

Evolution of Bilateralism: A Historical Perspective on India-China Relations

Seema Chaudhary

Associate Professor, Department of Political Science, VMLG College, Ghaziabad Uttar Pradesh, INDIA

Corresponding Author: seemachaudhary9036@gmail.com

ABSTRACT

This paper explores how India-China ties have changed over time, from the brief era of friendly cohabitation represented by "Hindi-Chini Bhai Bhai" to the present strategic rivalry. It offers a historical examination of the major occasions and elements that have influenced bilateral relations, such as border conflicts, the Sino-Indian War of 1962, and changes in geopolitics. The paper explores the dynamics of the two countries' political, economic, and strategic interactions, emphasizing the growing rivalry in sectors including trade, infrastructure development, and regional influence. It also evaluates how these changing dynamics affect regional stability and the larger international order. The study looks at the difficulties and chances for collaboration in fields like commerce, international forums, and climate change. This paper seeks to shed light on the intricacies of the India-China relationship and its ramifications for the future by providing a thorough historical perspective. It ends with a discussion of possible strategies for controlling rivalry and encouraging positive interaction between these two superpowers.

Keywords-- India-China Relations, Bilateral Relations, Strategic Cooperation, Territorial Disputes, Multilateral Cooperation

this early relationship. These ideas became a paradigm for international relations in the post-colonial world in addition to provide a conceptual basis for bilateral ties. The famous motto "Hindi-Chini Bhai Bhai," which encapsulated the spirit of hope and fraternal solidarity between the two historic civilizations, further highlighted the attitude of cooperation. This early stage of bilateral ties was marked by positive diplomacy, which was especially noticeable in India's involvement in the Korean War, which had a big impact on China's opinion of non-aligned countries. Both countries' dedication to creating a new paradigm of Asian cooperation was demonstrated at this time by the extensive cultural exchanges, diplomatic visits, and attempts to foster understanding between them. But this time of hope also exposed the difficulties in governing the relationship between two new powers with different political structures, territorial conflicts, and strategic goals. Despite following difficulties, the foundation laid during this time still shapes current debates about India-China relations, acting as a reminder of unmet promises in bilateral relations as well as a point of reference for possible collaboration.

I. INTRODUCTION

A major turning point in Asian geopolitics was the opening of diplomatic ties between China and India in the immediate post-colonial period, which was distinguished by common goals of mutual co-operation, development, and sovereignty. With the establishment of the People's Republic of China in 1949 and India's independence in 1947, both countries set out on a bold quest to establish close bilateral connections, supported by their shared vision for Asian rebirth and their shared memories of colonial oppression. India showed its dedication to promoting regional cooperation and creating a framework for peaceful coexistence in 1950 when it became the first non-socialist nation to recognize the new Chinese government.

The Panchsheel Agreement of 1954, which outlined five essential principles—non-aggression, non-interference in domestic matters, equality and mutual benefit, peaceful coexistence, and mutual respect for territorial integrity and sovereignty—formed the basis of

II. THE 'HINDI-CHINI BHAI BHAI' ERA (1950S)

The early years of India-China relations were marked by a sincere desire to forge a cordial and cooperative alliance after India gained its independence in 1947, and the People's Republic of China was founded in 1949. As the first non-socialist nation to formally acknowledge the new Chinese government, India demonstrated its willingness to work with China as a fellow recently independent nation overcoming colonial legacy. Early bilateral interactions between the two nations were shaped by an upbeat sense of solidarity, respect for one another, and common experiences of the anti-colonial struggle.

During this time, the "Panchsheel," or Five Principles of Peaceful Coexistence, was developed and adopted in 1954, serving as the cornerstone of India-China ties. These values placed a strong emphasis on peaceful coexistence, equality and mutual benefit, non-aggression, respect for one another's sovereignty and territorial integrity, and non-interference in one another's domestic affairs. They represented the two states' common goal of

preserving peace and averting conflict as sovereign equals. The catchphrase "Hindi-Chini Bhai Bhai" (Indians and Chinese are brothers) emphasized the positive public feelings and ideological congruence that prevailed, symbolizing the hope and fraternity that supported this early stage.

China's view of India as a vital partner among growing nations was greatly influenced by India's active diplomacy in the 1950s, notably its involvement in the Korean War and support for the non-aligned movement, in addition to its goodwill. This cooperative environment was further solidified by India's position during significant world events and its support for China's recognition in the international arena. Both nations worked to promote economic linkages, cultural exchanges, and people-to-people interactions, all of which helped their bilateral relations take a favorable turn. Nevertheless, underlying issues pertaining to territorial claims and divergent strategic goals started to emerge despite this initial warmth and principled solidarity. Although the first phase established the foundation for peaceful cohabitation, historical border conflicts and geopolitical factors began to complicate the relationship in subsequent years, causing fissures to form. However, the early years following India's independence are still important because of their hopeful underpinnings, which envisioned a partnership built on equality, respect, and peaceful interaction. Even when the relationship strained in later decades, Panchsheel's original optimism and framework persisted in influencing discussions.

III. THE SINO-INDIAN WAR AND ITS AFTERMATH (1962)

An important turning point in the history of India-China bilateral relations was the Sino-Indian War of 1962. A protracted era of mistrust, animosity, and unresolved tensions was brought about by this short but intense struggle, which destroyed the fleeting post-independence façade of fraternity embodied by the catchphrase "Hindi-Chini Bhai Bhai." The war's origins were territorial disputes brought on by varying interpretations of border demarcations, which were made worse by more complex geopolitical issues. India-China relations were drastically changed by the conflict, and the wounds it left behind still affects how the two countries engage today. The Aksai Chin region in the western sector of the border and the McMahon Line in the eastern sector—more precisely, the present-day Indian state of Arunachal Pradesh in the northeast—were the main sites of conflict during the war. Historical ambiguity around boundary delineations made during British colonial administration resulted in these territorial disputes. China disputed the McMahon Line's legitimacy, seeing it as an imperialist encroachment, whereas India acknowledged it as the legal eastern border. India saw

China's construction of a crucial link between Xinjiang and Tibet in the Aksai Chin region as a breach of its sovereignty. The border dispute served as a focal point for the final battle because of these conflicting territory claims.

These territorial disputes were made worse by the geopolitical climate of the late 1950s. Significant tensions with India were brought on by China's expanding territorial claims over Tibet, which it had acquired in 1950. In 1959, after a failed Tibetan rebellion, India granted shelter to the Dalai Lama, marking a turning point in deteriorating relations even though it had previously acknowledged Chinese rule over Tibet. This action increased mistrust in China since it was seen as direct Indian meddling in its domestic affairs. The two nations' growing political and ideological differences throughout the Cold War exacerbated this feeling, with China increasingly seeing India's support for democracy and deeper links to the West as a possible danger to its strategic interests.

In October 1962, the loss of mutual confidence and diplomatic communication led to outright hostilities. In both the eastern and western portions of the disputed boundary, the Chinese troops began a two-pronged offensive. The Chinese People's Liberation Army (PLA) overwhelmingly defeated Indian forces over the course of about a month, resulting in large territorial gains in the eastern sector. The battle exposed glaring differences in the two countries' then-existing military capabilities and readiness. India had to reevaluate its national security goals after the war revealed serious flaws in its defense plan, intelligence coordination, and border infrastructure.

India's national character was severely impacted politically and psychologically by the 1962 conflict. India's confidence in its strategic stance was damaged by the defeat, which led to a thorough review of its foreign policy and defense strategies. As a result, military infrastructure along the border, especially in the Himalayas, was significantly increased. Politically, the battle undermined the Indian government's initial hope for China, signaling a dramatic change in its foreign policy strategy. The Indian leadership, which had traditionally advocated for peaceful coexistence and non-alignment, grew more aware of the reality of regional competitiveness and power politics. The conflict demonstrated China's will to defend its territorial claims and made clear to its neighbors in the region that it is prepared to use force to further its strategic goals. However, the conflict also led to temporary isolation, as its aggressive actions brought international scrutiny and strained relations with several other nations, particularly those aligned with India or critical of its actions in Tibet.

India-China relations were severely frozen in the early wake of the war, and there was no diplomatic interaction for many years. As both nations strengthened their positions along the disputed boundary, cross-border tensions continued. The profound mistrust that resulted

from the conflict was exemplified by the absence of diplomatic advancement during this time. A widespread attitude of caution and readiness for possible future conflicts was reflected in the significant military buildups on both sides during this time.

Beyond the short-term effects, though, the 1962 conflict left a legacy of animosity and rivalry that still influences India-China ties today. The unresolved border dispute and sporadic standoffs and skirmishes underscore the precariousness of the ceasefire along the Line of Actual Control (LAC). A major barrier to deeper collaboration between the two countries in the areas of politics, the economy, and security is the war's entrenchment of mistrust. The events of 1962 had a lasting impression on subsequent relationships, despite later attempts to resolve controversial topics through conversation. In addition to redefining India-China relations, the conflict changed both countries' strategic calculations, fostering a climate of wary engagement and competitiveness.

It stands as a poignant reminder of the risks inherent in unresolved territorial disputes and serves as a critical chapter in understanding the complexities of contemporary India-China relations.

IV. NORMALIZATION AND RENEWED ENGAGEMENT (1976-2000S)

Beginning in the mid-1970s, India and China began a gradual process of normalization and resumed diplomatic interaction after a protracted period of estrangement characterized by the 1962 border conflict and the ensuing mutual mistrust. Despite the ongoing complexity of their ideological disagreements and boundary disputes, the political determination to reestablish full diplomatic relations reached a climax in 1976, signifying a conscious move towards reconciliation. A careful but deliberate thawing of ties was made possible by this restoration, which created an atmosphere that encouraged communication and collaboration. The 1980s saw a series of small-scale efforts to boost confidence, but the 1988 visit of the Indian prime minister—generally considered to be a turning point in the bilateral relationship—was a turning point. This historic visit not only signaled a break from the aloofness that had defined the previous decades, but it also demonstrated how both parties understood the strategic necessity of finding ways to work together while simultaneously resolving disagreements. Both nations committed to actively addressing unresolved boundary disputes during this time, all the while fostering trade, cultural exchanges, and interpersonal connectivity.

This historic visit not only signaled a break from the aloofness that had defined the previous decades, but it also demonstrated how both parties understood the strategic necessity of finding ways to work together while

simultaneously resolving disagreements. Both nations committed to actively addressing unresolved boundary disputes during this time, all the while fostering trade, cultural exchanges, and interpersonal connectivity.

In order to promote regular communication across the political, economic, military, and cultural domains, several institutional mechanisms were established in the years that followed. These organized interactions were very helpful in keeping lines of communication open, reducing stress, and investigating dispute resolution frameworks. Bilateral commerce significantly increased at the same time, indicating a growing recognition of economic complementarities and interdependence. With India emerging as a key market for Chinese exports and project investments, trade connections had greatly increased by the early 2000s, adding a practical element to the bilateral calculus.

Under Prime Minister Atal Bihari Vajpayee's leadership, this involvement was further solidified in the early 21st century. During his visits, important accords aimed at promoting peace and managing conflict along the border areas were signed. Both countries underlined how crucial stability is as a prerequisite for widespread collaboration. During this time, they also acknowledged the complex nature of their partnership, which included not just geopolitical considerations but also common interests in technology cooperation, cultural affinities, and economic expansion. During this early stage, the state-to-state interaction demonstrated a rational approach to coexistence and mutual accommodation, despite obstacles brought on by unresolved boundary disputes and sporadic hostilities.

The strategic concerns in their bilateral interactions were mitigated by the practical pursuit of economic engagement combined with diplomatic discourse. Thus, the process of normalization from the late 1970s to the 2000s shows a conscious effort on the part of both nations to strike a balance between cooperation and rivalry, supported by a shared recognition of their crucial responsibilities in the regional and international order. All things considered, this time marks a turning point in the development of India-China relations, as they go from the first hostile phase to a more complex and formalized exchange. The persistent focus on communication, institutional frameworks, and economic integration throughout these decades laid the groundwork for the intricate yet essential bilateral relationship seen today. It emphasizes how all sides recognize that sustained interaction, guided by common sense and strategic caution, is necessary to reconcile their historical differences and common goals.

V. THE RISE OF STRATEGIC COMPETITION (2000S-PRESENT)

With its entwined historical links, geopolitical calculations, economic engagements, and cultural ties, India-China relations are among the most important and intricate bilateral interactions in Asia. People-to-people interactions and trade and investment dynamics stand out as crucial levers to influence the future course of India-China relations within this complex framework. Both elements necessitate a sophisticated comprehension based on historical background, contemporary difficulties, and prospective advantages.

Trade and Investment: Addressing the Imbalance and Enhancing Market Access

Two of the biggest rising economies, China and India, have a strong economic partnership supported by yearly trade volumes of over \$100 billion. With strong ties in the manufacturing, infrastructure, and supply chain sectors, China is currently India's biggest trading partner. However, there is a significant imbalance in bilateral trade favoring China, and India faces structural difficulties due to its enormous trade deficit, which is expected to reach USD 85.1 billion in 2024. India's limited export portfolio to China and ongoing market access restrictions are the main causes of this trade deficit. The main constituents of India's limitedly diverse exports include raw materials, organic chemicals, and certain IT-related services. Meanwhile, India faces non-tariff barriers in sectors where it has competitive strengths, such as pharmaceuticals, agriculture, and information technology. There are also regulatory complexities, procedural challenges, and restrictions on Chinese investments and products that hinder smoother bilateral trade flows.

Both countries must take proactive steps to address this disparity. In order to satisfy the expectations of the Chinese market, India must first expand and improve its export portfolio, concentrating on high-value products like organic medicines, specialty chemicals, and IT enabled services. To get access to high-end Chinese market segments, it will also be essential to improve standards compliance and quality certifications. Second, to improve the climate for Indian exporters and investors, political and economic discussions should focus on removing tariff and non-tariff barriers. Increasing mutual confidence through the simplification of bilateral investment protection rules will spur more commercial initiatives and technological collaborations.

On the investment front, bilateral flows have witnessed volatility. Chinese investments in India declined significantly in recent years, affected by geopolitical mistrust and regulatory tightening. Conversely, Indian investments in China, though smaller, face barriers such as local regulations and market entry challenges. Revitalizing

investment ties requires enhanced transparency, fair competition policies, and joint promotion of sectors of mutual interest, including clean energy, pharmaceuticals, and digital technologies.

Climate Change Cooperation: A Shared Imperative

Climate change and sustainable development are two areas of growing importance for India-China collaboration. Being the two biggest emitters of greenhouse gases in the world, both nations share responsibility for maintaining a stable global climate and have similar goals in mind: increasing the use of renewable energy sources, reducing emissions, and improving energy efficiency. China, the world leader in renewable installations, and India, with its National Solar Mission, are both pursuing ambitious clean energy initiatives. Results and cost savings can be increased through cooperative projects centered on clean technology transfer, carbon capture, energy storage, and electric mobility research and development.

Furthermore, joint participation in international climate frameworks like the Paris Agreement reinforces their shared commitment to sustainable development while providing avenues for cooperation in sectoral policies and financing mechanisms. Sustainable water management, pollution control, and disaster risk reduction are additional areas where bilateral synergy can promote resilience, especially given shared environmental challenges resulting from geographically linked ecosystems.

Multilateral Forums: Coordinating on Global and Regional Challenges

India and China's roles as major powers are magnified within multilateral groupings such as BRICS, the Shanghai Cooperation Organization (SCO), and the G20. These forums offer venues for cooperation on issues such as trade liberalization, counterterrorism, health pandemics, economic governance, and climate action. Cooperation in these areas strengthens their ability to solve global issues, advance multipolarity, and shape international laws and norms. For instance, coordinated activities within SCO enable regional security cooperation in Central Asia, while coordinated efforts within BRICS provide development funding for infrastructure projects in emerging economies. In order to promote the interests of the Global South, India and China might agree at the G20 level to restructure international organizations such as the United Nations and World Trade Organization. Nonetheless, competitiveness still exists in these forums, which reflects underlying strategic mistrust. To guarantee that collaboration wins out over rivalry, diplomatic skill is necessary.

People-to-People Exchanges: Building Trust and Cultural Understanding

For bilateral relations to be sustainable, people-to-people connections must be strengthened above and beyond political discussions and economic interactions. Increased cultural contacts foster the development of social capital

that supports sustained collaboration and aid in reducing political conflicts. Cultural ties between China and India have existed for millennia, as evidenced by the Silk Road's trade and the introduction of Buddhism from India to China. The goal of recent initiatives has been to revitalize and broaden these cultural corridors. India's soft power reach is increased, and goodwill is fostered in China by the popularity of Bollywood movies and Indian yoga. In a similar vein, India has receptive audiences for China's cultural exports, such as its cuisine and traditional festivals. One important avenue for cultural diplomacy is tourism. Journeys like the Kailash Man Sarovar Yatra offer concrete examples of collaboration and serve as a symbol of spiritual ties. This industry may be strengthened by easing visa requirements, boosting connectivity, and encouraging tourism infrastructure. Another essential component of interpersonal interactions is education. More academic and student mobility has been encouraged by agreements such as the Education Exchange Programme, which was started in 2006. Academic conferences, collaborative research initiatives, language instruction, and scholarships foster professional networks and increase understanding between parties. By growing these programs, future generations of academics, corporate executives, and diplomats will be equipped with sophisticated viewpoints on bilateral matters.

VI. ADDITIONAL OPPORTUNITIES FOR COOPERATION

- Infrastructure Connectivity: Developing cross-border transport and energy infrastructure, including collaboration on sustainable urban development, can foster economic integration and mutual prosperity.
- Technology and Innovation: Joint ventures and knowledge sharing in emerging fields such as artificial intelligence, biotechnology, and 5G infrastructure can reduce competitive friction and facilitate technological advancement.
- Public Health Coordination: The COVID-19 pandemic underscored the importance of cooperation on health surveillance, vaccine development, and emergency response frameworks.
- Environmental Conservation: Beyond climate change, cooperation on biodiversity protection, desertification control, and pollution mitigation can safeguard shared ecological interests.
- Conflict Management and Confidence Building: While the border remains a contentious issue, continued dialogue on military and diplomatic fronts is essential. Confidence-building measures including joint exercises and border-area

cooperation mechanisms reduce risk and foster trust.

The relationship between China and India is still a complicated one, characterized by cautious engagement, competitiveness, and cooperation. One of the most important economic imperatives is to address the long-standing trade deficit by supporting balanced investments and opening Chinese markets for Indian goods and services. At the same time, there are opportunities to foster mutual benefit and trust through increased cooperation on climate change, international governance, and people-to-people interactions. India and China can resolve their disputes and further their common vision for global governance by balancing economic pragmatism with cultural diplomacy and multilateral collaboration. Due to changing economic links, strategic interests, and cultural exchanges, India-China relations have seen tremendous progress as well as difficulties. The ongoing trade deficit, which coexists with initiatives to encourage increased investment flows and significant people-to-people interactions in the areas of culture, tourism, and education, is a crucial aspect of this bilateral relationship. This discussion expands on these elements and pinpoints further possibilities for collaboration, drawing on Vajiram & Ravi's thorough study in **India China Relations, History, Timeline, Challenges** as well as insights into current dynamics.

VII. CONTEMPORARY DYNAMICS AND CONFLICTUAL DIMENSIONS IN INDIA-CHINA RELATIONS

The complicated interplay of long-standing border disputes, strategic competitiveness, and careful diplomatic engagement characterizes the current condition of India-China relations, which reflects the complex and delicate nature of their bilateral relationship. Notwithstanding times of reconciliation, the ongoing conflict is mostly caused by unresolved territory disputes along the Line of Actual Control (LAC), conflicting geopolitical goals, and economic disparities, all of which add to the ongoing hostilities between the two. Prolonged border conflicts are the main cause of disagreement, especially in the Ladakh sector and the Arunachal Pradesh region, which serve as hotspots for diplomatic and military conflict. The June 2020 fight in the Galwan Valley, which caused losses on both sides and markedly increased bilateral hostilities following decades of relative calm, is one notable example.

The ensuing years witnessed repeated face-offs, such as the Yangtse encounter in Arunachal Pradesh in 2022 and China's assertion of infrastructural developments near sensitive border areas, which further strained trust between the two militaries. Although there have been efforts to reduce tensions, such as the 2024 India-China Border Patrol Agreement reinstating patrolling rights in sectors like

Depsang Plains and Demchok, the incomplete disengagement and absence of a mutually recognized boundary continue to render the frontier volatile. Strategic competition extends beyond the physical boundary to include more general geopolitical issues. India views China's expanding influence in South Asia and the Indian Ocean as a threat to its strategic independence and regional dominance. This is especially true of the China-Pakistan Economic Corridor (CPEC), which crosses disputed territory as part of the Belt and Road Initiative (BRI). On the other hand, Beijing is suspicious of India's growing security alliances with the US, Japan, Australia (Quad), and other countries. The 2025 defense budget shows a nearly threefold rise over India's, further highlighting the disparity in force projection capabilities and escalating India's security concerns. China's military upgrading also surpasses India's defense expenditure growth.

Economic disparities intensify this complex conflict. Concerns over market access, supply vulnerabilities, and strategic dependencies in vital industries like technology and pharmaceuticals are fueled by India's significant trade deficit with China, which has recently exceeded USD 85 billion. Persistent non-tariff barriers and limited Indian investments in China are proof that these issues have not yet been resolved through diplomatic discussions. With a focus on conflict resolution and measures to boost confidence, India has responded by stepping up diplomatic efforts to rebalance the relationship through channels like the Special Representatives (SR) discussion. At the same time, India's focus on developing border infrastructure, improved military preparedness through recent purchases like Rafale planes, and strategic alignment with multilateral bodies like BRICS and SCO demonstrate a multifaceted strategy for striking a balance between engagement and competition.

In conclusion, the current conflictual dynamics in India-China relations are representative of a larger strategic rivalry that is marked by economic disparities, geopolitical competition, and unresolved territorial disputes. Even though there are diplomatic approaches and structures for collaboration, the persistent mistrust and unresolved important concerns highlight a difficult road ahead. One of the most important factors influencing Asia's geopolitical stability and regional security framework is still this intricate bilateral relationship.

VIII. CONCLUSION

Over the past 70 years, there has been a significant change in the relationship between China and India. A complex mix of historical grudges, geopolitical rivalries, economic interests, and security concerns has influenced their contacts from the early euphoria of "Hindi-Chini Bhai Bhai" to the current era of strategic struggle. Despite the

enormous obstacles, it is the duty of both nations to resolve their disagreements and work together on matters of shared interest. Both countries must strive for a stable, peaceful, and prosperous future since the future of the India-China relationship will have a significant impact on the globe and the region.

REFERENCES

- [1] Athwal, A. (2007). *China-India relations: Contemporary dynamics*. Routledge Publication, Accessed from https://www.academia.edu/23016470/A_History_of_Sino_Indian_Relations_From_Conflict_to_Cooperation.
- [2] Chan, Steve. (2008), *China, the US, and Power Transition Theory: A Critique*, Routledge Publication, New York.
- [3] Fazli, Z., Hosain, D. & Bhandari, A., (2022), *India-China Competition: Perspectives from the Neighborhood*, Special Report in Observer Research Foundation (ORF). Retrieved From <https://www.orfonline.org/research/india-china-competition>.
- [4] Ganguly, S. & Howenstein, N. (2009). *India-Pakistan Rivalry in Afghanistan*. *Journal of International Affairs*, 63(1), 127-40.
- [5] Ghosh, C. (2009). *India-China Relations: Cooperation or Conflict?*, *Jadavpur Journal of International Relations*, Vol No.13(1), pp. 208–215 Retrieved From https://www.academia.edu/23016470/A_History_of_Sino_Indian_Relations_From_Conflict_to_Cooperation.
- [6] Harder, A. (2020). *China-India relations: a petrifying impasse?*, *Round Table*, Vol No, 109(5), pp. 620-621, Retrieved from https://www.academia.edu/23016470/A_History_of_Sino_Indian_Relations_From_Conflict_to_Cooperation.
- [7] Jha, P. S. (2017). *China-India Relations under Modi*. *China Report*, Vol No. 53(2), pp. 158– 171.
- [8] Khan, I. & Shamim, M.U., (2022), *China-India Relations: A Critical Analysis of Convergence and Divergence*, Vol. 7, No. 2, pp. 14- 22. Retrieved from <https://www.gcwus.edu.pk/wpcontent/uploads/2022/08/2.-China-India-Relations-A-Critical-Analysis-of-Convergence-andDivergence.pdf>.
- [9] Keshab, C. (2014), *India-China Bilateral Relations: Confrontation and Conciliation*, IBIMA Conference, Valencia Spain, Vol 23, DOI:10.13140/2.1.1415.2969.
- [10] Kim, Y.-C. (Ed.). (2020). *China-India Relations*, Springer International Publishing.
- [11] Malik, Aman (2014). *ITBP Wants more Force, Better Weapons in Afghanistan*, LiveMint, accessed from <http://www.livemint.com/politics/R7aojfbx2qcvNFTHFUcxVN/ITBP-wants-more-forces-better-weapon-in-afghanistan.html>.

[12] Mohanty, M. (1985). India-China Relations: A Positive Frame, *India Quarterly: A Journal of International Affairs*, Vol. 41, Issue 1, pp. 17-22.

[13] Ogden, Chris. (2016), *New South Asian Security: Six Core Relations Underpinning Regional Security*, Orient Black Swan Publication, pp.14-34.

[14] Singh, Swaran. (2008). India-China Relations: Perception, Problems, Potential, *South Asian Survey*, Vol. 15, No. 1, pp. 83-98. DOI: 10.1177/097152310801500106.

[15] Rajagopalan, R. P. (2017). *India–China relations. Chinese Foreign Policy Under Xi*, Routledge Publication, pp. 95–106. Routledge. Retrieved from

https://www.academia.edu/23016470/A_History_of_Sino_Indian_Relations_From_Conflict_to_Cooperation.

[16] Singh, S. (2008). India–China Relations, *South Asian Survey*, Vol 15 (1), pp. 83–98.

[17] Xiao, Ren (2011), Positioning Norms, Principal and Interest in Chinese Foreign Policy, *East Asia*, Vol. 28, Issue 3, pp 219-234.