also not be forgotten that India and China have yet not been able to solve the border issue.

CHAPTER 4

INDIA-CHINA BORDER NEGOTIATIONS AND ITS FAILURE

Introduction

India and China have been involved in decades of relationships. The relation has clearly been setup with the different political background that both the countries have developed. These nations sharing its cultures, traditions side by side has evolved as the two big economies in the 21st century in the Asian region. India and China relation have been an unending discussion for more than a score of years in the International politics. Both are considered as a strong nation in terms of economy, demography and geography. These two nations have been continuing their pursuit of economic development for few a decades now. China in the Himalayas in the year 1950's grabbed the Aksai Chin plateau by building a strategic highway in the unguarded region. The Aksai Chin which was originally the part of Jammu and Kashmir provided the only passageway between the regions of Tibet and Xinjiang (Huth, 1998).

After the Tibet was under China's control this was followed by the 1962 war in the Arunachal Pradesh frontier which deeply worsened the relation between these two countries. The border issue that grew among India and China had affected the relationship of both the countries.

Arunachal Pradesh has become a symbol for China's hardening stance on the territorial disputes with India. China has only accepted the 4,057 km in the Himalayan frontier. Beijing sees the interest for their profit with India on not accepting the McMahon Line. While China has been playing Tibet card against India by laying its claim in Arunachal Pradesh on the basis of its putative historical ties of Tibet and Arunachal Pradesh. China has employed its non-recognition of McMahon Line to deter New Delhi from utilizing the Tibet card against them. Having lost that opportunity, the next criticism of Indian negotiating strategy is faced with an immediate PRC military presence in Tibet and renewed Chinese claims over Aksai China and Arunachal Pradesh (Athwal, 2008).

Arunachal Pradesh seems to be the only reason for any kind of conflict between the two countries in future. India considers recurring India-China border clashes as a potential threat to their security. After the 1962 war both the countries continued to bring improvement in the military and logistics capabilities in the border areas (mostly disputed areas) (Vertzberger, 1982). As China had a crucial military interest in the region, they have built a strategic

highway which links Xizang and Xinjiang regions. On the other hand, India has its primary interest in lying in Arunachal Pradesh, which borders the northeast of Xizang Autonomous Region (Fravel, 2008).

India and China have been sharing one of the longest, un-demarcated and disputed borders in the world. In the year 1960 meeting based on Nehru and Zhou Enlai to resolve the boundary disputes came to disagreement (Balram, 1990). This border problem has been the reason for India-China confrontation in the late 1950s and this leading to Sino-Indian border war in 1962. China's rising nationalist sentiments also going to affect India and China from a solution to their decades-old border dispute.

The Sino-Indian border affects over 125,000 sq. km in three district sectors. This boundary issue has never been delimited by any treaties. Since then India has been at clashing several times with China. The 1962 war left a big and deep scar on bilateral relations. After 1962 war India clashed several times with China, with the standoff at Sumdorong Chu in the eastern sector from October 1986 to March 1987 is the most serious of them (Jain, 2017). Despite numerous rounds of discussion over decades, they are yet to come to an understanding of where the boundary should lie. China claims over 90000 sq. km of Indian territory in Arunachal Pradesh and occupies around 38000 sq. km in Jammu and Kashmir which India claims as its territory. Also, under a China-Pakistan agreement signed in March 1963, Pakistan illegally ceded 5,180 sq. km of Indian Territory in Pakistan-Occupied Kashmir (POK) to China. China after the incursion in April took a serious turn when they intruded some 20 kilometers inside Indian territory leading to a three- week long standoff between the neighbours and threatening to derail a visit in May by China's newly installed leader Li Keqiang. But the situation was resolved and Li's visit went ahead (Ganguly, 1989). With this, Indian army did a large-scale military exercise, in the Sino-Indian border. China responded it by mobilizing its troops and causing eyeball-to-eyeball confrontation, the code name for Indian Exercise was Checker board. In both the side's troops were removed and reposted to the original outpost in 1988 (Ganguly, 1989). Disregarding the fact of conflict, India and China has also worked for the resolving the border issues.

Border talks

In India's Prime Minister's visit to China in October, the two countries also signed a border defence mechanism agreement to ensure that potentially volatile situations are defused quickly. In 1976 as two countries exchange ambassadors, and in 1979 of Indian foreign minister, AtalBihari Vajpayee visited China (Ahmad, 2014). This relatively slowed down the tension in the borders of India and China. China and India have signed two important

agreements which has relatively reduced the tension over the Line of Actual Control (LAC) and has helped maintain peace in the border regions. It was not until the 1980s did the relationship gradually enter a period of reconciliation (Ganguly, 1989). The relationship between China and India eased during Rajiv Gandhi's visit to China in 1988, when he declared that Tibet is an internal affair of China. However, the 30-year long dispute between the nations was not to be resolved completely by this visit. This is because the history of the dispute is complex. It had even led to the border war in October 1962, in which India faced defeat (Prasad, 1981). Besides, when it comes to geographical partition, India claims that about 14,500 sq. miles of its territory is occupied by the Chinese. Complementing to this China claims more than 30,000 sq. miles is Indian occupied land in their country (Ling et al, 2016).

Though the ambassadors of either country withdrew after the border war, the humiliation faced by India in the war and China's support for the Naga Mizo insurgencies in India never allowed the relationship to improve. Situations calmed with "Mao Smile" when Indian charged affairs Brajesh Mishra was approached by Mao Tze Tung, 1970, the same year China had a strained relationship with Siberia and got isolated in the world (Raghavan, 2006). China's friendship with India's all time enemy Pakistan also became another reason for hostility between the two countries (Raghavan, 2006). The strategy adopted by India of declaring peace treaty with Soviet Union was also not of good use, as China was not in good terms with the Soviet Union.

Ambassadors to both the nations were reintroduced by Indira Gandhi in 1962 when India faced many setbacks. Mujibur Rehman, whom India had supported to come into power in Bangladesh, was assassinated. This created aggression in the Bangladeshi military itself. The situation was tensed after Mrs. Gandhi found it necessary to a build friendly relationship with China (Raghavan, 2006). The second crisis India faced was Sikkim's demand to change status to associate state in Indian union in 1974, which China protested vigorously. The possibility for friendly talks arose when both the Chinese Premieres of the age of conflict, Mao Tze Tang and Zhou Enlai, died. Even though ambassadors were exchanged, the relationship between the two nations did not improve, until 1979 (Sali, 1998). AtalBihari Vajpayee, the then Foreign Minister visited China only to discuss the strains relationship China had with Vietnam. Following this China and India had tried to improve their relationship in many ways. But India's support to Vietnamese Heng Samrin regime in Kampuchea worsened the possibility of a strain less relationship. As time flew, the bond kept changing. There came a time when Indian stand of removing Chinese from its territory was

lightened and China opened the two Tibetan temples in Tibet, Manasarovar and Kailash for pilgrimage.

The Eight Rounds talks

A series of eight rounds of talks were conducted regarding the border issue between 1981 and 1988, which can be classified into two categories. The first four were categorized as those dealing with basic principles and the other as dealing with “the situation on the ground” (Sali, 1988).

The First Round: It began in 1981, but the talks on border issues did not progress as the Chinese found Indian less enthusiastic on the issue. Therefore, topics of discussion were changed to scientific and cultural exchanges. This Deng-package proposal of negotiation did not work with the Indians who had the hangover of the border war of 1962 (Elkin, 1983). Besides, it was claimed that the package favoured the Chinese and that it was the responsibility of the Chinese to at least accept their presence in the Indian soil.

The Second and the Third Rounds: The second round was held in New Delhi. The well-documented official’s report prepared paved way for the third round. The only outcome of the third session was India taking a lenient stand that it would go for a common stand with China without compromising its legal position.

The Fourth Round: This round of talks made Indians come to the stand that in all other spheres, other than the border dispute, normalization should be introduced. Besides, a strategic approach to conducting talks sector by sector was taken. More important is the change that happened in the relationship between China and Soviet. China’s relationship with India gradually built a good relationship between China and Soviet. Taking advantage of this situation, Indians found this to be a good opportunity to put across the question of the border issue, which was earlier not prioritized (Ganguly, 1989).

Fifth round: Chinese were cooperative to settle the dispute along the McMahon line in the eastern sectors, in turn, they wanted pieces of Indian territory in the Aksai Chin area. But the proposal was abandoned by Indians and later left unresolved due to the assassination of Indira Gandhi. Prior to the sixth round, Foreign minister Bali Ram Bhagat met with Wu Xuequin. Wu pointed out that “mutual understanding and mutual understanding” can only settle this dispute. Both sides were at fault in the 1962 war. Chinese Prime minister Zhao Ziyang invited Rajiv Gandhi to China to discuss the issue.

The sixth round: Chinese claimed that they wanted to extend the boundary up to the Himalayan crest. Thus in 1985 external affairs minister made the conclusion that the border problem becomes a prerequisite for a complete normalization of relations. In 1986 problems

become more complicated, there was Chinese involvement in Pakistan's nuclear program (Elkin, 1983). But, Xinhua suggested that as a consequence of British and Indian policies "an actual line of control between the two sides has taken place on the Chinese side of the boundary" (Arpi, n.d.). The foreign minister decided to visit Beijing showed that Indians were ready for an acceptable settlement to this Chinese softening. But all of these ventures seemed meaningless unless India made concessions in the east says the Chinese foreign minister. He added that Indians inhabited 90,000 square miles of Chinese territory. If Indians continue to show an uncompromising attitude the Chinese warned that they would raise the cost of negotiation. The problem got more complicated as the Chinese intruded to Sumdurong Chu in Arunachal Pradesh. They did this as a response to Indians' incursion into the same region in the previous year. To test the preparedness of Chinese and the response of the Soviet Union a small patrol was sent to this region by the Indian Army.

The seventh round: This round was held in July 1986. A small settlement about land in Beijing was made between India and China. Also, it was agreed that Indian patrols would not return to Sumdurong Chu valley until the snows melted (Ganguly, 1989).

The eighth round: Both the countries stressed on to avoid military confrontation in these rounds of border talks. Trade and economic cooperation were given more importance by both the countries. The border issues in the above talks have not been able to be resolved with the bureaucratic level talks and so here the political initiative seemed to necessity.

Rajiv Gandhi's Visit to China

Rajiv Gandhi visited Beijing in December 1988. There were varieties of reasons for Rajiv Gandhi's visit to China (Vicziány et al, 2004). Firstly, the talks between the two nations had come to a dead end, and without political intervention nothing could be accomplished. Secondly, the visit was influenced by the domestic issues or politics. The failure of violence in Punjab and its raising tides and the opposition charging Rajiv Gandhi's government with receiving large kickbacks on defence contracts, this included the purchase of the Swedish Bofors guns had affected his popularity. The second issue had a greater effect after the resignation of V.P. Singh who was the defence minister of Rajiv Gandhi and the one called for the investigation of the Bofors deal.

With this weakened domestic context, the prime minister needed a foreign policy success to boost his lagging political fortunes. Sino-India border issue was a best opinion for improving the domestic political disturbances and improving Gandhi's political position, although this strategy of bringing Sino-India border was not without a risk. If the Prime Minister would return empty-handed after visiting China it would have cost the political position more.

The China trip appeared to have achieved three objectives. Firstly, the long standing complaint by China was addressed that Indian Prime Minister had not responded Prime Minister Zhou in 1960's visit. This though merely a matter of protocol, was an important matter for the Chinese as claimed by diplomats. Secondly, the creation of Joint Working Group to deal with border question was done. Thirdly, this contributed more relaxation to the condition in Sino-Indian relations. Though this might not be a substantive accomplishment for India or China but there might be some significance to it. The Indian diplomats seemed reluctant to disclose any kind of details during the numerous interviews that were conducted in New Delhi in January 1989. They gave hints that to maintain 'peace and tranquillity on the border' might include a notification of the military exercises and also the other measures on confidence building.

Rajiv Gandhi has been criticised by both the newspapers columnist and members of the opposition party, despite these accomplishments. The defeat of Rajiv Gandhi government in the November 1989 parliamentary elections in India and the uncertainty concerning the rule of Deng Xiaoping raise problems for Joint Working Group. But there was no basis in assuming that the new government and the emerging leadership in PRC would be any less interested in resolving the boundary issues. In the year 1993 after more than thirty years of border tension both the countries came to an agreement of maintaining "Peace and Tranquillity" in the Line of Actual Control (Shukla, 2007). There were many important "High-Level Exchange" by both the countries which help both the countries to maintain a better relationship (Mahanty, 1996). Some of the High level visits have been shown in Table 4.1 made by India and China.

Table: 4.1. Sino-Indian, High- Level Exchange Visit, 1979-2001

Date	Action
February 1979	Indian Foreign Minister AtalBihari Vajpayee visited China.
May 1980	Chinese Premier HuaGuofeng and Indian Prime Minister Indira Gandhi met in Belgrade at Yugoslavian President Tito's funeral.
June 1981	Chinese Foreign Minister HuagHua visited India.
November 1984	Chinese Vice-Premier Yao Yilin attended Mrs. Gandhi's funeral.
September 1985	Chinese Premier Zhao Ziyang and Indian Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi met at the U.N.

April 1987	Indian Defense Minister K. C. Pant made a stopover in Beijing on his way back from Pyongyang.
June 1987	Indian Foreign Minister N. D. Tiwari visited China.
December 1988	Indian Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi paid a historic visit to China.
October 1989	Chinese Vice-Premier Wu Xueqian visited India.
March 1990	Chinese Foreign Minister Qian Qichen visited India.
May 1990	Indian Deputy Prime Minister Devi Lal visited China.
December 1991	Chinese Premier Li Peng visited India.
May 1992	Indian President Ramaswamy Venkataraman visited China.
July 1992	Indian Defense Minister Sharad Pawar visited China.
September 1993	Indian Prime Minister Narasimha Rao visited China.
November 1993	Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference Chairman Li Ruihuan visited India.
December 1993	PLA Deputy Chief of the General Staff Lt. Gen. XuHuizi visited India.
June 1994	Chinese Minister of Foreign Trade and Economic Cooperation Madam Wu Yi visited India.
July 1994	Chinese Foreign Minister Qian Qichen visited India; Indian Chief of Army Staff Gen. B. C. Joshi visited China.
September 1994	Chinese Defense Minister Gen. Chi Haotian visited India
October 1994	Indian Vice-President K. R. Narayanan visited China.
November 1995	Chinese National People's Congress Chairman Qiao Shi visited India.
December 1996	Chinese President Jiang Zemin visited India.
December 1997	Chinese Communist Party Politburo Standing Committee member Wei Jianxing visited India.
April 1998	PLA Chief of the General Staff Gen. Fu Quanyou visited India.

May-June 2000	Indian President K. R. Narayanan visited China.
June 1999	Indian Foreign Minister Jaswant Singh visited China.
July 2000	Chinese Foreign Minister Tang Jiaxuan visited India.
January 2001	Chinese National People's Congress Standing Committee Chairman Li Peng visited India.

Source: (Sing and Yuan, 2003)

The high-level bilateral talks in New Delhi in the year 1994 was for the confidence-building measures between the forces of China and India, which led to the new period of better relations. In the year 1995, both the sides dismantled the post used for guarding which was located close to each other in the borderline of Wangdong area. This made the border situation more stable building trust between two countries. Later, in the year 1996 at the end of November, the Governments of India and China signed an Agreement on Confidence Building Measures in the Military Field located in the Line of Actual Control in the India-China Border Areas (Dittmer, 2018). This was an important step for both the countries in the building of mutual trust between the two countries. To maintain peace and tranquillity in the border areas this agreement provided an institutional framework. With the Sino-India border talks though a lot has been done, with confidence and security-building measures put in place the border issue still remains moist in the various bilateral along with the domestic compulsions and contradictions on both the sides. A Border clash between India and China are not rare which arises from both the sides of the unsettled border issue.

Failure after high-level visits

India's policy on China, however, was steered into uncharted waters in June 2003, when Vajpayee visited Beijing, two months after he had reversed course on Pakistan (Indian Express, 2016). Desperate in the twilight of his political career to fashion a legacy as a peacemaker, Vajpayee kowtowed in Beijing. He shifted India's long-standing position on Tibet from it being an 'autonomous' region within China to it being "part of the territory" of China (Westcott, 2016). In the year 2005 when Chinese Premier Wen Jiabao visited India, both the sides signed an agreement on the political settlement of the unsolved boundary issue, by setting guidelines and principles (Mark, 2012). China and India in the agreement agreed to mutually and reasonably accept the solution to the boundary issue through friendly and equal negotiation.

India after the 1962 war adopted a policy of not developing the border areas thinking that Chinese would easily use these facilities in the event of war. In the year 2008, this policy was changed, India refocused on developing the border areas. The construction of the poor roads which hampered the operational capability of Border Guarding forces that had been deployed in the India and China border was focused. The Government decided to undertake phase-wise construction of the 27 road which links totalling 608 km in the borders (Jammu and Kashmir, Himachal Pradesh, Uttarakhand, Sikkim and Arunachal Pradesh). The constructions of two roads in Arunachal Pradesh started and other roads were to start in the year 2008-2009 (India. Ministry of Home Affairs, 2006).

In 2010, to mark the 60th anniversary of the establishment of diplomatic ties, China celebrated its "India Year" and India its "China Year"(Hasan, 1983). What follows is a brief survey and analysis of both the positive and negative dimensions of the current relationship as well as challenges lying ahead. Nevertheless, the two countries still have a complex partner-ship that somewhat belies the 'strategic partnership' they profess. In the year 2011, Chinese President Hu Jintao met India's then Prime Minister Manmohan Singh in Sanya City i.e. south China's Hainan Province (Mohan, 2012). Hu talks about China willing to further push forward the border negotiations on the basis of peace and friendliness, with equal consultation, mutual respect and understanding during the meet (Sanya, 2011). Hu also stated that both the countries should consider setting up a coordination mechanism on the issues of the border so as to achieve consensus as early as possible. This was also to maintain better peace and stability in the regions before the issues are solved (Sanya, 2011).

During the third round of the annual defence dialogue when Indian defence ministry team visited Beijing on 14-16 January in the year 2013, China wanted India to put back the 1962 war (Sharma, 2009). They called the war un-favoured thing from the past, also stating that both the countries should forget the past and strengthen their military ties which includes formalising a border management pact where their troops would not fire at each other. The border issue between India and China increased after New Delhi reported the entry of 30 to 50 Chinese soldiers who crossed around 300 metres which were beyond the Line of Actual Control which lies between the two countries on 15 April 2013 (Express News Service, 2015). The soldiers stayed there for around three weeks according to the report. PLA soldiers have attempted border incursions many times over the past years, but they do not cross the Line of Actual Control more than few miles nor do they stay there for longer than several hours as reported by New Delhi (Express News Service, 2015).

Beijing has denied that Chinese troops had crossed the border and entered the Indian territory. As said by spokesperson Chinese Ministry of Foreign Affairs that China has always been strict in terms of relevant agreements and protocols between the two countries on maintaining peace and tranquillity in the area of Line of Actual Control border. Beijing also stated that the “Chinese patrols troops have never crossed the line” (Sing and Yuan, 2003). The need for special representatives to sort out the border issue was urged by the Chinese President Jinping to the Indian Ex-Prime Minister, Man Mohan Singh. Singh exclaimed to have India’s abidance to the political guidelines set by both the Asian countries and also seek means to safeguard peace (Mohan, 2017). Despite the concern shown, the US tie with India seems to be overshadowing the impending restoration of border issues between the two Asiatic countries. The two countries signed the border cooperation defence pact on 24th of October 2013 when Singh visited China (Panda. 2013). Nonetheless, the Indian Express newspaper writes that it gives liberty to both the countries to develop border infrastructure for defence mechanism according to their respective security needs. This resolved the April border impasse. With this settlement, the low-level confrontations in the border area are likely to persistently escalate. The Indian media hasn’t failed to report such incidences. This has apparently added mutual suspicion in both ends making both the countries sensitive to border activities.

On 18th of August, 2014, the Times of India had also reported the entry of Chinese troops 25-30 km deep into Indian Territory in Burtse in Ladakh leading to a tense three-week standoff (PTI, 2014). Prime Minister Narendra Modi's meet with President Jinping on 18th September 2014 called for an early clarification of the LAC (Jha, 2014). The Chinese President reasoned out the incident of having their un-demarcated border. In future, “more intense strategic competition between India and China would reverberate throughout the continent, exacerbating tensions in Central Asia, the Indian Ocean, and Southeast Asia. Disruptions to the Asian engine of economic growth caused by their tensions could debilitate the global economy” (PTI, 2013).

Sino-Indian border along the disputed areas was entered by Chinese troops towards the Indian border as reported by Indian media sources. They claimed that this is not the first the time that there is an incursion into the Indian border region. Chinese troops are reported of having entered 25 to 30 km inside the Indian territory in the Burtse area in Ladakh (PTI, 2014). The PLA forces not only had entered the Ladakh area but were also seen crossing the de-facto border known as the Line of Actual Control (LAC) in the Tawang district of Arunachal Pradesh where they moved deeper into the Indian territory (Prasad, 1981).

In the year 2014, Prime Minister of India Narendra Modi urged visiting Chinese president Xi Jinping to resolve the boundary dispute (PTI, 2014). After holding talks in New Delhi 18 September which lasted more than 90 minutes, Prime Minister Modi raised the serious concern over the unsettled boundary issue (Hindustan Times, 2017). He focused on the resolving of boundary dispute as early as possible. He also pointed out that the peace on the border should be with the foundation of trust and good relationship between two countries. The Prime Minister also stated that if peace and the good relation is maintained in the borderland then this would show the potential of their relation.

One of the worst clashes in the year 2014 was in the Ladakh region, where the troops of both the nations were engaged in the standoff (Chauhan, 2016). Xi visited India during this period of time, where he brought down the tensions by attributing such incidents to their un-demarcated border.

India and China had resolved the tensed situation of two-week military standoff in the border of the northern Himalayan region said India's foreign minister. Sushma Swaraj after meeting the Chinese counterpart Wang Yi in New York said that the Chinese troops would start withdrawing from Friday 26 September 2014 and also would withdraw completely by 29 Tuesday (PTI, 2017).

This was considered to be a big accomplishment as Chinese troops had moved in to extend the road in the disputed territory. China agreed on not extending the roads in the disputed territory and in return India would destroy recently built hut which was used for observation. Chinese foreign ministry spokesperson Hua stated that on the 19th round of the border talk, both India and China have been working to resolve the territorial dispute through negotiations and consultations (PTI, 2016). China has completely settled the territorial dispute with twelve countries out of fourteen, where border dispute with Bhutan and India needs to be resolved. She also said that both the history and practice proves that it is possible to resolve territorial disputes through negotiation and consultation.

Though both the countries made serious bid to improve relation, yet India and China after initiating high-level official visits for the negotiating in resolving the border issue have been unsuccessful. The impact of border dispute for the process of normalizing India China relation has yet been a question. The trickiest issue standing in the normalisation of neighbourly relation is the demarcation of 4200 km long border located at the foot of Himalayas (Jayapalan, 2001). There have been noises of New Delhi and Beijing on quickly improving their cultural, educational, scientific and commercial relations, yet the border problem seems to defy solution for years to come. It may be seen that India and China even

after having several rounds of talks on the border issue could not resolve the problems because of separate deals. India, on the one hand, wants a separate discussion on each sector of the disputed border whereas China wants a package deal on the same. China in the eastern sector wants the recognition of the MacMohan Line in the exchange of Askai Chin Plateau in the northern Ladakh along with China captured or occupied land during the 1962 war (Lamb, 1964). China wants favoured settlement in the border along the existing lines of control when India does not want to recognise the status quo towards the western sector.

In the year 1983(October) at the end of fourth round talks, both the countries considered to agree the different ways of resolving the dispute accepting the relevance of historical evidence, customs and traditions (Singh, 2003) In September 1984 in the fifth round talk which was held at Beijing, both the countries formulated principles which would negotiate the border dispute sector by sector (Jayapalan, 2001). In the year 1995 with China proposing India reopening Indian mission at Lahasa in return of opening for the Chinese mission at Calcutta was done (Guruswamy and Singh, 2009). This proposal was turned down by India stating that this was just an attempt to normalise relation between India and China without dealing with the real problem that was border dispute. With India and China in the year 1985 held sixth round of talks on the issue of their boundary, but here the decision was only considered for the Eastern Sector (Sali, 1988). The talk was yet useful in improving the relation between both the countries. This improvement, however, did not last. In 1986 China intruded about seven kilometres inside Indian territory in the State of Arunachal Pradesh, on the other hand, China blamed of India sending her military and aircrafts to create more problems.

In the year 1986 when India conferred statehood on Arunachal Pradesh China again accused India of violating Chinese territorial integrity along with their sovereignty. In the ending year 1987, eight round of talks were held between India and China, here some changes in attitude were seen for China on the border issue (Chung, 1998). Yet nothing much emerged from the talk as China was not willing to withdraw from the control over Ladakh until and unless India makes some arrangement in the McMahan Line.

The trade between these two countries continued to grow even though the border issue was unsolved. After Rajiv Gandhi's visit in 1988, who landed up forming "Joint working Groups" with China, held series of meetings which also tried resolving the various bilateral issues. The Joint Working Group yet failed when it came down to resolving the border issue in 1989 (Guruswamy, 2009). In the year 1990 another meeting was held by the joint working group for resolving the border issue and yet it was nothing but failure. India China during

1990's improved and high-level exchanges took place. This greatly contributed to building trust between two countries. In the year 1991, Chinese Prime Minister visited India after a gap of thirty-one long years. With the visit of China's PM, three agreements were concluded with his visit with the view of expanding bilateral relations. Furthermore, by the year, 1992 border trade-related issues were improved, also bilateral cooperation in the area of technology, applications and space research was improved (Mishra, 2004).

In the year 1992 more improvement of relation could be seen when the Foreign Secretaries of both the countries agreed to establish a hotline between border personnel and organise regular meetings between both the military personnel twice a year (Mishra, 2004). This was another step in confidence-building measures. In the month of May 1992, with the visit of R. Venkantaraman (President of India) to China, the leaders of both the countries showed keenness to improve relations. However, later again the differences between the two were seen in several issues. The supply of nuclear capable missiles to technology including other high-tech defence materials to Pakistan by China and affairs of Karmapa a with teenage monk problems in China generated tension in Sino-Indian relations. In the year 2001, when the experts of India and China met at New Delhi to solve problems in the key areas of 4,060 km India-China only the middle area of 600 km in the Line of Actual Control sector could be discussed. The discussion that was held was based on maps which were already exchanged by both the parties. The negotiations that China had made all these years produced records to show that Tawang was under Chinese administrative control, where if India would show some flexibility over Tawang, China may accept the modification along the other leftover boundaries with some minor modifications (Meenaxi and Andrea, 2013).

In the year 2002, the military tensions between India and Pakistan began to boil. Here the Chinese Prime Minister (Zhu Rongji) paid a visit to India in the six-day where he suggested that India and Pakistan should resolve their problems by negotiating with one another. This negotiation was agreed with the cooperation for combating terrorism. In March 2002 External Affairs Minister Jaswant Singh of India made a visit to China and met Chinese Foreign Minister and also the Prime Minister. The two countries here in the meeting not only agreed to start with the direct passenger flights but also agreed to strengthen the political and military relations. Indian and Chinese representatives also agreed to accelerate the process of demarcation with the Line of Actual Control. Here combating the terrorism was also agreed by both the countries. These above agreements strengthened the bilateral economic relations further and the Joint Economic Group was reactivated that existed for several years.

India-China relations improved in the year 2004, this was after Sikkim was recognised as officially as Indian state by China. The reopening of Nathula and Jelep Passes in Sikkim was opened looking at the mutual benefit of both the countries (Mohan, 2012). In the year 2005 Agreement on Political Parameters and Guiding Principles for Settlement were signed (Menon, 2015). This progress stalled the two sides in an intractable position, and with the increase in the number of incidents along the border regions, the SRM became more focused on the border management and the bilateral relations of both the countries. In the year 2015 after the visit of Narendra Modi (Prime Minister), India and China confronted again. Both the countries have not been able to agree over how to resolve a border dispute with the frequent confrontation between the patrols along the border. Modi's visit instead brought, in contrast, the divergent position of the countries (Westcott, 2016).

Nehru's ignorance has been seen over the chance of trade-off seemingly offered by China in 1960; whereby Aksai Chin would have gone to China and Arunachal Pradesh would have gone to India. The communist also realized that without modern communication, and in particular motor-able roads, the enormous physical barriers would make any attempt at "liberation" of Tibet meaningless (Hoffmann, 1990). India's lamb-like approach has only been grist to the Chinese leverage-building mill. From Nehru's grudging acceptance of Chinese suzerainty on Tibet to Vajpayee's blithe recognition of Chinese sovereignty over Tibet, India has incrementally shed its main card 'Tibet' and thereby allowed the aggressor state to shift the spotlight from its annexation of Tibet and Aksai Chin to its claim on Arunachal Pradesh and assertiveness on Sikkim (Talukdar, 2017). Not surprisingly, India has failed to persuade China to agree even to a mutually defined line of control. Both the countries trying to resolve the border issue has failed even after many rounds of talks, although there has been much improvement in the relationship of India and China in fields of border trade etc. The border issue has been the only reason for the failure of the growth in India-China relation.

Conclusion

The border talks between India and China has been conducted for many rounds. Despite many rounds of talks between China and India, both the nations have failed in resolving their border issue. Resolving the border issue does not seem to be possible in the near future but there is another possibility by China who might be able to raise the water issue with their construction of dams and the plans of changing the water route in their deserted lands. India as a nation will suffer in any such cases with the blockage of water by China as the rivers enter from China's-controlled-Tibet. Resolving the border issue seems to be a big question

with the current political relation of two countries along with their internal politics actively playing a role. Both the countries have different methodology for resolving the issue of the border, where their demands for the negotiation differ. This is also the very reason for non-cooperation and the failure of border talks between too.

CHAPTER 5

CONCLUSION

Introduction

Sino-India relations have been a subject of discussions, debate and deliberation for more than a score of years in international politics. Many initiatives were launched to understand and comprehend the relation between the two. India and China are two neighbouring countries which have shared their boundaries from the Western region to Eastern region of India and this is also considered as one of the longest borders. It is also one of the longest unsettled borders, hence various issues has raised here. These countries have successfully participated with one another in terms of trade and other relations till arecent year. These two countries yet face a challenge of resolving the border issue that has been going on for decades. India and China in its historical past have gone through many rounds of talk in order to resolve their problems. In many instances, both have agreed with one another yet when it has come to resolving the border issue both have failed constantly. Neither side has been able to move forward with any agreement. The reasons for this can be that both the parties are distrustful of each other and the domestic politics of both the nations preventthe either side from making any kind of concessions (Mohapatra. 2014).

It is seen that domestic politics also plays a role in this dispute, where neither side can be seen to make any kind of compromiseswithout raging anger to their audiences (Li, 2011). Although India has established itself as a powerful nation in South Asia, the growing influences of Beijing towards other South Asian nations poses a serious threat to India, kindling it's suspicious.

Summary of the Study

The India China problems seemed to have emerged with the British drawn McMahon Line which was drawn between India and Tibet border in the eastern region of India during Shimla conference. The so-called McMahon Line that was drawn demarcated what were previously unclaimed and undefined borders between Tibet and Britain. The land consists mostly of mountainous Himalayan ranges in the northern border of India. The crisscrossed mountain ranges running from north to south divides the Kameng, the Subansiri, the Siang, the Lohit and the Tirap valleys (Chamoli, 1992). The dense forest in this region has prevented intercommunication between the tribes living in the different valleys. This reason has led the different tribes located in the different valleys to develop distinct languages and identities.

Both the countries trying to resolve the border issue has failed even after many rounds of talks, although there has been much improvement in the relationship of India and China in fields of border trade etc. The border issue has been the reason for the failure in the growth of India-China relation.

The historical factors that led to the border issue for India and China seem not only the undefined and unclaimed borders but also the competition for these nations in the development of economies growth and military power. China though has been considered as a developed nation now and India a developing nation yet both the countries compete for each other to develop its military forces and infrastructures. Pakistan has also been another cause when we see the distrust between India and China. China has been constantly supporting Pakistan by supplying its weaponry, which is a recent phenomenon in the recent years (Subramanian, 2016). India and China have been seen and Identified as Trans-Himalayan twins. In the first millennium, these two countries have co-existed in the same spiritual and religious activities. It was only in the early 20th centuries the border issue arose with the western colonization of India.

The modern Sino-Indian relation has been based on a territorial and economic development of both these nation. These nations have been competing against one-another, trying to overcome and come to the biggest brother in the Asian continent. But China after 1950 already overtaking India has had an advantage over as a more powerful nation. Even though India and China both are considered as powerful nations of Asia in terms of economy and territory, China has been more successful in maintaining its power. This has always led China to be on advantage over India. In 2015 as we could see the Indian GDP overtaking China's has made India in number one position. But yet India lacks the potential and pace that China has already acquired years ago.

Chinese military and its weaponry have advanced ahead, looking down on its neighbour. Even though in the past warfare India has been able to guard its territory, yet it still makes a threat to India because of Chinese continuous aggression towards Indian Territory. Beijing has not concentrated on the conflicts in the recent times but has focused on the development of their economical, infrastructural and technological perspectives. Beijing has been focusing more in the border regions placing a heavy military setup along with development in the roads, railways (a better transport) in the border regions, whereas in the border area the roads towards Indian Territory are not good shape, whereas China has highly modernised roads ready for any kind on needs.

China has been claiming around six places near Tawang which in near the Line of Actual control namely Namkapub Ri which is located in the Tawang district itself. This was the place where a heavy fight took place in 1962 war. Secondly, Bumo La, Bumla which is located about 37 km away from Tawang at LAC is also being claimed by China. This is a historic road which Chinese forces invaded during the 1962 war. Bumla now is also a place for tourist attraction in India. Bumla is also a point where the four agreed Border Personnel Meeting points between Indian Army and China's PLA where regular interaction takes place to defuse tensions and face-offs (Gurung, 2017). Mainquka is another area which is also known as Menchuka, which is located in the Arunachal Pradesh in its west district of Siang. Here in these area, Indian forces maintain an Air Force which is also being developed for a better transport. The rest three areas are Wo, gyainling, Mila Ri and Qoidengarbo Ri (Gurung, 2017). China and India see their interest in the ongoing trade, yet not being able to resolve the border problem has developed a mass confusion among them leading to distrust and enmity. India realises the threat that China poses after its defeat in the 1962 war. Although India lost the war in 1962 which was a big disappointment for the country, India now seems to be more ready than ever with its highly developed weapons and military. Beijing, on the other hand, has expanded its ties with countries like Pakistan and also with the other South Asian countries like Bangladesh, Myanmar, Sri Lanka, Maldives and Nepal. The alliance of all these nations would pose a threat to India in the coming future, where India has already been under a threat from rising power of China. India to improve the relation between these nations has to maintain amiable relation and extending monetary aids, funds and financial investments. The recent India-Nepal relation has vastly affected their relation taking Nepal more closely to China. India and China's bilateral relation has remained volatile and ridden by friction and tensions. Looking back at the border dispute which led to a full scale war in the year 1962 and armed skirmishes in 1976, 1987 along with the several talks which were held more than a period of 25 years from 1981 onwards, the border issue of disputed claims has not come up with any result of being resolved (Acharya, 2005). China's increasing assertiveness, along with the increase of incursions in the Arunachal Pradesh state of India by the PLC since the year 2005 has resulted in a rapid meltdown of India-China border talks. It is also felt that China believes that if the border settlement without major Indian territories concessions to China, it lays a risk for the growth of their power and position in the neighbourhood and also globally. Thus, this can put a negative impact on China's rise and influence. The North Eastern Frontier Alliance and Tibet issues still remain as sensitive areas even after various and numerous visit undertaken by both the

nations. There is always a threat that remains with the Chinese army patrolling just a few kilometres away in the border regions.

The present situation of India and China is of great uncertainty and ambiguity. This difference is because of the opposite attitude of methodology both the countries have adopted to sort out its emergence as a regional power which also comes of the suspicions and distrusts the two countries faces.

India and China besides border issue are duly confronted by water issue. The river Brahmaputra that flows from China (also known as Tsangpo in China) to India through the Tibet is another reason for India to suffer from its political denial of resolving their issues. It can be concluded that China might use the water as a tool to pressurise India and make a deal with its border agreement. India and China from 1981 headed with 18 rounds of talks till 2015, yet both the countries have not been able to solve their problems. At present India and China after Doklam (Donglong) issue in the year 2017 has frozen in their border talks. The Doklam is located in the tri-junction of China, Bhutan and India. It is claimed by China and Bhutan (Miglani and Bukhari, 2017).

Summary of key findings

The major findings of the study were that Arunachal Pradesh is though claimed by China but Indian government controls the state even in the border regions. As per some informal interaction between the tribes like Manpa including others from the Tawang, West Kameng district consider themselves as acitizen of India. India lacks development of infrastructures in the border regions whereas China on the other has fully modernised roads available in their side of theborder. China's PLA still holds some of the hills captured during the 1962 war which is now known as their LAC(LE Camp, Gordung, and SWK GO are some areas captured by China even today).

It is seen that India lost thebattle with China in 1962 war and there were many reasons for India to lose the battle according to thelater analysis of many scholars and experts. Some of the reasons were that Indian armed forces lacked proper weapons, clothing which included the high boots. The weapon that was used during the war was Japanese rifle 6.5mm which was a manual gun competing against the Chinese automatic machine guns and rifles. This was not the only cause but behind as with one rifle, there were three Indian soldiers depending. This was also because India faced a war situation only after 15 years of Independence where India was also not ready for a heavy conflict like this. There was not much development in terms of military and weaponries after the British left India after ruling India for two hundred years. Another important finding is that India and China might not be

able to resolve the border issue in the near future, as after the recent clashes between the both saw China seems to have upper hand in negotiating the border bargaining with the water-related development. The border talks for negotiating the settlement of border related issue has now stopped after the Doklam issue bringing India and China to continue with their dispute in the border regions. Focusing on the other factors like nuclear arsenals, India seems to be prepared with the defence and a counterattack to any kind of incoming rage. India and China have focused on both the internal and external matters.

Conclusion

The study on the border issues between India and China: A Study of Arunachal Pradesh traces the political condition of both the countries with its strategy of rising as a regional and global power. The border issues have seemed to have emerged from the Shimla conference of 1914 but it was not noticed until the year 1935 when one of the British officials worked on marking the boundaries officially. After the Indian independence with the going away of British Raj in India, India tends to hold on to the authority that British India held. The border issue emerges with China's not acceptance of these lines that were drawn by British India under the colonial rule of Great Britain.

There have been many rounds of talks to avoid any kind of conflict between India and China which has been a success to some extent but has ultimately failed to resolve the border issue that both the countries faces. Arunachal Pradesh as a vulnerable area in India and China relation runs under the authority of Government of India. After the interaction with the tribes of the state, it seems that they favour the Indian government rather than China controlling the state.

Now the India-China relation has come to a political level as it is seen that bureaucratic approaches (official talks) have failed to resolve the issues between India and China. India and China might not be able to resolve their border issues in their near future but China definitely seems to have a way to make India accept the border with its control over the water (the river that flows into Indian territory from China).

Bibliography

- Acharya.A.(2005).*India-China Relation: Beyond the Bilateral*. Retrived from https://www.researchgate.net/publication/262125150_India-China_Relations_Beyond_the_Bilateral.
- Acharya.A. (2008).*China & India Politics of Incremental Engagement*. New Delhi: HarAnand Publications.
- Acharya.A. (1999).*Sino-Indian Relations since Pokhran II*.Retrieved from <http://www.epw.in/journal/1999/23/commentary/sino-indian-relations-pokhran-ii.html>.
- Agnihotri. S.K., Ray. B.D. (2002).*Perspective of Security and Development in Northeast India*. New Delhi: Concept Publishing Company.
- Ahmad. S. (2014).*Major Bilateral Issues between China and India*.Retrieved from <https://www.omicsonline.org/open-access/major-bilateral-issues-between-China-and-india-2151-6200.1000064.php?aid=23548>.
- Alamgir, J. (2008). *India's Open-Economy Policy: Globalism, Rivalry, Continuity*. London: Routeledge.
- Arpi.C. (n.d.).*Dharamsala and Beijing: The Negtiations That Never Were*. New Delhi: Lancer Publishers
- Athwal.A. (2008).*China and India Relation: Contemporary Dynamics*. New York: Routledge Publisher.
- Babbage. R, Gordon. S. (2016).*India's Strategic Future: Regional State or Global Power?* New York: Springer.
- Balram.K. (1990).*India in 1990s — Defence Compulsions*. Uttar Pradesh: Indian Political Science Association.
- Bhola.P.L. (1989).*India's China Policy In The 1980s: An Assessment*. Mumbai: Manju Jain.
- Brown, S. (2009). *Symposium Keynote: India and China in the Evolving International System*. *The International Lawyer*, 43(4), 1369-1376. Retrieved from http://heinonline.org/HOL/Page?handle=hein.journals/intlyr43&div=87&g_sent=1&casa_token= .
- Chamoli.S.P. (1992).*Rafting down the mystic Brahmaputra*. Uttar Pradesh: Vikas Pub. House.
- Chance, G. (2010).*China and the Credit Crisis, The Emergence of a New World Order*. Singapore: John Wiley & Sons.

- Chansoria.M. (2016). *Where from, Where to? The Inveterate India-China Talks on the 'Boundary Question'*. Retrieved from http://www.claws.in/images/journals_doc/1309244732_MonikaChansoria.pdf
- Chau. D.C., Kane.T.M. (2014). *China and International Security: History, Strategy, 21st Century Policy*. Santa Barbara: ABC-CLIO.
- Chaudary.D.R. (2017). *China should stop ratcheting up 1962, remember 1967 Nathulabattle*. Retrieved from <https://economictimes.indiatimes.com/news/defence/china-should-stop-ratcheting-up-1962-remember-1967-nathu-la-battle/articleshow/59552208.cms>.
- Chauhan.N. (2016). *India, China stand-off in Ladakh; PLA troops forcefully stop canal work near LAC*. Retrieved from <https://timesofindia.indiatimes.com/india/India-China-stand-off-in-Ladakh-PLA-troops-forcefully-stop-canal-work-near-LAC/articleshow/55226035.cms>.
- Chennai Centre for China Studies, 2010. *India-China Relations: A Historical and Civilizational Perspective*. Retrieved from <https://www.c3sindia.org/archives/india-china-relations-a-historical-and-civilizational-perspective/>.
- Chennai for Asian Strategic Studies-India.(n.d.) Retrieved from http://www.cassindia.com/inner_page.php?id=63&&task=diplomacy
- Chung T. (1998). *Across the Himalaya Gap*. New Delhi: Gyan Publishing House.
- Dahiya. R., Behuria. A.K. (2012). *India's Neighbourhood: Challenges in the Next Two Decades*. Delhi: Pentagon Press.
- Deepak, B.R. (2005). *India and China 1904-2004, A Century of Peace and Conflict*. New Delhi: MANAK.
- Deepak.B.R. (2016). *India and China: Foreign Policy Approaches and Responses*. New Delhi: Vij Books India Pvt Ltd.
- Deepak. B.R.(2001). *India-China Relation, In the First Half of the 20th Century*. New Delhi: A.P.H. Publishing House Corporation.
- Deepak.B.R. (2010). *India-China Relations: A Historical and Civilizational Perspective*. Retrieved from <https://www.c3sindia.org/archives/india-china-relations-a-historical-and-civilizational-perspective/>.
- Dingli, S. (2010). *Building China-India Reconciliation*. Lynne Rienner Publishers.

- Dittmer.L. (2018).*China's Asia: Triangular Dynamics since the Cold War*. London: Rowman& Littlefield.
- Dixit.R. (2017).Mapping India: Focus on localized, 3D maps increase. Retrieved from <http://www.theweek.in/content/archival/news/sci-tech/mapping-india-focus-localised-3d-maps-grow.html>
- Eekelen.W.V. (2015).*Indian Foreign Policy and the Border Dispute with China: A New Look at Asian Relationship*. New York: BRILL
- Elkin.J.F, Fredericks.B. (1983).*Sino-Indian Border Talks: The View from New Delhi*. California: University of California Press.
- Elleman, B.A. Kotkin, S. Schofield, C. (2013). *Beijing's Power and China's Borders: Twenty Neighbours in Asia*. London: M.E. Sharpe.
- Elleman..B.A.(2005).*Modern Chinese Warfare, 1795-1989*. London: Routledge.
- Express News Service. (2015). *Ladakh again: India , China in standoff over surveillance structure by PLA*. Retrieved from <http://indianexpress.com/article/india/india-others/india-china-troops-face-off-near-lac-in-ladakh/>.
- Fernado.S. (2015).*United States- China- India Strategic Triangle in the Indian Ocean Region*. New Delhi: KW Publishers Pvt. Ltd.
- Fravel, M.T. (2008). *Power Shifts and Escalation: Explaining China's Use of Force in Territorial Disputes*. Cambridge:The MIT Press.
- Fravel.M.T. (2008).*Strong Borders, Secure Nation: Cooperation and Conflict in China's Territorial Dispute*. New Jersey: Princeton University Press.
- Ganguly.S. (1989).*The Sino-Indian Border Talks, 1981-1989: A View from New Delhi*. California: University of California Press.
- Ghosh.S.K (2012).*50 years since India declares War on China- Himalayan Adventure*. Retrieved from <http://democracyandclasstruggle.blogspot.in/2012/10/50-years-since-india-declares-war-on.html>.
- Gilboy. G.J., Heginbotham. E. (2012).*Chinese and Indian Strategic Behavior: Growing Power and Alarm*. London: Cambridge University Press.
- Gill.B. (2010).*Rising Star: China's New Security Diplomacy*. New York: Brookings Institute Press
- Goswami.N. (2012).*China's Territorial Claim on Arunachal Pradesh: Alternative Scenarios, 2032*. New Delhi: Lancers's Books.
- Guo, R. (2007). *Territorial Disputes and Resource Management*. New York: A Global Handbook.

- Gupta. A.R.D., Luthi. L.M. (2016). *The Sino-Indian War of 1962: New Perspective*. London: Routledge
- Gurung.S.K. (2017). *All about the names of six places in Arunachal that China gave*. Retrieved from <https://economictimes.indiatimes.com/news/defence/all-about-the-names-of-six-places-in-arunachal-that-china-gave/articleshow/58259491.cms>
- Guruswamy, M., Singh, Z.D. (2009). *India China Relation- The Border Issue and Beyond*. New Delhi: Viva Books Private Limited.
- Guruswamy.M (2013). *India-China Border Learning from History*. Retrieved from <http://www.epw.in/journal/2003/39/commentary/india-China-border-learning-history.html>.
- Guruswamy.M.,Singh.Z.D. (2009). *India China Relation: The Border Issue and Beyond*. New Delhi: Viva Books.
- Hagen.J.(2015). *Borders and Boundaries*. Retrieved from <http://www.oxfordbibliographies.com/view/document/obo-9780199874002/obo-9780199874002-0056.xml>.
- Hasan.S. (1983). *Sino-Indian Relations: The Recent Phase*. Karachi: Pakistan Institute of International Affairs.
- Heginbotham. E., Chase. M.S., Heim. J.L., Lin. B., Cozad. M.R., Morris.L.J., Twomey. C.P., Morgan. F.E., Nixon. M., Garafola.C.L., Berkowitz.S.K. (2017). *China's Evolving Nuclear Deterrent: Major Drivers and Issues for the United States*. Pittsburgh: Rand Corporation
- Hindustan Times. (2017). *BRICS Summit Highlights Held fruitful talks on bilateral relations between India, China: PM Modi*. Retrieved from <https://www.hindustantimes.com/india-news/brics-summit-live-pm-narendra-modi-chinese-president-xi-jinping-to-hold-bilateral-meeting-in-xiamen/story-ZwD36LPmYrEaRBmw3wys0K.html>.
- Hoffmann. S.A. (1990). *India and the China Crisis. America*: University of California Press
- Hsu, K. (2008). *Progress on Sino- Indian Border Negotiations-the issues of Tawang Ownership*. Retrieved from <http://www.mtac.gov.tw/mtacbooke/upload/09707/0201/e1.pdf>.
- Huth.P.K. (1998). *Standing Your Ground: Territorial Disputes and International Conflict*. America: University of Michigan.
- India. Ministry of Home Affairs, 2006 . *Annual Report*. New Delhi: Government of India, Ministry of Commerce, Department of Commerce.

- Indian Express.(2016). *India, China hold new round of talks to resolve borderdispute*. Retrieved from <http://indianexpress.com/article/india/india-news-india/india-china-hold-new-round-of-talks-to-resolve-border-dispute/>
- Jain.B.M. (1989).*India-China relations: New Directions*. Mumbai: Manju Jain.
- Jain.B.M. (2017).*China's Soft Power Diplomacy in South Asia Myth or Reality*. London: Lexington books.
- Jayapalan.N. (2001).*Foreign Policy of India*.New Delhi: Atlantic Publisher & Dist.
- Jeff. M. (2009).*The China-India Border Brawl*.Retrieved from <http://www.thedrive.com/the-war-zone/13683/this-lakeside-border-brawl-between-indian-and-chinese-troops-has-sent-tensions-soaring>.
- Jha.S. (2014).*Xi Jinping in India: A Breakthrough in Relations?*Retrieved from <https://thediplomat.com/2014/09/xi-jinping-in-india-a-breakthrough-in-relations/> .
- JiXianlin (1991).*Zhongyinwenhuaajiaoliuguanxishi (History of Sino-Indian Cultural Exchange)*, Beijing: New China Press.
- Kalha.R.S. (2014).*India-China Boundary Issues, Quest for Settlement*.New Delhi: Pentagon Press.
- Kapila, S. (2006).*China: The Strategic Reluctance on Boundary Settlement with India*. Chennai: Chennai Centre for China Studies.
- Kapila, S. (2016).*China-India Military Confrontation: 21st Century Perspective*. Gurgaon: Partridge Publishing.
- Kapur, A. (2011). *India and the South Asian Strategic Triangle*. London: Routledge
- Kapur.A. (2010).*India and the South Asian Strategic Triangle*. New York: Routeledge
- Kishan.T. (2009).*Look East Policy and India's North East: Polemics & Perspective*. Delhi: Concept Publishing Company.
- Krishnan.A. (2011).*China warns India on South China Sea*. Retrieved from <http://www.thehindu.com/news/international/china-warns-india-on-south-china-sea-exploration-projects/article2455647.ece>.
- Kurian.N. (2014).*India-China Borderlands, Conversion beyond the centre*.New Delhi: Sage Publication India Pvt. Ltd.
- Lal.D. (2008).*Indo-Tibet-China Conflict*. New Delhi: Gyan Publishing House
- Lamb, A. (1966). *The McMahon line: a study in the relations between India, China and Tibet, 1904 to 1914*, London: Routledge.
- Li, L. (2009).*Security Perception and China-India Relations*.New Delhi: K.W. Publisher.

- Li, M. (2011). *China and East Asian Strategic Dynamics: The Shaping of a New Regional Order*. Hong Kong: Lexington Books.
- Ling. L.H.M., Abdenur.A.E, Banerjee. P., Lama. M.P. (2016). *India-China: Rethinking Borders and Security*. America: University of Michigan Press.
- Lyons. M.J. (2016). *World War II: A Short History*. London: Routledge.
- Mahanty.J.N. (1996). *Sino-Indian Relations In The Post-Cold War Era*. Uttar Pradesh: Indian Political Science Association.
- Mark. B. (2012). *Ethnographic Poetry in North-East India and Southwest China*. Rocky Washington: Mountain Modern Language Association.
- Maswell, N. (2015). *India's China War*. New Delhi: Natraj Publisher.
- Medeiros.E.S. (2005). *Chasing the Dragon: Assessing China's System of Export Controls for WMD-Related Goods and Technologies*. Pittsburg: Rand Corporation.
- Meenaxi. B.R., Andrea. L. (2013). *Editors' Introduction: Performing Identity Politics and Culture in Northeast India and Beyond*. Aichi Prefecture: Nanzan University.
- Mehra, P. (2007). *Essays in Frontier History, India, China, and the Disputed Border*. New Delhi: Oxford University Press.
- Menon.S. (2015). *Choices: Inside the making of India's foreign policy*. Haryana: Penguin Random House India.
- Miglani.S., Bukhari.F. (2017). *India, China soldiers involved in border altercation*. Retrieved from <https://www.reuters.com/article/us-india-china/india-china-soldiers-involved-in-border-altercation-indian-sources-idUSKCN1AV29F>.
- Minghi.J. (2005). *The Geopolitics of Borders and Boundaries*. New York: Routledge.
- Mishra.K. (2004). *Rapprochement Across the Himalayas: Emerging India-China Relation Post Cold War Period (1947-2003)*. New Delhi: Gyan Publishing House.
- Mohan .M. (2012). *China And India Today: Diplomats Jostle, Militaries Prepare*. California: Sage Publications.
- Mohan.C.R. (2017). *Xi, Trump, Asian Disorder*. Retrieved from <http://indianexpress.com/article/opinion/columns/xi-jinping-donald-trump-asian-disorder-4931884/>.
- Mohapatra.B. (2014). *Indo-China Border Issues Prospect of Conclusion of a Negotiated Settlement*. Retrieved from https://www.academia.edu/1787103/Indo-China_Border_Issue_Prospects_of_Conclusion_of_a_Negotiated_Settlement.
- Nagaraju, N. (2006). *Cultural heritage of Arunachal Pradesh*. Delhi: Indus Publication.

- Nautiyal, A, Mahapatra, C. (2015), *Indo-China Relation- In the Contemporary Era, Opportunities, Obstacles and Outlooks*. New Delhi: Kalpaz Publication.
- Nepram.B. (2002). *South Asia's fractured frontier: armed conflict, narcotics and small arms proliferation in India's North East*. New Delhi: Mittal.
- Norbu.D. (1997). *Tibet in Sino-Indian Relations: The Centrality of Marginality*. California: University of California Press.
- Paasi, A. (2009b). *Political Boundaries*. In R. Kitchin & N. Thrift (Eds.), *International Encyclopedia in Human Geography* (pp. 217–227). London: Elsevier.
- Panda.A. (2013). *Indian PM Signs border Defence Agreement with China*. Retrieved from <https://thediplomat.com/2013/10/indian-pm-signs-border-defense-agreement-with-china/>.
- Panda.S. (2001). *Sino-Indian Relations: A Real Politik Approach*. Uttar Pradesh: Indian Political Science Association.
- Panda.S. (2003). *India—China Cooperation: Major Determinants*. Uttar Pradesh: Indian Political Science Association.
- Phanjoubam, P. (2016). *Northeast Question, Conflicts and frontiers*. New York: Routledge.
- Pokharna.B. (2009). *The Tibet Factor And India - China Relations*. Uttar Pradesh: Indian Political Science Association.
- Pokharna.B. (2009). *India-China Relation- Dimensions and Perspective*. New Delhi: New Century Publications.
- Prasad.N. (1981). *The Fall of Tawang, 1962*. New Delhi: Palit&Palit.
- Prescott. J.R.V. (1978). *Boundaries and Frontiers*. London: Croom Helm.
- PTI. (2013). *China increasingly assertive in ties with India: US official*. Retrieved from <https://timesofindia.indiatimes.com/india/china-increasingly-assertive-in-ties-with-india-us-official/articleshow/26151925.cms>.
- PTI. (2014). *Chinese troops enter 25 km deep into Indian Territory*. Sources. Retrieved from <https://timesofindia.indiatimes.com/india/Chinese-troops-enter-25km-deep-into-Indian-territory-Sources/articleshow/40375103.cms>.
- PTI. (2017). *SushmaSwaraj holds talks Chinese counterpart Wang Yi*. Retrieved from <http://www.thehindu.com/news/national/sushma-swaraj-holds-talks-chinese-counterpart-wang-yi/article21389665.ece>.
- PTI.(2016). *India, China Hold 19th rounds of Talks to Resolve Border Dispute*. Retrieved from <http://tibetexpress.net/india-china-hold-19th-round-of-talks-to-resolve-border-dispute/>.

- Raghavan, S. (2006). *Sino-Indian Boundary Dispute, 1948-60: A Reappraisal*. Retrieved from [https://kclpure.kcl.ac.uk/portal/en/publications/the-sinoindian-boundary-dispute-194860-a-reappraisal-\(005c1aa4-f888-4246-976f-79cc31235067\)/export.html](https://kclpure.kcl.ac.uk/portal/en/publications/the-sinoindian-boundary-dispute-194860-a-reappraisal-(005c1aa4-f888-4246-976f-79cc31235067)/export.html).
- Raghavan, S. (2010). *War and Peace in modern India, A strategic History of the Nehru years*. New Delhi: Permanent Black.
- Rahman, R.D., Andreu, J.M. (2006). *China and India: Towards Global Economic Supremacy?* New Delhi: Academic Foundation.
- Rajan.D.S. (2013). *Indian Perspective on China*. New Delhi: KW Publisher.
- Ramesh.M.,Fritzen.S. (2009). *Transforming Asian Governance: Rethinking assumptions, challenging practices*. New York: Routeledge.
- Ranade, J. (2013). *China Unveiled: Insights into Chinese Strategic Thinking*. New Delhi: KalpanaSukhla.
- Rao, G.N. (2009). *The India-China Border: A Reappraisal*. New Delhi: MotilalBanarsidass Publishers.
- Ray, J. K.(2011). *India's Foreign Relation 1947-2007, South Asian History and Culture*. New Delhi: Routledge.
- Reddy, Y. Y. (2013). *India China Relation, Changing Profile in the 21st Century*. New Delhi: Gyan Publishing House.
- Report. (2003) *Sars spreads to India*. Retrieved from <https://www.theguardian.com/world/2003/apr/17/sars.india>.
- Report. (2006). *Arunachal Pradesh is our territory: Chinese Envoy*. Retrieved from <http://www.rediff.com/news/2006/nov/14china.htm>
- Ron. H. (2009). *Rising China: Power and Reassurance*. Canberra: ANU Press.
- Roy. K. (2017). *Conventional Warfare in South Asia, 1947, to the Present*. London: Routeledge
- Rusko, Christopher. J, Sasikumar, Karthika.(2007). *India and China: From Trade to Peace?*. LynneRienner Publishers.
- Sadlier.A.L. (2011). *Chinese Martial Code: The Art of War of Sun Tzu, The Precepts of war by SimaRangju Wu Zi on the Art of War*. America: Tuttle Publishing.
- Sali, M.L. (1998). *India China Border Dispute*. New Delhi: A.P.H. Publishing Corporation.
- Sali.M.L. (1988). *India-China border dispute: A Case Study of Eastern Sector*. New Delhi: A.P.H Publishing Corporation.

- Sanya, H. (2011). *Chinese president meets Indian Pm on bilateral ties*. Retrieved from <http://english.cntv.cn/20110413/112769.shtml>.
- Scjendel.W. (2005). *The Bengal Borderlands Beyond state and nation in the South Asia*. London: Anthem Press.
- Scott, D. (2011). *Handbook of India's International Relation*. London: Routledge..
- Sebastian. N. (2017). *Tibet Factor in India-China Relation: A Study with Special Reference to the Tibetan Government in Exile*. Chhattisgarh: Educreation Publishing.
- Shah.S.K. (2015). *India and China: The Battle between Soft and Hard Power*. New Delhi: Vij Books India Pvt Ltd.
- Shah.S.K. (2017). *India's Foreign Policy: Past, Present and Ties with the world*. New Delhi: Vij Books India Pvt Ltd.
- Shahnke.A.A. (2011). *The place of International Law in Chinese Strategy and Tactics: The Case of the Sino-Indian Boundary Dispute*. Retrieved from <https://www.cambridge.org/core/journals/journal-of-asian-studies/article/place-of-international-law-in-chinese-strategy-and-tactics-the-case-of-the-sinoindian-boundary-dispute/BEC7227B75435B46098A775F117B4BDF>
- Shakya.T. (1999). *The Dragon in the Land of Snows: A History of Modern Tibet Since 1947*. Columbia: Columbia University Press. pp. 279.
- Sharma S.D. (2009). *China and India in the Age of Globalization*. New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Shen.D. (2010). *Building China-India Reconciliation*. Colorado: Lynne Rienner Publisher.
- Shukla, S. (2007). *Foreign Policy of India*. New Delhi: Anamika Pub & Distributors.
- Sing. W.P., Yuan. J.D (2003). *China and India Cooperation or Conflict*. New Delhi: Indian Research Press.
- Singh. W.P., Yuan. J.D.(2001). "Resolving The Sino-Indian Border Dispute: building Confidence Through Cooperative Monitoring". Retrieved from <http://as.ucpress.edu/content/41/2/351>.
- Singh.S. (2003). *China South Asia Issues, Equations, Policy*. Michigan: Lancers book.
- Smith.J.M. (2013). *Cold Peace: China-India Rivalry in the Twenty-First Century*. London: Lexington Books
- Subramanian.N. (2017). *A short history of the relationship: China-Pakistan, Bhai-Bhai*. Retrieved from <http://indianexpress.com/article/explained/a-short-history-of-the-relationship-china-pakistan-bhai-bhai-belt-and-road-initiative-4668864/>.

- Suryanarayana. P.S. (2016). *Smart Diplomacy: Exploring China-India Synergy*. Hackensack: World Century Publishing Corporation.
- Talukdar.S. (2017).*Sikkim Standoff: China's rapid escalation is limiting India's diplomatic options; can New Delhi hold its nerve?*Retrieved from <http://www.firstpost.com/india/sikkim-standoff-china-rapid-escalation-is-limiting-indias-diplomatic-options-can-new-delhi-hold-its-nerve-3827257.html>.
- Tate. S. (2015).*Analysis of India-China relations*.Retrieved from <https://shankartate.wordpress.com/2015/05/04/analysis-of-india-china-relations/>.
- Terrence. K.K., D. James, A.S. David and C.G. David (2014).*The U.S. Army in Asia, 2030-2040*. Pittsburgh: Rand Corporation.
- Tripathi, D.P., Deepak. B.R. (2012).*India China Relation: Future Perspective*. New Delhi: Vij Books InidaPvt Ltd.
- Twomey.C. (2008).*Perspectives on Sino-American Strategic Nuclear Issues*. New York: Springer.
- Ved.M. (2007).*India China Relation*. Retrieved from <http://www.indiastrategic.in/topstories47.htm>
- Verma, B. (2013). *Chinese are coming: India China Stand Off*. New Delhi: Lancer Publishers LLC.
- Vertzberger.Y. (1982).*India's Border Conflict with China: A Perceptual Analysis*. California: Sage Publications.
- Vicziany.M., Wright-Neville. D.P. Lentini. P. (2004). *Regional Security in the Asia Pacific: 9/1 and After*. London: Edward Elgar Publishing.
- Wang.V.W. (2011)."*Chindia" or Rivalry? Rising China, Rising India, and Contending Perspectives on India-China Relations*. Colorado: LynnneRienner Publisher.
- Warikoo.K. (2009).*Himalayan Frontier of India: Historical, geo-political and strategic perspective*. Canada: Routledge.
- Weale.P.B.L. (1918).*The fight for the republic in China*. London: Hurst &Blackett, Ltd.
- Westcott.S. (2016).*The Ongoing Saga of the China-India Border Talks*.Retrieved from <https://thediplomat.com/2016/05/the-ongoing-saga-of-the-china-india-border-talks/>.
- Whiting.K.R. (1977).*Evolution of the Sino-Soviet Split: A Summary Account Supplement*. Virginia: Air University

Zhu, Z. (2011). *“India-China Relations in 21st Century: A Critical Inquiry”*. Mumbai:
Manju Jain.