

## **India and Taiwan in the Global Arena** (Draft Paper: Not for Citation)

*Prashant Kumar Singh*

India has silently emerged as one of the most important destinations for Taiwan's pragmatic diplomacy, even though structural constraints and domestic dynamics, such as a lack of political will and bureaucratic enthusiasm have primarily determined the course of India-Taiwan relations. The internal dynamics of the two countries under Prime Minister Narendra Modi and President Tsai Ing-wen — for the first time — are showing signs of furthering pragmatic growth in bilateral relations. At this juncture, nationalistic governments in both countries appear to be open to deeper and closer ties; therefore, Chinese reactions are less likely to guide their relations. Nevertheless, China's disapproval continues to be relevant and takes precedence over geopolitical consideration that: "enemy's enemy is my friend", a Kautilyan<sup>i</sup> extrapolation that would favour a closer relationship between India and Taiwan. Therefore, relying on a deterioration in India-China relations, for any dramatic upgrading of India-Taiwan relations would still be too optimistic.

### **India's *Sui Generis* Importance in Taiwan's Pragmatic Diplomacy**

Any study of India-Taiwan relations from a geo-political point of view is complex given that India - Taiwan relations were almost non-existent for more than four decades after India switched recognition from the Republic of China (ROC) to the People's Republic of China (PRC) on December 31, 1949.<sup>1</sup> Even after 1995 when they set up their representative offices<sup>2</sup>, marking the beginning of their non-diplomatic or so-called unofficial ties, bilateral relations have struggled for attention. Besides, Taiwan has either not been studied in India or studied as an adjunct of China, for decades.<sup>3</sup>

However, a survey of this apparent "insignificance" is actually quite relevant. It recalls how "facts on the ground", an allusion to the KMT's defeat and the founding of the PRC, prevailed over Jawaharlal Nehru and Chiang Kai-shek's anti-imperial comradeship rendering India-ROC relations insignificant. Studying the factors that prevented cooperation is also helpful in understanding the workings of the systemic constraints and domestic dynamics during the Cold War that prevented any contact or understanding between the ROC and India, the leading non-aligned country, even though one would expect that the balance-of-power logic would favour closer contacts after the 1962 India-China War. The decision to establish the representative offices furthers an understanding of India's Look East Policy<sup>ii</sup> and Taiwan's Pragmatic Diplomacy<sup>iii</sup> in the post-Cold War period.

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<sup>i</sup> Kautilya, who is credited to have authored the famous treatise on statecraft *Arthashastra*, is believed to have been born in ancient India. The said extrapolation comes from a Mandala theory, propounded by him, that discusses foreign policy and diplomacy and classifies states in terms of friend or foe. The basic assumption of this classification is that a given state and its neighbouring states are generally enemies, leading to another assumption that the neighbour's neighbour should be that neighbour's enemy, making them a friend of the firstly mentioned given state. Thus, the maxim: "the enemy's enemy is my friend."

<sup>ii</sup> Prime Minister P.V. Narasimha Rao enunciated India's Look East policy in 1991/92 to build economic relations with East Asian economies. This was a kind of re-engaging with the region after a long stint of insipid relations with the region during the Cold War. India approached Taiwan exploring the prospects of Taiwanese investments in the early 1990s. In the last 25 years or more, the policy has shown remarkable evolution. Beginning with a focus on the economic aspect of the relations, it has acquired a broad strategic canvas as well, that includes economic, cultural, bilateral political and regional strategic dimensions. Prime Minister Modi renamed it as Act East Policy in 2015. Man Mohini Kaul and Anushree Chakraborty (Ed.), *India's Look East to Act East Policy: Tracing the Opportunities and Challenges in the Indo-Pacific*, Pentagon Press, New Delhi, 2016.

<sup>iii</sup> Taiwan's Pragmatic Diplomacy, also known as Flexible Diplomacy and Substantive Diplomacy, is about enhancing its international profile and smoothening its external engagements without attempting conventional state-to-state diplomacy but in "unofficial" and "non-diplomatic" fashion in the broader economic and cultural arenas, so as not to invite ire from the PRC and making Taiwan feel welcome among the members of the international community. Although the beginning of this diplomatic practice can be traced back to President

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At present, a study of their relations provides an interesting point of reference for approaching and understanding India-China relations, in the shifting strands of Asian geopolitics.<sup>4</sup> It also helps to understand Taiwan's external engagement with the World, especially South Asia. The present tensions in India-China relations have yet again raked up speculation about India seeking closer relations with Taiwan.<sup>5</sup> On the other hand, India's rising profile has further enhanced its importance for Pragmatic Diplomacy. However, India is not the same to Taiwan as the US, Taiwan's informal ally under the Taiwan Relations Act (TRA), 1979; and Japan, its neighbour and a possible supporter in a hypothetical military confrontation with China.<sup>6</sup> Yet, New Delhi seems to have emerged as a significant actor in Taiwan's Pragmatic Diplomacy.<sup>iv</sup>

India is not a factor in Taiwan's security arrangements. Yet, its large size, rich cultural diversity, shared democratic values and strong economy provide Taiwan a large space to implement its Pragmatic Diplomacy with India. Also, the perceived commonality of strategic concerns vis-à-vis China has made many analysts draw attention to the maxim "enemy's enemy is my friend" from time to time.<sup>7</sup> Amidst the current strategic uncertainty that dominates India-China and Cross-Strait relations, this concept becomes even more appealing.<sup>v</sup> Such a parallel has hitherto not formed part of Taiwan's Pragmatic Diplomacy which gives India a *sui generis* importance.

### **History: Explanations and Limitations**

From India's point of view, India-Taiwan relations can be defined and analysed by people-to-people relations; pragmatism in India's China and Taiwan policies; differing foreign policy and strategic priorities of India and Taiwan and no realistic opportunities for applying the Kautilyan maxim vis-à-vis China.

### ***People-to-People Relations***

The initial connections between India and the ROC were in the nature of people-to-people contacts stemming from the bonding between two oppressed nationalities. While India was fighting for its freedom from British colonialism, the ROC was fighting off the Japanese invasion in the 1930s, and striving for a unified China after decades of internal turbulence and imperial onslaughts that began with the opium wars in mid-19<sup>th</sup> century. During this period, people-to-people relations between the two countries were at the level of the leadership and personal contacts and warmth. In the context of the time, these contacts and warmth had their significance. However, these proved ineffective as the civil war broke out in China in 1945-46.

Nobel Laureate poet Rabindranath Tagore's visits to the ROC in 1924 and 1929; the Indian National Congress's (INC's) invitation to Song Qingling, the widow of Sun Yat Sen, for its national session in 1928 - which she could not attend because of the British Indian government's opposition; the mobilising of public opinion by the INC and the sending of

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Chiang Ching-kuo, it was articulated by Lee Teng-hui. Successive Taiwanese governments have pursued this diplomatic practice. Chen Jie, *Foreign Policy of the New Taiwan*, Edward Elgar, Cheltenham (UK) and Northampton, MA, (USA), 2002: pp. 5-58.

<sup>iv</sup> This author has arrived at this view after his numerous interactions, spread over the years, with the Taiwanese Ministry of Foreign Affairs (MOFA) officials in Taipei, its representative officials in New Delhi and Taiwanese scholars following India.

<sup>v</sup> Former Foreign Secretary Kanwal Sibal made the point during the recent Doklam Military standoff between India and China from mid-June to end-August 2017, "A conflict should be avoided, but if it becomes inevitable, we will be freed from many constraints that we have imposed on ourselves despite China's unceasing provocations, whether in Tibet, Taiwan, East Turkestan and so on." Aviral Virk, "Should India Take China's Doklam Threat Seriously", *The Quint*, 22 July 2017, at <https://www.thequint.com/news/india/india-china-doklam-stand-off-experts-speak> (Accessed September 17 2017).

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medical relief teams and materials to support the ROC following the Japanese invasion in 1937; reciprocal visits by Jawaharlal Nehru, India's first Prime Minister and one of the leading lights of India's freedom struggle, and Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek's in 1939 and 1942 respectively, are the notable examples of people-to-people contacts between the two countries pre-1949.<sup>8</sup> Also, Chiang Kai-shek had developed an interest in India as the Japanese military began pushing the KMT forces in the south towards India. He sought the support of Indian leaders for the allied war effort. He visited India to convince them to accept the dominion status, which the British government was offering, and to put off their demand for complete independence. He wanted their help in persuading the British Indian government to open the Burma Road for supplies for China, which the British had closed in 1940.<sup>9</sup>

At that time, Nehru articulated India's vision for friendship with China. He developed friendship with the Chiang family. The ROC, which succeeded the Qing China after 1911, was at the core of his *Asianism*. Generalissimo Chiang and Madam Chiang personified his poetic appreciation of China's role and place in his vision for Asia's destiny. For instance, he said:

The Generalissimo has made a tremendous mark on the history of our times...a deep impact on my thoughts and action...He is not only a great Chinese but a great Asiatic and world figure...Madame Chiang Kai-shek is full of vitality and charm. She is a star hope for the Chinese people who can never forget the inspiration they receive from her personality.<sup>10</sup>

It was also his view that:

The Generalissimo is a very remarkable man...a successful leader of the people, and a successful general and captain in war...Today, if you visit China, you will find that every citizen accepts the greatness of Chiang Kai-shek. It is by accepting the greatness of his leadership that the unity of China has been brought about. They now look up to him for leading them to victory and building a new China. Madam Chiang Kai-shek, who is his consort, is not only partner in his life's journey but has been a fellow-warrior with him, standing side by side with him in China's battle for freedom. She has inspired the women of China, the youth and the men of China, and has become a symbol of China's invincibility and her magnificent spirit of resistance...<sup>11</sup>

For him:

The Generalissimo was the symbol of China's freedom and unity and the determination which never wavers, the radiant lady who came with him [to India] and who his partner in life's journey showed us how graciously womanhood can face even the storm of war when the cause of freedom beckons.<sup>12</sup>

In a reply to Chiang's letter he said:

I have been greatly cheered by your cordial message which I have received with gratitude and happiness. During these years my thoughts have constantly been with China and you and Madame Chiang. I have sorrowed over China's trials and rejoiced of her courage and success. Earnestly trust that future will bring greater successes, unity and strength to China under your leadership. Reports of Madame Chiang's ill-health have distressed me.<sup>13</sup>

It should be noted that during this period (1939-1945), not everyone in India subscribed to Nehru's views of Chiang and his KMT government. A prominent Indian leader Sarat Chandra Bose took exception to Nehru's friendship with Chiang, and called the latter "the grand fascist of the East". In response, Nehru said that, "to call the Generalissimo a fascist is a manifest absurdity in view of all that has happened during the past eight years or more."<sup>14</sup> However, it was to become clear soon that Nehru would not be able to continue with his appreciation of Chiang.

### ***Pragmatism in Nehru's China and Taiwan Policies***

Nehru's growing ambivalence towards KMT rule in China from 1945 and his government's eventual decision to switch recognition from the ROC to the PRC, was in contrast to accusations by his critics that he practised idealism in his China policy. Nehru understood that India could not ignore the founding of communist China. His quiet burial of his personal bond with the Chiang family and the decision to switch recognition, ran counter to the much reviled "idealism" of his China policy.

Nehru justified his decision and blamed the KMT for its loss of the Mainland, arguing that although the Chinese people "had no sympathy with communism", the KMT lost to the Communists because it was an authoritarian government that "tolerated no criticism" thus pushing every political dissenter into the communist fold.<sup>15</sup> Aware that the KMT was losing ground in the civil-war, the Nehru government took the position that a country has the right to "choose its own political or economic structure."<sup>16</sup> Nehru stated, "As for recognition, there is no doubt that recognition has to be given to a fact."<sup>17</sup> Thus, the PRC replaced the ROC in his understanding of the historical and civilisational continuum of China essentially for pragmatic reasons.

With the passage of time, his relations with the Chiang family became a forgotten chapter in his life. He wrote to his sister Vijaya Lakshmi Pandit, who was India's ambassador to the US (1949-51), "Indians "cannot possibly ally themselves with the Kuomintang merely because of the past".... "I am very sorry for Madame Chiang and I want you to be gentle to her, and give her my answer in the best language you can find. But I do not wish to delude her about the Indian attitude."<sup>18</sup>

However, the Korean War (1950-53) changed his perception and appreciation of Chiang Kai-shek completely. He perceived him, along with South Korean President Syngman Rhee, to be obstructing the peace process and having vested interest in the war: [war was] "the only solution" [to their problems, they were therefore] "averse to any peaceful settlement."<sup>19</sup> Alluding to the US propping up of the KMT regime in Taiwan, Nehru argued that Chiang's legacy belonged "to the past and is done with" [and he had] "no place in the future"... "and attempts are made to hold on to" [him] "and to shut our eyes to reality."<sup>20</sup> In fact, he had more empathy for the PRC.

### ***Challenge to the Official Position: Don't Forget the Balance of Power***

Various political parties criticized Nehru's Taiwan policy and that of the succeeding governments from his party, the INC. Here, in the current context, it would be most relevant to recall the positions taken by the Bharatiya Jana Sangh (BJS)<sup>vi</sup>, the organisational and ideological predecessor of the present ruling Bharatiya Janata Party (BJP), and the BJS's

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<sup>vi</sup> It should be noted that the BJS, founded in 1951, and the ABHM, founded in 1915, were not the lead opposition during the Nehru era and for many decades after. In the first three Lok Sabhas (LS, the lower house of the Parliament) (1952-1957, 1957-1962, and 1962-1967) during the Nehru era, in fact, their numbers were negligible. The BJP, founded in 1980 as the successor party to the BJS, had to wait till 1991 to emerge as the main opposition in LS. However, recalling the BJS's, and its ideological fraternal-twin the ABHM's, position on the Formosa issue is necessary as the present ruling party BJP is the legatee of the BJS's ideology as well as organisation. The ABHM was quite active in Hindu politics during the British colonial period, though it always remained on the margins. After independence, the BJS, the BJP's predecessor, emerged as the lead spokesperson of this politics.

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ideological fellow-traveller the Akhil Bharatiya Hindu Mahasabha (ABHM)<sup>vii</sup>, as their positions provide ideological inputs to the present BJP government's actions vis-à-vis Taiwan. In the 1950 and 1960s, they being quite vocal in criticising India's Formosa policy in Parliament pushed for the Two-China policy as "Chiang's Formosa is as much a fact as Mao's Peking... [It] was the symbol of unity against spread of communism in Asia."<sup>21</sup> They identified Formosa as "a natural ally" and the PRC as the "enemy", and lamented that the government was recognising an enemy at the cost of a natural ally.<sup>22</sup> The BJS's Balraj Madhok argued, "We can check China with the help of Formosa... [It] wants to be friends with India, but, unfortunately Nehru's policy was not favourably to it."<sup>23</sup> The ABHM's V.G. Deshpande questioned the justification for India "siding with [PRC's] aggression" on Formosa. N.B. Khare asked the government to explain the rationale behind its support, given that the PRC was not supporting India's sovereignty on the Kashmir issue between India and Pakistan.<sup>24</sup> The two parties demanded recognition for the ROC, and sometimes even that the PRC be derecognised. The BJS opined that [India should recognise Taipei], and "dare Peking to snap diplomatic ties with India." It bemoaned that, "Such common sense politics have been well beyond the special sense of New Delhi."<sup>25</sup>

### ***Analysing the Two Positions***

Nehru's diagnosis that the establishment of the PRC on Mainland China cannot be ignored, was proven correct. Time proved that the PRC was a reality that was difficult to wish away in the international order. The opposition, which opposed Nehru's Formosa policy, blissfully ignored its earlier remonstrations and followed the China and Formosa policies set by the Indian governments of the 1950s and 60s, when it joined the government, a point to be deliberated upon in the subsequent sections. However, Nehru's prophecy that Chiang's legacy belonged "to the past and is done with" and had "no place in the future" has been proven wrong. Taiwan as a unique entity under the ROC constitution, continues to survive and thrive. Although he recognised Taiwan's "distinct identity", he could not visualise how it would play out in the future. He looked at Taiwan from the prism of the CPC-KMT divide. So did the opposition. The opposition raised the issue of self-determination for the Formosans and their human rights. However, it did so mainly with reference to the PRC's claim over Taiwan as it was the balance of power consideration that influenced its positions. Its exhortations to the government betrayed certain ignorance about domestic and international contexts of the ROC's life in the 1950s and 1960s that did not allow any balance of power equation between India and the ROC to contain China.

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<sup>vii</sup> The other parties that had relatively more parliamentary strength, and were vocal on the Formosa issue were Swatantra Party (SP), Socialist Party (SP), and Praja Socialist Party (PSP). These parties were critical of the Nehru government's "appeasement" of China. In addition to the balance of power consideration, they, particularly the socialists, viewed the issue from the angle of self-determination too. They appealed to the government not to ignore the existence of the ROC, though the socialists were critical of the US intervention as well. They were calling upon the Nehru government to take "an Asian view" of the issue. The Nehru government found a supporter in the Communist Party of India (CPI), which fully supported the official line. The government and the CPI reminded those demanding the revival of relations with the ROC that the KMT had the same position on Tibet and the disputed McMahon Line (India-China border) as communist China had. Moreover, the government argued that the opposition was not realising the complexities involved in any move for the revival, and such demand was not in national interest. Incidentally, Swatantra Party (SP) was not a socialist party. It was basically a pro-market party. This author draws his knowledge from Nancy Jetly, *India China relations, 1947-1977: A Study of Parliament's Role in the Making of Foreign Policy*, Radiant Publishers, New Delhi, 1979.

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***Differing foreign policy and strategic priorities***

During the period between Asian Relations Conference (ARC) in New Delhi in 1947 to around 1959, Nehruvian internationalism in Indian foreign policy was at its peak. This was the last time that any official comments on Cross-Strait issue were made by India. Nehru took a keen interest in the Formosa problem. His letters and statements show that he identified it as one of the residual peace problems of the Second World War and decolonisation, which posed a serious threat to world peace. He expressed his views in the media and the Parliament during the First and the Second Strait Crises in 1954-55 and 1958, and in the letters he exchanged with the British Prime Minister Harold Macmillan during the Second Strait Crisis.<sup>26</sup> He shared the British view that terming the Cross-Strait problem as a continuation of the civil war would be dangerous because the two sides were aligned with two rival super-powers, the US and the USSR, respectively.<sup>27</sup> He advocated a negotiated settlement implying a possible role for international arbitration. During the first Strait Crisis, he supported the PRC's claim to the offshore islands citing their strategic importance for it. Regarding the question of Taiwan, he argued against international identity for it. However, he opined that it had developed a "distinct identity" that qualified it for autonomy.<sup>28</sup>

This approach was in line with India's working closely with other countries in multilateral institutions on issues of world peace, the Afro-Asian cooperation, decolonisation, support for the UN system and the peaceful resolution of conflicts. This value-based foreign policy elevated India's status to a leading non-allied country. India wielded more influence and gained more approbation than any other newly de-colonised country could normally expect.<sup>29</sup> For example, India was a member of the United Nations Temporary Commission on Korea (UNTCK), established in 1947, for supervising elections in North and South Korea, and the United Nations Commission on Korea (UNCOK), created in 1948. It chaired the Neutral Nations' Repatriation Commission (NNRC) (1953-54) for resolving the prisoners of war (POW) issue during the Korean War.<sup>30</sup> It was also part of the three member International Control Commission (ICC) created in 1954. Nehru's six point proposals, albeit with modifications, found resonance in the 1954 Geneva Conference on Indo-China.<sup>31</sup> The Nehru government believed that the PRC revolutionary regime's inclusion in the international community was necessary for regional peace.<sup>32</sup> Therefore, his government championed the cause of its entry into the UN and the exclusion of the ROC. India, along with the USSR, moved the first resolution in the UN General Assembly in 1950 for the PRC's entry into the UN.<sup>33</sup>

The ROC's foreign policy priorities from 1949 to 1971 were also not conducive to having closer relations with India. The ROC signed a Mutual Defence Treaty in 1954 with the US.<sup>34</sup> It emerged as a steadfast US ally and sought the destruction of the communist regime in Mainland China.<sup>viii</sup> While India saw the PRC's participation in the international system as an important pre-condition for regional peace in 1950s, the ROC argued that its destruction was a necessary condition for the world peace. Thus, Chiang Kai-shek's grand diplomatic and security schemes revolved around the US, and his government had more faith in the Cold War politics. His rejection of any form of dual recognition<sup>ix</sup> and the ROC being cut-off from non-

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<sup>viii</sup> It should be noted that it was only after the Second Strait Crisis of 1958, that the ROC, under US pressure, renounced military means to recover the Mainland, though it continued to exhort the US throughout the 1960s to use military force to destroy the communist regime. John W. Garver, *The Sino-American Alliance: Nationalist China and American Cold War Strategy in Asia*, ME Sharpe, New York and London, 1997: p. 139. Denny Roy, *Taiwan: A Political History*, Cornell University Press, Ithaca and London, 2003: pp. 113-116.

<sup>ix</sup> Chiang Kai-shek, who treated Taipei as his war-time capital, vociferously refused to entertain any idea of dual recognition, taking the position that "there is no room for patriots and traitors to live together" or "gentlemen and bandits cannot coexist". Dennis Van Vranken Hickey, *Foreign Policy Making in Taiwan: From Principle to*

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aligned and the third-world countries makes one wonder whether he had any serious strategic interest in countries such as India. The fact remains that Taiwan remained in the US camp even after China broke away from the USSR and got closer to the US in 1971, whereas India signed the Treaty of Friendship and Amity with the USSR in 1971.<sup>x</sup> Therefore, in this situation, it was not possible for India to play the Taiwan card.

### ***Inappositeness of the Kautilyan Maxim of “My Enemy’s Enemy is My Friend”***

An analysis of domestic political contexts of the two countries’ strategic choices explains why even India’s defeat in the India-China War of 1962 could not bring India and Taiwan closer; and how the legacies of the past continue to bring inappositeness of the Kautilyan maxim to India-Taiwan relations.

The most telling example of the legacy of differing foreign policy and strategic priorities is that at present even when the supposedly India-enthusiast Democratic Progressive Party (DPP) is in power in Taiwan, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs (MOFA) website hosts an India map, which as per India, is inaccurate and thus objectionable. It depicts India’s boundaries in the same way as the PRC would do. Please see the screenshot at the end. This is yet another example which is a reminder of the legacy of Chiang’s ROC that persists, so much so that even though the ruling DPP, as a political party, may not be in sync with the KMT’s territorial notions of the ROC, it has a constitutional commitment to consider Mongolia and Tibet as part of its national territory as per the ROC constitution, which is a pre-1949 legacy.<sup>35</sup> It is politically very difficult for it to drop Taiwan’s non-enforceable claims on the South China Sea, again a KMT legacy.<sup>36</sup>

Chiang Kai-shek not only spurned dual recognition, his government’s positions on some key strategic-security issues such as Tibet<sup>xi</sup> and the McMahon line with India (the contested India-China border), tallied with that of the PRC.<sup>37</sup> He was more interested in recovering China with US help, than exploring balance-of-power propositions with countries such as India.<sup>xii</sup> On its

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*Pragmatism*, Routledge, London and New York: p. 82. Lee Min-yung, “KMT’s Past Crippling the Nation’s Free Future”, *Taipei Times*, July 3, 2014, at <http://www.taipetimes.com/News/editorials/archives/2014/07/03/2003594211> (Accessed September 21, 2017).

<sup>x</sup> Even then, cross-camp dealings could have been possible as the USSR itself was reported to be exploring the possibilities of doing a China on the US, by hobnobbing with Taiwan. But this was never to happen. John W. Garver, “Taiwan’s Russian Option: Image and Reality”, *Asian Survey*, Vol. 18, No. 7, July 1978: pp. 751-766; Peter M. Ivanov, *Russian-Taiwanese Relations: Problems and Prospects of Development*, Occasional Papers/Reprint Series in Contemporary Asian Studies, No. 2, 1996 (133), School of Law, University of Maryland: pp. 1-96.

<sup>xi</sup> John W. Garver informs that “while India never openly endorsed the objective of an independent Tibet”, the ROC leadership was concerned about perceived Indian objective to create an independent buffer in Tibet. He writes, “Following the 1962 War, Taipei began using its influence to direct the Tibetan insurgency away from advocacy of independence from China and toward advocacy of Tibetan autonomy within a non-Communist China. Propaganda produced by Nationalist-supported groups began to speak more openly and forcefully against Tibetan independence and about Tibet’s being a part of China.” John W. Garver, *The Sino-American Alliance: Nationalist China and American Cold War Strategy in Asia*, ME Sharpe, New York and London, 1997: p. 180.

<sup>xii</sup> Interestingly, Zhao Weiwen in the Chinese language article (Records of Turbulence in Sino-Indian Relations: 1949-1999) provides a detailed list of back channel and unofficial and low-key contacts between India and Taiwan during the 1960s. The article even discusses the then Deputy Prime Minister Morarji Desai’s Taiwan visit in 1968, and informs us that “during his next leg of journey in Japan, he spoke of “two Chinas” and expressed that his visit to Taiwan was a tacit acknowledgement of the existence of “Two Chinas”.” Similarly, Chiang Ching-kuo during his meeting with two visiting senior Indian journalists “urged India to snap diplomatic ties with Beijing and join hands with Taiwan in order to deal with the mainland “threat”, however the modus operandi of this alliance was to be discussed at an opportune time.” Yet, the problem with this information is that no corroboration is available in public knowledge from Indian or Taiwanese sources, though sporadic knowledge about some contacts of

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part, even the defeat in the 1962 war with China did not change India's overall Nehruvian foreign policy and in spite of the friendship treaty with the USSR in 1971, its primary political identity remained non-aligned. The balance-of-power and alliance building logic failed to find traction in India's foreign policy. Thus, even though it had to fight three wars in quick succession - in 1962 with China, and in 1965 and 1971 with Pakistan - its foreign policy did not involve any aggressive military-diplomatic posturing vis-à-vis China. There was also the capability constraint, as military modernisation to deal with China did not become top priority. Therefore, India has remained acutely conscious of a power asymmetry vis-à-vis China, till very recently. In fact, any revival of diplomatic relations with the ROC would have enhanced the China-Pakistan axis threat, a threat that has been there at the back of Indian security planners' mind since 1960s.

This discussion explains why the opposition's appeals to the government in the 1950s and particularly after the 1962 war with China and the 1965 war with Pakistan, to switch recognition to Taiwan or recognise both, and reportedly back channelling using non-official contacts in the 1960s, as mentioned in the footnote no. XII, failed in changing the narrative of the relations.

### **Connecting the Dots between the History and the Present**

The following section will confirm that the aforementioned historical details are broadly in line with the present status of India-Taiwan relations that began in 1995. The relationship is more or less based on people-to-people relations in the broad sense of the term, while the official contacts remain inconsequential. Pragmatic concerns as to how to conduct and deepen the relations with Taiwan without offending China continue to determine the course and nature of the relations. Taiwan remains as diplomatically squeezed as ever before, to offer any meaningful political reciprocity. However, the ensuing discussion will highlight some points of departure as well, explaining how India appears to be more comfortable in its relationship with Taiwan, how mainstream strategic thinking seems to be accepting Taiwan as a diplomatic leverage and how current domestic political and ideological considerations may be expected to move beyond the longstanding historical pattern of reticence and self-constraint.

### **People-to-People Reconnect in 1995, without a "China Angle"**

Do you think that this can be done without damaging in any way our relationship with the People's Republic of China (PRC)? That is far too important for us. I am told that it would be in India's interest to establish economic relations with Taiwan, but we cannot risk our relations with the PRC.<sup>38</sup>

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marginal importance in the 1960s is available. However, if the information provided by Zhao could be corroborated, it would bring fresh insights for researchers. While the strategic assessment given in this paper can explain why these contacts did not lead to any change, fresh research would be required to know exactly what was deliberated upon in government circles. Considering the volume of the contacts Zhao reports, a legitimate research question would be what developments took place in the 1970s that led to rejection of Vincent C. Siewm's visa application by the Indian government seven times in the 1980s, as Fang Tien informs us. Siewm, the former Vice President of Taiwan, applied for visa to India when he was the Director-General, Bureau of Foreign Trade, Ministry of Economic Affairs (1982-88). Fang Tien-Sze, "Taiwan's Relations with India: Issues and Trends", *China Report*, 49 (4), 2013: pp. 426.

Zhao Weiwen, "Records of Turbulence in Sino-Indian Relations: 1949-1999", Current Affairs Press (Shishi Chubanshe), Beijing. D.P. Tripathi and B.R. Deepak have extensively quoted from this article in the Introduction in D.P. Tripathi and B.R. Deepak (Ed.), *India and Taiwan: From Benign Neglect to Pragmatism*, Vij Books, New Delhi, 2016: pp. 5-7.

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This apprehension was expressed by Prime Minister P.V. Narasimha Rao to Ambassador Vinod C. Khanna, the first Director General of the ITA, and it has determined the course of India-Taiwan relations since 1995. While Rao recognised the need and the potential of economic relations with Taiwan under his Look East Policy, he was fully aware that good relations with China were a priority. Since then, India–Taiwan relations, which began with an economic focus, have diversified and developed in other fields such as, science and technology, education, culture, and think-tank and civil-society cooperation. However, they have, by and large, been confined to non-political and non-diplomatic people-to-people relations, i.e. without any overt political or diplomatic motives or implications. Barring a few unremarkable instances of perceived signalling, there has been no evidence to suggest that India has ever considered using its relations with Taiwan as a bargaining chip in its relations with China. The DPP and its governments (2000-2008, and 2016-continuing) have clearly been interested in it though.

### ***A Brief Account of Progress in Relations***

Over the past 22 years, India and Taiwan have made substantial progress in their bilateral relations, even though the relationship has lacked a well-defined vision. On the whole, India has not shown the desire to have any political relations with the country. Since 1995, India has had governments of every ideological hue, but this lack of political interest has been common to all. From the Indian side, the relationship has mainly been run by the Ministry of External Affairs (MEA) officials. In Taiwan, while the DPP governments have, indeed, shown a political interest in furthering the relationship, the KMT governments have pursued the relations in the more regular official way. However, at present, it is likely that the Tsai government and the Modi government might have some political connect, which, if cultivated carefully, could lead to a stronger relationship – which will be discussed presently.

In 1995, India eased visa norms as there had been no contact between the two countries for 45 years or so, and travel to India had been restricted thus far. It was also difficult to establish an institutional presence and a protocol for conducting regular official business, particularly for India, because it had to do so without upsetting China.<sup>39</sup> Here the example of other countries who had been maintaining so-called unofficial ties with Taiwan, came in useful.<sup>40</sup> The pace of building the ties accelerated after 2000, the credit for which should mainly go to Chen Shui-bian's DPP government and its pro-active approach. It should be noted many of the notable gains took place between 2000 and 2008. This period saw the start of a direct flight between New Delhi and Taipei, a convenience which is yet not available even for many of India's strategic partners, such as Vietnam. Similarly, cooperation in the Information Technology (IT) sector, the most talked about aspect of the cooperation between the two, was also an early achievement. Taiwan began welcoming Indian IT and other engineering professionals to the Academic Sinica, Nangang Science and Hsinchu Science Parks, during the Chen years. India's Department of Science and Technology (DST) under Ministry of Science and Technology and Taiwan's National Science Council signed a Memorandum of Understanding (MOU) in 2007 for cooperation in science and technology. Cooperation under this MOU is led by senior-level officials in the concerned agencies. High official-level interactions and visits have been exceptionally smooth under this MOU which is rightly considered to be the poster MOU, and is a remarkable instance of the science and technology cooperation between the two countries. This period also witnessed universities, think-tanks and scholars reaching out to each other. Taiwan under Chen decided to extend its international scholarships, such as Huayu Enrichment Scholarship, Taiwan Scholarship and Taiwan Fellowship to Indian students.<sup>41</sup>

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The foundation laid during this period continues to pay off after 2008 as well and underscores the role played by the DPP government in this respect. Between 2008 and 2016, significant achievements were made with regard to putting in place a facilitating institutional framework for trade promotion. These initiatives were in keeping with India's increasing economic integration with East Asia.<sup>42</sup> Moreover, Taiwan has been identified as the alternative source of Chinese language learning in India, where a budding Chinese language market with Taiwanese resources is now in place. Also, Track-II dialogues and consultations have noticeably increased in the past few years. The presence of Taiwanese academicians from universities, think-tanks and foundations and other scholars and students in India, is also on the rise. The same is more or less applicable to the Indian scholastic community's presence in Taiwan. While many of the exchange initiatives are indeed Taiwanese, India too offers slots for Taiwanese students in its Indian Council for Cultural Relations (ICCR) international fellowships. Hence, India-Taiwan people-to-people relations under Tsai and Modi now stand on considerably firmer ground. It should be noted that five out of the ten major agreements and MOUs signed between India and Taiwan since 2007, have been signed after Modi came to power in 2014, and three out of the five in 2016, after Tsai assumed office in Taipei. Taiwanese companies have been the lead participants in the Modi government's Make-in-India initiative.<sup>43</sup> A notable development in this period has been India's inclusion in Taiwan's New Southbound Policy, unveiled by Tsai, to promote Taiwan's economic engagement with ASEAN and India to reduce its economic reliance or integration with Mainland China.<sup>44</sup> The mentioning of India by name along with ASEAN is a pointer to India's place in the DPP's vision for Taiwan's economic and external engagement, though South Asia replaced India, in the later drafts of the policy. A number of promotional activities have also been taking place during the period under consideration. Thus, one can see that India-Taiwan people-to-people ties have acquired substantial momentum, and are growing apace.

Notwithstanding the recent momentum in the relationship, it should be noted that instances of cooperation have been slow, spasmodic and in the absence of any broad policy. It should also be noted that although mutual familiarity has increased within the limited space, it has been confined to peer-based activities. Mutual familiarity and appreciation that follows a broader civil-society interaction is still negligible.

**A Political Analysis of the India-Taiwan Relationship and its Prospects under Tsai and Modi**

The above mentioned momentum in the India-Taiwan relationship roughly coincides with the change of political guard in India in 2014 and in Taiwan in 2016. Modi is perhaps the second Prime Minister, after Inder Kumar Gujral, who has been to Taiwan. The two had travelled to Taiwan when they were not holding any government positions. Modi went to Taiwan in 1999 when he was the General Secretary of the Bharatiya Janata Party (BJP). He seems to have maintained some channels of communication with Taiwan while he was chief minister of Gujarat (2002-2014). During this period, Gujarat hosted large business delegations from Taiwan.<sup>45</sup> The Taiwanese steel giant China Steel Corporation (CSC) also made a big ticket investment in the state.<sup>46</sup> This leads one to make the reasonable inference that Modi would have a personal view about relations with Taiwan. Similarly, President Tsai, on her part, has time and again underlined the importance of India in her vision for Taiwan's friendship with the leading democracies of the world.<sup>47</sup> She travelled to India in 2012 after her defeat in the Presidential election and post her stepping down as the DPP chair in 2012.<sup>48</sup> Thus, at this juncture, the two sides appear to have a top leadership, which has a mutual familiarity, appreciation and empathy. This backdrop begs the question as to whether there can finally be

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a political dimension to the relationship in times to come. This question would necessitate a study of the relations in the post 1995 decades, to arrive at an understanding of what this “political” dimension might be. And more importantly how to locate the answer of this question in the present Asian geo-strategic context.

### ***Searching “Political” or “Strategic” in the Relations***

At a press conference on the eve of the India visit of Chinese Premier Li Keqiang in May 2013, a reporter asked the joint secretary of the East Asia division in the Ministry of External Affairs (MEA): “Sir, I just want to know if India’s cooperation with South East Asian countries, especially Vietnam and Taiwan, will figure in the talks between the two Prime Ministers.”<sup>49</sup> This might have appeared a bit out of place and even a bit intriguing as it referred to Taiwan, even though there did not seem to be any apparent context for a reference to Taiwan. It is also difficult to ascertain the motivation behind the reporter’s question. However, it is possible to trace the broader context behind this question. In November 2010, the media had reported that the Indian foreign minister S. M. Krishna in a communication to his Chinese counterpart Yang Jiechi had drawn “a dramatic parallel between the territorial red lines of both countries...that just as New Delhi had been sensitive to its concerns over the Tibet Autonomous Region and Taiwan, Beijing too should be mindful of Indian sensitivities on Jammu and Kashmir.”<sup>50</sup> It should also be noted that by 2010 India had stopped reaffirming its support for the PRC’s One-China principle in the joint communiqués issued after visits of top leaders. The last time, this was done was in 2008. Again, the reaffirmation for China’s authority over Tibet was missing in this communiqué. The point here is that by 2008-2010, India’s resentment over, what it perceives to be, the lack of Chinese empathy for its concerns relating to its territorial unity and integrity had taken a definite shape. In this, India’s long-standing support for the PRC’s One China policy figured prominently as a reference point. These sentiments received full public expression when India’s current foreign minister Sushma Swaraj pointed out to her visiting Chinese counterpart Wang Yi in June 2014, that if he wants India’s support for One-China, then what about China’s support for One-India.<sup>51</sup> Perhaps it was this sentiment that prompted the reference to Taiwan in the question, asked by the reporter since the premier’s visit was taking place in the backdrop of the unprecedented military stand-off between Indian military and the Chinese PLA in India’s Ladakh. Thus, his or her question was directly or indirectly coming from India’s demand for reciprocity for its support for the PRC’s One China policy, which it began putting across circa 2008-2010.

The quest for identifying the “political” and “strategic” aspects in the relations and an analysis of the bilateral ties underscores two relevant points. First, the DPP governments in Taipei have, indeed, been seeking a political context for the relationship. Secondly, even though New Delhi has been, so far, been unresponsive to these overtures, it is quite apparent that it is aware of possible diplomatic leverage offered by Taiwan.

One can recount some major political overtures made by the Chen Shui-bian’s DPP government (2000-2008).<sup>52</sup> Vice President Annette Lu offered to bring relief material for the earthquake victims in Bhuj in 2001. This visit, which could not take place, would have been the first by any ROC or Taiwanese government leader since Chiang Kai-shek’s visit in 1942.<sup>53</sup> Some think-tanks identified with the DPP such as the Taiwan Think Tank and Democratic Pacific Union (DPU) started roping in Indian politicians and senior academicians, and propagated the idea of India-Taiwan-Japan trilateral cooperation. George Fernandes, a senior political leader, attended events in 2004 and 2006 organised by the Taiwan Think tank and endorsed the idea. The possibility of high-end technological cooperation in areas such as in space science, which could have a strategic context as well, was also explored. The

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establishment of the Taiwan-India Cooperation Council (TICC) in 2006 was perhaps the most important political gesture made during this period. The stated purpose of the TICC was to explore and promote economic relations with India. However, it was difficult to overlook the presence of DPP politicians within it, both from the government and the party. On its part, India became receptive to visits by Taiwanese academicians, activists and other non-governmental personalities. India's decision in 2003 to send a serving Indian Foreign Service (IFS) officer to head the ITA was indeed a notable development. There were media reports about the Indian Air Force chief's Taiwan visit in 2002. India accepted Taiwanese officials from Ministry of Defence and National Security Bureau (NSB) at TECC in India. Presently, one in-service colonel as military attaché and two officials from the NSB are permitted to be stationed at the TECC in India.<sup>54</sup> However, although India was agreeable for people-to-people and functional contacts, it ignored the political gestures. Lu could not travel to India, though the relief material sent by her came in. Except for George Fernandes, who is famous for his "China-is-India-enemy-no.1" statement<sup>xiii</sup>, the idea of an India-Taiwan-Japan trilateral cooperation found no serious takers. Thus, the attempts for high-end technological cooperation could not succeed.<sup>55</sup> Similarly, the TICC did not receive encouragement from India's representative office in Taipei. In fact, no senior political functionary in the DPP government could visit India during this period.<sup>xiv</sup>

However, India has shown an increasing confidence in its dealings with Taiwan after 2008. India's reluctance to reaffirm the One-China policy and S.M. Krishna's reported statement are instructive in this regard. Also significant are: the announcement of a joint study on India-Taiwan Free Trade Agreement (FTA) in 2011 by the Foreign Secretary Nirupama Rao<sup>56</sup>; President Ma Ying-jeou's stop-over in Mumbai in 2012<sup>57</sup>; and Vice President Wu Den-yih's layover in New Delhi in 2014.<sup>58</sup> There was speculation that all these events had political and strategic overtones. However these did not yield any great dividends for India-Taiwan relations even in terms of high-level political visits. India and Taiwan are yet to sign an FTA.<sup>59</sup> Even so these events did display India's growing comfort-level with Taiwan, which was reflected in deepening of the people-to-people relations.

Similarly, India, under the present Modi government, is sending mixed signals. These mixed signals may or may not be planned. However, the mixed nature of these signals does indicate that it is difficult to completely ignore China's structural strength. Modi invited Taiwan's Representative in India to attend his swearing-in ceremony in May 2014<sup>60</sup>, which was a departure from the practice. However, a delegation of Indian parliamentarians was reportedly

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<sup>xiii</sup> George Fernandes was India's defence minister from October 2001 to May 2004 in the A.B. Vajpayee government. However, when he travelled to Taiwan to attend the events, he was not holding any official position. Fernandes was reported to have made this statement in a TV interview. Manoj Joshi, "George in the China shop", *India Today*, May 18, 1998, at <http://indiatoday.intoday.in/story/china-is-the-potential-threat-no.-1-says-george-fernandes/1/264241.html> (Accessed September 20, 2017). However, Fernandes later denied that he ever made this statement. TNN, "China Enemy No. 1? Never", *The Times of India*, May 2, 2003, at <http://timesofindia.indiatimes.com/india/China-enemy-No-1-Never-George-Fernandes/articleshow/45196552.cms> (Accessed September 20, 2017).

<sup>xiv</sup> Fang Tien notes that the return of the INC to power in India in 2004 did not prove conducive to the DPP's strategic plans. He informs, "The DDP government's strategic plot received a setback when the Congress Party returned to power in New Delhi in 2004. The Congress government was more cautious about developing strategic cooperation with Taiwan, and found the DPP's general anti Chinese stance, 'uncomfortable'. As a result, the idea to dispatch a senior Taiwanese intelligence officer with the rank of lieutenant general to New Delhi did not materialise. Taiwan's proposal to appoint Parris H. Chang, the former Deputy Secretary-General of National Security Council, as its representative to India was also rejected by New Delhi because Chang had advocated the 'allying with India against China' policy." Fang Tien-Sze, "Taiwan's Relations with India: Issues and Trends", *China Report*, 49 (4), 2013: pp. 432.

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dissuaded from attending Tsai's oath-taking ceremony in May 2016.<sup>61</sup> Similarly, Vice President Chen Chien-jen's stopover in New Delhi en route to the Holy See received a quite late clearance, which forced the Taiwan government to change the itinerary<sup>62</sup>, a development not in line with the past precedents of Ma's and Wu's stopovers. But again, the setting up of an India-Taiwan Parliamentarian Friendship Forum in December 2016 was a significant development.<sup>63</sup> Also notable is the increased momentum in India-Taiwan people-to-people relations, as seen in the sudden increase in the number of MOUs and agreements signed under Modi and Tsai. Besides, an increase in the track 1.5 (partly official) interaction has also been noticed.<sup>64</sup> A delegation of Taiwanese parliamentarians, which visited India in February 2017, invited a sharp Chinese reaction reminding India to respect its sensitivities on the Taiwan issue. This development was important because it was perhaps the first publicly reported reaction of China to India-Taiwan ties. The MEA, which is hardly seen to ever speak on Taiwan, came out with a proper response countering the Chinese reaction.<sup>65</sup> This reaction might partly have to do with the fact that the delegation was uncharacteristically forthcoming in airing its views and reportedly suggested that, India should approve the change in the nomenclature of Taiwan's representative office in the country by including the word 'Taiwan'.<sup>66</sup> This might also have expressed China's discomfort with Taiwan's growing closeness with India, keeping in view the larger Asian strategic context. Finally, although the relationship is still far from being a strategic one in the conventional sense, a subterranean push towards a relationship with some political and strategic colour or understanding can be perceived. China cannot be expected to be unaware of these undercurrents.

### ***Modi and Tsai on the Same Page, Strategically?***

Modi and Tsai's leadership present a potentially conducive political context for the relations. Modi is from the BJP that is opposed to the INC's legacy of Nehruvian politics and foreign policy. It advocates a cultural nationalism defined in terms of ancient Hindu religion and culture<sup>67</sup> as opposed to the Gandhian-Nehruvian idea of a composite culture in domestic politics. It has all along opposed Nehruvian foreign policy as well. The BJP, and its predecessor BJS, have critiqued this foreign policy as lacking in great power status aspiration.<sup>68</sup> It has been critical of non-alignment describing it as favouring the USSR-led block, and has argued for closer relations with the US. It has been particularly opposed to Nehru's and INC's Pakistan and China policies, describing them as being too weak to protect India's national interest. It has run down Nehru for the failure of his China policy, particularly India's defeat in 1962 and the "loss" of Tibet to China.

Similarly, Tsai's DPP, as opposed to the KMT's position, does not believe in the eventual unification of Taiwan with China. It leaves the future of Taiwan to the will of Taiwanese people, implying that independence could be an option too, if the Taiwanese people were to so decide. It does not agree with the formulations of the 1992 Consensus or in One China, Respective Interpretation or simply the One China principle or framework on the basis of which the KMT governments and the PRC held Cross-Strait dialogues from 1991/2-1999, and 2008-2016. As per the DPP, these formulations a priori assume Taiwan to be a part of China which undermine its separate existence that predates both the PRC as well as the ROC. It is then no surprise that China accuses the DPP of promoting Taiwan's independence and refuses to enter into any dialogue with it.<sup>69</sup>

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The following discussion would reveal that the two governments seem to share attitudinal and ideological predisposition and strategic interests with regard to China.<sup>xv</sup>

### **Modi, Xi and Tsai at the helm of affairs**

Serious strains and tensions have been visible in India-China and China-Taiwan relations as Modi, Xi and Tsai are at the helm of affairs. The common strains and tensions between India and Taiwan vis-à-vis China clearly stem from the ideological and attitudinal changes in the three capitals. These developments in domestic and bilateral contexts go a long way in explaining the geo-political shifts underway in Asia, with reference to China. This larger picture might suggest the increasing likelihood of some political understanding between India and Taiwan.

Recent years have seen a sudden opening and sharp widening of the fault-lines between India and China. The two countries have witnessed intense diplomatic sparring over: China's technical hold on the Indian resolutions in the UNSC seeking to sanction some Pakistan-based terrorists<sup>70</sup>; the China-Pakistan Economic Corridor (CPEC), announced in 2015, under Xi Jinping's Belt and Road Initiative (BRI), that passes through the Pakistan-held part of Kashmir unmindful of Indian sentiments<sup>71</sup>; and China's opposition to India's application for the membership of the Nuclear Suppliers Group (NSG).<sup>72</sup> The rows over these issues have created considerable furore at the highest political and official levels. India's decision to not accept the invitation to attend the Belt and Road Forum (BRF) was in response to its resentment over the CPEC.<sup>73</sup> The Chinese stand and actions relating to these issues impinge upon India's notion of its territorial sovereignty and security strategy and highlight China's non-accommodation of India in the international leadership space, while India's firm stance on the CPEC raises questions about the BRI's internationalism. In addition to these diplomatic rows, the two countries have engaged each other in a series of large-scale military face-offs in Depsang in 2013, Chumar in 2014 in Ladakh, and the recent Doklam (in Bhutan) stand-off in 2017.<sup>74</sup> These tensions indicate the serious rethinking of the old strategy of managing peace and stability by engaging each other. If corrective steps are not taken, the relationship could spiral into reverse mode.

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<sup>xv</sup> Incidentally, the A.B. Vajpayee government (1999-2004), a BJP-led coalition, and the Chen Shui-bian (2000-2008), DPP government, had a similar ideological context, which might have contributed to better people-to-people relations, 2000 onwards. The Vajpayee government coincided with the first term of Chen Shui-bian (2004-2008). However, that period saw two completely different trajectories in India-China and China-Taiwan relations. The period from 2003 to 2013 was the longest spell of hope and optimism in India-China relations guided by the strategy of "managing the relations and engaging the each other" and reducing mistrust and containing divergence for the economic and other gains. The beginning of this phase is traced to Vajpayee's historic China visit in 2003. On the other hand, Cross-Strait relations passed through its most strained phase from 2000-2008, when Chen Shui-bian's anti-China rhetoric and China's counter posturing acquired threatening proportions. Peeved by Chen's policies and polemics, the US had to declare that it had a commitment to deter a Chinese invasion, not to defend Taiwan. Later, Ma Ying-jeou's government (2008-2016), which largely coincided with Manmohan Singh's government (2004-2014), accorded priority to good relations with Mainland China and restored normalcy in Cross-Strait relations under the proposition of No Unification, No Independence, No War, leading unprecedented Cross-Strait people-to-people cooperation and integration. On his part, Manmohan Singh carried forward Vajpayee's legacy in India's relations with China. Under Ma and Manmohan, India-Taiwan relations continued to make important gains. The spell of hope and optimism in India-China relations was, however, showing signs of exhaustion by 2013, when India confronted the reality of an assertive China post-2008, during the Depsang military stand-off in 2013. On the other hand, the student and youth-led Sunflower Movement in April-May 2014 expressed the Taiwanese people's apprehensions about the future direction of Ma's Cross-Strait policy, a current that eventually brought Tsai and the DPP to power in 2016. Thus, when Modi and Tsai assumed the command in 2014 and 2016 respectively, India and Taiwan had developed shared concerns vis-à-vis China.

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This situation has emerged from their opposing strategic visions. China, for whom sovereignty remains the cardinal principle of its territorial claims in the South China and the East China Sea maritime disputes, has adopted a unilateral approach while pushing the CPEC through the contested territory, regardless of India's persistent remonstrations. Considering that anti-terror cooperation has emerged as the centre-piece of India's international engagements, China will have to do a lot of explaining to India regarding its vetoes. While Pakistan is the source of terrorist woes for India, Pakistan, in Chinese perception, plays a critical role in China's fight against extremism, terrorism and separatism in Xinjiang.<sup>75</sup> Thus, there is a fundamental clash in the anti-terror strategies of the two countries. China's open objection to India's entry into the NSG seems to have been guided by the objective of maintaining its pre-eminence in Asia, and to not allow India to disturb the balance of power in South Asia in a manner that would harm the interests of Pakistan, its *all-weather* friend.<sup>76</sup> Xi's peripheral diplomacy considers India as a sub-regional great power with whom China should cooperate albeit with some reservations. However, it deems Pakistan as pivotal for the success of BRI, though it accords Pakistan a status of only a secondary sub-regional power. This accounts for China according geostrategic priority to Pakistan over India.<sup>77</sup> It also explains China's aforementioned actions and stances with regard to India, and, in way, confirms the absence of any consideration for India in Xi Jinping's New Type of Major Power Relations. This strategic analysis of their relations is yet another indicator of the Chinese foreign policy becoming aspirational, assertive and active unlike Deng's dictum of *lie low, bide your time and never aspire for the leadership*. However, what is perhaps more significant is the way that Modi government has handled the recent Doklam crisis that has underscored that India is finally getting over the memory of the defeat in 1962. A gradual building up of India's economic and defence profile over the decades has finally brought the relationship to an inflexion point, where the prevailing national sentiment is clearly opposed to deferring to any supposed power asymmetry vis-à-vis China.

The deterioration in India-China relations has occurred as China became more assertive in the East and the South China Seas, pushing India and Japan and India and Vietnam into an even tighter strategic embrace.<sup>78</sup> In the event of a US strategic scale-down in the region, strategic networking among the countries such as India, Japan and Vietnam will shape the re-alignment of regional dynamics,<sup>xvi</sup> which is where Taiwan comes into the picture. Although Taiwan cannot be put in the same bracket with India, Japan and Vietnam as it is not recognized as a sovereign country, it is difficult to predict how the region, particularly Japan, will view the Taiwan issue, if the US scales down its engagement with the region, with its attendant implications for its political commitment to Taiwan's security under Taiwan Relations Act (TRA), 1979. Will Taiwan become a frontier embankment to push back the Chinese wave in a hypothetical post-US Asia-Pacific? In which case India might have to take a strategic call on Taiwan.

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<sup>xvi</sup> Renowned Indian strategic thinker C. Raja Mohan, Director, Carnegie, India, writes, "The emerging Asian dynamic, however, suggests that Delhi and Tokyo must necessarily draw closer. Whether the relationship between Delhi and Tokyo will eventually approximate to an alliance is likely to be determined less by tradition and more by the current convulsions in their shared Asian and Indo-Pacific geography.", C. Raja Mohan, "The Case for Alliance", *The Indian Express*, September 14, 2017, at <http://indianexpress.com/article/opinion/columns/the-case-for-alliance/> (Accessed September 25, 2017).

Mohan argues, "Rather than act as a 'lynchpin' of the US pivot to Asia, India can become the leading element in the regional balance of power system. If the US under Trump views itself as a distant power that will help support rather than direct regional systems, India will have greater space and agency to construct a strong Eurasian coalition." C. Raja Mohan, "How should New Delhi Read the Donald in White House", *The Indian Express*, November 10, 2016, at <http://indianexpress.com/article/india/india-news-india/donald-trump-win-hillary-clinton-us-elections-india-us-relations-obama-modi-new-delhi-4367275/> (Accessed September 25, 2017).

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Given that China refuses to recognize the DPP as the legitimate dialogue partner and the uncertainty about the future of the US security commitment, there are strong reasons for Tsai wanting the regional powers, including India, to be interested in Taiwan as a security hedge. The period following May 2016, when she was sworn-in as President, Cross-Strait relations too have seen the collapse of the *plucking the low hanging fruits first* policy. In response to the Tsai government's reluctance to categorically reaffirm Taiwan's commitment for the 1992 Consensus or the One-China principle, China suspended the Cross-Strait dialogue in June 2016<sup>79</sup>, which had been resumed in 2008 when the KMT came into power under Ma Ying-jeou eight years after it broke down in 1999. Beijing has been steadfast in its unwillingness to recognise the DPP government as a legitimate dialogue partner at par with its predecessor, the KMT. It has resorted to low grade punitive economic measures, and increased pressure on Taiwan's external engagement thus ending the diplomatic truce. It curtailed the group tourism to Taiwan hitting the tourism sector and the dependent retail sector.<sup>80</sup> Sao Tome and Principe and Panama switched recognition from the ROC to the PRC in December 2016 and June 2017 respectively.<sup>81</sup> In January 2017, Nigeria asked Taiwan to relocate its representative office out of Abuja to some other town.<sup>82</sup> Fiji closed down its representative office in Taipei in May 2017.<sup>83</sup> How far President Xi Jinping will go to punish Tsai is yet unclear. However, it is speculated that perhaps after another round of successful political consolidation in the 19<sup>th</sup> Party Congress, we might see a further hardening of stands, unless Tsai government provides some hope for the future to the Chinese. This situation is not without precedent in the recent history of Cross-Strait relations. The Chen Shui-bian era (2000-2008) witnessed an even graver standoff with the Mainland. However, then the issue whether the US would defend Taiwan in case of a Chinese invasion or would only try to deter it, stemmed basically from the US's irritation with Chen's provocations.<sup>84</sup> Otherwise, the Bush administration in 2000 had started on a highly encouraging note that "I will do what it takes to help Taiwan defend herself, and the Chinese must understand that."<sup>85</sup> On the other hand, at present, there are general apprehensions about US strategic commitment to the regional security in Asia. Thus, if Taiwan, now under the DPP government or in the future, under a KMT or any other government, continues to stick to its current position of not entering into any unification talks on the PRC's terms and frustrates Chinese expectations, then it will have to look beyond the US to hedge its bets.

Thus, under Modi's and Tsai's leadership, India and Taiwan are witnessing intense geopolitical and strategic churning and they may find themselves on the same side of the divide. In addition, their leadership appears to be on the same page vis-à-vis each other. Hence, it is legitimate to explore how the strategic situation and the leadership can contribute to the growth of bilateral relations.

**What may Modi and Tsai possibly ensure for Bilateral Relations?**

There can be six possible scenarios for what Modi and Tsai can achieve in terms of bilateral relations. These scenarios are pegged between the most extreme and unlikely scenarios from No. 1 and No. 6. Scenario 3 is what may be ideally aspired to, whereas Scenario 4 is what is most likely to be achieved and ensured.

**Scenario 1 (Most Unlikely):** That India will withdraw recognition to the ROC or recognise both the PRC and the ROC unmindful of whether the PRC accepts it, is the wildest of the wild cards. Such a card can be played only as an ultimate retaliation in the event of the total collapse of relations with the PRC and if the threat of a two-front war i.e. China and Pakistan combining to wage war on India, becomes a reality. Any reasonable understanding of the current status of India-China relations does suggest that such an eventuality is unlikely to come to pass.

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Positive and lean phases keep alternating but the China relationship remains of paramount importance for India. The two industrialised and nuclear powers with around 36 per cent of the total world population interact on a very complex and wide bilateral, regional and international strategic canvas. On the other hand, China is one of the top two important relationships for Taiwan as well. But which of the two countries - China or the US - is more important for Taiwan depends on how you approach the question. Hypothetically speaking, if India were to take the aforementioned extreme measure, would Taiwan be able to welcome it, while being fully aware that such a situation would, in all likelihood, invite violent reprisals from China, remains a question.

**Scenario 2 (Unlikely):** While the formal support for the PRC's One China policy will continue, India may want Taiwan to become a part of its strategic networking with Asian countries such as Japan, and Vietnam, for all practical purposes. Enhanced political contacts, some form of military diplomatic cooperation and helping Taiwan extend its "diplomatic" presence in South Asia would be the hallmarks of such a situation. India may bilaterally broaden the consultative space with Taiwan, and may become a little more vocal on issues such as Taiwan's entry into the Regional Comprehensive Economic Partnership (RCEP) or in UN specialised agencies. Even though this scenario would also amount to provoking China, it is not an imponderable probability. The emergence of this scenario actually depends on: firstly, whether the US will withdraw from the region and rescind its security commitment to Taiwan; second, what would be Japan's call on Taiwan, in the event of the US withdrawal, whether it would perceive Taiwan's unification with China as a security concern; thirdly and more importantly, what would be Taiwan's own call — whether it would like to compromise with China over the unification issue; or continue to resist the pressure for unification; or prefer to leverage its regional strategic networking to negotiate a better deal with the PRC. This scenario is uncertain; and India is unlikely to be the prime mover and the lead protagonist in it.

**Scenario 3 (Not Unlikely):** A transformation from the ad hoc nature of the relationship to a self-defined people-to-people relationship with some elements of Scenario 2 is the best that Modi and Tsai can aspire to in India-Taiwan relations. A relationship modelled on these lines will decisively locate Taiwan as a totally autonomous functional entity in Indian foreign policy, and will showcase its Act East policy in a different light, projecting India as a power that is not shy of taking the road less travelled in its dealings with the international community. However, this scenario will face considerable resistance from the bureaucracy, which has been attuned to dealing with Taiwan, while being mindful of Chinese sentiments. Also, this scenario will need a Taiwan that is willing to express its empathy for India on the security and strategic issues that matter to it; for example, the issue of McMahan line, other issues between India and China and its security concerns such as cross-border terrorism. Therefore, this scenario will require strong political will, but it is not unlikely.

**Scenario 4 (Very Likely):** However, a self-defined relationship as visualised in Scenario 3 minus the elements of Scenario 2 is perhaps the best that Modi and Tsai can achieve. Actually, this scenario is in keeping with the existing people-to-people focus of the relationship. The momentum gained under Modi and Tsai, also suggests that the relationship might already be moving in this direction. Like Scenario 3, this will also dispense with, the as and when and ad hoc nature of the relationship, and give it a political framework enabling it to freely respond to the need and requirements of a mature and developed people-to-people relationship free from self-constraints. Since, the relationship under this scenario will not have security-strategic overtones, it will remain some notches below Scenario 3, but will be a step up from the existing pattern. This scenario is creatable.

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**Scenario 5 (Not Unlikely):** The return of bureaucratic inertia and habitual resistance is not impossible if perceived political interest in the relations is not maintained.

**Scenario 6 (Most Unlikely):** That India will end its “unofficial relations” with Taiwan or substantially dilute these under the Chinese pressure is as unlikely in the normal course as is Scenario 1. Their deepening economic engagement and the trajectory of India’s facing up to China does not support this proposition.

**Conclusion**

The structural concerns vis-à-vis regional stability shaped India’s support for the PRC’s One China policy in 1950s and the later decades. However, these concerns appear to be redefining themselves. After the collapse of USSR a quarter century ago, if the US were to withdraw from Asia or substantially reduce its security commitment to the region, the post-war backdrop of Asian geopolitics would finally be at an end. In the meantime, Asia has seen the rise of China. It is also witnessing the rising strategic profile of middle powers such as India, who have their own *raison d’être* to hedge vis-à-vis the rise of Chinese power. So far, the international community has consigned the Taiwan issue to the US. However, when regional middle powers have to deal with China on their own, how they will deal with the Taiwan issue and how it will impact their support for the PRC’s One China policy is a subject of valid academic exercise.

Although the Communist takeover of China and its implications for regional stability shaped India’s support for the PRC’s One China Policy, the support in the 1950s acquired a centrality in India’s value-based foreign policy. Presently, however, the support for the policy does not enjoy such sanctity. Therefore, if China does not equally respond to India’s territorial concerns, it can no longer expect India’s uncritical respect for its own territorial claims.

However, the future of India-Taiwan people-to-people relations cannot be ensured on the basis of a reactionary premise with regard to China, except for the occasional signalling and posturing. Yet, a perceived systemic realignment in Asia and the present ideological and political synchronicity between the Modi and the Tsai governments should further enhance and dignify the relations. Thus an unconstrained acceptance of Taiwan as an autonomous entity for the purpose of functional cooperation, under India’s Act East Policy might be visualised. This gain is likely to prove durable; because although this paper has explored the subject by focussing on Modi and Tsai, the optimism herein expressed can be traced back to 2008-2010, when India, sought reciprocity, and stopped reiterating its support for the PRC’s One China policy. Considering the way India has faced up to China in recent years, it is reasonable to assert that this trajectory will persist even beyond Modi. India would not like to lose the possible diplomatic leverage Taiwan has to offer, though there will always be a degree of uncertainty about the course of Cross-Strait relations. Thus, in the short to mid-term, one may expect to see further growth in their economic, cultural and other relations. Now it is all about the right initiatives.

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**Table 1: Bilateral Letter of Intent (LOI), Memorandum of Understanding (MOU), Agreement**

S.No.	Year	MOU/Agreement/LOI
1	December 2016	LOI for Cooperation on Railway Heritage in Chiayi City
2	September 2016	Air Services Agreement
3	June 2016	MOU for Agriculture and Allied Sector Cooperation
4	October 2015	MOU for Cooperation in MSME Sector
5	August 2015	E-Visa facility extended to Taiwan
6	March 2013	ATA Carnet Protocol
7	August 2011	Custom Mutual Assistance Agreement
8	July 2011	Double Taxation Avoidance Agreement
9	2010	MOU for Mutual Recognition of academic degrees and certificates
10	2007	MOU for Science & Technology Cooperation

Source: TECC in India website, at [http://www.roc-taiwan.org/in\\_en/post/39.html](http://www.roc-taiwan.org/in_en/post/39.html) (Accessed September 28, 2017)

**Table 2: Select Examples of Other Forms of Cooperation and Interaction**

S.No.	Year	Activity
1	November 2016	Chen Liang-Gee's, Deputy Minister of the Ministry of Education, India visit
2	October 2016	Dr. Shih Yen-Shiang's, Chairman, The ROC Chinese International Economic Cooperation Association, India visit
3	June 2016	Taiwan Chamber of Commerce in New Delhi and India's PHD Chamber of Commerce and Industry signed an MOU
4	August 2016	A multi-party parliamentarian delegation from India visited Taiwan
5	March 2016	Tien Hung-Mao's, Chairman, Institute for National Policy Research, India visit
6	January 2015	Kailash Satyarthi's, the Nobel Peace Prize Laureate 2014, Taiwan visit
7	January 2015	Dr. Duh Tyzz-Jiun, Minister of Executive Yuan, and Cho Shih-Chao, Deputy Minister of Economic Affairs, led a delegation to Indian and participated in the Vibrant Gujarat Summit 2015.
8	October 2015	Shen Jong-Chin's, Vice Minister of Economic Affairs, India visit
9	2014	In 2014, Vice President Wu Don-Yih made a transit in New Delhi.
10	April 2012	President Ma Ying-Jeou's stopover at Mumbai Air Port
11	July 2012	Tsai Ing-Wen's, then former DPP Chairperson, India visit
12	December 2012	Taipei Economic and Cultural Center (TECC) in Chennai set up
13	October 2012	Academia Sinica and Indian National Science Academy signed an MOU
14	March 2011	The Announcement of Joint feasibility study for FTA
15	December 2010	Former President A.P.J. Abdul Kalam's Taiwan Visit
16	June 2007	KMT Presidential Candidate Ma Ying-jeou's India visit

Source: TECC in India website, at [http://www.roc-taiwan.org/in\\_en/post/39.html](http://www.roc-taiwan.org/in_en/post/39.html); and Indian National Science Academy website, at [https://insaindia.res.in/new\\_agreement.php](https://insaindia.res.in/new_agreement.php) (Accessed September 28, 2017).

**Table 3: Taiwanese Companies' Participation in Make-in-India Programme**

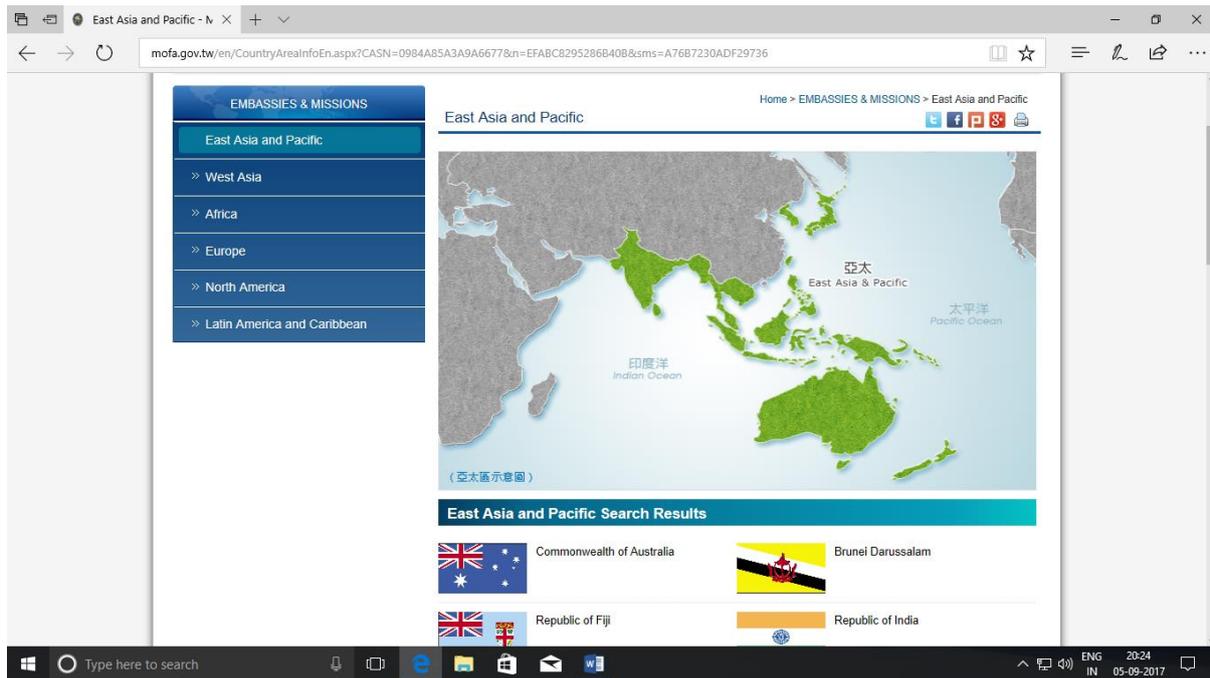
Year	Activity
October 2016	Chip designer MediaTek announced to triple its manpower in India to 1,500 from around 500 in next three years
February 2016	Autron collaborated with India's TwinStar Display Technologies & MIDC for LCD manufacturing unit
July 2016	Tongtai Machine Tool Company, Fair Friend Group and Chain Headway Machine Tool Company expressed interest in Make-in-India
November 2015	Wistron Corporation and India's Optiemus Infracom signed a joint venture (JV) for telecom products with \$200 million investment in next five years
August 2015	Foxconn committed US\$ 5 billion, and setting up 12 new factories and employ one million workers by 2020
June 2015	HTC and Global Devices team up for entry to mid-level segment; to set up facility near New Delhi
Sept. 2014	In leather sector, Apache Group and Feng Tay Shoes joined Make in India.

Source: Make-in-India Official Portal at <http://www.makeinindia.com/home> (Accessed on September 22, 2017), and the open domain sources

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## Screenshot 1

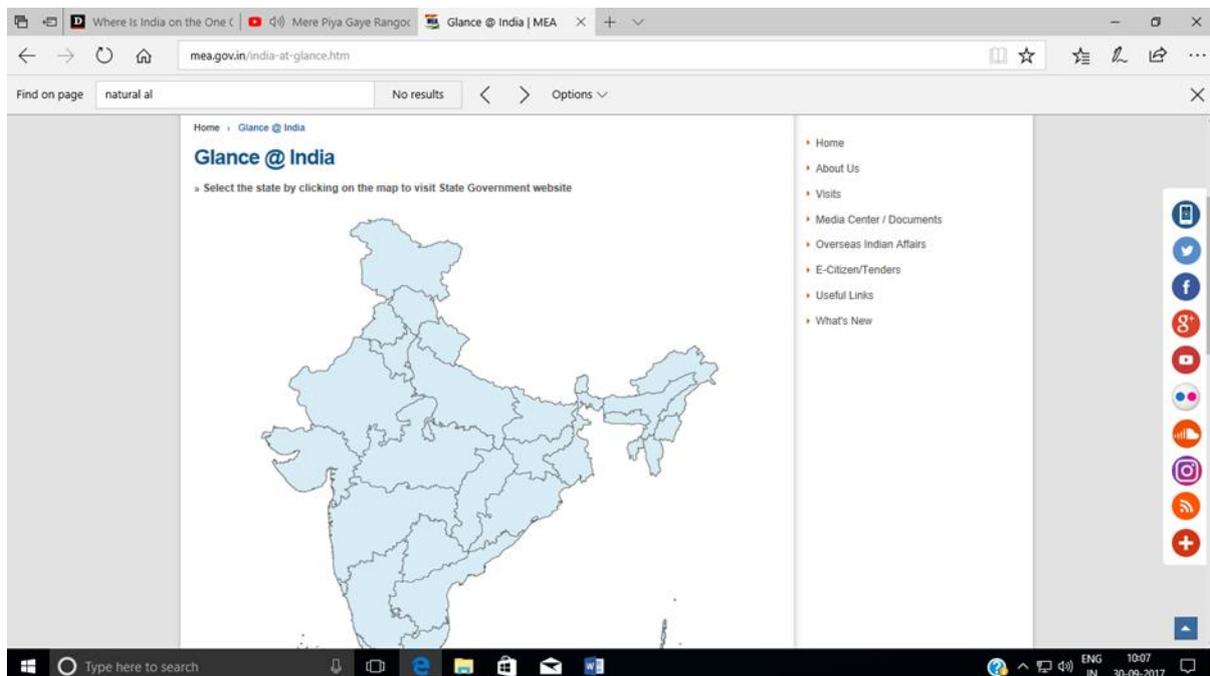


Screenshot from Taiwan's Ministry of Foreign Affairs (MOFA) taken by the author on September 5, 2017

Source: Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Taiwan at  
<http://www.mofa.gov.tw/en/CountryAreaInfoEn.aspx?CASN=0984A85A3A9A6677&n=EFABC8295286B40B&sms=A76B7230ADF29736>

Explanation: This map, as per India, wrongly depicts India's boundary in its Northern state of Jammu & Kashmir (J&K), and North-eastern state of Arunachal Pradesh with China. For the difference, see Screenshot 2.

## Screenshot 2



Screenshot from India's Ministry of External Affairs (MEA) taken by the author on September 30, 2017

Source: <http://www.mea.gov.in/india-at-glance.htm>

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<sup>1</sup> Jawaharlal Nehru's (hereafter Nehru's) Letter, 31 December 1949, in G. Parthasarathi (ed.), *Letters to Chief Minister*, A Project of the Jawaharlal Nehru Memorial Fund (hereafter JLNMF), Teen Murti House (hereafter TMH), New Delhi, Volume 1, 1985: p. 516.

<sup>2</sup> "Taiwan-India Relations", The Taipei Economic and Cultural Center in India (TECC in India, hereafter TECC) website, Home>About TECC>, at [http://www.roc-taiwan.org/in\\_en/post/39.html](http://www.roc-taiwan.org/in_en/post/39.html) (September 28, 2017).

<sup>3</sup> Janardan Sahu, "Taiwan Studies in India", in D.P. Tripathi and B.R. Deepak (Ed.), *India and Taiwan: From Benign Neglect to Pragmatism*, Vij Books, New Delhi, 2016: pp. 201-15.

<sup>4</sup> Jeff M. Smith, "Where Is India on the One China Policy?", *The Diplomat*, March 6, 2017, at <http://thediplomat.com/2017/03/where-is-india-on-the-one-china-policy/> (Accessed on September 23, 2017).

<sup>5</sup> Liu Jianxi, "New Delhi Using Dalai as Diplomatic Tool Harms Sino-Indian Ties", *Global Times*, April 5, 2017, at <http://www.globaltimes.cn/content/1040828.shtml> (Accessed on September 17, 2017); Yu Ning, "New Delhi will Suffer Losses If It Plays Taiwan Card", *Global Times*, February 14, 2017, at <http://www.globaltimes.cn/content/1033001.shtml> (Accessed on September 17, 2017); Manoj Joshi, "India's So-Called New Policy on Tibet is Neither New Nor Effective", *Scroll*, January 10, 2017, at <https://scroll.in/article/826269/indias-so-called-new-policy-on-tibet-is-neither-new-nor-effective> (Accessed September 17, 2017).

<sup>6</sup> China considered "situations in areas surrounding Japan" in the Guidelines for Japan-U.S. Defense Cooperation, 1997 as the reference to the Taiwan Strait and Taiwan, and objected to it. However, Japan did not accede to Chinese pressure to drop it. "The Guidelines for Japan-U.S. Defense Cooperation", September 23, 1997, at [http://www.mod.go.jp/e/d\\_act/ampo/](http://www.mod.go.jp/e/d_act/ampo/) (Accessed September 18, 2017).

Although, the 2015 revised guidelines did not contain this phrase, its absence does not confirm the lack of interest on Japan's part in "situations in areas surrounding Japan." "The Guidelines for Japan-US Defense Cooperation", April 27, 2015, at [http://www.mod.go.jp/e/d\\_act/ampo/5](http://www.mod.go.jp/e/d_act/ampo/5) (Accessed September 18, 2017).

The recent period has witnessed subtle developments in Japan-Taiwan relations. Japan and Taiwan have changed the vague names of their representative offices on each other's side to more clear names with "Taiwan" within the names. Japan's representative office is now known as Japan-Taiwan Exchange Association, which was earlier The Interchange Association. 'China Slams Japan Over Name Change of De Facto Taipei Embassy', Bloomberg, December 28, 2016, at <https://www.bloomberg.com/news/articles/2016-12-28/china-tells-japan-it-s-unhappy-with-name-change-of-taipei-office> (Accessed September 18, 2017); Similarly, Taiwan changed the name of its office in Japan from Association of East Asian Relations to Taiwan-Japan Relations Association. The Japan Times, "Taiwan Changes Name of Semi-Official Body Handling Ties with Japan, Irking China", *The Japan Times*, May 18, 2017, at <https://www.japantimes.co.jp/news/2017/05/18/national/politics-diplomacy/taiwan-changes-name-semi-official-body-handling-ties-japan-irking-china/> (Accessed September 18, 2017).

<sup>7</sup> Prakash Nanda, "India and Its Taiwan Policy", *China Brief*, Volume 3, Issue 3, February 11, 2003, at <https://jamestown.org/program/india-and-its-taiwan-policy/> (Accessed on September 19, 2017); Parris H. Chang, "From Benign Neglect to Pragmatism: The Political and Security Issues between Taiwan and India", in D.P. Tripathi and B.R. Deepak (Ed.), *India and Taiwan: From Benign Neglect to Pragmatism*, Vij Books, New Delhi, 2016: pp. 137-153. Fang Tien-Sze informs in his "Taiwan's Relations with India: Issues and Trends", *China Report*, 49 (4), 2013: pp. 425-439 how this logic might have guided the DPP government to cultivate the relations with India (please see p. 431).

<sup>8</sup> These examples and the references with regard to Jawaharlal Nehru and Chiang Kai-shek interactions and correspondence are available in this author's *Transforming India-Taiwan Relations: New Perspectives*, IDSA Monograph Series, No. 35, New Delhi, April 2014: pp. 1-158. These have been extensively covered in the chapter "Jawaharlal Nehru and the ROC" in the monograph (see pages 27-44). The insertion of words within the square brackets in Nehru's statements is by this author. He has used these statements in his aforementioned monograph. Reference should also be made in this regard to B.R. Deepak, "India's National Leaders and the Nationalist China" and Lin Hsiao-chen, "Chiang Kai-shek and the China-Burma-India Theatre of War", in D.P. Tripathi and B.R. Deepak (Ed.), *India and Taiwan: From Benign Neglect to Pragmatism*, Vij Books, New Delhi, 2016: pp. 94-111.

<sup>9</sup> Jawaharlal Nehru (hereafter Nehru), "A New Road to China", *National Herald*, October 31, 1942, *Selected Works of Jawaharlal Nehru* (hereafter SWJN), A JLNMF Project, Orient Longman, Vol. 11, 1978: pp. 346-347.

<sup>10</sup> "Tribute to Chiang Kai-shek", Nehru's Speech in New Delhi on the Occasion of Chiang Kai-shek's India Visit, February 11, 1942, *SWJN*, A JLNMF Project, Orient Longman, Vol. 12, 1979: p. 467.

<sup>11</sup> "Imperialism and China", Nehru's Speech in Calcutta on the Occasion of Chiang Kai-shek and Madame Chiang Kai-shek's Arrival in India, February 20, 1942, *SWJN*, A JLNMF Project, Orient Longman, Vol. 12, 1979: p. 477.

<sup>12</sup> "India-China Friendship", Broadcast on China Day, March 7, 1942, *SWJN*, A JLNMF Project, Orient Longman, Vol. 12, 1979: p. 481.

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- <sup>13</sup> “Cable to Chiang Kai-shek”, undated; sent in reply to Chiang’s cable to Nehru on June 19, 1945, *SWJN*, A JLNMF Project, Orient Longman, Vol. 14, 1981: p. 433.
- <sup>14</sup> ‘Rejoinder to Sarat Chandra Bose’, Statement to the Press, September 29, 1945, *SWJN*, A JLNMF Project, Orient Longman, Vol. 14, 1981: p. 447.
- <sup>15</sup> Minutes of the Third Meeting of the Colombo Conference, *SWJN*, A JLNMF Project, Second Series, Vol. 14 (Part 1), 1992: p. 256.
- <sup>16</sup> Nehru’s Letter, August 15, 1949 in G. Parthasarathi (ed.), *Letters to Chief Ministers*, A JLNMF Project, TMH, New Delhi, Volume 1, 1985: p. 434.
- <sup>17</sup> “To Tan Yun-shan”, Letter, *SWJN*, A JLNMF Project, Second Series, Vol. 14 (Part 1), 1992: pp. 514-515.
- <sup>18</sup> “To Vijay Laxmi Pandit”, Cable, July 1, 1949, *SWJN*, A JLNMF Project, Second Series, Vol. 12, 1991: p. 408-409.
- <sup>19</sup> Nehru’s Letter, July 2, 1953, in G. Parthasarathi (Ed.), *Letters to Chief Ministers*, A JLNMF Project, TMH, New Delhi, Volume 3, 1987: p. 323.
- <sup>20</sup> Nehru’s Letter, July 2 1953, in G. Parthasarathi Nehru (ed.), *Letters to Chief Ministers*, A JLNMF Project, TMH, New Delhi, Volume 3, 1987: p. 323.
- <sup>21</sup> Mohammed Ali Kishore, *Jana Sangh and India’s Foreign Policy*, Associate Publishing House, New Delhi, 1969: p. 106
- <sup>22</sup> Mohammed Ali Kishore, *Jana Sangh and India’s Foreign Policy*, Associate Publishing House, New Delhi, 1969: p. 106
- <sup>23</sup> Mohammed Ali Kishore, *Jana Sangh and India’s Foreign Policy*, Associate Publishing House, New Delhi, 1969: p. 105
- <sup>24</sup> Nancy Jetly, *India China relations, 1947-1977: A Study of Parliament’s Role in the Making of Foreign Policy*, Radiant Publishers, New Delhi, 1979: P. 44
- <sup>25</sup> Mohammed Ali Kishore, *Jana Sangh and India’s Foreign Policy*, Associate Publishing House, New Delhi, 1969: p. 106.
- <sup>26</sup> “To Harold Macmillan”, Letter, September 7, 1958, *SWJN*, Second Series, Vol. 44, 2012: p. 572.
- <sup>27</sup> J.P. Jain, “The Legal Status of Formosa: A Study of British, Chinese and Indian Views”, *The American Journal of International Law*, Vol. 57, No. 1, 1963: pp. 25-45.
- <sup>28</sup> Nehru, “To Chief Ministers”, Letter, 6 September 1958, *SWJN*, Vol. 44 (Second Series), 2012: p. 2.
- <sup>29</sup> B.R. Nanda, “Introduction”, in B.R. Nanda, *India Foreign Policy: The Nehru Years*, Sangam Books, New Delhi, 1990: pp.1-23.
- <sup>30</sup> Skand Tayal, *India-Republic of Korea Relations: Engaged Democracies*, Routledge (India), New Delhi, 2014: pp. 24-43.
- <sup>31</sup> Parimal Kumar Das, *India and the Vietnam War*, Young Asia Publications, New Delhi, 1972: pp. 44-45.
- Besides, India played an active diplomatic role in the freedom struggle of Indonesia, and the Indian leadership worked closely with Myanmar on the eve of its freedom in 1948. Baladas Ghoshal, “India and the Struggle for Indonesian Independence”, *Akademika*, 54, 1999: pp. 105-130. Thin Thin Aung and Soe Myint, “India-Burma Relations”, in *Challenges to Democratization in Burma: Perspectives on Multilateral and Bilateral Responses*, International IDEA, Stockholm, 2001: pp. 87-116. The book is an International Institute for Democracy and Electoral Assistance (International IDEA) publication.
- <sup>32</sup> John W. Garver, *China’s Quest: The History of the Foreign Relations of the People’s Republic of China*, Oxford University Press (OUP), 2016: pp. 105-112.
- <sup>33</sup> “Struggle to Restore China’s Lawful Seat in the United Nations”, The Foreign Ministry of People’s Republic of China (hereafter FMPRC) Website, at [http://www.fmprc.gov.cn/mfa\\_eng/ziliao\\_665539/3602\\_665543/3604\\_665547/t18013.shtml](http://www.fmprc.gov.cn/mfa_eng/ziliao_665539/3602_665543/3604_665547/t18013.shtml) (Accessed September 21, 2017).
- <sup>34</sup> John W. Garver, *The Sino-American Alliance: Nationalist China and American Cold War Strategy in Asia*, ME Sharpe, New York and London, 1997: pp. 52-72.
- <sup>35</sup> Lawrence Chung, “Taiwan Calls Time on Mongolia and Tibet Affairs Commission”, *South China Morning Post*, August 16, 2017, at [https://www.google.co.in/search?source=hp&q=Taiwan+Calls+Time+on+Mongolia+and+Tibet+Affairs+Commission&oq=Taiwan+Calls+Time+on+Mongolia+and+Tibet+Affairs+Commission&gs\\_l=psy-ab.3..33i22i29i30k1.818.818.0.1244.1.1.0.0.0.156.156.0j1.1.0.dummy\\_maps\\_web\\_fallback...0...1.1.64.psy-ab..0.1.155....0.4-PjQP0gsGY](https://www.google.co.in/search?source=hp&q=Taiwan+Calls+Time+on+Mongolia+and+Tibet+Affairs+Commission&oq=Taiwan+Calls+Time+on+Mongolia+and+Tibet+Affairs+Commission&gs_l=psy-ab.3..33i22i29i30k1.818.818.0.1244.1.1.0.0.0.156.156.0j1.1.0.dummy_maps_web_fallback...0...1.1.64.psy-ab..0.1.155....0.4-PjQP0gsGY) (Accessed September 21, 2017).
- <sup>36</sup> Chung Chieh, “South China Sea Homework for Taiwan’s President-Elect”, *The Diplomat*, May 8, 2016, at <http://thediplomat.com/2016/05/south-china-sea-homework-for-taiwans-president-elect/> (Accessed September 21, 2017).
- <sup>37</sup> Nancy Jetly, *India China relations, 1947-1977: A Study of Parliament’s Role in the Making of Foreign Policy*, Radiant Publishers, New Delhi, 1979: P. 44.

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<sup>38</sup> “The India-Taipei Association: A Mission Extraordinaire”, Interview with Ambassador Vinod C. Khanna, *Indian Foreign Affairs Journal*, Vol. 5. No. 2, April 2010: pp. 240-251.

<sup>39</sup> “The India-Taipei Association: A Mission Extraordinaire”, Interview with Ambassador Vinod C. Khanna, *Indian Foreign Affairs Journal*, Vol. 5. No. 2, April 2010: pp. 240-251.

<sup>40</sup> Pranay Sharma, “Floodgate across the Straits”, *Outlook*, 19 December 2016, at <https://www.outlookindia.com/magazine/story/floodgate-across-the-straits/298238> (Accessed on September 29, 2017). Sharma quotes Ambassador Vinod C. Khanna in this article.

<sup>41</sup> Examples of bilateral cooperation are available at “Taiwan India Relations”, TECC, Home>About TECC>, at [http://www.roc-taiwan.org/in\\_en/post/39.html](http://www.roc-taiwan.org/in_en/post/39.html) (Accessed September 28, 2017); Chen Mumin, “Testing the Limits of Pragmatic Diplomacy: Taiwan’s Relations with India”, in D.P. Tripathi and B.R. Deepak (Ed.), *India and Taiwan: From Benign Neglect to Pragmatism*, Vij Books, New Delhi, 2016: pp. 12—136.

<sup>42</sup> India signed freed trade agreement in goods with ASEAN in 2010, It signed a “comprehensive economic partnership agreement” with Korea in 2010 and Japan in 2011.

<sup>43</sup> Make-in-India is the Modi government’s flagship programme for inviting foreigner manufacturers to set up their facilities in India, Please see the government portal for detailed information at <http://www.makeinindia.com/home> (Accessed September 22, 2017).

<sup>44</sup> ‘ROC President Dr. Tsai Ing-wen Delivers Inaugural Address’, Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of China (Taiwan) Website, May 20, 2016 (Accessed September 22, 2017).

<sup>45</sup> Tien-sze Fang, “India-Taiwan Relations: A Comprehensive Security Perspective”, *India Defence Review*, Vol. 40, No. 4, at <http://www.indiandefencereview.com/news/india-taiwan-relations-a-comprehensive-security-perspective/> (Accessed September 22, 2017).

<sup>46</sup> T.E. Raja Simhan, “China Steel Corp to Invest \$178 M in New Plant in Gujarat”, *Business Line*, August 25, 2011, at <http://www.thehindubusinessline.com/companies/china-steel-corp-to-invest-178-m-in-new-plant-in-gujarat/article2396950.ece> (Accessed September 22, 2017); BS Reporter, “China Steel Corp to Invest Rs 1,000 Cr in Gujarat”, *Business Standard*, January 24, 2012, at [http://www.business-standard.com/article/companies/china-steel-corp-to-invest-rs-1-000-cr-in-gujarat-112012400051\\_1.html](http://www.business-standard.com/article/companies/china-steel-corp-to-invest-rs-1-000-cr-in-gujarat-112012400051_1.html) (Accessed September 22, 2017).

<sup>47</sup> ‘Full Text of President Tsai’s Inaugural Address’, *Focus Taiwan*, May 20, 2017 at <http://focustaiwan.tw/news/aip/201605200008.aspx> (Accessed September 22, 2017); “President Tsai’s Opening Statement in Interview with Journalists from India, Indonesia, Malaysia, the Philippines, Singapore, and Thailand”, May 5, 2017, at <http://english.president.gov.tw/News/5132> (Accessed September 22, 2017); “Democratic Progressive Party White Paper on Foreign Policy for the 21st Century”, November 28, 1999, <http://focustaiwan.tw/news/aip/201605200008.aspx>, (Accessed September 22, 2017).

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