

# Protracted Contest Sino Indian Rivalry In The Twentieth Century

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## HODGES FORD

### The Engagement of India CSIS

The hardline view of Sino-Indian relations found in the published reports of Indian and Chinese security analysts is often at considerable odds with the more tempered opinions those same analysts express in private interviews and conversations. What is the reality of the increasingly important security relationship between the two countries? The authors of this new study address that question in depth. Sidhu and Yuan explore a range of key issues, including mutual distrust and misperception (perhaps the most important factor), the undemarcated border, the status of Tibet and Sikkim, trade, the tussle over various nonproliferation treaties, terrorism, the regional roles of the U.S. and Pakistan, and the impact of domestic public opinion and special interests. They do see a trend toward a more pragmatic approach in Beijing and New Delhi to managing differences and broadening the agenda of common interests. Nevertheless, they conclude, significant obstacles remain to the amicable relationship necessary for regional peace and stability, posing a daunting challenge to policymakers in these two rising powers.

**Sino-Indian Relations: a Tale of Two Asian Giants** University of Washington Press

China and Pakistan, India's two most powerful neighbours, share an 'all-weather' relationship that is as reputed for its depth as it is layered in secrecy. Based on years of research and interviews, Andrew Small has put together the story of China and Pakistan's growing, and in parts troubled, friendship. The China-Pakistan Axis is essential to understanding the economic, political and security map of Asia, especially India's neighbourhood. It explains

Beijing's extraordinary support to Pakistan's nuclear programme and defence planning, their strategic cooperation on India, the United States and Afghanistan, and the implications for counter-terrorism efforts. A special chapter for this Indian edition brings the book up to date on China's involvement in the Taliban talks.

*India and China* Georgetown University Press

Rising China and emerging India are becoming major maritime powers. As they build large navies to secure their growing interests, both nations are roiling the waters of the Indo-Pacific--the vast littoral stretching from Africa to Australasia. Invoking a tale from Hindu mythology-- Samudra Manthan or to churn the ocean--C. Raja Mohan tells the story of a Sino-Indian rivalry spilling over from the Great Himalayas into the Indian and Pacific Oceans. He examines the prospects of mitigating the tensions and constructing a stable Indo-Pacific order. America, the dominant power in the area, is being drawn into the unfolding Sino-Indian competition. Despite the huge differences in the current naval capabilities of China, India, and the United States, Mohan argues that the three countries are locked in a triangular struggle destined to mold the future Indo-Pacific.

*The Sino-Indian Rivalry* Cambridge University Press

China's exponential rise and America's relative decline have led to a transition of power in contemporary Asia. The US pivot towards Asia is the most evident manifestation of such a transition, and Indian foreign policy shows signs of a hedging strategy, with attempts to strengthen ties with both China and the US.

*The Sino-Indian War Of 1962* Oxford University Press

In the last decade, China and India have risen to prominence in the Indo-Pacific region, requiring U.S. policymakers, subject matter experts, and military officials to shift their attention toward understanding this critical relationship. The maintenance

and stability of the Indo-Pacific region depend on the dynamics of the Sino-Indian relationship. Thus, a better understanding of Sino-Indian relations can have significant implications for how the U.S. strategy progresses in the Indo-Pacific region. First, to understand the 21st-century Sino-Indian relationship, this thesis analyzed the factors that led to cooperation and discord between China and India during the 1950s and early 1960s, which culminated in the 1962 border war. Second, the thesis analyzed Sino-Indian relations from 2008-2017, identifying whether factors from the 1950s and early 1960s apply to current and future Sino-Indian relations. Despite the nuances that mark both periods, the 21st-century Sino-Indian relationship has followed a similar path of cooperation, competition, and conflict, which culminated in the 2017 Doklam standoff--the longest border standoff since the 1962 border war. Overall, across both periods, this thesis found that unresolved territorial disputes, competition for energy resources, a race for regional influence, and assertive leadership have hindered cooperation. Extrapolating from the research, these factors will likely continue, creating a rocky way ahead for the Indo-Pacific region.

**India-China Relations** OUP Oxford

The rise of India and China as two major economic and political actors in both regional and global politics necessitates an analysis of not only their bilateral ties but also the significance of their regional and global pursuits. This book looks at the nuances and politics that the two countries attach to multilateral institutions and examines how they receive, react to and approach each other's presence and upsurge. The driving theme of this book is to highlight the enduring and emerging complexities in India-China relations, which are multi-layered and polygonal in nature, and both a result and reflection of a multipolar world order. The book argues that coexistence between India and China in this

multipolar world order is possible, but that it is limited to a medium-term perspective, given the constraints of identity complexities and global aspirations these two rising powers are pursuing. It goes on to discuss how their search for energy resources, quest to uphold their own identity as developing powers, and engagement in balance-of-power politics to exert authority on each other's presence, are some elements that guide their non-cooperative relationship. By explaining the foreign policy approaches of Asia's two major powers towards the growing Asian and global multilateralism, and highlighting the policies they carry towards each other, the book is a useful contribution to students and scholars of Asian Politics, Foreign Policy and International Relations.

**India's Great Power Politics** University of Washington Press

This book examines India's foreign and defence policy changes in response to China's growing economic and military power and increased footprint across the Indo-Pacific. It further explores India's role in the rivalry between China and the United States. The book looks at the strategic importance of the Indian Ocean Region in the Indo-Pacific geopolitical landscape and how India is managing China's rise by combining economic cooperation with a wide set of balancing strategies. The authors in this book critically analyse the various tools of Indian foreign policy, including defence posture, security alignments, and soft power diplomacy, among others, and discuss the future trajectory of India's foreign policy and the factors which will determine the balance of power in the region and the potential risks involved. The book provides detailed insights into the multifaceted and complex relationship between India and China and will be of great interest to researchers and students of international relations, Asian studies, political science, and economics. It will also be useful for policymakers, journalists, and think tanks interested in the India-China relationship.

**Chinese Foreign Relations** Lynne Rienner Publishers

The Sino-Indian War of 1962 delivered a crushing defeat to India: not only did the country suffer a loss of lives and a heavy blow to its pride, the world began to see India as the provocateur of the war, with China 'merely defending' its territory. This perception that China was largely the innocent victim of Nehru's hostile policies was put forth by journalist Neville Maxwell in his book *India's China War*, which found readers in many opinion makers,

including Henry Kissinger and Richard Nixon. For far too long, Maxwell's narrative, which sees India as the aggressor and China as the victim, has held court. Nearly 50 years after Maxwell's book, Bertil Lintner's *China's India War* puts the 'border dispute' into its rightful perspective. Lintner argues that China began planning the war as early as 1959 and proposes that it was merely a small move in the larger strategic game that China was playing to become a world player—one that it continues to play even today.

*The China-India Rivalry in the Globalization Era* Cambridge University Press

The chessboard of Sino-Indian relations, fraught with emotion, diplomatic strategy, military stand-offs and global ambitions, will perhaps be the most keenly watched during the 21st century; certain to send ripples across the world, influence markets and international policy. So where do the fault lines lie in this contest between the two Asian giants, poised on either side of the Himalayas? India and China, inheritors of two of the world's most ancient civilisations have had aeons of neighborly bonds, cemented by Buddhism and the bridge building missions of Fa Hien, Huen Tsang and Kotnis. No strife was witnessed till the fateful autumn of 1962, when the two countries fought a short and bitter war on the desolate Himalayan heights. Ever since, mutual suspicion, sporadic face-offs and a spirit of competitive nationalism have bedeviled relations between them, even as unsettled borders possess the ability to trigger further conflict. In a cogent and comprehensive analysis, the author traces the origins of the discord to the flawed legacy of imperial Britain's unilateral border delineation and the ebb and flow of Chinese activism in Tibet. The gripping narrative carries the reader from the post-1947 Panchsheel bonhomie to years of mutual distrust, aggravated, among other causes, by Chinese paranoia over Tibet, and Indian public opinion. India's cataclysmic defeat in the 1962 war, which remains a young nation's humiliation, is attributed to the ill-advised Forward Policy and failure of the politico-military leadership of the time. In this revised and updated edition, the author chronicles the events after the 1962 war and the changes in the relationship subsequent to the evolution of China into a economic and military superpower. The impact of China's special relationship with Pakistan, their apprehensions about the Dalai Lama, the role of USA, and the recurring incidents at the border,

including Doklam, are analysed lucidly as are the challenges faced by Indian military and diplomatic establishment in tackling the threat from across the Himalayas.

**Meeting China Halfway** Fulton Books, Inc.

This book analyzes the strategies that different states have used to engage a rising India, their successes and failures, as well as India's responses. This analysis of the foreign relations of a key rising power, and comparative study of engagement strategies, casts light on the changing nature of Indian foreign policy.

**The US Pivot and Indian Foreign Policy** Cambridge University Press

Ever since the two ancient nations of India and China established modern states in the mid-20th century, they have been locked in a complex rivalry ranging across the South Asian region. Garver offers a scrupulous examination of the two countries' actions and policy decisions over the past fifty years. He has interviewed many of the key figures who have shaped their diplomatic history and has combed through the public and private statements made by officials, as well as the extensive record of government documents and media reports. He presents a thorough and compelling account of the rivalry between these powerful neighbors and its influence on the region and the larger world.

*Cold Peace* Brookings Institution Press

Following the end of the Cold War, the economic reforms in the early 1990s, and ensuing impressive growth rates, India has emerged as a leading voice in global affairs, particularly on international economic issues. Its domestic market is fast-growing and India is becoming increasingly important to global geo-strategic calculations, at a time when it has been outperforming many other growing economies, and is the only Asian country with the heft to counterbalance China. Indeed, so much is India defined internationally by its economic performance (and challenges) that other dimensions of its internal situation, notably relevant to security, and of its foreign policy have been relatively neglected in the existing literature. This handbook presents an innovative, high profile volume, providing an authoritative and accessible examination and critique of Indian foreign policy. The handbook brings together essays from a global team of leading experts in the field to provide a comprehensive study of the various dimensions of Indian foreign policy.

**Sino-Indian Rivalry in the Western Indian Ocean**

Georgetown University Press

Though a US-China conflict is far from inevitable, major tensions are building in the Asia-Pacific region. Goldstein's book lays bare both US and Chinese perceptions of where their interests clash and offers one hundred policy proposals to inaugurate a genuine debate regarding cooperative solutions to the most vexing problems in US-China relations.

**The Sino-Indian Rivalry** Georgetown University Press

Iran's nuclear aspirations increasingly dominate its relations with the United States and Europe. China remains one of Iran's strongest allies on the Security Council, and also its most likely supplier of technology and assistance, built on decades of close economic and military relations. Iran is enjoying strong new influence in the Middle East and Asia following record oil profits and Shi'i victories in Iraqi parliamentary elections. Like Iran, China fought for decades to increase its self-reliance and geopolitical influence after painful experiences under European colonialism, which spurred nationalist revolutions. With China and Iran: Ancient Partners in a Post-Imperial World, John Garver breaks new ground on the relationship between the People's Republic of China and the Islamic Republic of Iran. Grounding his survey in the twin concepts of civilization and power, Garver explores the relationship between these two ancient and proud peoples, each of which consider the other a peer and a partner in their mutual determination to build a post-Western-dominated Asia. Successive governments of both China and Iran have recognized substantial national capabilities in each other, capabilities that allow the countries to achieve their own national interests through cooperation. These interests have varied - from countering Soviet expansionism to resisting U.S. unilateralism - but the cooperative relationship between the two nations has remained constant. In his compelling analysis, Garver explores the evolution of Sino-Iranian relations through several phases, including Iran under the shah and before the 1979 revolution; from the 1979 revolution to 1989, a year marked both by the end of the Iran-Iraq war and the beginning of conflict in Sino-U.S. relations; and from 1989 to 2004. China and Iran includes discussion of the current debates at the International Atomic Energy Agency over Iran's nuclear programs and China's role in assisting these programs and in supporting Iran in international debates. Garver examines China's involvement in Iran's efforts to

modernize its military, including China's offer of weapons, capital goods, and engineering services in exchange for Iranian oil, suggesting links between this energy exchange and China's support for Iran in political arenas. In today's political climate, where China is recognized as a rising and increasingly influential global power and Iran as one of the most powerful nations in the Middle East, this book presents a crucial analysis of a topic of utmost importance to scholars and the general public today.

*Cold Peace* Random House India

The twenty-first century is likely to witness Asia's two largest civilizations, China and India, join the United States in an elite club of global superpowers. By some economic indicators, the two Asian giants are already the second and third largest economies in the world, and they are developing world-class militaries to complement that economic clout. While Beijing and Delhi have spent the past half-century free from armed conflict and enjoy cordial diplomatic relations, elements of rivalry have shadowed the relationship since the two countries went to war in 1962 over their disputed Himalayan border. In the twenty-first century, that rivalry has evolved in unpredictable ways, advancing in some arenas and retreating in the face of growing cooperation in others. *Cold Peace: China-India Rivalry in the Twenty-First Century* updates and deepens our understanding of the China-India relationship by unraveling the complex layers of the contemporary China-India rivalry. This book draws from over 100 interviews with subject-matter experts, government officials, and military officers in India, China, and the United States between November 2011 and July 2013. It also benefits from rare and unique field research at the disputed China-India border in Ladakh and Arunachal Pradesh; at the contested town of Tawang in the Himalayas; at Dharamsala, the seat of the Tibetan Government in Exile; at the Andaman and Nicobar Islands; and on Hainan Island, which administers China's South China Sea territories. With 14 chapters dedicated to issue-specific studies, including Threat Perceptions in China-India Relations, the border dispute, Tawang, Tibet, the Dalai Lama succession issue, maritime security, and the role of the United States and Pakistan in Sino-Indian relations, *Cold Peace* provides a comprehensive examination of the evolution of China-India relations.

*High Altitude Warfare* Rowman & Littlefield

"Focuses on cross-Strait relations during Ma Ying-jeou's first term,

assessing the impact of stabilization on economics, politics, and security and the implications for resolution of Taiwan and China's fundamental dispute. Examines how Taiwan can strengthen itself; how China can promote a mutually acceptable outcome; and how Washington can protect its interests in South Asia"--Provided by publisher.

*Crossing Borders* Routledge Chapman & Hall

In this lucid, informative, and insightful book, a leading expert on the subject decodes the complex history of India-China relations and argues that the path ahead is a difficult one that could see more military confrontations, including violent border clashes.

*India Versus China* Routledge

By the early 21st century with the rise of China economies of East Asia and India, the prognosis of a strong Asia showed promise. The Indo - Pacific Region (essentially Western Pacific and the Indian Ocean) deservedly came to be recognised as the new 'Centre of Gravity' in the evolving world economic order. Asian states have exhibited leadership in a range of significant areas, such as economics, diplomacy, military power, science & technology, innovation, and soft power thus adding traction to the notion of 'Asia Century' of shared prosperity and common destiny. Under this overarching geo-strategic environment, it is imperative that the two most populous and growing economic powers, India and China, move towards achieving consensus, co-operation and strategic trust rather than compete and contest. However, since the tumultuous border war of 1962, there exists a deep distrust of each other's motives across the Himalayan barriers. To achieve this India and China ought to share their perspectives on the key drivers of divergences and work towards mitigating the same to build strategic trust. This book seeks to assess the causes of strategic mistrust in Sino - India relations and recommend measures for building trust and improving bilateral relations. Towards that end, the ten divergences have been taken as individual chapters, with both Indian and Chinese scholars providing respective perspectives.

**Chinese and Indian Strategic Behavior** Taylor & Francis  
SCOTT (copy 1) From the John Holmes Library collection.

*China's India War* Lexington Books

This book analyses the relationship between Pakistan and China in the post 9/11 period against the backdrop of Pakistan's domestic politics and proposes that the major source of continuity

in the ties between the two countries is represented by the military. The evolution and continuity of Sino-Pakistani relations are explored through three timely case studies: the port of Gwadar, where Chinese investment well pre-dates the advent of the Belt and Road Initiative; the China-Pakistan Economic Corridor, the "flagship project" of China's global ambitions; and how the relationship between China and Pakistan has played out

in Afghanistan. The book assesses the extent of military influence in Pakistan's relations with China throughout the last 20 years in several key decision-making areas, ranging from internal security to elite recruitment. By looking at the extent of military prerogatives in Pakistan's domestic politics, the book reveals how the major source of continuity in the ties between the two countries was represented by the role that the military has played overtime. While since the announcement of the BRI elected

representative have gained some leverage in decision-making, the military has invariably been the main port of call even under a civilian dispensation. A novel approach to the study of Sino-Pakistani relations, this book will be of interest to academics working on South Asian Politics, Chinese Politics and International Relations, Sino-Pakistani relations, civil-military ties, and China's role in Asia including the One Belt, One Road initiative.