

中印对话

# CHINA-INDIA DIALOGUE

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FINE-TUNING  
CHINA-INDIA TIES  
IN 2022

MAINTAINING CONTACT  
WHILE SEEKING  
BREAKTHROUGHS

DECODING CHINA'S  
2022 GDP GROWTH  
TARGET

## Resetting China-India Relations

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**THE WORLD IN COVID-19 & BEYOND:**  
*WORKING TOGETHER  
FOR GLOBAL DEVELOPMENT  
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## Indian Youth Support Beijing Winter Olympics

On January 11, 2022, the Chinese Embassy in India held a video meeting to gather Indian youth's support for the Beijing Winter Olympics. Chinese Ambassador to India Sun Weidong delivered a speech, as did Wan Xuejun, deputy director of the International Liaison Department of the Beijing Organizing Committee for the 2022 Olympic and Paralympic Winter Games, and Himadri Suwan, chairman of the Indian Youth Leaders Federation. More than 100 people from the Puducherry Branch of the India-China Friendship Association, the India-China Trade Center, the Xu Fancheng Culture Study Center, Indian colleges and universities, and international student circles attended the event.

A video of Indian youth supporting the Beijing Winter Olympics was played during the event. It captured young Indians signing their names and writing wishes on a board and holding a sign reading "BEIJING 2022" in English and Hindi. In this way, they expressed support for the Beijing Winter Olympics. Indian young people said that the activity increased their interest in ice and snow sports. They also expressed wishes for a successful Winter Olympics in Beijing and good performances of athletes from around the world.



## BRICS Vaccine R&D Center Launched

The Ministry of Science and Technology of China held an online launching ceremony for the BRICS Vaccine R&D Center and a seminar on vaccine cooperation on March 22, 2022. The science and technology and health departments of BRICS countries jointly unveiled the center and discussed vaccine cooperation.

At the ceremony, the five BRICS countries jointly proposed an initiative to strengthen vaccine cooperation to ensure the accessibility and affordability of vaccines in developing countries through equitable distribution of global public goods. The initiative is also aimed at enhancing BRICS countries' capability to control infectious diseases and respond to public health emergencies. It emphasizes openness and welcomes more partners.



## 14th and 15th Rounds of China-India Corps Commander-level Meeting

The 14th and 15th rounds of the China-India Corps Commander-level Meeting were held at the Moldo-Chushul border meeting point on January 12 and March 11 of this year, respectively. The two sides held a candid and in-depth exchange of views on resolving issues along the

Line of Actual Control (LAC) in the western section of the China-India border.

Both sides agreed to follow the guidance provided by the leaders of the two countries and work to resolve the remaining issues as soon as possible, noting that this would help restore peace and

tranquility along the LAC in the border areas and enable progress in bilateral relations.

The two sides also agreed to maintain contact via military and diplomatic channels and work out a mutually acceptable solution to the remaining issues via dialogue as quickly as possible.

## Chinese and Indian Foreign Ministers Hold Talks

On March 25, 2022, Chinese State Councilor and Foreign Minister Wang Yi met with Indian External Affairs Minister Subrahmanyam Jaishankar in New Delhi during his visit to India.

Wang said that as two neighboring ancient civilizations and the two largest developing countries and representatives of emerging economies with a combined population of 2.8 billion, China and India are two main forces in promoting multi-polarization of the world, economic globalization, diversity of civilizations, and democratization of international relations. As the world enters a new phase of turbulence and transformation, the two countries should strengthen communication, coordinate stances, safeguard respective legitimate interests and the common interests of the developing countries, and make respective contributions to peace and stability in the region and beyond, according to Wang.

Jaishankar said that India attaches great importance to its relations with China and that no changes have been made in its strategic assessment of the importance of China. India stands ready to strengthen communication with China and enhance mutual trust to lift bilateral relations out of the trough as soon as possible and continuously push for

pragmatic cooperation between the two countries, according to Jaishankar.

Wang added that as mature and rational major developing countries, China and India should put the boundary question to a proper place in bilateral relations and not let it define or even affect the overall development of bilateral relations. China and India should help each other succeed, rather than engage in attrition; support each other, rather than exclude each other, said Wang. The two sides need to uphold the important consensus reached by the leaders of the two countries that “China and India pose no threat but offer development opportunities to each other,” properly resolve the boundary question, and manage and control their differences to better develop bilateral relations.

Jaishankar noted that India and China have maintained effective communication via diplomatic and military channels since last year. After rounds of the corps commander-level meeting and meetings of the Working Mechanism for Consultation and Coordination on China-India Border Affairs, the two militaries have realized disengagement in most parts of the western section of the China-India border, and should disengage each other in the remaining parts as soon as possible, he said.

## 2022 Presidents’ Forum of Hubei-South Asian Universities

On April 1, the 2022 Presidents’ Forum of Hubei-South Asian Universities & the 2nd Meeting of Hubei-South Asian Universities Alliance were held in Yichang, central China’s Hubei Province.

The theme of the forum was “Cooperation and exchange between universities of Hubei and South Asia in the post-pandemic era.” By promoting exchange and cooperation, the forum aimed to enhance the role of higher education in regional cooperation and jointly promote regional peace, stability, and common prosperity. The forum was attended by more than 30 principals and representatives from 18 universities and institutions in Pakistan, Sri Lanka, Bangladesh, India, and Nepal. More than 40 principals and representatives from 11 universities in Hubei Province joined business representatives, experts and scholars on country and regional research, and representatives of South Asian students at the event. 

# China-India Relations in 2022: Forward or Backward

By Ye Hailin



The state and nature of China-India ties affects regional cooperation and security while exerting a crucial impact on the changing international landscape.

**N**ew Delhi's February 2022 announcement that it would block access to more than 50 apps with links to China cast a shadow over China-India relations. In terms of decoupling economically from China, India is already ahead of many countries that have sought to do so. Diplomatically, especially

in the security field, India continues to follow the United States very closely. Its involvement in the Indo-Pacific strategy reached a new height at the beginning of 2022.

## **SOUR POLITICAL TIES BUT CLOSE ECONOMIC RELATIONS?**

Of course, people don't always get what they want.

Outcomes sometimes go against one's wishes. Statistics show that in 2021, China-India economic and trade relations weren't affected by fragile bilateral ties. Bilateral trade volume exceeded US\$125 billion, a year-on-year increase of 43 percent. A stark contrast sets the close China-India economic and trade cooperation from the sour political

and diplomatic relations after the Galwan Valley clash in 2020. Does this situation indicate that China-India relations will become similar to China-Japan relations, close in economic and trade cooperation and distant in politics? Will this become the normal state between the two countries?

This scenario probably won't happen. The major reason is the different attitudes of India and Japan towards their respective economic ties with China. Although Japan has followed the United States on foreign policy and security strategy, it has always maintained close economic ties with China.

From Japan's point of view, close economic cooperation and distant political relations with China are realities and hard facts that conform to Tokyo's expectations for its relationship with Beijing. Although this expectation is always under adjustment due to structural changes in China-U.S. relations, Japan surely has no motivation to upset China-Japan economic ties. In the bilateral economic and trade field, Japan sometimes plays for losses either from desire to compete with China or due to careful consideration of the balance between security policy and economic interests. However, the situation is totally different with India, especially with the Modi-led Bharatiya Janata Party (BJP) government during its second term in power.

The Indian government is actively seeking to decouple



April 6, 2022: A Party member helps a local villager with peach blossom thinning to enhance fruit yield and quality in Xiaji Town, Baoying County, Jiangsu Province. Recently, Party members and agricultural technicians from the town carried out a campaign to help local farmers with disabilities and labor-starved families with spring farming. IC

economically from China. It frequently carries out anti-dumping and anti-subsidy investigations against China, abuses national security, and politicizes economic issues. The country has adopted concrete measures to decouple economically from China. India's attitude towards the China-India economic and trade cooperation indicates that New Delhi's China strategy is to foster distant political relations and to sour economic ties. Specifically, it actively responded to the U.S.-led Indo-Pacific strategy and moved closer the United States in the security domain. While India seeks to decouple economically from China, it has shown great interest in joining the Indo-Pacific economic framework

proposed by the United States. India aims to realize a strategic goal of beating China in competition to gain recognition as a global power.

### GAP IN UNDERSTANDING

India's current strategies on China were not caused by a lack of common interests shared by the two countries. They have been about India's self-perception and a huge gap in understanding of the bilateral ties between the two countries.

A huge gap prevents understanding on many matters affecting China and India. In terms of economic and trade relations, China attaches great importance to the growth of bilateral trade volume, while India cares more about its growing



February 17, 2022: The G20 Finance Ministers and Central Bank Governors Meeting opens in Jakarta, Indonesia. The G20 members recognize that the global economic recovery is ongoing but at different places in different countries. They are seeking a sustainable international financing scheme to build global resilience against potential future pandemics and reduce gaps in health systems among countries. Xinhua

trade deficit with China. In terms of foreign policy, China believes that India, the largest country in South Asia and a bellwether of the Non-Aligned Movement, should always adhere to an independent foreign policy and never join the Indo-Pacific strategy clearly aimed at China. However, New Delhi believes that an alliance with Washington is in its best interests. In terms of security issues, China sees considerable room for bilateral cooperation in non-traditional security fields while India is more concerned about China's presence in the Indian Ocean and the defense cooperation between China and Pakistan. Misunderstandings abound on all these issues, but the most glaring are widely varying interpretations of each other's identity and standing.

China sees both countries as big developing countries with similar status in the international community. The many similarities lay groundwork for cooperation

shoulder the mission of national rejuvenation. This is how the Chinese government looks at bilateral ties. However, India thinks differently. Different methods

**The importance of China-India relations has been increasing to the two countries themselves, to Asia, and to the world. Against this backdrop, the two countries should examine all aspects of the bilateral relationship from a global perspective and take into consideration the big picture of international landscape.**

rather than confrontation. The two countries suffered from either colonial or semi-colonial deprivations in modern times, and both

of escaping semi-colonial and colonial rule determined that China and India would occupy different positions in the West-dominated

international landscape. This is the starting point for the gap in understanding of each other's identity. Despite the United States and other Western countries courting India in recent years and applauding its development achievements, India feels incessantly overshadowed by its neighbor.

While China seeks cooperation with India and continues creating opportunities for developing countries to get around tough corners together, India has been concentrating on escaping the so-called "China's shadow" and replacing the neighbor on the international arena. In other words, China values the overall status of developing countries in the global landscape, while India cares more about direct competition with China. With the BJP's ruling position becoming stable and rising Hindu nationalism, the Indian government has made competing rather than cooperating with China an important strategy to win both domestic and international support. This is not something that China can change by adopting a cooperative strategy based on the identities of the two neighbors as major developing economies.

Because of India's interpretation of each other's identity and China-India ties, the harder China tries to cooperate, the more antagonistic a posture India takes. The reason is simple: Beijing's goodwill gestures are always interpreted as compromises to New Delhi. These gestures



Teachers and students from the India-China Yoga College at Yunnan Minzu University practice yoga during a performance. The college became the first educational institution specializing in yoga outside India after it was inaugurated on June 13, 2015. courtesy of India-China Yoga College of Yunnan Minzu University

are deemed by India as their victories rather than China's kindness. And often, when China takes actions to safeguard its core interests and holds to the bottom line, India claims such actions as "discrimination and bullying."

It is quite difficult to summarize the Sino-Indian relationship succinctly because so many factors are working together. The relationship is affected by inherent problems between the two countries as well as the regional and international environments.

China and India are the world's two largest developing countries and represent the world's biggest emerging economies. The state and nature of the bilateral relationship affects regional cooperation and security and

exerts a crucial impact on the changing international landscape. The importance of China-India relations has been increasing to the two countries themselves, to Asia, and to the world. Against this backdrop, the two countries should examine all aspects of the bilateral relationship from a global perspective and take into consideration the big picture of international landscape. Both sides should face up to the problems hindering the bilateral relationship and avoid wishfully advocating idealism beyond reality. ■

The author is vice director and researcher with the National Institute of International Strategy and vice director of the Bureau of International Cooperation at the Chinese Academy of Social Sciences.

# Returning China-India Relations to Normal

By Manisha Chakraborty



Many hope China and India will adopt a holistic and collaborative approach to reset their relationship.

**N**o one can dispute that the unfortunate bloodshed in the 2020 Galwan Valley clash between the Indian and Chinese border troops at the Line of Actual Control (LAC) in the Ladakh region decimated the China-India relationship. The border conflict at icy heights has been tearing both countries

apart, significantly affecting the socio-economic fields of the people living on both sides of the Himalayas.

Considering the strength and development of China-India bilateral ties as well as the two countries' respective roles in international issues, Sino-Indian relations cannot be a "zero-sum game" in the era of globalization. In light

of the troubled China-India relationship, people from both countries should stand up to encourage top leaders to engage in peaceful dialogue instead of accepting a relationship of conflict, hate, suspicion, and mistrust.

Undoubtedly, an immediate one-to-one meeting between Indian Prime Minister Narendra Modi and Chinese

President Xi Jinping could reduce the tension at the border and might also result in enhancing political mutual trust, properly managing differences, and expanding practical cooperation to guide better and more stable development of China-India ties. Everyday people like to see the blue bright sky of friendship between the two countries, especially in a post-COVID-19 scenario.

### AGE-OLD BRIDGE OF FRIENDSHIP

China-India exchanges date back more than 2,000 years, making the relationship more of a spiritual bond. Trade, religion, culture, and political activities were the basis of that bond. History witnessed exchange between the two peoples when Buddhism was introduced to China from India in the 2nd century B.C. In ancient times, monks and scholars like Kumarjiva, Faxian, and Xuanzang traveled to each other's country and helped build a long bridge of friendship between the two countries that became indestructible and stood for thousands of years.

In modern history, it was not an easy decision for Indian leadership under Prime Minister Jawaharlal Nehru to diplomatically recognize the newly established People's Republic of China on April 1, 1950. This move led to a close cooperation between the two big nations and ensured their peaceful coexistence.

However, the Sino-Indian



On November 16, 2017, Chinese home appliance giant Haier organized an expansion and commissioning ceremony for its industrial park in Pune, Maharashtra, India. It was the first industrial park in India operated by a Chinese home appliance company. Xinhua

relationship has also undergone critical challenges like the border dispute in 1962, which, at that time, led to setbacks in bilateral relations. In 1988, Indian Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi visited China, launching the process of normalizing bilateral relations. The two sides agreed to look forward and develop bilateral relations actively in other fields while seeking a mutually acceptable solution to the boundary question.

In more recent years, Prime Minister Modi and President Xi have transformed the bilateral engagement through unconventional but effective informal summits, first in Wuhan, China, and then in Mamallapuram, near Chennai. These summits

aimed to enhance both economic partnership and people-to-people exchange between the two countries.

### AFTERMATH OF THE GALWAN VALLEY CLASH

The Indian strategic community broadly agrees that the Galwan Valley clash resulted in a steep decline in China-India ties. After rounds of talks between military commanders and diplomatic meetings between India and China failed to produce any dramatic breakthroughs, questions continue to haunt Indian and Chinese people alike: How can the two countries manage to improve their ties? More importantly, what does the Galwan Valley



January 25, 2020: People watch lion dance during Chinese New Year celebrations in Kolkata, India. Xinhua

clash signify for the future of Sino-Indian relations? Will 2022 see any improvement in the ties between Asia's two largest countries?

Experts on both sides believe that China-India relations steadily declined due to rampant misperceptions on both sides contributing to a lack of mutual trust. Brahma Chellaney, professor of strategic studies at the New Delhi-based Center for Policy Research and fellow at the Robert Bosch Academy in Berlin, described the Galwan Valley clash as the "tipping point" for China-India ties.

Chinese strategic experts, however, believe that the Indian government under Prime Minister Modi deviated from the Rajiv Gandhi-Deng Xiaoping

consensus on the peaceful settlement of disputes. They see the Modi government's Neighborhood First policy

**Considering the strength and development of China-India bilateral ties as well as the two countries' respective roles in international issues, Sino-Indian relations cannot be a "zero-sum game" in the era of globalization.**

and U.S.-India cooperation in the Indo-Pacific region in a negative light. Notably, China has been critical of the Quad grouping ever since it came into being, accusing the U.S. of using other countries to provoke China in the Indo-Pacific region.

However, there is no disputing that the 2020 border standoff has highly impacted China-India relations and hardened mutual suspicions about the other's foreign policy. "If a mutually acceptable resolution of the situation in eastern Ladakh in the near future is possible, it should then be feasible for the highest leaderships on both sides to reset the relationship," said former Indian ambassador to China Vijay Keshav Gokhale. "Modi and Xi are familiar with each other by now and share mutual respect. They should be able to talk about identity misperceptions and possible ways of reconciling their respective visions."

"Both sides need to meet each other halfway to move the situation towards stability and shift it from urgent dispute settlement to regular management and control to jointly safeguard peace and

tranquility in the border area," said Chinese Ambassador to India Sun Weidong.

**INDISPENSABLE TRADE AND INVESTMENT PARTNERSHIP**

Although the trade volume between China and India is

not as big as that between China and the U.S., it has been heartening to see bilateral trade become the highlight of Sino-Indian relations over the years. In 2008, China became the biggest trading partner of India. India was China's 15th-largest trading partner in 2021, according to China's General Administration of Customs. Despite the political rift and military standoff as well as extensive negative media coverage and public perception, bilateral trade is booming. In 2021, the total bilateral trade volume between China and India reached US\$125 billion from US\$2.9 billion in 2000. In 2021, India's imports from China reached a record US\$100 billion while India's exports to China, amounting to US\$28.1 billion, were up by as much as 56 percent from two years ago.

Despite recent calls to boycott Chinese products or ban Chinese apps in India, Chinese companies currently occupy a dominant position in many sectors of the Indian market. As the disengagement process continues at LAC, many Indian companies have sought Chinese investment. India is now considering easing curbs on some Chinese investments. While India should be vigilant about its trade deficit with China, which came down to US\$44 billion in 2021 from US\$48 billion in 2014-15, the country shouldn't create protectionist barriers against Chinese investment.



October 15, 2021: A buyer from India (center) at the 130th China Import and Export Fair (Canton Fair) in Guangzhou, capital of Guangdong Province. The fair is widely seen as a barometer of China's foreign trade.  
by Liu Dawei/Xinhua

### ONLY FRIENDLY

Right after the Galwan Valley clash, some former Indian diplomats, foreign ministry bureaucrats and media analysts suggested India strengthen its strategic ties with the U.S., Japan, Australia, South Korea, and Vietnam to reduce China's influence, referring to China's deep support and investment in Pakistan with the China-Pakistan Economic Corridor. But such myopic suggestions exert an adverse impact on the common public sentiment regarding China-India ties.

Most hope that China and India will take a holistic and collaborative approach to reset their relationship. In today's globalized world, war and conflict do not lead to

cooperation, and hegemony doesn't foster development. As the biggest emerging powers in the world, China and India should work to normalize their derailed ties by increasing economic, political, and strategic cooperation as well as people-to-people exchange, which are all equally important for the region and for global peace, stability, and prosperity. 📌

*The author is a freelance Indian journalist based in West Bengal, India, specializing in international politics.*

# Trends of the China-India Relationship

By Lin Minwang

China needs to invest more in improving its relationship with India even if the returns aren't immediate.

Between March 24 and 25, 2022, Chinese State Councilor and Foreign Minister Wang Yi made a state visit to India. It was the first face-to-face meeting between high-level officials of the two countries since the Galwan Valley incident in the western section of the China-India border in June 2020. Contrasting previous high-level visits, this trip was much more low-profile and skipped any pre-event briefing. Because of scheduling conflicts, Indian Prime Minister Narendra Modi didn't meet with the Chinese delegation headed by Wang, who mainly talked with India's External Affairs Minister Subrahmanyam Jaishankar and National

Security Adviser Ajit Doval.

The visit was still a major event for developing the two countries' relations. Calling it an "icebreaker" would be an overstatement, but it could have a slow warming effect leading to some melting of China-India tensions. The trip may help resume high-level visits as well as top-level communication and interaction between the two countries. Chinese President Xi Jinping and Indian Prime Minister Narendra Modi had an informal meeting in Chennai in late 2019, at which they decided to hold 70 events in 2020 to celebrate the 70th anniversary of the establishment of the two countries' diplomatic ties. However, many plans were canceled in the wake of the

COVID-19 pandemic and the plummet in bilateral relations caused by border clashes. In 2022 and 2023, China and India will host the BRICS Summit and the summits of G20 and the Shanghai Cooperation Organization respectively, which will provide top leaders from both countries with opportunities to communicate.

The visit made by Wang Yi was conducive to relieving the "oppositional" ambience wedging China and India apart and nudging them closer in terms of foreign policy. Before Wang's trip, both sides had shown goodwill gestures and made minor adjustments in policies. In particular, Modi expressed condolences for the victims of the China Eastern Airlines

Flight MU5735 crash on Twitter, evidencing the will at India's highest level to improve China-India relations. Thanks to the exchange during Wang's visit, the two sides reaffirmed many common interests and pledged to boost bilateral ties to help both countries move forward and more closely together.

The trip could help manage and control tensions in the border areas between the two countries. Although India is not satisfied with the progress of the China-India Corps Commander-Level Meetings, it has exercised the appropriate patience in maintaining the talks, as shown by the outcomes of the 14th and 15th rounds of meetings.

So far, however, bilateral ties have seen limited advancement. It would be impractical to expect India to make major adjustments in its China policy. India still insists on setting certain prerequisites for improving relations which China cannot accept. India has long been eager to end wastage in the border areas, but still won't budge on any of its steep demands. Jaishankar claimed that as long as massive Chinese military forces remained along the borders, relations between the two countries could not become normalized. This demand indicates that India actually doesn't want full normalization of bilateral ties, so that it could show others that it has the strength and will to balance and



November 4, 2021: Hindus living in Hong Kong celebrate Diwali. Visual People

contain China. The value of India standing up to China, even to the detriment of the Indian people, is that it shows countries such as Japan, Australia, and the United States that India has great strategic value.

China-India relations remain stuck in some difficult knots that are impossible to be solved quickly. They can only be overcome by building mutual trust through long-term, strengthened communication. Moving forward requires both countries to work together on common pursuits while reserving differences. However, India continues to maintain a tough stance and practice in foreign affairs, prioritizing global geopolitics over local stability.

Furthermore, the results of the 2022 local elections in the first five Indian states consolidated the governing Bharatiya Janata Party's unshakable ruling position. As a party born with "pro-U.S. and anti-Pakistan" genes, a sustained Bharatiya Janata Party rule may result in continuing ups and downs in China-India ties.

China still needs to invest more in improving its relationship with India even if the returns are beyond the horizon. ■

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# On the New Journey

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By Aravind Yelery

Leadership, governance, legislation, and practical reform characterize the story of modern China.

**E**ver since China started its reform and opening up under the leadership of the Communist Party of China (CPC) in the late 1970s, it has remained an instantaneous source of global growth. The leadership, governance, legislation, and orderly reform have authored the story of modern China. Today, the significantly long list of deliverables China has offered to its people and the rest of the world is particularly worth noting. Behind the entire storyline of China's development are systems and institutions driving the Chinese nation. A series of discussions have highlighted the complex dynamics behind

the historical achievements made by the country. The Sixth Plenary Session of the 19th CPC Central Committee, convened in Beijing from November 8 to 11, 2021, was a historical meeting in this context.

Outside the quantitative analysis of the plenary session, one has to look at reflections from participants and analyze qualitatively from the perspective of the Party's lessons and contributions. One must understand that 2021 marked a significant historical milestone for the CPC and China. I will deploy four frequencies of reflective analysis to produce an innovative interpretation. These frequencies of qualitative analysis are the Chinese

government, economy, the CPC, and the nationhood to be diagnosed vis-à-vis the text and the opinions emerging from the communiqué of the plenary session and the historic speech delivered by Chinese President Xi Jinping in which he evaluated the CPC on historical lines without sparing reference to some oversights which educated the Party.

## THE ROLE OF THE GOVERNMENT

Chinese people are proud of their civilizational history and the fact that it was the CPC that heralded the arrival of modern China. After arriving at this juncture of history, the CPC has been standing up for the aroused

expectations of Chinese people. China is governed through regulations and laws that have lifted it to the apex of growth and prosperity. It is the Chinese government, through its institutions, structures, and systems, that has carried out the governance models in pursuance of development. The year 2021 marked the centenary of the CPC, and the communiqué from the Sixth Plenary Session and President Xi's speech reflected on the Chinese government's overall performance. In other words, both these documents mirror the achievements made by the government.

Over the past 70 years, China has undertaken historic shifts thanks to systemic re-modelling it embraced or methodologies or typologies of policy programs it developed in various arenas. As the communiqué of the Sixth Plenary Session describes, “(to) put an end to China's history as a semi-colonial, semi-feudal society... and the state of total disunity that existed in the old China,” delivering governance was critical. If anything, the Chinese government can boast loudly and clearly that China developed distinctive characteristics of political processes and structures. The Sixth Plenary Session, held at the centenary of the CPC, celebrated the Chinese government's growth to reward its governance struggles and transitions that were carried out. The “growth of the government” accelerated when the leaders



April 11, 2022: Farmers use reel irrigation machines to water crops in Chiping District, Liaocheng City, Shandong Province. China has vigorously promoted agricultural mechanization and smart agriculture in recent years. IC

readjusted their development narratives in 1978.

### IMPORTANCE OF THE ECONOMY

Following the role of the government, the factor “economy” emerged in all deliberations during Party meetings, including the Sixth Plenary Session. Maintaining economic prospects and meeting the challenges of Chinese society has been the mainstream task of China and the CPC. The Sixth Plenary Session clearly featured extensive reporting on the economy. President Xi praised the role of prosperity in Chinese society, which directly results from growth-oriented policy-making and pursuing

healthy initiatives. Starting from “building a socialist market economy” and continuing through “new horizons for reform and opening up across all fronts” to the launch of “socialism with Chinese characteristics into the 21st century” in the contemporary era, the economy has connected all prospects in a balanced form.

Moreover, the economy has been considered the central factor ensuring “balanced, coordinated, and sustainable development.” Furthermore, the communiqué of the Sixth Plenary Session included a special note declaring that economic strength combined with scientific and technological clout and composite national strength has helped China climb to new heights.

While talking about the achievements, President Xi underlined that the development process in China has not only changed the future and destiny of the Chinese people but also profoundly changed the trends and patterns of global growth. Throughout the deliberations at the Sixth Plenary Session, the narratives of “shared prosperity” continued arising as one of the central concepts of economic momentum that the country could maintain in a long term.

### **FAITH IN THE CPC**

The entire discussion of development and the achievements of China would be incomplete without reference to the Party’s role. During the Sixth Plenary Session, an extensive review of the Party’s significant achievements and historical experience over the past century was carried out. As the CPC celebrated its centenary, insistence on the CPC’s role and achievements was a glorious reference for not only Party members and grassroots people but also for building strong political integrity and faith. It should be noted that President Xi’s speech at the plenary session included references to some of the hurdles the CPC had to overcome. This reference to “overcoming difficulties and correcting mistakes” underlines how the Party has evolved in self-evaluating its role.

President Xi is aware of the future role for the CPC and made it clear to everyone. Without the Party at the

helm, the leadership warned of potential interruption in fulfilling the Chinese Dream of national rejuvenation. The Party is expected to march undistracted and disciplined, remain connected with the people, preserve historical legacy, and maintain humility. Quoting President Xi’s speech, “self-criticism,” “self-correction,” and “self-revolution” are central to ensuring zero tolerance for corruption. Everyone agrees that the future of China and the Party will only be glorious if the country continues seeking a clean government and fighting against corruption.

### **TALLER NATIONHOOD**

In the end, all the endeavors of the government, the economy, and the Party will have been wasted if the Chinese nation is not made glorious again. The Party, effective governance, and economic development all are tributaries to the nation. Combining all these streams, their depth, affluence, and role greatly influence the national dream. Over the past decade, the sense of nationhood has picked up more dynamic space in all walks of Chinese life. Education, health, economics, and social cohesion all translate into *Xiaokang* (moderate prosperity). *Xiaokang* is the dream China aims to fulfill towards achieving national rejuvenation. Party congresses conceptualized the nation-building of modern China in the past century, and each generation of CPC leaders fulfilled its mission

with flying colors. As the communiqué of the Sixth Plenary Session declares, the endeavors of the Party and the people over the past century represent the most magnificent chapter in the millennia-long history of the Chinese nation.

The communiqué also talks about several turning points in the CPC’s history where historical decisions were taken for the sake of the entire nation. By documenting goals and objectives to fulfill in the 21st century, China is setting the bar high. The words used during this session and at all other deliberations often revolved around “self-confidence” and “self-reliance.” The country has visibly higher expectations for the decades to come as it marches to 2049, the centenary of the People’s Republic of China.

The Sixth Plenary Session set the tone for future endeavors which were set in motion by the Party’s completion of the 100th year of its historic journey. China has taken the lead in the global economy, and any of its endeavors to build its future will surely affect how international development proceeds. There is no doubt that globally, China has been vividly studied and observed due to its achievements and development. 🇨🇳

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# China-India Relations Reset

By Rabi Sankar Bosu

The China-India relationship should still be led by mutually beneficial cooperation, and feature healthy competition and avoidance of confrontation.

On April 1, 2020, to mark the 70th anniversary of the establishment of diplomatic relations between China and India, the two big neighboring countries in Asia, Chinese President Xi Jinping sent a message to Indian President Ram Nath Kovind stating: “A stronger China-India relationship will bring more benefits to our two countries and peoples and contribute more positive energy to Asia and the world at large.”

Clearly, the China-India bilateral relationship is one of the most important in the world today. The two countries represent a third of humanity and almost a fifth of the global economy. But millennia-old unbroken

friendship between the two neighbors has recently gone toxic at times, such as with clashes between Indian and Chinese soldiers in Galwan Valley in 2020.

Undoubtedly the protracted border skirmishes and stand-offs have blighted China-India ties, severely impacting business and people’s outlook on both sides. As such, the leaderships of both countries should move past their disputes and instead focus on creating a better future for the over 2.7 billion people residing on both sides of the Himalayas.

## CLASH DERAILS SINO-INDIAN TIES

No one disputes that the Galwan Valley clash of 2020

in which lives of both Indian and Chinese frontier officers and soldiers were lost sank China-India ties to a new low. It was a great tragedy. It’s really unfortunate that despite a plethora of bilateral agreements on border-related issues, the two Himalayan neighbors have not yet reached a complete agreement on disengagement of troops from all friction points at the disputed Line of Actual Control (LAC) in Ladakh. The situation can heat up any moment for any reason when there is a large troop presence on both sides of the LAC.

The border standoffs do raise some open questions: Will the skirmishes and tensions in the China-India border areas persist, or should the two countries carry out



April 10, 2022: A medical worker hangs a COVID-19 vaccination poster in New Delhi, India. The huge potential for China and India to cooperate on pandemic prevention and control could contribute to building a community of health for all. Xinhua

peaceful negotiations and settle their boundary question? Could casting blame after mutual disappointment bring the current status quo back to normalcy? Will the Year of the Tiger bring new dimensions to the China-India equation?

“The boundary dispute, an issue left from history, is not the whole story of the China-India relationship,” Chinese State Councilor and Foreign Minister Wang Yi once said. “As such, both sides need to realize that border confrontation does not serve the common interests of either country.”

Right after the Galwan Valley clash, Indian policy towards China entered a dangerous phase when the Narendra Modi-led Bharatiya Janata Party (BJP)

government adopted hawkish measures such as imposing a range of economic measures against Chinese firms and banning a set of mobile apps linked to China. The Indian political leadership has accelerated its strategic tilt toward the United States and painted China as an “expansionist.” India introduced new “Rules of Engagement” for the border areas that give its commanders “complete freedom of action” along the LAC. Surely, India’s sedulous courtship of the United States, resuscitation of the Quad Security Dialogue, and cancellation of public contracts with Chinese firms do not promote healthy and stable development of its relations with China. Rather, such a trend could derail India’s dream of being a “US\$5 trillion economy” by 2024.

## FIVE PRINCIPLES OF PEACEFUL COEXISTENCE—GUARANTEE FOR CHINA-INDIA RELATIONS

The Chinese and Indian people should be motivated by history to build on the foundation laid by their ancestors and add new chapters to China-India friendship. In the 1950s, China, India and Myanmar jointly initiated the “Five Principles of Peaceful Coexistence,” known in India as the “Panchsheel Treaty,” at the Bandung Conference in Indonesia. The Five Principles of Peaceful Coexistence which advocated mutual respect between countries for each other’s territorial integrity and sovereignty, mutual non-aggression, non-interference in internal affairs, equality, and cooperation for mutual benefit have long served as the foundation for a peaceful relationship between the two giant Asian neighbors.

However, the China-India relationship soured for a long time after the unfortunate border war of 1962. Then Indian Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi’s “ice-breaking” visit to China in 1988 played a pivotal role in resuming and developing friendship between the two countries. In this context, late Chinese leader Deng Xiaoping, chief architect of China’s reform and opening-up policy, said in December 1988 while reiterating the Five Principles of Peaceful Coexistence as the defining guideline of international relations: “No genuine Asia-Pacific century or Asian century can come until China,

India, and other neighboring countries are developed.”

Since then, successive Indian and Chinese governments have taken more positive approaches to improving bilateral ties with an eye towards fostering an Asian century. President Xi Jinping and Prime Minister Narendra Modi established good working relations and personal friendship through “home-town diplomacy,” creating a new model of exchange between leaders. The Wuhan informal summit between President Xi and Prime Minister Modi in April 2018 reaffirmed that the two countries do not consider each other a threat or adversary and reiterated commitment to promoting friendly ties and cooperation in the areas of trade and commercial activity while maintaining peace and tranquility in border areas. The second informal summit in Chennai in October 2019 provided a big boost for bilateral ties in commercial and economic realms and lifted the strategic partnership between the two Asian neighbors. President Xi’s latest metaphor for the China-India relationship, “Dragon-Elephant Tango is the only path for China-India cooperation,” is heavily flavored with collaboration, equality, and mutual respect.

After the Donglang standoff in 2017 and the Galwan Valley incident in 2020, a return to the Five Principles of Peaceful Coexistence might be the best option for guaranteeing sound growth of China-India relations. “Peaceful

coexistence and win-win cooperation is an inevitable choice and the correct direction of China-India ties,” said Chinese State Councilor and Foreign Minister Wang Yi on December 6, 2021.

Cooperation between the two countries benefits not only their respective peoples, but the whole world. As such, the two countries should escape the shadow of the vexing border dispute and enhance mutual understanding instead of clashing, look at the big picture instead of episodic events, and help each other succeed instead of undercutting each other.

### RETHINKING THE CHINA APPROACH

It is worth noting that despite India’s worsening political relations with China in the recent past, bilateral trade volume rose to an all-time high, surpassing US\$125 billion in 2021. Despite calls to boycott Chinese products and impose restrictions on Chinese investment, China’s exports to India jumped to US\$97.52 billion in 2021, while total two-way bilateral trade reached US\$125.66 billion, according to the latest figures published by China’s General Administration of Customs. Encouragingly, India’s exports to China are also growing steadily, which exceeded US\$26 billion in 2021 compared to US\$19 billion in 2020 and US\$17.1 billion in 2019, according to the data released by the Federation of Indian Export

Organizations.

Hundreds of Chinese companies doing business in India are estimated to have created at least 200,000 local jobs. All sides would like to see India maintain a fair, just, and non-discriminatory business environment for Chinese companies to invest in the “Make in India” project and operate in India for India’s national interests. If India creates walls for Chinese companies or squeezes them out of the Indian market, there is no gain. Both Indian and Chinese data show that reducing dependence on the Chinese market does not help India.

The China-India relationship should continue to be cooperation-led, mutually beneficial, and complementary, featuring healthy competition and confrontation avoidance. China is sincere in its intentions to improve its relations with India, but it hopes such sincerity goes both ways. Instead of sparring with China, India should join hands and dance together with China and leverage Chinese investment to realize the goals of the “Make in India” campaign. The time has come for the top political leaderships of both countries to find the courage to tango in 2022. 🇮🇳

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# Maintaining Contact While Seeking Breakthroughs

By Li Tao and Deng Zhenlei

The basis for dialogue and exchange between China and India remains. Bilateral and multilateral mechanisms can provide communication platforms at multiple levels and in multiple fields for the two countries to maintain contact.

Affected by the changing international landscape, regional conflicts, and bilateral problems, China-India ties have witnessed ups and downs and plunged into a low ebb in recent years. However, the two Asian neighbors, both major countries, emerging economies, and leaders in the multilateral arena, must navigate one of the most complicated bilateral relationships in the world. China-India relations are of

great importance not only to the two countries but also to Asia and even the world. To predict how the relationship will develop in the future, bilateral, regional, and global perspectives must be analyzed.

## IMPACT OF NEW DEVELOPMENTS IN BILATERAL TIES

New developments in the border areas have sent positive signals. The boundary question affects China-India ties greatly.

Bilateral relations, to a great extent, fluctuate around the boundary question. Since the Galwan Valley clash, China-India relations have been sour. In early 2022, after the 14th corps commander-level meeting, Sino-Indian relations showed signs of improvement. However, key problems related to the boundary question have yet to be resolved, so uncertainty remains in China-India relations.

On the first day of 2022, Chinese and Indian soldiers

exchanged candies along the Line of Actual Control in the border areas to express New Year greetings to each other, which was deemed as a positive sign after 20 months of border tension. Later, the 14th China-India Corps Commander-level Meeting was held at Moldo-Chushul border meeting point on the Chinese side in January. Before the meeting, Indian officials expressed hope to have “constructive dialogue” with China, which was important after the 13th corps commander-level talk ended in tension months ago. The joint press release of the 14th meeting showed that both sides made efforts to move forward. It also mentioned that defense and foreign affairs representatives from both sides participated in the meeting, indicating that both countries took the meeting very seriously.

Complementary and ever-growing China-India economic exchange has set the foundation for bilateral cooperation. Despite the ups and downs in China-India ties, the trade volume between the two countries reached a new height in 2021 and exceeded US\$125 billion, a year-on-year increase of 43.3 percent. According to China’s General Administration of Customs, the country’s exports to India in 2021 exceeded US\$97.5 billion, an increase of 46.2 percent. The same year, India’s exports to China topped US\$28 billion, an increase of 34.2 percent.

Most analysts attributed



March 29, 2022: Farmers thresh crops under the scorching sun in Rajasthan, India. India is the world’s second-largest wheat producer after China. VCG

the surge in bilateral trade volume and the widening trade deficit to the complementary aspects of the two countries’ industrial chains. Look closer at the trade deficit: About 50 percent to 60 percent of chemicals and other ingredients used by the Indian pharmaceutical industry are imported from China. However, most of India’s exports to China are primary products, and many Indian agricultural products lack market access to China, which explains India’s smaller export volume to China. It is clear that despite sour relations, rising bilateral trade volume evidences the complementary characteristics of economic and trade relations between the two countries. The bilateral trade of 2021 will move the two

countries to formulate future economic and trade policies and represent a point of strength for bilateral relations to return to a healthier track.

India’s changing attitude on the Beijing 2022 Winter Olympics highlighted the fragility of China-India relations. On December 7, 2021, the Biden administration announced that it wouldn’t send any diplomatic or official representation to the Beijing Winter Olympics. It even asked other countries to boycott the Beijing Winter Olympics and tried to politicize the sporting event. India has always considered itself the world’s largest democracy, and was deemed an ally by the United States. However, India didn’t bow to any of the U.S. pressure to boycott the Beijing Winter Olympics.



February 7, 2022: On the first work day after the Chinese New Year holiday, enterprises in the Ganzhou Economic and Technological Development Zone reopen. Employees worked hard to get off to a good start. IC

According to the Indian newspaper *The Pioneer*, after consultations with National Security Advisor Ajit Doval, Indian Prime Minister Narendra Modi took the bold decision to not oppose the Winter Olympics being hosted by China at the diplomatic level. The decision came despite a host of NGOs pressing New Delhi to boycott the Beijing Winter Olympics. Observers said that the decision was premised on treating neighbors differently which is the core of New Delhi's geostrategic positioning based on its "Neighborhood First" policy. Under international and domestic pressure, New Delhi's announcement signaled a friendly gesture and that could inspire an opportunity to reset the ties between the two Asian giants.

However, the day before

the opening of the Beijing Winter Olympics, India changed its mind and announced that no Indian diplomatic or official representation would be present at the opening and closing ceremonies. This came after the revelation that PLA regimental commander, Qi Fabao, who sustained a head injury in the Galwan Valley clash, had served as a torch-bearer in the torch relay. India's changing attitude was of course welcomed by Bob Menendez, chairman of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee of the United States. Developments of this incident demonstrate the fragility of Sino-Indian relations, the central role of the boundary question in the bilateral relationship, and the role of the United States in China-India ties.

## IMPACT OF NEW DEVELOPMENTS IN REGIONAL SITUATIONS

The Afghan issue is likely to bring new texture to China-India relations. The relationship between India and Afghanistan has been around for a long time. The two countries have maintained close ties for decades except when the Taliban first ruled Afghanistan from 1996 to 2001. After the 9/11 Incident in 2001, relations of the two countries were strengthened, with economic ties as the backbone. India has provided Afghanistan with financial assistance of up to US\$3 billion. The return of Taliban rule in Kabul in 2021 had a huge impact on India's foreign policy. India is concerned about the close ties between the Taliban and Pakistan but cannot give up its presence in Afghanistan because of the huge investment it already made in the previous regime. In November 2021, India organized the Delhi Regional Security Dialogue on Afghanistan. Clearly, its policy on Afghanistan has changed from passive to active. Later that month, at a virtual meeting of the foreign ministers of China, India, and Russia, the Indian side proposed strengthening cooperation on humanitarian aid to Afghanistan. At the end of 2021, India reached out to Pakistan and expressed hope to transport aid supplies to Afghanistan through Pakistan. The change in India's attitude has complicated the Afghan issue, but at

the same time created room for the country to conduct greater communication with Afghanistan's neighbors such as China and Pakistan.

India has shown doubts in the advancement of the Belt and Road Initiative (BRI). The country has refused to participate in the BRI at all. With development of Belt and Road construction in South Asia and China's continued assistance to several South Asian countries on fighting the COVID-19 pandemic, China's influence in the region has increased. This situation has apparently upset India, which considers itself as the leader of the region. Now, Belt and Road construction is rising to the next level after so many early projects were successful. All this progress, coupled with stable development of China-Pakistan relations, has just made India more anxious. Although India refused to participate in the BRI, it still held out hope to reap benefits from the Bangladesh-China-India-Myanmar Economic Corridor. Some Indian scholars have argued that the country should participate in such projects for its own benefits. In the context of China-India relations and bilateral projects for better connectivity spearheaded by China in the region, India shouldn't miss the opportunities brought by the economic corridor.

### IMPACT OF STRATEGIC ADJUSTMENTS OF GLOBAL POWERS

The shift of the U.S. strategic focus and its courtship of India affect China-India



February 18, 2022: The naming and handover ceremony for a massive, heavy-lift ship called the Herbert with a load capacity of 62,000 metric tons is held in Wuxi City, Jiangsu Province. The ship was ordered by the Chinese-Polish Joint Stock Shipping Company. IC

relations too. On February 11, 2022, the Biden administration released its first regional strategy report, *Indo-Pacific Strategy of the United States*. The document stated that the United States would strengthen its own role and “focus on every corner of the region.” But in fact, its primary target is just to besiege and counter China. The triangular relationship among China, India, and the United States casts a huge impact on China-India ties. The U.S.-led Indo-Pacific strategy asks for deeper involvement of India to jointly contain China.

No doubt, the shift in U.S. strategic focus to Asia has boosted India's confidence. India is obviously more confident because of the Quad, a “security bloc” which has increased military

coordination, and closer U.S.-India ties. However, the new situation puts India under greater pressure when dealing with international issues. India is eager to take a bold stance on sensitive issues to prove its abilities and impress the United States by getting tougher on China. And the United States is courting India for help containing China. The main reason the United States has any interest in engaging India deeper in the Indo-Pacific strategy is to hype and intensify tensions between India and China and draw India to its side.

But the U.S.-India relationship is overrated and not unbreakable. First, the United States hasn't been happy with India on some issues. Last September, the United States established the Australia-UK-U.S. Trilateral

Security Partnership Agreement (AUKUS), aiming to supply Australia with nuclear-powered submarines to strengthen military deterrence against China. To a certain extent, the establishment of AUKUS showed U.S. dissatisfaction towards India. The United States considers the development of the Quad slow and thinks India asked for too much. For the past two years, India's performance on the international stage had been "mediocre" and "unsatisfactory," according to their sources. Especially on the boundary question with China, India didn't act as tough as the United States expected. Besides, India has always followed a non-aligned foreign policy. Although the meaning of "non-aligned" may have already changed, India's deep-rooted balancing concept and distrust of the United States hinders India from moving that close to it.

### **CHINA-INDIA RELATIONS MOVE FORWARD DESPITE CHALLENGES**

By analyzing the three factors most influencing China-India relations at the bilateral, regional, and global levels in the near future, it is clear that the bilateral relationship will move forward despite challenges and difficulties in the foreseeable future.

First, China-India relations will develop along a spiral trajectory. Since the establishment of diplomatic ties between the two Asian giants more than seven decades ago,

China-India relations haven't always been easy. The past 10 years in particular have witnessed even more ups and downs. However, although disputes have become more frequent in recent years,

**The two Asian neighbors, both major countries, emerging economies, and leaders in the multilateral arena, must navigate one of the most complicated bilateral relationships in the world. China-India relations are of great importance not only to the two countries but also to Asia and even the world.**

the two countries accrued far more power to heal. For example, despite India's boycott against Chinese goods, bilateral economic and trade cooperation increased, which surprised many people.

Second, a huge improvement in bilateral relations in the short term seems unlikely. After the Galwan Valley clash, India has been quite unfriendly with China on all fronts, from economic and diplomatic fields to people-to-people and cultural exchanges and mass media. Bilateral ties plunged into a low ebb. India has also blamed China for its domestic problems such as party politics and political landscape changes. Reasons include past and existing problems between the two countries and India's attempts to counter China with the West, especially the United States.

Finally, China-India relations have already reached

rock bottom and are seeking opportunities to improve. Since the 1962 border war, Sino-Indian conflicts have mostly been hotspots flaring up. The two countries share the same development goals,

and don't wish to engage in a major conflict or war that would only benefit a third party most. The two governments have improved their abilities to control the situation. In general, the basis for dialogue and exchange between China and India remains. Bilateral and multilateral mechanisms can provide communication platforms at multiple levels and in multiple fields for the two countries to maintain contact and seize opportunities to achieve new breakthroughs. ■

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# Fine-tuning China-India Ties in 2022

By Zhang Jiadong

People need to understand that improving China-India relations is not only urgently needed for both countries, but also that it will create considerable opportunities.

China and India have coexisted in peace for quite some time throughout history. Although the two sides haven't solved the boundary question, they have long maintained peace and stability in the border areas and carried out cooperation in economics, trade, and work in the international arena. However, the Donglang (Doklam) standoff that began on June 18, 2017 acted as a prelude to the deterioration of Sino-Indian relations. Three years later, the Galwan Valley clash on June 15, 2020 resulted in casualties of both sides, which had been unseen in decades. As a result, the bilateral relationship plunged

to a low ebb. To get past the present sour bilateral ties, people need to understand that improving China-India relations is not only urgently needed for both countries, but also that it will create considerable opportunities.

## NATURE OF BILATERAL RELATIONS UNCHANGED

Despite uncertainties in the Sino-Indian relationship, the nature of their bilateral relations has not changed, and the deterioration will level off. Disputes between the two countries are still controllable and manageable. Both countries are in the process of adjusting their foreign policies. India has moved closer to

the Quad in recent years, but it still adheres to an independent and non-aligned foreign policy. There is no need and feasibility for either China or India to join any kind of alliances aimed at each other.

Although current China-India relations are difficult, the situation is unlikely to deteriorate further or lead to direct conflict. After the Donglang standoff, China-India relations witnessed uncertainties and even faced a trend of aggravation for a certain period of time. But the relationship eventually realized a soft landing, instead of hitting rock bottom. Efforts from both sides have ensured the China-India relationship won't deteriorate further even



November 20, 2021: A shopkeeper displays a traditional silk saree in Varanasi, India. The saree is a traditional Indian costume, and images of women wearing sarees are common in ancient Indian sculptures and murals. VCG

before it returns to normalcy.

Rising nationalist sentiments to varying degrees have been seen in both China and India, but such sentiments haven't much influenced policymakers of either side or inspired many hostile acts within the general public or economic circles. Despite the adverse impact of the COVID-19 pandemic and deteriorating China-India ties, bilateral trade reached a new height in 2021. It surpassed the US\$100 billion mark for the first time and reached US\$125.6 billion. China's exports to India reached US\$97.5 billion, and its imports from India exceeded US\$28 billion. Although the trade deficit is widening, India's exports to China are growing and becoming stronger. India's rice exports to China have grown rapidly, and the country has benefited greatly from high food prices.

The situation captures the multi-faceted and complementary nature of China-India economic and trade relations.

Finally, China and India have carried out close cooperation and exchange in many fields and international mechanisms. Cooperation between the two countries on issues like climate change continues through international mechanisms such as BRICS, the Shanghai Cooperation Organization (SCO), the Asian Infrastructure Investment Bank (AIIB), and the New Development Bank.

### THE CORE OF CHANGE

By nature, the changes in China-India relations are a response to changes in the international landscape. The changing international order is the background for and a major driver of fluctuations in

China-India relations.

From the perspective of the international situation and against the global trend of multi-polarization, both China and India feel that strategic opportunities are emerging. Any intention by either country to adjust their bilateral relations must be interpreted with a broader perspective and at a deeper level. From China's perspective, India-U.S. relations, India's involvement in the Indo-Pacific strategy and the Quad grouping are all related to the settlement of the boundary question. From India's perspective, China's Belt and Road Initiative, its influence in South Asia, and its presence in the northern Indian Ocean region, especially China's relationship with Pakistan, are the focus of its China policy. When Indian troops recklessly entered Chinese territory in the Donglang area in 2017, some senior Indian officials no longer treated the incident as a border dispute. They let their imagination run wild and looked to Donglang as an arena for the two Asian powers to compete.

Domestically, both China and India are driven by a dream of national rejuvenation and have a strong sense of national honor. Against this backdrop, both countries endure considerable domestic pressure on foreign policy and tend to act tough. However, strong pressure from the inside doesn't mean that policymakers and elites change their assessments of the international power

structure or their respective foreign policies.

From the perspective of geostrategy, both strategic competition and interdependence between China and India will persist. At the bilateral and sub-regional levels, strategic competition and conflicting national interests separate the two countries. However, at a higher regional level and in the international arena, both countries have benefited from the rise of each other. As China sees it, the rise of India is conducive to fighting U.S. hegemony in the Indian Ocean region and fosters a better regional strategic landscape. For India, a stronger China at odds with the U.S. has made it possible for India to play a balancing role in the world political landscape. India's status as a regional and global power is more important because of China's rise.

### THE TREND IN THE DEVELOPMENT OF CHINA-INDIA TIES

China and India have found a strategic balance in their conflicting areas. Both countries have realized the strength of the other side as well as the limitations of their own strength. New opportunities for stable bilateral ties have emerged.

Although the boundary question is still the most sensitive issue between China and India, it is no longer the most important factor affecting bilateral ties. After the bloody 2020 border clash, the two sides strengthened their abilities to control the border



April 15, 2022: A participant operates a drone during a three-day science and technology festival held by the Indian Institute of Technology in New Delhi, India. VCG

areas. The two countries have shown more respect for the Line of Actual Control (LAC), and many potential friction points have been eliminated. Although the many rounds of corps commander-level talks after the Galwan Valley clash were difficult, fruitful results were achieved on many potential friction points. The challenges and difficulties of the talks show that the two sides negotiated with a serious attitude seeking to completely solve the problem rather than leaving it to future generations. More importantly, after the clash, both sides further restrained their border troops, and no similar clashes have happened since.

While both China and India hope their bilateral ties will return to normalcy, “normalcy” doesn’t necessarily mean the previous

state. In fact, the relationship has already returned to the regular state, a state of passive peace in the border areas. This state will probably remain for some time. However, this new state is quite different from the past. In the past, peace in the border areas was maintained through vague understanding and loose control of the LAC, which thus lacked a solid foundation. Now, the two sides have a clearer understanding of the border situation, and a peaceful border situation will be more sustainable.

Compared to the past, China-India relations now cover more areas and bilateral interactions in different areas are more active and frequent. In 1988, when then Indian Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi made a historic visit to China, the two neighbors agreed to



April 19, 2022: A worker produces chips for electronic devices to be exported in the Sihong Economic Development Zone, Suqian City, Jiangsu Province. Already a major chip importer, China's chip exports have grown rapidly in recent years. VCG

solve the boundary question through peaceful and friendly consultations while actively developing relations in other fields. Since then, solving the boundary question was no longer a prerequisite for the development of Sino-Indian relations. However, the current Sino-Indian relationship is very different from 1988. The border control capabilities of both sides have improved significantly. Previously, the two militaries only met occasionally, but now they see each other often during routine patrols. The China-India economic and trade relationship today is closer, and China has become India's largest trading partner. In addition, the two countries have engaged at sea. With both pursuing a status as a great maritime power, interactions between the two

countries in the Pacific Ocean and the Indian Ocean have become more frequent. All these changes make the 1988 principles for bilateral ties no longer suitable for the current situation.

The rise of China-India relations to a certain level in one area will definitely affect relations in other fields. China-India relations have developed from several separate pillars to a big structure supported by multiple pillars. Current China-India relations are more stable and interconnected across various fields.

### IMPROVING CHINA-INDIA TIES

China and India are neighbors that cannot move away from each other. Completely avoiding competition between two powerful neighboring countries is nearly impossible,

and no competition doesn't conform to the most basic political laws. However, China and India are just two major countries in the international landscape, and neither has solidified the ability to engage in global strategic competition. Both have strategic interests and development goals that are far more important than bilateral strategic competition. Therefore, both China and India have an urgent need to improve bilateral relations.


China and India should focus on developing strategic consensus. Both countries advocate multi-polarization and democratization of international relations and hope to change the current international order dominated by the West in favor of raising their respective international status. Good Sino-Indian relations are almost certainly conducive to achieving these goals. Both China and India believe that peaceful dialogue is the only viable option to solve the boundary question, and hope to adjust and enhance current bilateral ties. To improve Sino-Indian relations, President Xi Jinping and Prime Minister Narendra Modi designed a mechanism for informal dialogue between top leaders. The top leaderships of both countries have been keen on improving bilateral relations and created conditions for the reset of China-India ties in the future.

The two sides should upgrade existing dialogue and establish a strategic dialogue mechanism consistent with the strength and status of

the two countries. Some important mechanisms have facilitated dialogue between China and India, especially special representatives and corps commander-level talks on the boundary question. However, these mechanisms only focus on specific topics, and cannot meet the new reality of an improved China-India relationship. The two sides need a higher-level and more sustainable strategic

in so many other fields. The two countries share broad interests on issues including climate change and reform of the international financial order. At the 2021 UN climate change conference in Glasgow, Scotland, India watered down the language on cutting emissions from coal in a last-minute intervention. Indian Environment Minister Bhupender Yadav said that developing countries

the overall development of Sino-Indian relations quite differently due to differences in cultures and political systems. While India considers the settlement of the boundary question a prerequisite for comprehensive improvement of China-India ties, China thinks that the only way to solve the boundary question is by first improving Sino-Indian relations comprehensively. China tends to look at problems from the macro and strategic level, while India often struggles to solve more specific issues and problems. It is necessary for both countries to adjust their respective thinking modes and meet each other halfway.

Amid the changes in the international landscape, both China and India are adjusting their foreign policies, which include adjustments of policies on their bilateral ties. The two countries' consensus on peaceful settlement of disputes exists. As the two largest neighboring countries and emerging economies in Asia, it would be beneficial and feasible for China and India to maintain a relationship that focuses on cooperation rather than competition. 

## **China and India have found a strategic balance in their conflicting areas. Both countries have realized the strength of the other side as well as the limitations of their own strength. New opportunities for stable bilateral ties have emerged.**

dialogue mechanism covering more areas. In the past, weak interactions and communication didn't significantly affect the core interests of the two countries, but the situation has changed. The rise of both China and India and the increasing importance of bilateral relations require higher-level mechanisms. After the rapid development and adjustments of relations between other major powers, poor China-India ties seem to be an anomaly. Improving the relationship would clearly benefit both countries.

Expanding areas for bilateral cooperation is important. The sensitive boundary question makes people of both sides ignore possible cooperation and common interests

have a right to their fair share of the global carbon budget. The coal phase-down is closer to the concerns and interests of emerging economies including China. Cooperation between China and India in international mechanisms such as BRICS, AIIB, the New Development Bank, and SCO has continued in earnest. But important and urgent yet unflashy cooperation between the two countries is easily overshadowed by sensitive, secondary, and non-urgent conflict issues in media reports.

The two countries need to narrow the gap between their respective ways of thinking. China and India look at the relationship between the boundary question and

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# Swaying India

By Huang Yinghong

Precisely how China-India relations will evolve is anyone's guess. It depends on the two countries' domestic developments and international landscape as well as direct efforts they make towards development of bilateral relations.

The relationship between China and India has seen a whirlwind of ups and downs in recent years. Tensions rose and continued for a period due to border clashes in June 2017 and June 2020. The two neighbors have endeavored to control and manage differences amid attempts to reset relations. They established an informal meeting mechanism to exchange in-depth views after the border tension in 2017. Informal summits between Chinese President Xi Jinping and Indian Prime Minister Narendra Modi in Wuhan in 2018 and Chennai in 2019 made headlines around the

world, testifying to the two Asian countries' efforts to mend their relations.

Unfortunately, the Galwan Valley incident in June 2020 brought the relationship to a new low in recent years. In its wake, India has made a series of strategic adjustments such as joining the Quadrilateral Security Dialogue (Quad) led by the United States and Japan, banning some Chinese businesses in the name of national security, and tightening restrictions on Chinese investment. These were all signs of deteriorating Sino-Indian relations. It seemed India was lowering its expectations for improvements in bilateral relations and consequently

strengthening cooperation with Western powers to hedge against China's development. Would India ever alter its non-aligned, balanced, and independent posture with all major countries to side with the West?

India has had a swaying position in China policy. It neither consistently follows or supports the United States' China policy like the United Kingdom, Japan, Australia, and even most EU countries, nor firmly maintains or deepens friendly relations with China as much as Russia, the five Central Asian countries, and most developing countries in Asia, Africa, and Latin America have. Two prominent

cases in point demonstrate India's wavering posture: First, Prime Minister Modi stated that "neither anyone has intruded into our territory nor taken over any post" when responding to questions from the media and the opposition after the Galwan Valley clash in 2020. Second, the Indian government was reluctant to announce a diplomatic boycott of the Beijing 2022 Winter Olympics despite strong pressure from some political parties and the media. Only the day before the opening ceremony did India cancel its diplomatic delegation to participate in the Winter Olympics in Beijing.

India's hesitancy on China reflects the complexity of their relations. It is determined to a large extent by how India views China.

### STRATEGIC THREAT OR STRATEGIC STAKEHOLDER

Though both countries are growing rapidly, China now far exceeds India in overall national strength. The Gross Domestic Product (GDP) of China is five times that of India, as is China's per capita GDP given the similar populations. In terms of military strength, China ranks third in the world and India fourth, but the power index gap between them is wide. India cannot avoid a strong and continuously rising neighbor.

Strategically speaking, India considers itself the "leader" of South Asia. China's rise and its increasingly frequent interactions with other South Asian countries are

interpreted by India as an attempt to intervene in South Asian affairs, not to mention China's all-weather friendship with Pakistan, which is seen as a thorn by India. Some Indian strategists have argued that China has been building a strategic encirclement against India in South Asia. And conversely, China thinks India is pursuing strategic encirclement against China in East Asia and South Asia by leaning closer to Japan, the United States, Australia, and other Western countries. All of this rhetoric constitutes strategic speculation that fosters suspicion between the two countries.

China and India's status as permanent neighbors will never change despite any strategic guessing. This geographic proximity has important implications: China is a

strategic stakeholder—even the largest strategic stakeholder—for India. The two countries, both important developing countries, have much common ground and share common interests on issues like climate change. Moreover, India cannot ignore China and do its own thing on security issues in South Asia and Southeast Asia. India going completely at odds with China would negatively affect everyone in the region, put regional security at risk, and hinder India's own development strategy. A wise India should try to avoid that.

### COOPERATION OR DEPENDENCE ON ECONOMICS AND TRADE

Unlike strategic and political tensions, bilateral trade has shown an uplifting trend. Against the backdrop of border confrontation and the



April 12, 2022: The U.S.-India "2+2" Ministerial Dialogue is held in Washington, D.C., at which U.S. Secretary of State Antony Blinken (left) met with visiting Indian Minister of External Affairs Subrahmanya Jaishankar. VCG



August 5, 2018: Workers prepare cargo to be shipped in the SF warehouse at the Bao'an Airport in Shenzhen, Guangdong Province. That day, a SF Airlines all-cargo carrier loaded with raw materials for producing Xiaomi mobile phones took off from Shenzhen. Five hours later, it landed in Chennai, the fourth-largest city in India, 4,300 kilometers away from Shenzhen, with materials for local Indian mobile phone manufacturers. VCG

COVID-19 pandemic, China-India bilateral trade volume surprisingly grew to US\$125.6 billion in 2021. Considering the new height was reached amid Indian boycotts of Chinese products and the Indian government's "self-reliance strategy," the trend demonstrates that growth in bilateral trade is indispensable.

India, however, is not completely happy to see this happen. First, India has a large trade deficit with China, which it cannot reduce or reverse in a short term. Of the total two-way trade in 2021, India imported US\$97.5 billion worth of goods from China and exported only US\$28.1 billion, so its trade deficit with China reached a new high of US\$69.4. India feels disadvantaged in bilateral trade. Second, foreign direct

investment between China and India has been stagnant and even shown a downward trend in recent years. In 2020, China invested US\$200 million in India and absorbed US\$12 million worth of Indian investment, accounting respectively for only 0.15 percent of China's outward investment and 0.008 percent of China's absorbed investment, which makes it nearly negligible due to the meagre share. Similarly, China's investment of US\$200 million was not that significant when India attracted US\$64 billion worth of foreign investment that year.

India's growing trade deficit with China was not a situation deliberately fostered by the latter. Rather, it has been objectively determined by their differences in economic and trade structure.

Specifically, India needs to import a large volume of mobile phone parts and raw pharmaceutical materials from China, considering factors in capability, cost-effectiveness, supply efficiency, and scale. It would be difficult for India to patch up its shortcomings with the available alternatives in the short run. The expanding trade volume and trade deficit testify to India's growing reliance on Chinese goods. However, due to distrust and other reasons, India hardly directly benefits from China's growing outbound investment. It would be better for India to absorb Chinese investment, especially in infrastructure, manufacturing, and other sectors, to promote the flow of capital, technology, and management to nourish the "Make in India" ambition.

### SYMPATHY OR SKEPTICISM

Two ancient civilizations once colonized by imperialist countries, China and India naturally sympathize with each other. Rabindranath Tagore and Jawaharlal Nehru proposed the idea of "Pan-Asianism" to promote the Asian identity and solidarity. In India, Chinese thinker Confucius and Chinese scholar monk Xuanzang are household names, and Chinese people are noted for their diligence, punctuality, and discipline. Chinese and Indian people always maintained cultural bonds despite temporary severance of formal ties

after the border conflict in the 1960s.

But in recent years, Indian public opinion on China has been influenced by media misinformation and political maneuvering accompanying the rise of nationalism. In December 2020, India's think tank Observer Research Foundation interviewed a total of 2,037 young people in 12 Indian cities, seeking their opinions on India's foreign policy. The survey showed that these urban youths affirmed their government's recent China policy. For instance, 64 percent of the interviewees supported the decision to join the Quad, and 78 percent supported diplomatic confrontation measures against China after 2020.

The survey clearly had limitations with most interviewees living in big cities, but it revealed a worrying undercurrent that in the



March 28, 2022: Boats are moored on the Yamuna River, Prayagraj, Uttar Pradesh. The Yamuna River is a major waterway in northern India and a tributary of the Ganges. Xinhua

by giving up its long-held independent and balanced strategy? It can only be a painful decision at the

**It remains to be seen whether the post-pandemic world will become more crowded with more intense conflict, or if people become more enlightened and recognize the opportunities in understanding each other, managing and resolving differences, and promoting peace and prosperity.**

electoral systems of capitalist society, the courtship of voters can influence the government's foreign policies and leave less room of flexibility for the government.

Will India take a side

expense of an otherwise friendly partner to its north and the hard-won sound external environment for peaceful and stable development since the 1980s. India cannot afford that.

The COVID-19 outbreak has minimized cross-border contact. It remains to be seen whether the post-pandemic world will become more crowded with more intense conflict, or if people become more enlightened and recognize the opportunities in understanding each other, managing and resolving differences, and promoting peace and prosperity. How China-India relations will evolve tomorrow remains an open question. The answer depends on the two countries' domestic developments and the international landscape as well as the specific efforts they make to develop bilateral relations. 📌

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# Decoding China's 2022 GDP Growth Target

By Zhu Min

China's GDP growth target of around 5.5 percent will make great contributions to the global economy. China will further expand its opening up and improve its business environment with the aim of sharing the fruits of economic globalization and world economic growth.

China's 2022 two sessions, the annual meetings of the country's national legislature and top political advisory body, concluded in March. During this year's two sessions, China set its gross domestic product (GDP) growth target at around 5.5 percent. I believe that this is the most important message and the strongest signal from the two sessions to the Chinese people and the world. The 5.5-percent GDP growth

target is an encouraging indicator, showcasing the Chinese government's courage and responsibility for both domestic and global economic development despite headwinds.

## WHY 5.5 PERCENT?

The 5.5-percent GDP growth target has a scientific basis but considerable work still needs to be done to achieve this goal. China's economy grew by 2.3 percent in 2020 as recovery quickened in the fourth quarter of that year.

The country's GDP expanded by 8.1 percent in 2021. This happened against a backdrop of a sluggish global economy. In 2020, the world economy contracted by 3.4 percent. According to the *Global Economic Prospects* released by the World Bank on January 11, 2022, the growth rate of the global economy rebounded to an estimated 5.5 percent in 2021. In January 2021, the International Monetary Fund (IMF) predicted that global growth would be a moderate 4.4 percent in 2022.

That forecast is expected to be downgraded to around 4 percent. Consequently, many domestic and foreign financial and research institutions predicted China's 2022 GDP growth rate to be lower than 5 percent, with an average projection of around 4.5 percent. It is widely believed that after a strong performance in 2021, China's economic growth will probably slow down a bit.

Against this backdrop, China announced a 2022 GDP growth target of around 5.5 percent. First, this target was calculated based on science. Many economists have been calculating the potential growth rate of China's GDP. Amid changes in China's economic structure such as aging population, shift to the service industry, and the per capita GDP approaching the threshold of high-income countries, experts believe that the 5.5-percent GDP growth target is appropriate.

And the target is what is needed. In 2022, the number of university graduates in China will reach 10.76 million. Stabilizing employment and the job market will be tremendously important. According to the 14th Five-Year Plan (2021-2025), China aims to boost its per capita GDP to the level of moderately developed countries by 2035. Therefore, China needs to continue to maintain long-term economic stability for medium-high growth. The 5.5-percent growth target will surely maintain confidence within China. Calling this GDP growth target based on science but requiring efforts is accurate.



April 13, 2022: A flower farmer collects gerbera daisies in a greenhouse in Pingquan City, Hebei Province. By analyzing market demand in Beijing and Tianjin, Pingquan adjusted its agricultural structure and guided local farmers to develop a characteristic flower planting industry to increase their incomes. IC

### CAN THE TARGET BE ACHIEVED?

China's economic growth model will find new engines outside the traditional "troika" of investment, consumption, and exports. The country is striving to realize balanced development. Since 2021, China's economy has grappled with difficulties and challenges such as demand contraction, supply disruptions, and weakening expectations. Some believe that China's economy will face multiple difficulties this year. Based on the overall layout, the most profound changes in China's economic development in 2022 will be shifts in the growth model. Previously, China's economic growth heavily relied on investment, consumption, and exports.

However, infrastructure investment already began to slow in the fourth quarter of 2021. Real estate-driven demand has weakened, and although exports are strong, any growth would be hard-won. Thus, the country has adjusted its growth model and needs to identify engines outside the traditional "troika" of investment, consumption, and exports.

First, China will strengthen scientific and technological innovation. Fields such as technological innovation, 5G, artificial intelligence, and big data take up a major portion of China's investment in infrastructure. The country's infrastructure drive aims to lay the foundation for future development rather than simply building roads and bridges.



April 13, 2022: A worker welds large-scale grain and oil machinery and equipment to be exported to Belt and Road countries at Huatai Intelligent Equipment Group in Huaxian County, Henan Province. IC

Second, China will increase investment in green industries and develop core competitiveness. To achieve the carbon neutrality goal as scheduled, China has accelerated the construction of relevant infrastructure. As a result, new changes were brought to the energy structure, and some competitive green manufacturing industries are gradually replacing traditional ones. For example, the cost of photovoltaic power in China's Qinghai Province is only 0.13 yuan (US\$0.02) per kilowatt-hour, lower than the grid price of coal-fired power in Henan Province. China's electric vehicles account for 42.2 percent of the world's total, and the country's photovoltaic module shipments represent more than 75 percent of the world market. These are all

emerging industries with great potential and strong competitiveness, which can become new drivers for China's growth.

Third, China will continue to expand domestic demand. The 2022 two sessions produced more people-oriented proposals to expand domestic demand through additional social safety nets covering support for seniors, education, medical care, and social security, among other realms. Since the start of this year, China's economy has maintained strong momentum. Imports, exports, and infrastructure investment have all seen double-digit growth. The real estate market and consumer goods supply have gradually been stabilized. The country's purchasing managers index has remained above 50

percent. More importantly, the scissors differential between the consumer price index and the producer price index is narrowing, which reduces pressure on downstream business and increases profits.

With all these factors considered, I believe that the 5.5-percent GDP growth target can be achieved.

### POLICIES TO ACHIEVE THE GOAL

Fiscal and monetary policies and incentive policies to benefit enterprises are supporting the drive to achieve the 5.5-percent GDP growth target. First, growth in China's broad fiscal spending is likely to exceed 10 percent this year. Although China has lowered its deficit-to-GDP ratio to 2.8 percent this year, China can actually mobilize more funds than last year. It sets a quota for local government special bond issuance at 3.65 trillion yuan (US\$578 billion). Furthermore, more local special bonds from last year can be carried forward to this year, and some special funds of certain state-owned enterprises can also be accounted into the budget this year.

Second, prudent monetary policy will be implemented with flexibility and ample liquidity. China has promulgated a number of policies to support its carbon neutrality goal, facilitate the green development of enterprises, and meet market demand. In addition, China has value-added tax rates as part of a tax reduction package for

small-scale taxpayers, a move of great significance to small and medium-sized green enterprises in particular.

Third, incentive policies that benefit enterprises will be implemented. China's actual usage of foreign capital exceeded US\$180 billion for the first time in 2021, and more foreign capital is expected to reach the country in 2022. In addition to efforts to attract more foreign businesses and investment, a number of incentive policies to benefit enterprises have also been gradually implemented.

## OPPORTUNITIES AND CHALLENGES

China's transition from scale expansion to high-quality development will bring both challenges and opportunities. Today, the country seeks high-quality development instead of scale expansion. While it pursues economic growth, China needs to keep improving labor productivity, enhancing science and technology, and climbing the value chain. How to achieve such goals is the biggest challenge China's economy faces today. To that end, the country recently issued a series of policies related to innovation, technology, carbon neutrality, and guidance of industrial transformation and development.

Commitment to the 5.5-percent growth target



April 18, 2022: Workers produce disinfectants for export at an enterprise in the Rugao Economic and Technological Development Zone, Jiangsu Province. The Paper

is already turning declining expectations back the other way. The GDP growth targets of the country's provincial-level regions average 6 percent for 2022, a sign that local governments have been fully mobilized. I believe that some of the challenges such as real estate development, financial risk, and other structural adjustments will also be properly addressed.

China needs to work closer with the international community. In the post-pandemic era of global uncertainty caused by things like spillover effects from the Fed's interest rate hike, the Ukraine crisis, rising commodity prices, and a turbulent global supply chain, the international community needs to work together to wade through such difficulties.

China's 2022 GDP growth target of around 5.5 percent will make great contributions to the global economy. China will further expand its opening up, improve its business environment, and promote formation of a strong domestic consumer market. All of these efforts are part of China's drive to promote recovery of the global economy and share the fruits of economic globalization and world economic growth as many as possible. 🌐

*The author is vice chairman of the China Institute for Innovation & Development Strategy and former deputy managing director of the IMF. This article is an excerpt from his speech at the 2022 Global Economic Development Forum.*

# Big-Picture Economic Coordination: Yesterday, Today, and Tomorrow

By Liu Chang

The greatest risk now lies in overall economic coordination, which entails reviewing the past, seizing the moment, and foreseeing the future.

Chinese Premier Li Keqiang called for efforts to accelerate the implementation of established policies and measures, stabilize China's macroeconomy, maintain the country's economy within an appropriate range, and ensure people's livelihoods during an inspection tour of eastern China's Jiangxi Province from April 11 to 12 this year.

China set its gross domestic product (GDP) growth target at around 5.5 percent for 2022, according to the government work report delivered by Premier Li on March 5 during China's 2022 "two sessions," the annual meetings of the country's national legislature

and top political advisory body. Despite being China's lowest annual GDP target since 1991, it is still closer to the higher end of expectations—above the consensus forecast of 5 percent and the International Monetary Fund (IMF)'s projection of 4.8 percent, even with markets roiled by the Ukraine crisis. As per 2021 data on the national economy released by China's National Bureau of Statistics on January 17 of this year, the country's GDP expanded by 8.1 percent year on year, well above the government target of "above 6 percent" set in early 2021 and the previous outside forecast. And China's economy has

reached US\$17.7 trillion, ranking second in the world, with its per capita GDP exceeding US\$12,000, surpassing the world average.

In addition, China seeks to strike a balance between achieving its own economic stability and boosting the global economic landscape. To dig deeper into relevant issues, *China-India Dialogue* (CID) interviewed Zhu Min, vice chairman of the China Institute for Innovation & Development Strategy and former deputy managing director of the IMF, at the Global Economic Development Forum 2022 held on the sidelines of China's "two sessions" in Beijing. He

called the 5.5-percent GDP growth target “the strongest message” for China and the whole world and an encouraging indicator of the Chinese government’s responsibility for both domestic and global economic development despite headwinds. At the same time, he warned that “the greatest risk now lies in overall economic coordination, which entails reviewing the past, seizing the moment, and foreseeing the future.”

**CID: What will be the main drivers of China’s economy this year?**

**Zhu Min:** Based on the overall layout, the most profound changes in economic development this year hinge on shifts in the growth model. But we need to identify engines outside the traditional “troika” of investment, consumption, and exports. Strengthening scientific and technological innovation and increasing investment in green industries are part of the solutions. Also, China’s 2022 “two sessions” produced more people-oriented proposals to expand domestic demand through additional social safety nets covering support for seniors, education, medical care, and social security, among other realms.

Hence, growth in China’s broad fiscal spending is likely to exceed 10 percent this year. And a prudent monetary policy should be implemented with flexibility and ample liquidity offered to small and medium-sized green enterprises in particular. The open-door policy will continue to function in China, which has



On June 26, 2019, the Mobile World Congress opened in Shanghai, at which Huawei, ZTE, Qualcomm, Ericsson, and other major global manufacturers of mobile terminals showcased their latest 5G equipment. Pictured is a 5G robot synced up to an operator. VCG

expanded the actual use of foreign capital in 2021 to over 1.1 trillion yuan (US\$173.53 billion).

**CID: Can you explain how the government can fortify the country’s infrastructure investment as part of the measures to meet the GDP growth target this year?**

**Zhu Min:** On infrastructure issues, we observed investment starting very early this year with a strong growth rate of more than 10 percent in the first two months. But the main investment is actually moving away from roads, ports, airports, etc. to digital infrastructure, 5G for example. By the end of this year, we will have over two million 5G base stations (China had set up a total of nearly 1.43 million 5G base stations as

of the end of 2021, accounting for over 60 percent of the global total, with 10.1 5G base stations serving every 10,000 people in China, according to the Ministry of Industry and Information Technology—Ed.). More tech infrastructure will support not only today’s growth, but also tomorrow’s.

**CID: In your opinion, how should the government prevent speculative hoarding of housing to ensure the healthy development of the real estate sector?**

**Zhu Min:** As for the real estate sector, I think we need to stabilize it because it amounts to roughly 26 percent of China’s GDP and depends on a very long supply chain involving commodities ranging from glass to steel



December 8, 2021: An aerial photo of Deji Village, Jainca County, Huangnan Tibetan Autonomous Prefecture, Qinghai Province, where every house is equipped with rooftop photovoltaic panels. Since 2018, the village has tapped its abundant solar resources to develop the photovoltaic industry. Photovoltaic systems were installed on household roofs and connected to the power grid to achieve self-sufficiency and even surplus solar power. Each household can now earn a stable annual income up to 5,000 yuan (US\$745) through solar power generation this way. IC

and furniture (Analysts such as Goldman Sachs point to a broad measure of China's real estate sector of between 18 and 30 percent of GDP—*Ed.*). One potential measure is making mortgage loans more accessible and affordable to people who want to buy or need a house. Another would be liquidity support to companies in the sector to help them finish ongoing construction projects. Both measures together will surely increase housing sales. But there is another inherent challenge: We want to make sure people buy houses to live in, not for speculation. Premier Li's government work report this year offered some wisdom including more investment in long-term

rental housing and subsidized housing for the low-income group. Everything we do in this sector should be ensuring stability and avoiding bubbles.

**CID: How can China develop its economy to avoid downward pressures while achieving carbon neutrality targets by 2060?**

**Zhu Min:** To achieve the targets for 2060, a kaleidoscope of infrastructure development has been accelerated to change the energy structure. Some competitive green manufacturing industries are already replacing traditional ones. For example, as far as I'm concerned, photovoltaic electricity in Qinghai Province costs merely 0.13 yuan (US\$0.02) per kilowatt-hour, lower than the net price of

coal power in Henan Province. China's ownership of electric vehicles and exports of photovoltaic modules account for about 50 percent and over 75 percent of the global market, respectively (China exported over 310,000 electric cars and plug-in hybrids in total last year, according to the China Association of Automobile Manufacturers, more than triple the 2020 figure and helping the nation's annual auto exports reach two million—*Ed.*). All are emerging industries with great potential and future competitiveness.

**CID: China enjoyed desirable economic growth last year while many developed countries remained stuck in recession like Japan in the late 1980s. Did this show that China can wall itself off from the consequences of a global crisis and continue to serve as the key engine of global growth?**

**Zhu Min:** The development path with Chinese characteristics explains how the country is braving the wind and waves. Specifically, China is still a developing country with its people seeking a rosier future. Its per capita annual GDP, for example, is aimed to further surpass an average of US\$12,000, the greatest driving force to tap potential now. The institutional advantage also balances the government's planning capability and the market's function. But China definitely cannot stay immune from any global crisis since it's a big importer of resources

ranging from crude oil to natural gas and copper. Its exports account for about 20 percent of GDP. To pursue a more ambitious per capita GDP over US\$15,000/16,000, China needs to cooperate more with the global market for the sake of technology and experience. Last but not least, China believes unswervingly in the concept of “building a community with a shared future for mankind.” When Chinese President Xi Jinping delivered his keynote speech at the 2017 annual meeting of the World Economic Forum, for example, I witnessed how his inherently strong desire to advance globalization and reject protectionism inspired hearty applause from an international audience.

**CID: In the post-pandemic era typified by a turbulent global supply chain amid geopolitical competition, especially the latest Ukraine crisis, how can China, the world’s second-largest economy, maintain its robust growth of foreign trade while boosting international economic and financial cooperation via the Regional Comprehensive Economic Partnership (RCEP) for instance?**

**Zhu Min:** The key international challenges we now face all involve uncertainty. And indeed, they exert a negative impact on China because it’s such a big open economy. Hence on the pandemic side, prudence is key when authorities make policies to contain the virus ranging from the latest dynamic



Zhu Min, vice chairman of the China Institute for Innovation & Development Strategy and former deputy managing director of the International Monetary Fund. by Duan Wei/China Pictorial

zero-COVID policy to a “travel bubble”-like open policy, hopefully in the near future.

On the supply-chain side, I expect continued volatility due to both COVID-19 and geopolitical crises. But very fortunately, China has generally formed the most complete manufacturing system in the world, boasting 2,400 basic product lines at the largest scale. (For years, China has ranked first in the world in terms of added value in the manufacturing sector and output of over 220 major industrial products. It has also been the world’s largest manufacturing country for the past 11 years, as per the white paper “China’s Epic Journey from Poverty to Prosperity” issued by China’s State

Council Information Office on September 28, 2021—Ed.). The key issue is dealing with commodity volatility. That’s why the Producer Price Index (PPI) in the first two months of this year indicated that the days of fixed speculative commodity prices are gone (China’s PPI inflation eased to 8.8 percent in February 2022 from 9.1 percent in the prior month, closer to market forecasts of 8.7 percent—Ed.).

Also, encouraging capital to flow across borders within the RCEP will definitely be a big issue for China and Asia at large this year, as will be demonstrated at the Boao Forum for Asia 2022 and the China International Import Expo 2022 in upcoming months. 📷

# Guidelines for the Chinese Economy and Global Cooperation in the Post-Pandemic World

By Selçuk Çolakoğlu

The 2022 government work report clearly shows that China will stick to its commitment to support multilateralism and global governance to develop a cooperative world.

**T**his year's government work report was delivered by Chinese Premier Li Keqiang at the fifth session of the 13th National People's Congress (NPC), China's national legislature, in Beijing on March 5, 2022. As was expected, the 2022 government work report revealed a slew of key economic targets, such as China's gross domestic product (GDP) growth, employment and foreign trade. The roadmap-style report contained not only a summary of the Chinese government's work over the past year, but also outlined

the country's future priorities and goals for socioeconomic development. Furthermore, the 2022 report was released in the second year of the 14th Five-Year Plan period (2021-2025) as the world was reeling from the lingering COVID-19 pandemic, weak economic recovery, and volatile regional situations.

## ECONOMIC TARGETS

The pandemic has created unexpected repercussions for the world economy. Many economies have suffered dramatically. China is one of the few countries able

to overcome these grave economic challenges in just a year. Despite sporadic COVID-19 resurgences and a complicated external environment, China's GDP in 2021 expanded 8.1 percent to 114 trillion yuan (about US\$18 trillion) while its GDP per capita rose to 80,976 yuan (US\$12,551), surpassing the global average. China is now a fast-growing "middle-income country." China has set its GDP growth target at around 5.5 percent for 2022.

Foreign direct investment (FDI) into the Chinese mainland, in actual use, hit a record high of 1.15 trillion

yuan (US\$173.5 billion) in 2021. China's FDI will likely remain robust in 2022, with its large domestic market and strong manufacturing base continuing to attract foreign investors, particularly to wealth management, new energy, and high-tech sectors. As a reflection of this, China rose to 12th on the Global Innovation Index 2021 released by the World Intellectual Property Organization, making it the only middle-income economy to rank in the top 30.

China was also successful in keeping its supplies stable to both national and international markets during the pandemic. As a major player in the global supply chain, China's stable economic function kept the global economy uninterrupted as much as possible during the hectic days of the pandemic. China's swift economic recovery has been a promising sign for sustainable global economic growth in the coming years during the post-pandemic period.

China also plays an expanding global role and takes responsibility for environmental protection. In fact, the Chinese government aims to promote green development and ensure that China meets its targets for 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



March 31, 2022: Export-bound excavators waiting for shipment on a dock in Lianyungang City, Jiangsu Province. IC

protection. 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. Clean energy accounted for 25.3 percent of China's total energy consumption in 2021. China also declared its commitment to achieve carbon neutrality by 2060 through its green growth strategy.

The year 2022 will be crucial for China to align efforts to consolidate and expand poverty alleviation achievements with rural revitalization endeavors. In February 2021, China declared elimination of absolute poverty after lifting nearly 100 million rural poor people out of poverty over eight years. China plans to create more than 11 million new jobs in 2022 according to the government work report. With the pandemic hampering global poverty

reduction efforts, Chinese President Xi Jinping recently said that China would take an active part in the Global Development Initiative, which aims to accelerate the implementation of the 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development and build a global community of development with a shared future. Advancing cooperation on poverty alleviation, development finance, green transition and connectivity, and inclusive growth are key priorities of China's promotion of global economic development through multilateralism.

### CHINA CALLS FOR MULTILATERALISM TO COMBAT AGGREGATED GLOBAL CHALLENGES

Today's world is facing grave challenges ranging from the pandemic to developmental problems and climate change. Global challenges and trans-border disasters

like COVID-19 cannot be handled at the national level. Upholding a spirit of true multilateralism, China has been actively participating in the reform of the global governance system to make globalization more open, inclusive, balanced, and beneficial for all.

Developing good global governance is key to handling all these difficulties in a proper and timely manner. China stands ready to work with all other countries in the international community to make new and greater contributions to promoting world peace, stability, development, and prosperity, according to the 2022 government work report submitted to the national legislature for deliberation. Promoting common prosperity and improving people's lives were also the goals of China's global responsibility efforts.

China has always been a staunch supporter of multilateralism and insisted on solving all global issues through dialogue. It recently underlined "economic globalization" as the path to achieving sustainable development and poverty alleviation at the global level. Chinese initiatives are key to supporting developmental momentum in developing countries.

In 2022, China will promote high-quality cooperation under the Belt and Road Initiative (BRI), according to the government work report. Facing a depressed world economy, China is committed to promoting

common development of all nations. On top of a series of growth-driving measures, the BRI has become the world's broadest-based and largest platform for international cooperation. The BRI has become the engine of growth and modernization of the economic infrastructure of many countries. For instance, at the beginning of 2022, foreign ministers from Saudi Arabia, Bahrain, Kuwait, Oman, Turkey, and Iran, as well as the secretary general of the Gulf Cooperation Council, visited China, testifying to those countries' growing enthusiasm for cooperation with China. The BRI provides a framework for cooperation between China and the Middle East countries. Many new BRI-related projects will start in Asia, Africa, and Europe before the end of 2022.

### **CONCRETE ACTION TO FIGHT THE PANDEMIC**

Since the outbreak of COVID-19, China has conducted close cooperation with international organizations and forums like the World Health Organization (WHO) and the G20 to fight the pandemic effectively at the global level. To combat the pandemic worldwide, China has also proposed the COVID-19 vaccine be a global public good and advocated global vaccine cooperation. At present, China is the world's largest provider of COVID-19 vaccines.

In total, China has provided over 2.1 billion

doses of COVID-19 vaccines to more than 120 countries and international organizations, accounting for a third of the total vaccinations outside China.

Recently, China announced that it would provide another 1 billion doses to African countries: 600 million given as donations and the other 400 million provided through joint production between Chinese and African institutions. In addition, the country will donate 150 million more doses to member countries of the Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN). Chinese companies have also launched joint production and filling plants with some developing countries, and the annual manufacturing capacity of such projects has exceeded 1 billion doses. China has consistently urged the international community to increase multilateral initiatives to address the post-pandemic world.

The international community still faces grave economic, developmental, environmental, and diplomatic challenges in the early post-pandemic era. Rising trends of economic and political unilateralism and protectionism are still aggravating global challenges. The 2022 government work report clearly shows that China will stick to its commitment to support multilateralism and global governance to develop a cooperative world. ■

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

# Consolidating Poverty Eradication Gains for Common Prosperity

By Karori Singh

Developing countries must make poverty eradication an integral facet of human rights and aim for common prosperity for all.

**T**he 2022 government work report delivered at the annual session of the National People's Congress, China's top legislature, reviewed the country's achievements in poverty eradication and underlined the importance of striving for common prosperity to fulfill the people's aspirations for a better life.

Earlier in February 2021, China announced victory over extreme poverty. Addressing the National Poverty Alleviation Summary and Commendation Conference, Chinese President Xi Jinping declared that China had

secured a comprehensive victory in the fight against poverty and completed the arduous task of eradicating extreme poverty. The historical background and dynamics of achieving the goal of poverty eradication were explained in the white paper "Poverty Alleviation: China's Experience and Contribution" released in April 2021, which also outlined the future development path concretized in the 14th Five-Year Plan (2021-2025).

This historic achievement can be called the "Chinese miracle," but the Chinese goal of building a great modern socialist country has yet to be

realized. China understands that poor people "being lifted out of poverty is not the end but a starting point for a new life and new pursuits." Thus, subsequent measures to help people stay out of poverty are equally important. The "Two Assurances" (adequate food and clothing) and "Three Guarantees" (access to compulsory education, basic medical services and safe housing) have been realized as part of China's first Centenary Goal of completing the building of a moderately prosperous society, which has laid a foundation for future development. During the phase of reaching the second



October 11, 2019: A villager dries bamboo sticks before they become chopsticks in a factory in Xingan County, Jiangxi Province. IC

Centenary Goal of building a great modern socialist country by the middle of the 21st century, urban-rural and regional disparities must be overcome.

How exactly did China achieve a miracle like overcoming extreme poverty? For starters, poverty alleviation has been the core development policy since the founding of the People's Republic of China in 1949. There has never been a trade-off in different phases but only continuity in the people-centered development philosophy in which three aspects are well interconnected—meticulous planning, appropriate policy, and sound strategy. It has ensured the clarity of macro-level directions and adequate coordination of micro-level actions because the ultimate goal has always been realizing “common prosperity.”

#### FOR COMMON PROSPERITY

China has a legacy and political culture of seeking the development path and governance pattern that lead to common prosperity. Development in many countries has shown that the unbridled neoliberal development model inherently creates various types of disparities and results in extreme wealth and income concentration and the inevitable accompanying social tensions at higher magnitude. These problems are usually addressed with conflict management and order maintenance strategies rather than seeking common good. This is a glaring deficiency of the neoliberal development model.

In stark contrast, after attaining the goal of building a moderately prosperous society in all respects, China is now embarking on the

next stage of enhancing shared prosperity among all its people, realizing that the victory over extreme poverty can only be sustained through common prosperity. The benefits of innovation and economic growth must be transferred to the people through fairer and more inclusive development.

Hence, Chinese authorities have unequivocally stressed the necessity of “regulating excessively high incomes” in order to ensure “common prosperity for all,” and that such a philosophy does not run counter to free markets or private enterprises. It is not synonymous with egalitarianism or a welfare state. The capital market and cultural market must operate in tandem with the principles of common prosperity which requires checks on monopoly power to nudge the balance of prosperity in favor of the people. Such measures expand equality of opportunity to prevent class entrenchment and maintain vitality in society.

Scholars and researchers around the world have identified various components of poverty but poverty conditions are usually more complex than their components. China clearly chalked out the coordinated roles of politico-administrative leadership, state-owned enterprises, private enterprises, and local people to organize collective efforts to eradicate poverty in all forms. Poverty eradication is not merely wealth creation. It must involve commensurate

commitments, policies, and strategies.

China has successfully achieved interconnected policy, strategy, and system while maintaining “common prosperity” with a people-centered perspective. The idea of “common prosperity” can function as a bridge above the interconnected pillars of poverty eradication and a moderately prosperous society, consolidating efforts to build a great modern socialist country for common good. As the essential requirement of socialism, it has consistently been a significant feature of China’s development path.

### INSPIRATION FOR DEVELOPING COUNTRIES

UN Secretary General Antonio Guterres applauded China’s achievement in eradicating poverty, declaring that “the extraordinary result is a reason for hope and inspiration to the entire community of nations.” China has realized the first and foremost Sustainable Development Goals well ahead of schedule, which has boosted confidence in other countries’ abilities to overcome extreme poverty.

The political elites in some countries have been preoccupied with crisis management and order maintenance instead of sustained poverty eradication as a component of human dignity and delivery of justice. They use poverty alleviation rhetoric as a utilitarian tool in the populist electoral democracy process without any sustained

commitment or political will, so achievements are ultimately limited.

China has exhibited adequate understanding of continuity in policy, concerted thinking and consistent effort to overcome extreme poverty. Other developing countries in Asia, Africa, and Latin America can learn much from China’s experience.

Countries should focus on “policy coherence” in the long-term process of alleviating poverty and creating common prosperity. Policy coherence stems from “sound planning” with regular consultation at the grassroots level, efficient mobilization of local resources, and appropriate implementation. It requires revitalizing villages to taper the rural-urban divide and ensure non-discrimination in all socio-economic categories. Measures must ensure that poor people do not fall back in the vicious circle of poverty.

China recognizes poverty alleviation as an inherent component of human rights protection. Extreme poverty blocks people from exercising their human rights, and such rights can only be ensured when income and wealth distribution are broad-based enough to create a middle-income group through fairer distribution of the benefits of economic development. Enhancing systemic capacity is another lesson other developing countries can learn from China.

Moreover, the time is now for global leadership, national leaders, and poverty researchers to make collective

efforts towards creation of a poverty-free world and multilateral frameworks that ensure common prosperity for all through mutual learning. China is willing to help other countries with poverty alleviation through various mechanisms. Recent encouraging multilateral and bilateral arrangements include the China-South Asian Countries Poverty Alleviation and Cooperative Development Center and the China-South Asian Countries E-commerce Cooperation Forum on Poverty Alleviation in Rural Areas, which were announced in a joint statement issued by the foreign ministers of China, Afghanistan, Bangladesh, Nepal, Pakistan and Sri Lanka in April 2021. China is evolving such mechanisms for international development cooperation and making big contributions to the United Nations Decade for the Eradication of Poverty (2018-2027) to accelerate global action towards a “world without poverty.”

In essence, developing countries must focus on policy coherence, meticulous planning, and systemic capacity and make poverty eradication integral to human rights by striving for common prosperity for all. ■

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The author is former director and emeritus fellow at the South Asia Studies Centre of the University of Rajasthan in Jaipur, India.

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# Progress Documented in Government Work Report

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By Taling Tene Rodrigue

The hard work and fighting spirit of the Chinese people again paid off, and the benefits are being shared by the whole world.

**A**t the fifth session of the 13th National People's Congress of China opened on March 5, 2022, Chinese Premier Li Keqiang delivered a report on the work of the government for the year 2021 on behalf of the State Council. Li's report ranged from the political achievements of the Communist Party of China (CPC) to the main accomplishments of the government on all major fronts of development including economics, poverty reduction, science and technology, health security, and environmental protection.

Premier Li opened his speech by mentioning the celebration of the centenary of the CPC last year, an unforgettable moment for

the Party and the Chinese people of all ethnic groups. China has achieved the first centenary goal of building a moderately prosperous society in all respects on schedule and started a new journey toward the second centenary goal of building a modern socialist country in all respects, said Premier Li in the report.

Facing unprecedented challenges brought by the COVID-19 pandemic, the people of China united as one, worked courageously, and pursued economic and social development in a well-coordinated way to accomplish the main targets and tasks for the year and nudge the 14th Five-Year Plan (2021-2025) off to a good start. According to Premier Li's report, the country again

secured new and major achievements in overall development despite such troubles.

Among the many major achievements made by the Chinese government, a few areas were particularly impressive to me:

**Economics:** The Chinese economy has continued to recover and grow. With GDP growth of 8.1 percent in 2021 resulting in a total of 12.69 million urban jobs added and an average surveyed unemployment rate of 5.1 percent, the consumer price index (CPI) rose by 0.9 percent, according to the report. This is very remarkable considering the devastating impact of the COVID-19 pandemic on the global economy. While

some of the world's leading economies battle inflation, China is setting new records while maintaining the positive and progressive momentum of its economic growth.

### **Science and technology:**

Many new breakthroughs were made in science and technology. Perhaps the most breathtaking were manned spaceflight and Mars exploration, where China has made great advances.

### **Poverty alleviation:**

Alongside a series of deepened reform and opening-up policies, China's total volume of trade in goods grew by 21.4 percent, living standards rose steadily, per capita disposable income increased by 8.1 percent in real terms, and achievements in poverty alleviation were consolidated and further expanded, according to the report.

**Environmental protection:** Ecological conservation is being enhanced, according to the report. On September 22, 2020, at the General Debate of the 75th Session of the United Nations General Assembly, Chinese President Xi Jinping declared that China was committed to moving from its carbon peak to carbon neutrality in a much shorter time span than what many developed countries might require thanks to extraordinary efforts from the Chinese people. Meanwhile, China is facing some unprecedented challenges from the rise of unilateralism, protectionism, and anti-globalization, trends



March 23, 2022: Students attend a livestreamed popular-science lecture given by Chinese astronauts from China's space station Tiangong at the China Science and Technology Museum in Beijing. Xinhua

that negatively affect global cooperation on climate change. However, China has still managed to make progress on implementing its nationally determined contributions (NDCs) through a series of measures such as adjusting industrial structure, optimizing energy mix, promoting energy saving, improving energy efficiency, leveraging market mechanisms, and increasing carbon sink. The result has been continuous reduction of discharge of major pollutants and a 9.1-percent drop in the average concentration of fine particulate matter in cities at and above the prefecture level, according to the report.

**The fight against COVID-19:** The COVID-19 response was pragmatic with over 85 percent of China's

population fully vaccinated. Local outbreaks were handled in an effective and quick manner.

To summarize, according to the report, the Chinese government has managed to overcome adversity to make tremendous achievements. Considering the challenges facing the entire world in the past year related to the COVID-19 pandemic, any achievements did not come easily. The hard work and fighting spirit of the Chinese people again paid off, and the benefits are being shared by the whole world. 📺

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

# China Boosts Global Economic Growth

By Hu Zhoumeng

Through working with other countries in global markets and value chains, China has helped produce economic fruits around the world which have nourished historic progress in reducing poverty in developing nations.

China's annual political season arrived in early March as expected. The sessions of the National People's Congress (NPC), China's top legislature, and the National Committee of the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference (CPPCC), China's top political advisory body, brought NPC deputies and CPPCC members from all walks of life from across the country together to discuss critical issues for the country. On March 5, Chinese Premier Li Keqiang delivered a government work report highlighting China's economic and social development in 2021 and setting new targets for 2022. Sarmad Ali, managing director of Jang Media Group, Pakistan's largest media

house, and president of the All Pakistan Newspapers Society, gave an exclusive interview to *China-India Dialogue* (CID) to share his opinions on China's development and its significance for the world.

**CID: China's GDP passed the 110-trillion-yuan (US\$17.3 trillion) threshold in 2021, expanding 8.1 percent, which made it one of the fastest-growing economies in the world. What role do you expect China to play in addressing the increasing volatility in the global economy?**

**Sarmad Ali:** China has been one of the pivotal drivers of world economic growth. As a trade powerhouse, China lifted a huge population into the middle-income group

and created massive market opportunities. Through working with other countries in global markets and value chains, China has helped produce economic fruits around the world which have nourished historic progress in reducing poverty in developing nations. For instance, China is now supporting Pakistan with offers to build turnkey infrastructure projects including hydroelectric plants and railways. China's growing influence is making its role in the global economy increasingly important.

**CID: This year, China is set to further open to attract foreign investment and facilitate international trade, especially in the service sector. How significant are these developments**

### for Pakistan and the South Asia region at large?

**Sarmad Ali:** South Asia is a dynamic region. You will find the difficulties of a developing region as well as fabulous opportunities. The region struggles with conflict, economic instability, and extensive human development challenges. China's Belt and Road Initiative (BRI) addresses many of the most pressing needs of the region by facilitating some of the most ambitious infrastructure projects ever conceived that now stretch from East Asia to Europe. The China-Pakistan Economic Corridor (CPEC) could potentially be the crown jewel of the BRI. It would bring numerous infrastructure and energy projects to Pakistan that would greatly benefit its economic development. China has also launched similar projects in Bangladesh, India, Sri Lanka, Malaysia, Indonesia, Myanmar, Kazakhstan, and many others. The accompanying trade and investment opportunities not only help improve living standards, but also create new jobs throughout the target regions.

**CID: China's commitment to peaceful development and win-win cooperation for common prosperity was reaffirmed in this year's government work report. Do you think this matters to the international community, considering the current complicated international situation?**

**Sarmad Ali:** Clearly, China's global role is gaining attention worldwide. From



December 8, 2021: The first shipment of COVID-19 vaccines and syringes, part of China's humanitarian assistance to Afghanistan, arrives at the Kabul International Airport in Kabul, capital of Afghanistan. The Paper

investment in key industries to humanitarian response to the COVID-19 pandemic, China has put its ideas for common prosperity for all into practice. As China's influence grows, however, the United States and some other Western countries have been designing their diplomacy and strategies with China as a rival. In fact, China's opening-up policy has been promoting growth and prosperity around the world, and China has been standing up for developing countries that had been ignored in the past.

**CID: The government work report noted a series of measures to support energy-saving and environment-protection industries and innovation in green technologies to bring China closer to its carbon peak and neutrality goals. What contributions do you think China will make to the UN Sustainable Development Goals and to addressing climate change?**

**Sarmad Ali:** In 2015, China announced the "Six 100s" initiative for international cooperation, which primarily consists of 100 poverty alleviation programs, 100 agricultural cooperation programs, 100 trade facilitation programs, 100 programs for ecological protection and combating climate change, construction of 100 hospitals and clinics, and construction of 100 schools and vocational training centers. As part of the plan, China has been taking climate mitigation action in the shift to a new development model that advances environmental protection. China is a leader in addressing the climate-related needs of developing countries and operationalizing the Green Climate Fund. China has also worked on pollution, water conservation, empowering rural areas, and improving health systems while carrying out extensive educational reforms including provision of training and vocational centers. 🇨🇳



# Snow Falling on the Beijing 2022 Winter Olympics



By Anil Kumar

The event is sending a message to the Chinese people and the world that China's governance model is endeavoring to provide solutions to uniting nations and lifting morale in the post-COVID-19 world.

**W**ith the motto "Together for a Shared Future," the 24th Winter Olympics commenced with a declaration by Chinese President Xi Jinping on February 4, 2022. According to the Chinese Zodiac, this is the Year of the Tiger, which represents bravery, power and vitality. Hosting the Winter Olympics evokes great China-India cultural symbolism because the event coincides with both Spring Festival on

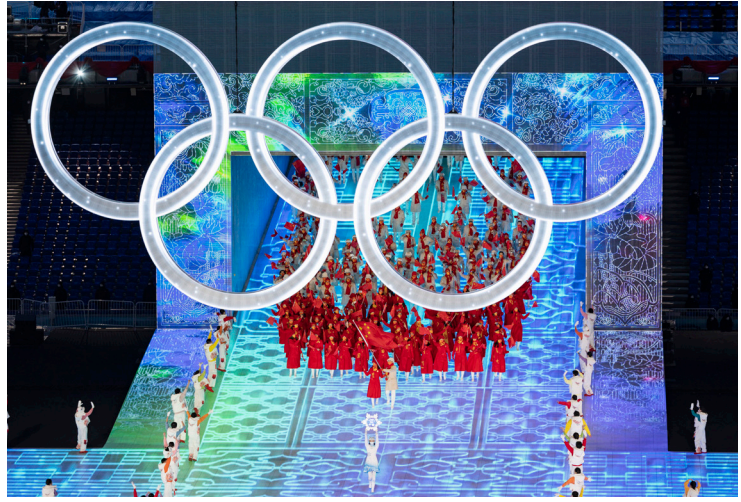
February 1 according to the Chinese lunar calendar, and Vasant Panchami on February 5, a traditional Hindu festival that also celebrates the arrival of spring.

Beijing is the first city around the world to host both the Summer and Winter Olympics. A total of 2,871 athletes from 91 countries participated in 109 events over 15 disciplines in seven sports during the Beijing Winter Olympics. One of the highlights of Beijing 2022 was

the inclusion of seven new events: women's monobob, men's and women's freeski big air, mixed team snowboard cross, mixed team aerials, mixed team short track relay, and mixed team ski jumping. Most of the new events were added to enhance gender equality at the Winter Olympics. Female athletes made up 45 percent of all participants at the Beijing Winter Olympics, the highest percentage in the history of the Winter Olympics.

## TWO OLYMPIC GAMES IN 14 YEARS

Many have argued that history moves in spirals with many parallel situations reappearing over time. China became the first country to host a mega-sports event just as the West was reeling from the global financial crisis of 2008. Now in 2022, China has again hosted a mega-sports event as scheduled amid the COVID-19 pandemic. The event is sending a message to the Chinese people and the world that China's governance model is endeavoring to provide solutions to uniting nations and lifting morale in the post-COVID-19 world. In other words, the Games, some people may argue, showcase the strengths and advantages of socialism with Chinese characteristics. However, in the wake of global challenges like climate change, COVID-19, anti-globalization, and the



February 4, 2022: The Chinese Olympic delegation parades into the National Stadium during the opening ceremony of the 24th Olympic Winter Games in Beijing, capital of China. by Chen Jian/China Pictorial

sufficient experience in organizing a mega-sporting event with routine anti-pandemic measures. The entire event took place within a closed loop covering competition

Committee for the 2022 Olympic and Paralympic Winter Games, in fact, has pledged to delivered a high-tech Games. China's robot technology was in full swing during the Games. For example, robots served residents of the Olympic Village from kitchen to table and nicely reminded mask-neglecting visitors at the sports venues. The country also made digital RMB available to foreigners at the Olympic Village.

China also showcased low-carbon technology to facilitate a green Games that might set the standard for future Olympics. China reused many sports venues from the 2008 Beijing Olympics so that new construction activities were minimized. For the first time, all Olympic venues were powered by renewable

**Hosting the Winter Olympics evokes great China-India cultural symbolism because the event coincides with both Spring Festival on February 1 according to the Chinese lunar calendar, and Vasant Panchami on February 5, a traditional Hindu festival that also celebrates the arrival of spring.**

return of great power rivalry, the 2022 Winter Olympics might go down in the history of the modern Olympics dating back to 1896 as one of the most talked-about.

China has now accumulated

venues, living quarters, and other facilities. The Games also helped showcase the modern technological advancement of China through apps, 5G, and AI tools. The Beijing Organizing



February 15, 2022: Chinese snowboarder Su Yiming performs a trick in the men's snowboard big air final at the Beijing 2022 Winter Olympics. The 17-year-old added a gold in big air to his snowboard slopestyle silver.  
by Chen Jian/China Pictorial

energy, primarily solar and wind power. The power was sourced from the Zhangjiakou Renewable Energy Zone in Hebei Province, adjacent to Beijing, which is an emerging renewable energy hub in northern China.

### INDIA ON THE SPORTS MAP

In India, cricket, a post-colonial benediction, has been a national obsession

particularly after India won the 1983 Cricket World Cup in Lords, England. Ever since, it has been the de facto national sport of India. The dominance of cricket in India, however, is sometimes to the detriment of other sports, as reflected in India's regular showings at the Olympics for decades.

Compared to the Summer Olympic Games, in which the country has participated for 25 times, India's

dabbling with the Winter Olympics has been relatively meager. Considering India is a sub-tropical country, affinity for winter sports is minimal. However, winter sports have gradually found a special niche in India. The snow-capped Himalayas, the lush wilderness, the serene ravines all give winter sports an alluring grandeur to Indians. Heli skiing, hang gliding, rock climbing, motor rallies, camel safaris, and ballooning are some common winter sports in India. India has sent 15 Winter Olympians to 10 Games so far. Beijing 2022 marked India's 11th Winter Olympics appearance.

Indian Prime Minister Narendra Modi launched the Khelo India Winter Games initiative in Gulmarg in 2020, aiming to make it an international hub for winter sports. Indian alpine skier Arif Khan's appearance in the Winter Olympics gave it an extra boost. The first Indian to participate in two events at the same edition of the Winter Olympics said he aimed to "put Indian winter sports on the map at the Beijing Winter Olympics." Many more young people in India will become inspired to participate in winter sports in the near future. 🇮🇳

*The author is an Indian freelance columnist. He received a Ph.D. in Sino-Indian relations from Delhi University and worked as an associate research fellow at the School of International Relations of Sun Yat-sen University from 2018 to 2019.*

# The Singular Beijing 2022 Winter Olympics

By Bikash Kali Das

The Beijing Winter Olympics is a great event harnessing the wisdom of all humanity while bringing people around the world together again.

**T**he Winter Olympic Games is a major international multi-sport event featuring snow and ice games, held once every four years. The Beijing 2022 Winter Olympics stands out from the previous Winter Games thanks to efforts to foster international unity and enhance environmental protection implemented by the host country.

Deeper perspective requires looking all the way back to the first Winter Olympic Games in Chamonix, France in 1924. Baron Pierre

de Coubertin founded the International Olympic Committee (IOC) in 1894, which led to the first modern Summer Olympic Games in Athens, Greece, in 1896. The IOC is the governing body of the Olympic Movement, and the *Olympic Charter* defines its structure and authority. The first five Winter Olympic Games consisted of nine disciplines: bobsleigh, curling, ice hockey, Nordic skiing (divided into military patrol, cross-country skiing, Nordic combined, and ski jumping), and skating (both figure skating and speed skating).

The Winter Olympic Games have evolved much since their inception and played a major role in bringing countries together. Since 1992, many new sports have been added to the Olympic program including short-track speed skating, snowboarding, and freestyle skiing.

At the Beijing 2022 Winter Olympics this February, alpine skier Arif Mohammad Khan was the sole Indian representative to compete. So far, India has produced only 15 Winter Olympians. Beijing 2022 marks India's



February 12, 2022: Chinese athlete Gao Tingyu celebrates with the national flag after winning the men's 500-meter speed skating gold medal at the Beijing 2022 Winter Olympics, while medical workers at the venue cheer and applaud for his performance. by Chen Jian/China Pictorial

11th Winter Olympics appearance. India only joined the Winter Olympics recently, and participants have mostly been from the subtropical country's far north where snow and ice can sometimes be found.

In contrast, Beijing's winter is long and usually begins in late October as the northwesterly winds gradually gain strength. The temperature in Beijing from December to February

is consistently below freezing. International attention focused on Beijing after it was chosen to host the 2008 Summer Olympic Games. And this year, the international community is witnessing the Winter Olympics held there.

The Winter Olympics creates conversations by providing a common ground and a unified sense of purpose. Love of the winter sports and the passion to compete forge the bonds

between players and nations. Hosting the Beijing 2022 Olympic and Paralympic Winter Games as scheduled amid the COVID-19 pandemic evidenced the "determination, efficiency and dynamism" of China, according to IOC President Thomas Bach. The Games create heroes who serve as role models for the youth. China's 18-year-old freestyle skier Gu Ailing, also known as Eileen Gu, who was crowned champion at the Women's Freeski Big Air final on February 8, has become such a source of inspiration for young people, especially young girls.

The Winter Olympics improves health and well-being and helps build social cohesion and inclusion. It unites nations and creates peace between countries as countries endeavor to be friendly to each other to create a better and more enjoyable sporting event. The Winter Olympics should be encouraged because it also helps economic capital accumulation and stimulates market mechanisms. It helps strengthen educational institutions through effects on social capital, trust, and culture. And more importantly, it exerts a seriously positive impact on the youth of every country. The Winter Olympics teaches the youth to engage in uplifting patriotism through involvement in sports culture.

Beijing 2022 will go down as the first Winter Olympic Games whose venues were fully powered by green energy. Beijing is committed

to hosting a “green, inclusive, open and clean” Games through initiatives including sustainable management of venues, low carbon programs, and sustainable sourcing. Beijing has always placed top priority on ecological preservation, conserving resources, and environmental friendliness. In the Yanqing Zone, a series of environmental protection measures were implemented in the construction of new venues. They included transplanting millions of trees in the mountains that were replaced upon completion of venue construction. Experts from Beijing Forestry University conducted an ecological study to ensure an effective transplanting plan in the conservation area with minimal loss. Important measures included a management and monitoring system for transplanted trees, and the



February 17, 2022: Russian figure skater Alexandra Trusova competes in the women's free skating event at the Beijing 2022 Winter Olympics. She finished with a silver medal. by Chen Jian/china Pictorial

environmental protection was always one of the top priorities in the preparation for the Games.

**The Winter Olympics creates conversations by providing a common ground and a unified sense of purpose. Love of the winter sports and the passion to compete forge the bonds between players and nations.**

organizers claimed a survival rate of transplanted trees at over 90 percent. Other measures included extensive topsoil stripping, preservation, and reuse programs for restoration purposes after construction was complete.

These sustainability initiatives ensured that

Zhangjiakou is known for its rich resources in renewable energy, and much of the power consumption in Chongli District, where all the Zhangjiakou venues are located, comes from renewable energy resources. Other highlights feature many cutting-edge technologies,

such as 360-degree virtual reality, smart brushes, new shock absorption, 3D athlete tracking, and many more, making this Winter Olympic Games unprecedented in the application of science and technology.

The Beijing Winter Olympics is a great event harnessing the wisdom of all humanity while bringing people around the world together again. From “One World One Dream” in 2008 to “Together for a Shared Future” in 2022, China’s Olympic movement has revitalized the Olympic spirit. 🇨🇳

The author is deputy director of the Xu Fancheng Culture Study Center and founder of the Pondicherry India-China Friendship Association.

# Getting Past Misunderstandings Together

By Chen Zhuoran

Robust efforts are needed to clear up misunderstandings between Chinese and Indian peoples. Among them, controlling border disputes, increasing positive publicity, and strengthening people-to-people and cultural exchanges are top priorities.

**B**oth China and India are ancient world civilizations, with a population of more than one billion each. They are both developing countries with great influence in the world.

The similarities between the two countries should serve as a catalyst for enhancing mutual understanding and promoting cooperation. However, the peoples of China and India have endured many misunderstandings that can be partly attributed to historical reasons, misleading media, and a lack of people-to-people exchange. Many efforts can be made to reduce misunderstandings between the two peoples.

## CHALLENGES CAUSED BY MISUNDERSTANDING

Although China and India are neighbors, their peoples know relatively little about each other, which has caused big challenges for the development of the bilateral relationship. Many Indians considered China India's rival and believe that China has launched many strategies to restrain India. In fact, China has always pursued an independent foreign policy of peace and a national defense policy that is truly defensive in nature. China has always opposed the strong bullying the weak, and it has no

ambitions for hegemony or expansion but advocates building a community with a shared future for humanity.

In many Chinese people's minds, India is relatively underdeveloped, and its people are poor. In fact, since its independence, the South Asian country has made steady economic growth and completed impressive progress in many fields over the past seven decades.

From the perspective of economic aggregate, India's gross domestic product exceeded US\$3 trillion in 2021, ranking sixth in the world. In terms of industrial development, India has taken

the lead in the world in the areas of remote sensing satellites, pharmaceutical development, film production, and software creation.

India is not as “under-developed” as many Chinese have thought. Although some slum areas have poor living environment due to high population density and poor management, India also has economically developed cities and backward cities like every other country. For example, Hyderabad, Pune, and Bangalore have a more developed economy and cleaner environment. Places like Varanasi and Kolkata are full of historical heritage, making their landscapes even more memorable.

### ROOTS OF MISUNDERSTANDING

India realized independence in 1947, and the People's Republic of China was founded in 1949. In 1950, India became the first non-socialist country to establish diplomatic relations with China.

Over the following decade, China and India enjoyed a honeymoon period and introduced the slogan of “Indians and Chinese are Brothers.” In 1962, a border war broke out. More than half a century has passed since then, and yet the conflict still affects Indians' perception about China. Accusations, fear, and vigilance have become the roots of misunderstanding.

Information exchange between the two countries has not been frequent enough, and mutual understanding relies too heavily on media



January 8, 2022: A press conference for the first martial arts movie jointly produced by China and India, *Enter the Girl Dragon*, is held in Suzhou, Jiangsu Province, China. Alongside director Liu Jing and producer Chen Meng, more than 130 attendees saw a behind-the-scenes video covering the production process. VCG

reports. Indian media often covers China from negative perspectives with emotional overtones, with focus on differences, disputes, and even confrontation between the two countries.

A big part of Indian media's understanding about China is based on “second-hand” information from Western media reports, which is unavoidably biased by the Western perspective and limited to narrow topics such as the China-India boundary question, China's relations with Pakistan and Nepal, and the scale of China's armed forces.

Conversely, Chinese media tends to report more on the United States and other Western countries, showing little interest in India. Reports about India are quite limited and don't focus on India's advantages, but again on negative topics, especially eye-catching social news.

People-to-people exchange

and cultural communication should be the most direct route to deepening mutual understanding between the two countries. However, ups and downs in the bilateral relationship in recent years have led the scale of personnel exchange and the depth of cultural communication to lag far behind the overall development of the two countries with massive populations and splendid civilizations.

Bilateral personnel exchange of 900,000 remains miniscule compared to outbound tourists shuttling between China and India annually, accounting for only about 6.4 percent of the total of 140 million. In 2019, more than 2,000 Chinese youths studied in India, and more than 20,000 Indian youths studied in China. However, about 68,000 Chinese youths studied in South Korea, and 73,000 South Korean youths

studied in China. In contrast, overseas student exchanges between China and India are much less common.

Exchange visits by Chinese and Indian youth delegations involve just 300 people per year. The lack of personnel exchange has exacerbated misunderstandings between the two peoples. Reciprocal impressions remain stagnant, in the same place they were decades ago, and neither side knows what their modern neighbors are really like.

Generally speaking, more official activities happen than people-to-people exchange events, and they focus on practical issues such as China-India relations, political security, and economic development while placing less attention on exchanges in areas like literature, history, language, art, religion, and philosophy. Exchanges through mutual visits of youth, tourism activities and exhibitions, as well as literary and artistic exchanges, remain too infrequent and superficial.

### **CLEARING UP MISUNDERSTANDINGS**

The boundary question has always been a matter of concern for China and India. It demands high-level consensus from both sides, so it has played a guiding role in the development of bilateral relations.

In 2018, Chinese President Xi Jinping and Indian Prime Minister Narendra Modi held an informal meeting in Wuhan in central China's Hubei Province. In 2019, President Xi and Prime Minister Modi held

their second informal meeting in Chennai, India. They reached a broad consensus on overall, long-term, and strategic issues in bilateral relations.

The Indian leader put forward the concept of the World as One, an idea quite similar to President Xi's proposal of "building a community with a shared future for humanity." Based on these two concepts, both countries should adhere to the principle of peaceful coexistence, promote settlement of their boundary question, and ensure that their work is not influenced by bias.

The second step is advancing border negotiations. At the end of 1981, China and India officially launched a process to negotiate a resolution to the boundary question. In 2005, the two countries signed an agreement on political parameters and guiding principles for the settlement of the China-India boundary question and other international treaties and confirmed the principle of solving the boundary question through peaceful and friendly consultation.


Healthy development of China-India relations also requires media from the two countries to provide positive guidance, promote cultural exchange and academic communication, help enhance the two peoples' understanding of each other's culture and arts, and open up new communication fields.

And since both China and India are major internet countries, the two sides should take more advantage

of massive and interactive real-time online media to enhance the communication role of the new media and break through the physical and geographical restrictions of traditional media.

The two countries should better leverage the coordinating role of high-level people-to-people and cultural exchanges mechanism and organize dialogue activities in major cities more regularly to promote more sustainable development of bilateral relations. And neither China nor India has any good reason not to promote tourism and seek to attract more people to visit.

Of course, the pandemic has essentially contained tourism between the two countries over the past two years. Considering how it has played out, the Year of People-to-People Exchange between the two countries should be appropriately postponed, and various other celebration activities should be organized for the future to achieve the goal of exchange at all levels.

The two countries should continue to increase education and training of professional personnel, cultivate professionals who both understand each other's language and are familiar with each other's national conditions, and promote bilateral people-to-people and cultural exchanges to develop on a healthier track. 

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*The author is a student majoring in Hindi at the School of International Studies of the Communication University of China.*

# China-India Ties: Seeking Stability

By Rohith Jyothish

After the geopolitical factors of China-India relations settled in recent years, a five-axis doctrine for better relations between the two countries could be beneficial.

In 2018, a UN Security Council resolution incorporated the phrase “a human community with shared destiny.” This phrase unmistakably refers to the acceptance of a feature of China’s foreign policy and engagement in global politics. A “community with a shared future for humanity” has been the subject of many of Chinese President Xi Jinping’s international speeches. He perhaps used it more in 2021 than any previous year. The UN recognition stirred up a favorite China talking point for international commentators: the rise of China on the international stage or at least its desire to do so. This is

arguably the most important geopolitical development in global politics since the end of the Cold War left a unipolar world dominated by the United States.

## CHINA-INDIA TIES THROUGH A THEORETICAL LENS

How does an established great power react when threatened by a new one, and how can a new great power rise peacefully. These questions have inspired a wealth of scholarly works. Some argue that in the short term, there is a high possibility of cooperation between a rising power and an existing power even if it is not in the best interests of the established power. Some write that from

the perspective of “offensive realism,” China has incentive to dominate the Asian region to avert threats. While much has been written about China’s global ambitions, India is another major rising power in South Asia. China-India proximity as neighbors has generated border tensions between the two countries. A June 2020 conflict in the Galwan Valley along the Line of Actual Control (LAC) between the armed forces of the two countries resulted in casualties on both sides.

However, changing geopolitics due to China’s rise hasn’t always led to conflict with its neighbors. American political scientist Kenneth Waltz’s classic argument of “defensive realism” focuses on a state’s



Colombo Port City in Sri Lanka on November 26, 2021. Since its opening to the public on January 10 this year, Colombo Port City has attracted numerous tourists to its yacht marina. by Tang Lu/Xinhua

need for security through maintaining a balance of power. Now that recent geopolitical circumstances between India and China have calmed, the question comes: What are the circumstances under which India and China can build better relations in the near future?

Machining is a process in which raw materials such as wood, stone, and metal are cut into a desired shape. To get precision when manufacturing a desired product, a five-axis machining tool usually provides the most flexibility and maneuverability because of its ability to move in five directions. Peace and prosperity in the modern world can be engineered into construction if so desired. What are the “five axes” along which peaceful relations

between India and China can be constructed?

### A FIVE-AXIS TOOL FOR BETTER BILATERAL TIES

Infrastructure development in South Asia matters. That is the first axis. One way in which China has pushed its common prosperity agenda is its massive infrastructure project, the Belt and Road Initiative (BRI). An Asian Development Bank report estimates that selected South Asian countries required annual infrastructure investments of up to US\$294 billion between 2016 and 2020. There was a gap of around US\$160 billion in the region during this period. Purely on the case of completed highway connectivity in South Asia, it became clear that

India could benefit immensely from participating in China’s infrastructure projects, if not the BRI.

India-based conglomerate Adani Group recently won the contract to build Colombo Port’s Western Container Terminal in Sri Lanka and did so, possibly by sacrificing progress on the under-construction Vizhinjam Port in the same province of Kerala on India’s western coast. In such a situation, the Western Container Terminal in Sri Lanka, even if built with Chinese investment, would still benefit Indian exports. In fact, it already does — 83 percent of cargo traffic in Colombo Port is from India.

The second axis is that regional and economic integration within South Asia as well as between East Asia and South Asia is crucial. Since the 1990s, the economic geography of the world has shifted to most production taking place in Asia while consumption has moved towards Europe and North America. China is the global manufacturing hub that leads economic production. In South Asia, India and Bangladesh follow China’s lead. However, South Asia simultaneously remains one of the least integrated regions in the world. Since 2014, India has not signed any free trade agreements even though it is in the process of negotiating bilateral agreements with three countries: the UK, Australia, and the UAE. A United Nations Conference on Trade and Development (UNCTAD) report in 2021

showed India's total trade down two percent from pre-pandemic levels, whereas other developing countries like Brazil, Malaysia, and Vietnam have substantially increased trade since 2019. Given that more than a third of Asia's trade volume comes from China, it makes sense for India to broaden its trade partnership with China, even if it is a deficit trade relationship. Chinese investments in Indian startups are also well-known given that 18 of India's 30 unicorns have been backed by Chinese funds. There is potential for India to leverage this a lot more strategically.

The third axis of China-India relations is based on bilateral cooperation on the environment, climate change, to be specific. China and India are both large global emitters of carbon dioxide. The West has repeatedly used this as a stick to wave at the two countries, urging them to take on more responsibilities in dealing with climate change. However, developing countries have been insistent that any climate change discussions are incomplete without addressing climate justice. It would be possible for India and China to lead developing countries to argue for more focus on carbon dioxide emissions measured on consumption rather than production. This would allow for a strategic position in which developed countries that consume products originating from developing countries are held more accountable for carbon dioxide emissions than the



January 17, 2022: A worker assembles a tiller designed for agricultural work in mountainous areas at Chongqing Shineray Agricultural Machinery Co., Ltd. In 2021, the company's products were exported to more than 80 countries and regions including India, Russia, and Italy. IC

developing countries doing the production to grow their economies.

Avoiding confrontation in the Indian Ocean region is the fourth axis. Maritime security is likely to be a bone of contention between India and China. It might be beneficial for India and China to agree on a common solution to avoid confrontation in the region and waste of scarce resources.

Border disputes remain a major challenge. The fifth axis of China-India relations is arguably the toughest to resolve. Scholars have written about the "tragedy" of great power politics. One could possibly take heart in the fact that in spite of the clashes in the Galwan Valley, military dialogue continues and as does trade. The only way

forward in the immediate term is confidence-building measures focused on the armed forces of both India and China. A longer-term view requires addressing thorny problems such as a lack of a political resolution for the LAC between the two countries that demands out-of-the-box solutions.

These five axes could potentially support stable and secure relations between the two large nations that consist of one third of the earth's population. ■

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The author is an Indian political economist and commentator on South Asian affairs.

# Winter Sports Craze Fueled by Beijing 2022

Edited by **Bian Xiuhong**

China has witnessed a booming winter sports industry and unprecedented public enthusiasm for ice and snow sports since Beijing's successful bid for the

2022 Winter Olympics back in 2015. Over 346 million Chinese people had participated in winter sports as of October 2021. Wide public participation is one of the most inspiring

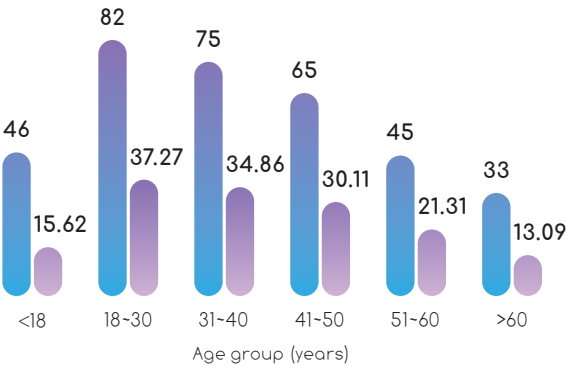
legacies of the Beijing 2022 Winter Olympics, because it created tremendous opportunities for the development of global snow sports and the Olympic movement.

## Popularization of Winter Sports in China



Distribution of Winter Sports Participants by Age Group

● Number of participants (millions)  
● Share of participants from the age group (%)

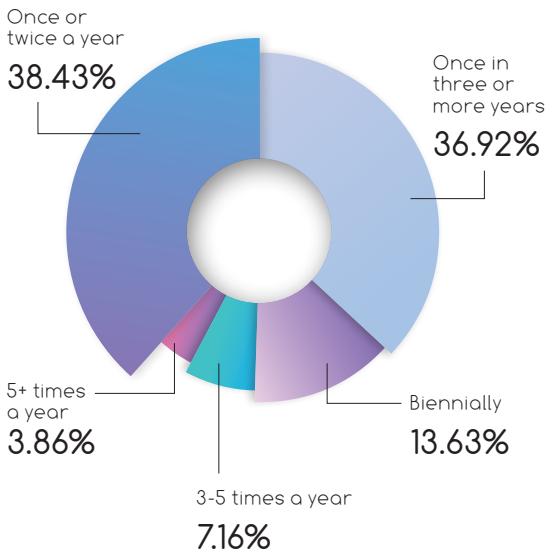


Distribution of Winter Sports Participants by Region

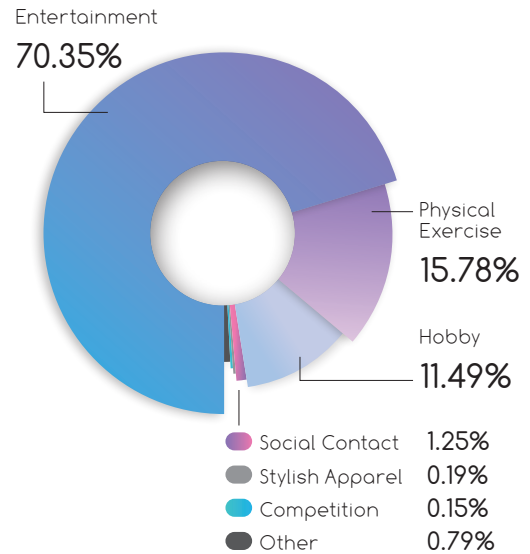
● Number of participants (millions)  
● Share of participants in that region (%)



### Distribution of Winter Sports Participants by Frequency



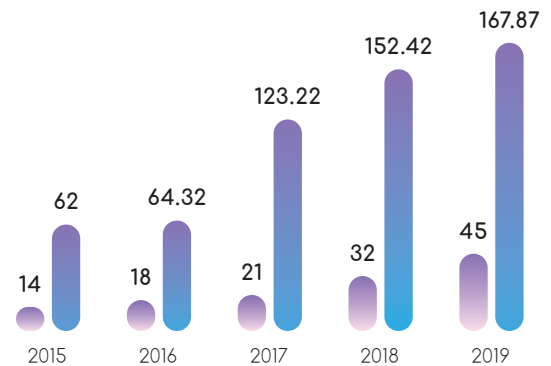
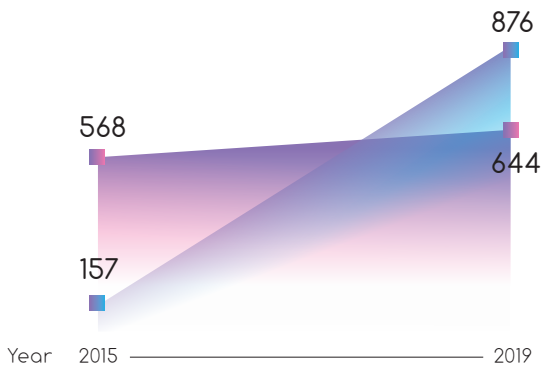
### Distribution of Winter Sports Participants by Reason



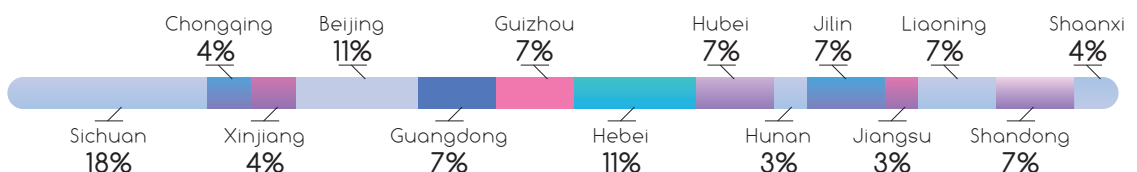
## Expansion of Winter Sports Venues and Facilities in China

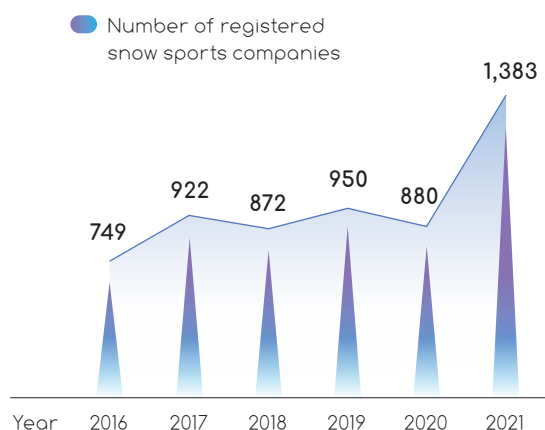
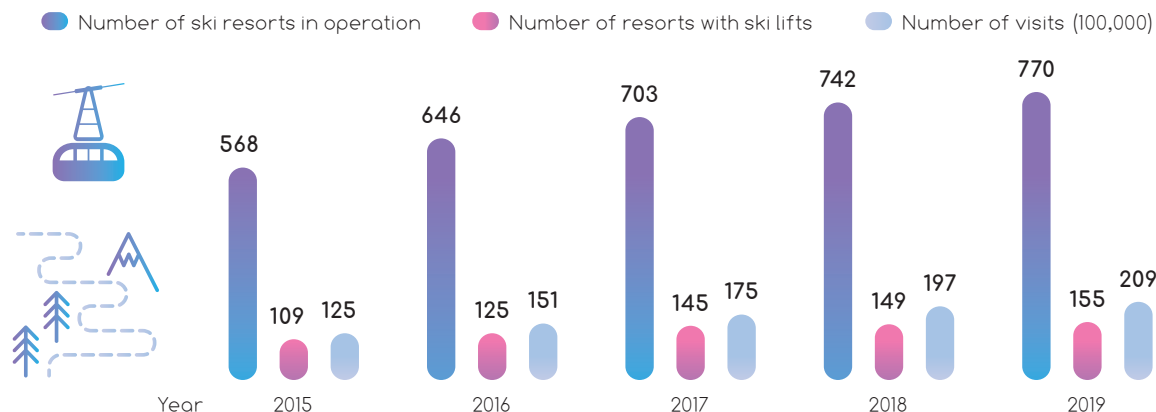
● Number of ice sports venues  
● Number of snow sports venues

● Number of dry ski slopes  
● Area of dry ski slopes (1,000m<sup>2</sup>)

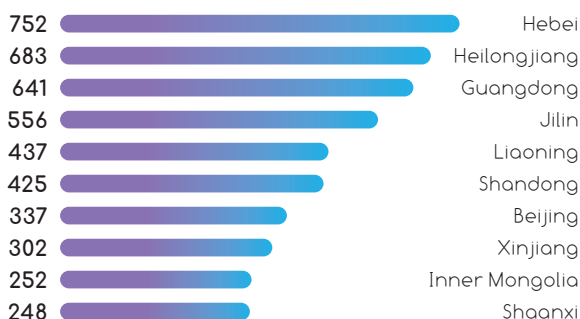


### Distribution of Dry Ski Slopes in Operation in 2019





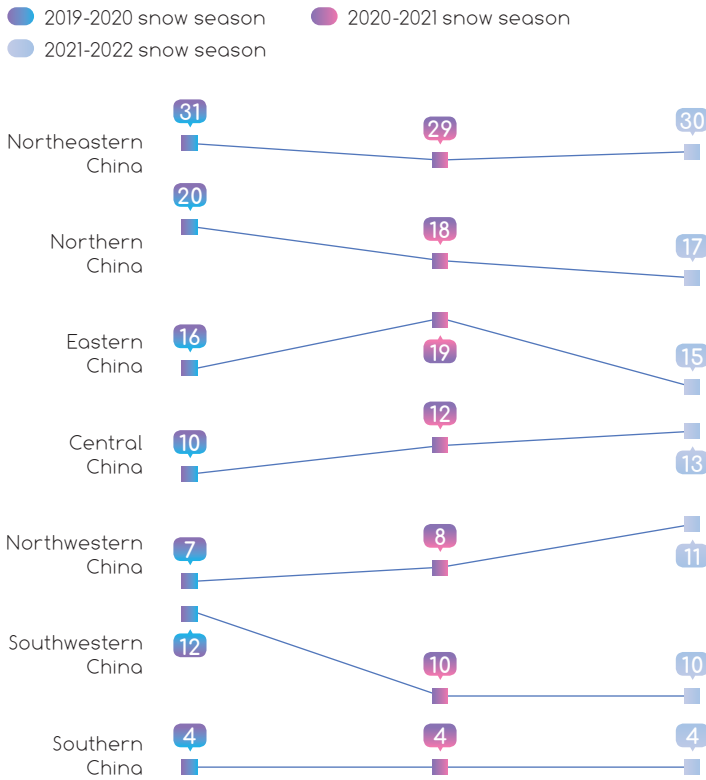
### 10 Provinces (Municipalities, Autonomous Regions) with Most Snow Sports Companies



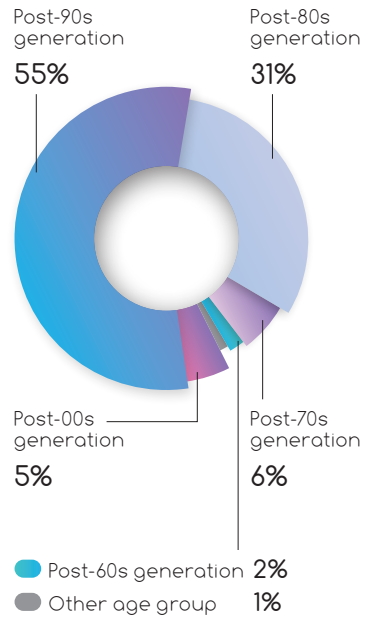
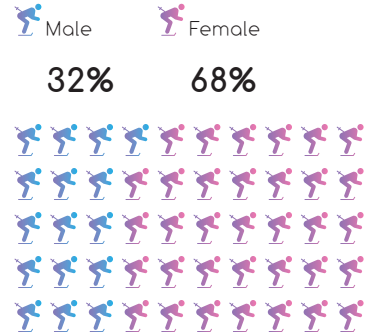
## Development of Ice and Snow Tourism in China



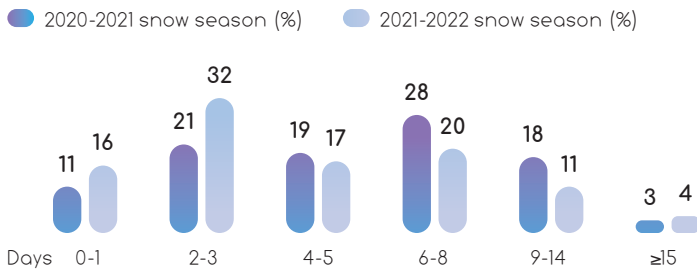
## Popularity of Ice and Snow Tourism by Region (%)



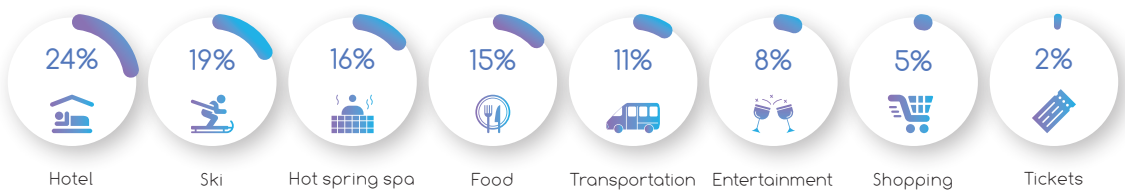
## Distribution of Winter Tourism Consumers by Gender and Age in 2021-2022



## Distribution of Winter Tourists by Days Spent



## Share of Winter Tourism Expenses during the 2021-2022 Snow Season



Source: National Bureau of Statistics, *Tourism Data Report 2021*, *Sustainability for the Future—Beijing 2022 Pre-Games Sustainability Report*, Qcc.com.

# Warming Voices from Beijing 2022

Concept by *China-India Dialogue*

## From Beijing Winter Olympics to Indian Sports Movies

### Xu Hui

**Occupation:** Lecturer at Art and Design School, Dalian Polytechnic University and a Ph.D. candidate at Beijing Normal University, majoring in Drama, Film, and Television

**Birth place:** Dalian, Liaoning Province, China

**Current residence:** Beijing



At the Beijing 2022 Winter Olympics, Indian alpine skier Arif Khan participated in the slalom and giant slalom events, achieving a historic breakthrough for his motherland. The young Indian postponed his wedding to serve as the lone representative of a country of nearly 1.4 billion people at Beijing 2022, which kindled a glowing spotlight in Chinese media. His dedication demonstrated the spirit of the International Olympic Movement, epitomizing all athletes who strive for their dreams. Outside of cricket, India is not known as a competitive sports power, especially considering its achievements in either the Winter Olympics or the Summer Olympics. But surprisingly, sports movies are quite common and popular in India, which inspire the audience with an indomitable sporting spirit.

The Indian sports movie

most familiar to Chinese audiences may very well be *Dangal* starring Aamir Khan, who is fondly called “Uncle Mi” in China. It earned about 1.3 billion yuan (about US\$200 million) at the box office in the Chinese mainland, which not only far exceeded its revenues in India, but also accounted for half of the film’s global earnings, evidencing the Chinese audience’s recognition and love for this Indian movie. In the male-dominated wrestling arena, the sudden emergence of a couple of sisters who proved themselves through their hard work and persistent pursuits and their father’s support moved many Chinese moviegoers. It gained immediate popularity in China, arousing attention to other Indian films. Alongside *Dangal*, Indian sports movies such as *Chak De! India*, *Sultan*, *Bhaag Milkha Bhaag*, *M.S. Dhoni: The Untold Story*, *Mary Kom*, *Azhar*, and *Bigil* have

performed well in the Chinese film market. Most are based on true stories and tend to inspire the audience through stories of unyielding sportsmanship.

The ideals promoted in such films are easy for Chinese viewers to embrace: Patriotism and collectivism always prevail over gender, class, and caste when people work towards a sports goal, and victory is only achieved through hard work. A rising national flag can tug at heartstrings regardless of its colors.

In fact, Indian sports movies have quietly shouldered the dual roles of building national identity and enhancing national pride: Patriotism has been quietly evoked among the Indian audience through vivid stories and interpretations on screen. In this process, the subtle aesthetics and cognitive functions of such movies have been honed.

Thanks to many outstanding sports movies, India has showcased proactive willpower and a fighting spirit to its own people and those across borders. Hopefully, India will not only produce more Olympic champions in the future, but also more timeless sports movies that inspire athletes around the world and fan the Olympic spirit. At the same time, China and India, two major developing countries, can deepen exchange and cooperation in sports to enhance bilateral friendship in the wake of the global surge in winter sports enthusiasm following Beijing

2022. “We should cooperate more as neighboring countries to encourage more Asian children to compete in skiing events,” suggested Shiva Keshavan, a former Winter Olympian from India.

## My Stories with the Dual Olympic City

### Anzelika Smirnova

**Occupation:** Ph.D. candidate at the School of Journalism and

Communication, Peking University

**Birth place:** Riga, Latvia

**Current residence:** Beijing



I left my homeland in Latvia to study in Beijing in 2008 when the Chinese capital hosted its first Olympic Games. My friends and I made an appointment to visit the nearly-completed Olympic venue National Stadium (also known as the Bird's Nest) but could only appreciate it from a distance due to the ongoing construction. I remember how excited we were to see the

Bird's Nest illuminated in red, a lucky and auspicious color for Chinese culture, as night fell.

Later, together with several friends, I watched the opening ceremony on an LED screen on Wangfujing Street, one of the busiest commercial streets in Beijing, when the Olympic Games opened on August 8 that year. How the Four Great Inventions, ink painting, Kun Opera, Kung Fu, and other Chinese cultural elements were fused into the design of the grand show deeply impressed me, inspiring me to further explore the Eastern country.

2022 marks the 14th year I have studied and lived in China. I have acquired fluent Chinese and set foot on many metropolises as well as small towns throughout the country. I love creating and posting videos on social media and telling unique Chinese stories inspired by what I have seen and experienced here. China has become my second home, and I have a deep attachment to it. I was overjoyed to be offered a ticket to the opening ceremony of the Beijing 2022 Winter Olympics.

It was an awe-inspiring experience to watch the opening ceremony at the Bird's Nest. I held my phone up the entire time to capture every wonderful moment that touched my heart at the grand event. The venue inside was illuminated in ice blue, cuddling the audience in a crystal clear world. During the countdown to the ceremony, the names of China's 24 Solar Terms were

presented one by one on big screens to express the passage of time. As the first solar term “Lichun,” literally “the beginning of spring,” was displayed on the screen, the dancers took the stage with willow twigs symbolizing the arrival of spring when everything goes green. Zhang Yimou, general director of the opening ceremony, ingeniously combined traditional Chinese culture with advanced technologies to deliver this splendid event.

The Olympic Games provide a platform for athletes from all over the world to compete to be higher, faster, and stronger. The quadrennial sports event is a visual feast for global audiences and offers a wonderful opportunity to conduct multicultural exchange and mutual learning. The global community comes together to make the Games happen, so it also presents a great opportunity to learn about and understand each other. When the Latvian delegation entered the stadium, many of my Chinese friends watching the opening ceremony on television texted me to share their excitement. Latvia is a small and distant country with which the Chinese are not very familiar, but many of my Chinese friends have learned about the beautiful Baltic country and its culture through me. They started sharing my joy and excitement to see athletes from my homeland. It felt like our cross-cultural communication had yielded rich fruits.

At the Olympic flame lighting session, the climax of each Olympic opening ceremony, the torch was placed in the middle of a giant snowflake, and the snowflake became the cauldron. Instead of a roaring fire, there was only a “micro-flame.” This creative design fully conveyed the ideal of carbon-neutral and environment-friendly Olympics. The elegantly simple ignition was unprecedented and represented a classic moment in the history of the Olympic Games. The whole opening ceremony was smooth and refreshing like a spring breeze. If the 2008 Summer Olympics was designed to showcase the cultural characteristics of the prosperous host country, the 2022 Winter Olympics aimed to present an idea that transcends the times by delivering a simple, harmonious, romantic, and hopeful picture to the world.

Outside the Bird’s Nest, the Olympic flame burned inside the rotating snowflake-shaped torch stand, and 300 meters away, the imposing Beijing Olympic Tower glittered at night. From visiting the Bird’s Nest for the first time from a distance and watching the opening ceremony on the LED screen in the street back in 2008, to admiring the opening ceremony as a live audience member inside the same iconic venue this year, I have witnessed Beijing’s most classic moments of marveling the whole world with its hosting of two magnificent Olympic Games. During my 14-year journey in China, I have gained

a panoramic view of China. I hope to bridge China and Latvia as well as the rest of the world with my own knowledge and action and contribute whatever I can to build a community with a shared future for humanity.

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## More Indians at the Olympics

### Rajat Jangra

**Occupation:** Student at North Sichuan Medical University

**Birth place:** Rohtak, Haryana, India

**Current residence:** Rohtak, Haryana, India



Beijing hosted the Olympics again just as spectacularly as it did back in 2008, except that it was the Winter Games this time. The top concern about Beijing hosting the Olympics for many was COVID-19. But I think China dispelled all doubt with its management of the closed-loop system and assurance of a smooth Winter Olympics

while protecting the health and safety of global athletes coming to China to compete. After studying and living in China's Sichuan Province for two and a half years, I think I have a better understanding of Chinese people than most Indians do. Many in India are misled by biased media or social and political provocation.

Arif Khan, a well-known skier, was the lone competitor from India to qualify for the Beijing Winter Olympics. India did not win a medal, and some of my Chinese friends asked me how India, one of the most populous countries in the world, couldn't

Bindra, who won India's first individual Olympic gold, was born in an upper-middle class family capable of providing the considerable necessary financial support in his early career. Few Indian athletes can afford such expensive training like him.

Furthermore, Indian society values a science-oriented and grades-based education system. Indian youth usually want to become doctors and engineers, and those brave enough to consider sports rarely enjoy encouragement from their parents. Education gives better returns than sports. This is the mentality of Indian parents and

sports were treated equally, and all students were encouraged to spend time on sports during school days. Basically, every sport has its own association, and almost all of them get some funding. More importantly, they are not headed by politicians but by veteran players who have retired from the sport. Sportsmanship thrives, and China wins a lot of medals. China also has a nationwide talent identification system closely linked to its school programs. The government passed laws requiring physical education to be a core part of basic school education. Every morning, students in high school in Sichuan do some exercise, whether it is dancing, running, or some other warm-up, to become energized for the day. College students have to undergo an intense physical training program before starting academics in universities. This is the spirit Chinese youth are radiating. These little differences make a big impact on the big picture and Olympic medal tally.

India is a sleeping giant with a lot of sports potential because it has the world's largest youth population. It will win more medals when a larger number of players and spectators become interested in more diverse games. India can learn a lot from China in this field and encourage more young people to take part in sports to promote healthy living and national fitness. I want to see more Indian athletes excel at the Olympics and bring glory back home. 🇮🇳

**If the 2008 Summer Olympics was designed to showcase the cultural characteristics of China, Beijing 2022 aimed to present an idea that transcends the times by delivering a simple, harmonious, romantic, and hopeful picture to the world.**

find more talent to compete for the Olympics. For me, it has always been quite surprising to watch China, also one of the most populous countries, always in the top five in the Olympic medal tally. This kind of medal disparity can be traced deeper. Basically, the Indian athletes who have won world-class medals and titles could actually afford the facilities to receive training. Some were even trained by renowned coaches outside India. For example, famous shooter Abhinav

to some extent it's true. The dominance of cricket has also squeezed out opportunities in other sports. Cricket becoming so wildly popular was a key reason India stopped winning at hockey. Hockey gradually fell out of favor with the Indian public. Corporate sponsors put all their money into cricket because it attracts so many viewers in India. Billions of people demand sports entertainment, and cricket has cornered the market.

When I was in China, I saw with my own eyes how all

# Following the Cotton Road

By Yu Longyu

In addition to the Himalayas, two other things link China and India: the Silk Road and the Cotton Road. Scholars from both countries should reflect on this episode of history and help the two ancient trading routes shine light on the two countries' millennia-old friendship.

Serendipity does exist. In 1970, inspiration from a bunch of abandoned Hindi lecture notes propelled me to begin writing the novel *Huang Daopo* about a legendary innovator and propagator of weaving skills in ancient China. Fifty-one years later, I gave a speech titled “Strengthen Research on the Cotton Road” at the online seminar “Multilingualism: From the Perspective of Linguistic and Cultural Discourse,” hosted by Banaras Hindu University in Varanasi, a city of cultural significance in India. Huang Daopo, the eponymous protagonist of my novel, had a close relationship with India.

## HUANG DAPO AND CHINESE TEXTILES

Three eminent women in history are household names in China: Hua Mulan, Mu Guiying, and Huang Daopo. Hua is noted for taking her father's place in the army, Mu was a general who fought bravely to defend the country, and Huang was an innovator in cotton textile skills. Due to her remarkable contributions, Huang's hometown Shanghai gradually became China's cotton textile center, and Huang gained a reputation for “providing clothes for all under heaven.”

However, India first domesticated cotton and invented a

full set of cotton textile techniques. Later, India's cotton textile techniques spread to China, Japan, Southeast Asia, and Europe along the Cotton Road.

Shanghai was once the largest cotton textile hub in China. Gradually, the focus of China's cotton textile industry shifted to cotton-producing regions like Wuxi, Zhengzhou, Xi'an, and Xinjiang. Just like India, China has long been a cotton textile powerhouse globally. Its rise in China is inseparable from Huang Daopo's enormous contributions to the cotton industry.

Huang Daopo lived in the late Song Dynasty (960-1279) and the early Yuan

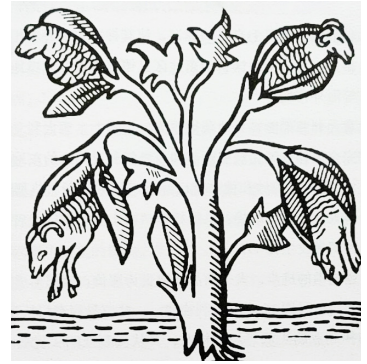
Dynasty (1271-1368). Due to social unrest caused by war, people in the region south of the lower reaches of the Yangtze River, which used to be a land of plenty, were living hard. Many fled their hometowns for survival. When she was young, Huang Daopo was raised as a future daughter-in-law. After her young “husband” died, she suffered great oppression. One night, she stealthily boarded a ship in Shanghai bound for Hainan Island. With the help from local Li people, Huang survived and learned superb weaving techniques. However, she missed her hometown and yearned to return to teach her fellow villagers the textile techniques learned from the Li people to improve their livelihoods.

After more than three decades of living away from home, Huang eventually returned to her hometown of Wunijing, part of today's Shanghai. The superb weaving skills she brought back helped local people work more efficiently and improve their lives. Countless young women in southern China swarmed to Wunijing to study advanced textile techniques from Huang. Years later, the areas along the Huangpu River in Shanghai became a famous textile hub. Over time, Huang's cotton textile techniques spread across southern China. After Huang died, temples were built in many places to honor the great woman, and folk songs were composed to eulogize her. After the founding

of the People's Republic of China in 1949, her story was included in primary school textbooks. A memorial hall for Huang Daopo was constructed in her hometown of Wunijing. Each year, thousands of visitors come to worship her.

Like Huang, I'm also a native of the Shanghai area. I visited her tomb several times. I conducted thorough research on the folk customs, history, and culture of areas along the Huangpu River, and Huang's story impressed me deeply, so my first novel was about her.

In 1984, I moved from Peking University where I had studied and worked for 19 years to Shenzhen University. Before I left, I gave away all my furniture and brought only a pot and 26 bookcases to Shenzhen. The pot was a wedding gift from my Hindi teacher, and two of the 26 bookcases were used to hold manuscripts of my novel *Huang Daopo*. With just the pot and books, I could continue my life and work. It was a huge change for me to shift from a Hindi teacher to a Chinese teacher. Busy with work, I found no time to compile and revise my manuscripts for *Huang Daopo*. Not until 2001 did I begin to revise the manuscripts, at my wife and daughter's urging. The work stalled many times until the novel was finally published in 2021 with the help of many colleagues and friends. In this full-length historical novel, I recounted the stories of India's Cotton Road.



A drawing of a sheep-bearing crop hearkens to European imagination of the cotton plant before it was introduced to the region.

### COTTON ROAD AND SILK ROAD SET OFF EACH OTHER

Eastern nations once made great contributions to world civilizational progress largely through the Silk Road and the Cotton Road. Of course, the commodities transported along the Silk Road and the Cotton Road included a wide range of products, ideas, and cultures. Historically, the two ancient trading routes were closely interconnected and inseparable from each other.

The first Belt and Road Forum for International Cooperation, held in Beijing from May 14 to 15, 2017, was a great success. Unfortunately, no Indian representatives attended the event. In nature, the Belt and Road Initiative is the modern version of the ancient Land and Maritime Silk Roads, of which India was an integral part. The logo of the forum featured the English letter of “S” for “silk” and an abstract silhouette



October 20, 2021: A cotton harvester works in the cotton field on the outskirts of Wujiaqu in Urumqi, capital of northwestern China's Xinjiang Uygur Autonomous Region. IC

of the Giant Wild Goose Pagoda. In fact, it is full of Indian elements: The English word “silk” originated from Sanskrit, and “pagoda” also came from India in terms of architecture and pronunciation. The Chinese folk song “Jasmine Flower” was sung after the conclusion of the forum. Jasmine also originated in India, and its Chinese name “Moli” is a transliteration of “mall” and “mallik,” Sanskrit words for “jasmine.”

The cotton plant is native to India, Africa, and the Americas. Ancient Indians living in the Indus Valley were the first to domesticate the plant, making it a crop benefiting mankind. This was a huge contribution to the development of world civilization. To this day,

various kinds of cotton fabrics remain the most important, eco-friendly, and practical raw materials for clothing.

During the Middle Ages, cotton and cotton textile techniques were spread around the world along the Cotton Road. Thanks to geographical proximity, China's Hainan Island benefited greatly from the Cotton Road. Local Li people learned and further renovated the cotton textile techniques. When Huang Daopo arrived on the island, the local cotton textile techniques such as deseeding, spinning, weaving, and dyeing were cutting-edge globally. Huang brought the superb techniques back to her hometown and fused them with local silk weaving techniques, empowering a great leap forward for the entire

textile industry.

Along with cotton textile techniques, China's cotton plants also came from India. Cotton was introduced to China via two routes: In the Eastern Han Dynasty (25-220), cotton was first introduced to China's Yunnan from Southeast Asian countries along the south route. Back then, some ethnic minorities in Yunnan produced a kind of fabric known as “white printed cloth.” During the Southern and Northern Dynasties (420-589), cotton was introduced to China's Xinjiang along the north route.

During the Tang (618-907) and Song dynasties, “white printed cloth” was regarded as a precious fabric. Not until the late Song and early Yuan dynasties was cotton extensively planted and produced in China's hinterlands. During the era, cotton textile techniques spread from Hainan Island across southern China thanks to the immortal efforts of Huang Daopo.

American historian Sven Beckert wrote in *Empire of Cotton: A New History of Global Capitalism*: “For a long time, Europe had no foothold in the cotton kingdom that is colorful, dynamic and economically important. Europeans had long been marginalized in the network of cotton planting, production, and consumption. Even in the Greco-Roman period, when Europeans began to import limited amounts of cotton cloth, Europe as a whole remained insignificant in the global cotton industry.

There, people still primarily wore clothes made of linen and wool, just as they had done since the Bronze Age. As Mahatma Gandhi said, in the time when India supplied cotton to Europe, Europeans themselves still lived in savage, ignorance, and incivility.”

India’s cotton textile techniques played a vital role in boosting Britain’s economic development in modern times. Once an insignificant island state on the Atlantic, Britain developed rapidly through coal mining and cotton textiles. The coal industry met the demand for energy and mechanical power, but the cotton textile industry enabled the British to reap impressive profits in the international market. At the time, the raw materials for Britain’s cotton textile industry primarily came from India, and even its cotton textile technology was a mechanized version of India’s traditional techniques. For this reason, India was dubbed “the brightest jewel in the Crown of the British Empire.”

### HISTORICAL LESSONS WORTH LEARNING

However, the historical implications of the Cotton Road haven’t been thoroughly studied yet, and Indian contributions to humanity haven’t been adequately analyzed. Only by reviewing past journeys can we ensure future ventures improve. Now is the time to strengthen reflections on the ancient Cotton Road. By studying China’s historical documents, *Indian History of*



A man hangs dyed yarn to dry in the town of Kolaghat in India’s eastern state of West Bengal. The country is one of the largest producers of cotton in the world. VCG

*Cotton by Gandhi*, *Empire of Cotton* by Sven Beckert, and other books, researchers can lift historical studies of cotton to a new level.

Cotton is one of the softest materials in the world, but it was used by imperialists as a hard, ruthless weapon during the colonial era. “Initially, expansion in South Asia was the most important milestone of European businesspeople and politicians’ engagement in the global cotton industrial network,” wrote Sven Beckert. “From then on, Europeans began to occupy a certain position in India’s transatlantic textile trade... As early as 1621, the British East India Company exported about 50,000 cotton textile products to Britain. Forty years later, the figure quintupled. In fact, cotton textiles became

the most important commodities of the British East India Company. As of 1766, cotton textiles accounted for 75 percent of the company’s total exports.”

The plunder of India by imperialist powers was closely related to colonial rule, which inevitably evoked resistance among the Indian people. Indian nationalists opposed British colonial rule in India and became increasingly active in promoting the strategy of encouraging Indians to consume homemade textile products. Indians placed high hopes on domestic industrialization and considered it the only way to restore India’s past important status in the global economy. A few years later, Mahatma Gandhi wrote a book on the history of cotton in India and spun cotton yarn



A worker rests in a pile of cotton at a yard near Mohegan, a town in India's central state of Madhya Pradesh. Cotton is one of the most important cash crops growing in southeastern Madhya Pradesh and Nagpur, Maharashtra State. by Zheng Huansong/Xinhua

on a loom himself. Cotton was central to India's effort to promote nationalism and fight colonialism. In 1930, the Indian National Congress adopted a spinning wheel as the central pattern of its flag. The domestication of cotton and the invention of cotton textile techniques are among the major contributions made by Indian people to human civilization. However, Indians weren't resigned to let colonialists use their inventions to exploit them. In this context, the cotton textile industry was intertwined with the nationalist movement in India more than it was anywhere else. Many Indian textile entrepreneurs became supporters of their country's independence movement, and leaders of the

Indian independence movement considered the cotton textile industry the primary domain of their struggle. For instance, Mahatma Gandhi established a close relationship with the owner of Ahmedabad Merchants Spinning Company. "The cotton textile industry is a precious national asset which creates many job opportunities and affects the prosperity of the Indian people," said Gandhi in 1930. "So, its security and progress deserves continuous attention from capitalists, labor leaders, politicians, and economists."

To truly understand Mahatma Gandhi and the history of the Indian people's struggle against imperialism and colonialism, one must first understand Indians'

efforts to protect their rights in the cotton sector.

Understanding and studying India's history of resisting colonization in the cotton industry is also helpful in refuting Western lies about Xinjiang's cotton industry. Many people around the world were perplexed by the lies: How could scenes pulled from the Western colonial era happen in 21st-century China? If you are familiar with the history of cotton in Western countries, the reasons for fabricating such lies become clearer. Imperialists once resorted to every conceivable means to undercut India and other cotton-producing countries to control and monopolize the global cotton resources and cotton cloth market. Raising a banner featuring a spinning wheel, Indian patriots including Mahatma Gandhi launched the non-cooperation movement and eventually drove colonists out of their country. After India's independence, domestic industries including textiles began to flourish throughout the country.

The same happened in China. As Sven Beckert described in his book, the People's Republic of China produced 656,000 tons of cotton yarn in 1952, a significant hike compared to production decades earlier, but still lagged far behind world leaders. By 1957, China had become the world's third-largest cotton yarn producer, with annual output 2.5 times that of Britain. In 1983, a total of 3.27 million

tons of cotton products rolled out of large state-owned textile factories in China. During the same period, India also enjoyed rapid industrial development.

During the Southern and Northern Dynasties, India's cotton planting and weaving techniques were introduced to China's Xinjiang, where the famous "white painted cloth" was produced. Over centuries, Xinjiang developed a long-standing tradition of cotton planting and production. After the founding of the People's Republic of China in 1949, workers and farmers became the masters of the country, and Xinjiang's cotton industry

percent come from China. Today, Chinese factories own nearly half of the world's total spindles and spinning machines and consume 43 percent of the world's raw cotton (or 82.2 percent of Asia's). North America and Western Europe contribute to 4.2 percent and 0.7 percent of the global cotton output, respectively. Two centuries later, the cotton industrial centers before 1780 are again the world's major consumers of raw cotton.

Envious of the rapid development of China's modern cotton industry, some Western countries thus fabricated lies about "forced labor" in Xinjiang. The pros-

got along with their teachers like family. I remember that when my mother had a break on Sunday and came home, she would tell me stories about her apprentices from Xinjiang. Once, before returning to the factory in Shanghai by steam boat, my mother asked my brother and me to pick some gardenia blossoms as gifts for her apprentices. My mother followed Huang Daopo's motto: helping others is helping yourself. A big reason I devoted so much time to writing and modifying the manuscripts for the novel *Huang Daopo* over the past five decades was influence from my mother, who spent her whole life passing on Huang's spirit.

China and India are brothers in destiny. In addition to the Himalayas, they are also linked by the Silk Road and the Cotton Road. I hope the two countries will work together to produce films and television about the Silk Road, the Cotton Road, and Huang Daopo and organize a seminar on cotton and silk during the annual conferences of the Boao Forum for Asia in Hainan, where Huang Daopo lived for more than 30 years. 

## China and India are brothers in destiny. In addition to the Himalayas, they are also linked by the Silk Road and the Cotton Road.

witnessed leapfrog growth with help from the country's eastern and middle regions. Its incredible growth rate stunned Western countries. They couldn't imagine that in 2008, the Xinjiang Production and Construction Corps produced 1.3 million tons of cotton, accounting for five percent of the world's total. Economic development often aligns with industrialization.

China's fast-growing cotton industry amazed the West. According to Sven Beckert, about 98 percent of clothes sold in the United States are imported, of which 40

percent of Xinjiang's cotton industry can be attributed to introduction of high-yield cotton species and revival of cotton-planting tradition in tandem with robust support from other parts of China, especially the eastern coastal regions.

In modern times, Shanghai, Huang Daopo's hometown, became the largest cotton textile hub in China and even the world. My mother was once an expert weaver. In the 1960s, many young female apprentices from Xinjiang joined the textile factory where she worked. All of them were studious and

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*The author is director and professor of the Centre for Indian Studies at Shenzhen University. He was honored as a Distinguished Indologist by Indian President Pranab Mukherjee in 2016.*



### *The Outline of Yoga History*

By Cai Chunyang, Yu Xinli and Wang Zanyi

Social Sciences Academic Press (China)

January 2022

# Yoga Philosophy

By Yu Xinli

It is extremely important for us to understand India as it is a primary ancient civilization and China's only neighboring country with a population over one billion. India is a country scattered in shape and gathered in spirit, and a country rich in its diversity while enjoying uniformity. This combination of diversity and uniformity is reflected in its multiple races, cultures, languages and religions, as well as in the Vedas, the root of Indian philosophies, thoughts, cultures and religions, which has not been shaken and weakened through the passage of time and the impact of foreign invasion. Therefore, to understand India, one must first understand its national mentality; to understand its national mentality, one must first understand its philosophy.

Indian people have been adept at critical thinking, logic and philosophy since ancient times. Professor Liang Shuming puts it in his *Introduction to Indian*

*Philosophy*: "Indian people have always been good at philosophical thinking because India's fertile land and warm climate ensure abundant rice produce, so much so that they never worry about their livelihoods but rather devote their attention to things beyond their earthly concerns... So, the people of India, from the king to his subjects, made philosophical research their life-long aspiration, giving rise to diverse schools of learning and myriad competing and prospering theories. No country, ancient or contemporary, has ever been anywhere close to a philosophizing India in the measure of free thinking, wise musing, incisive argumentation, and insightful theorization."

Indian philosophy, which is a highly developed system of wisdom and learning, originating from the Vedas, a collection of ancient knowledge and philosophical thoughts, encompasses a full gamut of philosophical schools

of varying size and influence.

Therefore, an effort to clarify the complex Indian philosophy will be of great value to the understanding of Indian people's psyche and even the country itself.

Yoga is not only a shining gem of India's ancient civilization, but also a treasure of the world. Yoga, which is philosophically rooted in Vedas, inherits the concept of Upanishads, making itself the best integration of Sadhana (practices). It systematically summarizes and perfects the practices mentioned in Upanishads, and becomes a common practice followed by all schools of Indian philosophy. Being especially inclusive, yoga had its practices adopted both by Indian orthodox philosophy and unorthodox philosophy. Yoga's Yama (universal moral commandments) and Niyama (self-purification by discipline) are the common moral standards and yoga meditation is the common practice method shared by all the six schools of

Indian philosophy, as well as Buddhism and Jainism. Until the 18th century, when yoga merged with Vedanta—the mainstream philosophy of India, which systematically elaborated on Vedic philosophy, it came to the era that Vedanta represents the most comprehensive integration of Vedic philosophy. Thus an overall integration of philosophies and practices has been achieved. Vedanta becomes mass philosophy. It actually facilitates the revival of Indian traditional culture and its thoughts. Yoga is not only a tool to keep fit, but also contains profound philosophical thoughts. Researchers of yoga should look beyond yoga and religions into the development of Indian philosophy. This book tries to take yoga as a needle, the historical development of yoga as a thread, to unveil the mythical gauze on Indian philosophy, and strings all the Indian schools of philosophies. Each chapter of this book is to connect the origin and development of yoga with Vedas, Upanishads, two Epics, six schools of philosophy, Buddhism, Jainism, Yoga Sutra and Hatha Yoga until modern Indian philosophers, represented by Swami Vivekananda, who combined yoga with the mainstream Vedanta philosophy that yoga in the modern sense came into being. In this way, “a pearl chain” threaded by yoga is exhibited to the world.

In 2006, I left Shandong University for Yunnan University where I started

all-round cultural exchanges with universities in South Asia and Southeast Asia, and also started to systematically understand and study India. In 2009, with the help of Mr. Tan Chung, the eldest son of Mr. Tan Yunshan who is lauded as the “modern Xuan Tsang,” Yunnan University and Visva-Bharati University carried out all-round cooperation and exchanges, which started the friendship between Mr. Tan Chung and me, a friendship between generations.

During this period, Mr. Tan visited Yunnan University for academic exchanges many times, and personally wrote the banner of “Chindia” and left a Sino-Indian inscription—“To build virtues and doctrines, to save lives and the world, to foster great ideas, and to maintain ethics and accomplishment. To do what is hard to practice, to tolerate what is difficult to bear, to accept fate and stay unchanged before fate.” When he was informed that more exchange programs would be carried out among teachers and students in Yunnan University and Visva-Bharati University, especially the former university sent staff to help the latter sort out numerous Chinese books, Mr. Tan was so delighted that he wrote a long preface in both Chinese and English for *India through the Eyes of Chinese Youths*, *China through the Eyes of Indian Youths*, and *Enter the Realm of Chindia*. In addition, Mr. Tan Chung also donated a large number of precious old photos for illustrations in *Enter the Realm of*

*Chindia*, which endowed the book with a sense of historical significance.

In 2011, Professor Chintamani Mahapatra of Jawaharlal Nehru University (JNU) came to Yunnan University as a professor holding the Rabindranath Tagore Chair for a six-month visit and exchange. We felt like old friends at the first meeting and became bosom buddies. Later, Professor Mahapatra became rector of JNU, devoted himself to promoting the people-to-people exchanges between Chinese and Indian universities, and wrote precious recommendations for *India through the Eyes of Chinese Youths* and *China through the Eyes of Indian Youths*. In 2017, I was transferred to work for Yunnan Minzu University, where Professor Mahapatra made four special trips within one year to promote the establishment of the Sino-Indian People-to-People Exchange Center of Yunnan Minzu University and JNU.

In 2016, I was transferred from the International Department of Yunnan University to the School of Foreign Languages. With the assistance of Ms. Cai Chunyang and her outstanding students from the School of Foreign Languages, I compiled the “Chindia Exchange” book series under their concerted efforts. In this process, Ms. Cai developed an interest in Indian studies, especially Indian culture, history and philosophy. She has the quality of thoughtfulness, comprehensiveness, logic and proactivity.

In 2017, I visited Swami Vivekananda Yoga University in India, where Wang Zanyi, a doctoral candidate of yoga, was entrusted by the school to welcome us. Wang studied Sanskrit, Ayurveda, yoga and Vedanta in several traditional yoga schools and ashrams. She is so cheerful and amiable that everyone kindly calls her Xiao Guai (meaning “Lovely Girl”). During my three-day visit at the university, she led me through all the yoga courses and the courses at the Physiotherapy Health Center. She told me about one of her gurus, Mohan (who passed away on July 27, 2020).

In the 1970s, Mohan followed Ms. Lakshmi, the founder of Swami Vevakananda Yoga University and the aunt of the university’s current president H.R. Nagandra, to the present location of the university to teach local villagers yoga and treat them with Ayurveda. In 1981, they co-founded Swami Vevakananda Yoga University. Mr. Mohan used to teach Wang Zanyi *Yoga Sutra* word by word for one year. All this evoked my admiration for Mr. Mohan, and later we paid a visit to Mr. Mohan’s residence. He personally made us Indian black tea, and talked with us all the morning on both the Sino-Indian friendship and the Indian classical philosophy. I presented him a set of the “Chindia Exchange” book series as a gift, and he returned me with *Bhagavad Gita*, which is a classical work of yoga and Vedanta.

In 2018, Wang came to Kunming, Yunnan Province.


Together, we planned *The Outline of Yoga History*, worked out the writing structure, and translated Patanjali’s *Yoga Sutra* word by word. We spent one and a half year reading a large number of documents and taking millions of words of reading notes. On this basis, we wrote an outline and presented it to Professor Mahapatra and Mr. Mohan. They insisted that writing *The Outline of Yoga History* is very meaningful, and even in India no one had expounded on it yet. In the following one year and a half, we read a large number of Indian philosophical works by Liang Shuming, Tang Yongtong, Xu Fancheng, Jin Kemu, Wu Baihui, Huang Xinchuan, Huang Baosheng and other predecessors in this field, and got a clear understanding of the context of Indian philosophy and the development of yoga.

In the process of writing the book, we have encountered many difficulties, but due to our sense of responsibility, we could strive forward. We were striving to practice the criteria—“To do what is hard to practice, to tolerate what is difficult to bear, to accept fate and stay unchanged before fate.” With our accumulated efforts, we tried our best to explain profound philosophical principles in plain language after repeated reasoning and revision.

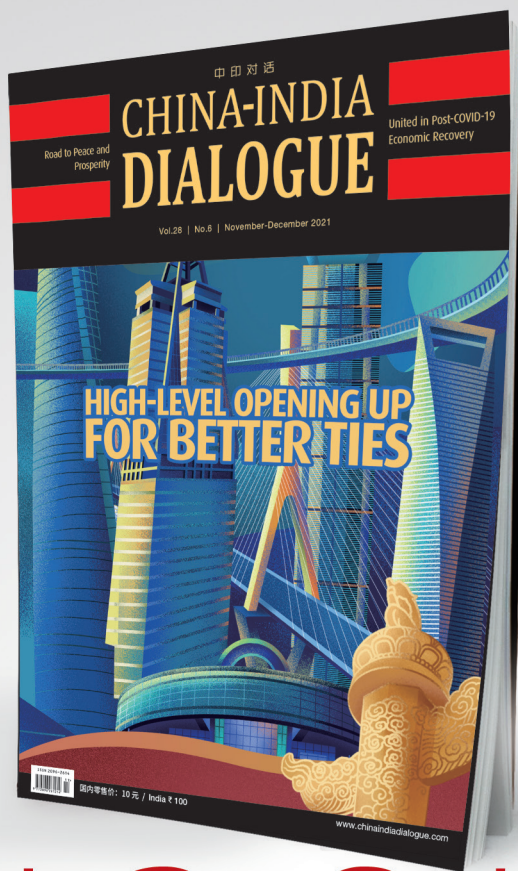
This book is the best proof of the old Chinese sayings that “There must be a teacher in three of us” and “Three heads are better than one.” China has a special preference for “Three.” As *Tao Te Ching* says,

“From Tao, Oneness comes out; while the Oneness gives birth to Yin and Yang; Then the two makes the third and everything.”

China and India have learned from each other and passed on wisdom from generation to generation for thousands of years. Since modern times, a large number of ambitious people have appeared with noble ideals represented by Rabindranath Tagore, Tan Yunshan, Prabodhi Chandra Bagachi, Dr. Dwarkanath Shantaram Kotnis, Ji Xianlin and Tan Chung, who have made great contribution to the cause of Sino-Indian exchange. Following the footsteps of our predecessors, we wrote *The Outline of Yoga History* wholeheartedly, hoping that it could become a spray in the long river of Sino-Indian friendship.

It is an unprecedented effort to interpret yoga from a philosophical point of view and present it in the form of historical outline, as so we encountered many difficulties in the writing process. However, it is many previous researchers and their research results that helped pave our way. On the shoulders of these giants, we present *The Outline of Yoga History* to the world. 

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The author is director of the Sino-Indian People-to-People Exchange Center, Yunnan Minzu University. The article is excerpted and edited from the preface for the book *The Outline of Yoga History*.



# BRIDGING CHINA AND INDIA



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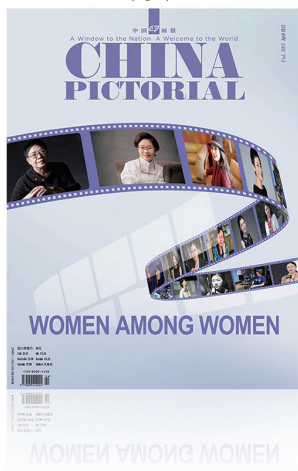
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