

Indian Nationalism and its China Policy

Kejie Wang*

School of Social Policy & Practice, University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia, United States

*Corresponding author: kwang63@upenn.edu

Abstract. T In 1994, Dutch scholar Peter van der Veer published *Religious Nationalism: Hindus and Muslims in India*, which explored the role of religious nationalism in Indian politics. Before that, religious nationalism was widely seen as a secular, religion-based mobilisation of communities, rather than a trend of thought with broad political implications. India's religious nationalism is politicized, and Modi describes himself more as a religious leader than a political leader in the process of governing and propaganda. After Modi became Prime minister, Indian religious nationalism has become the main political trend in India, and this top-down approach to Indian nationalism has also influenced India's diplomatic strategy towards China. The core question discussed in this paper is whether India's diplomatic attitude towards China will lead to a deadlock in Sino-Indian relations and bring security crisis to the two countries. This article will discuss India's new challenges to peace from a number of perspectives. What are the roots of Indian nationalism, what problems does Indian nationalism bring to Sino-Indian relations, and the future of Sino-Indian relations? India's religious nationalism has a profound impact on its foreign policy. Instead of secularization, Indian nationalism largely combines theocracy with nationalism, and gives birth to Hindu nationalism centered on Hinduism. The rise of such religious nationalism and the implementation of such policies will push China-India relations to a dangerous edge.

Keywords: Religious nationalism; Hinduism; India-China relations; Modi government.

1. Introduction

The rise of Hindu nationalism is reshaping India's domestic and foreign affairs. The influence of religion on Indian politics cannot be underestimated. Scholars often believe that in the process of secularization, the influence of religion on politics will gradually decrease. Scholars like Bryan Wilson, think that secularization is a modern process in which religion loses the central place in social life it previously occupied and those who [1]. This is not the case in India, where religious forces are not at the edge of politics, but occupy a very important political position. Prasad noted that religious nationalism can influence a country's foreign policy. In a country that is constitutionally defined as secularism, ultranationalists have clearly moved beyond the abstract and idealized secular constitutional framework to allow religion to profoundly influence their foreign policy thinking [2]. Therefore, this paper will discuss the change of Modi government's China policy under the influence of Hindu nationalism.

Religious nationalism in India has the same characteristics as other nationalisms, such as defending the interests of the country to which it belongs, but it is also biased because Hindu-centered Hindu nationalism does not defend the interests of other religious believers such as Indian Muslims. Hindu nationalism will make India more forceful in its diplomatic dealings with "infidels". What does this mean for China? China will face a more aggressive India due to religious nationalism. This will pose new challenges to peace and stability in Asia. In the process of intensifying internal contradictions, the Modi government has also turned its eyes to other countries, which is the practical impact of religious nationalism on the Modi government's foreign policy strategy. China's own foreign policy has undergone significant changes in recent years. Western media often refer to China's assertive diplomacy as "Wolf fighting diplomacy," while the Modi government has developed a foreign policy with a distinct Hindu nationalist color and gradually developed into adventurism. The foreign policy of the BJP, which emphasizes "hard power", has always been the value orientation pursued by Indian nationalism and pursued "bullying diplomacy" towards China. Both China and India will become more assertive and aggressive in their diplomatic engagement in the future, which will lead to disputes

and conflicts. Therefore, understanding and cognition of Hindu nationalism can better help to understand the development direction of the Asian region.

2. The History and Development of Religious Nationalism in India

The birth of nationalism is significant. According to the neo-evolutionist like Smelser, Levy, Eisenstadt, Shils, nationalism is the product of the turbulent and tense period that society must go through to modernize [3]. For India, this so-called period of tension and turbulence was the British colonial era. Even after the end of the colonial period, India still deals with the legacy of British colonialism. Facing the rise of the national independence movement, Britain adopted the policy of "divide and rule", sowing the relationship between Hindus and Muslims, provoking the sectarian conflict between India and Muslims, in order to break the Indian people's anti-British alliance.

However, this policy objectively promoted the birth of Hindu nationalism. Under the colonial system, religious leaders tend to have arisen revolutionary power, in the history of the war of independence, and war against aggression, religious leaders often can lead people's remarkable achievements, while in fact, led by religious leaders after the revolutionary success, need to solve the problem of secularization and socialization. This is a question that India has faced since it entered modern politics. It can be said that the roots of Hindu nationalism largely come from the Independence movement during the British colonial period. At that time, many national movement leaders in India completely religiously turned the issue of national independence by making full use of the combination of Hinduism and nationalism, and used the power of religion to organize and mobilize the masses into the nationalist struggle against British colonial rule.

In the independence movement, the Congress Party and the Muslim League are the two most prominent organizations. The Congress Party was founded in 1885 to fight for Indian independence and reform. Its leader, Mahatma Gandhi, was hailed as a symbol of non-violent resistance and called on the Indian people to take a peaceful and rational approach to independence. Jawaharlal Nehru was one of the main leaders of the Congress Party. He played an important role in the independence movement and later became India's first prime minister. The Muslim League was founded in 1906 to fight for the interests of Indian Muslims and maintain the status of Muslims in India. Its leader, Jakkaria Nasser, and others played an important role in the independence movement. Since then, the conflict between Hindus and Muslims has intensified because of different religious beliefs and different programs of correction for India's future.

Hindus formed two important organizations—the All-India Hindu Mahasabha and the Rashtriya Swayamasevak Sangh (RSS). In response, Indian Muslims formed the Muslim League, which aims to "defend Muslims" and "defend Muslims' interests".

RSS has contributed considerable influence in this process, at first According to Christopher Jaffrelot, "BJP President A.B. Vajpayee was keen to abandon most of the Hindutva-based identity of the Jana Sangh and introduced Two new concepts which did not echo the Hindu nationalist legacy: "Gandhian Orientalism" and "positive secularism" [4]. But as Jaffrelot notes, this move was strongly opposed by RSS, "RSS Cadres were not asked to support the BJP during the 1984 elections. The new RSS strategy was different consisted of promoting a militant use of religious symbols in order to create a Hindu vote bank through which the Hindu Demographic majority would be turned into a political majority [4].

Under pressure from all parties, in 1985, the BJP officially renounced Gandhian socialism and adopted the doctrine of Hindu nationalism, which revived traditional Hindu culture and spirit, as the party's guide to action. The current surge in Hindu nationalism also benefits from favorable social conditions.

First, Hinduism is the largest religion in India, practiced by about 80% of Indians. Moreover, Hinduism is a complex of religious beliefs, folk customs, life philosophy and way of life that plays a pivotal role in all aspects of India.

Second, BJP has improved its ability to govern the economy and society and created an economic and social development environment conducive to the rise of Hindu nationalism. The Modi government has given priority to economic, social and livelihood issues, held high the banner of governance, development and reform, and rolled out a series of policy measures in the economic, social, livelihood and environmental areas. This strategy won the support of the general public, including non-Hindus, and provided a solid public opinion base and favorable social atmosphere for the rise of Hindu nationalism [5].

Hinduism is constantly evolving from a pure religious belief to a ruling tool of the ruling class, and finally to a part of the Indian society. According to the BJP, Indian culture is the culture of Hinduism. The path of the rise of Hindu nationalism shifts towards the socialization of Hinduism as a whole. In other words, it no longer simply uses sensitive issues such as religion and politics directly, but gives full play to the special effect of Hinduism in social governance with the help of relatively less sensitive social and livelihood issues. Many of the policies Mr Modi's government has withdrawn to improve livelihoods, for example, revolve around a potential Hindu core. "Clean Ganga", in particular, links India's environmental problems directly to Hindu purity [6].

The policy influence of BJP is not only in Indian society, but also in the power establishment. Supreme Court, Election Commission, RBI, Army and almost every institution is packed with pro-BJP people. The rest succumb to fear or opportunism. For example, the Supreme Court has not heard several pressing constitutional challenges to the Citizenship Amendment Act, the removal of Kashmir's special status, or the electoral bond scheme that undermines fair elections [7].

In 1906, the all India Muslim League (MU) was formed to represent the interests of Indian Muslims, and Indian Muslims began to enter the Indian political scene as a collective, but did not gain domestic support. In August 1947, India and Pakistan were formally separated. Split and mixed, people belonging to the two main religions quickly began to migrate on a large scale. The chaos caused by this manmade migration resulted in the slaughter of millions and the homelessness of millions. Religious nationalism in India at the time, as well as the ongoing India-Pakistan conflict, fueled resentment among Hindus against Muslims [8]. It also deepened India's religious and cultural identity to a greater extent, the Modi government has not only adopted extreme policies, but also distorted India's history and culture in education. The BJP ordered revisions to history textbooks that have been used for decades by secularist historians Bipun Chandra, Romille Thapar and others, to remove references they said tarnished the image of Hinduism and glorified Muslim rule [9]. Although all of this was strongly condemned by secular forces in India and had an impact on international historians, this apparent falsification of history did not succeed, but continued to establish the cultural hegemony of Hinduism and Hindu culture in India through the RSS.

RSS leader Golwalkar also realized the inheritance and development of Hindu nationalism, and further put forward the theory of "national piety". He preached that every Hindu must give his all to the Hindu state as "mother of the motherland", as her tame instrument, and must be absolutely pious and faithful to her; The land of India is the land of Hinduism, the civilization of India is the civilization of Hinduism, the way of life of India is the way of life of Hinduism, and the country of India is the country of Hinduism [5].

Bhatty & Sundar mentioned the educational goals of RSS. The three main features of the RSS education programmer are support for militarism and physical training, inculcation of hatred for internal and external enemies, and glorification of India's ancient 'Hindu' past [7]. At present, Hindu nationalism is subtly affecting the whole Indian society, from ordinary people, to students, as well as the political high-level, which is full of extreme emotions. Hinduism has become a highly politicized symbol in India, and Hindu ultra-nationalism has been fully integrated into the ideology and policies of the Modi government.

After discussing the historical development of Indian nationalism and the Modi government's changes in domestic affairs, this article will discuss the impact of the Hindu nationalist Modi government's policy towards China.

3. The impact of Modi's China policy

Alexander Wendt, a constructivist scholar, believes that national interest is not defined by national leaders according to objective material power, but it is conceptual, that is, it is influenced by values, beliefs, ideologies and national identity, and it changes with the changes of these concepts. In short, constructivism disagrees with the realist scholars' view that power is the only factor determining diplomatic behavior [10]. Constructivism believes that strength is only one of the factors that affects a country's diplomatic behavior, while a more important factor is the goal or intention of foreign policy, namely diplomatic interests, which are independent of national strength. Having the power to attack or invade another country is not the same as having the intention to attack or invade another country. The emergence of diplomatic interests or intentions is influenced or determined by the country's values, or the recognition or dislike generated in the process of dealing with other countries. From the perspective of constructivism, we can clearly understand why India chose such a diplomatic attitude. The Modi government has formed a foreign policy with the characteristics of Hindu nationalism, and gradually developed into an adventurism under the influence of nationalism.

India's ruling party, the BJP, stresses that "hard power" is always the value orientation pursued by Hindu nationalism which tends to think that China is its enemy and that the two great powers in Asia cannot coexist peacefully and India needs to be a leader in Asia.

All this is rooted in Indian political thought. Nehru wrote in his 1934 autobiography: My personal vision of the future is as follows: I see a federation consisting of China, India, Burma, Sikkim, Afghanistan and other countries [11]. Nehru had been trying to promote India's regional influence through the Non-Aligned Movement, but after the outbreak of war with China in 1962, the Non-Aligned Movement also lost its influence, so Nehru chose a more aggressive diplomatic strategy of external expansion, which is India's diplomatic tradition to China up to now. He has since revised that statement somewhat. In his later work, *The Discovery of India*, he made a revision: the scope of the Great Indian Federation was limited to the Indian Ocean region, Southeast Asia and Central Asia, with India as the center. At the very least, British India should be inherited in its entirety, annexing Tibet or making it independent as a buffer state [12].

Modi's political ideology is also deeply influenced nationalism, Modi joined the RSS youth camp at the age of eight, he was influenced by religious extremism in the RSS, in 1985, Modi accepted the RSS sent to join the BJP, and the Indian Party has been inseparable from the RSS ever since. With Modi's participation, the Indian Party also gave up its original political program and fully accepted the RSS's hard-line religious policies, and constantly incited the conflict between Hindus and Muslims, thus attracting a large number of religious nationalists to join, making the Indian Party gain huge political influence. This means that the ruling ideas and power of the Modi government itself come from the religious nationalists in India, and the Modi government, which is fully supported by the majority Hindu nationalists in India, will inherit the Hindu nationalism of Nehru and adopt a tough expansionist foreign policy. Modi accepted an interview with the *Wall Street Journal* before his visit to the United States. Modi now positions India as "the so-called 'natural leader' of the global South, as he seeks to portray it, insisting that India deserves a 'deeper and broader role' in global politics." Modi's government, like its predecessors, believes that South Asia belongs to India and that India must seize and maintain its hegemony in South Asia.

Diplomacy is the continuation of Modi's internal political thought. Modi's diplomatic team has become BJP and Hindu, so he chooses Sujaishankar as his external spokesperson, which also means that India's foreign policy is no longer to serve the interests of the Indian people as a whole, but to serve Modi's government and Hindu nationalism. That tough image is exactly what Mr. Modi's voters like to see. With diplomacy at the service of domestic affairs, India's foreign policy has been effectively captured by religious nationalism, continuing on the path of great power chauvinism.

The embodiment of all this is the military conflict between China and India. The border friction between China and India has been increasing since Modi came to power in 2014, and it has worsened since Modi and Obama signed the US-India Joint Strategic Vision for Asia-Pacific and Indian Ocean

Region [13]. Modi believes that regional prosperity depends on regional security, and this region, besides south China Sea and Indian Ocean, is the border between China and India.

Since then, India and the US have signed three military agreements giving the US unlimited access to Indian supply facilities, and the two sides have gradually started sharing intelligence. We can analyze this from the military friction between China and India in recent years [14].

In May 2016, India sent four warships to cruise in the South China Sea for three months, and Sino-Indian relations continued to deteriorate, further exacerbated by China's refusal to allow India to join the Nuclear Suppliers Group (NSG) and its refusal to list Pakistani militant leaders as terrorists. In May 2017, China invited India to attend the Belt and Road International Summit, but Modi declined, and the Doklam stand-off broke out a month later. The incident was triggered by Indian provocations on Chinese territory in non-disputed areas between China and India. A bloody conflict broke out between China and India [15].

On 6 May 2020, The Indian border troops crossed the line and entered Chinese territory in the Galwan Valley, erecting barriers to obstruct the normal patrol of the Chinese border troops. On June 15, The Indian army crossed the Line of Actual Control (LAC) again in the Galvan Valley and launched a deliberate and provocative attack, triggering a fierce physical clash between the two sides and causing casualties. On August 31, the Indian army again illegally crossed the line and occupied the area near the Requin Pass on the southern shore of Pangong Lake, causing tension along the border.

There needs to be a sound political justification for continuing provocations against regional powers for a short period of time. Considering that 2020 is a special year in which the global pandemic has had a severe impact on the global economy, the conflict actually erupted in India under multiple circumstances. At the end of March and early April of 2020, India banned grain exports. When India is facing internal economic problems and food shortage, Indian public opinion will inevitably oppose Modi. In order to divert these contradictions and maintain his approval rating. That the reason why the Modi government has chosen to promote narrow nationalism and politicize economic issues, and the border conflict is a good place to start.

After the outbreak of the border conflict in 2020, the nationalist sentiment in India rose, and the Modi government also responded to this public opinion by removing hundreds of Chinese apps in India, and this clear political statement further intensified the hostility between people. And since then, India has done more to weaken China's influence over it, both politically and economically. At the same time, it has prioritized economic engagement with other partners to reduce its dependence on China, including recent free trade negotiations with the European Union and the United Kingdom, as well as the Resilient Supply Chain Initiative with Japan and Australia [16]. The "new Cold War" situation between the United States and China did not change. India has been trying to establish a bridgehead in Asia to contain China. Building stronger military ties with India and Vietnam is a very important part of that. The Indian Foreign Minister also wrote in his book that for international political reasons, "This is a time for us to engage America. There is often disagreement at Deftly New Delhi's Foreign policy, manage China, cultivate Europe, reassure Russia, bring Japan into play, draw neighbors in, Extend the neighborhood and Expand Traditional Government of Support [17]. In which India's international political ambitions can be clearly identified. India, for its part, faces a full-fledged challenge from China: It is true that New Delhi maps out its global policy, however, the immediate challenge is to contend with Beijing's expansionist policy – for example, China's militarization of land and sea through the Belt and Road Initiative (BRI) and encroachment on India's territory and so forth – by strengthening strategic and economic alignment with the US and Japan [17].

Anti-China sentiment in India rose after the conflict, and Hindu nationalism also played a role in guiding public opinion. Indian authorities removed Chinese apps, attacked Chinese brands, and attacked Chinese people in India. These are all ways to let off steam [18]. BJP's Hindu-centrism, the narrative of Hindu nationalism, has further polarized India. Under the influence of religious nationalism, India's relations with China will not get any better. Conflicts, frictions and trials will become the main melody of Sino-Indian diplomacy. The reason why India has chosen such a path to compete with China can be found in history. In its foreign policy towards China, India always ignores

the power gap between the two sides and chooses a strategy satisfying the deterrence theory in an attempt to form enough pressure on China and gain benefits. But deterrence theory is often applied on the basis of power. "A deterrent threat is effective to the extent it can produce cost-benefit calculations on the part of the potential attacker in which the expected utility of an attack would be less than the expected utility of foregoing the attack. The expected gains from an attack must be so small, or the expected losses so substantial, that abstaining from attack will produce a more favorable outcome (greater gains or, more likely, smaller losses) [19]. Indian strategic circle guided by ultra-nationalist thought will lead to "deterrence" mode. While this helps to unite the political forces within India, it actually sends a dangerous signal to China's strategic community. These strategic arrangements under the doctrine of deterrence make China also aware of the dangers of India. And because India is not strong enough for China to bend, such deterrence only takes India quo in a more dangerous direction.

The root cause of all this policy behavior is that Modi's BJP is a pure Hindu extremist party with no possibility of transformation or change, and its political base is Hindu nationalism.

4. The Universal Influence Mechanism of Religious Nationalism

India's policy toward China incites populism, supports extremist ideas, and sets China up as an enemy to compete with India, which has brought India stronger national confidence and cohesion. India is a multi-lingual, multi-religious and multi-cultural country, and the concept of country in India was born after the British colonization. For India, there is no unified concept of identity. The vast cultural differences between the different states have also increased the need for India to find a unified identity to better unite its people. Religious nationalism is the approach taken by the Modi government to try to heal India's internal contradictions. However, at the same time, it is also creating new external conflicts. The friction and conflicts between China and India are worsening the stability of the region. At the same time, the intensified religious conflicts in India are also causing more fierce conflicts among people of different faiths in India.

In the game of international politics, religious nationalism may show different political attitudes because of its different religious characteristics and historical experiences. The resurgence of Hindu nationalism in the development process is labeled as progressive anti-colonial, which also gives Hindu nationalism political legitimacy.

Acknowledge the progressive nature of Indian religion in the process of independence, but also talk about the exclusivity of religion itself, enumerating religious wars in history, fighting with pagans, talking about the state that forms national identity through religion, and talking about international relations where the state is regarded as a purely rational individual and should form its own foreign strategy for the benefit of all its citizens. But religious fanaticism and exclusivity often lead countries into irrationality. Under extreme conflict, the religious nation-state will constantly emphasize the sense of identity, which will inevitably lead to bloody conflicts for a multi-cultural, multi-lingual and multi-religious country like India.

Looking at the religious divisions in Asia, Hinduism mainly exists in India, rather than other countries. The countries around India have complicated religious beliefs, and the religious exclusivity brought by India's fanatical religious nationalism will inevitably bring more diplomatic adventurism and aggression. China itself, as a country with a majority atheist population, has no irreconcilable religious conflict with India, but extreme religious nationalism will only see China more as an enemy than a partner. India's religious nationalism is being deliberately guided by Modi to an uncontrollable extreme.

Other countries founded on religious nationalism are also in this predicament. Religious nationalism promotes hatred and often ends in bloodshed. Religions have both positive and negative influences on international relations. Different countries with the same religious belief are more likely to become political Allies, but the exclusivity of religions often leads to extreme conflicts with different believers. Religiously constructed identities are part of identity politics, which assumes that

some people are enemies of the people for no reason, without considering the real interests of the people. you follow the “checklist” your paper will conform to the requirements of the publisher and facilitate a problem-free publication process.

5. Conclusion

India's religious nationalism comes from its colonial history, which also brings about the internal conflict between India and China -- territorial disputes. Religious, ethnic, and partisan tensions have got India into trouble, and the Modi government is trying to use authoritarian religious nationalism to solve India's internal tensions and shift them outward. Under the influence of his radical measures, religious and ethnic conflicts in India became more and more serious, and bloody conflicts broke out constantly, and religious minorities suffered obvious political persecution, which forced the Modi government to choose a more radical foreign policy in order to stabilize its power. There are three modes of strategic interaction between China and India: deterrence, engagement and appeasement. The "deterrence" model applies when each side perceives the other as highly aggressive, assuming that a successful check on the other's expansion forces it to pacify. The way each side achieves security is by threatening unacceptable harm to the other. The Indian strategic circle guided by the ultra-nationalist ideology will lead to the "deterrence" mode, which will promote the construction of India's internal hard counterbalance force and external alliances and partnerships, and lead to the corresponding policy responses of China's strategic circle, including regarding India as the biggest threat to China in Asia, being wary of its great-power ambitions and the US-India alliance. Both sides are building military infrastructure along the border to deter each other. This is a pattern of strategic interaction that continues to be hostile and dangerous.

From an external point of view (geopolitical peace), an adventurous, radical India, influenced by Hindu nationalism, suppresses pragmatism and is moving towards radicalism. To judge from the current public texts in India's major strategic think tanks and mainstream news media, ultra-nationalism is taking the upper hand in the debate, outpacing pragmatism and pacifism in numbers and radicalism. In the wake of the bloody conflict between India and China, the voices of reason are being drowned out. The most prominent feature of the ultranationalists is the propaganda that China is exerting "coercive pressure" on India and that China is a "long-term threat" to India, thus advocating a series of strategies of confrontation and containment against China. On the border issue, ultranationalists see China as encroaching on Indian territory. And China is trying to form a strategic deterrent and even a security threat to India by continuously strengthening its military defense and infrastructure along the border. All this could lead to more actual conflict, or even war, between China and India.

References

- [1] Veer, P. v. d. (1995). The Secular Production of Religion. *Etnofoor*, 8(2), 5–14.
- [2] Ram-Prasad, C. (2000). Hindu Nationalism and the International Relations of India. In K. R. Dark (Ed.), *Religion and International Relations* (pp. 140–197). Palgrave Macmillan UK. https://doi.org/10.1057/9781403916594_7
- [3] Smith, A. D. (1983). Nationalism and Classical Social Theory. *The British Journal of Sociology*, 34(1), 19–38. <https://doi.org/10.2307/590606>
- [4] Jaffrelot, C. (2013). Refining the moderation thesis. Two religious parties and Indian democracy: The Jana Sangh and the BJP between Hindutva radicalism and coalition politics. *Democratization*, 20(5), 876–894. <https://doi.org/10.1080/13510347.2013.801256>
- [5] Zhang, S. (2021). Politicization and Socialization of Religion: The Rise and Future trend of Hindu Nationalism.
- [6] Sehgal, R. (n.d.). Clean Ganga project has a long way to go. Rediff. Retrieved May 8, 2022, from <https://www.rediff.com/news/interview/clean-ganga-project-has-a-long-way-to-go/20210605.htm>

- [7] Bhatta, K., & Sundar, N. (2020). Sliding from majoritarianism toward fascism: Educating India under the Modi regime. *International Sociology*, 35(6), 632–650. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0268580920937226>
- [8] Gilmartin, D. (1998). Partition, Pakistan, and South Asian History: In Search of a Narrative. *The Journal of Asian Studies*, 57(4), 1068-1095. <https://doi.org/10.2307/2659304>
- [9] Jaffrelot, C. (2016, June 7). Why the BJP rewrites history. *The Indian Express*. Retrieved from <https://indianexpress.com/article/opinion/columns/why-the-bjp-rewrites-history-textbooks-jawaharlal-nehru-aurangzeb-bala-gangadhar-tilak-aurobindo-2838231/>
- [10] Wendt, A. (1992) ‘Anarchy is What States Make of It: The Social Construction of Power Politics’.
- [11] Nehru, J. (1989). *Jawaharlal Nehru, an autobiography: With musings on recent events in India*. Bodley Head.
- [12] Nehru, J., & Gandhi, I. (1994). *The Discovery of India (Centenary edition)*. Oxford University Press.
- [13] U.S.-India Joint Strategic Vision for the Asia-Pacific and Indian Ocean Region. (2015, January 25). Whitehouse.Gov <https://obamawhitehouse.archives.gov/the-press-office/2015/01/25/us-india-joint-strategic-vision-asia-pacific-and-indian-ocean-region>
- [14] Bhatia, L. (2020). What the 4 Indo-US defence agreements mean for India. *The Times of India*. Retrieved from <https://timesofindia.indiatimes.com/india/what-the-4-indo-us-defence-agreements-mean-for-india/articleshow/78949570.cms>
- [15] Monyae, D., & Ndzendze, B. (2021). *The BRICS Order: Assertive or Complementing the West?* Springer Nature.
- [16] Rajeev, N., & Stephenson, A. (2023). Why We Should All Worry About the China-India Border Dispute. As the rivalry between these nuclear powers heats up, long-standing border tensions risk a dangerous escalation. Retrieved from <https://www.usip.org/publications/2023/05/why-we-should-all-worry-about-china-india-border-dispute>
- [17] Sahu, A. K. (2021). The India Way: Strategies for an Uncertain World. *Democracy and Security*, 17(3), 324–326. <https://doi.org/10.1080/17419166.2021.1955648>
- [18] France-Presse, A. (2020, September 3). India bans 118 Chinese apps, accusing companies of stealing data. *The Guardian*. Retrieved from <https://www.theguardian.com/world/2020/sep/03/india-bans-118-chinese-apps-accusing-companies-of-stealing-data>
- [19] Huth, P., & Russett, B. (1984). What Makes Deterrence Work? Cases from 1900 to 1980. *World Politics*, 36(4), 496–526. <https://doi.org/10.2307/2010184>