



Title - China-India Relations: The Untold Story and the Future of the Indo-Pacific

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Date: 24 January 2018

Seminar Room, ICS

From October to November 1962, the great defeat of the Himalayas in India remained lingering in people's memories. For a long time after the Sino-Indian War broke out, India had the official version of the war which "China has betrayed India". Dr. Ward, with his rich experience in China, put forward his own concept of the remodeling of history. In the past nearly 70 years, China and India are committed to have a friendly cooperation. The lesson from this bitter memory is not through digging out the war-related parts but he underlined the fact that one should carefully examine the background and context of the war to have a outlook what extended so far till today.

Dr. Ward posed the question about what, in China's view, caused the Sino-Indian war? The Chinese Communist Party (CCP) founded the People's Republic of China in 1949. Mao's revolution never took as its ultimate goal the Communist seizure of power in China. Rather, as the Chairman repeatedly made clear, his revolution aimed at transforming China's seats, population and society, and simultaneously reasserting China's central position in the world. And Mao also aimed at transforming not only the old China but the old World Order. 'A new China' led by Mao was aiming to find the central position in the world, and he considered India not to be controlled by the United States. Zhou Enlai, who only served as a Chinese diplomat, without any military doctrine, thought that 'the root of the conflict is that India wants to take up the mantel of British imperialism'. Therefore, the border issue is actually not about the land, but the power of 'a new China'. CCP views India as a challenger to China's global foreign policy, especially in Asia and Africa, which India is attempting to

counteract and destroy.

What happened in 1962 is not a turning point or a symptom of deterioration, while there was a dark side to the China-India relationship from the beginning, as Mao supported arms to almost every socialist countries. India's non-alignment, different view from Maoist, is becoming the reality of India to have a pervasive power, as each super power urges India to become a partner. Liu Shaoqi once said, 'Whether or not this lesson that we taught to Nehru was enough is still a question. Maybe there will be need to be a second or a third lesson'.

Drawing on lessons from the War of 1962, India also prizes military power. It can be shown from Jawaharlal Nehru by what he said in 1963, 'we are men and women of peace in this country, conditioned to the ways of peace. We are unused to the necessities of war, but we must steel our wills and direct the nation's energy and resources to this one and we must build up our military strength by all means at our disposal.' The consequence of the Sino-Indian Border Conflict is that India realized the importance of military power. It can be seen as an improvement to Modern India strategy, foreign policy and the view of world, and truly played an important role in shaping the modern Indian ideology.

China's strategic geography is evolving as it becomes the world's top trading nation, and be independent on maritime trade. Nowadays, South China Sea is the epitome of the whole global military concern. China-India tensions are moving to the maritime domain, especially the Indian Ocean Region. China has recently surpassed the United States as the world's largest trading nation, meanwhile, the 'Two-Ocean' Strategy is becoming quite clear. China's Belt & Road Initiative has the Indian Ocean as central, and what China proposed is 'guarding their self-interest'. China is focused on building a 'blue water' navy and preparing to self-guard. India is also focusing on building its navy and domestic marine infrastructure. Robert D. Kaplan commented, 'indeed, it is too facile to suggest that China is acquiring naval power as a means to the end of regional or perhaps global hegemony. Empires are often not sought consciously. Rather, as states become stronger, they develop needs and - counter-intuitively - a whole new set of insecurities that lead them to expand in an organic fashion'. The disputed border remains an important source of tension in the bilateral relationship.

To give a conclusion and outlook, Dr. Ward summarized the current economic situation in China and India. India's GDP growth has begun to outpace Chinese GDP growth, while China's share of global GDP is much higher, and India's GDP is the equivalent to that of China's ten years ago. India will have a 'youth bulge' in its

workforce though 2035, while China's demographic dividends are coming to an end. China and India's attitude toward each other and the world will be an important blueprint for the development of their relations.

Report prepared by Ye Jiawen, Research Intern, ICS.

About the Speaker

Jonathan D. T. Ward is the Founder of Atlas Organization, a Washington D.C. based consultancy focused on China, India, and the Indo-Pacific Region. He received his D.Phil. from the University of Oxford, where he specialized in China-India relations. Dr. Ward is a Research Associate at the University of Oxford's Changing Character of War Programme, and has recently been selected for the Next Generation National Security Leaders Program at the Center for a New American Security in Washington D.C. Dr. Ward studied Philosophy, Russian, and Chinese language at Columbia University as an undergraduate, and spent five years living and traveling extensively in Russia, China, India, Latin America, and the Middle East. He speaks Russian, Chinese, Spanish, and Arabic, completing language training at Beijing University in China and St. Petersburg State University in Russia. He is working on a new book on Chinese global strategy, and preparing for publication of his doctoral work from Oxford on the rise and fall of China-India relations from 1950-62. Dr. Ward is a frequent invited speaker for government and industry audiences in the United States, Europe, and Asia, on strategic issues pertaining to China, India, and the Indo-Pacific Region.

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