

中印对话

14th Five-Year Plan:  
A Continuation of  
Development Momentum

# CHINA-INDIA DIALOGUE

China-India  
Cooperation in the  
Post-Pandemic Era

Vol.24 No.1~2 | January - April 2021

## Dawn of Economic Recovery



ISSN 2096-2614



国内零售价: 20 元 / India ₹ 200

[www.chinaindiadialogue.com](http://www.chinaindiadialogue.com)

# 塞罕坝

牢记使命 艰苦创业 绿色发展

半个多世纪，三代人耕耘。

沙地变林海，荒原成绿洲。

寒来暑往，

塞罕坝机械林场的森林覆盖率

已达80%。

栽种树木按二米株距排开，

可绕地球赤道二圈。

Saihanba is a cold alpine area in northern Hebei Province bordering the Inner Mongolia Autonomous Region. It was once a barren land but is now home to 75,000 hectares of forest, thanks to the efforts made by generations of forestry workers in the past 55 years. Every year the forest purifies 137 million cubic meters of water and absorbs 747,000 tons of carbon dioxide. The forest produces 12 billion yuan (around US\$1.8 billion) of ecological value annually, according to the Chinese Academy of Forestry.



# CONTENTS

CHINDIA NEWS / P.02

## OPENING ESSAY

### DEEPEN EXCHANGE AND MUTUAL TRUST AND BROADEN CHINA-INDIA COOPERATION

04

New Blueprint, New Opportunities / p.08

Dialogue and Understanding Brings Win-win Cooperation / p.11

## COMMENT

Promoting Chinese Culture in  
the New Era / p.14

14th Five-Year Plan: A  
Continuation of Development  
Momentum / p.16

China's Economic Resilience  
Offers Hope Amid Global  
Uncertainty / p.18

China's Development Priorities  
for the Next Stage / p.20

A Vision for Building a  
Prosperous and Responsible  
Global Nation / p.22

## STRATEGY

China-India Cooperation in the  
Post-Pandemic Era / p.24

China-India Economic and  
Trade Cooperation in New  
Circumstances / p.27

## TREND

Where Will U.S.-India  
Relations Go Under a Biden  
Administration? / p.34

China and India Meeting  
Halfway: What Gets in the  
Way? / p.38

## CASE STUDY

My Tryst with Chinese  
Odyssey / p.42

## DISCUSSION

Projecting the Future of  
China-India Relations / p.46

People-to-People  
Exchanges in Retrospect  
and Prospect / p.50

## DATA

How China Pursues  
Innovation-driven  
Development / p.54

## YOUNG VOICES

Cultural Exchange Never  
Ends: My Indissoluble Bond  
with India/China / p.58

## COLUMN

Xi'an: Land of  
Opportunities / p.62

## BOOK

Look East, But Look Harder:  
India, China, and Southeast  
Asia / p.64

## CHINA-INDIA DIALOGUE

**ADMINISTRATIVE AGENCY:** 主管:  
China International Publishing Group (中国对外出版发行事业局)  
**PUBLISHER:** 主办、出版:  
China Pictorial 人民画报社  
**ADDRESS:** 地址:  
33 Chegongzhuang Xilu, Haidian, Beijing 100048, China 北京市海淀区车公庄西路33号

**EDITORIAL BOARD:** 编委会:  
Li Xia, 李霞;  
He Peng, Bao Linfu, Yu Jia, 贺鹏、鲍林富、于佳  
**EDITOR-IN-CHIEF:** Li Xia 总编辑: 李霞  
**EDITORIAL DIRECTORS:** 编辑部主任:  
Qiao Zhenqi, Yin Xing 乔振祺、殷星  
**OPERATIONS DIRECTOR:** Zhao Yue 业务总监: 赵月  
**OPERATIONS SUPERVISOR:** Hu Zhoumeng 业务主管: 胡周萌  
**ENGLISH EDITORS:** 英文定稿:  
Xu Mingqiang, Liu Haile 徐明强、刘海乐  
**EDITORIAL CONSULTANTS:** 语言顾问:  
Scott Huntsman 苏格  
**EDITORS AND TRANSLATORS:** 编辑、翻译:  
Bian Xiuhong, Gong Haiying, 卞秀红、龚海莹、  
Hu Zhoumeng, Liu Haile, Li Zhuoxi, 胡周萌、刘海乐、李卓希、  
Li Yiqi, Wang Shuya, 李艺琦、王舒雅、  
Xu Shuyuan, Yin Xing, 许舒园、殷星、  
Zhao Yue, Zhou Xin 赵月、周昕  
**EDITOR-VISUALS & PHOTOGRAPHS:** Li Zhuoxi 视觉编辑: 李卓希  
**DESIGNED BY:** 设计:  
Alinea Productions, Stanisa Vebse Shineta 林美珠

**REMITTANCE TO:** Publishing and Distribution Department, China Pictorial 人民画报社出版发行部  
**TELEPHONE:** +86-10-68412166 电话: +86-10-68412660  
**POSTAL CODE:** 100048 邮编: 100048

**ACADEMIC PARTNERS:** 学术合作单位:  
Chinese Association for South Asian Studies 中国南亚学会  
Observer Research Foundation (Mumbai) 印度观察家基金会 (孟买)

**LEGAL ADVISER:** Yue Cheng 法律顾问: 岳成  
**PRINTING:** 印刷:  
Toppan Leefung Changcheng Printing (Beijing) Co., Ltd. 北京利丰雅高长城印刷有限公司

**OVERSEAS DISTRIBUTION:**  
China International Book Trading Corporation (Guoji Shudian), 35 Chegongzhuang Xilu, P.O. Box 399, Beijing 100048, China

In China, subscriptions are available at any post office. Subscription and distribution agency in Hong Kong, Macao, and Taiwan:

Hong Kong Peace Book Company, Ltd.  
17/F., Paramount Building, 12 Ka Yip Street,  
Chai Wan, Hong Kong

**CHINA STANDARD PERIODICAL NUMBER:**  
ISSN 2096-2614  
CN10-1433/D

**ADVERTISING BUSINESS LICENSE:**  
J.H.G.S. Advertising Business Registration No.20170199

**PRICING:**  
¥20 / India ₹ 200

VOL.24 NO.1~2 | JANUARY - APRIL 2021

Visit *China-India Dialogue* on the Internet:  
[www.chinaindiadialogue.com](http://www.chinaindiadialogue.com)  
Follow us on:



## CONSULTANTS OF THE CHINA-INDIA DIALOGUE ADVISORY BOARD

**Alka Acharya** Professor and former director of the Institute of Chinese Studies, Delhi

**Dhaval D Desai**, Senior Fellow & Vice President of Observer Research Foundation

**Hu Shisheng** Director of the Institute of South and Southeast Asian and Oceanian Studies under China Institutes of Contemporary International Relations

**Li Daokui** Economics professor and director of the Center for China in the World Economy at Tsinghua University

**Lin Minwang** Professor at the Institute of International Studies at Fudan University

**Ma Jiali** Deputy Director of the Center for International Strategic Studies of China Reform Forum

**Ma Weigong** Consultant of the National Institute of Strategic Communication at Peking University and former deputy editor-in-chief of China Radio International

**Mukul Sanwal** Former Policy Adviser to the Executive Director of United Nations Environment Programme

**Pravin Sawhney** Editor of *Force* Newsmagazine

**Sun Shihai** Former director of the Chinese Association for South Asian Studies and former deputy director of the National Institute of International Strategy under the Chinese Academy of Social Sciences

**Sun Yuxi** Former Special Envoy of the Chinese Foreign Ministry on Afghan Affairs and former

Chinese ambassador to India

**Sudheendra Kulkarni**, Founder of Forum for New South Asia

**Tarun Vijay** Former member of Parliament and president of Parliamentary Group on India China Friendship

**T. C. A. Rangachari** Former Indian Ambassador to France and Germany, dealt with India's relations with China for over 15 years in the Ministry of External Affairs

**Yang Yifeng** Director of the Hindi Department of the Center for Programs in Asian and African Languages, China Media Group

**Zhang Wenmu** Professor of the Center for Strategic Studies at Beihang University

## China, India hold 10th corps commander-level meeting

The 10th round of the China-India Corps Commander-Level Meeting was held on February 20 on the Chinese side of the Moldo-Chushul border meeting point.

The two sides praised the smooth completion of disengagement of frontline troops in the Bangong Lake area, calling it a significant step forward that provided a good basis for resolution of persisting issues along the Line of Actual Control (LAC) in the western

sector of China-India border areas.

Both sides agreed to follow the important consensus of state leaders, continue communication and dialogue, stabilize and control the situation on the ground, and push for a mutually acceptable resolution of remaining issues in a steady and orderly manner to jointly maintain peace and tranquility in the border areas, according to a document issued after the meeting.

## Phone conversation between Wang Yi and Subrahmanyam Jaishankar

A telephone conversation between Chinese State Councilor and Foreign Minister Wang Yi and Indian External Affairs Minister Subrahmanyam Jaishankar was held on February 25.

Wang Yi said that China and India should firmly follow the path of mutual trust and cooperation between neighboring major countries, and avoid straying into suspicion and distrust or falling back into negative retrogression.

Wang also noted that the two countries need to properly handle the border issue to prevent it from relegating bilateral ties to a vicious cycle.

He advised China and India to look in the general direction of two major emerging economies working together to achieve

development, which will create better conditions to improve bilateral ties and promote pragmatic cooperation.

Jaishankar called the recent disengagement of troops in the Bangong Lake area an important outcome of earnest implementation by both sides of the consensus reached by the two foreign ministers in Moscow.

India seeks to strengthen dialogue and consultation with China, complete disengagement of troops in other regions as soon as possible, push for de-escalation of border tensions, and maintain peace and tranquility in the border areas, he said.

The two countries agreed to establish a hotline to exchange views on various matters.



## China and India hold 21st Meeting of Working Mechanism for Consultation & Coordination on Border Affairs

On March 12, Director-General of the Department of Boundary and Ocean Affairs of the Foreign Ministry Hong Liang and Additional Secretary of the East Asia Division of the Ministry of External Affairs of India Naveen Srivastava co-chaired the 21st Meeting of Working Mechanism for

## Wang Yi answers questions on China-India relations during NPC session

Chinese State Councilor and Foreign Minister Wang Yi addressed the media on March 7 during the annual National People's Congress and took questions on China-India relations.

He suggested China and India seek to help each other succeed instead of undercutting each other and strengthen cooperation instead of harboring suspicion.

The China-India relationship determines how the world's two largest developing countries will get along and pursue development and rejuvenation together, Wang said.

As ancient civilizations, neighbors, and major emerging economies each with a population of more than one billion, China and India share extensive common interests and have enormous potential for cooperation, he said.

Consultation and Coordination on China-India Border Affairs via video. Representatives from departments handling diplomacy, national defense, and migration in both countries attended the meeting.

The two sides praised disengagement of frontline troops in the Bangong Lake area, and conducted candid and in-depth exchange of views on resolving other issues in the China-India border areas. Both sides agreed to implement the five-point consensus reached

by their foreign ministers in Moscow and embrace the spirit of the phone conversation the two foreign ministers held on February 25, 2021, to stabilize and control the border situation and avoid relapse. The two sides agreed to continue dialogue and communication via diplomatic and military channels, move up the next senior commanders, meeting to further de-escalate the situation on the ground, and jointly maintain the hard-earned peace and tranquility in border areas.

## Chinese Ambassador Sun Weidong holds virtual dialogue with Indian scholar

On April 2, 2021, Chinese Ambassador to India Sun Weidong conducted a virtual dialogue with Sudheendra Kulkarni, a well-known Indian writer and media commentator.

Sun said that China and India are the only two major developing countries in the world with a population over one billion. Many of the problems they both face cannot be found elsewhere. With both poised at a crucial stage of development and revitalization, development is the top priority of both. It is natural for neighboring countries to have some differences. The trick is managing differences through dialogue and consultation and devising peaceful solutions.

Kurkani sent congratulations on the centennial of the founding of the Communist Party of China. He said that India and China should establish a new world order and live up to their commitment to maintain peace. 

# Deepen Exchange and Mutual Trust and Broaden China-India Cooperation

By Lu Cairong



As two emerging major countries, China and India can embark on a path of good neighborliness on the basis of extensive and in-depth cultural exchange and mutual learning.

**F**or more than 2,000 years, the Chinese civilization and Indian civilization have been learning from each other in the fields of religion, culture, art, sculpture, architecture and more. The eastward spread of Buddhism heralded a particularly brilliant period of cultural exchange between China and

India, producing countless relics from the communication of civilizations between the two countries. Since early modern times, the two countries have supported each other and formed a profound friendship in the process of achieving national independence and national liberation. In the middle of last century, China and India joined other

Asian countries to advocate the Five Principles of Peaceful Coexistence and made historic contributions to the establishment of a new type of international relations.

The 21st century has already been deemed the “Asian Century.” This is a consensus in the international community. Deng Xiaoping said that only when China



March 29, 2021: Locals celebrate Holi in Gauhati, India. Xinhua

and India both become developed would there be a true “Asian Century.” Jawaharlal Nehru said that India and China coming together would be a big event for Asia and the world at large. As the two largest countries in Asia, China and India shoulder historic responsibility and the mission of the times to maintain peace and stability in Asia and to nurture the region’s prosperity and development. Luckily, in the new century, China-India relations have had considerable progress.

Today’s world is undergoing profound changes unseen in a century, and the COVID-19 pandemic has accelerated the evolution of such changes. As two major developing countries and emerging economies, China and India are important forces driving the process of world

multi-polarization. In the new situation, the two countries should strengthen strategic cooperation to maintain global stability and development, reinforce practical cooperation to inject impetus into their common development, and enhance academic and think tank exchange to learn from each other’s development experience. I would like to take this opportunity to share with you some of my views on cooperation between China and India.

First, peaceful cooperation is a common vision for China and India that will produce win-win results.

China and India are both ancient civilizations and share common historical experiences. Both have the present arduous task of realizing their own development and improving their peoples’ livelihood. The two countries

also share the mission of maintaining peace and stability in Asia and promoting global development and prosperity. Deepening bilateral cooperation in various fields and safeguarding Sino-Indian friendship as well as peace, stability, development, and prosperity in Asia are not just in the common interests of the two countries and the two peoples, but are the common responsibility of both sides.

In recent years, Chinese President Xi Jinping and Indian Prime Minister Narendra Modi have had frequent contacts, established good relations, and reached important consensus on creating a bright future with mutual benefits and common development for both countries. We know that the Chinese and Indian governments and peoples have the wisdom and ability to solve





Silk products from two leading enterprises in Qianjiang District, Chongqing Municipality, are sold to a number of countries including India, the UK, Japan, and Hungary. IC

the difficulties the two countries face and will jointly make contributions to world peace and development.

Second, opening up and connectivity are the right way forward for China and India to develop hand in hand.

The international landscape is changing. Although peace and development remain the dominant theme of the world, trade protectionism and unilateralism are looming large, and the trend of anti-globalization is on the rise. As representatives of emerging countries, China and India need to adhere to opening up and connectivity, deepen pragmatic cooperation, expand common interests, and jointly contribute to the development of the world economy.

As President Xi Jinping pointed out, as two neighboring major countries, China and India can and should move together towards friendly cooperation.

The economies of the two countries are highly complementary, and learning from each other's advantages will be the top priority for the success of bilateral economic cooperation. It is also inevitable that the two countries would work together to respond to the international situation of profound changes unseen in a century.

Third, reform and innovation are a good starting point for China and India to adapt to the changes of the times.

As the two largest emerging economies in Asia, China and India have great potential and willingness for cooperation on innovation. Aligning with the trends of the times and implementing cooperation on innovation are important topics worth thinking about and studying by scholars and researchers in both countries. Both the Chinese and Indian economies need to go global, but they both face global competition in which Western

powers dominate. In the era of information featuring cloud computing, the Internet of Things and big data, the two countries should grasp development opportunities, build a super international platform for cooperation on innovation, realize seamless connection between the two major markets, unleash new development potential, and empower the two most populous neighboring countries in the world to achieve common development through high-level cooperation in innovation.

Over the past 70 years, China-India relations have endured an extraordinary path of development. We need to make greater efforts, build greater consensus, and find more ways to deepen cooperation between the two countries. Strengthening communication and cooperation among think tanks and carrying out extensive people-to-people and cultural exchanges can play an important role in promoting bilateral cooperation. To this end, I would like to make three suggestions:

First, think tanks in China and India should provide intellectual support for other countries in opening up and cooperation around the world. In the face of an international situation featuring major changes and adjustments, think tanks in China and India should play an active role in promoting communication and exchange between the two countries and facilitating both sides to jointly cope with regional and international challenges. Think tanks should



become a window for the two countries to enhance mutual understanding, a bridge to build up mutual trust, and a link to promote cooperation. We should draw more lessons from history, analyze the general trends of development, study the common problems facing China and India, and contribute to enhanced mutual trust by utilizing the wisdom and philosophy of Eastern civilizations.

Second, China-India

regard each other as countries full of opportunities of development, align their development strategies, strengthen exchange of experience in state governance, and work hand in hand to pursue the Chinese Dream and the Indian Dream. Stable and rapid development of China and India through in-depth cooperation will certainly boost the common development of Asia and the world at large.

**Opening up and cooperation are still the general trend of today's world, and mutual benefits and win-win results are still the shared aspiration of all people.**

economic cooperation should be a driving force for the common development of the world. China is now seeking steady economic growth, and it is expected to overcome the adverse impact of COVID-19. The completion of building a moderately prosperous society in all respects and realization of the first Centenary Goal are just around the corner.

India's economy is developing rapidly, making steady progress towards the goal of building a "new India." The strong development of China and India is possible because they adhere to their own development paths, continue to deepen reform and opening up, and seek ways to benefit from the general trend of peaceful development in Asia. The two nations should

Third, people-to-people and cultural exchanges between China and India should serve as a source of vitality for countries around the world to learn from each other. Both China and India have long histories, brilliant civilizations and splendid cultures, so they should rise above differences in language and culture, historical tradition, and political system to explore a "shared language," and carry out extensive people-to-people and cultural exchanges. It will strengthen mutual learning on a larger scale and at a higher level, and effectively promote dialogue and exchange among diverse civilizations and cultures around the world.

In recent years, the China International Publishing Group (CIPG) has leveraged its advantages in cultural

communication and people-to-people exchange to organize a series of exchange activities between China and India. The multilingual magazine *China-India Dialogue* has become an important conduit for enhancing mutual understanding and friendship between the two peoples. The "Beautiful India Beautiful China" online photo exhibition, recently organized by China Pictorial Publications under the CIPG, marked a concrete measure to optimize the CIPG's advantages in international communication and cultural exchange. We remain committed to providing multilingual and comprehensive platforms for telling stories about people-to-people and cultural exchanges between China and India, and making contributions to inspiring joint efforts between the two countries for a better world.

Opening up and cooperation are still the general trend of today's world, and mutual benefits and win-win results are still the shared aspiration of all people. If China and India strengthen their confidence, work together, and move forward hand in hand, we will certainly make new and greater contributions to promoting the peaceful development of Asia and the world and facilitating economic globalization to deliver benefits to humanity. 🌐

—  
The author is vice president of the China International Publishing Group. This article is an excerpt from his speech at the China-India Think Tank Online Forum.

# New Blueprint, New Opportunities

By Tang Guocai



Let us stand firm, join hands with the people, and push China-India local cooperation to take a new lead.

**T**he fifth plenary session of the 19th Central Committee of the Communist Party of China (CPC) adopted the 14th Five-Year Plan (2021-2025) for National Economic and Social Development and the Long-Range Objectives Through the Year 2035, which is extremely significant for sound and sustainable development and long-time stability for not only China,

but also the neighboring region including India as well as the entire world.

## **DUAL CIRCULATION: SELF-RELIANCE PLUS OPENING UP**

“Dual circulation” is one of the hottest catchwords from the conference. China will speed up the construction of its large internal circulation as the main form, and promote a new structure of

domestic and international dual circulation development, with a focus on high quality. In the past, the market and resources of China’s economy were both reliant on the external market. In recent years, anti-globalization winds have been accelerating and some countries are pursuing unilateralism and protectionism. Under such circumstances, we must respond by developing the



January 19, 2021: The ceremony for opening the “Belt and Road” Regional Comprehensive Economic Partnership (RCEP) lines at Qingdao Port under Shandong Port is held. The new routes — EMC Southeast Asia line, WHL/IAL Vietnam line and WHL/IAL/ZIM/KMTC India line — will link Qingdao Port with regions and countries along the Belt and Road and with partner countries of the RCEP. IC

domestic market to boost economic development. On the other hand, China’s dual circulation strategy is by no means based on a closed-door model of domestic economic circulation. For example, the Regional Comprehensive Economic Partnership (RCEP) agreement brings light and hope to people amid challenges. China is also seeking to participate in the Comprehensive and Progressive Trans-Pacific Partnership (CPTPP) pact. China has sent a clear signal that its self-reliant strategy will usher in wider opening up to the outside world.

India is also emphasizing self-reliance, which coincides with China’s policy. It must be pointed out that independent development and opening up are not contradictory. Opening up contributes to further development, while closed-door

policies will definitely lead to backward development. China’s anti-pandemic achievements and the “dual circulation” development structure will bring about great motivation for a quick recovery and the sustainable economic development of India and the whole region. It is expected that India will seize the opportunity with an open mind and share the fruits of China’s high-quality economic development. China has always remained open and positive towards closer economic cooperation with India and has recently started to import large quantities of Indian rice (basmati rice). We do hope that India will act in the same way, provide a fair, just and non-discriminatory business environment for investors from all countries including China, and actively integrate in regional cooperation.

## RETURNING TO MULTILATERALISM: TREND OF THE TIMES

Multilateralism has been the loud and firm demand of the international community including China and India. The Fifth Plenary Session of the 19th CPC Central Committee clearly declared that China will pursue multilateralism, oppose unilateral bullying, and work for a community of mankind with a shared future. President Xi Jinping recently reiterated in the BRICS, APEC and G20 summits that China stands for equity and justice, endeavors to safeguard the UN-centered international system and the international order underpinned by international law, and champions the concept of common, comprehensive, cooperative and sustainable security.

Facts have proven that proclaiming extreme nationalism, stigmatizing China, attempting to besiege China, hyping the border issues and instigating disharmony between China and India will inevitably be punished by the people and by history. During the 19th meeting of the Council of Heads of Government (Prime Ministers) of the Shanghai Cooperation Organisation (SCO) member countries recently hosted by India, the SCO members reached many important points of consensus on pragmatic cooperation, unanimously agreed to promote the “Shanghai spirit” and work together for regional development and

stability, very much welcoming development.

### SERVING THE PEOPLE, PUTTING LIFE FIRST

China has consistently stressed that people's lives and health should be the first priority, and all efforts should be made to control the COVID-19 epidemic. However, some Western politicians have sacrificed thousands of people's lives for election politics and self-interest. President Xi Jinping said at the BRICS summit that Chinese enterprises are cooperating with Russian and Brazilian partners to carry out phase III clinical trials of vaccines.

We are also willing to conduct relevant cooperation with India. China has officially joined COVAX. China and India are the most populous as well as the largest developing countries in the world. We also have the greatest responsibility to control the epidemic, thus we must work together to practice the concept of putting people first and cherishing life.

In fact, with the effective control of the epidemic in China, growing numbers of Indian citizens are trying to return to China for business and studies. At the same time, many Chinese enterprises and students in Mumbai, Pune and Bengaluru have overcome difficulties and restrictions to work for local development. This shows the great resilience and conviction of our peoples. Facing the epidemic, Jackie Chan and Aamir Khan have each recorded videos and encouraged the people of



March 29, 2021: Women pick blanket flowers in a farm in the suburban area of Bengaluru, India. China is the world's largest flower production hub, an important flower consumer as well as a major flower importer and exporter. There is great potential for flower trade between China and India. VCG

China and India, which best translates the friendship of our peoples.

### FOCUSING ON THE LONG RUN AND OPENING A NEW CHAPTER

China's 14th Five-Year Plan and the Objectives Through the Year 2035 fully highlight foresight and solid prudence, and commit to sharing mutual benefits with the international community. Similarly, India is aiming to achieve a US\$5 trillion GDP goal by 2025. Maharashtra has also formulated its Vision 2030 plan. China and India are both ancient civilizations and share common wisdom and philosophy, such as harmony in diversity and sharing weal and woe. The epidemic will eventually be over. Whether in the past, present, or future, China and India are interdependent in promoting development and safeguarding the livelihood of their people.

This year is crucial for the world to walk out of the

epidemic and get back on track. In the past year, China bashing might have prevailed in the media, but in the new year, China study and cooperation shall prevail. China and India have just commemorated the 70th anniversary of diplomatic ties, and we sincerely hope that bilateral relations will turn a fresh page in the new year. Mumbai in Maharashtra and the southwest coast are the economic center and cultural hub of India as well as the pearl of the Indian Ocean. Against the backdrop of the epidemic, Maharashtra is still attracting investment and its development continues to take the lead in India. Let us stand firm, join hands with the people, and push China-India local cooperation to take a new lead. 🇨🇳

The author is Consul General of the People's Republic of China in Mumbai. This article is an excerpt from his speech at the China-India Think Tank Online Forum.



# Dialogue and Understanding Brings Win-win Cooperation

By Sudheendra Kulkarni



If India and China work together in friendship and cooperation, the wisdom of our two great civilizations can surely help create a new and better world order.

**F**rom October 26 to 29, 2020, the Fifth Plenary Session of the 19th Central Committee of the Communist Party of China (CPC) was held in Beijing. The session adopted the CPC Central Committee's proposals for the formulation of the 14th Five-Year Plan (2021-2025) for National Economic and Social

Development and the Long-Range Objectives Through the Year 2035. These proposals have many important lessons for India.

China's recent success in complete eradication of abject poverty is highly relevant not only for India but for other developing countries in the world. Similarly, India too has native strengths in several

others, which China can learn from. There is a lot of synergy in our strengths and needs, which can yield win-win benefits to both Indian and Chinese economies.

In my opinion, for India and China, pursuing economic development through mutually beneficial cooperation and learning from each other through people-to-people



April 8, 2019: Local artists perform to celebrate the Mewar Festival, marking the beginning of spring, in Udaipur, Rajasthan, India. IC

and cultural exchanges are of great importance. The two aspects are inter-connected and mutually supportive.

Regular and broad-based people-to-people contacts form the strongest basis for enduring friendship between our countries. When more and more Indians and Chinese people meet and interact on more and more occasions, they develop robust cultural linkages. Culture brings minds, hearts and souls closer. The language of the human mind, heart and soul has a unique vocabulary and grammar, which are common to all the thousands of languages and dialects spoken around the globe. This language of the mind, heart and soul — which translates into the great

works of arts and culture, music and dance, cinema and sculpture, painting and architecture, and also magnificent products of science and technology — is easily understood by people everywhere. When this language is “spoken” and “heard,” its beauty melts mutual misconceptions and promotes mutual understanding. Understanding dissipates distrust and creates mutual empathy, respect and trust. When empathy, respect and trust become the building blocks of the relations between India and China, the resultant structure will be so strong that it can withstand any crisis or calamity.

Let me give a few personal examples. All of us know that Buddhism forms the strongest historical and spiritual link

between India and China. When I first went to China in 2003, I had an opportunity to visit the White Horse Temple in Luoyang City, Henan Province. It is believed to be “the cradle of Chinese Buddhism.” It was built in the year 68 AD to mark the arrival of two Indian monks named Kasyapa Matanga and Dharmaratna. I was filled with awe when I saw the temple and the large number of magnificent Buddhist caves in the surrounding hills. I asked myself in wonderment: “How did these monks travel all the way from Central India to this distant place in Henan Province, at a time when there were no mechanized modes of transportation, no mail service, no telephone and no internet?”

I experienced even greater amazement when I went, many years later, to Xi’an City in Shaanxi Province. The Giant Wild Goose Pagoda in this city, built during the Tang Dynasty (618-907), houses the priceless manuscripts in Sanskrit that the great Chinese monk, scholar and traveler Xuanzang brought with him from his 16-year pilgrimage to India in the seventh century. Xuanzang traveled through most parts of South Asia, covering over 10,000 kilometers, before returning to Xi’an. This historic pagoda is where Chinese President Xi Jinping welcomed visiting Indian Prime Minister Narendra Modi on his first official visit to China in May 2015.

I happened to visit Xi’an a month later. Realizing that I am an Indian, a young

Chinese artist came up to me and handed me an album of beautiful sketches. She said to me, through a Chinese interpreter, “I was very happy that the Indian Prime Minister visited our city. He was welcomed with great warmth by the people of Xi’an. I have created some sketches of your prime minister. May I request you to send him this album, along with my letter to him, when you go back to India?”

I was most pleasantly surprised by this unusual request. Upon my return to Mumbai, I requested the consul general to translate the letter into English. I then sent the artist’s album, along with her original letter and its translation into English, to our prime minister in New Delhi. Some days later, I was equally pleasantly surprised when Prime minister Modi posted a nice message about it on Twitter and its Chinese equivalent Weibo.

Let me give a third personal example. As many people in India know, the Hindi film *Dangal* featuring Bollywood’s superstar Aamir Khan became a mega hit in China. It is the story of a man in rural India who trains his two daughters to become international champions in wrestling. I had watched the movie in India and liked it very much. But when I had an opportunity to visit China in 2017, I wanted to watch it again in a Beijing theatre and see for myself the Chinese audience’s response to the film. After the movie was over, I asked a young Chinese woman sitting next to me,

who happened to speak good English, “How did you find the movie?” I was startled by her reply: “Great father. Great nation. I liked the movie very much. It tells a humane story, which the Chinese people, especially young people like me, can relate to.”

Indian visitors to China, or Chinese visitors to India, can give numerous such examples that reveal our admiration for the other country’s achievements. When millions of Indians and Chinese develop mutual admiration, it becomes a guarantor for abiding friendship. Even when differences arise between the two nations, friendship and goodwill at the people’s level helps governments to resolve them amicably. No less important, such people-to-people friendship and goodwill will frustrate the efforts of hostile forces in foreign countries to sow the seeds of conflict between India and China. Furthermore, India-China friendship and cooperation will help resolve other conflicts in South Asia, such as the longstanding dispute between India and Pakistan.

Unfortunately, the number of Indians traveling to China, and Chinese traveling to India is far less than the potential for tourism between our two neighbours. Our mass media do not present much information about each other. This must change.

How can we promote people-to-people contacts on a large scale? One of the surest ways is to promote economic development

through mutually beneficial cooperation. Trade, commerce, joint-venture businesses will encourage millions of Indians and Chinese to establish direct physical and digital contacts. Undoubtedly, China has progressed far ahead of India in many sectors of the economy, especially in critical technologies of the fourth industrial revolution. Indian friends of China especially admire the two most beautiful things that contemporary China set to achieve. One was the complete elimination of poverty at the end of 2020. The second is protection of the environment and moving from an industrial civilization to an ecological civilization. Thus, there is immense need and immeasurable scope for India and China to work together.

In conclusion, there are a thousand reasons why India and China should be friends, and not a single real reason why we should be enemies. If India and China work together in friendship and cooperation, the wisdom of our two great civilizations can surely help create a new and better world order of peace, security, development and progress for the entire global population. In the wise words of President Xi, we can truly build a community of shared future for humanity. ■

—  
The author is the founder of the Forum for New South Asia. This article is an excerpt from his speech at the China-India Think Tank Online Forum.

# Promoting Chinese Culture in the New Era

By B. R. Deepak

China's thriving cultural development also translates into the dissemination and acceptance of Chinese culture across the continents, which depends on its appeal or attraction.

Calling “culture” the “soul” of a country and a nation, Chinese President Xi Jinping, also general secretary of the Communist Party of China (CPC) Central Committee, rightly pointed out in his report to the 19th CPC National Congress that “Our country will thrive only if our culture thrives, and our nation will be strong only if our culture is strong.” Since China's path, system and theory remain essentially socialist, with Chinese characteristics, development of socialist culture with core socialist values will be at the center of China's cultural development in the new era.

In sync with this document, the development of advanced socialist culture is underlined in the work report of the Chinese government delivered during the 2021 Two Sessions. Over the past year, China has promoted the development of major symbols of Chinese culture through different phases of Chinese history such as the Great Wall, Grand Canal, Long March, and Yellow River national cultural parks. The country also plans to enact a program for national tourism and recreation from 2021 to 2035 and promote the implementation of the paid vacation system.

Preparations for the 2022 Beijing Winter Olympics and Paralympics will be stepped up. Construction of major cultural facilities such as the northern section of the Palace Museum and the National Art Museum of China will also be advanced. In other words, China intends to roll out cultural services as public goods so as to make them available to larger sections of the Chinese society.

The thriving cultural development also translates into the dissemination and acceptance of Chinese culture across the continents, which depends on its appeal or attraction. Across its long history, China has





October 31, 2020: Visitors at an exhibition on the culture of China's grand canals at the National Museum of China in Beijing. The exhibits, supplemented by visual and interactive technologies, described the excavation, navigation, transport management, engineering technology and intangible cultural heritage of the grand canals. IC

## Different cultures have been created by the circulation of ideas, people, technologies, etc. between the people of various regions in the process of historical development.

created a splendid civilization in the form of architecture, philosophy, Chinese characters, Taichi, traditional Chinese medicine, opera, so on and so forth.

Culture connects people. It fosters people-to-people bond and exchange. Moreover, different cultures have been created by the circulation of ideas, people, technologies,

etc. between the people of various regions in the process of historical development. Therefore, one may find imprints of one cultural system on the other, demonstrating that cultural dialogue has given birth to innovations and new ideas, and in turn strengthened friendly relations between countries. Cultural dialogue between

India, China and Central Asia in ancient times is all about this cultural connection.

In order to let a culture thrive, one must “let a hundred flowers bloom and a hundred schools of thought contend.” Needless to say, this has happened during the Axial Age all over the world when great cultural icons thrived including Confucius, Laozi, Mozi, Xunzi, Han Feizi and many more. This remains important to the development of Chinese culture. 

*The author is a professor with the Centre for Chinese and South-East Asian Studies, Jawaharlal Nehru University, New Delhi, India.*

# 14th Five-Year Plan: A Continuation of Development Momentum

By Taling Tene Rodrigue

China's 14th FYP refocuses on some of the most pressing needs of the people and nations that would like to work hand in hand with China to build a prosperous world with a shared economy.

In recent decades, China has engaged in a new development model and innovative path of governance that has brought positive changes to the world in general, and improved the livelihoods of the Chinese people in particular. In its traditional Five-Year Plan (FYP), the country usually outlines the basic principles and philosophy for its development during the upcoming quinquennium. While highlighting the main progress made in the 13th FYP period (2016-2020), this year's two sessions held in Beijing deliberated and discussed the 14th FYP (2021-2025). The new plan focuses on the most urgent challenges of the time.

From an African perspective, the proposals for mapping out a blueprint for China's development in the next five years have the following five points that particularly drew the attention of millions of young Africans for whom China's opening up brought a breath of new air to revitalize Africa.

## CHINA TO PROMOTE ECOLOGICAL CIVILIZATION

The continent of Africa has been one of the most affected by climate change. While we all agree with scientists that climate change is mostly triggered by human activities, only few main industrial powerhouses (polluters)

have agreed to cut down their carbon emissions. According to China's development proposals, it will make have carbon emissions peak before 2030. Its concept of "ecological civilization" sounds like the perfect attitude that should be adopted by responsible nations that aim to build a strong, modern and eco-friendly civilization for the benefit of this generation and the ones to come. China could be a model for the modern world if it fulfills its pledges on green development goals by 2030.

## CHINA TO ENHANCE PEOPLE- CENTERED GOVERNANCE

Despite undeniable



March 14, 2021: Farmers harvest pineapples in Shan'gen County of Wangning City in China's southernmost Hainan Province. Due to decreasing import from international markets caused by the pandemic, the price of Hainan's pineapple has doubled. Local farmers have shaken off poverty by planting pineapples. IC

achievements made by China in lifting millions of people out of poverty, and restoring the dignity of hundreds of thousands of victims of past aggressions as well as enhancing the rule of law in its society, some Western media outlets have been voicing criticism of China under the guise of "human rights," interfering in China's internal affairs. The proposals of the Communist Party of China stressed "adhering to a people-centered approach, adopting a new vision for development, deepening reform and opening up, and adhering to systematic concepts." To improve people's wellbeing and enhance people-centered governance, China is committed to safeguarding human rights.

### **CHINA TO BUILD AN OPEN ECONOMY AT A HIGHER LEVEL**

China is one of the world's

biggest market economies. China's opening-up policy has significantly lifted the developing world's economy and provided alternative markets for African economies. Even though concerns for the intellectual properties of foreign enterprises operating in China have been raised, China has significantly improved intellectual property protection and "will enhance the level of opening up, promote trade and investment liberalization and facilitation, and strengthen the comprehensive competitiveness of foreign trade," according to its development proposals.

### **CHINA TO JOINTLY BOOST HIGH-QUALITY CONSTRUCTION OF THE BELT AND ROAD**

The Belt and Road construction has been a global initiative since its inception with regards to the countries that have signed up to be part of it. Belt and Road countries around the world are looking for a "mutually beneficial cooperation system for industrial and supply chains, to enhance international cooperation on capacity and expand bilateral trade and investment," just as mentioned in China's 14th FYP document.

### **CHINA PLEDGES AN ACTIVE ROLE IN REFORMING GLOBAL ECONOMIC GOVERNANCE**

As the world's less developed continent, Africa urgently needs reform of the global economic system. For

African countries to reach their development goals set in the African Union's Agenda 2063, there is an urgent need for foreign direct investment (FDI) in the continent for African countries to have a bigger share in the global market system. China is already the biggest investor in Africa, followed by the United States and France. According to the FDI Intelligence and EY Africa Attractiveness Report 2019, China was the largest investor in terms of total capital, investing more than twice the amount of France or the United States in 2019.

Africa is on the path to secure its rightful place in the global economic governance system. Therefore, China's pledge that "China will make more efforts to defend the multilateral trading system, contribute to the reforms of the World Trade Organization and help make the global economic governance system fairer and more rational" is welcome.

While being a logical continuation of the previous FYP, China's 14th FYP re-focuses on some of the most pressing needs of the people and nations that would like to work hand in hand with China to build a prosperous world with a shared economy. 📌

*The author is a research fellow at the Institute of African Studies and vice director of the Center for Francophone Studies, Institute of African Studies, Zhejiang Normal University.*

# China's Economic Resilience Offers Hope Amid Global Uncertainty

By Santosh Pai

The goals China has set for itself also have the potential to inspire other developing countries as they emerge from the pandemic and look for a new direction.

**T**he report on the work of the Chinese government delivered at the Fourth Session of the 13th National People's Congress on March 5, 2021 reflects China's economic resilience in face of the COVID-19 pandemic. It also outlines the new priorities of China during the 14th Five-Year Plan period (2021-2025) in the post-pandemic era.

Perhaps the most significant indicator of China's confidence in its economic recovery was the announcement of a GDP growth target of more than 6 percent for 2021. This was made possible due to a slew of measures adopted in 2020, which included a reduced burden

of 2.6 trillion yuan (about US\$400 billion) in tax and fee cuts for market entities, infusion of 1.5 trillion yuan (about US\$230 billion) from financial institutions into the real economy and addition of 11.86 million urban jobs. Despite staying away from a big-bang stimulus package, China managed to bring down the urban unemployment rate to 5.2 percent, lift 5.51 million people from poverty and register a 2.3 percent GDP growth rate by the end of 2020. Such a resilient performance has resulted in China becoming the world's only major economy to achieve growth last year.

Keeping in line with the "dual circulation" policy

initiated in 2020, the work report represented directional continuity by retaining focus on the domestic economy and industry. The vulnerable sections of the economy, namely the micro, small and medium enterprises and self-employed individuals, received bulk of the attention during the pandemic. Nearly six million additional people received subsistence allowances or extreme poverty aid, and more than eight million temporary assistance grants were disbursed. Going forward, China plans to expand domestic consumption through an investment drive that includes 3.65 trillion yuan (about US\$560 billion) of local government



special-purpose bonds and 610 billion yuan (about US\$94 billion) worth of investment from the central government.

Technological innovation was another area that emerged as a strong priority in 2020, with breakthroughs such as the Tianwen-1 Mars mission, the Chang'e-5 lunar mission and the "Fendouzhe" (Striver) deep-sea manned submersible. Expenditure of the central government on basic research is earmarked to grow by 10.6 percent in 2021. Continued expansion of the 5G network and rapid strides towards modernization of industry will be complemented by a 100-percent extra tax deduction on R&D costs of manufacturing enterprises.

The goal of upgrading living standards continued through a combination of rural development and urbanization reforms. More than 21 million housing units were rebuilt in run-down urban areas, and 100 million people received urban residency during the 13th Five-Year Plan period (2016-2020). The 14th Five-Year Plan period will mark the first stage of China's journey towards a modern socialist country.

Protection of the environment gained priority with ecosystems in the basins of the Yangtze and Yellow rivers receiving attention along with the coastlines. The coordinated development of the Beijing-Tianjin-Hebei region, Guangdong-Hong Kong-Macao Greater Bay Area and Xiongan New Area will receive more attention




November 12, 2020: The Lize Financial Business District in Beijing. The district, mainly driven by the financial industry, has become a key area for high-quality economic development and regional industrial upgrading. IC

throughout the 14th Five-Year Plan period. As a stepping stone towards China's target of carbon neutrality by 2060, 70 percent of northern China will switch to clean energy for heating by the end of 2021.

In addition, to ensure stability on six key fronts, apart from the domestic economy, innovation and environment, China will also continue reforms in the agriculture, health, and education sectors. The eradication of absolute poverty is also a testament to China's resilience. These measures will prevent people from retreating into poverty.

On the external front, China signaled its intention to uphold the multilateral trading regime by committing to a speedy implementation of both the Regional Comprehensive Economic Partnership and the China-EU Comprehensive Agreement on Investment. It plans to accelerate free trade

negotiations with Japan and South Korea, and consider joining the Comprehensive and Progressive Agreement for Trans-Pacific Partnership. The Belt and Road Initiative will also continue to develop with a commitment to the principle of achieving shared growth through consultation and collaboration.

In conclusion, it is fair to suggest that the cumulative impact of China's resilience and recovery from the pandemic acts as a beacon of hope to the rest of the global economy. Similarly, the goals that China has set for itself also have the potential to inspire other developing countries as they emerge from the pandemic and look for a new direction. 

*The author is a partner at Link Legal India Law Services.*

# China's Development Priorities for the Next Stage

By Prasad Khake

As India and China both continue to confront global challenges and pursue economic recovery, it is heartening to see the path they are both on.

Beijing hosted in March one of the most important events in China's political calendar—the Two Sessions—gathered more than 5,000 national lawmakers and political advisors to discuss the nation's plans and priorities for the coming year and beyond, which was in line with the 14th Five-Year Plan (2021-2025). This reminded me of the financial budget presentation in the Indian parliament attended by both houses, Rajya Sabha and Lok Sabha, which usually happens in February every year.

Economic development, technology and climate change are on the top of the agenda this year. The report

on the work of the Chinese government delivered by Chinese Premier Li Keqiang highlights the work done last year, a year marked by the COVID-19 pandemic along with induced economic turmoil. China has responded quickly on both fronts, which led to its robust economic recovery and proved the effectiveness of its steps.

China formulated macro-economic policies to deal with the market demand and supply shocks for ensuring the economy remains stable. Its gross domestic product (GDP) in 2020 reached 101.6 trillion yuan (about US\$15.4 trillion), up by 2.3 percent, and the consumer price index rose by 2.5 percent. A basic

equilibrium was maintained with regard to the balance of payments, and foreign exchange reserves were kept at over US\$3 trillion.

China gave utmost priority to safeguarding stable employment for the well-being of the people. A total of 11.86 million urban jobs were created in 2020 and the year-end surveyed urban unemployment rate was 5.2 percent. Scientific and technological innovation played a key role in sustaining the momentum of development and keeping economic and societal engines running forward. The 98.99 million rural residents formerly living below the current poverty line were lifted out of poverty,



March 29, 2021: A visitor at an exhibition of AI-based analysis of CT images in Hangzhou, Zhejiang Province. The province will reshape the laboratory system to strengthen fundamental research and provide a solid basis for innovation. IC

and absolute poverty was eliminated in all of the 832 impoverished counties and the 128,000 poor villages across the country.

While looking back at what China did last year, we also need to see what plans China has for its future. The 14th Five-Year Plan is a roadmap for the next five years and clarifies the priorities for development. The issues highlighted include sustaining healthy economic growth, promoting innovation-driven industrial transformation, as well as urbanization, rural vitalization, and urban-rural coordinated development. These strategic areas, along with improving regional development and promoting

green development, are the key fronts.

While China continues to move forward with its agendas, India too is on a revival journey, be it coming out of the economic recession or swiftly vaccinating its people. The budget presented by the finance minister of India shared the government's vision based on six pillars—health and wellbeing, physical and financial capital and infrastructure, inclusive development for aspirational India, reinvigorating human capital, innovation and R&D, and “Minimum Government, Maximum Governance.” India's fiscal deficit stands at 9.5 percent of its GDP for the fiscal year 2020-21 and is

estimated to be 6.8 percent in 2021-22. Its real GDP for the years 2018-19 and 2019-20 stood at Rs140.03 trillion and Rs145.69 trillion, respectively, showing a growth of 4 percent and 6.5 percent year on year.

As India and China both continue to confront global challenges and pursue economic recovery, it is heartening to see the path they are both on. 🇮🇳

*The author is an entrepreneur in Pune, India, who has engaged with Chinese manufacturing professionals in Shenzhen, China. He is a keen learner of globalization trends, supply chains, manufacturing and trade.*

# A Vision for Building a Prosperous and Responsible Global Nation

By Dr. Selçuk Çolakoğlu

The 2021 government work report presents a brighter picture not only for China but also the global economy, despite some challenges.

Chinese Premier Li Keqiang delivered the government work report on March 5, 2021, at the Fourth Session of the 13th National People's Congress (NPC), the top legislature of China. A 35-page English version of the report presented evaluations of China's work in the 13th Five-Year Plan period (2016-2020) and outlined goals for future work and perspectives in the 14th Five-Year Plan period (2021-2025).

## TARGETS FROM ECONOMIC REFORMS TO HIGH-QUALITY DEVELOPMENT

The Chinese government set specific targets for the economy in 2021 including 6 percent or more GDP growth, creation of 11 million new jobs, maintaining the consumer price index at

around 3 percent, cutting the ratio of deficit to GDP to around 3.2 percent, cutting energy consumption per unit of GDP by around 3 percent, steadily increasing both volume and quality of imports and exports, achieving a basic equilibrium in the balance of payments, steady growth in personal income numbers, better work on the environment, continued reduction in discharge of major pollutants, and grain output of over 650 million metric tons.

The growth goal of above 6 percent for 2021 is quite realistic considering the International Monetary Fund projects China's economy will grow by 8.1 percent this year. This includes quick and stable recovery in consumption, investment, and exports. The central government of China will continue to provide economic support for more

vulnerable economic entities, especially small and medium-sized companies.

China's success in poverty alleviation has been recognized by the international community. Chinese President Xi Jinping recently declared the country's "complete victory" over absolute poverty. Over the past eight years, nearly 100 million people were lifted from poverty in China. Since the launch of the reform and opening up in the late 1970s, 770 million once-impoverished people across the country have shaken off poverty according to China's current poverty line. China has contributed more than 70 percent of global poverty reduction. The daunting task the Chinese government set to eliminate absolute poverty has been successfully accomplished.

In terms of environmental protection, the Chinese



government aims to promote green development and ensure that China meets the targets for its nationally determined contributions in response to climate change by 2030. China will expedite the transition of its growth model to green development and promote both high-quality economic growth and high-standard environmental protection. To achieve the goals, energy consumption per unit of GDP and carbon dioxide emissions per unit of GDP will be reduced by 13.5 percent and 18 percent, respectively.

A step connected to high-quality development is China's aim to improve strategic scientific and technological strength. The country will ensure the success of projects launched to achieve breakthroughs in core technologies in key fields and further plan and implement the Sci-Tech Innovation 2030 Agenda. The central government's expenditures on basic research will increase by 10.6 percent.

### **BELT AND ROAD INITIATIVE: FOR REGIONAL INTEGRATION ACROSS ASIA, EUROPE AND AFRICA**

According to the 2021 report, the government will promote the high-quality development of the Belt and Road Initiative (BRI). The BRI, which was first put forward by President Xi in 2013, has resonated across the ancient Silk Road as well as the wider globe. Both in terms of its financing and geographical coverage, the initiative has

increasingly become the object of intense discussion.

The BRI has been facilitating installment of a wide-range cooperative efforts from infrastructure to developmental aid. Successful implementation of the BRI has not only helped the development of China and partner countries, but also contributed to an economic boom reverberating across Asia to Africa and Europe.

### **CHINA AS A RESPONSIBLE GLOBAL PLAYER**

China is a particularly important global player, and members of many leading international organizations and forums, which have spoken highly of China's global role in recent years.

The Chinese government has expressed intentions to deepen bilateral, multilateral, and regional economic cooperation and uphold the multilateral trading regime. China will work for early implementation of the Regional Comprehensive Economic Partnership agreement and signing of the China-EU Comprehensive Agreement on Investment. It will accelerate free trade negotiations with Japan and South Korea. China will consider joining the Comprehensive and Progressive Agreement for Trans-Pacific Partnership. It will also promote the growth of mutually beneficial China-U.S. business relations based on equality and mutual respect.

During the COVID-19 pandemic, China has been cooperating with other countries in developing vaccines

and promoting distribution of vaccines around the world. It has upheld a responsible stance considering the grave concerns expressed in Global South countries related to timely access and delivery of vaccines. The pandemic has demonstrated that humanity is one family and that China is a responsible member. China has always underlined the importance of multilateralism, global openness and inclusiveness, and mutually beneficial cooperation in times of such a global health crisis. The world needs greater collaboration on a global scale to overcome the impact of the pandemic.

The 2021 government work report presents a brighter picture not only for China but also the global economy, despite some challenges. The report presents sound and reasonable solutions for current economic problems like poverty, environmental issues, and unemployment. As the world's second-largest economy, China's GDP growth will exert a positive effect on the global economy in 2021. In the report, the Chinese government offers methods for the world to tackle problems stemming from the pandemic. China has also provided solutions to ensure a booming global economy in the post-pandemic era, which is exactly what we need. 📌

—  
*The author is director of the Turkish Center for Asia Pacific Studies in Ankara.*

# China-India Cooperation in the Post-Pandemic Era

By Sun Shihai

China and India should ensure that their relationship is free of decoupling, confrontation, and conflict.

A series of incidents that started in June 2020 demonstrated that economic and cultural relations between China and India can be impacted by the countries' political relationship. Here are some suggestions on maintaining stability in the political relationship:

First, China and India should ensure that their relationship is void of decoupling, confrontation, and conflict. To maintain the overall stability of bilateral relations, the two countries must move past the Cold War mentality and zero-sum game mindset. China and India are both major developing countries and ancient Eastern civilizations. The two Asian neighbors should uphold the vision of



April 14, 2021: People line up at the Lokmanya Tilak Terminus to wait for trains in Mumbai, India. By 8 a.m. that day, 184,372 COVID-19 cases had been confirmed in India over the past 24 hours. Worrying about another round of lockdown measures due to the rapidly growing confirmed cases, a large number of migrant workers decided to return home. Visual People

building a global community of shared civilization and future, stop considering each other as rivals or enemies, and rise above the traditional geopolitical mindset. Engaging in group politics

and geopolitical games solely due to differences in political systems and ideologies not only runs against the general trend of peace and development in our times, but could also eventually cause political



March 13, 2021: A photo wall of frontline medical workers combating COVID-19 in Mumbai, India. VCG

and military confrontations in the Indo-Pacific region. Such consequences would upend regional peace and stability and harm Indo-Pacific countries, including China and India. Undoubtedly, regional instability isn't in the interests of either China or India, so the two countries should keep a clear mind and stay on high alert in this regard.

Second, China and India should properly manage their disputes and competition and seek opportunities for cooperation. The concurrent rise of the two Asian giants will inevitably cause overlap and some conflict in geopolitical and geo-economic interests. It is normal for two major neighboring countries to have disagreements, competition, and friction. The key is proper management of

disagreements to prevent them from escalating into larger disputes and conflict. On some issues of high concern, the two countries should respect and understand each other and seek empathy. Both China and India are major countries advocating multi-polarization, multilateralism, and independence, and the two countries will always remain together in the same neighborhood. Therefore, they should embrace cooperation rather than strategizing to contain each other by means of a third party.

Third, as the world's two largest emerging market economies and beneficiaries of globalization, China and India share aspirations to promote economic globalization, advance democratization

of international relations, safeguard the multilateral trade mechanism, oppose trade protectionism, and participate in global governance. They hold similar stances on issues such as reforming the World Trade Organization, addressing climate change, stabilizing the international energy market, and safeguarding cyber sovereignty. The two countries should cherish the mainstream mode and tendency of friendly cooperation in bilateral relations as well as the peace and stability in the regional environment. To this end, China and India should resume strategic dialogue and strengthen communication and cooperation in global governance and international affairs on the basis of mutual respect. They



April 12, 2021: Locals get vaccinated at a designated COVID-19 vaccination site set up at the Jiangsu Wutaishan Sports Center in Nanjing City, Jiangsu Province. Visual People

need to explore systems and mechanisms to implement the consensus on strengthening strategic mutual trust reached by their top leaders and build an institutional framework to promote security cooperation with a more active and constructive attitude.

Fourth, China and India should engage in consultation and dialogue on the Belt and Road Initiative. Proposed by China to respond to the trends of economic globalization and regional economic integration and seek common development, the initiative offers a platform for win-win cooperation and common prosperity with the spirit of

extensive consultation, joint contributions, and shared benefits. The Regional Comprehensive Economic Partnership (RCEP) agreement recently signed by 15 countries in the Asia-Pacific region highlights the economic integration trend in the region and embodies the Asian value of multilateralism advocated by both China and India.

Promoting solidarity and cooperation instead of conflict and confrontation is the right path to win-win outcomes. China has always welcomed India's participation in the Belt and Road Initiative and even devised proposals such as the Bangladesh-China-India-Myanmar Economic Corridor

and the “Chindia+” initiative. Some Indian scholars argue that the Belt and Road Initiative represents a strategic desire to “seek expansion by promoting connectivity.” Yet, 123 countries and 29 international organizations have signed cooperation agreements with China related to the Belt and Road Initiative. The recently signed RCEP agreement also manifests the common pursuit of regional economic integration among Asia-Pacific countries. 📌

—  
*The author is former president of the Chinese Association for South Asian Studies. This article is an excerpt from his speech at the China-India Think Tank Online Forum.*



# China-India Economic and Trade Cooperation in New Circumstances

By Chen Lijun

Closer economic and trade cooperation between China and India brings some problems alongside the many benefits, two of which demand special attention.

**T**he world is now undergoing changes unseen in a century as the international political and economic landscape adjusts profoundly. China-India relations have seen ups and downs in recent years. The year 2020 was not great for China-India ties, considering the adverse impact of the sudden coronavirus epidemic and confrontation between Chinese and Indian frontier forces in border areas. Political tensions have hindered economic and trade cooperation.

## THE CURRENT SITUATION AND PROBLEMS FACING CHINA-INDIA ECONOMIC AND TRADE COOPERATION

The twists and turns in bilateral political relations in recent years have affected China-India economic and trade cooperation greatly. However, robust economic growth and expanded market demand in both countries has enabled rapid development of economic cooperation. The total volume of China-India trade in 2000 stood at US\$2.91 billion. The figure soared to US\$61.74 billion in 2010 and reached US\$92.81

billion in 2019. China became India's largest trading partner, and India became China's tenth largest trading partner. Cooperation in fields such as investment and project contracting has also increased, especially the latter. In 2019, the value of new project contracts signed by Chinese companies in India reached US\$5.17 billion, a year-on-year increase of 79 percent. Turnover reached US\$2.54 billion, a year-on-year increase of 9.6 percent.

China and India have been expanding cooperation in the economy, trade and investment, which has



become extensive in scope and rich in content. The trade structure has improved and numerous methods have been taken to achieve better cooperation. China and India have established a closer trade relationship which has played an important role in the South Asian economic landscape. However, closer economic and trade cooperation also brought problems. Among them, two call for extra attention.

**The first issue is India's trade deficit with China.** In recent years, India's long-term trade surplus with China gradually slipped into a deficit, which gradually expanded. The trade imbalance was around US\$20 billion in 2010, and the figure reached nearly US\$57 billion in 2019. Although China attaches great importance to this issue and has taken several measures to address it, the deficit continues to grow. Even the adverse shocks of the COVID-19 outbreak and the sharp drop in bilateral trade volume in 2020 did little to stop deficit growth. From January to September 2020, China-India trade volume was US\$60.49 billion, down 13.1 percent year on year, while India's trade deficit with China was still over US\$30 billion. Neither Chinese nor Indian investors hold much stock in each other's country. In 2019, Chinese companies invested only US\$190 million in India, and India's investment in China was even less, only US\$25.63 million, a year-on-year decrease of 46.1 percent.

**The second problem involves national security.** Some attempt to frame China and India as rivals, and claim that competition between the two sides exists in political, military, diplomatic, and economic fields. In the name of national security, India banned the import of power and communication equipment from China, and kept China out of engineering projects and government procurement projects in some so-called sensitive sectors such as ports, telecommunications, and airports. In 2020, India launched a campaign to boycott Chinese goods and banned mobile apps with Chinese backgrounds.

### **REASONS FOR CHINA-INDIA ECONOMIC AND TRADE FRICTION**

China-India economic and trade cooperation directly and indirectly benefits both parties. It boosts employment, increases tax revenues, promotes economic growth, and creates benefits for both peoples. China began taking measures to increase imports from India more than a decade ago, so why has the trade deficit continued widening? I believe the fundamental causes can be pinpointed.

First, the two sides have contrasting understandings and interpretations of the trade problems. India believes that China is to blame for the trade friction. It accused China of failing to fully fulfill its promises and not opening its door wide

enough, especially in terms of insufficient imports of Indian software and pharmaceuticals. But the data doesn't agree. India is well aware that its trade deficit with China has been a long-standing problem of domestic origin. Before 2000, India's trade volume with China was small, but its exports to China exceeded its imports. But at that time, India was already running a deficit in foreign trade. India's foreign trade deficit was US\$9.144 billion in 2000, US\$43.2 billion in 2005, and then skyrocketed to nearly US\$109 billion in 2010 and US\$159.7 billion in 2019. But tensions in bilateral relations led some Indians to point fingers at Beijing, which led to anti-dumping measures and increased trade barriers. Statistics show that since the turn of the 21st century, India has launched the most anti-dumping investigations against China among all developing economies.

The second issue is contrasting industrial structures. Industrial structure is the basis of trade. Dubbed the "world factory," China's manufacturing sector is more developed than that of India. Compared to China, India's economic development has heavily relied on the service sector, and industry accounts for only a small share of the gross domestic product. According to Indian Commerce and Industry Minister Piyush Goyal, India has witnessed widening trade deficits with 25 countries in the past three years including South Korea, Japan, Germany,



August 10, 2020: An ocean liner is loaded with wind power equipment for export at Lianyungang Port, Jiangsu Province. In recent years, Lianyungang City, as one of the largest wind power equipment production bases in Asia, has exported wind power equipment to countries including India, Brazil, the United Kingdom, Canada, and South Korea. IC

Iraq, and Saudi Arabia. One main reason for the expanding trade deficit has been India's increased imports of crude oil, electronic products, steel, chemicals, fertilizers, and machinery. Meanwhile, India's exports have remained weak, and the sluggish export growth can be attributed to heavy taxation and insufficient credit support.

India can produce a variety of products, but not many meet the demands of the Chinese market. For instance, India would like to expand exports of its IT products and pharmaceuticals to China. India's IT industry is known for software and service outsourcing, and the country is globally known for producing quality generic drugs.

However, development of its hardware lags behind China, and many key pharmaceutical ingredients are imported from China. All of these factors contribute to India's trade deficit. India's competitive industries in China are easily offset by its weak basic industries.

Third, the two countries have different patterns of demand. Since China and India are at different development stages, they have different demands. China's exports to India include cell phones, electrical equipment, machinery, chemicals, steel, fertilizers, textiles, and furniture. India's exports to China are mainly iron ore, cotton, plastics, auto parts, gems, precious metals, and textiles.

The values of the trade products are different. China's manufacturing products account for a high proportion of its exports to India, while India's rough-wrought products and raw materials take up a large share of its exports to China. China always welcomes more Indian imports. It even offered preferential terms for some Indian enterprises to enable their participation in exhibitions in China. For example, India's Tata Consultancy Services entered the Chinese market in 2003 and got an outsourcing contract worth US\$100 million from the Bank of China in 2006.

Fourth, poor bilateral investment has been a problem. Investment is an



March 10, 2021: The commissioning ceremony of the INS Karanj, India's third Scorpene-class diesel-electric submarine, in Mumbai, India. The INS Karanj was commissioned into the Indian Navy that day. VCG

important means to solve the trade deficit. In recent years, India has been promoting the "Make in India" initiative and taken multiple measures to attract foreign investment. However, the country has set a number of barriers in the way of Chinese investments. Investments from Chinese enterprises to build factories in India have been banned in the name of national security. Even Chinese project contracting in India has been restricted. India's practices make it impossible to improve trade with China.

### MEASURES TO STRENGTHEN CHINA-INDIA ECONOMIC AND TRADE COOPERATION

The two sides should enhance mutual trust. India should regard China's development as an opportunity

instead of a threat. Both China and India are major regional players. Only when the two countries establish a new type of mutually beneficial and win-win strategic partnership and seek common development can they truly embrace the Asian Century. The bilateral relationship is the foundation of economy and trade, and economy and trade are the drivers of bilateral ties. These days, competition and cooperation between China and India has gradually become intense. It doesn't look like China-India economic and trade cooperation will become smooth in the foreseeable future. Emerging problems can be addressed only through enhancing understanding and mutual trust as well as strengthening legislation.

First, strategic dialogue

and exchange at all levels should be advanced. Senior officials from both sides should maintain dialogue and communication, provide policy guidance, and work to develop a new type of international relations. China-India relations can continue healthy and stable development with the right work. The two sides must adhere to the fundamental principle of cooperation, always work for the wellbeing of their peoples, and strengthen coordination of the development strategic plans. Problems emerging during the development of economic and trade ties should be addressed. More efforts should be made to drive cooperation to a deeper level and expand cooperation scope.

Second, the two sides should uphold the principles

of mutual consultation, joint development, benefit sharing, and cooperation for mutual benefits. China and India should continue to advance policy coordination, facility connectivity, unimpeded trade, financial integration and people-to-people bonds. The two sides should eliminate trade and investment barriers, expand the scale of trade and investment, and improve bilateral trade and investment.

Third, the two sides should improve the bilateral investment protection agreement to provide more opportunities and a more solid institutional guarantee for bilateral economic and trade cooperation and investment development.

Fourth, to address issues such as the boundary question and trade imbalance, China and India should enhance communication and build consensus. The two sides should look at the big picture and seek common ground while shelving differences with a spirit of equality, mutual benefits, inclusiveness, mutual learning, and win-win cooperation. China and India should respect each other's development path and core interests, and ensure bilateral economic and trade relations stay healthy.

**We should redefine bilateral economic and trade relations and make trade the driver of relations.**

International economic and trade cooperation is meant to be mutually beneficial and benefit the overall situation in both countries. China

and India are significantly different in terms of resource endowment and industrial structure. The two countries enjoy great potential for cooperation and have many shared interests. They are strongly complementary to each other, and there is far more potential in strength in unity than winning by divide and conquer. China and India share vast interests at an unprecedented level in both depth and width in economic and trade sectors. More efforts should be made to promote cooperation that ensures both countries share the fruits of economic and trade development. To this end, redefining the status and role of China-India economic and trade cooperation in bilateral relations is highly important. Trade and economic development should act as twin engines of China-India bilateral ties.

First, we need to look harder at the trade balance issue. Since both China and India are important emerging economies, lifting bilateral economic and trade cooperation to a higher level should be conducive to the steady economic growth and prosperity of both sides today and in the future. Strengthening bilateral economic and trade cooperation is a wise choice. Moreover, the trade balance is not static but always dynamic. The main reason for India's overall deficit is a lack of products and foreign markets that could help achieve a trade surplus. India's trade surpluses with some markets in the past have now shifted



March 22, 2021: Workers at a local garment factory in Gazipur, India. VCG

to deficits, and its trade deficits with other markets continue to expand. You can't make a deficit become a surplus instantly. What India can do and should do is seek improvements to achieve a dynamic balance. India is advancing economic development, which requires the country to import considerable materials for production and energy. If India wants to reduce its trade deficit quickly, it needs to balance the relationship between demand, investment, and foreign trade, which will slow economic growth. If the country wants to maintain high-speed economic growth, its imports will continue to climb. Thus, instead of focusing on trade balance, development of China-India economic and trade ties should happen by facilitating a fairer environment for competition, creating new space for cooperation and striking a dynamic balance.

Second, we must redefine bilateral economic and trade



relations. Economic and trade cooperation is the foundation and driving force for cooperation between China and India. The core goal of China-India economic and trade cooperation is to create mutual benefits and win-win results, and complement each other's advantages. Considering the structural problems and ideally converse structural traits of China-India economic ties, the two sides should fully unlock potential for structural cooperation and work towards the same goals. Coordination of production factors and resources should be promoted, and complementary advantages should be optimized to achieve balanced trade development.

Third, advance trade in both goods and services. The key to a win-win China-India economic and trade relationship is increased bilateral trade volume rather than reapportioning the existing volume. Although India's trade in goods is a disadvantage compared to China's, trade in services has only a narrow gap. China and India should continue to promote exchange between the governments as well as various organizations and departments, expand cooperation in trade in services, and make up the deficit in trade in goods with trade in services.

**The two sides should launch new models of cooperation and enhance bilateral trade and investment.** Now, China and India are at different stages of economic development. Because of the

complex and asymmetrical economic interdependence between the two economies, economic and trade friction is hard to avoid. The two sides should carefully manage any friction and find new models for economic and trade cooperation. China and India should act as twin engines for trade and economic cooperation. The two sides should realize the importance of cooperation in sectors such as trade, investment, technology, and transportation. More efficient platforms for trade promotion should be erected, and greater access to reciprocal markets should be facilitated. Cooperation in sectors such as customs, quality inspections, e-commerce, and transit transportation should reach a deeper level to facilitate greater trade. More policies related to trade liberalization and facilitation should be offered to enterprises from both countries to afford better market access. These are all solid strategies to enhance bilateral economic and trade cooperation.

The two sides should also expand two-way investment. China and India should work towards implementation of economic cooperation initiatives, start negotiating a revision of the China-India Bilateral Investment Agreement (BIT) as soon as possible, promote two-way market opening, and establish a negative list system for market access. The two sides should shift from trade in goods to mutual investment to create a benign cycle of trade and investment.

Restrictions on investment should be lifted. Investment barriers and discriminatory investment policies should gradually be eliminated to ensure all investors receive fair and equitable treatment under transparent policy. It is especially important to enhance transparency and fairness on policies related to national security and intellectual property.

China and India should work to achieve an "early harvest." At present, since it is hard to carry out economic and trade cooperation across the board, both sides should fully explore their respective advantages for early harvest. The two countries can strength cooperation in less sensitive areas, and implement projects in high demand that have already seen consensus. Starting with these projects, new progress will be achieved in China-India cooperation.

We should be exploring new areas for cooperation. The era of the Fourth Industrial Revolution featuring artificial intelligence and green development has already arrived. China and India should leverage opportunities brought by new technologies and the new industrial revolution to boost cooperation in fields such as digital economy, cutting-edge technology, cross-border e-commerce, healthcare, clean and renewable energy, environmental protection, finance, and consumption. Doing so will foster new growth points for bilateral economic and trade cooperation.





March 13, 2021: A welder is busy working on the railway on the banks of the Ganges in Allahabad, India. VCG

### **Infrastructure connectivity should be high on the agenda and better promoted.**

Infrastructure connectivity is the basis for expanding economic and trade cooperation. China and India should coordinate plans for infrastructure connectivity over land and sea and in the air. The two sides should accelerate construction of a network for infrastructure connectivity through key channels and major projects. They should promote the Bangladesh-China-India-Myanmar Economic Corridor, increase air and sea routes, and hone existing transportation systems combining land and water traffic. Increasing transportation efficiency and reducing cargo transportation costs will facilitate closer economic and trade ties.

### **Improving the cooperation mechanism and environment**

**for economic and trade cooperation.** Both bilateral and multilateral mechanisms are needed to manage complicated China-India economic relations. Regular communication and consultation are required to achieve major breakthroughs in bilateral ties. Informal meetings between leaders of the two countries started in 2017 and have become a good launch for a better China-India relationship. The two sides should continue to improve the mechanism on strategic dialogue and strengthen consultation. High-level meetings would enable the two countries to reach greater consensus on strategic, long-term, and big-picture issues related to the bilateral economic relationship and address emerging problems in a timely manner, thus guaranteeing the healthy and steady

development of economic ties. The role of the China-India strategic economic dialogue should be leveraged to facilitate view-exchange and coordination on macro-economic policies, expand economic and trade cooperation, and increase investment.

**Both sides should support the multilateral trading system and promote regional economic integration.** As emerging economies, China and India must support the multilateral trading system, oppose trade protectionism, and promote regional economic integration for common development. The Regional Comprehensive Economic Partnership (RCEP) is the one of the most influential economic cooperation agreements in the Asia-Pacific region. Signing the agreement means a brighter future for the Asian-Pacific region. Tariff and non-tariff trade barriers will drop, and trade and investment liberalization and facilitation will be advanced to make the region an important driver for global economic growth. As a member of this region, India should look at the long term and join the RCEP based on its realities to ride the current global economic development trend and contribute more to building a vibrant Asia-Pacific region. 📸

—  
*The author is a researcher and vice president of the Yunnan Academy of Social Sciences. This article is an excerpt from his speech at the China-India Think Tank Online Forum.*

# Where Will U.S.-India Relations Go Under a Biden Administration?

By Ye Hailin

New Delhi continually focuses on how much U.S. policy will be turned into actual benefits for India, and what cost India will pay for such benefits.

Even before the final result for the 2020 U.S. presidential election was officially determined, many countries, including India, sent congratulatory messages to Joe Biden. Observing diplomatic etiquette is one reason. Aside from that, these countries are indeed unwilling to see a second Donald Trump administration. They expect that under the leadership of Biden, American foreign policy won't be as inconsistent and unilateral as that of the Trump administration. India, as a country standing in the spotlight in the *National Security Strategy of the United States of America* released by the Trump administration, has been courted by the U.S. in

the past few years. During this period, U.S.-India relations have seen significant progress. However, India still has reasons to be happy for Biden's election, and it is definitely not because the U.S. now has its first Indian-American vice president.

In the U.S. global strategy under the Trump administration, India's strategic importance increased significantly. Not long ago, Trump, who was busy with his presidential campaign, made new contributions to strengthening U.S.-India relations. On October 27, 2020, the U.S. and India formally signed the *Basic Exchange and Cooperation Agreement (BECA) for Geo-Spatial Cooperation*. This agreement, which allows India and the

U.S. to exchange important military information and further share geo-spatial data, was considered a cornerstone for the establishment of a basic military alliance between the two countries.

The BECA connects a series of defense agreements reached between the U.S. and India in previous years, an achievement which was never made during the Obama administration. In this regard, India should be sad that Trump's term ended. However, looking back at the development of U.S.-India relations over the past few years, Indians surely don't only think of a bunch of military agreements. They probably remember Trump's threat to revoke India's



January 21, 2021: Locals read front-page news on U.S. President Joe Biden and Vice President Kamala Harris in Mannargudi, Tamil Nadu. U.S. media outlets reported that the grandfather of Harris was born in this village. Visual People

most-favored-nation trade status and that he raised tariffs on Indian goods. India is definitely not the only country which found it difficult to cope with the two-sided foreign policy of the Trump administration. Thus, it is almost certain that the country is happier to deal with a more predictable U.S. leadership.

Compared with Trump, Biden is obviously less

unpredictable and his presidency will feature a return to politics as usual. Several other factors make India more confident in future U.S.-India relations under a Biden administration

First, Biden and the Democratic Party traditionally pay more attention to the role of American values in U.S. foreign policy. Even today, quite a number of Indian journalists and

scholars are still talking with pride about the praises and obvious preference for India expressed by former U.S. Secretary of State Hillary Clinton. Biden served as the vice president under the Obama administration. Thus it is reasonable to believe he will continue the policies of the Obama administration towards India, or at least India can expect he will do so.

India has always liked to



March 12, 2012: U.S. President Joe Biden and U.S. Secretary of State Antony Blinken participate in a virtual meeting with leaders of Quadrilateral Security Dialogue countries. The four countries discussed issues including COVID-19 and climate change. Visual People

brag about the ideological consensus between itself and the U.S., emphasizing the ideological compatibility between “the world’s largest democracy and the world’s most powerful democracy.” However, India should be careful about the possible adverse effects of values under the current framework of U.S.-India relations. The Democratic Party emphasizes the importance of values. Thus, the growing Hindutva movement in India may cause great concern to the Biden administration. Although India is willing to strengthen its cooperation with the U.S. and make a display of the spiritual similarities between the two sides, the current Indian government absolutely has no intention

to trade its core interests for U.S. support. Will Biden make the same kind of mistakes Obama once made with the Philippines, defending values at the cost of America’s vital geopolitical and international strategic interests? Although India doesn’t worry about this problem right now, it will have to face it in the future.

Second, the foreign policy of the Biden administration will be more mature and stable. While Trump issued economic policies that didn’t distinguish between friends and foes and showed a violent distaste for multilateral mechanisms, Biden, who has been in the center of American power for half a century, prioritizes the coordination of multiple diplomatic goals and the

balance of various diplomatic means.

The Biden administration will place greater importance on the role of its alliance system. It will work to repair relations with its allies and strengthen cooperation with its partners, in order to form a joint force against its major strategic opponents. This is the common goal of the U.S. and almost all of its allies and partners, including India. It is unlikely that a Biden administration will carry out military cooperation with India on one hand but hit India hard with higher tariffs on the other. Moreover, the Biden administration will likely seek to quickly restore the status and role of the U.S. in the multiple multilateral mechanisms from which it has withdrawn, and to repair the severely damaged U.S. international image. These acts will bring more opportunities for a closer relationship between the U.S. and India. The two sides may have a better chance to achieve a consensus on further promoting India’s international heft, which India will be more than pleased to see.

Third, despite various possible changes, one thing will remain unchanged under the Biden administration: The U.S. will still consider China a major competitor, a game changer in the current international landscape dominated by the U.S., and a challenger to U.S. hegemony. This perception is impossible to change no matter how hard China tries to urge the U.S. to drop its hostility towards



China and emphasize the necessity and importance of China-U.S. economic and trade ties. Now, the U.S. has adopted a “maximum pressure” policy against the Chinese economy and has called for an anti-China alliance under the Indo-Pacific strategy. These actions are not the result of the mode of thinking, behavioral preference, and family interests of a particular U.S. president. They are generated out of a strategic conditioned reflex and a natural alertness of U.S. hegemony towards any countries which come near the U.S. in terms of their overall national strength or show the possibility of getting closer to the U.S. in a specific field.

Due to these reasons, India firmly believes that the U.S. will continue to reach out to India. India has never doubted for a minute the U.S. policy towards India and the U.S. choice in the China-U.S.-India triangle. New Delhi continually focuses on how much U.S. policy will be turned into actual benefits for India, and what cost India will pay for such benefits. In other words, India knows well that the U.S. will be nice to India. But it does not know how nice the U.S. will be, and whether this amity is a free gift or a commodity.

It is interesting that shortly after Biden declared victory in the 2020 presidential race, some Indian strategists published articles claiming that India would face major risks in dealing with China alone in the region without support from the U.S. They

also expressed concerns over the possibility of Biden repairing China-U.S. relations, which they believe would undermine India’s strategic trust in the U.S. The views of those Indian scholars, of course, don’t stand for India’s understanding towards future U.S.-India relations and the China-U.S.-India triangle. However, it is undeniable that with the China-India border tension flaring up as well as the bilateral confrontation being prolonged, India’s perception of China is becoming increasingly negative, and its needs for the U.S. in the field of security are increasing. This phenomenon exists partly due to a number of structural problems between China and India that cannot be solved in the near future, and partly due to India’s strategic response to the U.S. calling for an alliance. But the biggest reason is rooted in the basic political principle upheld by India’s ruling Bharatiya Janata Party, with the aim to reshape India’s national ideology under the influence of Hinduism.

In the future, India will continue viewing China-India relations as a zero-sum game. It will gradually adjust its policies towards China under the framework of the China-U.S.-India triangle, based on a balancing tactic. These changes will lead to India’s greater dependence on the U.S. Accordingly, and understandably, India’s room for diplomatic options will further shrink and it will gradually drift away from

its decades-long non-aligned foreign policy. Although how fast India will move in this direction is yet to be confirmed, and will be mainly determined by the interaction between the new Biden administration and the Indian government, for India, this direction is firm and clear.

At present, China is gathering its strength to realize its long-range objectives through the year 2035. For this purpose, a sound international environment is required. However, it must be noted that under the constraints of the China-U.S.-India triangle, China has a limited policy space to send India goodwill messages for cooperation. To build a new type of international relations and a community with a shared future for humanity, China needs to carry out coordination and cooperation with other major countries, and build strong relations with its neighbors based on amity, sincerity, mutual benefit, and inclusiveness. At the same time, China needs to improve its strategic ability to defend its national sovereignty, security, and development interests, enhance its willpower and increase its determination to use its strategic ability to hedge against and resolve risks. ■

—  
The author is a researcher with the National Institute of International Strategy, and director of Center for South Asia Studies, Chinese Academy of Social Sciences.



# China and India Meeting Halfway: What Gets in the Way?

By Ye Hailin

In fact, the differences between China and India on the “eight broad propositions” are not on the surface.

**O**n January 28, 2021, Indian Minister of External Affairs Subrahmanyam Jaishankar delivered an address at the 13th All India Conference of China Studies, expressing the view of the Narendra Modi administration on recent India-China relations. Jaishankar served as India’s ambassador to China from 2009 to 2014 and is one of the most important decision makers in the Modi administration for security and foreign policies. To address the current difficulties in China-India relations, Jaishankar brought forth the “three mutuals” – mutual respect, mutual sensitivity

and mutual interests, and the “eight broad propositions” as the starting point and goal of India’s policy towards China.

As minister of external affairs, Jaishankar’s speech carried much more significance than those of Indian scholars and retired senior Indian officials. Like his new book *The India Way: Strategies for an Uncertain World*, Minister Jaishankar’s address at the conference should be understood as the official attitude of the current Indian government, rather than the personal academic views of Dr. S. Jaishankar.

Moreover, the address was delivered at a public academic and policy seminar, and the

official media published the full text. These moves mean that although these statements may not necessarily be India’s true views on China-India relations, they are the messages which the Modi administration is sending to the whole world, including China, and the messages which it hopes the international community, including China, will accept. In international relations, the contrast between policy and its external expression is of great importance. This matters even more in the case of China-India relations.

In his address, Jaishankar said the development of China-India ties can only



June 4, 2019: The China-India border trade market in Yadong County of the Tibet Autonomous Region. The total volume of trade between China and India in 2019 reached nearly 640 billion yuan (US\$98.6 billion), a year-on-year increase of 1.6 percent. Visual People

be based on “mutuality.” China doesn’t oppose the idea, nor does it have any reasons to do so. This is why Zhao Lijian, spokesperson of China’s Foreign Ministry, acknowledged that Jaishankar’s remarks showcase the significance India attaches to its relations with China when taking a question from the media. However, Zhao’s comment is not enough to make people conclude that China has accepted India’s views, or that the two countries only have some non-fundamental and technical differences on bilateral relations. On the contrary, as people often say, the devil is in the details.

There are fundamental differences between China and India on bilateral relations, which are hidden in various technical details. When it comes to Minister Jaishankar’s address, the problem lies in the “eight broad propositions.”

The first of the “eight broad propositions” is “agreements already reached must be adhered to in their entirety, both in letter and spirit.” This statement can never be wrong. Thus, no one can argue or find fault with its literal meaning. But the question is, which country failed to adhere to the already reached agreements in letter? Even Jaishankar himself

admitted that India has been constructing infrastructure along the Line of Actual Control (LAC) in recent years. But at the same time, he accused China of increasing border infrastructure construction on the Chinese side. If Indians believe that China hasn’t complied with the agreements, how do they view their own actions? For India, it is China’s responsibility to adhere to the agreements, and India only needs to talk and justify its own actions.

The second of the “eight broad propositions” is “where the handling of the border areas are concerned, the LAC must be strictly observed and



October 1, 2020: Chinese soldiers march along a ridge line in Tibet Autonomous Region in southwestern China. Visual People

respected.” When it comes to this statement, people need to think about which army crossed into China at the Sikkim section of the border, instigating a standoff in Dong Lang (Doklam) with Chinese troops in 2017. Dong Lang (Doklam) is located in Yadong County of the Tibet Autonomous Region of China, and is indisputably Chinese territory. If the LAC must be strictly observed and respected, then why shouldn’t the border line be observed “in spirit”? Doesn’t the border line possess higher legal validity than the LAC?

In fact, the differences between China and India on the “eight broad propositions” are not on the surface. The real intentions behind the words needs to be read based on the different standpoints of the two sides. In fact, the major difference between China and India on bilateral relations lies in the third one, “peace and tranquility in the border areas is the basis for development of relations in other domains.” This has been the most crucial policy stance of India on the China-India boundary question, or even on the whole of China-India

relations, over the past decades. This position has been particularly reinforced after the Modi administration came to power in 2014. It is this policy stance that has led to the continuous decline in China-India relations in recent years and made the bilateral relations so difficult at present.

Both China and India emphasize the importance of bilateral ties, and repeatedly express their expectations for the vision that China-India cooperation can bring about, at least on international occasions. However, different from New Delhi,

Beijing believes that since the boundary question cannot be solved in a short time, the two sides should avoid failing to see the wood for the trees. They should proceed from the whole situation and continue to expand and deepen cooperation in other areas. This proposition acknowledges the difficulties and challenges in solving practical problems, and showcases China's philosophy on neighborhood harmony derived from its traditional culture.

India has been skeptical about China's stance for years, believing China's proposals are nothing but stalling tactics. Some Indian scholars and politicians believe that the reason why China isn't eager to solve the boundary question is because the country has no intention to do so. Besides, they think it's a bad idea for China to use force towards its southwestern direction under the current international context. China's restraint is only tactical. When the right time comes, China will have no hesitation to realize its territorial ambitions by force. Another group of Indians assert that even now, China shows no restraint. In their eyes, all of China's moves are intended to test India's limits, infringe on India's sovereignty, and even insult India's national dignity. Many Indians, including Jaishankar, never think in-depth over the exact meaning of "mutuality."

Jaishankar emphasized in the "eight broad propositions" that "obviously each state will have its own interests,

concerns and priorities; but sensitivity to them cannot be one-sided" as his fifth point. However, India seldom thinks from the perspectives China is sensitive to. For example, India named its paramilitary force "Indo-Tibetan Border Police Force," a total disregard for China's feelings. If China names its border force stationed in Yadong as "China-Sikkim Border Force," India would be "hurt" rather than just be "sensitive."

### Many Indians, including Jaishankar, never think in-depth over the exact meaning of "mutuality."

Considering only its own sensitivity reflects India's perception of its own international standing, especially its understanding on different global statuses between itself and China. As Jaishankar put it, "while both nations are committed to a multi-polar world, there should be a recognition that a multi-polar Asia is one of its essential constituents." A multi-polar Asia implies that both China and India are leading countries in Asia. From India's point of view, if China fails to solve the boundary question promptly and completely in the way India asks, or "take care" of India's feelings on the boundary question as India expects, China shows no respect for India's vision.

Such a mentality partly derives from India's ever-growing confidence. New Delhi

believes that even if it adopts "salami tactics" aiming to press China into a corner, China won't make a counter-move. However, this obsolete mentality also partly comes from India's lingering low self-esteem. It is to India's great concern that with the widening gap in national strength between itself and China, China will reinforce its presence in the border areas, making India's hope of achieving its goals through force on

the boundary question increasingly impossible. Under this mixed mentality, India has put forward a number of unreasonable demands on China about the boundary question.

Compared with the "three mutuals" and "eight broad propositions," some of India's bizarre demands better embody the core of its policy towards China. Affected by these specific demands, China and India are not able to meet each other halfway, and good words such as "mutuality" cannot be turned into actions. 📌

*The author is a researcher with the National Institute of International Strategy, and director of Center for South Asia Studies, Chinese Academy of Social Sciences.*

# My Tryst with Chinese Odyssey

By Yukteshwar Kumar

He also wrote a reference letter for me both in Chinese and English, which is one of my most precious possessions.

**C**hina and Chinese and Sino-Indian studies are ingrained in every cell of my body now. Through a completely inadvertent rendezvous, I have been associated with this discipline for more than 65 percent of my life till now. My father wanted to see me as an accomplished doctor, however, being an extremely sensitive and emotional person who could not dissect a frog, I was certainly not susceptible to the idea of becoming a surgeon.

I was brought up in a small place in the state of Bihar where let alone modern amenities like television, computers and mobiles, even electricity and clean water were not available. Neither English nor Hindi was the medium of instruction in schools, the lingua franca

was Bhojpuri—a dialect of Hindi. Though brought up in an underprivileged region of the nation, I was extremely ambitious and harbored big dreams. To pacify my father, I did qualify for the radiology course at the prestigious All India Institute of Medical Science and also qualified for admission to some not so famous medical colleges, but I always wanted to study at the best university in my country, but far away from the discipline of medicine and science where blood and dissection would be involved.

I had heard about the Jawaharlal Nehru University (JNU), New Delhi, from some family members and learnt more about it through the daily newspapers. JNU did not offer an undergraduate degree in any other subject except foreign languages, and I chose to study Chinese,

some 33 years ago. My father said, “You are not going to study the language of enemies (the scar of the 1962 scuffle still hounding him),” and I had no choice but to run away from home with the meager sum I had saved through private tutoring during my secondary school days. I took admission at JNU. In Delhi, I had a cousin who gave me shelter for a few days and helped me send a telegram to my parents that I was safe and sound in Delhi. After completing the formalities and taking admission at JNU, I returned. My mother persuaded my father to allow me to go to JNU, but that negotiation consumed a huge amount of time, and the classes had started in late July. I finally arrived in September to attend the course. In the first session, I barely passed the test and



received mostly C grades. However, by the end of semester, I was not the worst in the class. In the second semester, I showed my grit and determination and did quite well in the final examinations.

After attending my first class at JNU, I went along with my classmates to the chamber of Prof. Tan Chung to attend the class. Even before joining JNU, I used to read articles in *The Hindustan Times* and kept an article by Prof. Tan who had written about the then Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi's historic and landmark visit to China in December 1988.

Prof. Tan was a great teacher and deeply influenced my life both as a guru and a 'self-taught' amphibian scholar of Sino-Indian studies. I liked his '良师益友- Liángshīyǐyǒu - friendly teacher' approach. He used to work extremely hard with a small cohort of students, and even bought us lunch in the campus cafeteria. He played table-tennis with us and coached us so well that the Chinese center always used to win "Kallol"— An inter-departmental sport, academic and cultural competition within the School of Languages, Culture and Studies of the university.

By the third year of undergraduate studies in 1991, I was far better than most of my classmates and topped in the final exams. One of the reasons for my success was my unbridled ambition to succeed. On the fourth floor of the main library, come what may, I was always



A photo of the author (right) with Han Meilin, an internationally renowned Chinese artist. Yukteshwar Kumar transcribed Han's oral history *Purgatory and Heaven* recorded by Chinese writer Feng Jikai into English. courtesy of the author

present from 2:00 p.m. to 8:30 p.m. every day as most of our classes were held in the morning. A friend teasingly said to me recently, "your bottle of water is still in the library."

In 1991, as I topped in my class, Prof. Tan asked me if I wanted to go to China to pursue further studies there. That year, the Ministry of Human Resources Development and the Chinese government scholarships did not get enough students through competitive interviews, and Prof. Tan was able to recommend two students. Sonu who was in the final year of MA and I in the final year of BA were toppers in our respective batches but we both declined. Prof. Tan then offered this to B. R. Deepak (classmate of Sonu) and Sudhanshi (my classmate). Deepak went to Peking

University while Sudhanshi went to Fudan University in Shanghai.

From 1991 to 1993, I pursued MA in Chinese in the same department and by this time, my grasp on Chinese had become much firmer and I was able to get intermittent professional translation and interpreting work. I did not want to be a burden on my family, therefore while doing MA, I found a part-time job at the All India Radio station (AIR), where my main responsibility was listening to Chinese news on radio and television and then translating important news into English. I used to attend classes in the morning and then work at AIR in the afternoon. The honorarium from AIR was not bad, and I was not only able to support myself but also regularly remit some money to my

family.

My main aim for learning Chinese was to take Chinese in the Civil Service Examination as a subject, and like the former National Security Advisor, Foreign Secretary and Indian Ambassador to China, S. S. Menon, become a diplomat or senior bureaucrat. However, in 1992, the Indian government decided to remove Chinese and seven other languages from the main syllabus of the Civil Service Examination. Many of us who were learning these languages became furious, as our dreams were shattered, and we formed an all India Joint Action Committee to fight against this draconian central government decision. We received huge support from various quarters and 10,000 students demonstrated in New Delhi in October 1992. Our mission and demands were finally acknowledged and accepted by the central government of India, and the Indian cabinet was forced to take back its previous decision.

As soon as I completed my MA as the topper of the batch in 1993, I and Deepak were absorbed as part-time lecturers at JNU to teach in the same department. Many of my students were older than I as some had gone to China for higher studies after doing their BA, and returning from the country, enrolled for the MA program. I taught translation and interpretation to them. I was one of the youngest lecturers in a central university in India, but this

job was still part-time.

At JNU, many scholars and teachers from China came as visiting academics and did research on Sino-Indian studies. I used to regularly meet them and converse in Chinese. This way, I not only improved my spoken Chinese but also learnt about other things from a different perspective. Some of the scholars who studied and researched at JNU during my time were Prof. Ma Jiali, Prof. Mao Siwei and Prof. Wang Shuying. All of them can be called doyens of Indian studies in China.

I also regularly went to the Chinese embassy to collect Chinese films and magazines for my students. Watching Chinese films was one of the best ways to improve Chinese and understand the society of the country. In this process, I also became familiar with Prof. Zhang Shuanggu who was serving as an education and cultural counsellor at the embassy. Prof. Zhang later became the Chinese ambassador to the UNESCO.

In February 1994, I was offered a full-time position at Visva-Bharati, Cheena-Bhavan, the department founded by Rabindranath Tagore and Professor Tan Yunshan, father of Prof. Tan Chung. This department is almost 144 kilometers from Kolkata in a rural setting, and I was reluctant to leave the hullabaloo of the capital city where I was not only teaching at a prestigious university but was also earning good money as an interpreter and on top of that, had a research

fellowship. I had also been accepted as a pre-PhD student at the same university with Deepak.

However, both my parents and Prof. Tan persuaded me to go and teach at Cheena-Bhavan and take up the full-time permanent position as an assistant professor and contribute there. Prof. Tan said it will be much more challenging to get a significant position in bigger cities like Delhi, while at Cheena-Bhavan you can attain much higher success. He met me in the university cafeteria and wrote in my diary, “宁为鸡首不为牛后” meaning, “Better be a leader in a small organization than remain a follower in a big organization.”

Against my wish, I joined Cheena-Bhavan in 1994 and immediately became the darling of the students. I was very enthusiastic, energetic and engaged with the students even after the classes. After I joined the university, students started getting through the University Grants Commission National Eligibility Test for becoming lecturers at universities, and the number of students getting scholarships to go to China and study there sharply increased. I may sound a bit immodest here, but this is a fact which I shall always remain very proud of.

I also started having contacts with multinational companies who wanted to appoint Chinese linguists and provide employment opportunities for our students. Like in JNU, I



A group photo of the author with his teachers, classmates and seniors at the JNU campus during his undergraduate studies in 1989. courtesy of the author

started showing Chinese films to my students and started a reading hall so that students could use it during late evening hours to study Chinese. I made a rule that in the evening, students could speak only in Chinese and those who were found speaking Bengali or English would be penalized. Several students highly benefited from this, and today many of those students are employed as senior lecturers and professors at many universities in India.

In 1999, I was awarded the Nehru Fellowship for two years at Peking University. Apart from attending classes with postgraduate students, I became familiar with all the professors and researchers of Oriental studies at Peking

University and, with their help, organized several programs and seminars including a ceremony in which Prof. Jin Dinghan was awarded by the Indian government for his immense academic contributions in Sino-Indian studies. I also organized “Children’s Day,” which is also the birth anniversary of Nehru, the first prime minister of India, in which Indian ambassadors and almost every scholar and journalist who had worked on Sino-Indian studies in Beijing participated.

At Peking University, I used to regularly go to the home of Prof. Ji Xianlin on the university premises and learnt many things in the evenings. Prof. Ji needed some dictionaries and other books from India, which I brought for

him, while he personally gave me many of his books autographed. He also wrote a reference letter for me both in Chinese and English, which is one of my most precious possessions.

During my stay at Peking University, I participated in several TV programs and wrote many articles both in Chinese and English. I personally found how great the Chinese civilization and culture are, how friendly the Chinese are, and how rapidly their economy was growing. The world needs to learn from China, no doubt about that. 📷

*This author taught and researched at many Indian and Chinese universities. He is a senior academic and councillor now at Bath, UK. He was elected as deputy mayor of Bath in May 2021.*

# Projecting the Future of China-India Relations

By Ma Jiali

Getting the bilateral relations back on the right track will require higher-level engagement with more astute political wisdom, greater political goodwill, avoidance of hostility on security issues, and more friendliness among the general public.

The year 2020 marked the 70th anniversary of the establishment of diplomatic ties between China and India, which was worthy of a robust celebration. This bilateral relationship has forged ahead despite ups and downs in past decades and traversed an extraordinary path of development. In early 2020, I reviewed and summarized China-India relations over the past 70 years in an academic paper and pinpointed much of the inner drive and historical trends within the development of the relationship.

Historically, negative factors dragged down China-India relations for short periods, but the two ancient civilizations overall

demonstrated wisdom to find amity from conflict and join hands despite divergence. The goodwill of the two peoples and the dedication of the two governments have both promoted and improved the relationship. The relationship has encountered recent challenges, but I am convinced that the sun will ultimately vanquish the rainy days. The two neighbours will weather their current difficulties, find the right path forward, and restore healthy and stable development of relations in accordance with the goals set by their leaders. The geographical proximity of China and India demands harmonious bilateral relations. For the welfare of the 2.8 billion people in the two countries, effective

cooperation is essential. The profound changes unseen in a century that Asia and the world are undergoing make it necessary to learn from each other through civilizational exchange.

We should adopt a long-term perspective to see through the clouds. Despite the challenges and barriers facing China and India, their political ties are cooperative rather than mutually exclusive, their economic ties are more complementary than competitive, their standings on international affairs are usually consistent, and their civilizations are connected rather than stepping on each other. There is no reason why the two countries can't build a healthy relationship as friendly neighbours,





January 31, 2021: A farmer dries rice in a field in Bengal, the largest rice production region in India. With its warm and humid climate, the state is ideal for agriculture, horticulture and fishery. VCG

enhance comprehensive economic cooperation, and revive in-depth civilizational dialogue.

To this end, I offer the following proposals:

**First, we should return tense China-India relations to the right track.** Considering the challenges the two countries are facing, think tanks should leverage their unique strengths to provide advice and solutions for making policy and cultivating favourable public opinion to promote the stable development of bilateral relations. Both home to 1.4 billion

**Partnership by the two countries will ensure the wellbeing of the 2.8 billion people and more in the region, and hostility will hurt both peoples and the region at large.**

people, China and India stand to gain much from cooperation and lose from confrontation. Partnership by the two countries will ensure the wellbeing of the 2.8 billion people and more in the region, and hostility will hurt both peoples and the region at

large. The China-India Corps Commander-Level Meeting has played a key role in cooling down border tensions but is far from enough. The earliest return to the right track for bilateral relations demands higher-level engagement with more astute



political wisdom, greater political goodwill, avoidance of hostility on security issues, and more friendliness among the general public.

**Second, we should rejump-start bilateral economic cooperation.** The two largest developing countries, China and India are both at a critical stage of national development and national rejuvenation that demands they concentrate their strengths and resources on pursuing development. The development of China and India presents opportunities for each other, and the two countries should act as partners benefiting each other rather than rivals battling each other. We have to discard the zero-sum game mindset and seek harmonious co-existence.

While the world continues battling the COVID-19 pandemic and adapting to major changes unseen in a century, the rise in the anti-globalization sentiment and shift towards protectionism by some have only exacerbated the unprecedented challenges facing human society. After barriers have been created and industrial supply chains disrupted, global economies are confronting huge pressure from a gloomy job market and severe unemployment. In these circumstances, China and India, two large economies with huge markets, should reduce their emotional distance, remove barriers, sustain and strengthen economic cooperation and bilateral trade, and plan to achieve win-win results that



A senior citizen gets the COVID-19 vaccine in Guahati, India on March 11, 2021. India witnessed a sharp increase in the number of confirmed cases in a fierce second wave of the pandemic, which led to severe shortage of medicines and vaccines. Visual People

benefit all. China and India are highly complementary in economic development, trade and investment, resources, development stage, technological power, financial capability, education, and training. Other attractive features are their market size, transport distance, and time cost. The two countries should capitalize on their huge potential, especially in the post COVID-19 era.

**Third, we should start a new chapter of civilizational**

**dialogue between China and India.** Both countries have long histories and splendid cultures. For thousands of years, the two civilizations have continued learning from and influencing each other, as captured in many touching stories. In this age, we should follow the principle of seeking harmony in diversity, retaining openness and inclusiveness, and embracing multiple cultures to strengthen bilateral bonds through cultural exchange.

Several projects we planned had to be scrapped for various reasons, but we can introduce new proposals and engage in more activities and projects according to the new situation.

**Fourth, we should join hands in medical cooperation to combat the COVID-19 pandemic.** When the pandemic began plaguing the world, it was dealt with seriously by the Chinese government. After months of dedicated efforts, China, at a huge cost and sacrifice, effectively contained the virus from spreading, which marked a major strategic achievement in fighting COVID-19. During the process, China received sympathy and support from many governments and peoples around the world. The Chinese people were left deeply impressed. I was reminded of an old text:

*Foreign lands separated by mountains and rivers, we share the wind and moon under the same sky.* We will remember that our friends and neighbours cared so much for us. We should express special gratitude to the Indian people for the support they offered to China when we were at a vital stage combating COVID-19. We will keep those friendly gestures in mind and return the favour as much as we can.

In a globalized world stricken by the pandemic, no country can afford to stand alone. India is facing drastic challenges brought by COVID-19, which has cast a big shadow on its economic growth. China and India



A worker sorts out copper tubes at a wholesale metal market in Mumbai, India on February 25, 2021. The price of copper rose to US\$9,000 a ton, hitting a nine-year high. VCG

should work together to fight and prevent epidemics and exchange experience and the lessons learned. The two countries should cooperate in traditional medicine and medical treatment as well as vaccination to conquer the common enemy of all humanity—the COVID-19 pandemic.

Human will is higher than any mountain, and people's minds are broader than any ocean. China and India shoulder the responsibility of improving their people's livelihood through rapid economic development and realizing their national visions by seizing strategic opportunities. Enhancing cooperation, building mutual trust, reducing

friction, and avoiding conflicts meet the core national interests of both countries. Every great nation has unique ambitions, and persistent efforts will bring dreams closer to reality. We hope China and India will walk side by side and help each other to achieve win-win cooperation. The two countries moving ahead together peacefully will contribute considerably to Asia and the rest of the world. 📺

The author is director of the Center for Strategic Studies at the China Reform Forum. This article is an excerpt from his speech at the China-India Think Tank Online Forum.

# People-to-People Exchanges in Retrospect and Prospect

By B. R. Deepak

The people-to-people exchanges between China and India do not reflect the size, potential and positioning of the two countries in the evolving global order.

**W**e all agree that the free flow of ideas, people and technologies will enrich and benefit countries as it did in ancient times. It has been proven that the “circulatory movement” of ideas, people and technologies has contributed immensely to the enrichment of civilizations.

For instance, Buddhism disseminated from India to Central Asia and then onward to China, absorbed various components of other local cultures, especially Taoism and Confucianism, and enriched itself as a religion and philosophy. It emerged as a new entity creating innumerable new images. Along

with Buddhism traveled various thought systems of India and Central Asia such as astronomy, literature, music, languages, etc., which enriched the knowledge systems of the region.

The unimpeded flow of people was instrumental in this exchange, understanding and harmonizing relationships between various regions. For example, professionals in the translation industry from India, China and Central Asia created the entire repository of Buddhist literature in China and Northeast Asia, which in fact, preserved many of the sutras that have been lost in India.

Technologies and products such as sugar making,

papermaking, steel smelting, silk, porcelain, and tea traveled from China to other countries. For example, China learned the brown sugar making technique from India, and India in turn learned the technique of making granulated white sugar from China.

There were stories of camaraderie as well as support and sympathy for each other in the nearer past. The anti-imperialist joint struggle of the Indian and Chinese people was a challenge to the colonial order, both during the First War of Indian Independence (1857-1859) and the Taiping Rebellion (1850-1864) in China, as for the first time Indian soldiers stationed in China switched



February 7, 2018: Indian student Sanjena ND learns to make a bird cage at the intangible cultural heritage experience hall in Qiandongnan Miao and Dong Autonomous Prefecture, Guizhou Province. IC

over to the Taiping rebels and fought shoulder to shoulder against the imperialists and the Qing government. Memoirs such as *Cheen Mein Terah Maas (13 Months in China)* by Gadadhar Singh, an Indian soldier in China who sympathized with the Boxer Rebellion, are not even known to the people of India and China.

This rapprochement continued when a more organized struggle for national independence was launched by the Indian and Chinese people. They came together in Japan and China, and the Ghadr revolutionaries operating in China from different cities participated in Chinese revolution in the 1920s. The story

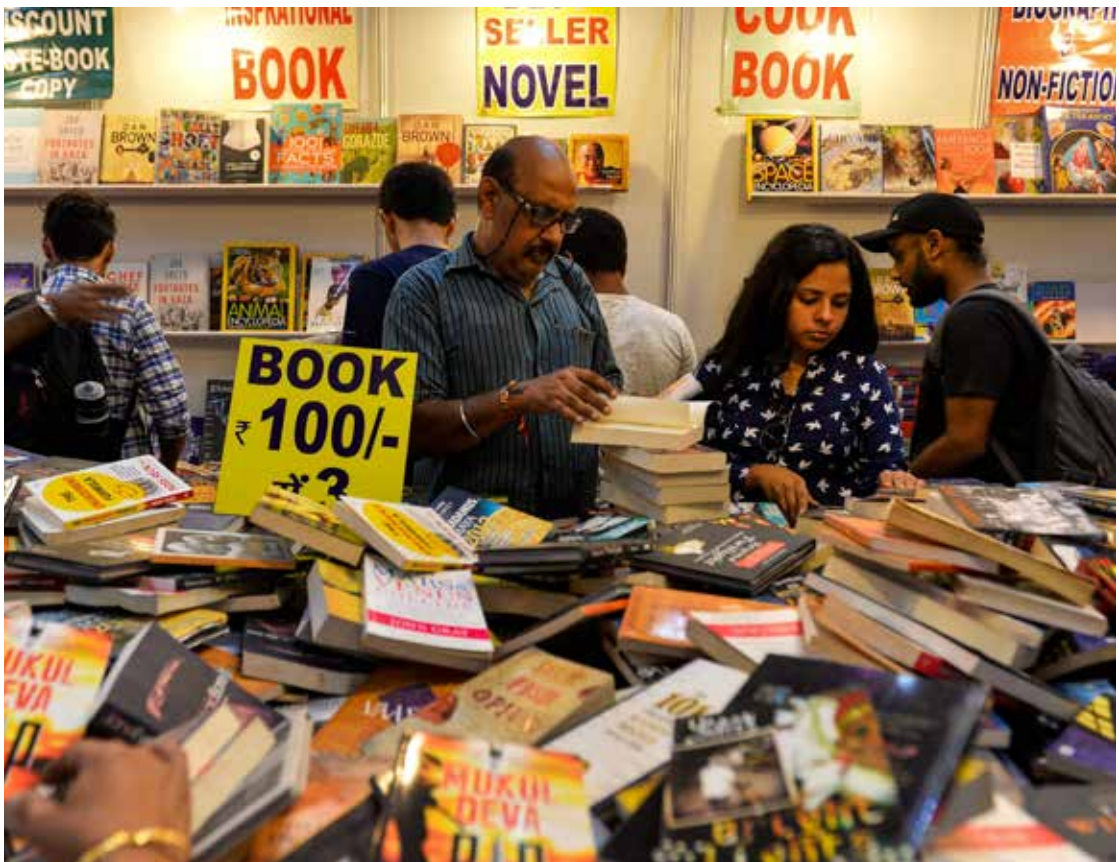
of Dr. D. Kotnis is known to all in India and China.

Unfortunately, post-independence exchanges between India and China were marred by historical baggage. The ensuing animosities culminated in the 1962 conflict, the shadow of which is currently seen in the border standoffs. Though the people-to-people exchanges were restored with the restoration of diplomatic relations, these do not reflect the size, potential and positioning of India and China in the evolving global order.

What could be done if the full potential of the people-to-people exchanges has to be realized? We may consider the following:

First and foremost, the Chinese and Indian studies in each other's countries need to be encouraged and strengthened so that capacities will be built across government and private sectors for better understanding. An act was passed by the Indian Parliament to establish new central universities in 2009, but so far only about 20 universities in India are offering Chinese language courses, most providing only certificate and diploma courses, including Delhi University where relevant courses were started in 1964. In recent years, though the number of Chinese universities offering courses in Hindi has gone up to 16, it





The New Delhi World Book Fair in India on January 9, 2016. More than 5,000 publications from 81 publishing organizations in China, the guest of honor, were showcased at the book fair, and a series of publishing and cultural exchange activities were conducted. VCG

is still not good enough given the large population of India and China.

Furthermore, the student exchange between India and China is highly asymmetrical. Most of the Indian students studying in Chinese universities are in the field of medicine, whereas the presence of Chinese students in Indian universities is miniscule. Jawaharlal Nehru University, one of the premier institutes of the country, hosts no more than 25 Chinese students. The number of students joining

official cultural exchange programs between the two countries is too low. The biggest hurdle I believe is non-recognition of each other's degrees besides other bottlenecks like accommodation and accepting each other's credit system. The removal of the bottlenecks will enhance the flow of students, joint research and seminars between the two countries.

Secondly, the bonding between the two countries' researchers and publishing industries is an area that

has not been accorded due importance. How many books from China and vice versa are being translated and disseminated in each other's countries? Remember, it was the translators from India, China and Central Asian countries that built a huge repository of Buddhist literature in China and were responsible for changing the entire socio-cultural landscape of East Asia in ancient times. Mutual translation of classics and contemporary works between India and China is a very good

beginning. There is a memorandum that envisages translation of 25 representative Chinese books into Hindi and vice versa. The books include Confucian classics, *Records of Western Regions during the Great Tang*, *The Three Kingdoms*, *A Dream of Red Mansions*, *The Scholars*, and the works of modern and contemporary writers such as Bing Xin, Ba Jin, Mao Dun, Lao She, Mo Yan, Jia Pingwa, A Lai, etc. The publishing industry will bring together intellectuals and think tanks on either side. It is not only broadening the scope of the people-to-people exchanges but also creating consciousness for long-term understanding and friendship between the two peoples.

Thirdly, tourism and pilgrimage will reinvent the bonding and nostalgia that existed between the two civilizations in history. It was by way of these pilgrimages and journeys that the spiritual and material civilizations of Asia and elsewhere benefited immensely from each other. A multi-layered approach of establishing sister cities and provinces needs to be expanded. India and China have a shared cultural heritage. For example, who in India and China will not connect to the frescoes and rock-hewn Buddhist iconography of Ajanta and Ellora with the Mogao, Yungang and Longmen and Dazu grottoes in China? There is a huge scope for cooperation. For example, a Buddhist corridor could be established and further connected to other

South Asian countries, such as Nepal and Sri Lanka. These measures would be conducive to laying a solid foundation for connectivity, trade and commerce, and above all a robust bilateral relationship.

Fourthly, both India and China are members of many multilateral mechanisms such as BRICS and the Shanghai Cooperation Organization and have signed many important agreements on people-to-people exchanges. For example, a comprehensive Action Plan

fields. The plan is indeed very ambitious; however, similar action plans are required to be taken at the bilateral level for more results in people-to-people exchanges. The increased presence of media personnel and objective reporting by both sides may add to better understanding of each other.

Finally, people-to-people dialogue calls for abandoning the Cold War mentality and zero-sum game mindset. Both countries must negotiate mutual, equal

**It has been proven that the “circulatory movement” of ideas, people and technologies has contributed immensely to the enrichment of civilizations.**

for the Implementation of the Agreement between the Governments of the BRICS States on Cooperation in the Field of Culture (2017-2021) was signed in 2017. The action plan envisages establishment of a BRICS alliance of art museums, national galleries, libraries, media and publishing industry.

Besides, it encourages international cultural and art festivals, joint programs on archaeological research, cooperation across creative and commercial sectors including performing arts, visual arts, audiovisual, music, gastronomy, fashion, literature, yoga, animation and games, new media, cultural and creative product development, and the training of personnel engaged in these

and sustainable security as envisaged in some of the confidence-building mechanisms. They need to be mindful of the fact that the bilateral security boundary is not just limited to the border, but has sprawled into various other fields such as maritime, river water, cybersecurity, counter terrorism and other non-traditional security issues. Both need to establish new dialogue mechanisms while substantiating or replacing the old ones. ■

—  
The author is a professor with the Centre for Chinese and South East-Asian Studies, Jawaharlal Nehru University, New Delhi, India. The article is an excerpt from his speech at the China-India Think Tank Online Forum.

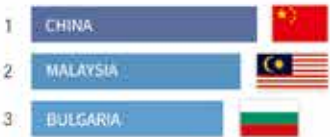
# How China Pursues Innovation-driven Development

Edited by **Hu Zhoumeng**  
Designed by **Stanisa Vebe Shineta**

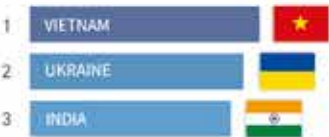
In 2020, the geography of innovation continued to shift as evidenced by the Global Innovation Index (GII) rankings. Over the years, China, Vietnam, India, and the Philippines have been the economies with the most significant progress in GI innovation ranking.



Upper middle-income economies (37 in total)

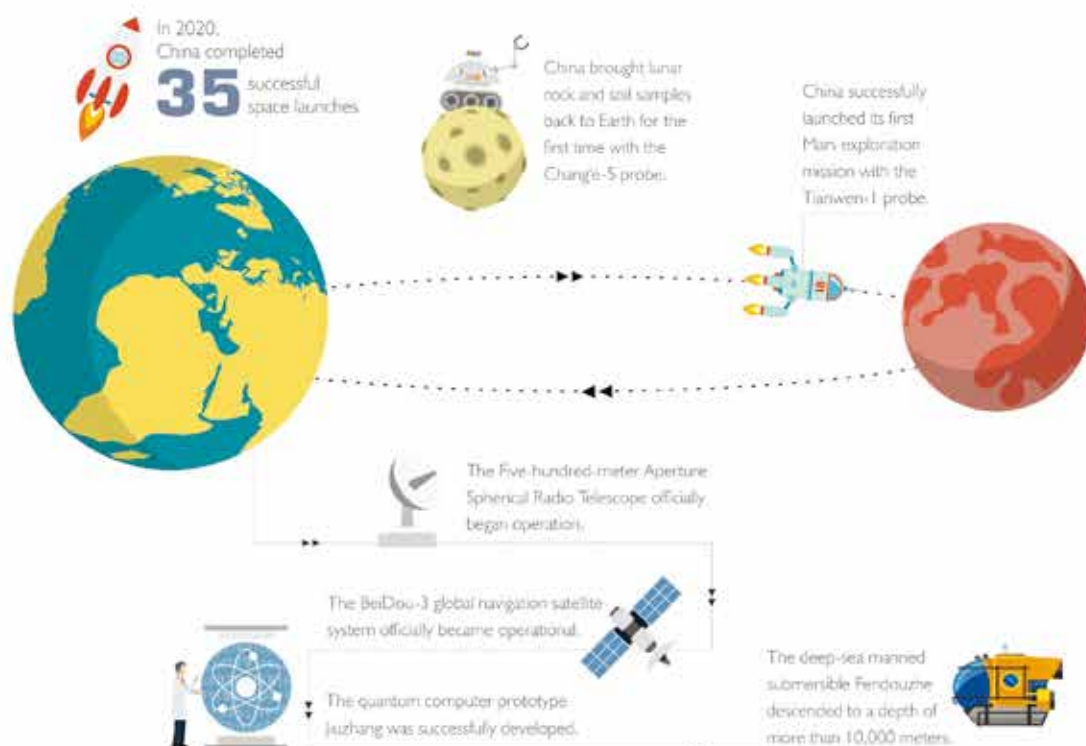


Lower middle-income economies (29 in total)

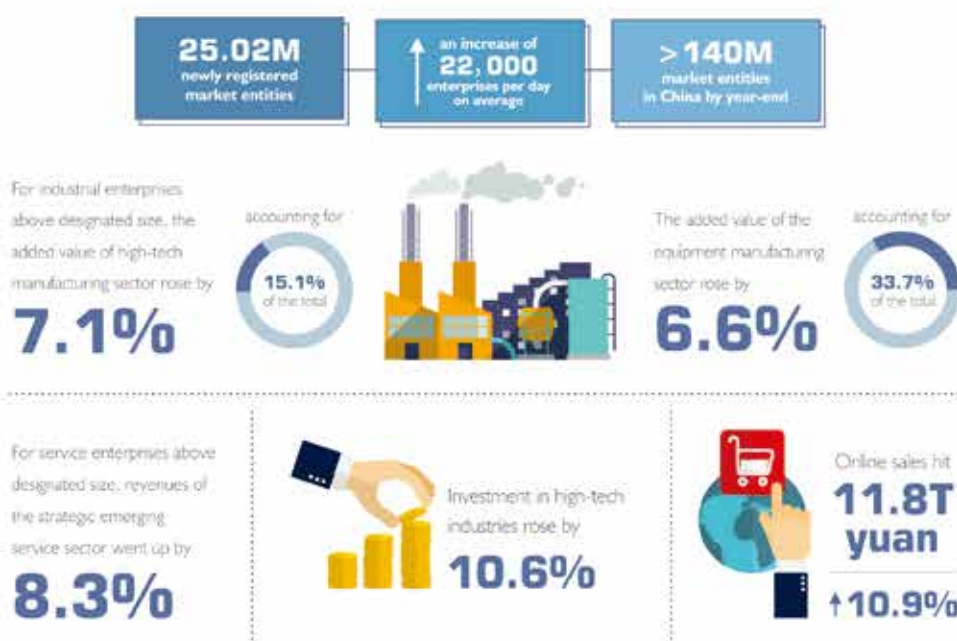


China topped in **8** GI innovation indicators, and India topped in **1**.





In 2020, new industries and new forms of business developed in China despite challenges.



Note: The average exchange rate for Chinese yuan to US dollar in 2020 was 6.9 to 1.





**1.46M**  
new-energy vehicles  
were produced  
↑ **17.3%**



**261.47B**  
integrated circuits  
were produced  
↑ **29.6%**

In 2020, China's nationwide  
spending on R&D expanded to

**>2.4T yuan**



Spending on fundamental  
research accounted for

**150.4B yuan**

R&D Spending (trillion yuan)



In 2020, **198** key sci-tech projects  
were organized, and **45,700** projects  
were funded by China's National Natural  
Science Foundation.

**552**

key national  
laboratories

**350**

national research  
engineer centers

**1,636**

national enterprise  
technology centers

**1,173**

national tech enterprises  
incubators

**END OF  
2020**



China's In-force Patents by End of Year (millions)







In 2020, China continued to promote educational equality and improve its national education system. China is home to over **537,000** schools of all levels and types, and nearly **18 million** full-time teachers.



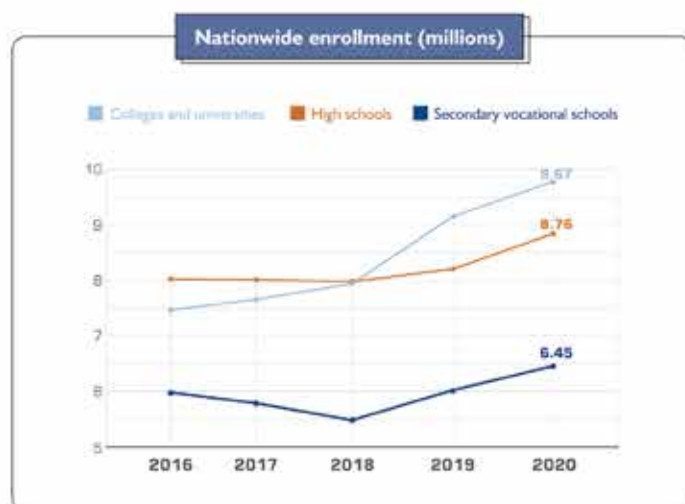
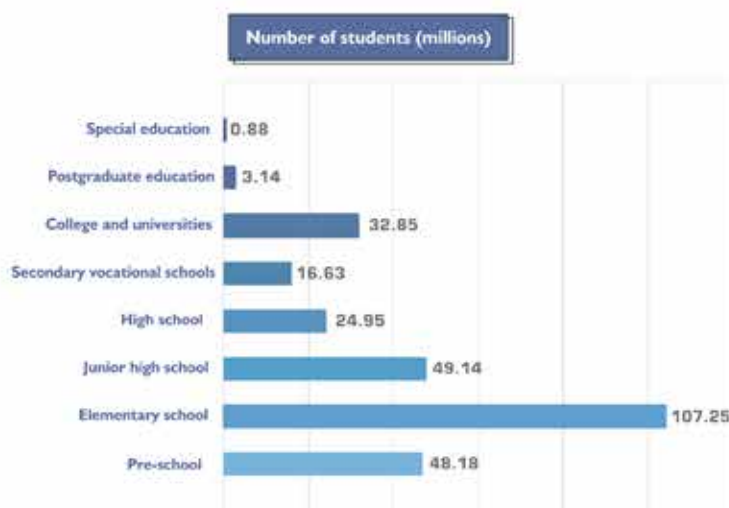
The consolidation rate of nine-year compulsory education



The gross enrollment rate for high schools



The gross enrollment rate for higher education



Source: Statistical Communiqué of China on the 2020 National Economic and Social Development, Global Innovation Index 2020, Statistics of China on National Education 2020, and others.

# Cutural Exchange Never Ends: My Indissoluble Bond with India/China

Concept by China-India Dialogue

## Footprint of COVID-19 on Indian Youth: Past, Present, and Future

### Kunal Timbalia

**Occupation:** China studies student

**Birth place:** Junagadh, Gujarat, India

**Current residence:** Mumbai, India



Not a war or natural disaster, but a small deadly virus has impacted the whole global world and the human beings living in it. Since its outbreak at the end of the year 2019, the novel coronavirus rapidly spread all over the world. Sadly, the virus has taken numerous human lives, and the number is still mounting.

On January 30, 2020, the first case was detected in India, and on March, the Indian government announced a nationwide lockdown for 21 days, limiting the movements of more than 1.3 billion of as a precautionary measure. As the virus started to spread widely and quickly, the government extended the lockdown from 15 days to one month till May 31, and then gradually started to unlock the restrictions state by state from June 1.

I visited China on a 15-day

summer exchange program in 2019 and had a wonderful experience there. I planned to apply for a scholarship in China, but as we started detecting COVID-19 cases in India, the plan got canceled, and everything was unstable. At that point India was under lockdown, many Indian students who were abroad came back, many people started going back to their native places, and everything went chaotic. Shops, malls, restaurants, multiplexes, schools, universities, and railways were closed; only government offices and food stores providing essential things were open.

This lockdown changed many people's daily routine. People began to work from home, and students started to study from home, hence I started my HSK 4 classes online, and luckily I found them equally intensive

and effective.

Many final year exams in colleges and universities were canceled, which created a huge problem for students and universities. Since in India the academic year is from June to April, the final year exams that should be taken in April were delayed to October. There were also different rules and regulations in different states for taking exams. Many undergraduate students and young workers were in depression regarding their employment, job security, and what would happen post COVID-19. Studies conducted by different institutes showed that six out of ten students said that they felt anxious regarding their ability to find jobs due to COVID-19. The International Labor Organization and the Asian Development Bank reported that 41 Lakh youths in India lost their jobs due to the COVID-19 pandemic with most job losses in the construction and farm sectors.

Fortunately I got another opportunity in my university where I was learning Chinese as it announced a new graduate program on China Studies. I decided to grab this opportunity and enrolled. I can learn about Chinese culture, history, contemporary China, modern Chinese economy, geography, business and many other aspects of China. After completing this course, I plan to apply for a one-year Chinese language program, followed by a PhD in China studies.

The reason for majoring in

China studies is that India and China were connected through trade and religion in ancient times. In modern times, both cultures continue to remain influenced by ancient religious-philosophical systems; both are large, populous and ambitious nations that want to play a larger role in the economic and political landscape worldwide. It will create job opportunities for scholars, professors, policy research, entrepreneurship, multinational jobs, translation-interpretation, etc. In the future I would like to fill the gap between India-China relations and contribute towards it. Recently the relationship became tense due to the border issue. As a result, many Chinese apps are banned in India as a data security threat, but I believe the tribulations are in political and geopolitical areas, not in economic and cultural areas. I trust that in the near future the issue will get resolved and relations will gradually go back to normal.

India has 64 percent of its population in the working age group. This demographic asset provides a vast opportunity for developing nations, and economists believe that it will give a significant advantage with the potential of adding up to 2 percent of GDP growth. Under the current circumstance, economic growth is at a standstill, leading to job losses and lack of opportunities. It is anticipated that the slowdown in growth will take a few annual quarters to recover and youths would need to realign

their lifestyle and quest for opportunities.

To conclude, I would like to say “阳光总在风雨后,” which means “There is always sunshine after a storm.” The world has been attacked by the COVID-19 storm, but people will definitely tide over it, and there will finally be a shine in all eyes.

---

## Dreams Will Go On

### Arafat Abdursul

**Occupation:** Musician

**Birth place:** Kashi, Xinjiang

**Current residence:** Beijing



My name is Arafat Abdursul, and I'm from Kashi, northwestern China's Xinjiang Uygur Autonomous Region. I am now a senior student majoring in business management at Beijing University of Chemical Technology. I grew up watching Indian movies, so I have always had a natural affection for Indian songs, dances, and culture. I can relate to the themes in Indian songs and find a lot

of inspiration from them. The values depicted in Indian films such as the love and loyalty between family and friends made such a big impact on me that I became a more caring and stronger person. Three years ago, I started performing covers of Indian songs, which has become part of my life today. Although the journey

so I borrowed a camera from the faculty and shot videos to post them online myself. It has been a hard journey. But when I see my works recognized and loved by many, everything is worthwhile. The work hasn't brought any economic benefits, but I will continue to do it. It is a pure passion in my heart.

My efforts have earned me

opportunities.

In 2020, my pursuit for music seemed to screech to a halt when COVID-19 broke out. As a senior in business management with a music dream, I was always a bit uncertain about my future. The adverse impact of the pandemic in 2020 made me even more worried and unsettled. I practiced social distancing for nearly six months and missed a lot of great opportunities. Those were heavy blows! However, I have always been aware that life's pressures are always going to happen, so I made up my mind to stay true to myself and plan my future development.

When I was at the most critical crossroads of my life, Indian songs made me see my musical potential and rekindle my dreams. I became more confident and stronger. I believe that everyone has a dream in his or her heart, even if it seems absurd or weird. Indian culture has gifted me with much more than beautiful songs and fantastic dances. More importantly, it has inspired me to have a passionate and positive attitude towards life. I will stick to what I love. My dream now is to go to India, learn from my favorite Indian singers, and become a singer of Hindi songs. I hope more people can hear my songs, enjoy my passion, and recognize my attitude towards life.

Whether or not I end up with a career related to music, the dream in my heart will persist. My dream makes my goals clearer and firmer. I hope that in five years, I will meet a stronger, braver, and more mature me still pursuing the dream. 🎵

**Indian culture has gifted me with much more than beautiful songs and fantastic dances. More importantly, it has inspired me to have a passionate and positive attitude towards life.**

to reach this point has been bumpy and full of challenges, I have enjoyed it and want to keep going.

I believe that everyone will find something they deeply love in their lifetime. This kind of love is pure—nothing to do with fame, wealth, social status, geography, or culture. This is how I feel about Indian songs. This love helped me overcome challenges, work hard to learn the songs by myself, and pursue my dream. In the past three years, I learned and practiced Hindi songs whenever I had the chance. After school, I would sing and do voice training in my school's underground parking lot or other empty places. I didn't want my singing hobby to be a financial burden for my family, so I saved money and recorded my Hindi songs in some of the more affordable recording studios in Beijing. I don't have much money for equipment,

many followers on several Chinese social media platforms. I've also been recognized by a number of professionals and gained access to larger stages. I was invited to perform at the Indian Embassy in China and at various events such as China-India concerts and China-India cultural salons. I've also had the chance to meet Bollywood superstars including Shahrukh Khan, Hrithik Roshan, Rani Mukerji, and Yami Gautam when I performed at the China premieres of their films and they appeared in person. The excitement, warmth, and inspiration that these experiences gave me transcend words. I am most grateful to the people who have understood me along my lone journey. Not only my parents and friends, but many strangers have recognized my passion and persistence with Indian music. They've offered me more platforms and





**Plant Trees    Love Trees**

**Protect the "lungs of the earth"  
to enjoy clean air.**



# Xi'an: Land of Opportunities

By Dev Raturi

I really hope the relationship between India and China, two great civilizations, will become stronger, and we can have more trade and cultural exchanges for the benefit of our young generations and business fraternity.

**W**hen I came to China in 2005, I never thought I would spend such a long time here. During my initial struggles in building my career, I learned a lot about this country. I started as a waiter in a restaurant and I rose to become the general manager of a hospitality chain after a few years of hard work and dedication. Now I am both an entrepreneur and an actor.

It certainly was not an easy journey, but the business environment in China was so favorable that it gave a common man like me opportunities to pursue my dreams and ambition. After traveling to various cities across the country, I finally settled down

in Xi'an where I opened my first Indian cultural theme restaurant.

I had been to 18 cities scouting trips before first visiting Xi'an in 2012 when I was mesmerized by its magnificent culture and history. I had always wanted to live in such a place surrounded by natural beauty and equipped with modern facilities and amenities. My first Redfort branch in the Tang West shopping mall is located at the starting point of the ancient Silk Road demonstrating different Asian cultures.

Xi'an, known as Chang'an in ancient times, is the capital city of China's Shaanxi Province. As a designated central city in northwestern China, Xi'an is home to not

only ancient cultural monuments but also high-tech industries and technological development zones. It is a good place in China for any expat like me to start a business. The processes are set and streamlined by the government to support entrepreneurs.

Xi'an is highly developed and full of opportunities for people with dreams and vision. There is a big expat community running different businesses in the city and contributing to its development. I faced quite a lot of challenges when starting my first branch. However, I always received overwhelming support from the local government at every step whenever there was any

problem. They offered a lot of help in licensing and promoting the restaurant to locals and tourists. I would recommend Xi'an among the best places to start your venture not only in hospitality but in other industries as well.

The industry base of Xi'an is sound and strong, boasting electronics, machinery, chemicals, materials, surveying, automatic controls, aerospace, aviation and other fields at a first-class and world-leading level. Xi'an, a transport hub and open frontier, is an important fulcrum city on the routes of the Belt and Road through the Eurasian continent. Shaanxi Province is also known for apples and kiwis and has overtaken Shandong Province in eastern China to become the country's biggest fruit production base. There is also surplus production of other fruits including red dates, oranges, peaches, and pears, which provides great opportunities for people looking to invest in fruit trading.

I also love Xi'an because it is a beautiful and livable city with mountains and rivers. It is one of the world's most famous tourist destinations. I would recommend visiting Xi'an whenever you get an opportunity to visit China as it is a perfect cultural and cosmopolitan city that you will fall in love with. For me, it is like my second home and my two children were born here. For them, this is their home. They speak fluent Chinese and study in public schools which maintain very high standards of education.

The people in Xi'an are



People celebrate Diwali at an Amber Palace restaurant in Xi'an City. courtesy of Dev Raturi

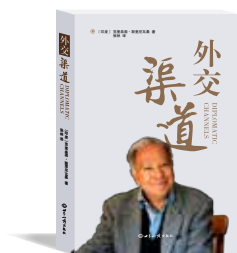
very friendly and helpful. I never faced any antagonism even when there were border scuffles between India and China. Chinese people are very warm, hospitable and progressive. We celebrate Indian festivals such as the colorful festival Holi and the festival of light Diwali at the restaurants. We are usually joined by 400 to 500 guests, the majority of whom are Chinese. Now, there are four Redfort and Amber Palace restaurant branches in Xi'an and the fifth, another Amber Palace, is planned to open in mid-2021.

China also made me realize my childhood dream of becoming an actor. I have been inspired by Bruce Lee since my childhood, and I watched all his movies when I was in India. I always wanted to work in the film industry,

but even after struggling in Bollywood, I could not make it. Twenty years later, I got an opportunity to work in a Chinese movie, and since then I have played roles in more than 20 different movies, TV series and web series.

A true Indian at heart, I have dedicated myself to promoting Indian culture in China for years and will continue to do so in the future. I would love to see the bonds between India and China become stronger since both countries have so much to offer each other. 🇮🇳

*The author, hailing from Uttarakhand in India, is an entrepreneur and actor who now lives in Xi'an, Shaanxi Province. He runs two restaurant chains in China and has acted in several movies and TV series.*



### Diplomatic Channels

Krishnan Srinivasan

Translated by Zhang Lin

World Affairs Press (China)

October 2020

This book is a collection of articles by former Indian Foreign Secretary Krishnan Srinivasan. It shares the thoughts of an Indian diplomat and offers a glimpse into India's unique political and diplomatic culture. It helps Chinese readers to better understand India, a country with a population similar to China's, and its foreign policy.

A retired diplomat, scholar, and writer, Srinivasan served as also Commonwealth deputy secretary-general. He worked in agencies under the Indian Ministry of External Affairs in Oslo and Beirut and served as the Indian ambassador and high commissioner to several countries including Libya, Zambia, and the Netherlands.

India may already see itself as an influential factor in the ASEAN economic and security space, but this self-perception will not be shared by other major actors. ASEAN has differing levels of consensus on many issues including security, and many among its 10 members regard India only as an Indian Ocean power and not an Asia-Pacific one. Being part of the Asia-Pacific is a necessity for India's pursuit of world status, and its friendly

# Look East, But Look Harder: India, China, and Southeast Asia

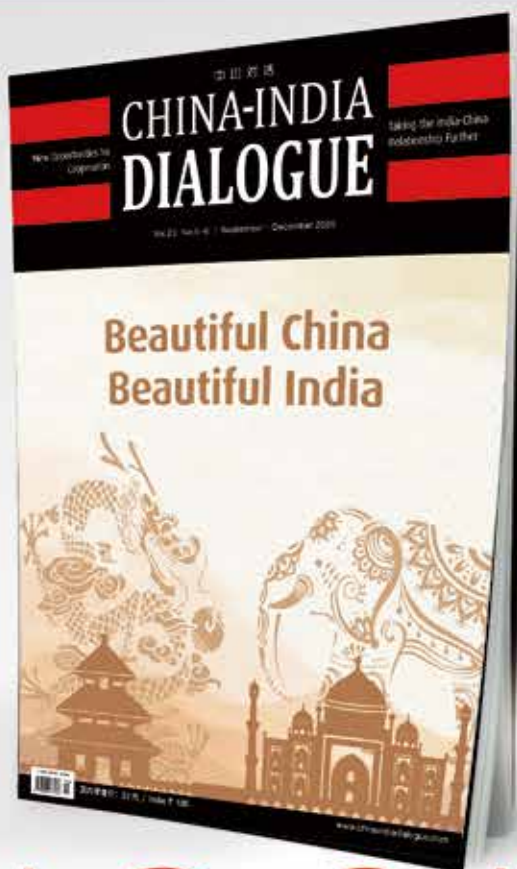
ties with the USA can boost that strategy, but in matters critical to ASEAN like the Korean Peninsula, the Taiwan Straits, and the South China Sea, it remains to be seen whether India has the capacity and will to be involved; for instance, it has given no significant opinions on Pyongyang's nuclear and missile ambitions. In security conclaves like the six-power talks on the North Korean nuclear issue, India is not included, and if the six-member *ad hoc* body eventually morphs into an embryonic Asian security construct, Indian relevance and participation might become a subject of contention.

India will be prepared to play a more energetic role, along with the West, in maintaining the security of international sea lanes, and its ambitions may be on the right lines, but it has to incrementally enhance its economic integration with other Asian countries. India has to make much greater efforts towards the objective of making ASEAN an important stakeholder in Indian prosperity. India is still far from being an indispensable

country, and the reality is that the gap between China's and India's levels of engagement with ASEAN remains huge: No amount of summit photo opportunities for our prime minister with East Asian leaders will redress this imbalance.

Military contacts are not nearly as important as economic interdependence, because without such integration, it is premature to talk about any possible role for India in the security architecture of Asia. At this time when the level of acrimony between India and China is disturbing and even reminiscent of the 1950s, it is sobering to keep in mind that in the unlikely event of a clash of arms, such international support as India receives will again come, as it did in 1962, mainly from the West for the West's own purposes, whereas the so-called non-aligned group of countries will at best sit on the fence, or far more likely, tilt towards our northern neighbor. 📖

*This is an excerpt from an article in Diplomatic Channels published by Beijing-based World Affairs Press.*



# BRIDGING CHINA AND INDIA



**FIND US  
ON VARIOUS MEDIA**



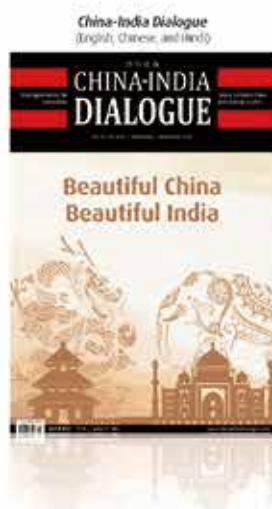
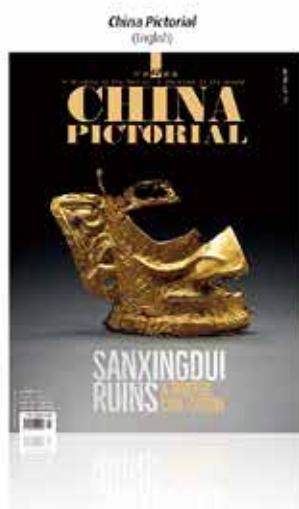
Any question or comment about *CHINA-INDIA DIALOGUE*  
Please email us at [contact@chinaindiadialogue.com](mailto:contact@chinaindiadialogue.com)

[WWW.CHINAINDIADIALOGUE.COM](http://WWW.CHINAINDIADIALOGUE.COM)



# 人民畫報

China Pictorial Publications



A Window to the Nation    A Welcome to the World  
Chinese Passion    Global Vision

Advertisement hotline: 86-10-8841 7354 / 7355 / 7419