

Non-traditional Security Diplomacy between China and India

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Abstract

Non-traditional security diplomacy has opened a new debate in international relations. In recent years, scholars have increasingly focused on emerging non-traditional security issues such as transnational crime, public health epidemics, climate change, natural disasters, and natural resource security. These challenges in particular threaten the regional stability of South and East Asia. This paper aims to contribute to understanding the relations between two competing neighbours, China and India and their multilateral non-traditional security cooperation. Traditionally, Sino-India relations have been characterized by long standing border disputes. This paper therefore seeks to clarify the connection between issues of traditional and non-traditional security within Sino-India relations, and evaluates ways in which both sides can collaborate across non-traditional security issues. We argue that non-traditional security offers practical options for enhancing peaceful bilateral relations.

Keywords: *Non-traditional security, non-traditional security diplomacy, peace-Co-operativism, Sino-India relations.*

Introduction

Over the past several decades, Asian states have experienced peace, prosperity, and development. At the same time, they have also

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witnessed conflicts and disagreements. Due to conflicts and disagreements, states have paid more attention to traditional security issues. However, non-traditional security (NTS) issues such as energy crises, food crises, environmental issues, water insecurity, the global financial crisis, illegal immigration, piracy, terrorism, communicable diseases, extremism and separatism have become common concerns to the Asian states. These NTS issues have opened new fronts to tackle; it is increasingly occupying the resources and time of national and international security experts. These issues are diverse and interconnected, which cannot be tackled by any single strategy, country, government or organisation. The seriousness of the problem indicates that the mutual or collective diplomatic cooperation is the prerequisite for tackling the above-mentioned issues. Regular dialogues, consultations and discussions pertaining to these transnational security issues can help states expand cooperation and move beyond the established restrictions created by traditional security issues.

China and India are two of the oldest civilizations in the world. These two countries, having close proximity to each other, share historic values and cultures, including Buddhism, but have found it very difficult to establish good relations under modern political conditions such as border disputes, geopolitical competition for resources and power, which had widened the rift between them. This rivalry included two military conflicts, in 1956 and 1962 (Zongyi, 2012). India has had greater exposure to the Western world as a consequence of having been under the British rule and even after independence it has continued to engage actively with Western nations as well as Russia. China has historically been more isolated and had the negative experience of its past engagements with the western world, which were reinforced during the Cold War. A key modern problem for China has been about communicating effectively with the global community. In recent decades, however, China's engagements with the West in manufacturing and trade

have grown exponentially. The contemporary world is moving toward greater cooperation, which has created opportunities for the two oldest civilizations to overcome obstacles and cooperate in areas of mutual benefit.

Both countries are important in Asia and have emerged as key players in the global economy. In recent years, both countries have been able to strengthen their economic ties. Presently, China is third top trading partners of India, while China boosted its imports from India to create trade balance (Workman, 2019). China has been developing stronger diplomatic ties with Southeast Asian states over several decades. India had been somewhat slow in strengthening its relations in East Asia. It initiated the 'Look East Policy' in the 1990s, which had been a struggle in practice. However, India has now promulgated an 'Act East Policy' since late 2014, and has renewed energy and efforts to strengthen its relations with her neighbours. A feasibility study by the Joint Task Force reported in 2007 that China-India Regional Trading Arrangements (RTA) will be mutually advantageous to both countries and benefit the region and these two countries have already developed various trade co-operations in recent years (Ministry of Commerce & Industry Government of India, 210-2011). Free trade agreements between China and India also have the potential to change the structure of world economy and politics in the future.

Progressive thinking and strong commitment can help both states improve their relations. Mutual collaboration provides the two nations the power to establish a new bloc. Their active participation in forums such as BRICS (Brazil, Russia, India, China, and South Africa); BASIC (Brazil, South Africa, India, China + Mexico); and the Shanghai Cooperation Organization (SCO) provide good platforms for stronger cooperation. The newly set up Asian Infrastructure Investment Bank (AIIB) and the New Development Bank by BRICS countries are evidence of growing cooperation among these nations. These banks will enable opportunities and investments to enhance

and further cooperation between China and India. This paper attempts to understand several questions such as: How can China and India develop cooperation in the area of NTS? Can NTS diplomacy bring changes in traditional security cooperation?

This paper argues that NTS diplomacy has the potential to improve and develop bilateral diplomatic relations between China and India in the traditional security sphere. Increasing consciousness of NTS issues provides a platform for both states to negotiate and enhance diplomatic and regional collaboration.

Theoretical Framework

While, dealing with NTS diplomacy between China and India ‘Peace-cooperativism’ theory has been adopted for operationalization. Peace-cooperativism[§] is a new, but distinctive concept in international relations. It actually represents the Chinese characteristics of mutual cooperation. The ‘shared security’, ‘security co-governance’ and ‘superior co-existence’ are unique approaches and would provide a basis for multiplicity in China’s future cooperation with India. The concept of peace-cooperativism takes inspiration from China’s ‘harmony doctrine’^{**}. This doctrine is

[§]The scholarship of peace-cooperativism was coined by Chinese Professor Yu Xiaofeng in 2007. He presents ethical principles of bilateral relation under Chinese trends and traditions. The concept mainly surrounds superior coexistence, security co-governance and shared security, for details see: Yu Xiaofeng, *Peace Cooperativism’: The Ethical value dimension of China Diplomacy*, *International Politics Quarterly*, No. 3, 2007, pp21-24

^{**} ‘Harmony Doctrine’ is a rational approach of Chinese policy makers. Its core value is to share complete social rights while the five principles, new security concept and new Asian security approaches supportive tools for harmony doctrine. For further details see: Yuan-Kang Wang, *Harmony and War: Confucian Culture and Chinese Power Politics*, Columbia University Press, 2013; Guo And Guo, *China in Search of a Harmonious Society*,

considered a backbone of China's peaceful rise and is gradually being recognized and valued by other countries.

At the core of the 'harmony doctrine' is the principle to share complete social rights (shared security), security co-governance and superior co-existence (Xiaofeng, 2004). China's national security is based on superior co-existence between 'actors'. More generally, peace-cooperativism attempts to create 'values' and 'cooperation', among actors. The concept borrows from realism and idealism, yet also transcends materialism. It is a different and unique approach for international politics, and offers a way out of out-dated, hostile relationships among states.

China is very rich in historical context of cooperation, especially during the Tang and the Qing Dynasty the emergence of a system of international harmony through peace-cooperativism. These traditional and cultural practices can become the basis for China's contemporary and future international diplomacy. Sino-Indian diplomatic relations can be built on these traditional values and practices, which will further enhance the long-term peaceful rise of the two nations.

In the same historical context, China proposed the five principles of peaceful coexistence in 1954, referred to as the Panchsheel Treaty in India – mutual respect for each other's territorial integrity and sovereignty, mutual non-aggression, mutual non-interference in each other's internal affairs, equality and cooperation for mutual benefit, and peaceful co-existence. During late twentieth century and the beginning of this century, China put forward the 'New security concept'^{††} and 'New Asian security concept' (Xuetong, 2014), which

Lexington Books, 2008; and Tian Dan, 'Harmony Concept and China's (China Society For Human Rights Studies, 2004).

^{††}After the cold war, China coined the 'new security concept' its main objective was to rise above one-sided security, states should seek common security through mutually beneficial cooperation on the common interest

reflects contemporary efforts toward the 'harmony doctrine'. These concepts ensure that Chinese policy makers are more lenient in maintaining diplomatic and security policy under peace-cooperativism. They consider peace, security and development together, and constantly evolve the 'peace-cooperativism', which has become a unique vision in the academic arena of international relations. It mainly works around three principles:

Shared Security: Thousands of years of Chinese history shows that the interaction of central government with the surrounding dynasties and the politicians were inclined towards battles. Over a period of time, Confucius, Taoist and Buddhist's thought influenced Chinese culture and the practice of shared security. This practice reflected the tradition and culture, which greatly influenced contemporary society (Shaojun, 2012). Five thousand years of Chinese civilization and heritage made its people peace loving, united and defensive. This attitude has emphasized on coexistence, moderation and attitudes of security that gives value to the shared security.

Shared security discourse on NTS has great significance. It can affect the behaviour of people during its process, and as a result, any discourse inheritance, transformation and original form can also change the social structure of the country's national security to varying degrees (Jisheng, 2013). It is not only related to territorial sovereignty and persistence of military and political security but also related to the persistence of survival rights, particularly when the goal is to seek resolution of economic, social, cultural, ecological security and quality of life with shared security (Xiaofeng, 2013). Traditional security issues have dominated beyond the

basis. The core view of this concept was mutual benefit, mutual trust, coordination and equality. For further detail see: David M. Finkelstein (2003). China's "New Concept of Security". Institute for National Strategic Studies, pp. 172-202

confrontations of Cold War and the changing international balance of power. States must adhere to cooperation, innovative spirit, responsible attitude, solidarity, and win-win cooperation to cope with various NTS challenges. Shared and collective response will create a harmonious and stable international and regional security environment. Therefore, shared security is not only helping us to consider the importance of domestic social security measures, but also helps us to work together with the international community to solve the NTS issues.

Security Co-governance: From the perspective of NTS scholarship, 'security co-governance' is also a new paradigm. The concept of security co-governance is a combination of 'security' and 'governance'; it not only reflects the need to use security management theory to the new realities of co-governance, but also new extension of security theory to enhance the connotation of security. Security co-governance concept mainly explains security management. Governance theory can be described as the reflection of the changing international community, globalization and political life of humans. After the 1990s, the theory of governance has been widely used in various fields such as 'environmental governance', 'international financial governance' and 'global governance'. The European Union was considered as a model of security co-governance.

The theoretical paradigm of security co-governance was first proposed by Elke Krahmann (2010). Her concept explains the changes in the post-Cold War security relations in Europe and across the Atlantic Ocean (Krahmann, 2010). Under the new post-Cold War security environment, the face of new security is complex and unpredictable in the world. Security co-governance is a theoretical paradigm that has been instrumental in overcoming some unanticipated NTS challenges in recent years.

Superior Co-existence: Superior co-existence is a state of security,

which characterizes independence and sustainable living conditions for all actors. The basic premises of this concept are to convert the theme of 'war – peace – security' to 'development – peace – security' (Terriff, 1999). It not only challenges theories of war and peace but also promotes thinking of peaceful development in international relations. It makes security more focused on targeted values and development.

The extent of superior co-existence is entirely dependent on the actors involved in the security dialogues. Irrespective of the level of global system, the actors have the right to take their own stance at each stage and to jointly build superior co-existence with mutual understanding and collaboration. Common destiny is the essence of general security, while the object of superior value of states is co-existence within general security. The idea is to create value principles, power-sharing conditions for peaceful co-existence, which ultimately leads towards human development. Superior co-existence promotes human security, and helps to resolve international disputes with peaceful means and under the fundamental norms of international law, with NTS strategies for peace as the starting point.

Shared security, security co-governance and superior coexistence are the key features of Chinese scholarship of peace-cooperativism, which increases the scope for peace and cooperation between two states. NTS issues play a crucial role of a bridge between states (especially those which have traditional disputes) to initiate talks and establish cooperation. There are many dual-genic and multi-genic NTS issues, which compel states to compromise on long standing issues.

Peace-cooperativism has been developed as a unique theoretical model for Chinese diplomatic relations of China. It highlights the importance of cultural identity of national integration and security. In contemporary times, many unpredictable threats cannot be

determined and geographic distance no longer provides safety. The theoretical paradigm of NTS is extremely important for human development and enables a long-term strategy for peace-cooperativism between the states in the 21st century. NTS provides opportunities for both states to collaborate through peace-cooperativism and build strong relations.

Peace-Cooperativism & Transnational NTS Challenges to China and India

The peace-cooperativism scholarship fully endorses a heterogeneous-bilateral diplomatic cooperation model for NTS challenges. It mainly works around three principles, shared security, security co-governance and superior coexistence, which are primarily based on equal bilateral cooperation. Here are the salient features of peace-cooperativism:

- States need to develop their relationship based on mutual respect and understanding for each other's interests and concerns.
- States need to develop their relations based on equality.
- States need to outweigh their differences (compromise) by focusing on common interests.
- State need not become a threat to other state/states.
- States need to address their traditional security issues in a reasonable and mutually acceptable mode; and should not allow them to dominate overall bilateral relations.
- States need to expand their cooperation in different fields (especially in NTS); this will gradually strengthen bilateral relations.

China and India are facing four similar kinds of NTS threats. First, heterogenic NTS threats that refer to security threats originating

from an uncertain temporal and spatial domains, which could exert a severe impact on both domestic and international affairs. Heterogenic NTS threats like terrorism, cyber-weapons, trans-national crime, civil defence, and serious conflicts on resources can be dealt by both traditional (use of military force) and non-traditional (peace-cooperativism) security methods. Second, exogenous NTS threat, which originates from another state or group of states, which can have both domestic and international effects. Exogenous NTS threats may compound natural disasters, man-made accidents, man-made insecurity issues, man-made non-military violent conflicts and so on. These kinds of NTS threats could be solved first by diplomatic efforts and second by national efforts in terms of warning, controlling, responding and managing. It should be mentioned here that China, India, the United States and many other countries have already recognized global warming as the biggest threat to humanity.

Third, dual-genic NTS threats, this refers to both domestic and international kinds of NTS issues that occur near international borders. Illegal migration, trans-national crime, marine resources development, common basin water resources and ecological environmental problems all come under the domain of dual-genic NTS threats. Many Dual-genic NTS issues are directly caused by traditional security issues, like military conflicts between regions, leading to the growth of illegal migration and refugees. China and India have trans-boundary river issue, which requires both domestic and diplomatic methods in order to resolve conflict. Fourth, endogenous NTS threats, which refers to domestic threats and spill over the borders. Accumulation of domestic conflicts and contradictions for a long time, delay in exploring, improper response and over-reaction may induce further security threats. This kind of NTS threats needs to be solved through reforms and co-participation of government, citizens and social organizations in terms of warning, controlling, responding and managing.

Standard Models for dealing with NTS Challenges

NTS issues have provided a means for reconceptualization of traditional security. It is accordingly essential to identify the nature and range of these issues. The concept of securitization by Buzan, Waever and Wilde (1998) elaborates how particular public issues become referent objects in security policy and analysis. The main argument is that the referent object requires immediate consideration and urgent actions beyond normal political procedures (Buzan et al., 1998). Securitizing actors project particular issues. However, they have to be widely accepted as threats to be treated as priority for policy intervention and urgent action.

Likewise, global responses to NTS threats require international cooperation while the bilateral response requires willingness and compromise in the traditional security sphere. China and India have their own strategies to deal with NTS threats. Actually, each state implements diverse types of international, regional and bilateral cooperation based on global securitizing and international issues. All these practices could be divided into four different sections: i) Heterogeneous-Multilateral Diplomacy, ii) Haplotype-Multilateral Diplomacy iii) Heterogeneous-Bilateral Diplomacy and iv) Haplotype-Bilateral Diplomacy under the context of securitization (see Table 1).

Table 1: *Purposed Standard Models of NTS Diplomacy*

Model	Multilateral Diplomacy	Bilateral Diplomacy
<i>Heterogeneous</i>	Heterogeneous-Multilateral Diplomacy	Heterogeneous-bilateral Diplomacy
<i>Haplotype</i>	Haplotype-Multilateral Diplomacy	Haplotype-Bilateral Diplomacy

Heterogeneous-Multilateral Diplomacy is a form of multilateral diplomatic cooperation. It represents international cooperation based on the principle of generalized behaviour or institutional multilateralism. Unlike international institutional cooperation that is based on foreign strategies, heterogeneous-multilateral diplomatic cooperation focuses on comprehensive views and multilateral institutional structures with a regional and global perspective. It considers interactive modes between states and the impact of institutional factors. Members under this kind of cooperation are required to make compromises in terms of sovereignty. The United Nations, World Trade Organization and International Energy Agency are representative examples of heterogeneous-multilateral diplomatic cooperation.

Haplotype-Multilateral Diplomacy is a type of one-world multilateralism. It represents a form of diplomatic cooperation on 'multilateral' terms but where cooperation is unilateral. This kind of multilateralism is usually based on foreign strategies of one symbolized country with non-general principles. In other words, it is 'strategic multilateralism' diplomatic cooperation. We can simply categorize the American oriented NATO coalition is representative of this type of cooperation.

Haplotype-Bilateral Diplomacy is an unequal type of bilateral diplomatic cooperation. More specifically, it is bilateral diplomatic cooperation whose essence is 'unilateralism'. It refers to bilateral cooperation between stronger powers and weaker states. The nature of this cooperation is to achieve the most beneficial outcome and interests through power in the short-term. The 'one country – one policy' is actually the basis of this cooperation.

Heterogeneous-Bilateral Diplomacy is based on the principle of equal bilateral diplomatic cooperation and it is one of the key principles emerging from peace-cooperationism scholarship. A key example is the 'Five Principles of Peaceful Coexistence', which have been

proposed by China, India and Burma. Heterogeneous-bilateral diplomatic cooperation represents the special features of Chinese and Indian diplomacy. Hence, we claim that Sino-Indian relations are neither good nor bad but special.

NTS Diplomacy between China and India

In international diplomatic relations, a country can choose its friends, foes, or trade partners, but it cannot choose its neighbours. In the same way, China and India share religious, geographic, economic, cultural and historical links, both countries have a long civilizational history, which can be traced back to the Mahabharata era. Chanakya's Arthashastra book on governance and statecraft has a great recognition in both countries. The visit of great monks Kumarjeeva, Fa-Hien (405-411 AD), and Hiuen-Tsang (630-645 AD) are highly respected in the Indian psyche (Vijay, 2017). However, over the past six decades relations between both neighbouring states relations have remained under the shadow of historic border disputes.

Traditional sensitive issues such as the territorial boundary question remain, but both countries can still work together to eliminate NTS issues. The world is looking to China and India because the future could depend on how these both great civilizations work together to build a peaceful planet. China is the second largest economy and India is becoming one of the fastest growing economies, Prime Minister Modi has emerged as a difference-maker, and by working alongside the strong leadership of President Xi, may construct a new geo-political relationship order in the world.

This same thinking, however, brought a new wave of trust and cooperation between both neighbouring states. Recently, they are entertaining good relations, the leaders of both countries have maintained frequent contacts. During president Xi Jinping's visit to India in September 2014, the two states discussed multilateral issues in a cordial environment. President Xi Jinping said 'we (India-

China) are emerging markets and should strive to achieve peaceful development' (Haidar, 2014). Around the time of Xi's visit, there was a small-scale border clash between the People's Liberation Army (PLA) and the Indian army. Instead of that, the leaders of both countries moved ahead with a spirit of peaceful cooperation and signed 20 bilateral memoranda of understanding (MoU), including cooperation in energy security, railways, outer space and proposed exchange programmes covering culture, education and tourism (India Times, 2014).

Prime Minister Modi's visit to China in May 2015 showed friendship and commitment between the Premiers in China and India to strengthen diplomacy and progress co-operation between the two neighbours (Bodeen, 2015). Further, the discussions on border disputes are also being approached constructively as expressed by Huang Xilian, Deputy Director General of the Asian Affairs at the Foreign Ministry, "Whatever we do in the border area it should be constructive. That means it should be a building block for the process of negotiations not stumbling block" (Press Trust of India, 2015). Actually, they both need to realize their potential, it is important that both countries understand each other and perceptions that guide their diplomatic activities. The durable peace between the two neighbouring countries, extending from the 1970s to the current day, deserves conservation and not disruption (Hussain, 2017). It is completely in the self-interest of each country to make this sure. The complication in bilateral relations means that both have to move carefully. Whatever happens between them, will affect them heavily. Therefore, both countries need to be more realistic in their diplomatic approach to move beyond the traditional diplomatic relations and be honest. They have to evolve in various confidence building measures to settle down the differences in traditional security areas. NTS issues are providing good opportunity to move ahead.

China and India have multiple agreements and memorandum of

understanding on NTS issues. They both have developed good cooperation ground to fight against NTS issues. Some of the key cooperation areas of NTS issues have been discussed below:

Economic Security

India and China have taken multiple concrete steps for mutual economic security. In 1978 they resumed formal trade relations, and the most favoured nation (MFN) agreement was signed by both sides in 1984 (Embassy of India, 2014). Both countries have established strong institutional mechanisms for cooperation such as, Joint Economic Group on Economic Relations and Trade, Science and Technology (JEG), a Joint Study Group (JSG) and Joint Task Force (JTF). The two countries established a Strategic and Economic Dialogue (SED) in 2010. The SED is a platform where both states discuss strategic macro-economic issues affecting both sides in the changing international economic order.

China and India are making enormous strides in economic development. Moreover, as representatives of BRICS and in cooperation with Brazil, Russia and South Africa, they have developed rapidly to become influential players in the international sphere. While China and India enjoy the benefits of strong international influence, they are also constrained by the international political and economic orders. There is no doubt that the developments in both states have been inspiring. However, concerns remain of whether the developments that have been achieved can help overcome their non-traditional security issues. In spite of their progress, they have large numbers of people living in poverty (Ha, 2005). In both countries, the measurement of poverty line remains contentious, and there is yet no consent on the methodological approaches to measure poverty accurately.

Employment generation is also one of the leading challenges for both China and India. Rising unemployment can create additional concerns in both urban and rural areas and needs to be addressed

urgently. China holds a strong global consumer goods market; it can enhance mechanisms for creating new job opportunities to alleviate poverty over a period of time. India is among the strongest information technology (IT) centres in the world (Niño-Zarazúa & Addison, 2012), which contributes to enhance economic development. India faces the challenge of having a large unskilled labour force that might hinder the country's economic progress. It is essential for both countries to progress toward peace-cooperativism and fight against NTS threats, in order that their current and future generations can enjoy peace and prosperity.

Energy Security

Both India and China are rightly concentrating about the serious NTS issue of 'energy security' to enhance their economic growth. India ranks fourth in the world in coal reserves (Jaili, 2004), but has limited resources of oil and energy. India imports oil from the Middle East, Asia Pacific, Africa, Australia, America and Russia. It has established partnerships with different countries, as well as private companies in these countries, to invest in oil and gas extraction projects in Iraq, Iran, Russia, Vietnam, Myanmar and Sudan. India has been developing its energy strategy and is endorsing plans to construct gas pipelines from Central Asia via Xinjiang, China to India (because of the Afghanistan insurgency and constrained relations with Pakistan), and West Asia and Myanmar.

China is also one of the largest importers of oil, and is currently the second largest oil consumer in the world. The International Energy Agency estimates that China's dependency on oil imports will be 77% by 2020 (Paik, Marcel, Lahn, Mitchell, & Adylov, 2017). Both China and India have taken active measures for co-operation in energy security. During Wen Jiabao's visit to India in 2005, both countries issued a joint declaration; Article 9 of that declaration states 'both of the countries agreed to cooperate in the fields of energy security and energy saving, including encouraging their

relevant departments and units to collaborate in exploration and exploitation of oil and natural gas resources in other countries'. In addition, both countries have cooperated on joint mega projects for extracting oil and gas from Syria and Colombia.

As China and India develop, their energy demands are inevitably increasing. Their cooperation on energy can enhance their economic growth. Both countries have comparative advantages, and should recognize each other's strengths and support mutual development (Reischer, 2012). Advanced technological exchange will promote stability in world energy markets, which could help overcome the energy insecurity threats in the region.

Ethnic Separatism and Terrorism

Ethnic separatism and terrorism have become a constant NTS issue in Asia. In this regard both, China and India are facing worst challenges. China is facing Uyghur ethnic separatism and religious dissent. India has similar problems in Kashmir, Assam, Bodoland, Tripura and with Khalistan. Chinese and Indian separatist movements are mainly based on religion, language and distribution of natural resources.

China and India has taken mutual initiatives to tackle such challenging NTS issue. Both have signed a memorandum of understanding on Defense Cooperation in 2006, which was the first such agreement between the two countries (Raman, 2007). It provides opportunity for the armies of both countries for joint anti-terrorism training and safeguarding regional peace and security (The Economic Times, 2013). The joint drill of 2013 namely 'Hand-in-Hand' focuses on counter terrorism tactics and mixed training in arresting suspects and rescuing hostages (NDTV News, 2013).

Both countries are much experienced of terrorism and separatism and fully aware of the consequences. That is why, apart from mutual cooperation, both states are interested in the regional peace and

security. The situation in Afghanistan is also of great concern for both states. Their regular participation in the reconciliation process shows their willingness to take additional measures to prevent increasing threats in war-torn Afghanistan (The Economic Times, 2013).

Water Security

Shared rivers between China and India traditionally have been a major source of dispute and controversy. A stable and constant supply of water is critical for the stability of any region or state. China and India share the Brahmaputra River (called Yarlung Zangbo in China) in the eastern Himalayan region, which is a strategic area for both countries. Both states have disagreements on territorial and water sharing issues, but in recent years have increased cooperation despite these disagreements. China is developing a long-term water policy to enhance storage capability by constructing reservoirs and dams, prospecting and establishing water transfer projects, while India is developing its internal water management policies and hydro projects (Kumar, 2014).

China and India have similar ecological systems, and climate change has become a great challenge for both countries. The two neighbours face a common adversary in the form of climate change, which requires a collective response. India and China are responding similarly to help tackle their local and global environmental issues, which are likely to intensify in the future (Xinhua News, 2014). As two of the world's leading emerging economies, China and India will benefit greatly through co-operation in tackling environmental issues through sharing in energy saving technologies, power generation technologies and clean coal incineration, transportation sectors, solar power utilization and wind power utilization and exchanging knowledge and innovation.

Returning to water security, this is also crucially impacted by climate change. India and China have also shown their motivation

to jointly tackle this NTS issue. They have a Memorandum of Understanding (MoU) on sharing hydrological information of the Brahmaputra River (Roul, 2013). This major river originating from the Himalayas enters into northern parts of India (Brahmaputra River) flowing through China. According to the MoU, China will provide information (about rainfall and water level discharge) to India in forecasting floods likely to be caused by this river, which mostly result in disasters in the north-eastern India (Roul, 2013).

Pandemic Diseases

Pandemics and infectious diseases are one of the leading NTS threats to the entire world. The World Health Organization (WHO) has suggested various methods to fight against pandemic diseases, but in spite of extensive advancements in medical sciences, emerging infections and pandemic diseases continue to pose a major NTS threat. China and India also face the challenges brought on by the threat of infectious disease and pandemic. The large size and population of these countries poses even greater dangers for the spread of pandemic diseases.

India is encumbered with various viral and pandemic diseases such as HIV AIDS[#] TB, Hepatitis A, Hepatitis E, Typhoid fever, Malaria, Dengue Fever, Yellow fever, Japanese Encephalitis, African Trypanosomiasis, Plague, and Rabies. Non-communicable diseases such as diabetes, liver diseases and heart problems are also on the rise. A report by the Indian Council of Medical Research shows the outburst of eight organisms of emerging and re-emerging diseases in different parts of the country (Dikid, Jain, Sharma, Kumar, & Narain, 2013).

[#]India has been less severely affected by HIV epidemic compared to many other countries, owing to its early predictions and interventions to avoid disaster, but it still has almost three million people living with the virus. India Health Issue, available at: <http://www.healthissuesindia.com/infectious-diseases/>

According to the World Health Organization, every year 1.1% of Chinese people lose their lives due to pandemic diseases (WHO, 2014). China can be a key contributor to the global fight against pandemic diseases because it has experience of dealing with such issues. Its connection with the world through trade and travel can affect distant populations. China has built a strong health care system. However, infectious diseases remain a major NTS threat to China. The 2003 Severe Acute Respiratory Syndrome (SARS) crisis (Li, Wang, Jin, Wu, Chin, Koplan, Wilson, 2008) was a turning point for policy makers to enhance Chinese healthcare policies to combat such challenges.

According to National Health and Family Planning Commission of China, 1,478 people died in Mainland China alone, due to infectious diseases such as AIDS (China Daily, 2013). Tuberculosis, Rabies, Hepatitis, Syphilis, Dysentery, Gonorrhoea, Plague and Cholera are also major cause of concern for Chinese authorities. It is extremely important for cooperation between the two neighbours, China and India, to deal with such NTS threats in the region.

Maritime Security

The maritime piracy and terrorism are also NTS threat for both China and India. Somali pirates have made the Indian Ocean extremely vulnerable for trading ships. Random acts of piracy occur in the Persian Gulf, Bay of Bengal and coastal India. By regularly monitoring these situations both China and India are gradually strengthening their cooperation to cope with this NTS challenges.

China and India initiated mutual cooperation on anti-piracy in 2012. Both countries have agreed to share technological expertise on seabed research and undertake joint operations against piracy. On March 2012 maritime cooperation proposal presented by China was warmly welcomed by Indian authorities (Dikshit, 2012). This new area for cooperation seeks to involve the Coast Guards, Air Force and Navy in joint action against pirates.

At the regional level, China, India and Japan have also entered into a joint arrangement on anti-piracy efforts in the Gulf of Aden. According to this agreement, they will share information about their escort schedules and warship movements in the Gulf of Aden (Gokhale, 2012). It is a comprehensive cooperation mechanism on an NTS threat by three Asian countries hoping to utilize their naval forces to provide safe passage of merchant ships in the region, against the threat of piracy. Both Beijing and New Delhi have realized the potential of supportive and mutual partnership on NTS issues such as anti-piracy operations, which can lead to further achievement in other long-standing unsolved issues.

In recent times, China and India have assumed flexible and practical policies to make sure that the current wave of understanding should not become an obstacle to friendly relations. It shows the maturity of their relationship, which contrasts with the earlier combative approaches to border disputes. This maturity bodes well for peace, progress and harmony in the region. On-going NTS diplomacy between these two countries could decisively transform their previous traditional approach, signalling more active and cooperative coexistence.

Analysis

The frequent speed of NTS issues are not only affecting China and India but many others; and the merger of international and domestic issues have made traditional structure outdated. Political leadership is now involving NTS issues in their manifesto of internal and external affairs, and trying to mutually and collectively. Peace-cooperativism has the mechanism to deal NTS issues. Because, neither China nor India has such significant resources to meet all NTS threats and challenges that are almost unpredictable and mutually interconnected. The nature of NTS issues provide good opportunity to both conflicting countries to collaborate with each other to fight with these new challenges.

The sensitive anxiety between China and India over territorial integrity reveals the extreme situation of both states, which is very hard to modify (Cui, 2013). But, their cooperation in military, non-military and trans-boundary non-traditional security issues like, Maritime security, pandemic diseases, water security, ethnic separatism and terrorism, energy security, and economic security representing a new picture of security cooperation. This sort of diplomatic variation would play good role in easing the long-standing bilateral relationship. The cooperation of NTS issues is getting something, which is better than nothing is, and in long term, it would effect and produce deeper and broader cooperation, which further enhances the mutual interest in traditional and non-traditional security areas.

The security cooperation between China and India especially on NTS issue definitely signifies the transformation of security and diplomacy, and it indicates twofold perception. First, the historical enmity between both countries has remained high, traditional and sensitive issues should be kept in one side, while NTS issues would open new windows of negotiations, cooperation and mutual interests. While, the peace-cooperativism provides significant principles to decrease tension between both rivalry states. Second, NTS issues have similarly opened the doors for states and non-state-actors to come forward for more conciliatory and prominent relations. Furthermore, continuous cooperation on NTS issues can produce the new norms and practices. In such environment, governments would turn direction to cooperation rather than conflict, which may become more accepted model for dealing traditional and non-traditional security issues.

Conclusion

In recent years, Sino-Indian relations have gained momentum. The two states have developed strong cooperation on important NTS issues. Frequent visits by leaders, strong political will by the

Premiers in both countries in recent years, and bilateral agreements between these two countries are creating political trust and a comprehensive expansion of mutual cooperation between China and India. During his visit to India in September 2014, President Xi Jinping said that China would back India's aspirations to play a greater role at the United Nations, including on the Security Council and also welcomed India as a full member of the Shanghai Cooperation Organization (Reuters, 2014). Both sides are interested to solve their border issues early. President Xi said, "Sometimes there might be certain incidents, but the two sides are fully capable of acting promptly to effectively manage the situation" and Prime Minister Modi said, "There should be peace in our relations and in the borders. If this happens, we can realize the true potential of our relations."

This paper propounds that the focal point of their cooperation has been on non-traditional security issues, which has been enabling a pragmatic promotion of political co-operation and negotiations on long standing boundary disputes (Lin & Fujian, 2013). The political interaction has opened multiple channels of dialogue and frequent visits of leaders of both countries, which offers hope for ending historical enmity.

Bilateral diplomatic cooperation on NTS issues reflects each side's shared interests. For instance, their economic prospects are interdependent and complementary. China is a world leader in manufacturing industry and India is a major world competitor in the service industry. On the other hand, both states are facing similar problems in social and economic developments, such as inequality. Their recently enhanced NTS cooperation enables them to understand each other better and support their peaceful development.

Both countries are active members of regional and international organizations and signatories of free trade agreements. Moreover,

they both recognize that NTS issues and believe that these issues can only be tackled through mutual cooperation. As emerging powers, coordination between China and India can provide them with a strong bargaining position in international negotiations to protect their national interests, which could also benefit the global community.

The scholarship of peace-cooperativism helps to build greater mutual trust. However, it is crucial for the two countries to engage in frequent communication between diplomats, economic and military policymakers, industry and society. NTS issues provide a strong basis for developing better mutual understanding. Through mutual co-operation and promoting a positive image of each other, both in society and government and by the careful handling of sensitive and long standing issues, the two countries can work together to promote their regional and international credibility and enhance regional peace.

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