

MS RESEARCH THESIS  
US-CHINA RIVALRY: IMPLICATIONS FOR INDIA



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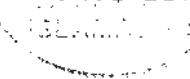
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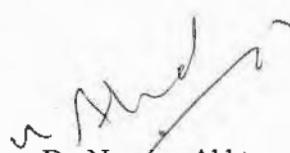
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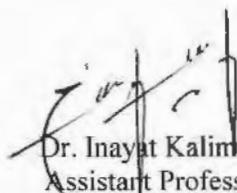
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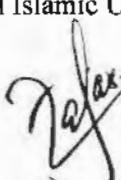
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## **DECALARATION**

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## **DEDICATION**

I owe thanks to a very special person, my husband, **Ishtiaque Hussain** for his continued and unfailing love, support and understanding during my pursuit of MS degree that made the completion of thesis possible.

## **LIST OF ABBREVIATION**

BJP	Bharatiya Janta Party
BRI	Belt and Road Initiative
CIA	Centre Intelligence Agency
CIIE	China International Import Expo
CIIE	China International Import Expo
COVID	Corona Virus Disease
FIEO	Federation of Indian Export Organizations
GDP	Gross Domestic Product
GSP	Generalized System of Preferences
GSP	Generalized System of Preferences
IOR	Indian Ocean Region
ISR	Intelligence, Surveillance and Reconnaissance
MIT	Massachusetts Institute of Technology
NATO	North Atlantic Treaty Organization
OBOR	One Belt One Road
PRC	Peoples Republic of China
RCEP	Regional comprehensive Economic Partnership
RCEP	Regional Comprehensive Economic Partnership
SLOC	Sea Lines of Communication
TPP	Trans Pacific Partnership
TRAI	Telecom Regulatory Authority of India
USA	United State America
WTO	World Trade Organization
ZTE	Zhongxing Telecommunication equipment

## **ABSTRACT**

This research focuses on the US-China rivalry and its implications on India. It foretells the future prospects and challenges about foreign policy of India. It investigates the parameters of US-China rivalry and analyzes its effect along with Indian response. As the major conflict is about the border dispute between India and China so both countries need to deescalate the friction points and maintain peace. China and India both want fixed border lines but the topography and political history make it impossible. Both the states should maintain their parallel rise without creating any conflict in the region. It can be practically done by bilateral dialogues and high-level visits. The research design is qualitative and explanatory and it analyzes the power competition between US and China. For the data collection primary and secondary sources have been used. These sources include reports of International organizations, conference papers and briefings etc. Various themes such as political, economic, military dimension have been analyzed by using thematic analysis. Neoclassical realism is used for theoretical framework as it explains the rivalry between US and China. The research is divided into five chapters and the last chapter contains findings and recommendations. The findings of research are based on challenges faced by Indo-US alliance and recommendations such as using hedging strategy to balance relation with US and China. India has to adopt a balanced approach to create a strategic space for itself. Both the China and India have to coexist peacefully managing the crisis using skillful diplomacy.

## CHAPTER 1

### INTRODUCTION

China's tremendous economic success has given it considerable political power in East Asia, impacting not just rich big nations but also struggling smaller emerging ones, thanks to its competitive rates for low-cost commodities and its need for raw materials. China was made part of WTO (World Trade Organization) by US, since then Chinese economy boosted. US-China rivalry is a fight of cat and mouse where both states are trying to dominate each other. This enmity emerged quickly when China's economic growth increased significantly. This ongoing rivalry can be analyzed through various theories but in this research neoclassical realism, neo-neoclassical realism, defensive and offensive neoclassical realism is used to evaluate the US-China competition. China and US activities will have an impact on security, politics and economics of India(Burgess, 2019; Lawrence et al., 2021)

Great power politics is affecting South Asia, Central Asia and Middle East. Politics and economics of great powers are affecting the countries of these regions(Ross, 2003; Shen, 2010).

India has to deepen its ties with US to encounter Chinese assertiveness but US India relations are not free of frictions as US is rising pressures on India on multiple fronts. Trade and technology conflict between US and India is rising. Trump administration has to soften its trade attitude towards India because it can end up in creating unreliable image of US. But the military exercises have become sophisticated between the two countries(Dutta, 2011; Pant et al., 2015; White, 2021)

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Usually India and China are considered as main actors in Asia as both of these nations are expanding their economies, nuclear weapon capabilities and defense budget. Both of these states are competing for dominance in Central Asia, South Asia and Indian Ocean. These rapidly growing economies cannot coexist peacefully. India is cautious about US and Chinese foreign policy in the region(Menon, 2016; V. W.-c. Wang, 2011)

This research is an attempt to align the foreign and economic policies of India with the gravity of ongoing international hybrid warfare between US and China. But before that we have to look into the brief history of US-China relation since 1949. On 1st October in 1949 Chinese communist party leader Mao zee dong established People's Republic of China. US did not recognize China for 30 years after its independence. In July 1953 armistice agreement was signed between communist bloc including China and capitalist south including US. In 1955 USA threatened nuclear attack on China in response to Chinese shelling on Taiwan's strait. Chinese did this in response to Chiang kai sheik's deployment of troops. US condemned China in UN for human rights abuse in Tibet in 1959(Foot, 2018; Li, 2020; Timothy et al., 2015)

China joined nuclear club in 1964 after its first test of atomic bomb. In the same year US-China tensions were going on in Vietnam. In 1969 Moscow replaced Washington as China's biggest threat and it resulted into Beijing's rapprochement with US. In 1971 Ping Pong diploinacy started and Henry Kissinger made a secret trip to China. Shanghai communiqué was signed between US and China for improved US-China relations it was a slow progress of relations between the two countries for decades. In 1989 US government suspended military sales to Beijing after Tiananmen Square massacre. In 1999, NATO accidentally attacked the Chinese embassy in Belgrade, prompting Chinese protests across the nation, which included attacks on official US property. In year 2000 US-China trade relations were normalized (Kukaj, 2019; Roy-Chaudhury, 2021)

In 2007 China increased its military spending. In 2010 China became world's second largest economy. In 2011 US pivot towards Asia began and Obama announced transpacific partnership. The United States sent a warning to China in 2015 over the South China Sea, and it is opposed to any increased militarization of the disputed territory. In 2018 Trump announced sweeping tariffs

on Chinese imports. US vice president Mike Pence delivered a speech in which a hard lined approach was discussed saying the US will prioritize competition over cooperation. In 2018 Canada arrested chief financial officer of Chinese telecom and electronics company Huawei. In 2019, the trade battle heated up, with the Trump administration banning foreign-made telecom equipment. US added Huawei to its foreign entity blacklist. US labeled China as currency manipulator and Beijing warned that designation will trigger financial market turmoil. China has learned from its past experience that global free trade is a driving force for economic growth. China focuses on both physical trade and trade of services by digital means. China is determined to maintain global free trade system. China has become largest consumer market in the world (Pempel, 2019; Silove, 2018)

### **1.1 RATIONALE OF STUDY**

The most important bilateral relations in the world today are US-China relations. US-China relations will affect the peace and prosperity of the globe. This study means to concentrate on US-China contention in the form of hybrid warfare, its effect on international strategies of India and analyses of response to US-China contention by India. In the contemporary era major foreign policy issue for most of countries is US-China competition. Foreign policy is hostage to domestic politics. It incorporates the economic, strategic and political contention among US and China. To study US China contention in this research neoclassical realism will be used and classical neoclassical realism, neoneoclassical realism, defensive and offensive neoclassical realism as an effort to ponder over the US China rivalry and its impact on international strategies of India .

The research incorporates bi- causality factors as the US-China competition influences the international strategies of India and the other way around. This research assesses how US-China rivalry is affecting India (Vast South Asian country with diverse terrain and 7th most populated country in the world). This research will evaluate that how far India can accommodate and

cooperate with China in its region as China will remain on the top of Indian foreign policy agenda in upcoming year.

## **1.2 STATEMENT OF PROBLEM**

The purpose of this research is to analyze the US-China contention, its impact on foreign policy and reaction of India. America's military and economic edge will inevitably diminish over the next several decades relative to the world's other great powers. China is improving its trade relations with many countries including India. India is improving its relations with Iran to preserve its access to energy resources. China has to maintain good relations with India, due to geopolitical implications. The relation of Beijing is driven by Washington's antagonism. This research analyses the current foreign policy of India towards the growing US-China contention and also foretells future prospects and challenges for foreign policy of India in the changing economic and political international scenario.

## **1.3 RESEARCH OBJECTIVES**

- To study the US-China strategic coercion and parameters of rivalry.
- To analyze the implications of US-China rivalry for India.

## **1.4 RESEARCH QUESTIONS**

What are the parameters of US-China contention?

How India will be affected by US-China rivalry?

## **1.5 SIGNIFICANCE OF STUDY**

The findings of this analysis will contribute in breaking down the future of US-China contention and its effect on international strategy of India. US-China rivalry has impact on various countries but this research will only focus on India due to its strategic location. US-China financial and strategic competition has escalated throughout the years. Each nation perceives that their success, military and financial security is connected to incredible power. To understand this, the

US-China competition and its impacts on different states are examined. In current time there are military and economic challenges among China and US. US worries about China as Its monstrous Belt and Road Initiative, the Made in China 2025 plans, and the developing significance of organizations like Huawei are all sign of alarm for US (Loke, 2018)

## **1.6 DELIMITATIONS**

This study is confined to the three countries (China, US and India) due to limited time and resources. The study is also narrowed down to thematic analysis approach as my study is based upon various themes.

## **1.7 OPERATIONAL DEFINITIONS OF MAJOR TERMS:**

### **Exclusive economic zone (EEZ)**

In 1982, the UN Nations Convention on the Law of the Sea established the Exclusive Commercial Zone, under which states have unique economic rights in the discovery and utilization of marine resources, including energy generation from water and wind.

### **Strategic Rivalry**

Competition between two countries for the same objective is called rivalry.

### **Asia pivot**

It's a re-balancing strategy of US towards Asia where US interests shift from Europe and Middle East towards East Asia to counter China.

### **Hybrid warfare**

It is an unconventional method of war fighting by economic manipulation, use of proxies and diplomatic pressure.

## 2. LITERATURE REVIEW

(Hussain et al., 2019) argue that acceleration in pressures among India and Pakistan is probably going to expand Chinese help for Pakistan and add stimulus to India's good relations with the United States, further polarizing the subcontinent geopolitically and expanding the atomic danger in the locale. China is presently expected to raise its exchange collaboration with "all-climate companion" Pakistan and perhaps resume exchange of key weapons innovation that were authoritatively stopped during the 1990s under US control. In spring 2018 the China India confrontation escalated due to border disputes and construction of CPEC through contested Kashmir region between India and Pakistan. In spite of these variances Indian Prime Minister Narendra Modi visited China at the end of April 2018(Hussain et al., 2019; Wolf, 2020).

(Garver, 2013; Mackenzie, 2010) state that China's strategies have hampered US to shape Iran's choices on its atomic program, and preceded with Chinese Iranian participation will stop U.S. actions to control Iran. The United States has fewer choices to control China's association with Iran. A few analysts have recommended that the United States can utilize nonmilitary actions to diminish Chinese participation with Iran, for example, essentially upgrading reciprocal relations with China. In any case, these approach moves are most likely politically unfeasible.

The United States could likewise utilize negative incitements, for example, sanctions against Chinese firms. Another approach for US can be to build a wide global alliance against Iran, to raise the political weight on China to quit working with Iran. But China will in any case keep on considering Iran due to Chinese interests in the Middle East. The expanding U.S. Chinese challenge in the Pacific locale can directly affect China's eagerness to coordinate with the United States on Iran. In any case, China and Iran face dissimilar interests over various issues, which could give chances to contain their developing relationship(Yetiv et al., 2007).

While some in China see an incentive in utilizing Iran to tie the U.S. down deliberately, China is commonly hesitant to grasp Iran too firmly because of a paranoid fear of encouraging an open break in ties among China and the United States. Numerous Iranians see China to misuse Iran financially while backing an undeniably severe and harsh system(Payir et al., 2021).

(Ikenberry, 2017) discusses that, the US National Security Strategy named China a revisionist power looking to change the global order. Trump is trying to decrease the US trade deficiency, accordingly forced taxes on many billions of dollars of Chinese products, stimulating a trade war. Moreover, in an October 2018 speech at the Hudson Institute, Vice President Mike Pence seriously criticized China for military animosity

While the US-China relationship has seen many high points and low points as of late therefore measures to relieve pressures should be taken soon. Gordon Adams shares his views as China has secured a dictator model for money related advancement, building fake islands in the South China Sea, and gathered a military establishment in Djibouti as a power projection. China has made new multilateral relationship for security and trades and which the US declined to join. It has developed an overall advancing project the Belt and Road Initiative .In addition, China is spreading its political and fiscal effect into Africa and Latin America. China is changing the rules, paying little respect to whether the U.S. likes it or not.

In China India relations Pakistan has always been a sore point but despite all ups and downs China has supported Pakistan in every hour of need. China and Pakistan are security, strategic and economic alliances. Pakistan has also been a diplomatic support for China in every hour of need. In the rapidly changing international environment as India and China are deepening their economic relations, Pakistan needs to enhance and materialize its bilateral relations with China. China see Pakistan through the lens of its global interest therefore Pakistan need to redefine its relations with China(Jacob, 2018).

Some of the questions arise about China –United States - India strategic triangle due to growing power and influence of India and China. The triangle presents challenges and opportunities for each country. To deal with the triangle spectrum of strategies of India are identified. India should trust no one as other states are unreliable and they can operate to further their own interests. India wants to make use of both US and China when appropriate but minimizing their impact on India. India should limit the role and influence of US on India as it can

jeopardize India's relation with China. When it comes to China, India and US both want containment of China thus India should seek de facto alliance with US(Paul, 2019).

But the best way is cooperation to maintain stability throughout the region between each of three countries. Any strategy has to be feasible and it must include ways to overcome constraints such as institutional, fiscal, and domestic or etc. Whether India likes it or not China and US will have an impact on India's policy options. The three countries are interacting at many places. India considers itself as East Asian as well as South Asian country and China is increasingly active in both East Asia and South Asia(Freeman, 2018).

The US has also influence in both regions. Alliance of India with US has potential to exacerbate because if US becomes unwilling to confront China then India cannot challenge China alone as it doesn't have capacity. Collaborative strategy is also not feasible because India have both convergent and divergent interests with China and India. India will have to assess that from which country it can best acquire resources, technology, and innovation as well as influence. India can derive maximum possible benefits out of these countries but cannot entirely depend on either of them(Jamshidi et al., 2018).

There might come a situation for India to cooperate with one country and compete with the other or it might call for competing with both. Movement between these approaches is possible through hedging strategy. Hedging can enable India to guard against US-China cooperation that can harm India's interest.

But India doesn't keep all countries equidistant. Degree of closeness is determined by needs and priorities of India and the willingness of other country to engage. Hedging makes tilting possible but there are some factors that determine effectiveness of such a strategy. Hedging can be useful if country has more than one viable option. The state of US-China relationship will determine whether US is available for India to hedge or not. In the past US-China hostility was seen as harmful to both Indians and global interests(Chan et al., 2019).

If China and US see each other as competitors, should India play along with the US or should it keep its options open for China? If the two countries become strategic partners will it

narrow India's option? Should India participate in China US collaboration? Will India become spoiler or collaborator as China and US work together on range of issues? US and India might want to contain or manage China's rise and they might agree on ends but not on means.

To deal with China has been serious issue in the past among US India partnership. India can derive benefit out of US concerns about China and it generates certain expectations in US as well. But certain questions have to be anticipated such as what India can offer to US? India has to be careful in seeking its objectives that US might not end up in being counterproductive to its goals. The impact of US and China relation on US gets less attention.

Hedging isn't an easy strategy and it has to be examined that if India has the capacity of flexibility or not. It needs resources, attention and careful handling, ability to calibrate policies across levels, across sectors, across regions and ability of switching between cooperation, competition and confrontation.

Hedging can be safe strategy and it can pay less than a bold strategy. India needs to make itself important to other countries strengthening its own capacity because US-China relation is important than US India relations and India can do so by investing more in both countries. It comes with risk but if handled well it can bring returns (Chaudhuri, 2010)

Among China's strategic circles today relation with India is the most discussed issue. These bilateral ties are shaped by some positive and some negative factors. Border disputes and strategic rivalry especially in Asia and Indian Ocean Region (IOR) are some divergent points and converging points include cooperation on major international affairs, common desires for economic development and steps taken to maintain overall stability in bilateral ties and in Asia. China India security dilemma is inevitably affected by US-China rivalry. China believes that US always want to contain China by close security partnerships, therefore China want to build more solid relations with many neighboring countries because of security pressures from US allies in Asia. Stable relationship with India is favorable for China as India is the only big power in Indian Ocean Region. China's objectives include weakening western dominance and upholding free trade regimes.

China understands that achieving this aim on its own is difficult, thus it is committed to cooperating with India to improve the present international system. However, diplomatic effort on the China-India relationship has not yet kept up with the speed with which its political leaders are working. Border conflicts, Indian Ocean concerns, and India's increasing security relations with other major countries are all sources of concern for China. To maintain regional stability, negotiation and communication are required.

In 1993 and 1996, China and India struck agreements to maintain border tranquilly. However, both China and India are in a security bind. Indian Ocean is very important for China due to high density maritime traffic flow and world's third largest oceanic area. For China's energy supply security, securing its naval presence in the Indian Ocean is critical. India is giving more importance to Indian Ocean. India's new maritime strategy towards IOR alerts about China's naval activities. India has been increasing its security cooperation with the United States. The United States supports India's permanent membership in the UN Security Council and the Nuclear Suppliers Group. A Communications Compatibility and Security Agreement were struck between India and the United States COMCASA .It facilitated India's access to advanced defense system. China perceives these defense cooperation measures among US and India as security alliance against China. India is adopting a hedging strategy with China, to which China has retaliated with a counter-hedging plan that includes engagement with India as well as certain security pressures (Jikang et al., 2019)

Asia Pacific region US has powerful national interest and it has been deeply engaged militarily, diplomatically and economically. US want to construct US favored regional order in Asia. US rebalancing strategies have implications for India and India China relations. By 2020 US plans to deploy 60 percent of naval assets in the Asia Pacific. Indian officials are expected to keep their support for new US policy as a secret. In several Indian newspapers US rebalancing strategy is viewed as favorable.

According to the Indian Express, Delhi has to wake up to the new international order in order to seize chances and participate in building the new Asian security system. However

according Raja Mohan, India cannot rely solely on internal balancing to deal with China's ascent, and so the United States and its Asian allies must be at the center of any Indian external balancing policy. US and India have overlapping security concerns in Asia. Due to growing vulnerabilities of attacks from the seas and uncertainties of the freedom of navigation, US and India are bound in structural realignment.

## **2.1 Gap in Literature Review**

There is emphasis on areas of conflict in US China ties but the literature is devoid of the implications of US-China rivalry on India specially from a Pakistani point of view. As various regions are affected by Chinese actions and the US- China relationship so changes in US-China relations will affect American and Chinese alliances with regional states. Though India are not a part of any major military alliance but both the countries have close strategic and military relationship with most of the major fellow powers. Because of both its competitive prices for low-cost goods and its demand for raw materials, China's extraordinary economic growth has already given it enormous political influence in East Asia, affecting not just affluent major countries but also struggling smaller emerging ones.

## **3. METHODOLOGY**

### **3.1 Research design**

Research is basically qualitative and explanatory as it will explain cause and effect of US-China rivalry on India. It analyzes the US China contention, power competition between the two countries and its effects on India from economic, military and political perspective.

### **3.2 Data collection**

This research depends on content analysis of primary and secondary sources of data. The primary sources include public statements from government officials and policy makers of US,

China, India. Reports of international organizations, conference papers, briefings, trade and services trade volumes that include data on trade and technology are also part of primary data collection sources. Secondary sources for data collection include journals of national and international repute, books of academicians and articles of newspaper. The accessible data will be studied for further explanation. Fundamentally, this research significantly depends on available sources. Since, the writing on the US-China rivalry is available in plenitude however just those sources will be viewed as which will be relevant to the topic of study.

### **3.3 Data Analysis**

For data analysis research articles, news channel reports, political analyst's reviews will be analyzed by thematic analysis. It is an approach to examine and record themes in data. These sources will be analyzed to understand the US-China rivalry.

Probable themes will be generated such as political, technological, ideological, economic and military dimensions of rivalry to draw conclusions and recommendations from the data.

### **3.4 Themes**

#### **3.4.1 Political dimension**

As US Secretary of State Pompeo said that China want to be dominant economic and military power of the world. This statement indicates that US will carry out the strategic competition and ideological difference of China, offensively. For US the relationship with China is a zero sum game. Therefore US want to preserve its military superiority. The 'rebalancing' strategy of Obama is a clear determination of US policy of countering China. The Chinese government denies US narration of Chinese dominance. In the Chinese discourse they want greater influence on the rules of international politics.

### **3.4.2 Economic dimension**

US criticize the trading practices and rule violations of China. US is also suspicious about Chinese Belt and Road Initiative (BRI). China is expanding its rail and road networks in order to lessen its reliance on dangerous marine routes. China is bolstering its economic position in the global power rivalry in this way.

### **3.4.3 Military dimension**

China asserts its right to use military force to prevent Taiwan from achieving total independence. China sees the development of its capabilities in South China Sea as defensive but US perceives it as offensive. Security dilemma can be seen on both the sides. China is countering US intervention capabilities by increasing its military power. In the 'Nine-Dash line,' hardliners and pragmatists debate Chinese sovereignty claims.

### **3.4.4 Technological dimension**

US and China are also competing for technological dominance. Along with the campaign against Huawei US is taking actions to slow down the technological modernization in China. US is controlling the transfer of knowledge by Chinese students and researchers in US. In view of all these steps China might reduce its dependence on US and all those states that are supporting the US strategy of denying China access to advanced technology. This may result in the formation of new geo economic world order.

### **3.4.5 Ideological difference**

Just like Soviet communism and Western democracy it is argued that there is clash between authoritarian capitalism and democratic capitalism. US consider China as an existential threat but China on the other hand does support many authoritarian regimes but it is not struggling against democracy and not undermining democratic systems (Rudolf, 2020)

#### 4. THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

Neoclassical realism is a school of thought in International Affairs (IR) that emphasizes the conflictual aspects of international relations. The foundations of realism may be found in written writings of Gideon Rose. Gideon Rose is a member of the Council on Foreign Relations and a former editor of Foreign Affairs. During the Clinton administration, he worked as an Associate Director for Near East and South Asian Affairs on the National Security Council's staff from 1994 to 1995. (Antunes et al., 2018)

The presumption of neoclassical realism is that the state is the important actor in global relations. Different bodies exist, for example, people and associations, however their capacity is restricted (Stein, 2018)

Another assumption is national interests lead the state to talk and act with one voice. Here, taking activities that would make your state feeble or helpless would not be sane. Neoclassical realism proposes that all leaders, regardless of what their political influence, perceive this as they endeavor to deal with their state's undertakings so as to get by in a focused domain. At long last, states live in a setting of anarchy – that is, without anybody being in control universally. Inside our own states we ordinarily have police powers, militaries, courts, etc. In a crisis, there is a desire that these organizations will 'accomplish something' accordingly. But internationally there is no settled order. Hence, states can eventually just depend on themselves (Bell, 2017)

According to Neorealism individuals want control and accept that hunger for power prompts predictable results. Maybe this is the reason war has been so basic all through written history. Since people are sorted out into states, human instinct effects on state conduct. In that regard, the concentration is on how the essential human qualities impact the security of the state. It focuses that the leader's essential concern is to advance national security. So as to effectively play out, the leader should be alarm and adapt successfully to inward just as outside dangers to his standard; there should be a lion and a fox. Power (the Lion) and misleading (the Fox) are significant instruments for the direct of international strategy. Undoubtedly, ethical quality was depicted as

something that ought to be stayed away from in policymaking. Each political activity is coordinated towards continuing, expanding or showing power.

In Theory of International Politics (1979), Kenneth Waltz modernized IR hypothesis by moving neoclassical realism away from human instinct. He named it 'neoclassical realism' since he stressed the idea of 'structure' in his clarification. As opposed to a state's choices and activities all states are compelled by existing in a worldwide anarchic framework (this is the structure)(Usiernure et al., 2018)

Napoleon once referred to China as sleeping giant whose awakening can astonish the world. United States inward turn and China's new assertiveness can be explained through the lens of neoclassical realism. China is growing economically and militarily like every other rising power in history. Washington will respond by adopting a grand strategy if regional allies cannot contain it. The competitive self-help anarchic system compels states to expand when they can and search for security and power among states. China's rise confirms to Kenneth Waltz's claim that pressure of competition and self-help compels states to maximize their power. Neoclassical realism explores those internal processes by which states arrive at policies in response to pressures and opportunities in external environment.

Gideon Rose coined the word neoclassical realism. According to him national morale and quality of government in conducting foreign affairs are important components of national power. America is skeptical about China's rise and it has continued to monitor Chinese actions. Chinas alliance with regimes like North Korea and Russia shows that China's rise may lead towards conflict with great power (Q. Liu, 2010)

China is involved in assertive incrementalism in disputed waters and these disputes support American influence. Solidarity among members of ASEAN is splitting between assertive claimants and rest who want to maintain their economic ties with China. USA should avoid using military dominance with China as it is the age of nuclear deterrence. China is trading with more countries than America does and China is increasing its energy security as it is developing overland pipelines in Central Asia. USA should focus on accommodating China as a responsible stakeholder

rather than containing it. But few areas of conflict between US and China are trade war, technology rivalry; Taiwan escalations and Asia pacific militarization are unpredictable. On these fronts US-China relations are complicated. The challenge of living together for US and China will be for a long time and we need to live with that reality(Morton, 2016)

John Mearsheimer sees US and China as adversaries and neoclassical realism predicts security competition between China and US. There is an alternate theory that can explain China's behavior. Mearsheimer takes realist assumption that states seek to maximize power because of anarchic international system. According to Mearsheimer great powers perpetually compete for power. Mearsheimer use his theory to predict great power politics in 21st century. He argues that biggest threat to US is China in 21<sup>st</sup> century. He argues that wealthy China would not be a status quo power but an aggressive state determines to achieve regional hegemony.

Behind the China's rise has been its economic growth. According to Mearsheimer China is a qualified great power due to its size of population and national wealth both of which are very strong. But on the other hand China's involvement in regional organizations like SAARC, ASEAN, SCO and WTO make it less aggressive China has taken active part in treaties of nuclear nonproliferation regimes. China assures its neighbors that it doesn't present a threat for them. China's CPEC shows that China is focused on regionalization and economic development. If US policy makers follow Mearsheimer's theory it will lead to conflict. For a more stable and secure environment engagement rather than containment should be adopted as a policy.

## 5. ORGANIZATION OF STUDY

The research has been organized into five chapters.

### **Chapter 1: Introduction**

In chapter one the study begins with objective of study, research questions, literature review, and gap in literature and research methodology.

## **Chapter 2: Theoretical Framework**

Second chapter will be committedly devoted to theoretical framework in which neoclassical realism is used to explain the concepts of rivalry and competition.

## **Chapter 3: Parameters of US-China rivalry**

In chapter three US-China contentions will be discussed by categorizing it into strategic, economic and political dimensions.

## **Chapter 4: Implications of US-China rivalry on India**

In fourth chapter implications of US-China rivalry on India will be discussed.

## **Chapter 5: Conclusion**

Findings, recommendations and analysis will be done in the last chapter

## **CHAPTER 2**

### **THEORETICAL FRAME WORK**

Theoretical framework explains the key concepts in this research such as rivalry, competition and enmity. Theoretical framework will help in understanding and elaborating the phenomenon of rivalry between US and China. Neo-Classical realism is the theory that has been used to explain the concepts of rivalry and competition. This chapter explains the relations of US and China through the lens of Neo- classical realism that focus on power maximization, security and survival. Theories try to make sense of international reality by focusing on power and conflictual nature states. Neo Classical realism aims to explain the foreign policies of states by referring to both international and domestic politics. Neo classical realism fill in the gaps present in other versions of realism. Neoclassical realism explain state behavior by making reference to independent variable that are located at the structural level like power distribution among the states and intervening variables placed at the domestic level.

#### **2.1 BASIC ASSUMPTIONS OF NEOCLASSICAL REALISM**

In the discipline of international relations there are contending theories and history provides a rich database for constructing theories about how the world operates. The major themes of neoclassical realism include sovereignty, security, survival and interests. Neoclassical realism, is a view of international politics that stresses its competitive and conflictual side. It is usually compared with idealism or liberalism, which tends to emphasize cooperation. Realists consider the principal actors in the international arena to be states, which are concerned with their own security, act in pursuit of their own national interests, and struggle for power. The negative side of the realists' emphasis on power and self-interest is often their distrust regarding the relevance of ethical norms to relations among states. National politics is the realm of authority and law, whereas

international politics, they sometimes claim, is a sphere without justice, characterized by active or potential conflict among states.

Realists deny the presence of ethics in international relations. Neoclassical realism emphasizes the concept of national interest and it glorifies war and conflict. The realists reject the possibility of morality in international politics. Neoclassical realism theorists include William Wohlforth and Robert Jervis.

Neoclassical realism is a doctrine that anything is justified by reason of state. Gideon Rose is the name usually mentioned as founding fathers of Neoclassical realism. Neoclassical realism is an attempt to construct a scientific approach to study international relations. Neoclassical realism follows the extreme version of realist concepts of anarchy and power politics such as revealed in Thucydides writings.

Realists claim that nations expand their political interests abroad when their power increases. Powerful states try to expand its political, economic and territorial control to ensure and increase their own security (Korab-Karpowicz, 2010)

Neoclassical realism emphasizes that anarchy causes countries to be afraid, envious, distrustful, and insecure. The national realm, according to Kenneth Waltz's book "Theory of International Politics," is anarchic, vertical, decentralized, and homogenous..

Neo-classical realism focuses on the both domestic factors and international system. It is combination of both the classical realism and Neo realism. However neo-classical realism rejects the idea of neo-neoclassical realism that systemic pressure will immediately affect behaviors of units. Extent of systemic effect depends upon relative power and also internal powers of state in anarchic system. The theory of neoclassical realism is developed by Gideon Rose. The core subject of neo-neoclassical realism is the effect of relative power on the foreign policy. In contrast to neo-realists, neo-classical realists focus on all the levels of analysis instead of anarchical structure of international system.

Unlike classical realists and neo-realists Neo-classical realists emphasize on factors like leader's attitude. Neo-classical realists believe that perceptions of leaders are main motive of foreign policy. They believe that internal factor matter as much as external factors and individual, systemic and internal levels of analysis all together should be used for process of analyzing because each one covers part of explanation. According to neoclassical realism, international anarchy is not malignant or benign. They argue that international anarchy cannot be understood easily and it is responsibility of decision-makers to calculate extent of threat or opportunity in variety of situations.

In other words, understandings and perceptions of statesmen play a critical role in creating behaviors. This means that effects of structures happen through perceptions and understandings of national leaders. They analyze information according to their historical experiences and understandings; therefore, this is an important mediating factor. In addition, according to neoclassical realism, reliance of a state from civil society, political coalitions, administrative politics, and its relations between military and civil sectors all together affect leaders how to mobilize resources.

The relationship between structural limitations and foreign policy behavior is moderated by state features and leaders' attitudes about how to use power, as well as their opinions on how to use power. Therefore, while evaluating foreign policy, all internal aspects of states and decision-makers' abilities to utilize resources must be considered because state react to external conditions based on their internal circumstances. The utilization of many levels of analysis is strength of neoclassical realism, which makes it more relevant than other kinds of al realism (Firoozabadi et al., 2016)

Anarchical system forces great powers to engage in power competition and act aggressively. Mearsheimer theory is based on five basic assumptions. These include:

Anarchy characterizes the international system.

Great powers have the capacity to destroy one another

The intentions of others are a source of uncertainty for great nations.

A state's most important objective is to survive.

Great powers are significantly rational.

## **2.2 US-CHINA RIVALRY: NEO-CLASSICAL REALIST INTERPRETATION**

The reason for using neoclassical realism as the interpretation of US-China relations is that national interest and power represents ultimate motivation and the central concepts of neoclassical realism are national interest and power. The history of US-China relations also reveal how US and China acted and reacted and by what principles American policymakers were motivated. America has always been in superior position. Power mainly comes in the form of economy and military. As war and possibility of war is always a major factor in international relations.

US-China relations can be categorized into three periods from commercialism to imperialism (1784- 1899), dominance to confrontation (1900-1949), from enemies to competitors (1950-present). US-China relations define the history of 21<sup>st</sup> century as US is global power and China is emerging global power. History shows that such power transitions are intrinsically troubled with dangers and opportunities.

The liberal concepts such as equality, rationality and liberty are hard to apply to the past US-China relations. International economic expansions do not necessarily prevent wars for example World War 1 outbreak between imperial big powers. International organizations also lack the power to protect the states such as China and Ethiopia invaded Japan and Italy but the League of Nations could not avoid the coming of World War 2.

Moral crusaders are a big threat to international relations. If the rest of humanity refuses to accept the claims of moral crusaders then it is converted with fire and sword. US also considers itself as moral crusader and if China would not comply to it US can convert it with fire and sword . Like all

states the US-China relations are based on interests US takes an offensive role because of its domination in all the International forums.

US was affected by 2009 financial crisis while China continued its strong economic growth. The debate started over whether China could surpass US to become the largest economy in the world or not. China's assertiveness in diplomacy after 2009 economic crisis frustrated the US policy makers. China refused to devalue its currency as the US requested. In respond to China challenges US launched pivot policy towards Asia and claimed that US was back in Asia. US started deployment of marines and combat ships in ports of Singapore. Manila declaration was also signed to strengthen the Philippines surveillance capabilities in South China Sea. To include advanced economies in Asia and Latin America US signed TPP (Trans Pacific Partnership) .For China what the US did was louder than what the US said.

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Chinese scholars suggest that US wants to maintain its hegemony and global power therefore Washington will attempt to prevent emerging powers in particular China from achieving their goals.

According to neoclassical realist paradigm the US-China ties are affected by the opinions of leader about security risks and economic interests between the two leaders. For both the US and Chinese leaders, managing their image of each other and finding a balance between cooperation and rivalry is a critical responsibility. The adherents of neoclassical realism argue that the important part of foreign policy is its place in international system by virtue of its relative material power capabilities. They use the domestic politics to explain the concept of power. Since 2010 China has been pursuing its territorial ambitions more aggressively. It seeks to assert maritime jurisdiction over South China Sea. US under Trump retreated from globalization especially from international trade agreements that failed to deliver short term US trade surpluses

On contrary China dedicated itself to make long-term investments such as OBOR initiative. Xi Jinping improved relations of China with its neighbors within Eurasia. It is connecting with London through Beijing-London rail link. Around 39 lines are connecting 12 European cities with 16 Chinese cities. China is also developing new seaports in Indian Ocean and it has purchased the port of Piraeus in Greece which it is expanding to serve as the hub of a transport network of China-built rail lines reaching from Greece into Hungary and then throughout Europe. China's fast expanding blue water navy is protecting this maritime trade route. Through these infrastructure projects China is spinning its economic power into a global web of finance. China's new assertiveness has focused on both international structure and China's domestic politics.

Role of nationalism is growing in Chinese politics. It can be observed in Chinese business people, academics and elite politicians. China is willing to play nationalist gallery to obtain its national interest. This is a result of country's historical legacy of a long and glorious past and a desire to regain international respect and equality. By the help of internet Chinese diaspora in places like Indonesia, the Philippines, Malaysia, Europe and North America are in closer contact with those residing within China's borders. Some scholars suggest that the goal of global dominance lies at the core of China's journey from humiliation to rejuvenation.

Donald Trump in his speech said that no country has ever prospered that failed to put its own interests first. Both the friends and enemies of US put themselves above US while being fair to them US must start doing the same. US will no longer surrender to the false song of globalism. The nation state remains the true foundation for happiness and harmony.

### **2.3 NEOCLASSICAL REALISM AND CHINA'S RISE**

The test of neoclassical realism would be whether China has revisionist tendencies and acts aggressively, or if it maintains the status quo. According to Mearsheimer, China is the greatest threat to the United States in the twenty-first century because of its rapid growth over the previous 30 years. He is concerned about China's military buildup and views Taiwan as a major flashpoint where China and the US may clash. He is concerned about China's economic progress and believes it will soon overtake Japan in terms of wealth. According to his logic, rising China would be a revisionist power aiming to become the region's ultimate hegemon. China also has a big army and a growing naval force. In only eight years, the country's defense spending has nearly quadrupled. After Russia, the United States, and France, China possesses the biggest nuclear arsenal.

According to this theory, the neoclassical realism thesis stresses the great power competition in the international system. Great powers want hegemony in order to ensure their survival. According to this theory, a shift in the balance of power in the international system causes conflict between dominant and revisionist powers. Neoclassical realists predicted that China will be a revisionist state aiming to become Asia's regional hegemon. The US rebalancing policy to Asia, as well as China's strategy in the South China Sea, is heavily influenced by neoclassical realism's assumptions and forecasts. Since 2008, there has been a new era of struggle between the United States and China for global hegemony. The dispute in the South China Sea has reaffirmed China's status as a revisionist state pursuing regional hegemony.

Because of the shift in the balance of power, the United States' rebalancing policy has been a containment strategy focused towards China since 2008. The military and security components of

rebalancing are aimed at undercutting China's aggressive approach. This analysis is supported by Xi Jinping's expansionist policy. Xi Jinping's policy indicates a significant shift in the balance of power in China's favor, based on aggressive realist reasoning. Xi Jinping has made no secret of his desire for China to become a worldwide force. As a result, serious security competition over the SCS, which might lead to direct military confrontation, is expected to arise in the future (Graham, 2013)

Because neoclassical realism holds that major powers develop offensive plans rationally, the competition between the US and China has not yet evolved into a military conflict. In the South China Sea, President Trump has made little attempts to shift the power balance between the US and China. China, too, has rejected these initiatives. The rate of escalation is higher under Trump's administration than it was during Obama's. The United States sought to preserve a balance of power in Asia, but it was unable to entirely limit China's development in Asia and its aggressive strategy in the South China Sea. The two powers, on the other hand, are still reasonable. It's possible that this is because the power difference between them hasn't expanded much for both of them (Y.-K. Wang, 2004)

China's actions can be debated as defensive in nature. The US has enlarged intrusion in the Asia and behind freedom of navigation operations ships and planes are sent by US to keep access to main shipping and air routes. US also positioned the aircraft carrier, Carl Vinson to the South China Sea. US, Britain and Japanese forces also exercised trilateral anti-submarine warfare. There was also a British and US naval exercise that took place in January 2019. These exercises infuriated China. Many Reconnaissance (ISR) and intelligence missions have also been sent to South China Sea annually that caused rivalry between US and China. China perceives this as a threat to its safety. These US actions urged China to defend its interests in the region. Therefore the South China Sea is becoming point of conflict between China and US. Chinese claim over Spratly and Paracel Islands is not something new and China is not becoming hegemon in the South China Sea.

China is managing to safeguard its interests in the South China Sea. But a military conflict is not an option. The complicating factor is the US encouragement to the other claimants of the territory resulting into complicated reaction of China to defend its interest. US is ready to act more antagonistically if any country interferes in matters close to its boundaries. Mearsheimer's neoclassical realism postulates are in disparity with Waltz's neoclassical realism on various points. According to Mearsheimer great powers act belligerently and they try to gain so much power to become hegemons. On contrary Waltz argues that states are concerned with sustaining their position in the system(Y.-K. Wang, 2004).

Defensive realist argue that because the offence defense balance favors the defense ,a strong defense and careful balancing should keep big powers from imposing aggressive compulsions. According to neoclassical realism, major powers prefer to retain the status quo rather than expand their influence since the costs of growth outweigh the advantages. The security issue is a challenge for defensive realists. It causes states to feel insecure. Great nations, according to defensive realists, aim to reduce rather than increase security challenges. China's current approach appears to be based on neoclassical realism. Instead than disturbing the balance of power, China wishes to retain it. China is not a radical force, but it maintains the status quo. The aggressive expansionist policy, according to Chinese authorities, counterbalances alliances. As a result of this recognition, China has adopted balance, self-control, and security collaboration are emphasized in the security plan. The modernization of China's military is seen in Taiwan policy and increasing measures in the South China Sea. China's strategy toward Taiwan is intended to minimize regional power redistribution. Taiwanese weaponry aid has been avoided by China.

Since the Taiwan Strait Crisis in 1996, military modernization plans and training exercises have been aimed at resolving the issue of Taiwanese separation. Meanwhile in the mid-1990s, China has attempted to stifle and prevent the use of US military force in the area. China is not interested in acquiring power; rather, it seeks to counterbalance the US's influence in the region. China did not demonstrate any indications of hegemony, as many Western experts fear. China's

actions are governed by defensive reality since it is preoccupied with survival and maintaining its position in the system. China is concerned about the United States' growing influence in the area, while the United States is concerned about China's hegemonic ascent.

China's policy may shift in the future to reflect hegemonic ambitions. There is, however, insufficient data to establish offensive neoclassical realism. Instead of being a threat or a concern, China may be a source of regional stability. The Thucydides trap can be avoided, and China's ascent is not as dangerous as the West portrays it. It has the potential to give opportunities rather than difficulties. However, Mearsheimer's analysis and ideas are incompatible. If the US continues to pursue containment and encirclement, believing that Chinese power poses a danger to US military and diplomatic interests in the area, a war between the two countries would erupt (Zhao, 2019)

The leading proponent of neoclassical realism is Gideon Rose. Neoclassical realism is state centric and systemic theory of international politics. The basic component of neoclassical realism is composed of anarchy and distribution of capabilities across the international system. According to neoclassical realism states have to take care of themselves in anarchic system and ensures their existence. States have to make sure that none of their rivals are too powerful. It also states that number of great powers that possess the greatest capabilities balance the international system. In his view bipolar system is more stable than multipolar system because uncertainties increase with the increase in number of major powers. It did not mention anything about uni-polarity but it maintained that post –Cold War world is unipolar with US as reigning hegemon. The international political system became unipolar after demise of Soviet Union. Famous Realist Waltz insisted that unipolar moment will be short lived and the world will eventually become multipolar in the future.

He assumes that no matter how kind the hegemon might be, states will balance against greater power. So the new balancing coalition will be formed no matter what steps US takes to prevent such an outcome. He assumes that Russia along with China and Japan will be the most

likely balancers in this new arrangement. However in an anarchic system there are no longer constraints to shape the hegemon's behavior in international system. Waltz claims that states are judges of their own in an anarchic system. Likewise anarchy cannot constrain the behavior of hegemon.

He claims that in unipolar world the only super power remains free to act on its impulses therefore he prefers bipolar system as a stable system. In unipolar world checks and balances on hegemon does not exist. But Waltz theory is not complete because it only equips external factors affecting the hegemon's behavior. And his theory is also criticized as it only considers the role of hegemon rather than taking other states into account as well. According to Waltz all states are affected by the acts and interactions of the major ones than of the minor ones. His theory does not account for the behavior of smaller states. This is the reason that entire system becomes unexplainable by his theory.

In short the best way to make both the US and China great is to focus on their domestic front and implement the values it owns. Both states should work to strengthen their national competitiveness, and they should focus on their own problems before worrying about others. Both states should strengthen their positions and principles. The United States is confident in its liberal democracy and free market system (Zhao, 2019)

## CHAPTER 3

### PARAMETERS OF US-CHINA RIVALRY

This chapter is focused on parameters of rivalry between US and China. These dimensions include politics, economy, technology and ideology. These are further divided as leadership styles of presidents, Chinese narratives of the US and US perception about China. This chapter explains the conflict over Huawei products and the maritime expansion of China. China believes in natural superiority and it does not consider India as equal. China want to balance India in the region keeping in view its historical superiority. It also believes in power politics. The intensifying rivalry between US and China can affect international economy, business and politics. These all factors are interconnected and if one factors gets affected its ripple effects spread in other factors as well. US, China and India want access to inexpensive food, sophisticated technology, financial stability, opportunities for overseas investment and large pool of capital. These countries i.e. China, India and US want to become a hegemon as it will enable them to enjoy the wealth and power.

#### 3.1 POLITICAL DIMENSION

The political dimensions focus on the leadership styles of President Xi Jin Ping and Donald Trump because the personalities and the leadership styles greatly affect the politics and the foreign policies. Domestic regime greatly affects and makes a difference. States with different political and social structures have different capacities for sustaining their growth and development. The political dimension also sheds light on the Chinese and American perspectives of each other. Economic and technological factors are important but politics play a very decisive role in determining the future of global peace.

### 3.1.1 Donald Trump vs. Xi Jinping

The strong personalities of Xi and Trump shape Chinese and American politics. Other states are also affected by Xi and Trump's leadership style. Individual decision-makers' influence and governance style are key determinants of foreign policy outcomes. The expertise and talent of the head of the state particularly in the presidential political system are significant for managing change and garnering new allies. As a result, assessing leadership styles can provide insight into governance dynamics (Economy, 2018).

The presidents of the US-China have modified the foreign policy. Both the presidents have minimized the role of state. The international and domestic politics both are influenced by the leadership style of both the presidents. President Xi has centralized the decision making power by minimizing the bureaucratic involvement. Trump has also established a personal fan base. But the leadership style is also affected by the respective systems of the government and institutional context. President Trump is a consummate negotiator who has faith in his own abilities (Lizano Fait, 2020)

Xi, on the other hand, portrays himself as the "chairman of everything" at home and outside of that, gaining this position by seeking and obtaining significant support from inside the party and government hierarchy.

He has central position both in the state and as well as in party therefore he holds all the cards. He assumed control of foreign policy through the Central Foreign Affairs Commission. This indicates that Chinese system has transitioned from authoritarianism to autocratic one. Through the China Belt and Road Initiative (BRI) Xi has selected a high-risk diplomacy approach aimed primarily at attaining China's goals.

With their various leadership techniques, Xi and Trump are normally and gradually turning out to be incompatible. Trump is unreliable and unpredictable from the Chinese perspective. This creates high cost to generate and preserve mutual trust. This clash of leadership style creates high cost to build and maintain mutual trust. Short term personal gains are highly valued in this kind of

relationship. It creates uncertainty. Xi's leadership style, on the other hand, offers a chance for long-term involvement and commitment. China is seeking sweeping hegemony in its partner countries through the projects like Belt and Road Initiative. China's expansionist goals are a source of concern for the USA. The differing leadership styles are obvious in both Trump and Xi's direct relationships as well as their relationships with third countries. China is viewed as revisionist, a revisionist power and a competitor aiming to construct a world that is incompatible with US principles and interests.

From a Chinese standpoint, this is disrespectful to international relations norms as well as to Xi personally. Because Trump ignores diplomatic forms and delivers his narrative in a confrontational manner, all of these characteristics are considered anti-diplomatic behavior. He rejects the bureaucratic coordination process. President Xi, on the other hand, is willing to take risks in world diplomacy, even if it means defying the United States. China is increasing its maritime ambitions and putting its rhetoric of collaboration and cooperation to the test. It makes no difference to Xi that his foreign policy must serve core national interests first and foremost. President Xi wants his country and himself to have more worldwide prominence and status. Xi's leadership style was extremely choreographed, and he did not break from it.

This contrasts with Trump's approach, which emphasizes the significance of good personal relationships in resolving the bilateral agenda's extensive list of issues. This is in contrast to Trump's approach, in which excellent personal ties are a prerequisite for resolving the bilateral agenda's extensive list of issues. The clash of governance styles is an inevitable component of strategic rivalry. The clash of opposing styles not only causes conflict, but it also deepens it and erodes the foundation of trust between the parties involved. This competition produces an unfavorable environment. It makes finding effective answers to global problems harder(Siyou et al., 2018).

### 3.1.2 Chinese Narratives about the United States

US have always been a permanent source of insecurity and China's political elites were particularly interested in it. Graham Allison explains US-China relations by using Thucydides Trap as metaphor. He argues that the process described by Thucydides in Ancient Greece in which Athen's progress eventually led to conflict with Sparta, is a genuine danger in the US-China relationship today. According to Allison, rising power invariably leads to shifts in geopolitical power. China views its own development as natural and inevitable while a dissatisfied America according to Beijing is striving to retain its own hegemony by geopolitically constraining China and other Asian Countries(Lams, 2018).

The Chinese accept that their four-decade success story is based first and foremost on the Chinese people's hard work and innovation the commercial acumen of their trades and the wise as well as foresighted policies of the Chinese government and its party leadership. According to China's official statements and public media depictions representation, academic literature is either self-censored or aimed to transmit certain political views to the opposing side. Chines believe that the rise of country economic and political prominence is nothing short of a renaissance. Even in the late 18th century, China GDP increased that of the USA, China and Western Europe was Asia's undisputed leader.

Following the advent of Western colonialism and imperialism, China was subjected to economic manipulation, political degradation, and military invasion for a century. Adverse previous experiences build a barrier and mistrust of the West. Chinese views about US are ambivalent today. In recent years, the worldwide economic crisis, US military activities in the Middle East region and Trump untrustworthy political style all the West's reputation. Despite its economic achievements, China remains a member of the Global South. Instead of presenting itself as a structural opponent of the U.S and the West, China presents itself as a champion of emerging and developing economies.

China must close the gap with the U.S in order to make the global fairer. China views US with deep mistrust and suspects that US seeks to transform China and other communist states by means of peaceful evolution. These fears were confirmed when the Tiananmen Square massacre took place. Since then, the USA has been a reoccurring failure End of the Soviet Union has indelible influences on the mentality of future generations of Chinese leaders who determined that open rivalry with the USA should be ignored whether through an arms race or confrontation in other areas(Pertiwi, 2018).

China is concerned that if it were a democracy based on the western model, the US would allow their country's growth and possible leadership position in new technologies such as artificial intelligence and 5G Is maintaining American supremacy Washington's principal aim, or would it be willing to cede it in some areas if China changed dramatically, i.e. became more democratic? China likewise has mixed feelings about the liberal international order that emerged after 1945, as well as the principles and institutions that underpin it. That order, as well as the globalization process it generated, allowed China to industrialize and modernize through market openness and market reforms, essentially eliminating extreme poverty, and gaining worldwide prestige and power.

On the other hand, the Chinese believe the liberal Western system to be a mirror of American imperialism. Beijing does not expect Beijing doesn't expect the U.S providing China with the political and economic clout it needs. China's leadership is persuaded that the U.S and the West would never voluntarily allow China more international power. According to them, the role of "responsible stakeholder" which was first demanded of Beijing in 2005 by then -USA deputy Secretary of State Robert Zoellick-would only serve bolster US claims to hegemony rather than help China's economy. Regardless, China believes supporters of a liberal international system and universal human rights in the West as hegemonic rhetoric. During the USA Presidential election of 2016, Donald Trump's victory was widely hailed: expert evaluations of the consequences for the bilateral ties were overwhelmingly positive. Despite Trump's anti-China rhetoric throughout his presidential campaign, most Chinese thought he was simply repeating familiar pattern.

In the previous presidential elections, politicians such as Carter, Reagan, Bush Sr., Clinton and Bush Jr portrayed China as a rival and foe. However, each newly elected Administration eventually returned to a pragmatic and cooperative policy toward Beijing after taking office. As a businessman, it was also expected that Trump would find a viable foundation. Trump's attacks provoked official and media responses which were based on this premise (except over Taiwan). Moreover, there was also no public criticism of his skills or leadership style. Initial reactions to Trump's win were mostly favorable, even on Chinese social media.

His contempt for political correctness was seen as invigorating, and he was usually described as an outspoken individual meanwhile, profound cynicism appears to have taken hold. Trump's volatility, desire to increase and the risks he poses to Chinese economic progress have all been well acknowledged. The president's trade allegations against China are dismissed as baseless, illegal and without substance.

In light of the bilateral tensions, official and published statements call for both sides to negotiate and compromise in order to avoid injuring each other. With President Trump, sceptics say, a long-term and reliable trade agreement will be impossible to achieve. The US Congress and the CIA were chastised for financially and vocally backing the demonstrations.

It demonstrates that the US is attempting to undermine the Chinese system in order to bring about regime change in Beijing. According to Chinese scholars, the Trump administration's pressure is unproductive since it causes the Chinese leadership to strengthen its defensive posture. Apart from the trade and growth losses, Chinese economists usually point out that China has choices, such as a technical boycott of the USA, which may accelerate China's efforts to acquire autonomy in this sector. They also highlight those US anti-WTO trade policies as well as its withdrawal from number of international organizations and treaties, have boosted Beijing's world influences(Brewster, 2018).

### 3.1.3 American Perceptions of China

Criticism about China in Washington over the past fifteen years has coalesced. China's activities in the South China Sea are one of the most visible factors in portraying China's negative image in the United States. These actions are seen as antagonistic, with its mechanist trading tactics and authoritarian strengthening. This is associated with a perception that US-China relationship has collapsed soon after Nixon's visit to Beijing has failed. The notion that China would become a responsible participant has been shattered, according to nearly wide agreement in Washington. The USA is increasingly viewing China's rise as a challenge to its own global hegemony. During Trump presidency, admiration strategy documents, China described as a mostly progressive state pursuing regional hegemony in the Indo-Pacific and aiming for global supremacy in the long run(Willnat et al., 2012).

These tensions have been worsened by President Xi authoritarian and nationalist policies. The US critique of China is normative, security, and economic in character. China threat to human rights and democratic values is the normative dimension and it has been at the center of American discussion since the brutal repression of the student movement in Tiananmen Square in 1989. The persecution of the Uighurs, such as sanctions against Chinese officials, has sparked bipartisan attempts in Congress to push the administration to respond more firmly to the repression of the Uighurs. Nancy Pelosi is a pro-democratic and proponent of human rights in Congress. She has pushed for a strong economic stance towards China based on human rights concerns. The security dimension of the US-China conflict began to acquire importance early in the new century(Brewster, 2018).

US administration has raised questions about the modernization of the Chinese armed forces. Initially, the threat posed by China was thought to be restricted to South Korea and Japan, but it was subsequently recognized as a global issue. One of the major cause of this is the perceived convergence of the rivalry's economic and security factors. According to Pentagon annual report on China's military strength reveals the concern about it. They have also concern about the strategic

advantages of Chinese investment in foreign infrastructure like port facilities, are major part of China BRI. The trump administration's concern of exploitative Chinese economic practices is shared by a large portion of the U.S Business sector(Peinpel, 2019).

State subsidies for Chinese companies, enforced technology transfer from multinational corporations, and intellectual property theft are among the most common complaints. However, not all industries and businesses embrace Trump's protectionist tariffs and strong position towards china. President Trump continues to get support from industries that have been badly affected by competition such as steel and Aluminum producers. Companies who have been suffered directly as well as indirectly by China import taxes on the semi-finishing products or counter-tariffs imposed by China and other trading partners are opposed to trade penalties being increased. This affects US importers, such as the retail sector, as well as export-oriented sectors, such as agriculture, automobile manufacturers, and information and communication technology firms(Willnat et al., 2012).

In terms of the geographical dimension of the US-China war, it's worth noting that even beyond the Indo-Pacific area ,USA has come to observe China as a treat to US and as well as western interests. This is true throughout Middle East and Africa, but it is most evident in the Arctic right now. Rather than softening the administration's stance on China, the US Congress tends to back and amplify it. Prior to Trump's election, negative remarks by lawmakers from both the Democratic and Republican parties had a significant impact on popular opinion in China

Both Democrats and Republicans oppose the President's threat of tariffs and other measures for alienating U.S, European and Asian friends and weakening Washington's power in dealing with Beijing. Through institutions such as the Confucius Institutes and Chinese funds for investments in media, think tanks, schools, and business, China's influence is expanding in the United States.

Fears of monitoring go hand in hand with concerns about Chinese influence. Public opinion has been tainted by the anti-Chinese sentiment in politics and industry. In the United States, there are foreign policy experts and China experts who warn against the consequences of a

confrontational strategy. according to an open letter to the President and Congress written by a group of China experts including those people who worked on china in previous administrations, treating chin as an economic adversary or an existential national security threat is expressed forbidden

As they say, the fear of Beijing dethroning Washington as the world's leader is overblown, and it's unclear if Beijing considers this aim necessary or feasible. Supporters of this viewpoint warn against severing all ties with China and preventing any growth in Chinese power. In this regard, the United States' strategy toward China, which combines collaboration, deterrence, and pressure, has been mostly effective in recent decades(Lippert et al., 2020)

### **3.2 STRATEGIC DIMENSION**

The strategic conflict between world powers, the USA and China, is on the verge of escalating into a multi-layered global crisis with military and economic consequences. The competition between the two superpowers is starting to shape global relations, and it has the potential to usher in a new geo-economics global order. In recent years, the topic of who benefits the most from economic trade, as well as concerns about the security implications of economic interdependence, has been much more prominent. The growth of China is largely viewed in the United States as a threat to America's own dominating position in the international order. China is the only country that has the capacity to jeopardize the United States' standing. Power changes might jeopardize the international system's stability. The US-China conflict syndrome is made up of a number of factors. Its foundation is regional and increasing global prestige competition. China's rising might has reawakened American concerns about its position as the world's sole superpower. China's rising might has reawakened U.S concerns about its position as the world's sole superpower.

Skeptics believe that China may develop an illiberal sphere of influence, in which case the United States will no longer be able to guarantee the security and prosperity that it has enjoyed up to this point. US and China are potentially rivals and they not only systemic competing over status.

The two's relationship should be viewed as a complicated strategic competition. This is particularly obvious in China's maritime periphery, where competition is driven by fears of military threats and the American assumption that China is attempting to establish an exclusive sphere of influence in East Asia. The US desire for unrestricted access and freedom of passage in the South China Sea conflicts with China's efforts to establish a security zone and deter American intervention.

Since the end of the Cold War, the United States has been the world's most powerful naval force, including in the Indian Ocean. The Indian Ocean Region (IOR) has developed as a significant maritime area in which the United States has extended its maritime activities in the post-Cold War period. The pivotal difference in the US post-Cold War strategy to the Indian Ocean has been its policy expansion to encompass the wider Indian Ocean, as opposed to its Cold War focus on the Persian Gulf. The United States' shift from antagonism to cooperative principles with a few nations has been another significant distinction. India is now a major player in that reappraisal in the United States. In 1991, the United States and India formed the Indo-US Naval Steering Committee, riding high on the diplomatic surge sparked by the Kick lighter Proposals of 1991. The Malabar series of naval drills between both fleets began the next year, displaying increasing areas of convergence (Rudolf, 2020).

### **3.3 TECHNOLOGICAL DIMENSION**

The confrontation between US-China has a significant technological component. In the digital era, there is a battle for technical dominance. China aspires to catch up with and exceed the West in modern technologies. In terms of technical supremacy, the West has established worldwide dominance. The West aims to economically and technologically undermine China. Huawei, one of China's most significant technological companies, is at the core of the conflict. According to Michael Pillsbury, a Trump administration adviser, "America is not going to cede global technical dominance without a fight," and "the charge of Huawei is the first step in that fight." Huawei's access to US suppliers has been shut off. To provide Huawei with US components, a license from

the US Department of Commerce is required. Licenses are typically refused via this procedure unless there are strong grounds to grant one(Rudolf, 2020; H. Sun, 2019).

The second limitation came in the shape of an executive order approved by of an executive order signed by President Trump, which brought Thirty three of Huawei's 92 most significant suppliers from the U.S. This executive order forbids US firms from engaging in transactions that are created, manufactured, or supplied by a foreign enemy and pose a danger to national security. President Trump's actions put further pressure on China. As a result of China's indication that it would compile a list of untrustworthy suppliers, Trump announced the lifting of Huawei's supply restriction.

There were three distinct ways to exerting economic pressure on China. The strong grip of state-owned enterprises on industrial policy has long been a source of annoyance for some who wished to reorganize the Chinese economy. Some are willing to reach an agreement provided China's economy is opened up to U.S investment, services and export. Others want to split the two economic apart. They seek to decrease US economic and technical weakness, as well as the security risk that has resulted from reliance, by separating the two economies. China, they believe, poses a major threat to the United States' industrial base. They believe that economic and national security are inextricably linked (Rudolf, 2020)

The rivalry's technological dimension is deeper, and it will continue to exist until the trade conflict is resolved. Security is always a concern in technological competitiveness (Ed & Ed, 2020).

The US-China rivalry's whole power struggle is intertwined with its technical component. This component of the war is so essential because technological leadership generates a worldwide competitive advantage and provides a foundation for military supremacy. As long as U.S was not concerned about the emergence of a geopolitical foe, economic rationality won out.

### **3.4 IDEOLOGICAL DIMENSION**

If China had been a liberal democracy, it would have seemed less dangerous to the United States. Ideological resentment is connected to status competition. However, ideological rivalry or

differences are not at the heart of the US-China rivalry, as the success of communism across the world was regarded as ensuring the Soviet Union's security at the time, and this is absent from the US-China dispute. China's perspective is more nationalist than internationalist.

The situation in China's human rights has always been a cause of conflict in China-US ties, but as long as China's ascent was not regarded as an international threat and there was optimism that China would liberalize, the country was not considered as an ideological foe in the US. The intellectual factor has been increasingly important because western notions of liberal freedom of expression and democracy endangered the Communist party's ideological supremacy. At a time when democratic capitalism is waning, China's economically successful authoritarian capitalism is gaining traction.

Stephen Bannon, Trump former adviser, has raised China's rapidly militarizing autocracy to the biggest existential threat the US has ever faced. He is one of the founding members of the Committee on the Present Danger, which views the US-China struggle as an ideological one with the ultimate objective of ending the conflict. As long as the Communist Party remains in control, there is no chance for coexistence. China is attempting to reorganize the global order. This demonstrates China's absence of a unified, internationally appealing philosophy. Xi Jinping promotes a Chinese model for emerging and developing countries, calling liberal democracy into question as a political ideal. The Chinese government style may appeal to authoritarian regimes or those on the verge of becoming authoritarian. China's economic success is based on a huge home market, abundant labour, and the authoritarian government's creativity. China suppresses critical voices overseas and exports surveillance technology, but this does not imply that it opposes democracy. China suppresses critical voices overseas and exports surveillance technology, but this does not imply that it opposes democracy. Great power rivalry mixes with ideological resentment. The status in China's human rights has long been a source of intermittent conflict in US-China ties. China was seen to be willing to liberalize as long as it did not pose a worldwide threat. This intellectual dimension has long been important in are Western concepts such as democracy,

liberalism and freedom of speech, which pose a threat to the Chinese Communist Party's ideological supremacy. The ideological struggle will mostly affect the United States, and it is frequently referred to as a conflict between liberal democracy and digital authoritarianism. Stressing the ideological divide might lead to a long-term power struggle with China, which will not be cheap. The security challenge between US-China will be exacerbated by growing ideological differences. Both adversaries consider themselves to be peaceful powers, but perceive the other of being an aggressive attacking foe(Rudolf, 2020)

### **3.5 ECONOMIC DIMENSION**

China threatened USA hegemony in the world generally and in the East Asia particularly therefore the US-China antagonism for supremacy will intensify over time. This will result into extended trade war between the two countries. If the trade war ends soon a similar type of conflict will probably arise as long as the US-China rivalry continues. The US and China are currently waging trade war. The Trump administration has imposed 25percent tariff on Chinese goods including steel, washing machines, aluminum and solar panels in 2018. In response Chinese government imposed 25 percent tariff on US imports including soybeans, automobiles and agricultural products. US again imposed tariff on Chinese products of worth 200 billion dollars and it increased to 25 percent at the end of 2018. China again retorted by imposing tariffs on US goods of about 60 billion dollars' worth. However it focused on the importance of a good bilateral trade relationship(Kim, 2019)

US-China relations have never been free of friction. Despite that economy has been considered as a stabilizing factor within bilateral US-China relationship. They can draw enormous benefit out of it. US made magnificent revenues from exports and investments in China. It transferred capital, management expertise and technology. China in response financed American consumption driven economy. But in current scenario 'Chimerican' relationship is absent. US-China rivalry has overtaken the economic level. US-China rivalry is now dominant over economic cooperation and it

has been shifted towards competition and confrontation. For the both US and China taking benefit out of economic cooperation have become lesser.

A major factor was status competitiveness and intense power struggle. Due to increased regulatory regulations, it has become more difficult for the United States to expand profits and sales in the Chinese market. Contrariwise The USA has become averse to technological transfer. As Chinese purchases have decreased and China's contribution to America's domestic economy has ended, rivalry has intensified, particularly in manufacturing. The United States is experiencing China shock as a result of China's rapid climb to become the world's largest manufacturer.

According to a research conducted by MIT (Massachusetts Institute of Technology), imports from China resulted in the loss of approximately a quarter of manufacturing employment in the United States. This Chinese threat has expanded to the high-tech realms. China is driven to gain global market dominance in the major ten key value-added. Competition between US-China may also be observed in the sectors of communication technology and artificial intelligence. The USA accuses China of unfair competition by imposing isolationist barriers on its markets, discriminating against foreign suppliers, and exerting direct and arbitrary influence over markets and key industries. The threat that China poses to the USA is not limited to industrial rivalry; it also extends to its position and status as the world's top economic and trade power. China is the world's leader in gross fixed capital and industrial value generation. China is a significant trader and exporter, as well as a major contributor to world economic growth(Bown, 2019).

China will replace the USA as the world's largest economy by 2030 if current growth patterns continue. Chinese opponents claim that the US is blaming China for unfair trade practices in order to justify pursuing a containment policy. The United States is also interested in China's and the United States' opposing views on international order. The United States does not anticipate China to liberalize economically or politically. The exercise of authority has become increasingly autocratic under Xi Jinping, and as a result, the US-China confrontation is regarded as a system-to-

system battle. The United States' trade policy has shifted away from protectionism and toward fairness and reciprocity, with bilateral trade balances being the primary criteria.

President Trump created trade theories and actual trade policy experience. Trump puts US interests first, disregarding international conventions and multilateral agreements. He has no reservations about enacting one-sided protectionist measures in order to put pressure on trade partners. He believes the eradication of international rules to be a price worth paying, and in some situations, he even observes them religiously. Trump's trade policy has become a key source of concern during his administration. The USA objectives include not just domestic wealth development but also national security. The United States wants supply lines that are independent of Chinese influence.

Trump desired dissociation from China, according to the Chinese Liberation Army. Supplier boycotts and tariff investment controls are two of the indications. China's trade and economic policies, according to the US National Security Strategy 2017, are a major threat to the US. China's industrial and technological policies were criticized as unjust and undemocratic by the US Trade Act of 1974. These documents signal the end of the United States' engagement strategy with China. The United States' trade strategy toward China is definitely decoupling. The Donald Trump administration has enacted a number of policies against China, including tariffs of up to twenty five percent on about half of USA imports from China, increased State on about half of US imports from China as well as increased State control over foreign direct investment in security-related industries, and a decrease in Chinese investment in the US and control on export of security-relevant technology by Department of Commerce to China, restriction on usage of Chinese products in the area of public procurement, prohibition of Chinese businesses and individuals of Entity List from making purchases in US. Huawei was also on Entity List. China retaliated by announcing that it would compile its own list of untrustworthy entities, which would include any organizations, persons, and enterprises that adhere to US embargoes and would encounter difficulty

in the Chinese market. China has put a ban on rare earths, which are important in the high-tech industry.

These US moves elicited no retaliation from China. To protect its own economy, it avoided greater hostilities, but it advocated for anti-US products campaigns. China retaliated by putting equivalent retaliatory tariffs on US imports, offsetting the disadvantage of lower US imports by lowering duties on third-country imports. In 2019, the US and China rejected the proposed tariff hike and announced more imports worth \$200 billion from the US in 2020 and 2021. It also secured intellectual property protection and the end of coerced technology transfer..

The former special tariffs, on the other hand, remained in force, and issues regarding subsidization remain unresolved. Before the US presidential elections, several problems remained unsolved. The dispute remained unsolved during Trump's presidency, implying that new trade policies may be implemented at any time.

The United States is still unclear about the degree of decoupling from China. China is likewise unwilling to make concessions to the United States. The prospect of the conflict continuing to wreak havoc on the world's commerce and financial systems. Both nations and third parties have suffered significant losses as a result of this war. It resulted in a decline in bilateral trade and an increase in imports. Importers have turned to other suppliers like Vietnam, Mexico and European Union to meet their needs.

Production has also been relocated to some extent. This uncertainty has played a significant role in the 2019 economic slowdown. China the WTO and the multilateral international trading system have been impacted by US trade rivalry. China disregards WTO norms of non-transparency and discrimination, while the USA likewise breaches key WTO provisions. The dissolution of the World Trade Organization (WTO) trade framework is an unattractive outlook. The US-China may benefit from the new trading world, while all other countries may suffer. US can impose further sanctions against other Chinese companies and pressurize usually third state to do the same. Trading entities in third states could find difficulties in doing business with either USA or China. If

a recession develops, the USA and China will have to devalue their currencies. China intends to launch a digital currency that may threaten the US dollar's global supremacy. In turn, the USA is seeking to exclude Chinese enterprises from US financial markets and impose financial sanctions on specific Chinese firms and individuals.

Power politics give a way to economic cooperation and multilateralism. Trump being a realist, assessed the relationship between institutional structures and power. He believed that states are sovereign and they should remain so. Institutions should not be stronger than states and power should be the truly decisive element in the international politics. He followed his realist strategy even after a huge criticism and elevated the tensions against China. Chinese leaders believe that US cannot behave arrogantly with China keeping in view the increasing material capacity and the position of China in international politics.

## CHAPTER-4

### IMPLICATIONS OF US-CHINA RIVALRY ON INDIA

This chapter focuses on the implications of US-China rivalry on India and Indian response towards US-China rivalry in various factions such as economy, military, technology and ideology. It also analyses the Indian foreign policy options to avoid conflict in region. The relations between China and India have been fraught throughout the decades. Both the countries have conflicts over border issues, security and the geopolitics of South Asia and Asia. Both the countries remain suspicious about their intentions.

China's mistrust of New Delhi is more because of the end result of burgeoning India-U.S. ties. Washington's Indo-Pacific Strategy, launched 3 months after the Doklam standoff, seeks to anchor India in its large Asia posture. The role, assistance, alignment, and fame the USA have provided India contributed to China's fast rapprochement with India and its deepening suspicion of India on the notable time. The Indo-Pacific Strategy has despatched China right into a frenzy of harm and it has to manage to be able to save itself from the emergence of an India-U.S. alliance. When China turned into greater or much less reassured with the aid of using Modi's reiteration of "strategic autonomy" and reluctance to include the Indo-Pacific idea, China extended the fame of Indo-China relation to an unparalleled level, ensuing in a instead abrupt high quality shift after the Doklam crisis.

Since then, the U.S. issue has gained the maximum vital attention in China's coverage closer to India. For China, the possibility of going through the American army at sea and the Indian army alongside its southern border and within the Indian Ocean will become an awful and perilous with protection cooperation among US and India. Such cooperation will now no longer most effective harm the safety and balance of China's western borderland whilst undermining China's strategic effect in South Asia; It will additionally restrict China's energy projection functionality in the Indian Ocean with the ability to threaten China's power delivery from the Middle East. Regionally and globally, the U.S. endorsement of India's management repute dilutes and diminishes China's energy, and encourages

different nations like Japan and Australia to comply with in shape in searching for nearer ties with New Delhi.

China's elevation of relations with India exhibits an inconvenient truth: exogenous elements is the main force of China's rapprochement with India. Had Washington now no longer followed the Indo-Pacific Strategy and pursued alignment with India, the trajectory of China's coverage closer to India could have looked very different. Before and after the Doklam standoff, not anything endogenous in China-India relation basically changed, such as the unresolved border disputes, the opposition among China and India for affect in South Asia, the longstanding Tibet issue, the developing alternate imbalance, the Pakistan factor, and the 2 countries' massively specific visions for the regional order. China may have concluded that progressed ties with India have been in its interests, however the selection to attain out to India befell while it did due to the fact Beijing noticed the USA swaying India's preference.

While India has no vicinity in China's imaginative and prescient for the regional order, US gives India a sizable role in the Indo-Pacific Strategy. U.S. President Donald Trump's India coverage is the most important aspect that has altered China's calculation approximately India's strategic significance and driven Beijing to soothe India. But, if the evaluation is that India has general a de facto alliance with United States, China will put together for a completely specific technique towards India. The Chinese South Asia policy experts are presently debating the character of the India-U.S. alignment and the malleability of India's preferences. The consensus in China appears to be that India want and desires to rely upon US to stabilize China's developing regional dominance. There is no consensus about the extent to which India will align and cooperate with US for this shared agenda.

Chinese civilian observers and diplomats — former and current — have instead low expectancies about India-U.S. cooperation. For them, India and the US seem like innately incompatible. In form of strategic culture, India follows a non-alignment way of life at the same time as U.S. international approach is primarily based totally on alliances. In form of strategic goals, India does now no longer is searching for a complete rivalry with China though a confrontation seems to be America's aim. In

terms of partners, India seeks various partnerships, such as with Russia, a U.S. adversary. In form of technical compatibility, India has no goal to absolutely abandon Russian guns systems, which makes America's proposed interoperability a task in the least. For those Chinese experts, the India-U.S. alignment is tactical out of expediency and lacks systematic dedication and binding arrangements. When conflicting calculations arise and they may arise the India-U.S. alignment will fall apart. Unlike their opposite numbers who're greater targeted on international relations and overseas policy, Chinese security strategists and specialists are worried about the developing India-U.S. ties. In their view, US is providing such offers that India can not refuse, inclusive of however now no longer restricted to security and defense cooperation, arms and ammunition sales, and intelligence and information sharing. Even if India thinks it's preserving its autonomy, Chinese strategists see India enticed, entangled, and doubtlessly enmeshed in institutionalized cooperative frameworks that it later can not reject regardless of its aspiration for sovereignty.

For hardliners in Beijing, the blessings that the USA has provided in the form of political and economic terms have already emboldened India to pursue unstable policies vis-à-vis Pakistan similarly to a extra assertive negotiating posture closer to China. Within the region, China has grown cautiousness of the destabilizing impact of Modi's foreign policies. From Beijing's perspective, the Modi Doctrine is closely imhued together along with his Hindu nationalism and turned into these days bolstered via way of means of his victories on Article 370, converting the prison fame of Kashmir, and a debatable citizenship law. Moreover, the Modi Doctrine at once displays what the Chinese see as a risk- searching for or, at a minimum, a risk-impartial policy closer to Pakistan. The Chinese are innately distrusting of any country's foreign policies this is related to radical domestic politics, a sour lesson China discovered from itself at some stage in the Cultural Revolution. In the case of India, China is likewise involved that its home ethno-non secular conflicts should doubtlessly spill over throughout the border(Y. Sun, 2020).

#### **4.1 INDO- US RELATIONS: AN OVERVIEW**

US-India relations have been moving towards a positive route over the past two decades. The exchange of high level visits during COVID-19 shows this robust momentum in relations. Joe Biden in his policy paper focused on increasing cooperation with India especially in areas of terrorism, climate change, health and trade. This partnership seems to get stronger in the future. The influence of this partnership can be felt in South Asia. Indo-US relations boosted when India announced its liberalization process after US inclination towards Afghanistan.

South Asia has always been India's sphere of influence and the presence of US in the same region would cause some distress but overlapping goals and interests will further enhance relations rather than disrupting them. The positive US-India relations have caused fall in India-China relations. It is obvious in the US inclination towards India as China aggravated aggression in Ladakh. US vocally supported India against China. China's growing presence in South Asia has been a source of tension for India but US deployment of its diplomatic arsenal minimized the Indian worries. For both India and US it is a win-win situation. US can use healthy relations of India with other countries with which US has weak relations such as Bhutan (Saha)

#### **4.2 INDO –CHINA RELATIONS UNDER MODI**

Right after the independence of China in 1949, India perceived China as a friendly Asian state despite of the fact that the political system of both the countries was different. But this period closed in 1959 due to boundary clash. In 1962 China -Indian war arose due to the conflict over Aksai-Chin that connects Tibet and Xinjiang. And China won the war but after that Communist China was seen as aggressive and it took decades to recover relations.

India is now curious about China's rise in international order that it will be of cooperative nature or conflictual (Raghavan, 2019)

Bharatiya Janta Party (BJP) headed by Prime Minister Modi in India made few changes in India's domestic and foreign policy. The most important of these policies is neglecting the policy of equidistance from conflicting powers. After the Cold war policy of non-alignment was replaced

with policy of equidistance. Policy of equidistance reflected the soft power of India according to which India would choose when, where and how to get involved. If India opts out of OBOR, it would further isolate itself in the South Asian area (Jha, 2017)

India and China have long been rivals in Asia. The rise of China and India as two political and economic actors has caught universal attention. Both the states are usually engaged in tug of war over territorial issues. For India the crucial factor is China's expansionist policy in the region and its ongoing development in Ladakh region. China is seen as posing a major threat to infrastructural development in the Ladakh area. Parts of Ladakh have been annexed by China according to Indian perception(Bhatnagar et al., 2006).

There are some factors that might limit India-China relations despite bilateral efforts. India and China have contradictory foreign policies. For India, China is limited Asian power but for China, India as an administrator of the Indian Ocean. India's strong reservations against BRI (Belt and Road Initiative) can be a challenge for development partnership. China's increasing assertiveness in the Maritime domain is not welcomed by India. Differences in opinion and mutual distrust persist between the two countries. India –China ties did not improve under externalities such as Trump's policies(Kugelman, 2020)

Under such situations the cooperative trend was overridden between China and India. Belt and Road Initiative is not supported by India making the relations aggravated. China's growing adventurism and advancement in maritime infrastructure is unacceptable for India. India is facing the dilemma of accepting or battling Chinese expansionism. In Chinese estimation cooperation with India will remain a priority. India's input is important for the successful establishment of an Asia-centric model.

India want to convince US about its emergence as a leading power and it want to secure latest technologies along with strengthening of defense partnership. China wants to stabilize trade and economic relationship with US. China is growing but it is also encountering crashes such as

US-China rivalry. Keeping in view this collision China has to find like-minded partners in the region. Final settlements need some compromises from both the countries.

India has to adopt policy of hedging and engaging in India's Indo-Pacific outreach (Panda et al., 2019)

#### **4.3 ANALYSIS OF INDIA'S RESPONSE TOWARDS US-CHINA RIVALRY:**

This study includes Indian response towards US-China rivalry in various factors such as economy, military, technology and ideology. This division will help in elaborating the response of India towards US-China rivalry. China's assertive behavior with India makes it difficult to predict the future of relations and the tensions between the two countries are the threat for the stability of region. China wants India to accept Chinese positions.

##### **4.3.1 India's Response towards US-China Economic Conflict**

US have been a supporter of global trade and it has been successful to convince enormous number of economies to experience cross border trade. Now the other side of US has come up in the recent past. The reactive move by China is also an obstacle to this era of globalization. Diplomatic resolutions are important for smooth trade between any countries and likewise China and US also need to maintain diplomatic ties for sustainable trade. US and China need to end the trade war for a healthy global economy because 21<sup>st</sup> century is all about interconnected economy. The International Monetary Fund (IMF) has also expressed concern about a large-scale trade war with negative consequences for the global economy(Kim, 2019).

China and US need to take steps to resolve it. It has been going on since July 2018. Companies that manufacture computers, electronics, and telecom equipment, as well as those that provide services such as cloud computing, computer-aided design, and customer interactions, have had their competitiveness eroded as a result of Trump's tariffs.

In addition, China is dealing with job losses, a declining industrial sector, local consumption, and banking sector changes. To handle large-scale unemployment, declining

demand, and widespread dissatisfaction, China must turn to dialogue rather than retaliation. It needs to enforce intellectual property rights and promote transparency. China should develop environmentally friendly businesses and worldwide brand identities. The long-term goal of the United States is to place a strong emphasis on research, technology, and private industry. The United States and China have been in talks, but neither party has reached an accord. In May of this year, Trump raised taxes on Chinese imports. Trump was encouraged to keep it going, and China was ready to retaliate against the United States. Trump's Buy American, Hire American campaign has been a focus for him.

Modi's 'Make in India' policy crashes with it. Under the Generalized System of Preferences (GSP) program India export goods such as jewelry, automobile parts and electric motors free of US tariffs. India's exports to US were more than 50 billion dollars and imports were 30 billion dollars. US levied tariffs on steel and aluminum that affected India adversely. India also proclaimed tariffs on US good but has yet to impose them. Trump announced that India will be removed from its title of beneficiary developing country. This elimination of GSP is likely to affect billions of India's annual exports to US. This totals to 10% of India's total exports to the US. This does not have any serious effects on Indian exports but prices will rise and it will have to face the challenge of competing with other countries in the American marketplace. This will decline the rupee value against the US dollar. If oil and other imports become costly it results into inflation(Bown, 2009).

Indian imports from US such as nuclear reactors, boilers, aircraft, spacecraft and medical equipment from US are very important. These imports impact India's key sectors and it will be difficult to absorb such high costs. Therefore the situation should remain under control. Both India and US need to discuss and solve trade issues.

The Indian government is also planning to impose duties from June 2019 or later on US goods such as apples, almonds and boric acid. India is also considering methods to enhance support to sectors affected by decisions of US government. According to the Federation of Indian Export

Organizations (FIEO), some industries, such as leather goods, pharmaceuticals, and surgical instruments, may be harmed the most as a result of the US decision. The Rebate of State and Central Tax Levies Scheme would provide advantages to certain impacted industries (Kashyap et al., 2019)

#### **4.3.2 Positive impacts of US-China trade war on India**

India can find new export opportunities from US-China trade war in sectors such as garments, agriculture, automobile, information and communication technology (ICT). India can get the advantage out of this trade war according to FIEO president. China is trying to minimize the negative effects of trade war by opening its markets to India. It's a huge opportunity for India to increase its trade with both the US and China. For India it's a golden opportunity to enhance its exports to China, the US and Europe. Chinese exports to US was 13.9 billion dollars now if India gets even 10 percent of this then the Indian exports can grow four times

#### **4.3.3 An Indian perspective of Trumps Trade war**

Under the US GSP Program India continued benefiting from market access. India confronted US protectionism of the Trump administration. Both the states encountered the challenge of moving together in an agreement that support both Trump America first policy and Modi's make in India policy. India's exports are affected by the US safeguard duties on steel and aluminum. India has been the largest beneficiary under US GSP program.

#### **4.3.4 Benefits from US-China trade conflict to India**

For millennia, commerce and geographical proximity have linked China with India. It has aided in the growth of trade and commerce between the two countries. But the US-China trade war has much to bring in or drive out from Indian companies and businesses. India has vastly imported the multi-use products from China as China has been manufacturer of these items for decades. India is demanding China to open more markets that favor India's competitive edge. China also planned to

increase imports from India to feed its growing middle income consumers. China is among top five trading partners of India. China's exports are larger than its imports from India. However the US-China rivalry provides opportunities for India. India became a key player in a situation where both the US and China look towards Southeast Asia. India has to embrace the flexibility in its governance system like Chinese firms if India wants to bring up the firms withdrawing from China.

#### **4.3.5 Strategic and geopolitical benefits for India**

India is suspicious about China Belt and Road Initiative (BRI) and the Regional comprehensive Economic Partnership (RCEP). The main threat to BRI emerge from national threat to India as the infrastructure projects of BRI passes through disputed Pakistan Occupied Kashmir. In emerging market economies, China is looking for partners and it is also burdened by the US tariff imposition.

This has shifted China's attention towards India. China shifted towards a consumer economy instead of an export economy therefore it is expected to open its market to Indian industries. China's balance with other giants is important to counter tariffs imposed by US. At this point India is important for China. China International Import Expo (CIIE) is a symbol of its turn towards emerging countries to match its demand and India sent many of its companies to display their products to access Chinese market. China has also agreed to import sugar in massive quantities from India. Opening new sectors such as pharmacy products across the world will benefit India. Thus the benefits to India are both on the geopolitical and economic front (Iqbal et al., 2019)

#### **4.3.6 India's Response towards US-China Ideological Conflict**

The US-China Cold war mainly based on economy but to some extent ideological differences have also affected US-China relations. Both the states have different societies and value systems. US and China are modern examples of democratic and communist ideology states. Indian political system also follows democratic and capitalist ideology.

Communism as an ideology aims to build a society without class or money. It envisions a free classless society. But democracy is a form of government that enables all citizens to equally participate in decision making and legislation. Apparently both the ideologies share the philosophy of power to the people but both the ideologies have different political and economic fabric.

Under the control of communist political system government takes control of the industry and capital to demolish economic inequality. On the other hand in Capitalist and Democratic societies individuals are respected to own property and means of production. Political system is also different in Communist and Democratic states. Masses can create their own political parties and compete in elections. But in communist societies only one political party controls the government and political disagreement is not tolerated

There was a significant difference in the ideologies of Indian and Chinese leaders. Mao led a combat movement that prepared Chinese peasantry to fight a civil war and as a result Peoples Republic of China (PRC) was established but India came into being as a result of political movements of Mahatma Gandhi and Nehru against British Colonialism. Nehru adopted non-alignment policy but Mao adopted international revolution.

China and India are ideologically different but the economic competition has overpowered the ideological clash. Chinese economy dominates the Indian markets. Besides being the Maoism and communism as top enemy Indian markets are flooded with Chinese products at cheaper rates. India cannot ban over these products unless it create its own skilled labor force to replace Chinese products. In Asia, China has become a powerful market controller (Gauttam et al., 2020)

#### **4.3.7 India's Response towards US-China Technological Conflict**

Huawei is a Chinese telecom firm that supports 5G wireless networks. 5G communications is classified as critical infrastructure that comprises those technologies whose destruction can badly impact country's security, economy and safety. It could be physical (roads, ports etc.), virtual (information technology, internet etc.) or systemic (banking, finance) and other areas. Governments need to identify risk and vulnerabilities of critical infrastructure and be prepared for

them. India want to bargain for benefits and assurances as the cost of banning and using the Huawei equipment both are considerably high. Cost of banning the Huawei is higher because of its monopoly in telecom industry and it is domestically not available in India and supplier is also difficult to substitute. India and China had to bargain to settle the dispute. If the security risk becomes higher willingness to exclude Huawei will be higher. US pressurized India to ban Huawei.

To balance the US-China pressure India has to act rationally by keeping in view the importance of 5G telecom. Its importance refers to the economic benefits enjoyed by Indian producers and consumers and in the long run it will economically and politically benefit. India's telecom sector is at development stage and it needs good quality wireless technology. Half of the Indian population lack internet access therefore removing this digital divide is important for economic growth and facilitation of existing technologies(X. Liu, 2021).

According to the Telecom Regulatory Authority of India (TRAI), 5G will create an economic impact of 1 trillion dollars by 2035. Such an economic gain is hard to achieve due to the obstacles detailed above but it is clear that 5G will have a significant impact on country's economy. India desire to establish herself as a major player in telecom sector but it lack indigenous telecom equipment manufacturer. India didn't play any major role in making 5G technology. If India ban over the Huawei it will have to pour a lot of resources into telecom Research and Development (R&D)(Matyushok et al., 2021)

According to Indian policy makers procuring 5G telecom equipment is crucial to obtain key national objectives. Huawei's substitutability can be investigated by examining the infrastructure involved in 5G and Huawei's predominance. There are very small numbers of players in telecom vendor sector. From China, Huawei and Zhongxing Telecommunication equipment (ZTE) have expanded worldwide. China currently occupies a dominant position in supplying important telecom equipment to Indian market. Telecom infrastructure related to 5G wireless network consists of most reliable fiber optic cable and China was the largest exporter of fiber optic cable to India.

Japan is the second largest exporter providing 9.6 percent. This shows the dependency of India over Chinese vendors.

The four key components necessary for wireless backhaul including antenna, modems, transceivers and interface are provided by China to India. 67.79 percent of India's total imported transmission equipment in 2019 was sourced from China. Substituting such a large portion of consumption would be very costly for India. India is in process of learning the know-how of telecom equipment manufacturing and this will take time. Due to all these reasons import substitutability is not a good option for India.

However India had to take into account the effects of China's geopolitical rivalry with the USA. In short, India's Huawei ban cost is fairly high because it is a large, cost-competitive player in market.

The security risk of using Huawei is minimized because these products are manufactured in such a manner that law enforcement agencies can access the information they transmit whenever needed. Indian authorities have shared their apprehensions about cyber security risks as Huawei being a Chinese company amplifies India's risk of coping with this network. This risk can be reduced by technical measures to ensure that Huawei did not hold backdoors. After weighing the costs against thresholds and Huawei inhabiting central place in the geopolitical competition between the USA and China, India had to carefully assess the cost, benefits and risks she faces (Chikermane, 2019)

#### **4.3.8 India's Response towards US-China Strategic Conflict:**

Indian response towards US-China conflict is important to study and understand the foreign policy of India regionally and internationally. This research focuses on Indian response in South-China Sea and Indian Ocean because of its strategic importance. China is actively engaged in maritime activities especially in South China Sea by building artificial islands. India is curious about Chinese involvement in these maritime areas.

China doesn't need to have a strife with India, over either the border or the status of Kashmir. Indeed in the event that China might overcome and contain India through a war, the

payoff for China would stay negligible since it wouldn't address China's key outside security challenges within the Pacific. Instead a breakdown in ties with India would encourage to further expose China in its conflict with US.

China's strategic intention is to stabilize with India with a view to keep away from a two-front war with US and India — all even as minimizing distractions. But the task of this intention lies in how it may be achieved. For China, the Chinese and Indian needs are distinctive and asymmetrical through nature. Key concessions that India needs from China — which include the border agreement and U.N. terrorist designations for anti-India militant organizations primarily based totally in Pakistan — are difficult commitments that can't be reversed.

What China desires from India — consisting of neutrality and political alignment — is ephemeral and without problems. While India sees addressing those problems because the prerequisite for India to consider China, Beijing doesn't agree with that relinquishing its leverage will in any manner forestall India from accomplishing adverse moves down the road — specifically given their clashing nearby visions.

Despite China's public embody of India and the legit elevation of Sino-Indian relations to an exceptional level, Beijing's mistrust and hostility in the direction of India run deep, and vice versa. While the 2 nations have incompatible pursuits on various key issues, there's little threat of reconciling the ones variations any time soon. In the meantime, China is attempting to each stabilize ties with India and put together for future disruptions.

China and India are each powers with nearby hegemonic ambition and potential. Their structural war is irreconcilable till the 2 nations discover a at the same time agreeable compromise of their nearby arrangements. Efforts to deal with the endogenous frictions together with the border dispute and alternate imbalance should foreseeably assist to facilitate that compromise. However, withinside the generation of great-electricity competition and home populism, such efforts could be notably difficult.

#### **4.3.8.1 Indian Responses to US-China Rivalry in the South China**

India has new set of interests in the South China Sea as a result of its growing economic and security ties. 55 percent of India's total trade travels through the Strait of Malacca and travels to East Asian ports, to Australia or New Zealand, or into the Pacific. Any disruption to this trade route would directly affect its prosperity. Ensuring freedom of navigation is a core economic interest for India and India considers the South China Sea as the property of the world. India became the 3<sup>rd</sup> biggest oil importer in 2015 as it imported almost 200 million tons apart from its gas imports. India is suspicious about security concerns of South China Sea as China is ambitious to dominate South East Asian states and turn the SCS into Chinese lake. India is worried about construction of Chinese submarine base on Hainan Island that can allow its boats to move beyond the Malacca.

In the Asia Pacific, South China Sea is one of the dominant maritime conflicts. This is considered as the biggest threat to peace and stability of this region. Despite the 2002 Joint Declaration, China is building up its military in South China Sea. India is concerned about this increasing assertive attitude of China. India has realized the geo-economic and strategic significance of the South China Sea. India assures South East Asian countries to be a security provider to reinforce its relation. India declared its support in East Asia Summit along with US and Vietnam to defend maritime security and freedom of navigation. India also supported peaceful resolution of South China Sea Dispute. South East Asian countries are interested to cooperate with India economically and strategically. Along with US, India is welcomed as external balancer in East Asia. South China Sea is considered as an area of strategic interest by Indian Navy Doctrine 2007. India on several occasions stated about deployment of Indian Navy troops to defend its energy interests. It is important for India along with Japan and US, to follow its interests in this region(He et al., 2020)

#### **4.3.8.2 India response to China maritime power in the Indian Ocean**

Chinese naval presence in Indian Ocean is predictable due to its increasing economic interests.

Chinese presence in that region facilitates greater engagement with regional states. India wanted to foster security relations with the US and regional states to promote positive environment. However the security relations with the regional states are unpredictable therefore India should maintain its geographic advantage over China. India needs to reinforce its naval presence in Andaman. India has usually implemented a combative maritime strategy towards China but this time it needed to be proactive. To serve as a watch tower and to be predominant in the Indian Ocean presence at Eastern gateway of Indian Ocean is important. China being world's largest economy is interested to secure its Sea Lines of Communication (SLOC's) to secure supply of energy and mineral resources. China also wants to maintain entree to new markets internationally(Baruah et al., 2021)

## **CHAPTER-5**

### **CONCLUSION**

This research analyses the current foreign policy of India towards the growing US-China contention and also foretells future prospects and challenges about foreign policy of India in the changing economic and political international scenario. India and China are frenemies and despite Indian concern about China's big strategic and economic cooperation with Pakistan and its border disputes with China, New Delhi is maintaining good relations with China. US-China power struggle can have adverse effects on Asia Pacific region and this research evaluates the impact of this ongoing rivalry on foreign policy of India.

This research addresses the questions such as If China and US see each other as competitors, should India play along with the US or should it keep its options open for China? If the two countries become strategic partners will it narrow India's option? Should India participate in China US collaboration? Will India become spoiler or collaborator as China and US work together on range of issues? US and India might want to contain or manage China's rise and they might agree on ends but not on means. It analyzes the US-China contention, power competition between the two countries and its effects on India from economic, military and political perspective.

To study US-China contention in this research neoclassical realism is used as an effort to ponder over the US-China rivalry and its impact on international strategies of India. How India will be affected by US-China rivalry? The findings of this analysis will contribute in breaking down the future of US-China contention and its effect on international strategy of India.

China is improving its trade relations with many countries including India. This research is an attempt to align the foreign and economic policies of India with the gravity of ongoing

international hybrid warfare between US and China. India needs to make itself important to other countries strengthening its own capacity because US-China relation is important than US India relations and India can do so by investing more in both countries .It comes with risk but if handled well it can bring returns. US-China rivalry has impact on various countries but this research will only focus on India due to its strategic location. There is emphasis on areas of conflict in US-China ties but the literature is devoid of the detailed implications of US-China rivalry on India. Some of the questions arise about China –United States - India strategic triangle due to growing power and influence of India and China.

This research will evaluate that how far India can accommodate and cooperate with China in its region as China will remain on the top of Indian foreign policy agenda in upcoming year. The research incorporates bi- causality factors as the US-China competition influences the international strategies of India and the other way around. This research assesses how US-China rivalry is affecting India (Vast South Asian country with diverse terrain and 7th most populated country in the world). India is pursuing hedging strategy with China and China has responded with counter-hedging strategy that involves engagement with India and some security pressures on India. The purpose of this research was to analyze the US-China contention, its impact on foreign policy and reaction of India. This study means to concentrate on US-China contention in the form of hybrid warfare, its effect on international strategies of India and analyses of response to US-China contention by India.

The primary sources include public statements from government officials and policy makers of US, China, and India. Stable relationship with India is favorable for China as India is the only big power in Indian Ocean Region India considers itself as East Asian as well as South Asian country and China is increasingly active in both East Asia and South Asia. China and US activities will have an impact on security, politics and economies of India. Research is basically qualitative and explanatory as it will explain cause and effect of US-China rivalry on India.

It also includes theoretical explanation of the US-China rivalry from the perspective of realist theory. This is the strength of neoclassical realism that it uses multiple levels of analysis and this strength makes it applicable than other versions of realism. From the neoclassical realist framework the US-China relations are also shaped by the perceptions of leaders along with other factors, regarding security threats and economic interests between the two leaders.

Neoclassical realism maintains that the great powers are rational actors when developing offensive strategies therefore the rivalry between US and China has not yet escalated into a military confrontation.

China's military modernization Taiwan policy and increased policies in South China Sea shows it through neoclassical realism. If the US continues to pursue containment and encirclement, as well as aggressive policies as per neoclassical realism, believing that Chinese power poses a danger to US military and diplomatic interests in the area, a war between the two countries would erupt. Furthermore, they can no longer claim that China is a developing nation while simultaneously advocating a "new paradigm of major power interactions." China's growth has profited greatly from the global order that the US has backed since WWII. For the benefit of both countries, the shared challenge is to guide this boat through the unknowns of unexplored waters. Despite the lack of precedent to guide economic and geostrategic rivalry between the world's two largest and most linked economies and most military major powers, the US and China must establish a balance of interests and avoid violent conflict that serves neither side's interests.

The adherents of neoclassical realism argue that the important part of foreign policy is its place in international system by virtue of its relative material power capabilities. Chinese scholars suggest that US wants to maintain its hegemony and global power therefore Washington will attempt to prevent emerging powers in particular China from achieving their goals. The neoclassical realism theory emphasizes on the rivalry among the great powers in international system. US-China

relations define the history of 21st century as US is global power and China is emerging global power.

This research explained the parameters of US-China rivalry in detail. These dimensions include Trade, technological competition, security concerns and ideological differences between China and US. The Trump administration has imposed a number of Sanctions on China such as tariffs up to twenty five percent on about half of USA imports from China, decline of Chinese investment in US by increasing state control on foreign direct investment in security relevant sectors, control on export of security relevant technology by Department of Commerce to China, restriction on usage of Chinese products in the area of public procurement, prohibition of Chinese businesses and individuals of Entity List from making purchases in US.

Apart from trade and growth losses, Chinese analysts of the economic war occasionally point out that there are other possibilities for China, such as Washington's technology boycott could accelerate China's efforts to attain autonomy in this sector. The strategic rivalry between the United States and China risks escalating into a multi-layered global conflict with economic and military ramifications. The human rights situation in China has always been a source of friction in US-China relations but as long as China's rise was not perceived as international challenge and as long as there was hope that China would liberalize the country was not seen as ideological adversary in the US. Chinese voices counter that the USA is accusing China for unfair trade practice as a justification for pursuing a containment policy.

This research also analyses response of India towards economic, technological, strategic and ideological US-China rivalry. Strategically India has new set of interests in the South China Sea as a result of its growing economic and security ties. India is suspicious about security concerns of South China Sea as China is ambitious to dominate South East Asian states and turn the SCS into Chinese lake. In China International Import Expo (CIIE) India sent many of its companies to display their products to access Chinese market.

Chinese naval presence in Indian Ocean is predictable due to its increasing economic interests. India is suspicious about Belt and Road Initiative (BRI) of China and the Regional Comprehensive Economic Partnership (RCEP). China and India are linked for centuries through trade and the land closeness. For India, China is limited Asian power but for China, India is an administrator of the Indian Ocean. However the security relations with the regional states are unpredictable therefore India should maintain its geographic advantage over China. Ensuring freedom of navigation is a core economic interest for India and India considers the South China Sea as the property of the world.

Technological implication of US-China rivalry cannot be ignored after the US ban over Huawei Telecom infrastructure. It is related to 5G wireless network that consists of most reliable fiber optic cable and China was the largest exporter of fiber optic cable to India. After weighing the costs against thresholds and Huawei inhabiting central place in the geopolitical competition between the USA and China, India had to carefully assess the cost, benefits and risks she had to face. India has to embrace the flexibility in its governance system like Chinese firms if India wants to bring up the firms withdrawing from China. China is trying to minimize the negative effects of trade war by opening its markets to India. India is demanding China to open more markets that favor India's competitive edge. The rise of China and India as two political and economic actors has caught universal attention. It's a huge opportunity for India to increase its trade with both the US and China. India has vastly imported the multi-use products from China as China has been manufacturer of these items for decades.

Right after the independence of China in 1949, India perceived China as a friendly Asian state despite of the fact that the political system of both the countries was different. Both the countries believe in different ideologies. China is a socialist/communist state and US is a capitalist state. China and India are ideologically different but the economic competition has overpowered the ideological clash.

## 5.1 FINDINGS

India and China are confronted by multifaceted complex rivalry. India under Modi has been using the same tactics towards China as set by the earlier governments. They have been using a combination of strategies depending on the subject under deliberation. These strategies include limited balancing, avoiding conflict and progression of military strategy from defense to deterrence. India wants to become a great power without provoking any conflict with China as long as Indian interests are safe. The absence of any formal statements by India about imprisoned Uighurs is one such example. India is not interested in making a balanced world order but it wants to be a great power in a multipolar Asia. .

India neither wants to promote US primacy but it selectively cooperates with the US on China. India has to be economically strong enough to compete with China. In Modi's era Indian economy has grown up but it still need to have a sustainable economic strategy to keep pace with China. The larger economic gap will increase rivalry between the countries. Apart from material hostility, India and China are covered in strategic rivalry. India does not want to make an alliance with powerful rivals of China because it will create a bipolar Asia controlled by US and China and downgrading India as secondary power.

India has to maintain a balanced approach to create a strategic space for itself because of its slow ascent. On the other hand China -Indian rivalry can lead to the rise of armed crisis unless their rivalry actually ends. Skillful diplomacy is needed to manage crisis. Both the states need to put up legal interests of each other. As an initial step China has to accommodate goals and identity of India as a regional great power. Both the states have to coexist peacefully.

## 5.2 RECOMMENDATIONS

Keeping in view the scale of challenge and the proficiencies gap between India and China one can say that India should adopt alliance like relationship with the US. But alliance is not a good option due to some reasons because even during Cold War the administrations of Eisenhower, Kennedy and Johnson were reluctant about bringing India into the American alliance system because of the restraints and responsibilities. The other challenges include the size and geopolitical and economic needs of India. In current scenario there is also a small need for a new alliance with India. India usually does not necessitate shared obligations and it also impedes the alliance formation.

This alliance will lead to impractical Indian expectations of the US. India will also compare its relationship against US ties with its allies resulting into disappointing US-India ties. These critics suggest that non-alignment is open for India. It will enable India to accommodate China and be careful about US. Some of the security advisors of India also suggested India to remain not aligned. In 2005 Prime Minister Manmohan Singh also stated that India is not ganging up against any other country. In 2018 Modi also asserted that in the Indo Pacific India's approach is not against any country and India would not choose one side of a divide. Historically India has aligned with the US to tackle China challenge in 1950's and 1960's but these alignments helped India to build its own military and economic abilities.

History shows that India did alliance with US against China when it was its own interest but it did not agree on everything. India differed with the US approach in Vietnam and rejected access to Indian bases that the Soviets wanted in the 1970's. China has less impact on Indian policy choices because they are pre-determined but assertiveness of China somehow affects India to think about autonomy vs. need for alliance to protect Indian interests. India wants to maintain maximum autonomy. The emerging China has been a main factor of Indo US partnership. Right after holding the charge, Prime Minister Modi tried to enhance ties with China but commencement of China

Pakistan Economic Corridor in spite of Indian concern restricted the China -India relations. It opened the path for establishing Indo-US ties that have been otherwise prohibited keeping in view Chinese objections and concerns. If one country becomes insensitive to the other country the relations it leads towards divergence. India can make a clear choice or even it can alliance with US if China keeps on posing challenges.

As the major conflict is about border dispute between India and China so both the countries need to deescalate the friction points and maintain peace. China and India both want fixed border lines but the topography and political history makes it impossible. Both the states should maintain their parallel rise without creating any conflict in the region. It can be practically done by bilateral dialogues and high level visits.

India perceives China as its essential danger whereas China sees India as a auxiliary challenge. China's national security needs unequivocally lie within the western Pacific. Such asymmetry of security needs implies that India may not however match China in national control or in a routine or atomic arms race, but its resolve and centre on China are altogether more grounded than those of China.

Any allied or semi-allied structure implies that India relinquishes its independent geopolitical identity and future ambitions to be a great power. Although it is constantly told that India has transformed, it is unclear how easy or desirable it would be for India to give up its fundamental identity, which is unavoidable if India cedes power to a US-led alliance system. It is also unclear why India cannot intelligently navigate the multipolar world that is emerging to advance its interests – in a stable and prosperous region, a reformed world order with globalisation that benefits the many rather than the few, and the advancement of inclusive security ideas rather than bloc-based systems that have proven to cause more conflict than stability

Another option that can be proposed is an ideological alliance in which India joins forces with other democracies to form a "freedom coalition." It's also improbable that this will result in a stable Asian order or security architecture. This is due to the fact that India's identity is made up of

several elements, including its civilisational tradition of plurality and inclusivity, geopolitical independence, and a feeling of manifest destiny as a future great power, among others. Furthermore, there is no proselytising tradition in India.

The geopolitical setting, on the other hand, has the potential to destabilise or stabilise the India-China relationship. To put it another way, the India-China relationship has never been truly bilateral. It was nearly always a component of a larger world order puzzle for the Chinese, but it was also for India. The unresolved border dispute is a lingering issue in China and India's bilateral relations, and the two countries' political leaders should work to resolve it as soon as possible. Some critical initiatives should be made at the operational level. Both governments must set calibrated policy directions/objectives for the ongoing special representative dialogue on border issues, design a reasonable timeframe and a clear roadmap, and, perhaps more importantly, secure irreversible progress through negotiations in order to achieve an early settlement. China and India have been interacting in South Asia, Central Asia, ASEAN, and the Indian Ocean, and it is critical for both sides to reconcile their regional goals in order to achieve mutually beneficial outcomes.

A successful regional strategy for Beijing should be built on constructive interactions with India rather than the opposite. As a result, China has incentive to maintain the balanced diplomacy it began with its South Asian neighbours in the 1990s, namely seeking a stable cooperation with India while retaining its long-standing strategic partnership with Pakistan. Regardless of the regional strategic climate's whims, China's national interests in the region will undoubtedly be best served by this balanced regional strategy. In their shared peripheries and in the larger neighbourhood, China and India are increasingly need to establish an accommodating and non-confrontational regional strategy. Both countries may unavoidably claim the same areas of influence, which encompass Central Asia, the ASEAN region, and the Indian Ocean, in addition to their other South Asian neighbours, as rising global powers and potential geopolitical adversaries. As a result, a recommended "healthy competition" rather than confrontation should be a welcome

mandate, and the right application of soft powers will be an acceptable means of expanding their individual interests while avoiding conflict. Promoting CBMs in a reciprocal manner has proven to be tremendously beneficial in eradicating misperceptions and misreadings of each other's strategic objectives between China and India. As is widely recognised, strategic trust between China and India remains shaky, if not non-existent, particularly in the domains of security and defence. In terms of the implications for their bilateral connections, their strategic interactions with big powers, particularly the United States, should have had fewer undermining effects on each other.

As this reality demonstrates, both India and China must resolve their perceptual differences and competing interests and take a pragmatic approach to the issues at hand. Disguising and downplaying strategic divergences and trust issues may be counterproductive. In this way, an intense strategic discussion usually provides a solid foundation for political leaders to achieve their calibrated policy goals while managing their complex relationship.

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