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NECMETTİN ERBAKAN UNIVERSITY
SOCIAL SCIENCES INSTITUTE
SOUTH ASIAN STUDIES AND
INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS



**US BALANCE STRATEGY BETWEEN CHINA AND INDIA
DURING THE OBAMA ERA**

ASLIHAN ERDOGAN

MASTER'S DEGREE THESIS

**ADVISOR:
PROF. DR. MURAT CEMREK**

KONYA-2019



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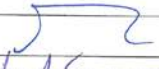
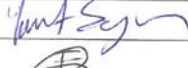

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Yukarıda adı geçen öğrenci tarafından hazırlanan "ABD'nin Obama Döneminde Hindistan ve Çin Arasında Uyguladığı Dengeleme Politikası" başlıklı bu çalışma 11/10/2019 tarihinde yapılan savunma sınavı sonucunda oybirliği ile başarılı bulunarak jürimiz tarafından Yüksek Lisans Tezi olarak kabul edilmiştir.

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Aslıhan Erdoğan



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ABSTRACT

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China and India began their tremendous economic growth with the beginning of the 21st century. The US, on the other hand, was almost everywhere on the earth and needed to devise critical policies in the Asia-Pacific region especially after the emergence of China and India as the potential global powers. Interests and benefits of the three would no doubt overlap, so it was inevitable that there exist strong relationships among them.

The faster rising of the two was China, and this required more powerful ties necessary between India and the US to control the Chinese influence. India tried to grow its political and military influence on a regional and global scale too. India sought to obtain close alliance relationship with the US to be more decisive in regional balances. The relations of these nations grew more complex as they were rivaling on various forces and alliance axes. These developments were not favored by the US, so the US needed to follow strategic engagements with India and other actors to establish stable democracies to prevent China from dominating the region and surrounding seas.

Under the light of these developments, this thesis aims to examine the American Foreign Policy (AFP) towards China and India during Obama Presidency (2009-2016). Whether Obama, as a Democrat coming into office with the hope of change, needed a Republican way of balance strategy towards the Asia-Pacific world is the focal point in this research.

Key Words: Asia-Pacific, Balance Policy, Growing Economies, Major Powers

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Çin ve Hindistan, 21. yüzyılın başlarında muazzam ekonomik büyümelerine başladı. Öte yandan ABD, dünyanın hemen her yerindeydi ve özellikle Çin ve Hindistan'ın potansiyel küresel güçler olarak ortaya çıkmasından sonra Asya-Pasifik bölgesinde kritik politikalar geliştirmesi gerekiyordu. Bu üç ülkenin çıkarları şüphesiz örtüşüyordu, bu nedenle aralarında güçlü ilişkiler olması kaçınılmazdı.

İkisi arasında daha hızlı yükselen Çin'di ve bu, Çin'in etkisini kontrol etmek için Hindistan ile ABD arasında daha güçlü bağlar gerektiriyordu. Hindistan da siyasi ve askeri etkisini bölgesel ve küresel ölçekte büyütme çabası. Hindistan, bölgesel dengelerde daha belirleyici olmak için ABD ile yakın ittifak ilişkisi kurmaya çalıştı. Bu ulusların ilişkileri, çeşitli güç ve ittifak eksenlerinde rakip olduklarından daha da karmaşıklaştı. Bu gelişmeler ABD tarafından desteklenmedi, bu yüzden ABD'nin Çin'in bölgeye ve çevresindeki denizlere hükmetmesini engellemek için istikrarlı demokrasiler kurmak için Hindistan ve diğer aktörlerle stratejik anlaşmaları takip etmesi gerekiyordu.

Bu gelişmeler ışığında, bu tez Obama Başkanlığı döneminde (2009-2016) Amerikan Dış Politikasını (AFP) Çin ve Hindistan'a yönelik incelemeyi amaçlamaktadır. Değişim umuduyla bir Demokrat olarak göreve başlayan Obama'nın, Cumhuriyetçi bir Asya-Pasifik dünyasına karşı bir denge stratejisine ihtiyaç duyup duymadığı bu çalışmada odak noktasıdır.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Asya Pasifik, Büyük Güçler, Büyüyen Ekonomiler, Dengeleme Politikası

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

AFP	: American Foreign Policy
AIIB	: The Asian Infrastructure Investment Bank
ASEAN	: Association of Southeast Asian Nations
Af-Pak	: Afghanistan- Pakistan
BPM	: The Bureaucratic Politics Model
BT	: Balance Theory
CFP	: The Comparative Foreign Policy
CP	: Communist Party
CCP	: Chinese Communist Party
CIA	: The Central Intelligence Agency
CPEC	: China-Pakistan Economic Corridor
CTBT	: The Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty
EDCA	: Enhanced Defense Cooperation Agreement
DCA	: Defense Cooperation Agreement
FDI	: Foreign Direct Investment
FP	: Foreign Policy (As the discipline)
fp	: foreign policy
FPCC	: Five Principles of Peaceful Coexistence
FPA	: Foreign Policy Analysis
FPDM	: Foreign Policy Decision Making
FEP	: Financial and Economic Partnership
IR	: International Relations (As the discipline)
ir	: international relations
HRD	: Higher Education Dialogue
HSD	: Homeland Security Dialogue
IFP	: Indian Foreign Policy
ICRIER	: Indian Council for Research on International Economic Relations.
ICOR	: The incremental capital-output ratio
I-BPM	: Inter-Branch Politics
LEMOA	: The Logistics Exchange Memorandum of Agreement
MOEs	: The Majority-Owned Affiliates
NAM	: The Non-Aligned Movement
NGOs	: Non-governmental organizations
NEATO	: The Northeast Asian Treaty Organization
NSC	: The National Security Council
NSS	: National Security Strategy
NPT	: The Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty
NSSP	: Next Steps in Strategic Partnership
OCB	: Operations Coordinating Board
OPM	: The Organizational Process Model
PLA	: People's Liberation Army
PPM	: Political Process Model
PS	: Political Science
PP	: Public Policy
RAM	: The Rational Actor Model

RMA	: Revolution in Military Affairs
PRC	: People's Republic of China
ROC	: Republic of China
SCO	: Shanghai Cooperation Organization
SEATO	: The Southeast Asian Treaty Organization
SC	: The State Council
SOPs	: Standard Operating Procedures
UN	: United Nations
TNA	: Transnational Actors
TPF	: Trade Policy Forum
TPP	: The Trans-Pacific Partnership
WWI	: World War I
WWII	: World War II



PREFACE

This MA Thesis is original, unpublished, independent work by the author, Aslıhan Erdoğan with the help of her advisor Prof. Dr. Murat Çemrek.

After the completion of the graduate course phase, we decided to conduct a detailed study on this subject considering the lack of literature on the subject in our conversations with my advisor. My thesis will explore the US foreign policy towards China and India during the Obama era, but will focus on whether or not there is a balance policy with a picture of the US-China, China-India and India trajectory. To provide a foundation, in the first part, foreign policy analysis is explained in detail. The structure of the chapters is thus as follows, Chapter 1 describes Foreign Policy Analysis. In Chapters 2-4 bilateral relations between these three countries are discussed one by one. The chapters provide an overview of the recent literature in the field.

In trying to determine which method would be most appropriate for the study, I came to the conclusion with historical research to understand the events more deeply.

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I also dedicate this MA thesis to my two lovely children, Ege Erdem and Hilmi Doruk who are the pride and joy of my life. I love you more than anything and I appreciate all your patience and support during mommy's MA studies. Last but not the least; I would like to thank my parents who still devote themselves to educating their children. Their silent prayers were the strongest support for my study.

INTRODUCTION

For thousands of years, Asia, the largest continent of the world has been the motherland for many civilizations, and thus a primary route to transfer goods or services from east to west and from north to south or vice versa. In the 21st century, two largest civilizations of this continent, China and India, began to have great roles to play in economy, politics and security. The US, on the other hand, has earlier emerged as a leading global actor in another continent, patrolling any part of the world as the “big brother” through dissolving the disagreements and struggles as the trouble shooter of all the nations on the earth. Specifically within the beginning of the 21st century, the Asia-Pacific region shaped by conquests and imperial subordination still appears to attract the external powers today especially the US. Asia-Pacific has also become a region of important economic, political and military dimensions.

This study will concentrate on the relations of three most significant actors in Asia-Pacific, specifically the US, China and India, in shaping the fate of the region and their interdependence to sustain their core interests particularly during the Obama era. Obama’s presidency was not transformative regarding policies towards China and India, as many across the globe had anticipated rather than revitalizing the US as the superpower by reducing its global commitments. The US under Obama went back to a much more traditional agenda focusing more on economic, trade, and development relations in addition to global security affairs. This situation somehow manipulated and shaped how China and India behaved nationally, regionally and globally in their policies.

This thesis argues that the driving force and its consequences behind the changing US-China, China-India and India-US relations during the Obama era did not stem from a stationary foreign policy practice especially after his first two years in office, but rather that of the long term regional changes necessitated for the American benefits and other states in the region. Otherwise, the US would lose its diplomatic power, melt away its military ties, and the most importantly, fail to keep its trade with the Asia-Pacific countries, initially considered by the Obama administration as the lifeblood for the virtual moribund American economy. Since

China was rising in every term especially in diplomatic, military and economic terms; both the US and India were not happy with a would-be global power transition, shifting from West to East. The US, if unable to manipulate totally, wanted an orderly transition to a “new order” and to maintain as much of its power as possible, whatever its form. A stable and progressive South Asia was essential for this goal, just as it was for India’s aspiration to exert more influence on the global stage.

This study investigates what the Foreign Policy (FP) and Foreign Policy Analysis (FPA) are, and consequently will examine Foreign Policies of the US, China and India during one of the most critical period 2009-2017, through outbreak of a global financial crisis, when power struggles and mistrust between China and India reached their peak, and a lot of wars and unrest in different parts of the world were to be handled. Therefore, this thesis contributes to the study of the FPA exploring the most critical decision making arrangements of the most dominant actors in the modern history. Moreover, this part of the world has been overlooked by many entrepreneurs and statesmen despite its potential to meet global needs. This study is to contribute to clarify how America, China and India struggled to balance the power in this region. The significance of this thesis further lies in showing the underlying factors of practicing FP for the individual interests of the three superpowers with short, middle and long term changes in their FPs towards all the actors involved.

This thesis is a contemporary historical narrative of US-China, China-India and India-US relations during the Obama era (2009-2017). In trying to set up which method can be the most suitable for this study, I concluded historical research providing the understanding of specific phenomena to avoid development of general propositions in favor of deeper comprehension under consideration. This thesis does not depend on the practices of the approaches prominent in the discipline of International Relations (IR) such as Realism or Constructivism, nor does it rely on a formal modeling or quantitative or qualitative empirical research. Rather, it tries to reach the best evidence to generate deeper understanding of the relationship among the subject countries, through limiting by two main tenets as the Bush and the Obama

doctrines. A detailed literature survey fulfills using a variety of primary and secondary sources where much of the information gathered through online sources like World Bank, the White House, US State Department, Department of Defense and other government agencies as well as books, articles and numerous MA or PhD theses related to my subject.

The Central Question

This study attempts to take a snap-shot of the intersecting three dimensional relationships among the US, China and India and their reciprocal FP practices by picking out important moments in the chronology of their relations on economy, security and diplomacy. With this background, this thesis addresses a set of primary and secondary research questions. The primary questions are:

- Did the Obama administration pursue a balance policy on China and India including other regional actors involved?
- If yes, what were the positive and negative consequences of it?

The secondary questions are:

- What is FP, and what is FPA?
- Regarding the FPA, to what extent did the Obama administration differ from previous ones?
- What forces drove the US for the “pivot” policy towards Asia-Pacific region?

The thesis investigates the American Foreign Policy (AFP) towards China and India during the Obama era, but the main focus will be on whether there was a balance policy or not during this period drawing a picture of a trajectory of US-China, China-India and India-US relations from 2009 to 2017 in the following four chapters.

Chapter 1 checks some literary information on what FP and FPA stands for and how they work in the modern sense, maintaining the core knowledge of the topic. The chief purpose of the chapter is to clarify the underlying phenomenon affecting the FP decision making process with a series of potential advantages of five models, the Rational Actor Model (RAM), the Bureaucratic Politics Model (BPM)

and the Organizational Process Model (OPM), Inter-Branch Politics Model (I-BPM) and Political Process Model (PPM).

Chapter 2 will delve into the US–India relations with its historical background and diplomatic, economic and security relations in details during Obama era as critical allies in the region.

Chapter 3 will illustrate the US-China relations with its historical background of diplomatic, economic and security relations in details during Obama era as the latter has become the rising threat for India and the US as well.

Chapter 4 will assess the China-India relations with its historical background and diplomatic, economic and security relations in details during Obama era.

FIRST CHAPTER

THEORIZING FOREIGN POLICY

1.1. Foreign Policy Analysis (FPA)

The term “Foreign Policy” (FP) has been defined in many different ways, but the very well known is “The system of activities evolved by communities for changing the behavior of other states and for adjusting their own activities to the international environment” (Modelski, 1962: 6). Padelford and Lincoln define the term as “the key element in the process by which a state translates its broadly conceived goals and interests into concrete courses of action to attain these objectives and pressure its interest” (1976: 197). FP is also “the sum of external relations conducted by an independent actor (usually a state) in international relations” (Hill, 2003: 3). For Robert Jackson and Georg Sorensen, “Foreign Policy are the goals, strategies, measures, methods, guidelines, directives, understandings, agreements and so on, by which national governments conduct international relations with each other and with international organizations and non-governmental actors.” (2007: 223). So FP mainly covers the system of all activities in international environment as the key element of concrete courses of action by independent actor in international relations.

As one can see through the literature, a substantial amount of overlap can be observed between two differing policies; FP and Public Policy (PP) fields, but scholars handle FP separately as it is at the junction between International Relations (IR) and domestic PP (Rosenau, 1971: 307-338). However, according to Lentner, there are FP writers such as Neustadt Graham Allison and Alexander George, chiefly concentrating on the type of analysis which most PP analysts achieve (2006: 172). Several other scholars of FPA come from the discipline of IR and are naturally influenced by realism or liberalism to clarify nations’ behavior within the international system. The study of FP from the point of view of IR examines the interactions of states, institutions and people in a complex and dynamic international system. FP makers use various tools of diplomacy, sanctions and new media to make policies and devise increasingly complicated plans and decisions between domestic

and foreign environments. Too many components ranging from bureaucracies, non-governmental organizations (NGOs), United Nations (UN) agencies, militaries, leaders, think-tanks, lobbyists, criminal organizations to terrorists in addition to ordinary citizens. Functioning within such complicated environment create various outcomes in FP with a potential of deciding on war and thus killing millions of people or on peace and thus creating prosperity for the mankind (Alden & Aran, 2017: 1).

After the end of the WWI and WWII, the international system witnessed an increasing growth of nation-states. Thus, the FP emerged accordingly to determine the necessary decisions and strategies by states (Held, 1999: 14). Since its emergence as a distinct area of study, dating back to the seminal book by Snyder, Bruck, & Sapin (2002, originally published in 1954) (Ishiyama & Breuning, 2011: 338), the FPA has remarkably enhanced its depth encompassing domestic determinants of state behavior. Snyder, Bruck, and Sapin argued that for the FPA it was a necessity to focus on the actors rather than states in decision making in. Later, in 1965, Harold Sprout and Margaret Sprout presupposed that it was psycho-milieu of the individuals and groups that mattered in making the fp. In 1966, James Rosenau theorized that the state behavior regarding the FP would be systematic, scientific, cross-national generalizations, and this gave birth to the idea of the Comparative Foreign Policy (CFP) approach.

At the very beginning, the FPA focused on the state of individual levels in understanding the international system. However, as time passes, the number and density of transnational actors (TNA) have deeply changed the international system into a new interconnected system of different fashions outside of traditional state to state conduction. This situation, more influential in FPA than structural factors or human agency, has already divided the scholars in the FPA into differing schools of thought. Debates over different methodological approaches such as human psychology, organizational studies and rational choice can be said to have contributed a lot to the development of variety in FP differences depending on countries (Alden & Aran, 2017: 5). The fps of countries has driven the course of world history regardless of whether they are big or small. The primary focus here is

the intentions and actions of states aimed at the external world and the response of other actors to these actions. National governments can engage in international relations both with other nation-states and with international organizations aside from the NGOs (Jackson, 1999: 20). The FPA is also based on examining diplomacy through intergovernmental organizations and on economic sanctions, each of which may impose on a government's fps. As governments perceive the international system through their own filters of cultural, organizational or traditional, it is necessary to examine the internal dynamics and decision-making processes of a state in order to understand and explain its fps (Palmer, 1966: 759-60; Neary, 1966: 571-72). State top authorities make many fp decisions and these decisions may have either positive or negative consequences. The fps of a country consists of the self-interest strategies that the state chooses in its relations with other countries to protect its national interests and achieve its own goals. Thus briefly, the main purpose of the fp is to protect the national interests of the state. Currently trade, finance, human rights, environment and cultural issues are, in a way, among the FP elements influencing how countries interact and pursue their own national interests worldwide. For any state national interests, economic, military or cultural are the primary ambitions, and fps are applied to ensure these national interests (Alden & Aran, 2017: 5).

As a branch of Political Science (PS) dealing with how to devise a theory or an empirical work on FP processes and outcomes (Morin, 2018: 2), FPA studies the government activities and its administration. In other words, as a sub-field of the IR, the FPA examines management of external relations and activities of states, involving diplomacy, trade negotiations, cultural exchanges, decision making process, goals, strategies, and agreements related to international and domestic politics (Hudson, 1995: 209-38). What differs FPA from IR is that the former involves individual level (the first of the three levels) in Kenneth Waltz's formulation and the national level (the second of the three), whereas the IR accounts for the international system (the third of the three levels) (1996: 54-57). Hence, FPA focuses more on individualistic processes like the personality of government leaders with more emphasis on actor-specific decisions. With the international context taken

into account, FPA focuses on the continuous interaction between actors and their environment (Morin, 2018: 1). IR, on the other hand, handles such affairs more as interstate or transnational phenomena with less curiosity inside the states. Therefore, as opposed to FPA dealing more with actors or causes of the initial stage, IR is effect-oriented. Indeed, fps could be evaluated through both FPA and IR. FP behavior, according to Smith et al, influences ir of any state shaped through governments' actions and words deliberately or unintentionally (2008: 5). Fps, in this respect, can be analyzed through evaluating actions and words of governments like alliances, pressures, agreements, aids and so forth. One can infer from here that fps of states has shaped global politics and thus ir since the end of cold war. However, the recursive problem in ir is that even in theory it is almost impossible to guess immediate and drastic changes the world faces today. The FPA may be an initial step in forming theoretical grounds of global policy through the assumptions of source of change as individuals or states act accordingly (Farkas, 1996: 343). The rapid changing of diplomacy necessitates FPA to integrate analysis at different levels not just for IR but for international system to study national, regional and global decision-making processes (Morin & Paguin, 2018: 69-77). The decision-making processes of any state with regard to its domestic affairs are also needed for the analysis of its fps because almost every state devises them through their own cultural, economic or organizational filters of the international system. Therefore, these individualistic decisions with respect to the distribution of power balances among countries are somewhat among the determinants of a continuous FP fps the international context. This can also be identified through doctrines, beliefs, rules and principles, as the primary indicators providing infrastructures of states' interest in the international arena.

In brief, the fp is a series of steps involving evaluation of not only international but domestic political environment as well with goal setting, making up of political alternatives, formal decision making process and implementing chosen policy option. At the center of the field are the decision making, research on individual decision makers and the processes with conditions affecting fps and lastly the consequences of these decisions.

1.1.1. Foreign Policy Decision Making (FPDM)

In its decision-making is one of the main phenomena. The FPDM is the choice of individuals, groups and coalitions affecting the international actions of a nation. Foreign policy decisions largely involve uncertainties and significant risks (Renshon & Renshon, 2008: 509). IR is related to the actions of states and their leaders, and the decisions of leaders shape the course of world politics. It is essential to understand how decisions are made to comprehend international outcomes better. FPA is about making choices, but it is also necessary to describe the context in which choices are made. Thus, identifying which individuals, groups, and institutions participate in the decision-making process, and examining the formulation and implementation of policies as well as to trace their consequences can be available. The FPDM, in this context, is composed of four major components according to Robinson and Snyder (1965: 437). These are identifying the decision problem, searching for alternatives, choosing an alternative and executing the alternative. The FPDM is to a degree influenced through the circumstances from fp decision, which, for Pearson and Rochester, is divided into three categories of Macro Decisions, Micro Decisions and Crisis Decisions. Macro decisions are decisions made over a longer period of time involving more players. Micro decisions are usually relatively narrow in scope and are dealt with at lower levels of the bureaucracy. Crisis decisions are characterized by a high sense of problems, a limited timeframe and the highest level of the authorities' involvement (Pearson and Rochester, 1998: 335).

The FPDM is a complicated process involving a number of components such as how fps are handled by the head of state or head of government (such as a Prime Minister (PM)), cabinet, or the Minister of Foreign Affairs. The process is mostly practiced by the fp bodies in state bureaucracy, especially the Ministry of Foreign Affairs or the Ministry of the State. Other ministries and public organizations may also have roles to implement fps. Determining what to do in order to get a thorough FPA, one should comprehend the weakness and strength of the models and their relative inadequacies over each other with their potential compensations. As expected, each model here represents a series of potential advantages and relevant political actions and forms to handle planned fp targets (Graham, 1969: 689-718).

According to Graham, FPA is mainly composed of three models, the Rational Actor Model (RAM), the Bureaucratic Politics Model (BPM) and the Organizational Process Model (OPM). Two additional models have been developed later: the Inter-Branch Politics Model (I-BPM) by Qingshan Tan (1993) and the Political Process Model (PPM) by Roger Hilsman (1993) (<https://online.norwich.edu>, 2017).

1.1.2. Rational Actor Model (RAM)

Origins of the FPA lie in its reaction to realism and its dominance with the depiction of the state and its interactions with other states, either bilateral or multilateral relations such as the UN (Alden & Aran, 2017: 5). The RAM adopts the state as the main unit of analysis, and thus inter-state relations are within the context of its analysis. As the name suggests, the main assumption of this model is that the primary decision-maker is a rational actor. The most appropriate choice is based on the calculated benefits. The “rational actor” refers to the leader and s/he makes the decision taken without any prejudice or influence in theory. Since rationality is seen as the best way to solve problems. The RAM is the process of choosing the right options to achieve the national goal by calculating all possible alternatives and outcomes (Allison, 1999: 18).

The RAM theorists presuppose that choosing what to do comes from the individualistic values and priorities of the rational actor who weighs benefits and costs while devising a plan with best outcomes and calculating the pros and cons as well as evaluating every bit of details of probable action in policy making process. They are far from being totally authorized to prefer whatever and however to implement. They are still off a limited control over limited things. The model pursuits the security and focuses on enhancement of material wealth of a country comparing to others, limiting the scope for cooperation to a series of selective, self-interested strategies (Alden & Aran, 2017: 5). In this model, the centrality of power- particularly manifested to be military power- is seen to be the chief determinant of a state’s ability to sustain a successful fp. Geographic position, material resources and demography are other important components of this equation.

The RAM can be evaluated through three main concepts; thin or thick, opportunity cost, prisoner's dilemma. Rationality can be explained in terms of thin or thick models. As to the thin model, traits are claimed whereas purposes of the actors are the focal point in the thick model. Decision makers act accordingly to the priorities put forward by the structure balances in the international system (Berenskoetter, 2016: 85). Opportunity and benefit costs are other concepts in rationality where one loses probable gains or when single alternative is determined. In rationality, actors consider opportunity costs from every point in order not to lose domestically since almost every opportunity has also its own drawbacks, likely to give rise to benefit costs. The prisoner's dilemma, the third concept is cited in the RAM. Here, two prisoners try to decide on two critical choices, whether to cooperate or to decline. The actors should weigh both negative and the positive outcomes of their preferences. The result is that since the first prisoner does not know what the second prisoner will do, the choice of defection is considered to be better than cooperation. As a result, policy-making depends on a lot of rational outcomes according to the RAM. Although the RAM has proved useful for many purposes, there is powerful evidence that it must be supplemented by frames of reference that focus on the governmental machine of the organizations and political actors involved in the policy process (Hulsman, 1997: 136). Since, arguably, all fp decisions are the products of the political and bureaucratic institutions within which decisions are taken and implemented. Thus, there is a compelling case for broadening the focus to include bureaucracies and institutional procedures. Five questions are posed within the framework of the RAM that Allison (1972: 259) enlisted as follows:

- 1) What is the problem?
- 2) What are the alternatives?
- 3) What are the strategic costs and benefits associated with each alternative?
- 4) What is the observed pattern of national (governmental) values and shared axioms?
- 5) What are the pressures in the international strategic marketplace?

1.1.3. Bureaucratic Politics Model (BPM)

In early 1960s, a group of scholars such as Neustadt, Huntington, Crozier and Schilling, with the chief focus on the individual decision making, became interested in the effect of bureaucracies on fps with empirical insights into how administrative structures of governing affects fps, despite the insights regarded by some FPA scholars as excessively narrow (Alden & Aran, 2017: 46). For them, the central proposition was that decision making processes determine the content of fps. By 1970s, another group of scholars transformed these empirical insights into a theory. According to them, although in many instances the RAM might be useful, it neglected the role of bureaucracy in determining fps (Allison & Halperin, 1972: 47). Even within states, the conflicting outlooks and demands of the fp bureaucracies, such as the ministries of trade and of defense, clearly influence fp decisions in ways that reflect the primacy of parochial concerns over national interest considerations (Alden & Aran, 2017: 8).

For the advocates of the BPM, like Morton Halperin and Graham Allison, analyses of FPDM have to start with various bureaucracies and the various factors that caused them to fulfill the determining role in shaping fps and their outcomes. The BPM can be evaluated to be a kind of theoretical approach to the policy of domestic facilities within the state. Here, the consequences of a policy can be created through games of bargaining among governmental authorities. Moreover, the BPM adopts the view that fp decisions are the products of bargaining between individual leaders in state positions. For the benefit of their states, the participants of such a bargaining the play game with their capabilities, individual priorities and the power they have (Durbin, 2018: 128). By this way of policy-making, the states' behavior of can be evaluated to be either irrational or not. Such irrational behaviors of the states can be explained through political leaders' share of the power with individuals of contrasting attitudes towards what should be done. For the advocates of this model, bureaucracies would often employ the prism of their common attitudes and shared images to study the implications of fps for policy making (Allison & Halperin, 1970: 473).

[The] bureaucratic model sees no unitary actor but rather many actors as players—players who focus not on a single strategic issue but on many diverse intra-national problems as well. Players choose in terms of no consistent set of strategic objectives but rather according to various conceptions of national security, organizational, domestic, and personal interests. Players make governmental decision not by a single rational choice, but by pulling and hauling (Allison & Halperin, 1972: 43).

Last but not the least, the BPM considers fp actions to be important only to the degree that they affect the domestic policies within nationally bounded decision making apparatuses. According to view, the fp is described to be the unintended result of a bargaining process requiring the principal participants. Realists ask the question: Why did this country do this? However, any BPM advocate asks why did this happen?

1.1.4. Organizational Process Model (OPM)

The OPM posits the opinion that the national government is not a unitary actor or an individual policymaker in the state organization. Instead, it is a collection of highly autonomous bureaucracies, or what Allison describes as “a constellation of loosely allied organizations on top of which leaders sit” (1971: 79-80). The OPM rejects the idea that fp is the outcome of rational calculations made by a central authority. Instead, it is the product of an organizational mechanism.

Bureaucracies adopt two strategies to fulfill their tasks and manage complex situations. The first is decentralization. In fact, the bureaucracy is a conglomerate of numerous organizational units that are quite independent of each other. When a problem arises, small tasks are automatically assigned to these organizational units (Morin & Paquin, 2018: 110). The ministries rather than centralized authority would divide the tasks to accomplish and allocate them to smaller organizational units. The bureaucracy’s second strategy for managing complexity is to adopt Standard Operating Procedures (SOPs). The SOPs are rules that set out the conduct that an organizational unit should follow in a given situation. They cover all aspects of government action, ranging from drafting official speeches (Neumann, 2007: 183-

200) to the responses (Kuperaman, 2001: 297-326). There exist organizational SOPs in this model to keep many persons under control, so effective and quick decisions in order not to waste much time in bargaining turns out to be possible. In gathering and analyzing information obtained from different sources such as intelligence, organizations keep their focal point in the process of policy making. In this way decisions are taken by the organizations in routines even though such formalities can mostly be limited or sluggish. These structures are considered to undermine reasoning from time to time and diverge from main purpose, if not coherent and integrated state interest and strategy (Neumann, 2007: 183-200).

All in all, one can conclude that this modeling is applied within strict procedures prepared by bureaucracy. Without strict adherence to the chain of the order, fixed processes and operating formalities, almost no action can be taken. What is highlighted and needed in this model is the formulated organizational process and the full obedience is required. Even through the model represents a good example to promote far easier responses in relatively much shorter period of time under certain circumstances, it is frequently criticized for doing things through limiting popular mobility and restricting organization flexibility and creativity.

1.1.5. Inter-Branch Politics Model (I-BPM)

This model resembles that of the organizational and bureaucratic process models. Nonetheless, what differs this model from the others is that it focuses on reactions and their consequences stemming from collective efforts with the cohesion among other groups of their progress within the main purposes. This model was first mentioned by Robert Pastor (1980) as “inter-branch politics lens” as Qingshan claims that the organizational and bureaucratic groups in and out the states do not react impartially all the time. On the contrary, they need to interact and react bilaterally (1993: 143). There are several theories to define and investigate American Foreign Policy (AFP) and almost all of them are derived from three chief approaches. These are the system-centered, state-centered and society-centered theories (Qingshan, 1993: 144). The system-centered approach focuses on the compelling force of international system on American fps relative to other states in

the international system (Waltz, 1979: 70). For example, the US-China relations can be counted as a case in this respect since it responds to the particular set of constraints by China's security needs, its position in the US-USSR-China triangular relations of the time, and the balance of power (Pollack, 1984: 21; Solomon, 1981: 72). The state-centered theories view fp as a function of institutional rules and role of decision makers transforming national and global constraints into policy (Allison & Halperin, 1972: 55). Society-centered theories focus on pluralistic culture and social forces as an important component of fp (Huntington, 1982: 12; Qingshan, 1993: 144). Contrary to system-centered, state-centered and society-centered theories, the I-BPM benefits the congressional-executive interactive process as the explanatory device to understand the AFP. According to this model, the relation between the President and the Congress, a kind of give-and-take relationship, functions at the core of the AFP. I-BPM theorizes that a political process where two branches of government have to interact and agree to reach a decision as in the American case (Qingshan, 1993: 155).

1.1.6. Political Process Model (PPM)

This model was introduced by Roger Hillsman in *The Politics of Policymaking in Defense and Foreign Affairs* (1992: 19-71), citing that FPDM is designed through too many components, the most influential of which should be placed on those in the offices of President and Congress. The model is like the BPM since both models presuppose different power centers to attain their individual purposes of being the single mind among others or clash of ideas. Whatever the case, this model, differing from the BPM, has a higher opinion of individuality in participants and their purposes within the international politics than organizational or collective groups. Here, Hillsman stipulates that the ideology of individuals having political power makes the influential part of decision-making process (1992: 19-71). However, one can cite this model to be far from having contributions to the FPA, since the latter is needed to comprehend how political decision-making process works.

To sum up, what is clear from above is that an only rational attitude of FPDM not hold up against the various criticisms, whether psychological or empirical in content. At the same time, the insights of the cognitive school thinkers themselves have been criticized for “focusing in on the minute intricacies of human behavior at the expense of useful generalizability” (Carly, 2014: 227). The same thing can be said for other models as well.

1.2. American Foreign Policy (AFP)

Historically, there have existed three main differentiating noteworthy approaches of school of thoughts regarding the AFP, and they are represented by different political attitudes like the Republicans being neorealist, the Democrats being institutionalists and the democrats-neoconservatives in both parties (Hulsman, 1997: 19). All of them differ in the priorities and goals in their fp philosophies. Democracy promoted all over the world as central to their way of thinking is the focal point of the democrats, whereas American national interest is the first and the most important thing to be protected and promoted, as well as capitalism all over the globe according to the mainstream of institutionalists in determining the AFP. There is a drastic conflict between them on the primary level of analysis regarding global conditions (Table 1.1). This split is critical for this thesis since Bush and Obama doctrines represent such divergence, the former being Republican and thus neorealist but the latter being Democrat and hence institutionalists. Democrats admit the state policy is devised primarily through domestic concerns, neorealists think systemic factors and balance of power considerations should be central, and institutionalists presuppose that the international economy and its workings are of the prime significance for fp (Hulsman, 1997: 19).

Table 1.1. American foreign policy schools of thought

	Democratists	Neo-realists	Institutionalists
Goal	Promote Democracy	Promote National interests, stop appearance of a hegemonic rival.	Promote economic liberalism through international institutions
Declinist/Triumphalist	Triumphalist	Declinist	Declinist
Schurmann Code	NATIONALIST/ IMPERIALIST	IMPERIALIST/ NATIONALIST	INTERNATIONALI ST
Assume	Democracies have common values, (i.e. democracies do not go to war with one another).	Nations have fundamentally different values. International relations is a zero-sum game.	Capitalist States are inherently linked and have common interests. Multilateral institutions are the cornerstone for facilitating the world system.
Variations within the currents	HYPER-DEMOCRATISTS/ MODERATE DEMOCRATISTS The difference is in degree but it is qualitative.	REALIST INTERNATIONALISTS/ REALIST ISOLATIONISTS The difference is vast, yet the same ideological roots.	NO MINORITY CURRENT
Academics	Allison, Fukuyama	Kissinger, Nixon	Nye, Keohane
Political Actors	Neoconservatives	DoD, CIA, Republican party	Democratic Party, Presidency
Level of Analysis	Domestic Concerns	Systemic factors, Balance of Power Considerations	International Economy

Source: Hullsman, 1997: 15

The US Department of State is the main body to implement AFP to hold sustainable relations internationally, and the Department works as the leading body whose head, the Secretary of State, advises the President as the principal policy advisor. The US government has relations with almost all nations to sustain international politics with more or less common purposes, which makes up the superpower in the world politics (Laura, 1997: 205). AFP aims to secure the defense and security of the country, determining its fps with other countries and accordingly re-devising future purposes of its national interests and benefits all over the globe (Morin, 2018: 344). This means that national interest is essentially the main factor in

American way of fp with its political, economic, military and humanitarian priority like all countries. From creating and surviving good relations politically, economically and militarily with other countries through international structures like the UN and the NATO, a great many factors and issues are included in the AFP with a lot of functions such as peacekeeping, coordinating with allies in trade, business, and sustaining relief where needed elsewhere in the world as a superpower. The AFP as a world dominant power is itself of a role of steering world economic tendencies and concerns, manipulating them in favor of its international and national interests.

AFP today is the product of long lasting experiences the country has undergone for years. The AFP followed is the manifestation of how the country interacts with another in accordance with the signed international agreements and interests of the countries based on their power in the world politics. Generally, the fp is the key factor in determining criteria on economics, military, security, crime punishment and disasters etc. The fp, according to US State Department is, “[t]o create a more secure, prosperous world for the benefit of the American people...” (<https://www.state.gov>, 2006). AFP is chiefly designed to yield national interests of the country regarding its wellbeing in general, its security and prosperity.

The AFP makers have their national and international purposes in mind while handling the affairs with other countries. The capacity they grasp at hand in international arena stems mainly from the power of the fp they have implemented. Three state branches with close assistance from several governmental organizations produce such an effective AFP (<https://www.state.gov/ofm>, 2019). The first of these branches is the cooperative advisory board, The National Security Council (NSC), which plays the most critical part in the formation of fp with its primary role of implementing fp through treaties and agreements. The President is advised by a variety of members in the council, the Vice President, Secretary of State, Secretary of Defense, Chair of the Joint Chiefs of Staff and the Head of the Central Intelligence Agency (CIA). The second is the Congress with the crucial part to play in designing fp in critical areas like determining export and import tariffs, regulating trade and immigration or even declaring wars. The Congress does three major jobs: ratifying treaties, declaring war and funding. The Congress plays its role in accepting,

changing and rejecting the policies proposed by the President. Here the judicial branch in dictating fp plays a limited part in the formation of the FP (<https://www.whitehouse.gov>,2019).

The medium on which the AFP runs is based mainly on three mainstreams: maintaining the national and international interest of American people, assuring financial wellbeing, and security or safety (<https://www.whitehouse.gov>, 2017). Here, what makes the AFP so up-to-date is that its purposes might change depending on the individual countries and may differ depending on time. The policy can be handled according to state's individualistic or international purposes. For US everything makes sense to the proportion that it makes positive contributions to the American economy. The AFP is devised and implemented on two essential purposes; maintaining international peacekeeping and dominating international economics. Here, international peacekeeping, since mid-1990s, focused on the protection of international peace as the core of its fp through contributions to military or police operations in other countries with negotiating agreements to end conflicts (Lindsay, 2003: 18-24) With the power it gains from being the permanent UN Security Council (UNSC) member, the US is keen to prevent belligerent states' borders, stop illegal drug or weapon trade, and prevent access to sacred sites that terrorist groups might want. As far as international economics is concerned, American companies matter regarding the AFP. With the tax system in which local businesses pay on all domestic and international sales, the US collects taxes from countries with which it has strong ties (<https://www.investopedia.com>, 2019), so creating and thus developing good relations with more countries for better economies are focal point of the American policy makers who regularly work to develop and renew their fp. Since the AFP is composed of various rules and formalities, for the other countries and their leaders, it is beneficial to understand it.

In order to analyze how the AFP works, one needs to know about balance policy when there are more than one powerful county, as the situation in Asia-Pacific region. Balance policy has become a significant part of the AFP at times as a combination of thoughts in ir, hypothesizing and devising different methods and models for the decision makers to act in accordance with its principles. Inasmuch as

the balance theory is one of the most influential approaches of the neorealist model in IR and thus in studying the FPA, it would be beneficial to elaborate it as much as possible.

1.2.1. Balance Theory (BT)

Balance policy comes from realism, highlighting that the stronger a nation's military is, the more it has to say in world politics and is seen as the mechanism that leads to general stability, even as the chief guarantor of stability in the international system (Hullman, 1997: 48). The BT can be defined as the set of policies implemented by a state or a group of states matching their powers to protect themselves against other(s). As it presupposes, national security is enhanced when military capability is distributed since no single state will have military power to dominate the others (Kegley & Wittkopf, 2005: 503). When faced with a critical external threat, a state wishing to form alliances may "balance" or "bandwagon". Balancing is defined as allying with others against the prevailing threat while bandwagoned states have aligned with others against the threat (Walt, 1987: 17).

The BT stipulates that among nations attaining hegemony seems impossible since it is considered be a threat which leads the states to balance against the hegemon. In balancing one or more countries against more powerful states may result in military disadvantage of powerful countries. Sometimes through covert action, the US seeks to achieve its fp objectives by manipulating the internal balance of power in a foreign state (Hastedt, 2004: 105). In BT, states to determine their priorities in accordance with their desire and security without any impact from other powerful states will implement their military facilities whichever they want to limit. This balance should be derived from the structural elements of power hierarchy itself stemming chiefly from theorists of neo-realism or structural realism. According to Waltz, neorealist theory makes a few pre-suppositions about the system, the interests and motives of the actors and the constraints that all states face, which ultimately lead to behaviors such as balancing. For Waltz, the most important contributors of neorealist theory (1979: 122), international affairs are anarchic and thus states are to behave in accordance with balance. The inevitable results of anarchy will lead states

to rely on their domestic resources for sustainable welfare and security, if they face threats from other states (Waltz, 2001: 160). For Waltz, the actors in power systems are also responsible for their own survival, some of which do this while trying to preserve only their own survival and some of which do this with an expansionist policy to get a global dominancy (1979: 118). The tendency results in an anarchic atmosphere where all the actors behave under the anarchic order. From here, Waltz concludes that states will inevitably behave in ways prescribed by the balance of power (2001: 210).

There seem two means of balancing policy in which a state's power can be enhanced through internal and external efforts. For the former, a state economic and military power must be strengthened to compete internationally through its own independent capacity towards a potential hegemon. As the states survive in such an anarchic system, internal balancing systems are regarded as more reliable (Waltz, 2001: 168). On the other hand, as for the latter, to strengthen its economic and military power and be able to encounter a hegemon, any state must cooperate with alliances (Wohlforth et al., 2004: 214). External balancing is something similar to strategic alliance agreement by means of which states combine their power when a stronger state or states turn out to be a potential danger for smaller ones.

To be brief, power balancing is unlike the philosophies of bandwagoning in which less powerful states or smaller states can guarantee their security and well-being by allying with a dominant power. However, through bandwagoning, smaller states reward and accept powerful countries to proceed on being the big boss in the international affairs and so they contribute to undermine international balance system by submitting themselves to the big boss (Thazha, 2005: 97). In the balance of power system, forming alliance with other similar powers is to the interest of states to create a stronger defense system and this situation is vital to let powerful states become too strong and dominant. According to Waltz, it is the weaker states not the stronger countries that threaten the power of balance policy (Waltz, 2001: 168).

There are difficulties, hindrance and criticism for not only the internal but the external forms of balancing as well. As to the internal balancing, allocating resources in an effective way for the economic and military contributions requires high costs

(Pape, 2005: 7- 45). When state balances independently with expanding its capacity from many different perspectives, it no doubt provokes the major power and other neighboring states. That is, if a state is set on building up its military power to increase its security, it alerts other states and creates unfavorable conditions for the international system (Jervis, 1978: 176 ; Jeffrey W. Taliaferro, 2000: 179) as the extension of prisoners' dilemma. Moreover, in this case, other states become more likely to be offensive and escalate hostility against others hindering collective security. External balancing too faces a lot of difficulties and criticism. This kind of balancing is much more common in practice but is less likely to be successful as the international system is anarchic in nature and such sort of a balancing relies on a coherent alliance system, which is in turn difficult to endure for a long time (Mearsheimer, 2001: 139-161). Such a situation often forces countries to self-help approaches, leading to significantly undermine reliance and trust among the actors. That's why, even though external balancing has more practices in the world, it works on temporary arrangements which should not be overly trusted on.

In the international system, there have always been insecurity and uncertainty stemming from the unpredictable responses of states and so it has been difficult for the states to manage a sustainable hierarchical cooperation with allies (Waltz, 2001: 105). Suppose a state maintaining it for a long period of time, but in time, coordination between allies may pose some problem since it is never an easy task to arrange things in a perfect coordination for a long time (Pape, 2005: 10-17.). While in a corporation with allies in an effort to balance externally, each state in the alliance has tendency to achieve the very same purposes to be able balance a major power. Therefore, this common interest will force them to act accordingly on their behalf. Sharing the costs to get intended results, however, will likely result in the demonstration of exploitation among the allied actors. Such a position where the participants are reluctant for the costs will most likely make it questionable to achieve the results and maintain the alliance (Olson, 1971: 2-3).

The chief critique, in this respect, is that such a corporation between smaller states occurs in time of rise of a hegemon but they react quite less once hegemony is already established (Brooks & Wohlforth, 2005: 219). Keeping this in mind, this

theory can be said to fall short of explaining factual occurrences on earth similar to that of America. Currently, the US is the only superpower with a better establishment primacy than any other state in the world. External balancing theory does not have much to say about this situation, and that is why soft balancing may replace with hard balancing¹.

With the US being the single hegemon on earth, according to Waltz, uni-polarity becomes the worst and short lasting. Even if the US acts in a way that other states want, secondary powers will not be fully satisfied due to its future actions and intentions in the absence of balancing policies. As an example in the past, Hitler in Germany used to have aggressive and expansionist intentions to conquer and dominate other states and sought to create a single dominating state with an aim to hold the international distribution of power into balance (Waltz, 1979: 214). Among the secondary powers today in a uni-polar world where America leads, soft balancing comes to the fore rather than the problems that not just internal but external forms of hard balancing as well have brought about. Here, soft balancing stands as a favorable alternative to delay or undermine actions of uni-polar power, the US, by means of non-military tools (Pape, 2005: 10-17). In soft balancing, there might be several mechanisms that the states can indulge to exclude the superpower from the process. Such mechanism can be counted according to Pape as diplomatic coalitions, international institutions and agreements, statecraft mechanisms such as territorial denial and so on (Pape, 2005: 53).

During the Obama administration, no state has ever balanced the US since it has not exhibited aggressive actions and it has acted in accordance with the sovereign existence of others under available level of security measures (Pape, 2005: 7). However, during Bush administration, the US gave some signs of unilateralism, and it made other governments uneasy as a result of its ambitions. The US administered so many foreign policies such as the war in Iraq in spite of great opposition from the others that it left the secondary powers nothing but pursuing indirect soft balancing

¹ Hard balancing is the traditional counter balancing of stronger states among the major powers, whereas soft balancing is an attempt to stretch balance of power theory to encompass an international system through limited arms buildup, ad hoc cooperative exercises, or collaboration in regional or international institutions (Brooks & Wohlforth, 2005: 72-97).

policies to limit the US (Pape, 2005: 35). Iraq invasion is considered to be clear evidence showing how much harm a uni-pole can give to a region if major states are provoked or challenged. Through the Iraq war, the US ensured that its superiority and primacy is never challenged by any states.

In brief, it is evident that, though not accepted globally and not influential in the international realm, soft balancing with its potential will engage in balance policies of both present and the future. In this way secondary powers get the opportunity to get their attitudes to implement in the international system and maintain their presence under the control of major leaders. In any way, almost all states rather than major one will somehow be a part of soft balancing, which never means that traditional balance policies like hard balancing will come to an end. According to balance of power theorists, acting together (bandwagoning) can be handled since geography has the dominance in preferring to balance or to transfer the blame to some other countries. The nearer a hegemon country is, the more likely surrounding countries act all together whereby the cost of balancing is more likely to lessen, while its benefits increase. On the other hand, since distant states are sure that the very first victim of hegemonic expansion will be the ones close to the hegemon, the cost of balancing is supposed to be paid by them. Balancing is also modeled through the power of countries. For example, if the country is too weak, it will most probably hide from such an action against another candidate for hegemony. For this point of view, countries with power to bandwagon all the hegemony will act together for balancing. The poorer a country the less likely it is to balance. With all these in mind, system of balancing will expand in introducing new powers into the international system. If countries share a land border then they are expected to act together towards the hegemon. With the poorer countries neighboring, system will no doubt expand geographically. The tribes and the groups in the area will be included to enter the system functionally. Whenever international norms are accepted these particular identities and somehow include them in power balancing process, the effect of creating power balance becomes much stronger. However, according to Kaufman, uni-polar or hegemonic systems will be naturally unstable, since balancing

processes are likely to push the system back to bi- or multi-polarity (Kaufman, 2007: 42).

Based on the theory, he defined some propositions on the issue;

- Unbalanced multi-polarity; a. diffusion of advanced military b. states be nearer the threat c. the more powerful a state is, it is more likely to indulge in balancing,

- Uni-polarity or hegemony emerges

- Imperial expansion to expand, bringing in new opponents in the balance of power.

- Systems of group identities tend to reproduce balancing dynamics.

- Democratic and republican forms of governments

In brief, the AFP generally in the minds of the Democrats should be a state's policy motivated primarily by domestic concerns, but neo-realists feel systemic factors and balance of power considerations as central, yet institutionalists believe the workings of the international economy as the primary determinant of any fp (Hullman, 1997: 19). George W. Bush and Barack Obama stand with their doctrines differing in philosophy of their own since they both chose different mechanisms of fp and different forms of presidency depending on their political stance. Bush was the "president of wars" in pursuit of unilateralist, illegitimate and even illegal military interventions anywhere on the earth, while Obama was in favor of more multilateral attitudes to ir in the hope of gaining global support for American engagements (Hlavsova, 2017: 1). Put differently, the AFP has evolved into two main conflicting doctrines recently; the Bush Doctrine and the Obama Doctrine. In order to correctly evaluate the different fps during their presidencies, it would be beneficial to detail and deepen the philosophy and implementation of the AFP through these filtering doctrines.

1.2.2. Bush Doctrine

“*Bush Doctrine*” is a term referring to an approach of the AFP practiced by the then President George W. Bush from January 2001 to January 2009 (Jones, 2018: 23). Within the first two years of Bush’s first presidential term, the US had already been militarily involved in Afghanistan as well as in Iraq while offering the American public a strong rhetoric against Iran (Hlavsova, 2017: 2). At the beginning of the second term, President Bush underlined that “the survival of liberty in our land increasingly depends on the success of liberty in other lands” (2005) revealing that only democracies would not promote terrorism. Such a democracy promotion was a kind of shift from the earlier rhetoric “became an effective rhetorical device for blunting domestic critics” (Lindsay, 2011: 769-770).

After September 11, 2001, the AFP has altered radically focusing primarily on its security priorities (Bush, 2001a). This meant that fp understanding changed and transformed into struggling with global terrorism. Bush administration declared the world that they would make no distinction between terrorists who committed these acts and those who harbor them (Bush, 2001c). This would turn out to be the common standpoint of early 21st century to international terror, and this philosophy is collectively called as the “Bush Doctrine”. According to the doctrine, the US would “go solo” in conducting war, “pre-emptive strikes” and regime change “state building” (<https://pdfs.semanticscholar.org>). With this in mind, the Bush administration felt that the US should have the right to start first strikes towards terrorists and countries supporting them to prevent likely occurrences of terrorist attacks beforehand. This is required for self-defense (<https://govinfo.library.unt.edu>). Regarding democracy and its prevalence all over the world, America has the right to promote it by force, if needed in other countries, became a focal strategy in American security so the AFP.

Three of the main points of the doctrine: pre-emption, acting alone if necessary and extending freedom. Instead of the containment and deterrence policy, this doctrine adopts pre-emption (Gupta, 2008: 182). The basis of this policy is that some states threaten American security, hostile to the US, and develop chemical,

biological and nuclear weapons of mass destruction. Besides that, the Bush Doctrine encourages the US to cooperate with international organizations, such as its allies and the UN, to deal with threats to world peace. However, the security strategy states that the US “will not hesitate to act alone when necessary”. And the third major element of the Bush Doctrine is to “extend the benefits of freedom across the globe” in order to build “a balance of power that favors freedom” (<https://www.crf-usa.org>, 2003).

The philosophy behind the Bush Doctrine can be summarized through Bush’s addressing of second inaugural: “it is the policy of the United States to seek and support the growth of democratic movements and institutions in every nation and culture, with the ultimate goal of ending tyranny in our world.” Certain principles of this fp were: “the rejection of ‘moral equivalency in international affairs’ and the repudiation of the social work theory of terrorism (Owens, 2008: 4). Social work theory of terrorism is the common belief that poverty and hunger bring about reaction to inequalities and hence terrorism. However, Bush Doctrine presupposes that the 9/11 attacks were targeting directly the American independence and thus a result of a murderous ideology. According to the doctrine, the solution of such turmoil in anywhere in the world can be handled and should be solved through democratic regime change.

The Bush Doctrine presupposes that attitudes of old order towards terrorism are never enough to tackle with terrorists and such regimes that to get weapons of mass destruction. Under this doctrine, the US has the right to declare war to prevent itself from terrorist attacks. The Bush Doctrine has four basic components: 1) American government determines domestic and international policies; 2) threats of modern world can be handled by new policies; 3) America is still willing to act unilaterally if necessary; 4) The US defies the word politics in accordance with its primacy to maintain peace and stability (Jervis, 2003: 365). By the end of the Bush administration, the limits to American power were apparent in that American troops were still in war in various parts of the world such as in Iraq or Afghanistan in spite of more than half trillion USD military expenditure, the US did not gain supplementary benefits that Bush had predicted from Iraq and Afghanistan, and allies

from different parts of the world did not rally around his leadership but rather they stood away (Lindsay, 2011: 770). With all these hindrance inherited from the Bush administration, Obama started in the office on January 20, 2009 with the promise of transformation.

1.2.3. Obama Doctrine

It is seen in the literature that “Obama Doctrine” has been and still is a major source of debate among experts. Some claim that there was no Obama Doctrine (Wozniak, 2015: 57; Danforth, 2016: 1-4) whereas others argue there was a doctrine but they could not agree on its components (Goldberg, 2016: 70-90, Drezner, 2011: 25). Some, like Kaufman argue that it was a term of prudence (2014: 441), but some others like (Gelb, 2012: 18) claim that it was just an elusive period. Whatever the case, the Obama Doctrine necessitates a term usually referring to the various principles of the FP, which the then President Obama practiced during his days.

Obama entered office with a promise to change the style and substance of his predecessor FP (Friedman, 2016: 124). The situation was like a conundrum as the US economy was passing through a severe financial and economic crisis and potential actors in different parts of the world specifically China, presumed to act contrarily to American interests in their regions (Hlavsova, 2017: 4). Initially, Obama chose to negotiate over the problems as in the case of Iran, China and Russia, opening a welcoming hand to the Muslim world as well. These were met with praise and appreciation in majority of those places. However, in time, these initiatives were lost and hopes started to dim all over the world. Obama’s position at the political center in the AFP has enabled him to deflect classical Republican charges of liberal weakness that always kept Democrats on the defensive (Gelb, 2012: 21). Therefore, unlike Bush, Obama employed multilateral, internationalist or Wilsonian stance through more neoliberal orientation. He devised to cut back military expenditure with a reduction in international military fidelity and interests. He was so determined that the strategy should be employed whatever the consequences in some particular regions would have a likelihood of new turmoil (Wozniak, 2015: 57-67). Obama Doctrine was devised to be free from the dominant effects of the executive with new

pursuit for the opinion leaders like journalists to define what main principles of the doctrine are (Vitenberg, 2013: 37). Various tenets can be forwarded to make the Obama doctrine understood better: 1) protect the world and the US from the arrogance of American power; 2) embrace multilateralism, rather than unilateralism or narrow coalitions of the willing, as the default presumption for American grand strategy; 3) minimize the importance of ideology and regime type; 4) use force as a rule sparingly, proportionally, multilaterally for limited goals, with limited means and only as a last resort and establish a high burden of proof to justify exceptions to this rule; 5) focus more on soft power and unconventional threats rather than hard power and great power rivalry; 6) conciliate and accommodate actual and potential rivals (Kaufman, 2014: 443-446).

In practice, however, it is not difficult to observe the contradiction between the ambitious rhetoric of American exceptionalism and a policy course of limited engagement and military restraint exposed the limits of Obama's strategic adjustment (Löfflmann, 2019: 10). With its weakness, Obama administration was perceived as being too naïve to counter aggressive powers like China and passive enough not to enforce American interest through military intervention (Löfflmann, 2019: 11). The humble difference in the AFP discourse undermined the credibility of Obama's course both at home and outside (Inboden, 2014: 3) and provoked widespread criticism of Obama's passivity and weakness, not only in Republican circles, but also among elite media outlets and liberal interventionists among the Democrats (Löfflmann, 2019: 9-11).

All in all, it is not impossible to utter that the focal point of Obama Doctrine is the "*negotiation and collaboration*" instead of disagreement and unilateralism as in the earlier doctrines (Kelley, 2012: 1146-60). One of the chief goals of the Obama administration can be called as constructive management of rising Chinese power and thus its main strategic competitor, India, which led the list of key countries in the world sharing with American vital interests and the willingness to do something about it (Kaufman, 2014: 451). Now there is need to deepen the investigation over the relations between the US, China and India to see whether Obama administration chose to implement a balance policy in the region.

SECOND CHAPTER

US-INDIA RELATIONS

India, located in Asia on a critically significant area (Mingst & Arreguin-Toft, 2017: 2-7) is surrounded with Pakistan in the west, China in the north, Nepal, Bhutan, Bangladesh and Burma from the land and has the connection routes of ships through Arabian Sea and Indian Ocean with other countries (Figure 2.1). This makes India an indispensable partner for the US since it is geographically between the two most immediate problematic regions for American national interests (Blackwill & Chandra, 2011: 3). India is geopolitically important to the US, and it has a number of formidable obstacles which hinder progress along the pathway towards closer ties with US. The relations differ frequently depending on changing FP of the global actors towards the region. In order to understand the relations between the two countries during the Obama era, it is worth a short look at the historical background of the Indo-American relations first.



Figure 2.1. Asia

(Mingst & Arreguin-Toft 2017)

2.1. US-India Relations-Historical Background

American relations with India has fluctuated within ups and downs on the edge of conflicts and tensed atmosphere in Asia (Roy, 1990: 385-408). The relations technically date back to 1792 when George Washington appointed Benjamin Joy as the then US Consul in Calcutta soon after he became the President. Over a period of approximately 150 years up to the early 1940s, nothing of significance characterized Indo-US political relations primarily because the US has interacted with India as a part of the British Empire. It was Franklin Roosevelt's advent to the WWII which activated American interests in India (Dixit, 2002: 285-6). However, as for the Indians, in 1930s they were not familiar with the US, a distant land that seemed vastly different from their own dusty and impoverished sub-continent. There used to be few Indian people living in the US - the census counted only 2,400 in 1940- most of whom were farmers coming from Punjab at the beginning of the 20th century (Isaacs, 1980: 269). The Indo-US relations during the British Raj era were almost negligible (Furber, 1965: 95-116). But, the 1930s and early 1940s witnessed the US being one of the most supportive of the Indian independence movement opposing the British Empire (Dulles, 1955: 1-18). The beginning of relations between India and the US marks the WWII when India became the home base of the American China Burma Indian Theater (CBI) (Jogdankar, 2019: 327) in the war against Japan. Tens of thousands of American soldiers brought all kinds of advanced technology and money to India, and they did not leave until 1945. The then American President Franklin D. Roosevelt's demand for India's independence was severely rejected by the then British PM Winston Churchill causing serious tension between them. Roosevelt had long encouraged England to disengage India since the US opposed colonialism as a former British colony and expected a major American role in a post-colonial era. Meanwhile, India became the main American base to help China (Herman, 2008: 472-539). During the Truman era, in the late 1940s, the US began to look at India positively because of American planners who viewed her diplomatically more valuable than Pakistan (McMahon, 2010: 11).

With the Indian independence in 1947, inspired by the liberty in the way America's founders (Singh, 1983: 1011), the actual Indo-US relations have started.

Well educated in Britain, articulated in many scientific and social sciences, and influenced by Lenin's legacy deeply enough to apply methods of economic planning in his country, Jawaharlal Nehru² chose "nonalignment" as the state policy from very beginning (Singh, 1983: 1012). Early years, AFP did not have any crucial interest in South Asia while its involvement was episodic as outcomes of other interests like the containment of the Soviet Union or China (Cohen, 1987: 74). From 1953 to 1960, as a result of neutral personal relations between Truman and Nehru, Truman could not create as good relation as that of Eisenhower. During this period, Indo-US trade and economic relations enlarged especially Indo-US technological cooperation bore fruit in heavy industry and nuclear power (Rahmatullah, 1980: 13).

During Eisenhower administration, the fact that the US insisted on the withdrawal of the British, French, and Israelis from India impressed Nehru, and he had not expected the US to take such a firm stand against its allies in favor of Nasser, a neutralist with whom Washington had poor relation (Naunihal: 118). During the Eisenhower administration, the UNSC's Operations Coordinating Board (OCB) reviewed progress of South Asia Policy on a semi-annual basis, first under UNSC, 5409 of February 1954, and later UNSC 5701 of January 1957. These reviews, later largely de-classified, provide an excellent and authentic evaluation on the official American thinking towards the sub-continent during the 1950s. In 1956, the UNSC's OCB charged with monitoring implementation of American policy around the world, reported gloomily that there had been little if any improvement in the Indo-US relations. Despite Ambassador Cooper's having established friendly relations with the PM Nehru and somewhat better atmosphere, the OCB concluded that basic policy differences remained unresolved (Frus, 1955-57: 3).

Economic aid for India increased a little though Kennedy appeared considerably more sympathetic to the aspiration of developing nations and less antagonistic towards non-alignment. The glum mood of 1969 about India turned New Delhi to no longer be seen as having critical strategic importance in

²**Jawaharlal Nehru** (born November 14, 1889 - died May 27, 1964, New Delhi): the principal leaders of India's independence movement in the 1930s and 40s, became the first PM of independent India(1947-64), established parliamentary government and got the fame for his neutralist (nonaligned) policies in foreign affairs (Encyclopedia Britannica).

Washington's eyes, and India became just a big country full of poor people (Thornton, 1992: 95).

The US and India were estranged during the cold war (1947-89) despite the fact that the two states shared democratic political values (Kux, 2002: 57). Stemming from the effects of peripheral interests, the US set erratic strategic ties, to many scientists like Robert L. Hardgrave Jr, 1984, with Pakistan, and this affected the course of the Indo-US relations. Hence, from 1950 onwards the US began to regard India as “the eastern flank” and accordingly a link among alliances, which meant India was negligible but critically important one for the containment of other actors in the region (Robert, 1984: 45).

In 1980s, a regional system of five chief components evolved: the Soviet Union, China, the US, India, and Pakistan in which India and Pakistan were about to reach military nuclear capability (Cohen, 1987: 74). The situation by 1982 turned out to be polarized along the East-West lines (Chadda, 1986: 1119). The US was of the opinion that relations with Pakistan were nearly only a function of India's relations with the Sino-American axis, through which they despairingly hoped that the US might need India to curb the threat of alleged Chinese power (Sen, 2001: 109). Cohen speaks about America's dilemmas in South Asia about pursuing a six year sustained importance given to Pakistan. Majority of them included India, and one of the dilemmas was that building up Pakistan was not only for containment of the Soviet Union but for that of India, the region's dominant power and the state which Islamabad identified as its chief threat. Another dilemma was that India not just had the potential to cut the ties of Pakistan by intervening in the relations of Islamabad with the US through military pressure but also possessed the option to defeat such a contribution through enhancing its ties with the Soviet Union (Cohen, 1987: 75).

One can assume that official Indo-US relations began in August 1982, when Indira Gandhi, the then Indian PM, visited the US. India's chief goal in her visit at the time was to obtain diplomatic room for maneuvers with the Soviet Union after its invasion of Afghanistan, which India had become progressively uncomfortable with. The PM also sought to contribute to the economic development of her country while accessing to dramatically needed technology to modernize Indian production (Bajpai,

2005: 3577). However, the real turning point came to being in 1985 when her successor, Rajiv Gandhi, the new PM, had a state visit to the US in June of the same year (Chadda, 1986: 1118; Talele, 2003: 666; Bajpai, 2005: 3577) out of which India had a greater interest in defense cooperation between the two countries and in particular the sale of defense equipment. Further, Fulbright programs dominated the academic and cultural studies, supported by two foundations: Rockfeller, specialized in supporting agricultural and western scholarship programs and Ford, concentrated aggressively on human and education issues (Talele, 2003: 666).

Namely, after the cold war ended, Indo-Soviet equations became non-existent and then India initiated steps to establish closer relations with the US so the Indo-US relation was articulated in 1992 (Dixit, 2002: 285). They started more direct military ties, with visits, exercises, and exchanges of personnel between the two defense establishments (Gupta, 2005: 22; Bajpai, 2005: 3577). Till 2001, the Jaswant Singh-Strobe Talbott talks shaped relations between the two, but under the power of George W Bush, 2001-2009, the US was willing to share more with India as China was explicitly regarded as the long term threat to both the US and India (Bajpai, 2005: 3577; Kux, 2002: 67). With the National Security Strategy Document of 2002, India grew its economic, political, scientific and military significant in the world, and it cooperated with the US on counter-terrorism, high technology, and various regional and global issues through established joint forums (Mansingh, 2005: 2222; Shuja, 2006: 37-43; Chenoy & Chenoy, 2007: 3549). India and the US improved their relations on a various aspects through the Next Steps in Strategic Partnership (NSSP) announced by Vajpayee and Bush in 2004 (Mansingh, 2005: 2222). The main reasons of improvements in the relations between the US and India under the Bush administration can be three according to Gupta (2005): (1) the existence of an Indian diaspora in the US (2) the tactical need to coordinate strategies with India following the demands of the War on Terror (3) the Bush administration's belief that India could play a role in the long run as a strategic partner of the US (Gupta, 2005: 23).

All in all, just before the Obama era, the relations between the US and India had lastly been shaped through the Bush administration. The Bush administration was of the opinion that closer strategic cooperation with India should be in

America's long-term interest (Virmani, 2005: 4610). Therefore, the US devised to make strategic investments in India, the returns of which would accrue to the US after a decade or two in terms of a more stable balance of power in Asia and hence a more peaceful Asia with reduced future risk to US global leadership. As for the enormous gap between the US and Indian strategic capability and assets during the Bush administration, India had the potential to gain more in the following decades from genuine strategic cooperation with the US than the latter could do from India. As a consequence, it was to the interest of India to use the opportunity provided by the US to enhance its strategic capability and global power without abandoning traditional sources of strategic technology like Russia.

2.2. US-India Relations During the Obama Era

The period starting roughly with 2009 and ending with early 2017 is defined as the Obama Era. It was such an era that when the US chose him to be its 44th president for his first term, Obama certainly had "the overwhelming support" in the world as well as majority of the electorate's votes. Moreover, many foreign observers were looking at the new president as somebody who would now return the US to the benevolent superpower they wished it to be (Maass, 2018: 2). However, when Obama took the office in 2009, he faced daunting domestic and foreign crises and the then AFP was based on the agreement signed on July 18 2005, when the US and India declared "the most wide-ranging partnership in the history of their bilateral relations, covering the economy, energy security, democracy promotion, defense cooperation, and high technology and space cooperation" (Malone and Mukherjee, 2009: 1064).

In the initial phase of the Obama era, there occurred a lot of distinct voices about how America should behave strategically towards Asia-Pacific world; for some, the USA would be expelled from the region if it could not keep enough defense and strategic deterrence to contain China (Zhao, 2018: 89) as the rational actor in the region. For some others, America was the champion of global engagement and should focus on the order of liberal economy, stability and security (Ikenberry, 2011: 122) as those who advocate the OPM. Still others admitted that the

US should be an ‘offshore balancer’ as the most important goal of America’s grand strategy³ was to prevent the emergence of another formidable regional hegemon (Mearsheimer, 2014: 157).

America’s grand strategy changed dramatically just after the collapse of the Soviet Union so the end of the Cold War (Zhao, 2018: 88). However, China grew up in pace specifically in terms of economic, technological and military aspects. Even in 2010, China had already turned out to be the second largest economy while it was the top manufacturing country of the world by output, which the USA occupied for around 110 years (Kollewe & McCurry, 2011: 125; Marsh, 2011: 23-27).

Obama administration’s foreign orientations at the beginning, especially during the first three years, were devised to emphasize a proportion of contrast to those of the previous Washington’s evolving "Af-Pak" policy⁴. This was like a proxy to the Indian administration (Kirk, 2010: 147) including India as a security concern (Vijayalakshmi, 2017: 50).

However, in the third year in power, in place of previous AFP towards India, Obama and the then Secretary of State Hillary Clinton with the individuality in participants and his purposes within the international politics as means of Political Process Model (PPM) cited in 2011 a series of declarations that the USA would intensify its vital roles in Asia-Pacific (Zhao, 2018: 91), They indicated a broader shift in the AFP to Asia popularly known as the ‘pivot to Asia,’ and this was a wider approach to values, rooted in concepts of “smart power” and a greater determination to engage allies and partners (Malone and Mukherjee, 2009: 1071; Harsh, 2015: 48). The policy included; (1) military rebalancing; the US military power became the center of gravity, consolidating its leadership in the region; (2) diplomatic rebalancing; the US successfully intervened the regional multilateral mechanisms and retained its diplomatic influence and status in the region, and (3) economic

³Grand strategy is a set of ideas for orientating a country’s roles in the world and prioritizing the limited national resources towards attaining the goals and interests in the long-term (Dueck, 2005: 198).

⁴The strategy of the Obama Administration for Afghanistan and Pakistan, in which the US offers peculiar challenges and potential opportunities for Pakistan such as the possibility of a long-term strategic relationship with the US and the creation of a regional security environment addressing Pakistan's pervasive sense of national insecurity, especially vis-à-vis Afghanistan and India (Kirk, 2010: 1).

rebalancing; Obama underlined that Asia-Pacific was so critical to the US economic recovery and growth (Robinson, 2011) thus the salvation of the US economy stemmed from its economic ties with the Asia-Pacific (Zhao, 2018: 95). In the end of the era, the US achieved to label China to be “aggressive”, “assertive” and “threats”, through changing the regional patterns. These were the outcomes of behaving internationally as Rational Actor Model (RAM) stipulates.

This was such a big change to the US military and diplomatic engagement with the Asia-Pacific that it was called the Obama Doctrine although Obama is, to some, not regarded to have developed a kind of doctrine (Sarker, 2016: 156). So, one can easily see that Obama experienced various modelling of decision making process in the region. Whatever the fluctuations, at the end of a decade of rapprochement, both sides reestablished an understanding that the US realized that India from that time onwards should not be left to the treat from the American Af-Pak policy as indicator of the overall strength of the strategic partnership, the tendency of Obama’s first years (Kirk, 2010: 161). Moreover, as part of its new Asia-Pacific strategy, the US was to strengthen India in all chief sectors of national development with an aim to make it a global power ramparting Chinese influence in the region (Blackwill & Chandra, 2011: 23-24). The ‘global strategic partnership’ with India during the Obama era was pursued with frequent high-level visits and exchanges such as the PM Modi’s visit in September 2014 producing Vision Statement and Joint Statement followed by Obama’s visit to India in January 2015 as the Chief Guest at India’s Republic Day (Vijayalakshmi, 2017: 52). In addition, there were ministerial level dialogues involving home (Homeland Security Dialogue-HSD), finance (Financial and Economic Partnership-FEP), commerce (Trade Policy Forum-TPF), HRD (Higher Education Dialogue), Science & Technology (Joint Commission Meeting on S&T) and energy (Energy Dialogue) (Vijayalakshmi, 2017: 52). All these results necessitate successful diplomacy and strategy in domestic, regional and international perspectives, and this no doubt means sustainability not only for better prosperity but for currently the prosperity of the following generations as well.

2.2.1. US-India Relations on Diplomacy and Strategy

The diplomatic and strategical dimensions made up the core components of AFP towards India during the Obama era, including alliance and partnership or economy and trade. However, the AFP from devising and planning to acting to reach determined objectives gave rise to positive or negative economic or security consequences to be handled in the following sections.

Long before taking the office, Obama signaled the significance of maintaining American superiority and frequently stressed the importance of restoring the US leadership, not only through military capabilities but also the “use of all elements of American power to keep the US safe, prosperous, and free”. It was then translated by the secretary Clinton into the concept of “smart power”, defined as “the full range of tools at our disposal: diplomatic, economic, military, political, legal, and cultural” (Rahawestri, 2010: 117). On the other hand, India’s capability began to extend well beyond the realm of military, economic, and global diplomatic power. Its culture and diplomacy generated goodwill in its extended neighborhood. New Delhi had positive relations with critical states in the Middle East, in Central Asia, in Southeast Asia, and with important powers such as Brazil, South Africa, and Japan—all of strategic value to the US, with its soft power manifesting in wide swaths of the world (Blackwill & Chandra, 2011: 6).

Diplomatically, the Obama administration opposed to the implementation of previous foreign policies from the very beginning. With the contrast to Bush administration, the Obama era led the US be the leading foreign power in South Asia and to sustain good relations with both India and Pakistan (Sutter, 2009: 195). The US under Obama also changed it into softening the image of American unilateralism fostered earlier by the Bush doctrine. Clinton also emphasized that the AFP would be based on “a marriage of principles and pragmatism” and “cooperative engagement”, since the US “could not solve the problems of the world alone, and the world could not solve them without America” (Rahawestri, 2010: 117). The US also accomplished unprecedented good relations with Beijing and Taipei at the same time but that situation started to emerge during the Bush years and strengthened with the election

in 2008 as the President, Ma Ying-jeou, a Taiwanese politician who served as President of the Republic of China from 2008 to 2016 (Sutter, 2009: 195).

As a benefit of India, the administration in 2010 began to resist Beijing's maritime claims in the South China Sea by declaring the Pivot to Asia Strategy, which put India at its center (Vijayalakshmi, 2017: 50). Within the third year in power, President Obama, in his momentous policy speech on January 3, 2012, "rebalance toward the Asia-Pacific region" described India as the US "indispensable strategic partner" whose cooperation was vitally essential for "future stability and growth" of the region. He took initiative to begin strategic dialogue with India in order to further expand the scope of and solidify strategic partnership between New Delhi and Washington for a safer and more secure world order (Jain, 2016: 9). In 2016, Modi and Obama asserted that both countries would mutually support each other in science, and they reached an agreement to build a Laser Interferometer Gravitational Wave Observatory in India. They also welcomed the formation of the India-US Joint Oversight Group to facilitate agency coordination of funding and oversight of the Project, and National Aeronautics and Space Administration and Indian Space Research Organization in the forefront of Indo-US Space cooperation (Vijayalakshmi, 2017: 54). All in all, the triggers of diplomatic and strategic calculus in America's Asia policy under Obama, while catalyzing defense trade took forward other areas. At the end, Obama had firmly placed India-US strategic partnership on a firm footing based on the institutionalized negotiated approach (Vijayalakshmi, 2017: 54). It is worth noting that the Indian favorable response and constructive approach towards AFP contributed a great deal to the positive trajectory of Indo-US diplomatic partnership.

In brief, underscoring India's importance initially, Obama administration approached the frictions over the implementation of the Nuclear Deal through the first meeting and Indian concerns over Af-Pak Strategy through intricate diplomatic negotiations. For this reason, de-hyphenation with Pakistan continued, but after a disastrous meeting with the Chinese, Pivot to Asia Strategy was put in place. The trigger that catalyzed US thinking at that point was the growing assertiveness of the Chinese and Indian strategic potential as a check against rising China. This reversal

was noteworthy in itself, but it impacted even more strongly on the defense trade and security dialogue. India was first located as a net security provider in the Indian Ocean region, later as global power and finally as a major defense partner. The relationship was established as a defining partnership of the 21st century. The main catalyst was the China factor but the lucrative Indian arms market came close second. India, in the American expectation, was not only to be a bulwark against China but had the potential to develop as a close ally. Sceptics of Obama administration admitted at the end that Obama had placed India–US strategic partnership on a firm footing based on the institutionalized negotiated approach and on shared strategic hopes and apprehensions (Vijayalakshmi, 2017: 57). As a result of such domestic, regional and international administrative diplomacy and strategy of the Obama administration and Indian governments in every scope of relations with individuals, groups and governments, covering almost all the models in decision-making processes in AFP from RAM to PPM, the US during the Obama era reached various alliances and critical partnerships with India, which also created values in the form of economics and trade for the interests of both countries.

2.2.2. US-India Relations on Alliance and Partnership

Since Asia was not particularly stable and most governments privately were wary, they tended to consider the US to provide the security needed in the region to pursue purposes of development in an appropriate environment (Sutter, 2009: 194). Therefore, American presence in the region, to some extent, did not meet high opposition from the region, so a few years later when President Obama took the office, the US embarked upon stepping up its strategic diplomacy with the motivation to minimize Indian dependence on Russian military hardware (Jain, 2016: 7). During his visit to India in 2012, the then secretary of defense Leon Panetta emphasized the importance of defense trade between two countries as he termed the country “linchpin” for the new American defense strategy mainly focused on “rebalancing” Asia-Pacific region (Jain, 2016: 7). In fact, strategic dialogue on various areas such as global and regional strategic issues, weapon of mass

destruction terrorism, Pakistan, Iran, Syria, North Korea, confidence-building measures endured as the main element of the partnership.

The Obama administration viewed India as a valuable strategic partner, despite focusing on Pakistan as the key partner in the war against al Qaida and the Taliban. In 2009, Clinton and India's Foreign Minister (FM), S.M. Krishna reinforced US-India relations through an "enhanced US-India strategic partnership" encompassing new agreements in space technology and defense relations, follow-up measures of civilian nuclear energy cooperation, as well as the establishment of a Strategic Dialogue chaired by both Ministers (Rahawestri, 2010: 115). For example, the US and India had a strong national interest in preventing Afghanistan from being used again as a base from which terrorist groups can launch attacks against the American and Indian homelands. Because of this congruity in national interests, India fully supported US military engagement in Afghanistan (Blackwill & Chandra, 2011: 6).

The core of the strategic alliance and partnership between India and the US was military cooperation, particularly in the Indian Ocean and the Persian Gulf (Economic and Political Weekly, 2010: 7). Therefore, military-based trade between the US and India accelerated during the time. Between 2011 and 2014, American arms sales to India exceeded \$13.9 billion. India signed another contract in 2015 valued at \$3 billion (Vijayalakshmi, 2017: 53).

Obama administration's continued focus on defense sales through Defense Trade and Technology Initiative was successful. More importantly, the US attempted to usher in a qualitatively different relationship, one not of buyer and seller but of co-producers as well. The renewal of the Framework for the India-US Defense Relationship in 2015 built upon the previous framework and successes to guide the bilateral defense and strategic partnership for the next 10 years and it was distinct from the earlier agreements (Vijayalakshmi, 2017: 53). The two countries agreed on a great breakthrough in New Delhi in May 2014 and during Obama's visit to India in January 2015 when the PM Modi agreed to limit the liability for US suppliers in case of any nuclear power plant "catastrophe" (Jain, 2016: 4).

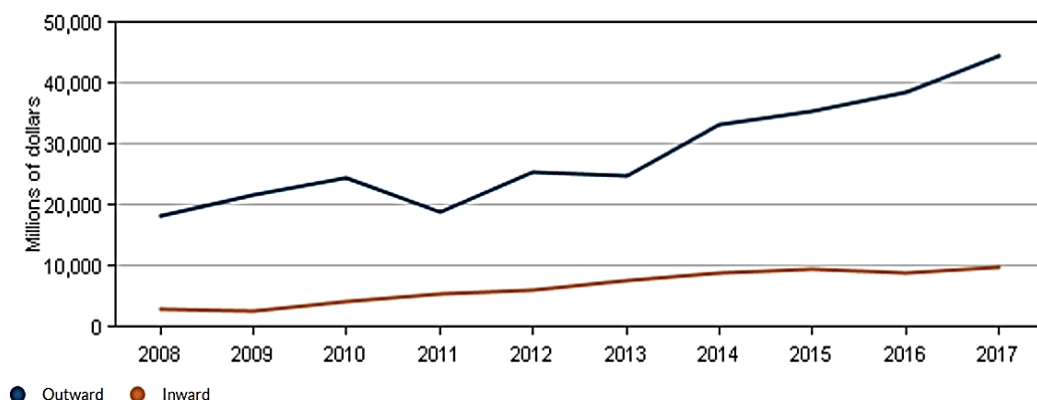
The security and strategic ties between India and the US witnessed an unprecedented upward graph during the Obama era. In the face of the shared internal security threats and common national interests in maritime security and security of strategic assets, both realized the imperative of working together toward establishing peaceful and stable Asian security architecture (Jain, 2016: 1). That is why, this tendency continued till 2016 adding specific areas of convergence in the Indo-Pacific and Afghanistan. In 2016, the Modi government signed the Logistics Exchange Memorandum of Agreement (LEMOA) with the US to deepen bilateral military cooperation (Kaura, 2018: 42; Jain, 2016: 8), and Obama declared that the relationship was one of the defining partnerships of the 21st century, guided by convergent national interests. In addition, the US granted India the status of Major Defense Partner in the final days of the Obama administration to facilitate transfer of high-end defense technology (Vijayalakshmi, 2017: 52-53).

2.2.3. US-India Relations on Economics and Trade

Economic ties between the US and India had progressively developed through the history, until it reached the highest point during the Bush era. The Indo-US trade in 2008 had already increased to \$43.38 billion, compared to the previous year's \$39.04 billion. India was the 14th largest trading partner to the US in 2009 in the very beginning of the Obama era. The total value of American Foreign Direct Investment (FDI) inflow into India was \$1.8 billion in 2008-2009, as compared to \$1.09 billion during the previous financial year (Shrivastav, 2009: 3). India and the US had already increased their defense trade from roughly \$1 billion to over \$15 billion, including Indian procurement of 13 Lockheed Martin C-130 Hercules aircraft, 10 C-17 Globemaster and 12 P-8 Poseidon aircraft from Boeing, as well as 22 AH-64 Apache and 15 CH-47 Chinook helicopters (Vijayalakshmi, 2017: 50). However, when the global economic atmosphere turned at a low ebb, the situation left Obama in hardships to tackle in various aspects including economic and trade relations between the US and India (Fukase & Martin, 2016: 774-8). Initially, India was seen by the Obama Administration as an economic powerhouse that would help grow bilateral trade. Because the administration left the relations as had been in the

past, trends in 2011 in the bilateral US-India economic relationship were mixed (Blackwill & Chandra, 2011: 28). Later, the US-India bilateral trade continued to grow swiftly, but was modest in absolute terms. India was only the 12th largest trading partner of the US, whereas the US was India's 3rd largest after the United Arab Emirates (UAE) and China (Vijayalakshmi, 2017: 50; Blackwill & Chandra, 2011: 28).

India's modest foreign direct investment in the US grew at an annualized rate of over 50 percent in the beginning of the 21st century, but this impressive growth rate was attributable mostly to a low starting point (Table 2.1). Indian firms had concentrated their investments into the American information technology industry, but had also demonstrated strong interest in investing in the power, steel, pharmaceutical, and health-care sectors (Blackwill & Chandra, 2011: 28). Economically, the US moved for the Bilateral Investment Initiative in 2014 and by 2015 the US-India Infrastructure Collaboration Platform began meetings for infrastructure through FDI. Many US firms became the leading partners in spearheading the Smart City projects in India for Allahabad, Ajmer and Vishakhapatnam. This contributed to the economic situation of the country with a regular inclination of progress (Table 2.1). As seen in Table 2.1, foreign investments through this way accelerated the trade from \$34 billion to over \$40 billion. However investments from India to the US were limited to the rate lower than \$10 billion. India's elevated ranking in the Ease of Doing Business Index was also welcomed by America expecting India to become the alternate hub for American companies in the region, replacing China in the future (Vijayalakshmi, 2017: 50).

Table 2.1 US direct investment position with India

Source: bea.gov, 2019

India's nation-building priority as that of most Asian governments depended, at the time and most likely during the Obama era, more importantly on export-oriented growth (Sutter, 2009: 194). As can be seen in Table 2.2, therefore, the accelerative positive tendency of high export rates during the Obama era can be seen in export and import services too, where the ratio was almost doubled at the end of the era with \$10,043 million export and \$12,654 million import services in 2008 but \$20,616 million export and \$25,817 million import services by the end of 2016.

Table 2.2. US trade with India in export and import service

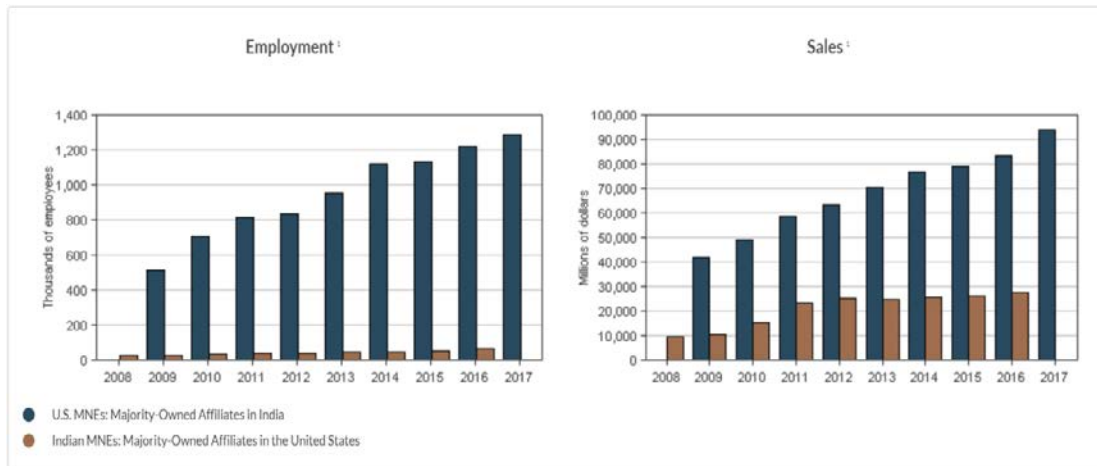
Before Obama Era	2001	2002	2003	2004	2005	2006	2007	2008
Exports of Services	3,139	3,184	3,772	4,438	5,218	6,546	8,653	10,043
Imports of Services	1,836	1,851	2,027	2,687	4,752	7,054	9,950	12,654
During Obama Era	2009	2010	2011	2012	2013	2014	2015	2016
Exports of Services	9,977	10,322	11,780	12,308	13,318	15,325	18,545	20,616
Imports of Services	12,222	14,711	17,376	18,773	20,387	22,431	24,659	25,817

Source: bea.gov 2019, compiled by the author

As for the Majority-Owned Affiliates (MOEs) of the US in India and those of India in the US, the US invested India far more in the way of employment and sales than did India with extremely higher rate seen in Table 2.4. During the Obama era, American affiliates accounted for an average of approximately 900 thousands of employees in India with the average rate of American sales of nearly \$65 billion and

those of India were leveled off about 25 thousand people with the average rate of American sales of nearly \$18 billion (Table 2.3)

Table 2.3. American and Indian MNEs during the Obama era



Source: bea.gov

In 2015, Indo-US trade relations witnessed a positive trade balance of \$23 billion dollars and in 2016, at the closing of the era, the US and India signed a deal worth approximately \$732 million to provide the Indian Army with 145 M777 Howitzer guns (Vijayalakshmi, 2017: 50-55). Through this, India strengthened its military power to a comprehensible extent.

In 2017, India-based American majority-owned affiliates MNEs employed 1.29 million people, an increase of 5.7% from 2016; sales were \$94.1 billion, up 12.9%. American based majority-owned affiliates of Indian MNEs employed 66.8 thousand people in 2016, an increase of 18.7% from the previous year; sales were \$27.9 billion, up 5.9% (<https://www.bea.gov/news>, 2016).The data above accounts for what Sutter (2009) meant in retaining that almost half of the trade was processed through the features making its trade heavily dependent on exports from developed countries of notably the US (Sutter, 2009: 194), predominantly in terms of defense and security. This situation meant for the region that the US maintained its economic and military ties accelerating its superiority in the region. For China these were critical development awaiting for reasonable counter-balancing policies. India on the

other hand felt relief since the US stood in the region stronger to balance the threat likely to come from China.

The Indo-US relations under Obama were shaped depending on the complicated atmosphere of the region and the situation of both countries. India's ability to engage with the developing world was unique regarding how it tackled with social, economic and political challenges through non-violent methods. The Indo-Pacific was a highly dynamic region with a multitude of political, strategic, economic and social factors at play. It would be imperative for India to step forward and take a more proactive approach, as regards shaping the political, economic, social environments in the region. America's declining influence, on the other hand, gave courage to its old allies like Pakistan to defy American strategic rule in the region. Pakistan's increasingly strategic closeting with China was needed to be taken seriously by India and the US as Pakistan's single most goal was focused on stabilizing China's role and influence in South Asia and the Gulf region with the motivation to harm Indo-US interests. In order to offset China's growing power projection and influence in the region, India needed closer and better strategic cooperation and coordination with the US without diluting its old strategic partnership with Russia a crucial factor in Sino-Indian and Indo-Pakistan relations.

An enduring strategic partnership, as mentioned above, went indispensable for both countries to protect and promote their respective national interests. In the evolving strategic environment, China was likely to loom large in the New Delhi-Washington relationship, whose common interest lied in restricting China's expanding strategic influence in Asia, particularly in South Asia and Southeast Asian region. China, at the same time, had already launched a well-thought strategy for "power projection" in the Indian Ocean, which impinged on security concerns of India and the US. If New Delhi and Washington failed to rise in time, their security, economic and trade interests might be enormously jeopardized.

A comprehensive strategic partnership between the two, by people-to-people contacts and bilateral commercial to enrich their own well beings, was sustained under Obama's two terms in office. India was seen as a valuable strategic partner, even though its primary focus was on Pakistan as the key partner in the war against

al Qaida and the Taliban. The actual form given the size and complementarities between the two countries was far less than the potential of two economies. Some parts of bilateral disagreements had different hindrance to trade and investment in the high-technology sector, the Afghanistan conflict, climate change to stalled efforts to initiate civil nuclear cooperation. Even so, the US and India during the Obama era were globally committed to each other from various complementarities like democracy, international trade and security.

Through profound American engagements, India's foreign affairs with the region and other states were deepened and reflected its rising geopolitical status as well as its rapidly improved economy. The two economies made up of 27 per cent of the world production, where India to be the 10th largest and US to be the number one economy (Amadeo, 2019: 1). Such huge economies were expected to shape the future of the world, and no doubt, the core of the Indo-US strategic dialogue was based on trade and investment to shape the global future. Many scholars regard the Indo-US relations to be the most critical one with the most potential to be able to create huge benefits for the whole world through engagement over many convergent interests for many nations. Indo-US agreement in this respect has been regarded as the greatest bilateral success story for America and the enduring part of the international landscape of the 21st century. In brief, both countries were a success story in a roughly balanced trade, eliminating the likelihood for negative actions like currency and trade issues with a vision that India grew to be projected as the world's third-largest economy, and the US was able reach a desired level of balancing policy in the region.

THIRD CHAPTER

US-CHINA RELATIONS

There seems no more important bilateral relations in the international system today than that between US and China (Aminu, 2015: ix; Sutter, 2009: 1). This situation stems from not just their great economic powers at the global scale but their intolerable magnitude of arsenals scattered almost all over the world⁵ (Friedberg, 2005: 19). It becomes vital to evaluate this relation in details from its very beginning.

3.1. US-China Relations- Historical Background

Historically, the beginning of Sino-American relations can be based on China's immersing itself in a civil war between the rightist Kuomintang and the leftist Communist Party (CP) at the end of WWII during the then American President Truman's office. While China was endeavoring to replace and compensate for its loss after the war, the US as the victor of that war and the leading global military power with relatively low material and human loss (Aminu, 2015: 9). These two factors were the main culprits to the US intervention into the civil war in China and thus trying to negotiate a dialogue between the two groups in Chinese domestic politics. After the failure of creating a coalition between the two groups (Schaller, 2002: 103), the US tried new ways of politics with China through the Cold War (Aminu, 2015: 9) in which Americans and Soviets dominated the world as the two major camps (Lam, 2004: 20). At the very beginning of the Cold War, the Communists in China defeated the nationalist government of Chiang Kai-shek with the support of the peasants led by Mao Zedong, the leader of the CP having founded a new country with its new name People's Republic of China (PRC) in Beijing and expatriated the nationalists into some neighboring countries in 1949 (Allgood, 2012: 15). This led the US to call the new Chinese government "red China" to refer it as communist and tied up with

⁵ Chinese Military Bases (4): Afghanistan-Wakhan Corridor, Cambodia-Ream Naval Base, Djibouti Tajikistan
 American Military Bases (34): Afghanistan, Australia, Belgium, Brazil, Bulgaria, Cuba, Cameroon, Djibouti, Germany, Greece, Denmark, Honduras, Iceland, Iraq, Israel, Italy, Japan, Kuwait, Netherlands, Niger, Norway, Oman, Philippines, Portugal, Qatar, Saudi Arabia, Singapore, South Korea, Spain, Syria, Tunisia, Turkey, United Arab Emirates, and United Kingdom (www.wikizero.org- Accessed September 29, 2019)

the USSR as a dangerous government for Americans. The US supported the nationalists creating the basis for several decades of limited US relations with China.

Until the Korean War, the US and the China did not have a significant relationship (Lam, 2004: 8-9). During this period, both American and Chinese leaders sought to share expectation of progress in trade with different purposes in mind. The US expected to keep China away from the Soviet Union, while China was seeking ways to restructure its sluggish economy. As China sought to enlarge its investments, trade and relations with its allies to support and protect its international interests elsewhere in the world, it tried to force US to recognize itself as a rising leading power in the region. However, the US was determined not to allow single powerful nation in the region. With this in mind, Americans kept ties accordingly with China, Japan and India. However, the hopes relating to China vanished suddenly with the outburst of Korean War (Chen, 2006: 169).

China indulged in it in 1950 when the North Korean army, supported by the USSR, invaded South Korea on June 25. The UN and the US tried to protect South Korea but China, with the support from the communist North Korea, responded only when the troops of US, the UN and South Korea approached the border with China. Almost four million people were killed in the three-year conflict until the UN, China and North Korea signed an armistice agreement in 1953 (Komine, 2008: 2-4). The US responded by retaliating through a total trade embargo lasting till the end of war in 1972 (Chen, 2006: 169). Actually, the trade embargo did not slow the Chinese domestic economic growth, nor was it successful in curtailing its foreign trade capacity. However, the Korean War experienced China a massive trade deficit lasting for six years from 1950 onwards and this resulted in a huge burden on millions of poor people (Allgood, 2012: 17).

After the Korean War, the Taiwanese Strait crises (1954-55) made the two countries settle in opposite corners. Through the efforts of hegemony on the Quemoy and Matsu Islands at Taiwanese coast, Chinese strategies gave rise to the first Taiwanese Strait Crisis (Schaller, 2002: 148), whereby US witnessed that leaving the problems in the region unsolved would be a sign of danger, and so a formal defense pact with Taiwan was a necessity for the Eisenhower administration (Allgood, 2012:

15). In 1955, the US and the China started an open dialogue, a result of which was the Warsaw talks under the ambassador-level, leading to the release of Americans captivated in China and Chinese students and scholars detained in US (Komine, 2008: 75). In this situation it is seen that the Chinese rationale was able to set collaboration between the US and the Republic of China (ROC) without their military and political capacities being associated. Another reason could be that the ROC was likely to join the Southeast Asian Treaty Organization (SEATO), where the US was in the effort to set up the Northeast Asian Treaty Organization (NEATO) for a more secure region with Taiwan, South Korea, Japan and the US itself. The other reason was that China presupposed an external attack by the US most likely launching from Indochina, the Korean Peninsula, or Taiwan, as this idea was framed as “the three-front” concept (Haba, 2014: 69). According to Haba, the US, on the other hand, had the strategy of three steps: to keep the China away from attacking the ROC in Taiwan; to persuade the ROC to get rid of any counter attack against China; to inhibit the status quo including the Taiwan Strait. The US acted together with the UN declaring that it had the right to use nuclear weapons against China if necessitated (2014: 76).

For the following years, with some slight fluctuations in diplomacy, the relations between the two countries survived among the cases of the Chinese efforts to control over Tibet and the American condemn of Beijing for its notorious human rights violations, China’s first atomic test in 1964 and Sino-Soviet border conflict happened in 1969. Some scholars cite that the US did not change its policies significantly towards China until 1982, when a drastic shift occurred in American strategy (Sutter, 2009: 2; Ross, 1995: 170-245; Tucker, 2009: 153-160). As for the Chinese leaders, however, after hundreds of casualties from the Soviets on the Chinese border in late 1960s like the liberalization movement in January of 1968 in Czechoslovakia, the turning point came with Zhou Enlai⁶ viewing the USSR as its number one strategic treat. By 1970, Mao declared an invitation for Nixon to visit

⁶Zhou Enlai (March 5, 1898 - January 8, 1976) was a leading figure in CCP and a premier (1949-76). During 1949-58, he was also the foreign minister of PRC with a major role in the negotiations as master of policy (britannica.com- Accessed September 29, 2019).

China. This was the triggering point for more serious and formal relations to start between the US and China.

Formal relations with China started in July 1971, when the National Security Advisor Henry Kissinger secretly visited Beijing and reached an agreement, as a result of which Nixon would visit China. When China made Nixon administration feel that it was ready for more serious relations with the US, the initial formal relations started with the then President Nixon's visit to China. During this visit, his private indication of breaking US ties with Taiwan and setting up strong diplomatic ties with China was cited within the Nixon Doctrine with a change in AFP towards the Soviet Union and China. During the Shanghai Communique, both parties signed opposition to hegemony a codeword for Soviet expansion, laid out differences on a variety of Asian and other issues, as well as US intention to pull back militarily from Taiwan and to support a "peaceful settlement of the Taiwan question by the Chinese themselves." (Sutter, 2009: 6). However, after Nixon's Watergate scandal, the process was born premature. The real formal US-Chinese relations started in December 1978 with the Carter administration acknowledging the PRC officially as the government of China and cutting its official ties with the ROC in Taiwan. This was a critical decision for the future of the region, and in the US, Taiwan policy was criticized by many including the then California Governor Ronald Reagan. According to Sutter (2009: 8), President Reagan viewed US-PRC relations as the focal point in his strategy towards the Soviet Union and other Asian countries. Then his administration issued the "Six Assurances" to Taiwan, apart from pledging it would honor the Taiwan Relations Act and did not determine any set date to terminate arms sales to Taiwan (<https://www.heritage.org> , 2007). In August 1982, the government acted the third joint commitment with the PRC on the normalization of relations, in which they reaffirmed the commitment of the US toward its "united China" policy (Lam, 2004: 1). Despite being seemingly supportive for Taiwan in his campaign of presidency, Reagan continued to try to improve relations between US and China with bilateral agreements. President Reagan visited China in April 1984, allowing China to purchase American military equipment, when the both countries agreed to act accordingly to their interests.

The US and China historically invested a lot in the region to attain nuclear dominancy too. In late 1990s, China possessed up to 19 strategic weapons that could target US nuclear assets. However, the US had more than 7,600 warheads deployed across a relatively balanced triad of silo-based missiles, ballistic nuclear submarines, and manned bombers (Heginbotham, 2013: 285-320). As the focal point of Sino-American relations of the era, affairs towards India shared the main asset. The state of the Sino-American relationship at the time always heavily influenced Indian Foreign Policy (IFP) (Malik, 2016: 46-57). India, in this respect, was the only state to balance China in the region, so its historical security concerns, Pakistan, in the form of militant Islam, irredentism and revisionism, according to Malik, in the end became US immediate and long-term security concerns.

The Sino-American relations after 1980s and 1990s can be evaluated as the time of summitry regardless of some critical short-term changes (Lam, 2004: 1). Beginning with the Reagan administration to the end of Clinton administration, the US and China collaborated and discussed over world affairs of their way of thinking in various summits shown in Table 3.1.

Table 3.1. The summits in Sino-American relations from 1972 to 2002

Year	1972-1982	1983-1992	1993-2002
Number of Summits	1972 Nixon - China 1975 Ford - China 1979 Deng - US	1984 Reagen - China 1985 Li Xiannian - US 1989 Bush - China	1993 Clinton & Jiang - APEC Seattle 1994 Clinton & Jiang - APEC Borgor 1995 Clinton & Jiang - UN anniversary 1996 Clinton & Jiang - APEC Manila 1997 Jiang - US 1997 Clinton & Jiang - APEC Vancouver 1998 Clinton - China 1999 Clinton & Jiang - APEC Auckland 2000 Clinton & Jiang - UN millennium 2000 Clinton & Jiang - APEC BundarSeri 2001 Bush & Jiang - APEC Shanghai 2002 Bush - China 2002 Jiang - US 2002 Bush & Jiang - APEC Los Angeles

Source: compiled by the author from various sources as cfr.org, china-embassy.org, comw.org, bbc.com, and scmp.com.

As Table 3.1 shows, the summitry between the US and China sharply grew in number during Clinton-Jian period. The common ground in these summits was notably related with the Russia and several mounted issues like Taiwan affairs and

human rights (Lam, 2004: 1). These summits, for sure, contributed much to the restoration and development of bilateral relations between the US and China. For Miller and Xiaohong (2001: 123-150), some significant developments such as the Third Taiwan Strait crisis in 1996, the bombardment of Belgrade Chinese Embassy by NATO in 1999 or the 2001 EP-3 plane incident undulated the relations of the two countries with ups and downs from time to time.

Sino-American relations reached its peak when China stood aside the US as to fight against terrorism after the September 11, 2001. The then Chinese President, Jiang Zemin, called the then President G. W. Bush to be the first among the world leaders to show China's sympathy and support (Tan, 2011: 211). From here, the relations with China under Bush Doctrine started with the motto "candid, constructive, and cooperative relations" characterized by Bush in 2008. The liquidity crisis during the global economic downturn in 2009 pushed the two countries to act bilaterally after the then Secretary of State, Clinton cited they were in the same boat and needed to cooperate to overcome the malaise of economic crisis (Li, 2009: 1; Tan, 2011: 211). While the public in both countries through media, opinion leaders, lobbyists and those with a role in policy making began to criticize such close relations, China with the beginning of Obama era, kept on growing rapidly through 2010, ranking among the largest economies in the world. The Chinese rapid rise met with praise by some, but with surprise by others and even with vigilance by still others. The US was among those welcoming its achievement and tried to get use of its benefits.

3.2. US-China Relations During the Obama Era

As Obama became the 44th American President in 2009, there was a lot to handle such as managing foreign intelligence, addressing civil liberty abuse, developments in tracking and eliminating terrorist threads (Dallek, 2010: 17). The way Sino-American relations preceded in his first a few months was not different from that of from the normalization of diplomatic relations in 1979 onwards (Sutter, 2009-2: 82; Larus, 2017: 9). During the election period and the first years of Obama in office, China was not that much a topic of debate in the US as was the case earlier.

Almost nothing about China in 2009 was among the priorities that the administration devised as: a) ending the Iraqi war, b) renewing American diplomacy, c) Iran, d) eliminating nuclear weapons, e) building a modern military, f) bipartisanship, g) Israel, and h) Africa (Carina, 2008: 18-19). However, this situation to some extent contrasted with the last three transfer of presidential power between the parties. They used to issue Sino-American relations in their election campaigns and in the very initial years of Obama's government.

Obama was the elected president on the promise of change with the change in China relation being unclear. In domestic policy, he would deliver on some of that promise, but on the record to date suggests that Obama meant more of the same (Unger, 2016: 3). To put it differently, the contradiction stemming from Obama way of governing was that change in the country was not the same as the one in international system. There used to be so many issues from earlier doctrines of earlier presidents to handle. As a consequence, the US under Obama internationally did no more than what the others had done earlier, being not different from what the previous rational actor did; the war on terror, nuclear weapons, and climate change. In time, China for some scholars was able to step further economically, shifting the US on the back foot. According to Amadeo, the shift was most apparent on the economic level, where America's debt to China grew to over a trillion dollars, which was its second largest debt only after Japan (2019: 2-4). Actually, what Obama did internationally as to Chinese relations was, according to Hunt, all the outcome of Nixon's prudent concession to Chinese power (2010: 9). Apart from its domestic and international benefits and interests announced during the "change" campaign, which seemed to be a part of Inter-Branch Politics Model (I-BPM), the US under Obama administration was forced to overcome some international concerns stemming from violation of human rights in China and its hostile approaches to Taiwan. Under the effect of Obama's presidency based on change, many critics considered it to be practiced also towards the relations with China, but all in all Obama was trying to establish a pan-Asia policy in a regional aspect whereby American government intended to get hold some power to control Chinese actions indirectly in the region (Garrison & Wall, 2016: 36).

In 2010 with the release of Obama's National Security Strategy (NSS), the administration declared its priority as the enhancement of engagement with India, Russia and China, saying "the United States must reserve the right to act unilaterally if necessary to defend our nation and our interests, yet we will also seek to adhere to standards that govern the use of force" (Byrd, 2013: 151). The US during Obama era covered an extraordinarily wide range of issues in this enhancement of engagement policy from security, trade and broader economic issues to the environment and human rights. The decision making process was a part of rational actor modeling since otherwise the US was likely to lose much in power balance in the region. As to China, with a few years of rapid boom, it economically became very powerful globally after the American economy. With such an economic success, it developed an important global strategic influence as well. China also involved in an ambitious campaign to modernize the armed forces including the development of powerful projection capacities. Since Chinese economy and its strategic influence increased for the past decades, the Sino-American relations expanded to cover a wide range of global, regional, and bilateral issues. As Chinese economy reached a critical level in the world, Washington needed to seek Beijing's cooperation to restore the balance of the world economy and maintain global growth. The US tried to encourage China to promote peace and stability in the Asia-Pacific region, including the Taiwan Strait, the South China Sea and the East China Sea. As the US was focused on rebuilding its economic power in the region, the Obama administration tried to reach the level of play for American companies that trade and work in China, eliminate cyber-invasions allegedly taking place in China that point to trade and military secrets and stop violations of intellectual property rights of the US in China (Lawrence, 2013: 26; Morrison, 2017: 26).

Up to Obama, the US had almost always followed both containment and engagement policy towards China. Larus calls this way of ruling as "congagement policy" to refer containment the endeavors to suppress the influence and power of an adversary and engagement the collaboration and cooperation of two countries (Larus, 2017: 7). Obama administration too, after sometime, in the first year reached agreement with Chinese leaders to reassure reciprocal understanding and being

“constructive” and “cooperative”. They started top-level negotiations through arranged Sino-US summits in both countries (Sutter, 2009-2: 83). The hottest topics were mainly based on economic/trade, military/defense, diplomacy/strategy, and regional politics/hegemony. As a good result of these negotiations, military exchanges suspended by China based on large sales of arms to Taiwan were resumed. Moreover, both sides reached agreement over the need for global economic cooperation for the crisis, climate change and energy as well as regional hot topics (Bonnie, 2009: 27-28). In time, the Obama administration in general referred high priority to Asia including China in the way of not only bilateral but also multilateral relations (Nguyen, 2016: 5, Sutter et al, 2013: 7) seeing that China had already increased its influence significantly in the region since 1997 Asian economic crisis. From the beginning, the US under Obama administration started with high hopes for closer engagement with China. However, they were dampened by the reluctance from China to act with the US in international and regional problems especially over maritime and territorial disputes. The US rebalance was in part a response to China’s rising assertiveness with respect to its neighbors as well as an effort to deepen engagement with Beijing to keep the Sino-American relationship from becoming confrontational (Sutter et al, 2013: 13).

In June 2013, the Obama administration had already intended to find alternatives to guarantee China’s development being peaceful in nature and not to pose a risk of undermining the stability and security of the world’s most economically active region and the integrity of the international system. The US sought to encourage and keep China to abide by international norms, partly through engagement in multilateral agreements (Yuan, 2010: 2). The Obama administration repeatedly assured Beijing that Washington welcomed a strong, prosperous and successful China playing a greater role in world affairs and the US did not want to prevent China’s reemergence as a great power. Obama said the US was concerned about China’s growing economic and military power but the US welcomed the “peaceful rise” of China (<https://www.nytimes.com>, 2016).

The Sino-American relations under Obama era in 2014 witnessed an abrupt relief in complexity with the maritime disputes over eastern China, the Crimea

seizure of Russia, the efforts over denuclearization of North Korea, all being at the top of the agenda (Glaser & Alexandra, 2016: 25-38). However, almost none of the myriad of disagreements on the agenda were far from solution. Tensions over South China Sea gave rise to changes on the course of relations dominating many bilateral and multilateral meetings. Moreover, China achieved to sign an agreement for the establishment of the Asian Infrastructure Investment Bank (AIIB) along with representatives from 21 Asian nations, which was seen from many in America as American isolation from the region. In contrast, the Obama administration succeeded to be a part of restructuring the region through a lot of instruments including the AIIB. Similar issues between the Sino-American relations remained to be solved in 2015 and 2016; the South China Sea, fourth nuclear test of North Korea, climate change and so on. The end of Obama term came with the American participation in the September G20 Summit in Hangzhou to be the last meeting between Xi Jinping and President Obama (Glaser & Alexandra, 2016: 25).

Table 3.2. Sino-US presidents until Obama

Term	President	Term	Communist Party Leader	Term	Premier
1949-1953	Harry S. Truman	1949-1976	Mao Zedong	1949-1976	Zhou Enlai
1953-1961	Dwight D. Eisenhower	1949-1976	Mao Zedong	1949-1976	Zhou Enlai
1961-1963	John F. Kennedy	1949-1976	Mao Zedong	1949-1976	Zhou Enlai
1963-1969	Lyndon B. Johnson	1949-1976	Mao Zedong	1949-1976	Zhou Enlai
1969-1974	Richard M. Nixon	1949-1976	Mao Zedong	1949-1976	Zhou Enlai
1974-1977	Gerald R. Ford	1949-1976	Mao Zedong	1949-1976	Zhou Enlai
1977-1981	Jimmy Carter	1976-1980	Hua Guofeng	1976-1980	Hua Guofeng
1981-1989	Ronald Reagan	1981-1987	Hu Yaobang	1981-1987	Zhao Ziyang
1989-1993	George Bush	1987-1989	Zhao Ziyang	1987-1998	Li Peng
1993-2001	Bill Clinton	1989-2002	Jiang Zemin	1998-2003	Zhu Rongji
2001-2009	George W. Bush	2002-2012	Hu Jintao	2003-	Wen Jiabao
2009-2017	Barrack Obama	2012-	Xi Jinping	2013-	Li Keqiang

Source: Author's own

Table 3.2 illustrates the governing parties of both countries from the initial formal relations to the Obama era. The relations starting with Truman was on the verge of critical evaluating the world of devastation from WWII. The way of governing of both countries was almost totally different from each other, one depending on an established system rather than leaders' identities, while the other varying depending on the leader himself rather than an established system. Coming from different traditions, not only the governing actors but also citizens of both countries were foreign to each other. China was governed by one ruling authority, Mao Zedong and Zhou Enlai, some 37 years, while the US experienced six presidents with six renewed democratic presidential elections, which were constrained and driven by actors accordingly to conditions which were hard to manipulate (Polsby et al, 2008: 4). With a new arrangement of re-engagement in Asia and thus with China, Obama administration planned to focus on three main principles; (i) diplomacy and strategy (ii) alliances (iii) economics (Nguyen, 2016: 5).

3.2.1. US-China Relations on Diplomacy and Strategy

Obama administration was specifically effective in securing the American diplomatic presence in the region with a successful management of tension. However, the administration was not totally far from critical mistakes especially when it comes to the issue of rhetoric and public diplomacy (Christensen, 2015: 29). Furthermore, the administrative language he used was overly muscular about "pivoting" back to East Asia since it was just after the withdrawal from Iraq and Afghanistan (Sutter, 2009-2: 84). This was improper in that the US had not abandoned Asia earlier so the US created some problems with its partners in Asia since they would worry that the US might pivot away again providing it faced other problems in any other region.

In the end, Obama administration realized its mistake and replaced the term "pivot" with much more benign "rebalance" (Blinken, 2016: 1-2). Another mistake of the administration in relations with China was signing a document with an ill-advised section during US-PRC Joint Statement November 17, 2009, saying "The

two sides agreed that respecting each other's *core interests* is extremely important to ensure steady progress in US-PRC relations” (Xinbo, 2011: 2-3). Linguistically, the presence of the term “core interest” might mean a different thing to the US and totally different things to China. The core interests of China could be defined as the monopoly of the CP, whereas the US was set on political liberalization as its core interest (Christensen, 2015: 30). The US tried to cooperate with China in many affairs in the region such as the relations with Afghanistan to fight against Taliban and to help with good government in Pakistan. As to North Korea, the US was determined to use bilateral discussions to make the Pyongyang fulfill the responsibilities defined under earlier agreements by previous US administration. However, Pyongyang started to escalate provocations to an important international crisis in 2009, where the US changed its strategy to deal more with Pyongyang. As one of Barack Obama’s priorities on diplomacy can be called as “returning to the Asia Pacific”, proclaiming to be the “America’s first Pacific president”, where China was a direct factor (Allen, 2009: 1; Kornwitz, 2012: 1-2).

As for China, its rising power turned to a desire for translating its material prosperity into influence in the international system. China was reluctant to cooperate with the US on Southwest Asian and Pakistani affairs because it worried that, if successful, the US would for sure widen its presence in Central Asia along China’s periphery. Further, if it acted towards Pakistan in collaboration with the US, China would most probably lose its capability to interact with some actors in such a close state of significant strategic location. China was hesitant about American North Korean policy. The difference continued between the US and China over international pressure against North Korea (Sutter, 2009a: 85-86). In order to protect Pyongyang from international outcomes, China, for example, tried to shift the blame to the US and Seoul in the attack of North Korea to South Korea twice.

Table 3.3.Some re-engagement strategies between US-China during Obama era

2009	2010	2011	2012	2013	2014	2015
<p>July 22, 2009 The United States accedes to ASEAN's Treaty of Amity and Cooperation in Southeast Asia, signaling a deepened commitment to the region.</p>	<p>February 18, 2010 Obama meets with the Dalai Lama in Washington, D.C.</p>	<p>February 26, 2011 China joins a unanimous UN Security Council vote to refer the regime of Muammar al-Qaddafi to the International Criminal Court.</p>	<p>February 29, 2012 The United States and North Korea announce the short-lived "Leap Day" arms control agreement.</p>	<p>July 24, 2012 China establishes a prefecture-level municipal government to administer the Paracel and Spratly Islands.</p>	<p>November 23, 2013 China declares an air defense identification zone in the East China Sea.</p>	<p>May 30, 2015 U.S. Secretary of Defense Ashton Carter criticizes Beijing's land-reclamation projects in the South China Sea, drawing a Chinese rebuke.</p>
<p>November 15, 2009 Obama begins his first official visit to China.</p>	<p>March 26, 2010 A North Korean torpedo sinks the <i>Cheonan</i>, a South Korean naval vessel, killing 46 sailors.</p>				<p>November 12, 2014 The United States and China announce a bilateral agreement on reducing greenhouse gas emissions.</p>	

Source: Christensen (2015: 32-33).

As Table 3.3 illustrates some of the important practical strategies fulfilled during Obama era concerning Sino-American relations. From 2009 to the end of 2015, most of the strategies can be observed to have been over regional affairs more on the diplomatic scale. With China's growing use of soft power in the region, the Obama administration needed to gain new roles or influences within the other countries (Nguyen, 2016: 49). Diplomatically trustworthy in the way it dealt well with some dreadful difficulties like stabilizing world economy, lessening climate change, beating deceitful and vicious regimes and pressure nuclear proliferators. The US also assertively struggled to start good relations with India. Initially reluctant to choose sides between the US and China, India was increasingly concerned that China attempted to create a China-centric geopolitical order in Asia (Larus, 2017: 21-22). India's PM from 2014 onwards, Modi's tilt toward the US was made obvious during President Obama's visit to New Delhi in January 2015 (Parashar, 2015: 2). The danger in this situation for Sino-American relations related particularly to expectations and suspected manipulation. US and Chinese decision makers remain

privately wary and distrustful of one another despite the numerous Sino-American dialogues and positive public discourse between leaders (Lieberthal, 2007: ix)⁷.

Obama's foreign policy is likened by some to that of Woodrow Wilson. The Wilsonian⁸ tradition in AFP, as explained by Walter Russell Mead (2001: 88), emphasizes negotiations, the role of international law and organization and the values of building an international community. By this, China's relation with America grew the most influential, fragile and significant international friendship in the world. The economies and military capabilities of the two reached a level which accounted for those of the rest in the world with an unprecedented determination since Obama first took the office. He clearly announced that China-US coupling would be off the greatest significance to the US. Along with declaring in words, his visit to China in practice in his very first year, which was something that no president before had ever done, showed to what extent this relationship was significant for the US. The tendency of reaching such a huge market was one of the three chief aims of all US presidents from Nixon to Obama. Other two are to be side with the China against the Soviet Union and to ensure their alliance and cooperation on a global level (Sutter, 2009). Among the American presidents, the greatest significance to Sino-American relations was given by Obama.

Obama administration also had strategically devised aid and development plans towards the region. The US under Obama entered the process of enhancing its foreign aid particularly to the Asia Pacific region by seven percent (Sutter et al, 2013: 14) up to \$4 billion that contributed sustainable development and stability (Nguyen, 2016: 47). In 2015, Obama expanded cooperation with Indonesia through education, environment, and health objectives. The efforts of Obama administration

⁷Kenneth Lieberthal is a prominent China specialist with frequent and close contact with high-level American and Chinese policy makers.

⁸Mead argues that America's historical policy has been a healthy if somewhat messy product of debate among four schools of thought: 1) Hamiltonians, who have combined the realistic interests in military security with mercantile concerns for world trade, in the belief that trade brings peace as well as profit; 2) Wilsonians, who also have been interventionists, but more in pursuit of morality, democracy, and human rights than economic or strategic interests; 3) Jeffersonians, who have sought to restrain foreign interventions in favor of John Quincy Adams's dictum that the US should protect peace and democracy at home rather than seek to vindicate liberty abroad; and 4) Jacksonians, who have joined the Jeffersonians to oppose interventions for the sake of foreigners but are ready to fight to total victory for America's own interests abroad (2001: 89).

to strengthen the relations with the countries in the region and Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN) members, whose ties had been deepened more with China, had some likelihood of serious problems stemming from their totally different traditions of political and socioeconomic systems. However, in the race to get engaged more in such an important region than China, the US administration during Obama era focused more on the region with investments of time and resources, getting positive outcomes as in the way of creating new business opportunities regarding reduction of poverty and healthcare development (Nguyen, 2016: 50-51).

The attitude of Obama administration towards relations with China was not always optimistic. Seeing that China might stay self-centered at times, the US did not stay far from gathering some countries against China, the result of which was seen as the Vietnam and Korean wars. In this way America delivered the message that small countries of South Asia could never beat China without the support from the US. The countries there needed corporation with the US to stabilize good relation among South Asian countries. This might be the summary of rebalancing policy of Obama administration.

All in all, Obama government can be said to be partly successful in his relations with China in that he at least attempted to decrease US dependency on its largest economic adversary (Wagener, 2017: 37) and he meant to follow 'tradition' to maintain a healthy relationship with China notwithstanding the pressure from violation by China of human rights and its hostile movements in Asia. The US under Obama tried to put forward the policy of "rebalancing to Asia-Pacific" announced by a senior US official with the Trans-Pacific Partnership (TPP), a trade framework that excludes China and Hillary Clinton's calling of "smart power" in diplomacy. These all can be said to have done in the hope of taking advantage of China's conflicts with its surrounding countries. During the Obama's presidential period, the two states were supposed to keep stability in their bilateral ties.

3.2.2. US-China Economic Relations

China and the US started their trade affairs within the years 1972 and 1973. Since then till the Obama era, the US had invested in a wide range of manufacturing sectors, several large hotel projects, restaurant chains, and petrochemical units directly in Chinese mainland until the Obama era. Such a corporation brought about introducing more than 20,000 equity joint ventures, contractual joint ventures, and wholly foreign-owned enterprises in mainland China. More than 100 multinational firms of America started huge projects in China, which valued at \$48 billion with an exceeding \$350 billion in 2006. In fact, China became the US largest trading partner after the neighboring country Canada, and the US during Obama's administration with the second largest debt only after Japan became more dependent upon trades with China (<https://www.cnbc.com>, 2019).

In the very first months of his presidency, Obama found himself in the midst of a global economic crisis and recession in 2008-2009. According to Sutter (2009-2), this economic situation was on the top of the priority list of both countries' governments. For China, the situation was stimulated and revived accordingly to the benefit of Chinese interests as well as of the world economy. The Chinese leaders at times talked over an alternative choice for the US dollar to use in international transactions, and they even tried swap agreements with its neighbors and provided aids to those in its periphery. The result was not a long-lasting one with an influential effect on its domestic and international trade (Sutter, R. 2009-2: 88).

Obama regime cannot be given high points in the first year of governing from the point of economy or trade. One of the economic setbacks of the administration was that its effort to push for an economic supporting program within the G-20 meeting in 2009. The administration was not able to secure a "coordinated" supporting policy because the economic compatibility of Obama regime was not satisfactory (Byrd, 2013: 150). In 2011, Clinton declared "Open markets in Asia provide the United States with unprecedented opportunities for investment, trade, and access to cutting edge technology." (Aminu, 2015: 59). Obama administration expanded its trade with Asian states via the TPP (Lawrence, 2013: 26-27). However, from the economic view, China was still the chief foreign aid supplier and buyer in

the region especially for the Southeast Asian communities. This made China “primary economic patron”⁹ for these small but strategically located countries as Myanmar, Cambodia, Laos, even the Philippines and Indonesia (Nguyen, 2016: 501).

The Obama rebalance covered various economic initiatives with the recognition that Asia would be a crucial region regulating the American economic interests for the years to come. For the US, the need for rebalancing deepened the economic relations in the region by promoting mutually beneficial investment and trade for the US and its regional allies and friends. The core of US economic engagement in the region was TPP, a free trade agreement among twelve Pacific nations, excluding China. The objective of TPP was to maintain a strong economic environment, in which every member committed to standing against corruption and bribery, adhering to international labor standards, including creation of independent trade unions, and agrees to enforcement of environmental safeguards (Larus, 2017: 22). Growing economic interdependence and cooperation over key issues in Asian and world affairs reinforced each government’s tendency to emphasize the positive and pursue constructive relations with one another (Sutter, 2009-2: 102). The positive features of the relationship tended to outweigh the negatives for practical reasons, so both governments gained from cooperative engagement. That is why, Asia Pacific region had a vital role in the President’s National Export Initiative. Four tenth of emerging markets aimed in 2011 National Export Strategy -China, India, Indonesia and Vietnam-were somehow related with Asia Pacific region (Sutter et al, 2013: 14).

3.2.3. US-China Relations on Alliance

As Obama took the office, he found himself with some previous engagements of critical works such as sending additional submarines to Guam, directing F-22 towards Japan and littoral fighter ships to Singapore, signing a free trade pact with South Korea, and debating over TPP (Larus, 2007: 23). What made Obama administration more successful than its predecessor was that they sent top officials to the area far more frequently (Christensen, 2015: 29). Obama administration achieved

⁹The definition is taken from the document; Committee on Foreign Relations, “The Emergence of China throughout Asia: Security and Economic Consequences for the United States,” CFR , US Government Printing Office: Washington, 2006, p. 50.

to improve relations with Myanmar –Burma, to sign the Treaty of Amity and Cooperation with Southeast Asia, and to take part in the East Asia Summit. Aside from the goal that the US would rebalance its fp on South Asia, it aimed to suppress China’s expanding in the area. As the US security needs increased, the Obama administration became preoccupied with creating alliances or partners to cooperate together with parallel interests in the region.

In his Union speech in January 2011, Obama said that his administration would strengthen Asian alliances and construct partnership with the countries in the region to contribute to shape the world in peace and prosperity (Christensen, 2015: 30-33). In 2012, the policy of rebalance described by Obama administration necessitated to strengthen alliances in the region such as Japan, South Korea, the Philippines and Thailand so as to “ensure collective capability and capacity to secure collective interests”(Aminu, 2015: 59), where India was especially included in the policy of investing for a long-lasting strategic alliance program. What’s more, the US during Obama era formally reinvigorated its partnership and alliance in 2013 specifically with Australia and New Zealand too (Sutter et al, 2013: 12). April 2014 witnessed Enhanced Defense Cooperation Agreement (EDCA) between the Philippines and the US, allowing the US access five bases in Philippines – Antonio Bautista Air Base, Basa Air Base, Fort Magsaysay, Lumbia Air Base and Mactan-Benito Ebuena Air Base- with allowance of its troops, ships and planes in the Philippines (Nguyen, 2016: 46).

With respect to China, it favored regional economic corporations, as a response to the US, focusing on Asian participants through China-fostered Shanghai Cooperation Organization (SCO), excluding the US, including China, Russia, four Central Asia States with various regional observer nations (Figure 3.1).

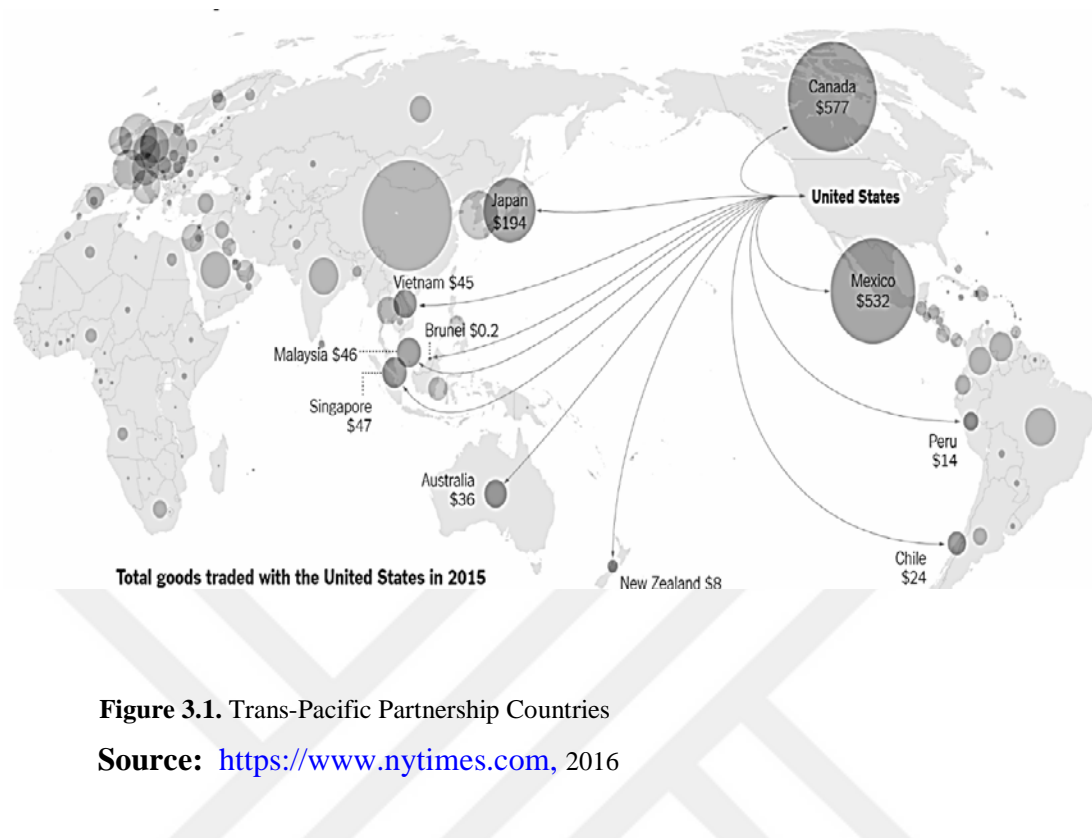


Figure 3.1. Trans-Pacific Partnership Countries

Source: <https://www.nytimes.com>, 2016

The US forged a new political and security agreement with Singapore in 2015 to enhance its alliance and partnership with Defense Cooperation Agreement (DCA), through which the US had the allowance of operating its surveillance planes to gather intelligence over military activities of China in the region (Blinken, 2016; Larus, 2017: 23). In the same year, the US and India collaborated on a joint strategic vision for the setting of free navigation and overflight in the South China Sea. In the following year, the US removed the sanctions to sale weapons to Hanoi as means of rebalancing (Larus, 2017: 24). All in all, both countries sought to counterbalance each other through agreements or engagements with other regional states. Even though there occurred some causality from time to time, the region was kept in peace to a comprehensible extent.

FOURTH CHAPTER

CHINA-INDIA RELATIONS

From early years, China and India had competitive mutual perceptions towards each other on the grounds that they both had glorious past with a shared history of anti-colonial endeavors full of success. They are the two largest countries in Asia as well as globally and thus aspiring to world leadership through competing economic and political models for the development (Wolpert, 2006: 315). India, with the leadership of Jawaharlal Nehru, set up a parliamentary democracy with an understanding of an economic model combining socialist and capitalist principles, whereas the China with the leadership of Mao Zedong, established a revolutionary political order with the state-owned economic assets, differing fundamentally in their fps of nonalignment on one hand and of export of revolution on the other hand. Therefore, China-India relations can evidently be regarded as states-of-civilization while at the same time being considered as state-to-state relations as always present (Chung, 2015: 173). Two such geographically close and huge countries with problematic and chaotic borders of nearly 3488 km had always border conflicts of a long standing one (Figure 3). China tried to pursue multilateral cooperation with the goals of development and security along several parts of its borders like India as well as a number of neighboring fragile states (Summers, 2016: 1; Freeman, 2010: 138-139; Soni, 2010: 252). India, on the other hand, sought ways to balance China in attempts to pursue bilateral cooperation with the Soviet Union earlier and some other regional and international actors like the US (Fujita, 2008: 55-88).



Figure 4.1. Border conflicts along the Himalaya Mountains
Source: Seumel (2014: 38)

China and India went on rising during this period whereby China's rising rapidly enough to affect the hierarchy of global power gave rise to the concerns about its outcomes in the region (Sibal, 2017: 1). This was a reality for India to deal with.

4.1. China-India Relations- Historical Background

India and the PRC were both founded in the late 1940s Delhi in 1947 and Beijing in 1949 (Guha, 2012: 26; Norbu, 1997: 1078). Since earlier years of their independence, their collaboration or enmity would have the most significant effects on the security of the continent (Gordon, 2009: 51).

The visions of presiding actors (Table 4.1) in the governing of both China and India are likely to have affected their FP more than that of the US. When it comes to power, CCP General Secretary holds the main seat since the President is quite symbolic, but it is not the same in India as the President could be the counterpart of CCP General Secretary.

Table 4.1. The actors to hold the presidency of China and India during the Obama era

		Date of Inauguration	End of Term
China	Li Keriang	01 January 2009	Incumbent
India	PratibhaPatil	25 July 2007	24 July 2012
	Manmohan Singh	22 May 2004	26 May 2014
	Pranab Mukherjee Narendra Modi	25 July 2012 26 May 2014	Incumbent Incumbent

Source: Author's own

From the very beginning, although it was almost certain that one of the Chinese goals was the complete control of Southeast Asia (Gittings, 1964: 358) but historically, the relations of two states from 1950 to 1957 was generally in harmony and peace (Chung, 2015: 173, Passin, 1961: 85) with a lot of bilateral developments like students exchange programs, interactions between trade unions, social workers, engineers, and agricultural experts. These bilateral agreements also included sharing reciprocal intellectuals in the field of government agencies, research institutes, the arts, religion, theatre, cinema, medicine, law, engineering, industry, politics, civic organizations and the military (Passin, 1961: 91). However, with 1957, the relation started to have a different course with China's questioning validity of McMohan Line in the border. The relations deteriorated more with border clashes in 1959, when China occupied the Indian border. In the same year, with Tibetan uprising, Tenzin Gyatso¹⁰ escaped from Lhasa and took shelter in India, which granted him asylum (India-China Timeline, 2013: 2) and the relations reached the most critical stage when China invaded India in 1962 (Prasad, 1973: 285). Till 1962, India had a nonviolent defense policy, but for the following years it adopted national security in the form of Western positioning through military strength. The different behaviors of the two countries regarding diplomacy can be seen in their communique. Those of India were usually short, moderate in tone with the actual intrusion by a longer period of time than did China's. However, the Chinese communique were usually a bit longer, issued just after the intrusion, and vacillated between mild and strong (Smoker, 1969: 177).

¹⁰ 14th Dalai Lama, Tenzin Gyatso, describes himself as a simple Buddhist monk. He is the spiritual leader of Tibet.

According to Balakrishnan, Sino-Indian relations from the Nehru era till the normalization started in 1976 can be classified as the first stage. For him, the confrontation lasted from 1962 to 1976 when China became friendlier with Pakistan by completing 800 km Karakoram Highway passing through Pakistan-occupied Kashmir with the dictum “enemy’s enemy is a friend” (1997: 821). Meanwhile China signed a border accord with Pakistan in 1963 (India-China Timeline, 2013: 2). The period was the turning point of close relations into that of mutual mistrust. However, with the Soviet Union becoming sympathetic to India (Hussain, 1971: 2019), China was forced to quit its belligerent attitude towards India, and it did not intervene in the Indo-Pakistan wars of 1965 and 1971 against India. After China became the UN member on 25.10.1971, when the UN General Assembly passed Resolution 2758 restoring the lawful rights of the government of the PRC in the UN by “recognizing that the representatives of the Government of the People’s Republic of China are the only lawful representatives of China to the UN and that the People’s Republic of China is one of the five permanent members of the Security Council” (Lei, Xue, 2014: 3), China and India could not agree on the admission of Bangladesh to the UN in 1971-72. Thus, China vetoed the resolution sponsored by India and created friendly relations with the US by re-forming Sino-US axis, through which both China and India observed restraint so as not to damage the resumption of bilateral relations (Hasan, 1983: 102). This was a sign of the normalization process.

The normalization of relations developed between the two countries in 1976 onward (Balakrishnan, 1997: 821). During this period, Deng Xiao Ping, the then Chinese President, and Indira Gandhi, the then PM of India, started the initiative to restore ambassadorial level relations between India and China. Diplomatic ties were established once again since the Sino-Indian War (India-China Timeline, 2013: 2). Indian trade and economic relations with China resumed officially in 1978. Despite some irregularities during the time such as the attack on Vietnam, Indira Gandhi and Chinese FM, Huang Hua, did not let the relations deteriorate again.

Better Sino-Indian relations were succeeded after 1980 from many perspectives when China permitted a lot of Indian pilgrims¹¹ to travel to Kailash-Manasarovar Lake as a gesture of its goodwill. With Rajiv Gandhi's, the then Indian PM, meeting with his Chinese counterpart Zhao Ziyang in 1985 in New York talking about steps toward bilateral negotiations between the two countries. The official talks started in 1981 to be conducted annually. With both Zhao Ziyang and Hu Yaobang being removed from power due to their too forward approaches particularly on political and social matters in the late 1980s (Seumel, 2014: 22; Mantzopoulos, 2011: 21-24), the improved relations took place till the middle of 1997 (Balakrishnan, 1997: 819). During this period apart from broad prospects for cooperation in economic and trade relations, China and India in 1991 both began to cooperate in sharing common viewpoints on human right issues, opposing the efforts of some developed states to pressure on them (Hongyu, 1995: 551). Moreover, peace and tranquility was maintained in the border areas based on the agreements, the first of which was in 1993, later in 1996, and in 2005 (Prasad et al, 2006: 266). As a result, trade and commercial relations began in 1993 to move from single commodity trade to bilateral investment and technological cooperation and transfer (Hongyu, 1995: 553).

Through further globalization in 1990s, the necessity for global interdependence and the possibilities of mutual gain for both countries also increased. That was particularly crucial in China, whose share of world trade was now about eight times that of India. They had similar shares of FDI and capital flows (Prasad et al, 2006: 270). From February 1990 to February 1994, the two countries signed 24 contracts enabling China to export turnkey plants to India, valued at \$330 million (Hongyu, 1995: 553). What's more, Sino-India relations were carried particularly by cooperation on three issues: iron and steel trade, science and technology, and last but not least in agriculture. In 1998, China began to describe itself to be "regional heavyweight" and systematically campaigned for signing the

¹¹Mount Kailash (Kailasa), Mount Meru in Buddhist texts, is a major pilgrimage site for some Buddhist traditions. It is the home of the Buddha Cakrasamvara (also known as Demchok), representing supreme bliss and it is to Hindus and Buddhists what Mecca is to Moslems, what Mount Olympus was to the ancient Greeks and what Jerusalem was to Medieval Christians (McKay, 2015: 1-2).

Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty (NPT) and the Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty (CTBT) which meant dismantling nuclear capacity (Panda, 2001: 171). From 2005 to 2008 the two states agreed on ‘guiding principles’ to govern border negotiations having lasted almost in all the periods long from the very beginning of official relations. The mutual visits including military level were set on through visits for the following years by President Hu Jintao to India and PM Manmohan Singh to Beijing (Gordon, 2009: 57).

Starting in 2000, these developments led to the establishment of an Indo-China Joint Study Group (JSG) on accelerating bilateral economic cooperation, including the Indian Council for Research on International Economic Relations (ICRIER). ICRIER also did a number of background studies for the JSG, covering goods and services (Prasad et al, 2006: 270).

Until the Obama era, from the political perspective, the two countries took varying steps accordingly to their bilateral agreements with a little fluctuation in their official relations (Figure 4.2).

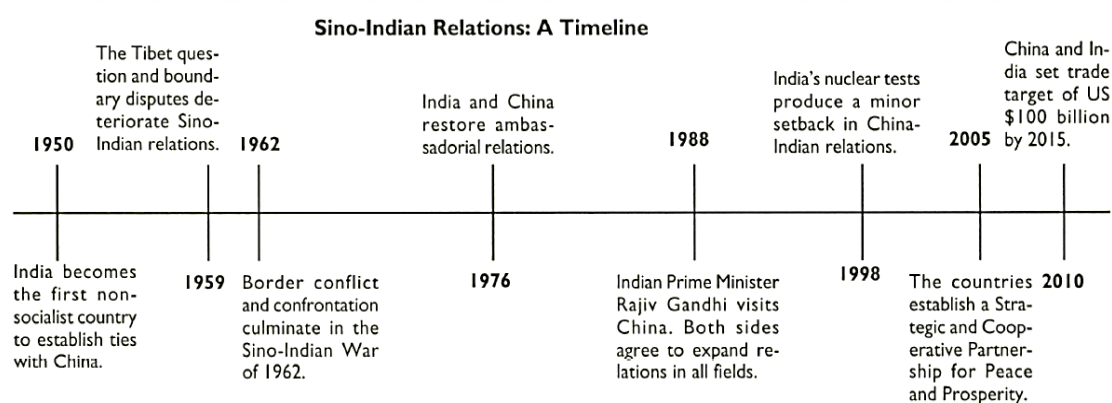


Figure 4.2. Key political moments in the shared history of China and India from 1950 to 2010

Source: Guha, 2012: 26

Geological kin and politics aside, it was, and still is, possible that the much-vaulted economic achievements of the two countries before the Obama era consolidated their relations. The two countries became fundamentally complementary in their economic relations: China had the hardware and India the software; one excelled in manufacturing, the other in service industries. The two

countries did seem to complement each other in the sense that their economic structures were quite different. For example, in the very beginning of 2009, Chinese industry-ratio was 46 percent and its service-to-GDP ratio was 43 percent, compared to that of India's to be 28 percent and 55 percent respectively. Figure 4.3 shows that the two countries progressed at almost similar pace before 2009 regardless of some significant differences.

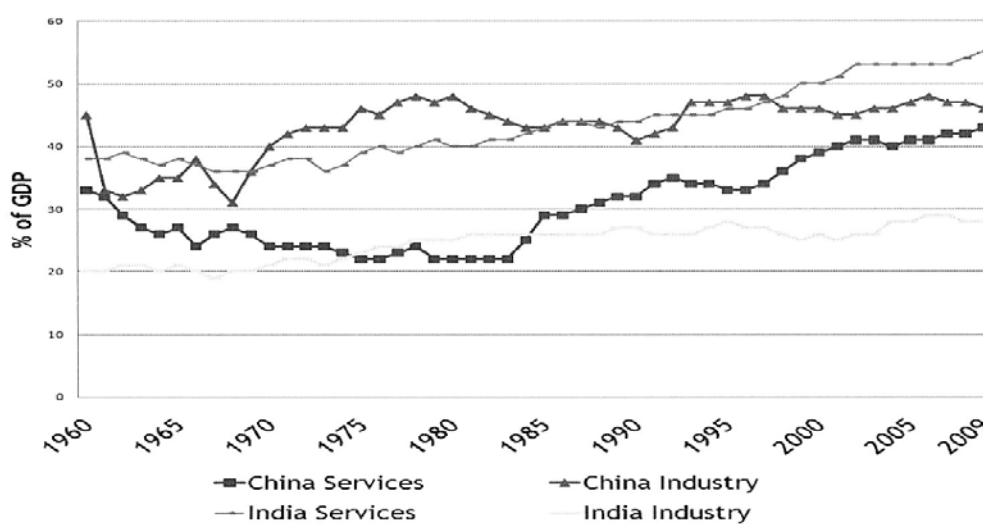


Figure 4.3. Service/GDP and Industry/GDP, 1960-2009 World Bank, World Development 010

Both countries developed in accord with their relations internationally and regionally with other global and regional actors. Although China began engaging in economic reform through stepping into world market almost a decade earlier than India, it was India that grew more rapidly. However, with the liberalization of its economy, China drew away and sustained a progressive growth expeditiously (Figure 4.4).

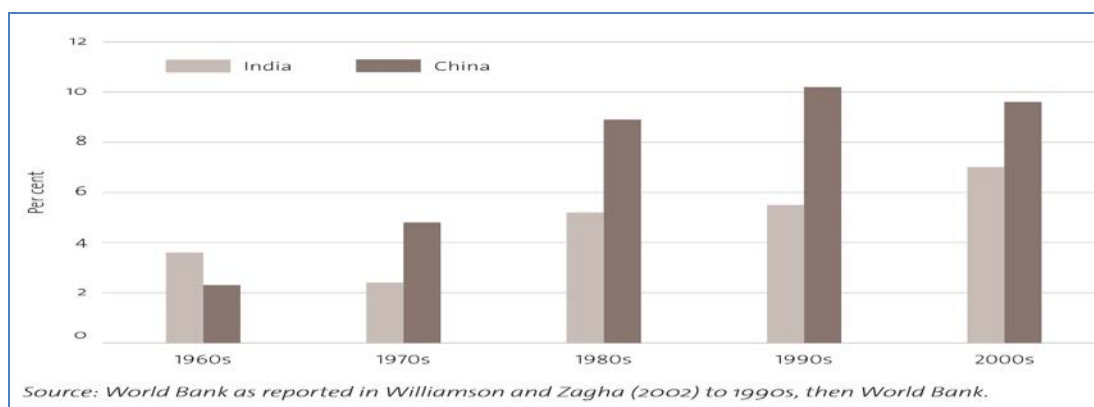


Figure 4.4 China and India: Average Growth 1960s- 2000s

Gordon, Sandy. 2006, *Widening Horizons: Australia's new relationship with India*, ASPI, Canberra.

As for the moments of continuity and change in fp, the two countries till the Obama era was obstinate at times and sober for other times. Whichever the way, their trajectories used to focus more on the domestic challenges through ensuring domestic economic and social development, buttressing social stability, and fending off internal challenges to their respective political systems (Gilboy & Heginbotham 2012: 44) and less on the bilateral interest (Figure 4.5).

China		India	
Time Period	Major Theme	Time Period	Major Theme
1949-	Consolidation <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Reassert control over borders and near abroad Lean to Soviet Union Balance against United States 	1947-	Consolidation / Classic Nehruvian <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Partition and consequences Reassert control over borders, colonial legacies Moralist, non-aligned; Indian realism "veiled"
1962-	"Offensive" Maoist <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Frictions with Soviet Union Oppose both U.S. and Soviet Union Support global revolutionary movements 1964 nuclear weapons test 	~1962-	1962 Shock <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Defeat in border war with China Rebuild military Continue to lead non-aligned movement (NAM)
1970-	Transitional <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Balance Soviet Union Détente with United States Admitted to U.N. Support for global revolutions wanes Modest increase in international trade 	~1965-	Post-Nehru Pragmatism <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Global moralist, regional realist 1965 Pakistan War Friendship treaty with Soviet Union 1971 East Pakistan attack/intervention, establish Bangladesh
~1979-	Opening <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Omnidirectional, no single "enemy" Join global economy, encourage inward FDI Continue to balance Soviet Union through mid-1980s Limited defense cooperation with U.S. 	~Early 1970s-	Exclusionary / Lean to Soviet Union <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Oppose "China-U.S.-Pakistan axis" Indira Doctrine: oppose external influence in South Asia and Indian Ocean 1974 test of nuclear "device" Soviet arms purchases, tacit acceptance 1979 Soviet Afghan invasion undercut relations with NAM and West
~1991-	Limits of Opening <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Re-evaluate U.S. after Gulf War I and Balkans interventions Accelerate military modernization South China Sea islet seizures 1995–1996 Taiwan missile tests / intimidation Outward investments begin 	~1984-	Regional Hegemon <ul style="list-style-type: none"> More assertive in South Asia compared to 1947–1983 Military spending increases Regional intervention, Sri Lanka
~2000-	Regional Reassurance <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Pro-actively shape international environment Rhetoric: "peaceful rise," "harmonious world" Omnidirectional "strategic partnerships" Taiwan: military build-up continues, post-2008 economic enticement, political initiatives Outward investment accelerates, especially Central Asia, Africa, South America 	~1991-	Reassessment <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Domestic economic crisis and collapse of USSR Support for NAM wanes 1992 "Look East" policy, opening to East Asia 1998 nuclear weapons test Rapprochement with U.S. Market reforms; inward FDI and international trade grow slowly
~2009-	New Assertiveness? <ul style="list-style-type: none"> More assertive compared to 2000–2008 EEZ rights, South China Sea, Diaoyu/Senkaku Islands, rare earths trade embargo G20 / global economic agenda-setting Greater trade frictions with developed economies, developing country frictions with Chinese investment 	~2001-	Aspiring Great Power <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Consolidate "de-hyphenation" from Pakistan Omnidirectional "strategic partnerships" Without NAM, South-South identity experiments India Brazil, South Africa (IBSA) Establish economic, diplomatic, military presence in Central Asia, Afghanistan Inward FDI and exports grow, some outward FDI Concern with China's rise intensifies
		2005-	Aspiring / Lean to United States? <ul style="list-style-type: none"> 2005–2006 defense cooperation, nuclear cooperation agreements with United States Military modernization, new arms imports Inward FDI, outward investments accelerate Maintain formal autonomy: Iran, Myanmar, military deployments

Figure 4.5. Continuity and Change in FP

Source: Gilboy, George J., Heginbotham, Eric (2012: 44)

In brief, historically China and India kept close contact with each other culturally, politically and diplomatically until the Obama era. However, during this period, China had already become stronger than the other rising powers and had had

the potential to become a peer rival to the US (Esdaile, 2008). Its power would offer a permanent concern for India. Nevertheless, a realistic perspective predicted that a stronger India would continue to pursue its interests vigorously and many of these interests would be closer to China than the US. Like China, India tried to develop by attaching great importance to growth and development and it became an emerging power that sought to protect a wide range of its political, economic and military interests over the dominant states in the system.

4.2. China-India Relations during the Obama Era

Sino-Indo relations during the Obama Era (2009-2016) experienced some critical movements from both sides (Figure 8). These developments should not be studied far from the effects of the US in the region. In 2009, when Obama took office, India had some uncertainty about China since Chinese military capabilities were opaque in spite of its increasing strength to operate abroad. Chinese defense spending was increasing dramatically and India was not included in the strategic calculus for a rethink of its military strategy and worldwide Revolution in Military Affairs (RMA) (Ali, 2012: 88-89).

Bilateral trade surpasses \$50 billion and China becomes India's largest trading partner in goods.		Chinese troops intrude into Depsang Bulge in East Ladakh, nearly 19 km inside Indian province. They are pushed back.		India starts the 18 th round of talks with China. The Indian PM sets a regular protocol for a platform to connect to China at the Temple of Heaven as a display of soft power, interacts with the Chinese business community to corporate class of a personal touch to expedite processes on their investments into India. The Chinese corporates begin to look towards Indian markets.	
2009	2010	2013	2014	2015	2016
India cancels defense exchanges with China after it refuses to permit Lt. Gen. B.S. Jaswal a visa. India subsequently refuses to allow Chinese defense officials to visit New Delhi.		"Two bodies with one spirit" agreement. Jinping and Modi unveil landmark economic deals as overall investment of twenty billion dollars in India.		India gradually increases its ground and air forces along its land border with China. The Indian Army positions 120 T-72M1 tanks in the plains of Ladakh in eastern Kashmir.	

Figure 4.6. Key moments in the history of China-India from 2009 to 2016

Source: Guha, (2012: 26); Singh, (2018: 306-6005); O'Donnell, (2018: 6); <https://www.state.gov>

India, to some scientists like Pant (2009), sought to balance its military competitiveness vis-a-vis China, for it was seen as the real challenge for India as a growing military power. However, some other scholars like Roy (2009) share the

opinion that China was still in its infancy for a uni-polar Asian regime. Whichever the real case, Delhi was anxious of the Obama's policy on China and of "downgrading" of India in the very beginning of the era, during which Indians failed to identify the Obama administration properly while misjudging Obama's capability for the "change" in US policy (Ali, 2012: 88-90). According to Ali, this situation resulted in some significant strategic surprises for the Indians until they happened to realize that Washington did not favor India as the primary partner in the region. India was not so valuable ally as Pakistan for the US, so Indian strategic calculus became obsolete in the US containment strategy. Moreover, all these "failings" made Delhi rethink if the US was still a dependable strategic ally in the region.

During Obama's first term in particular, India felt overlooked and sidelined. From New Delhi's perspective, most, if not all, American attention towards Asia was focused on China. After Obama's reelection, the US-Indian relations improved somewhat but remained limited to military and strategic cooperation in the wider context of the pivot to Asia Obama had initiated (Maass, 2018: 12). However, in March 2009, Obama's Deputy Secretary of State, James Steinberg, posited that the US had already devised some strategies on the development of more bilateral, regional, and global agendas regarding India with economic, political and military spectrums.

4.2.1. China-India Economic Relations

At the beginning of the 21st century, the trade figure between China and India was almost \$1 billion. However, this reached \$70 billion by the end of 2016 (Sharma, 2018: 4), which is a critical jump in economic terms. When the Obama administration took office in 2009, in the aftermath of the 2008 financial crisis, Chinese assumed the US was in permanent decline and no longer able to block China's rise economically (Maass, 2018: 213). Therefore, China needed to accelerate the pace of economic corporations. Similarly, as India continued to grow economically, its need to exercise its influence on its neighborhood was also growing (Purushothaman, 2010: 4). With the Obama era starting, the bilateral trade corporations between China and India stood at \$51.8 billion by the end of 2008

whereby China became the largest goods trading partner of India, replacing the US. Most of the trade was in favor of China because it imported much less but exported much more almost every year than did India (Table 4.2).

Table 4.2. India–China Trade at a Glance (USD Billion)



Source: PHD Research Bureau; Compiled from Trade Map Database

Source: Sharma, 2018: 4

Table 4.3 illustrates the trade statistics of these two countries. During 2001-2006, the trade rate of imports from China was 53.6%, where the reduction was 28.8% during 2006-11 and 1.7% during 2011-16 in the Obama era. India predominantly imported electrical equipment with mechanical appliances and organic chemicals whereas China imported mostly cotton, ores, slag and ash, and organic chemicals (Sharma, 2018: 5). From the overall economic data, the trade dependence index (openness index) is a means of measuring the significance of international trade.

Table 4.3. India- China Trade Statistics

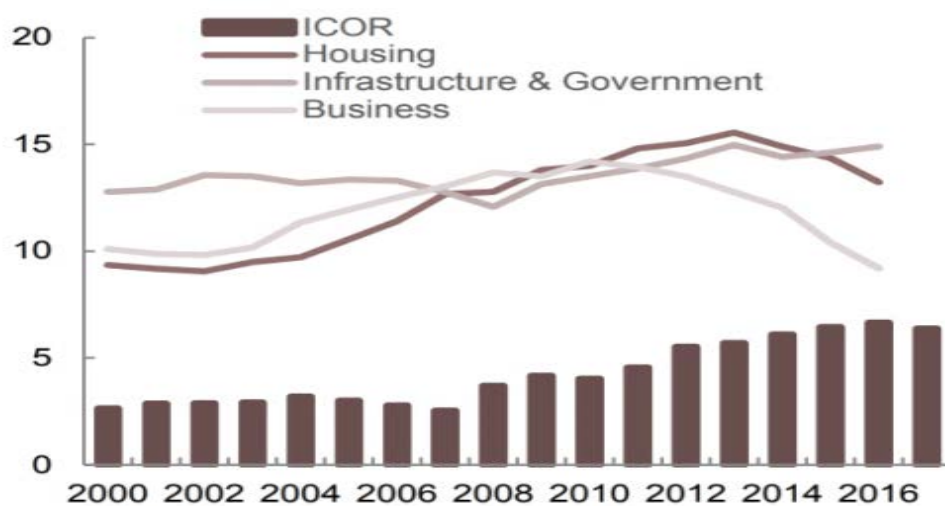
	2001	2006	2011	2016
India's imports from China (USD billion)	1.83	15.64	55.48	60.48
Compound Annual Growth Rate CAGR (%)	-	53.6%	28.8%	1.7%
Share in India's total imports	3.6%	8.8%	12.0%	17.0%
India's exports to China (USD billion)	0.92	7.83	16.72	8.92
CAGR (%)	-	53.4%	16.4%	-11.8%
Share in China's total imports	0.4%	1.0%	1.0%	0.6%

Source: PHD Research Bureau; Compiled from Trade Map Database (Sharma, 2018:4)

The efficiency of China's investment, as measured by the rapid rise in the incremental capital-output ratio (ICOR), has declined. The main reason for lower

efficiency seems to be the high growth in infrastructure and housing investment over the same period (Figure 4.7)

(ICOR ratio; growth in capital stock, 5-year moving average, percent per year)

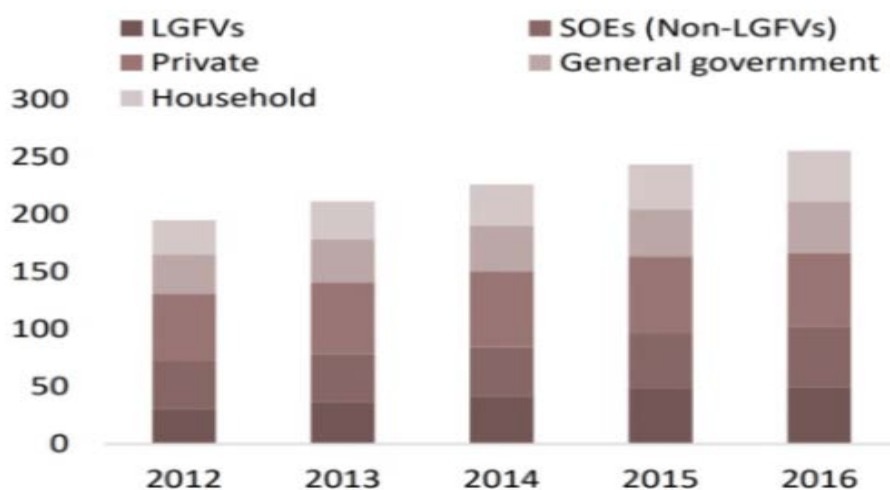


Note: ICOR is the ratio of the average real gross capital formation in (t-1) and (t) to the change in real GDP between (t-1) and (t).

Source: Herd (2017), NBS, World Bank staff calculations.

Figure 4.7. Growth in capital stock by sector and ICOR in China

(percent of GDP)



Source: BIS, PBOC, CEIC, Wind Info, World Bank staff calculations.

Figure 4.8. Chinese Estimated Composition of Debt

In 2013-2016, credit to the non-financial sector grew by twice the pace of GDP, reaching almost 250 percent of GDP in 2017. SOEs leverage, which increased from 73 to 103 percent of GDP between 2012 and 2016, accounted for most of the rise in indebtedness (Figure 4.7). Including the hardware and software trade as well as other service industries, the two countries complemented each other with differences in their economic structures. For example, in 2009, Chinese export was \$1.201 billion while Indian export was \$176 million, but in the end of Obama era Chinese export increased to \$2.1 billion while Indian export was 260 million (Figure 4.9).

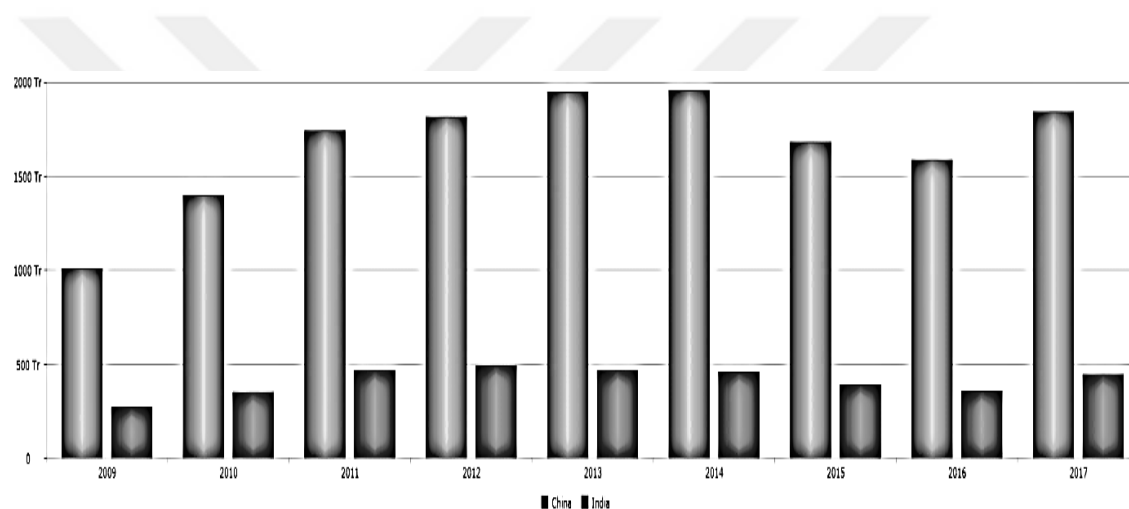


Figure 4.9. China Exports Comparing with India (2009-2016)

Source: wits.worldbank.org

The same huge difference in the volume can be seen in import rates as well. With Chinese import in 2009 was \$1.000 billion while Indian import was \$266 million, but in the end of Obama era, Chinese import was 1.587 billion while Indian import was \$ 260 million (Figure 4.10).

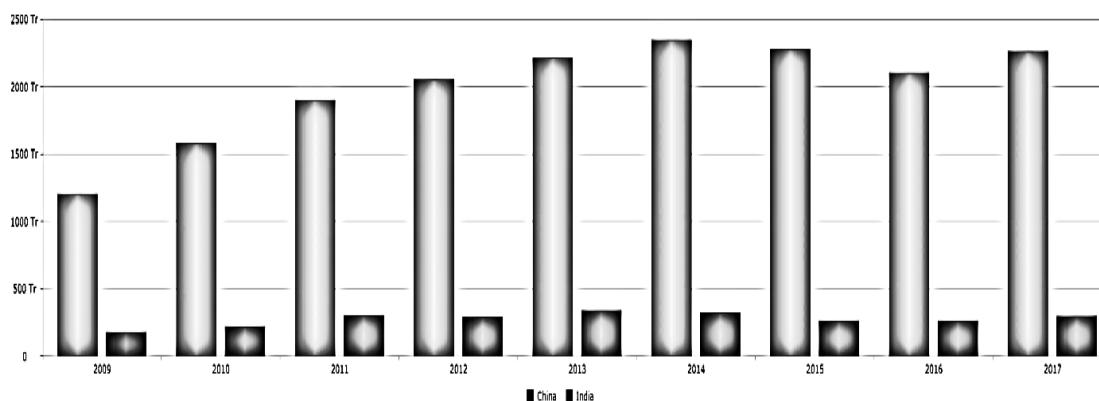
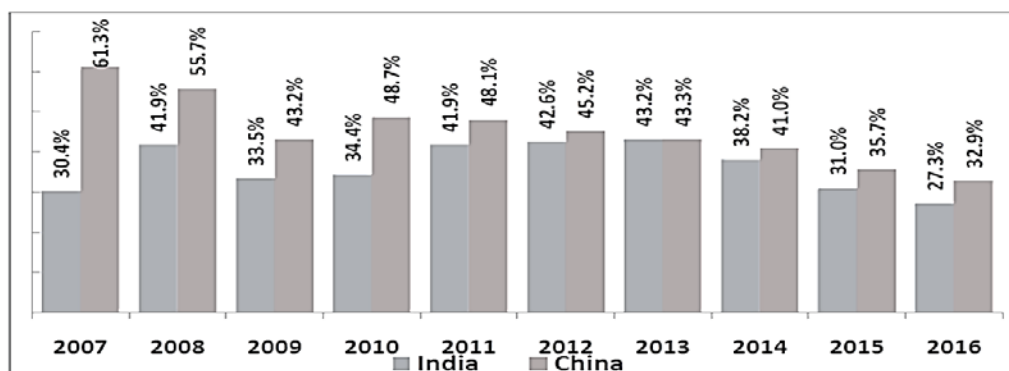


Figure 4.10. China Imports Comparing with India (2009-2016)

Source: wits.worldbank.org

As Table 4.4 shows, during the Obama's era, India's dependence on China in trade affairs fell from 43% in 2013 to 27% in 2016 monitoring higher inclusiveness in GDP and relatively lower susceptibility to external shocks and volatility, *ceteris paribus*. On the other hand, China's dependence on India has dramatically and drastically declined from 61% in 2007 to 33% in 2016.

Table 4.4. India – China Trade Statistics



Source: PHD Research Bureau; Compiled from World Bank Database and Trade Map Database (Sharma, 2018:4)

In 2016, India was the 7th largest export destination for Chinese products, and the 27th largest exporter to China (Sharma, 2018: 17). As to the US, it made about \$100 billion in trade with India yearly, a fraction of the \$560 billion it did with China (Malik, 2016: 52). These orders were even worse than those in 2008.

4.2.2. China-India Security and Military Relations

India has been emerging as an economic powerhouse since the beginning of the century and its national power has been on the rise. Its regional and global impacts have also been growing correspondingly. It has sought to enhance its military potential constantly to cater for its ambitions since such justifies have been necessary to act as a counterweight to China (Bajwa, 2017: 2). On the other hand, nearly all the same has been the case for China but with a less military expenditure almost half of what Indians was (Figure 4.11).

When the Obama administration took office in 2009, both countries had been relying on their bilateral security agreements with a few fluctuations in conflicts at various times. In China, the People's Liberation Army (PLA) always had the most significant role to play in fps making on security issues and other areas related to military affairs (Weissmann, 2015: 156).

From 2009 onwards, not only India but China as well invested generously for the modernization of their armed forces, the largest two in the world, to pass from heavy mechanization to information-based warfare (Seumel, 2014: 50) (Figure 4.11).

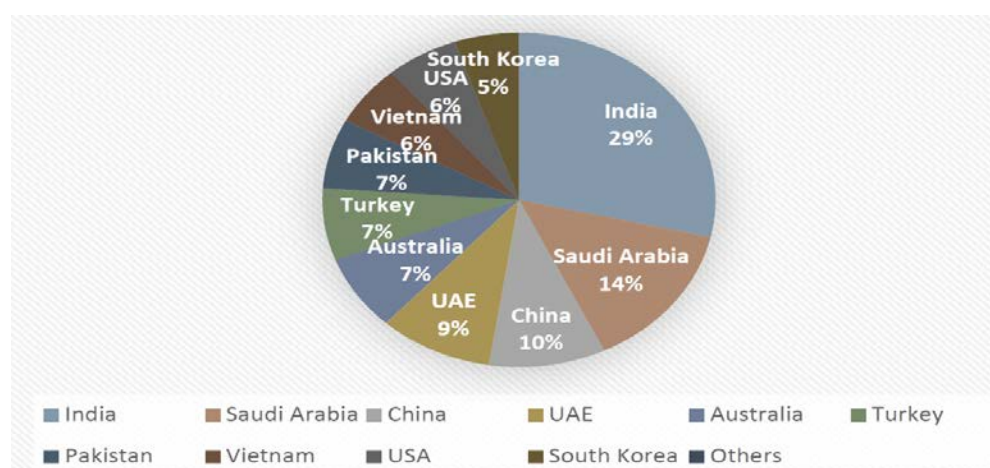


Figure 4.11. Shares of top ten arms importers out of the 49% of international arms imports to these countries from 2011–2015

Source: (Aude Fleurant et al., 2016:4)

Stockholm International Peace Research Institute (SIPRI) carried out a study revealing that while China had the second largest budget for military expenditures in the world after the USA, India ranked 8th in the year 2012. China spent an estimated \$166 billion on military purposes, which was 2.0 percent of its GDP whereas India spent \$46.1 billion, making 2.5 percent of its GDP. However, that of India's was far more than that with almost US \$230 billion on military purposes (Figure 4.11).

India continued to project to the world that its military enhancement was China-oriented and in reality it was more for Pakistan (Purushothaman, 2010: 9). Figure 4.12 illustrates some of the military corps critically located on sensitive and important border lines and significant inner points.



Figure 4.12. Locations of ten out of thirteen Indian Army Corps

Source: Bajwa, 2017: 15

According to international analysts, China with a rise during Obama era to the status of the second largest military state in terms of a challenge to the USA remained a dominant great power of the world, while India was Asia's second rising power, growing at a crisp pace across a broad front (Rana, 2017: 94).

All in all, the situation from view point of military and security for India and China during the Obama Era turned out to be more complicated with China and India

increasing their military capabilities, directly affecting economic and political environment in South Asia (Purushothaman, 2010: 10).

4.2.3. China-India Relations on Diplomacy and Strategy

Before the Obama Era, China and India used to base their responsive fps on “Five Principles of Peaceful Coexistence (FPPC)”¹² (Weissmann, 2015: 154; Seumel, 2014: 34; UN, 2014: 70) originating from the Panchsheel Treaty in 1954. Both philosophies in fp did not change much during the whole Obama Era. China was looking carefully behind those principles (according to Jakobson) for three chief fp goals officially defined as 1) domestic political stability; 2) sovereign security, territorial integrity and national unification; 3) China’s sustainable economic and social development (2013: 4). This was the final policy founded on the FPPC and driven by a number of “core interests”. These core interests included, according to Timothy R. Heat (2012: 64), the anxiety about threats to China from the world and to her access to overseas resources on which its economy was progressively dependent. China, during the Obama Era, learned a lot from the experiences of other countries, and in fp context it sought to stand different from the Western policy practices of “do as I say, not as I do” (Kavalski, 2012: 6; Weissmann, 2015: 156). Instead, it put great emphasis on mutual interests through “do things together”, while balancing the link between economic growth and nationalism which was one of the major components of its domestic political stability.

During the Obama era, three principal actors in Chinese decision making in its fp excluding external actors were the CP, the State Council (SC) and the People’s Liberation Army (PLA) (Weissmann, 2015: 156). China can be said to have had a better established system regarding diplomacy, strategy and so decision making in its FP with some extra actors like 1) senior leaders, 2) ministries, 3) intelligence organs, 4) localities and corporations, and 5) society, where it was only the inner two that actually made fp decisions according to David Shambaugh (2013: 61-72). As a consequence, since 2009 the “assertive China discourse” had become a widespread

¹²“(1) mutual respect for each other's territorial integrity and sovereignty, (2) mutual non-aggression, (3) mutual non-interference in each other's internal affairs, (4) equality and mutual benefit, and (5) peaceful co-existence” (Seumel, 2014: 34).

narrative in the debate on Chinese Foreign Policy (CFP) in the West until the end of Obama Era, and China made a lot to gain regional trust among its geographical neighbors and the international community, expressing that it was not a threat but a responsible and peaceful ally to all. Eventually, the main aim of the CFP after 2013 became “to achieve modernization, create a benevolent and peaceful external environment, and take steps that allow it to develop its domestic economy” (Zhao, 2013: 2-3), which prevailed during the Obama era.

India’s main concern was China-Pakistan Economic Corridor (CPEC), which added diplomatic and security angles to the problem. The \$ 46 billion corridor was designed to link Western China to the Pakistani port of Gwadar on the Arabian Sea (Purushothaman, 2010: 83). China would gain speedier access to its international markets as the CPEC would reduce its trade distance by several thousand miles and allow it to avoid the hostile waters of the South China Sea and the Strait of Malacca.

Irrespective of being one of the members of the Non-Aligned Movement (NAM) in order to side neither the Soviet Union nor the US during the Cold War, India sought close ties with the former to balance out China, Pakistan and the US involvement in the region (Seumel, 2014: 34). Similar attitudes by Indian diplomacy were somehow carried on during the Obama Era.

Independence was the chief goal of Indian nationalists’ struggles until 1947, which took the form of nonalignment (Yang, 2017: 68). The policy “being unable to resist outside forces and thus being reliant on the principle of autonomy to preserve itself” survived during the Obama era in a modified form: “the contents have been reshuffled, repacked, enriched and, occasionally jettisoned by India’s current leaders” (Mitra, 2009: 32).

During the first years of his administration, Obama’s message that America welcomed rather than feared China’s continued rise was accompanied by criticism of specific Chinese behavior that violated a rules-based order: trade practices, human rights violations, and cyber security. Obama relied on both engagement and containment as previous administrations had done but with less negative rhetoric.

Obama's use of smart power, both hard and soft power¹³, was misconstrued by Beijing as weakness (Maass, 2018: 213). For this reason, China was not a totally trustworthy ally for India, for the agreements of confidence-building measures taken by the two remained confined in their enforcing power due to mutual lack of trust between China and India even though those agreements consisted of a broad spectrum in political, economic, and military issues. Nevertheless, these agreements contributed a lot to avoiding large-scale military casualties between the two countries although there occurred a lot of provocations and efforts to pressure the other party from 2009 to 2014 (Seumel, 2014: 49-50). There being some hot topics on debate between China and India such as differing Silk Road strategies affecting some other actors like China, India, Afghanistan, Pakistan and Central Asia, it is natural that both India and China as two vital emerging powers, had their own regional and global aspirations. Each country would need to develop mechanisms to deal with the other's rise (Mukherjee, 2017: 13). That means that during the Obama era the two countries struggled for balance of power in their unstable region from a security standpoint as did the US.

¹³Hard power is the use of assets of force, coercion, and intelligence whereas soft power is the utilization of assets of diplomatic skill and persuasion (Murray et al, 2011: 711). Soft power arises from the attractiveness of a nation's values, culture, and policies (Nye, 2004: 5) with the benefit from public diplomacy, nation branding and smart power (Yukaruç, 2017: 500).

Table 5.1. Cost-benefit evaluation of the America's FP rebalancing as Asia-Pacific strategy

Obama Era	Economics & Trade	Security & Military	Diplomacy & Strategy	China's Situation	India's Situation
Start Expected Plans & Gains	Vast benefits Economic recovery Support of TPP Shape economic environments	Change in military priorities Stronger military presence Military leadership	Engaged in multilateral alliance Hold secure its influence & status Cooperate institutions	Embattled surroundings Lost alliances Obstructed disputes Bypassed by TPP	Able to balance China Need the US Strict in maritime governing
Duration Reality	Given up TPP Spend time-money with no return Risen competitiveness for hegemony but No right	Excessive spending Earthly conflicts	Less in other regions Mistrustful China China Relations damaged	Alliances 'utilized' America Potential Sino-US conflicts, China 'go west' No containment of China	Militarily weak Peaceful to trust
Finish At hand	Cost nearly stable Benefits decreasing Benefits still higher than costs	Exceeded costs Diminished benefits	Higher benefits but Strategically disadvantageous costs	Enhanced influence Enhanced trade Enhanced relations with its neighbors	Not bad ally Obedient to some extent

To sum up, as can be seen in table 5.1, the US under President Obama administered a balance policy towards China and India as its grand strategic fp in three main areas, economics and trade, security and military, diplomacy and strategy. The change in contextual meaning of the slogan 'change' became superior to its semantic meaning and thus evaluated in a various ways depending on the positions or the contexts. The policy ended up with both positive and negative consequences for the US where it would be fair for this thesis to cite that the negative sides of the strategy outweigh the positive ones.

CONCLUSION

“The change in the “change” changed the Asia-Pacific” should be the motto of the Obama American balance policy on the Asia-Pacific specifically on China and India.

Obama came to power with the plan, intention and hope with the slogan “change”. However, what he intended to change did not mean the same thing in the minds of people involved in different parts of the world. One of the biggest changes many anticipated his slogan was a radical break with the previous administration’s fp. There existed a lot of good reasons presupposing that this would be the case. For instance, George W. Bush was a Republican meaning he used to take his grounds from the most conservative components of his party like the religious right, neoconservatives, and other proponents of a peremptory stance for American international primacy and a forward-leaning stance in the war on terror. In contrast, Obama was a liberal Democrat, and this meant he was to oppose wars including the Iraq War and was try to “reset” America’s relations to waging the war against terrorism. He was supposed to include, in his fp, measures such as adopting a more multilateral fp, ending the practices of extraordinary rendition and enhanced interrogation, and showing a greater respect for civil liberties domestically.

However the slogan “change” meant totally differently for the two main actors in Asia-Pacific countries as China and India. During the first years in the office, Obama focused more on other parts of the world to fight against terrorism, struggle against economic recession, battle against the wars inherited from Bush era. He and his administration did not develop any new significant policy rather than carrying on previous ones in effect. This situation firstly made China think that the US faced with economic crises and was busy with other problems and thus would not be able to curtail its rising during the Bush administration. However, India was very curious about what “change” in Obama policy meant for itself and for China. For India, if the US could let China be much freer without any balancing in trade, military actions and diplomacy, this would no doubt affect India’s situation drastically.

The priorities of the US in Asia during the Obama era were figured out in 2008 and released for the first time during his presidential campaign by the campaign team on Asia. Such priorities included to expand a US diplomatic, economic and military presence in Asia, strengthen US military alliances, find a workable approach dealing with China, participate in and further institutionalize Asia-Pacific multilateral institutions, and devote more attention to Southeast Asia.

With all these, the US sought to build positive, cooperative and comprehensive relations with countries in the region specifically with India and China through expanding areas of cooperation. China and India were supposed to emerge as major powers of Asia and they would shortly be able to compete with the US globally. As a consequence, the competition and cooperation between these two countries would greatly affect the future of Asia in the following years. That's why the US needed to change the discourse of the relations to get a significant role in the emergence of these two major powers in world politics.

Washington and New Delhi undoubtedly had different tactical and conceptual ideas on how to defend them on a regular basis. Their national interests and democratic values were the most consistent foundations for ever-closer ties between the US and India. Insisting on strategies that reinforced the common national interests would provide content that could otherwise constitute a purely rhetorical "strategic partnership" illustrating the importance of the relationship to the competitive pressures of American policy makers. As to interest of the AFP, South Asia turned out to be increasingly significant. Various reasons can be observed within the situation. First, for George W. Bush, a stronger India would be an important factor in preventing China from raising its power in Asia. In order to compete with China, the US realized that India had to be freed from the Cold War. Second was the American desire to reach the Asia-Pacific shores through good relations with the actors involved. Third, the US considered India to be strategically important in maritime dispute with China. Fourth, although Russia had been the India's "Big Brother" in military sense until that time, the relations of the two were much worse due to economic crises. As a consequence, the US tried to get the benefit of the situation with better relationship with India through supplying arms.

Moreover, all the sanctions imposed on India on account of its nuclear test by Clinton administration were totally abolished. Therefore, during the Obama era, the governments of both countries had fps at the highest level to collaborate in solidarity in international politics although this was not the case in the very first years of the administration. This is called “pivot to Asia” with the underlying meaning of rebalancing. As a result, the two governments agreed to sign three critical groundbreaking agreements and deepened their international relations on military basis. All in all, All in all, China has been the main reason why India and the US began thoroughly positive relations in their fps. This meant that China made India and the US need each other reciprocally. China’s growing impact in the region both economically and militarily led the US develop new political, economic, pragmatic and security interests with India through deepened relations. Although the US and India had asymmetrical power balance among other countries, they achieved to fulfill strategically critical partnership in the region. As Maass mentioned, the US under Obama went back to a much more traditional agenda more focused on economic, trade, and development relations in addition to global security affairs (2018: 37). Therefore it is clear that this situation somehow manipulated and shaped how China and India behaved nationally, regionally and internationally in their policies.

The US-China-India triangular relationship included a strategic cooperation. All of them needed each other. For China, its economic relationship with the US was crucially significant as its biggest market. For India, its ties with the US facilitated its rise as a major power and augment its position in Asia. Washington did not want a single power to dominate the Asian continent and its adjoining waters and supports the rise of several powers, India chief among them, with the US acting as an “engaged offshore power balancer.” For China, the US was the principal strategic adversary; for India, it was China. India’s deterrence capabilities were China-centric, while those of China’s were US-centric. The US interests required it to cooperate with China on some issues and with India on others, and sometimes with both. How China and India managed their differences on their border dispute, trade imbalance, Tibet, Pakistan, regional integration, and the UNSC reforms would have significant implications on the place of the US in Asia. To put differently, in the triangular

power balance game, Beijing feared India's participation in the US-Japanese containment of China whereas India feared a Sino-US alignment that would allow Beijing to curb the growth of Indian power or lead to US acknowledgment of the South Asia/Indian Ocean region as China's sphere of influence. All three countries were likely to benefit from a degree of competition but lose if competition turned into overt rivalry and confrontation.

All in all, the answer to my primary question is "yes". The Obama administration pursued a balance policy on China and India through "pivot to Asia" including other regional and global actors involved like Russia and Pakistan. Therefore, it was the outcome of the balance policy by means of which the US welcomed a strong, peaceful, and prosperous China playing a greater role in world affairs with advancement of practical cooperation with the US and India. Obama and his administration implemented rebalancing in the region to make US military power the center of gravity (military rebalancing); to make the US "big brother" of the region (diplomatic rebalancing); to make the moribund American economy recover and grow (economic rebalancing). In brief, the US benefitted from the balance policy in various ways. For the American interests, rebalancing policy succeeded to break the stationary Asia-Pacific environment, create some contradictions between China and India while maintaining the American presence with better economic, military and diplomatic benefits. There is no doubt for the US that all is well that ends well.

However, as no benefit comes with any costs, the US paid much for the costs of rebalancing. As a result of rebalancing policy during the Obama era, the stationary patterns in the Asia-Pacific went complicated via enormous internal and external costs. The evaluation of these huge burdens can be limited to five aspects: (1) economic crackdown; the increasing military presence of the US in the region to maintain security and economy rose more budgetary pressures, where its FP needed a balance between its power and commitment. (2) deceit between alliances in the region; with the change in the pattern of the region, the US seems to have stepped into the secondary alliance dilemma of "entrapment"¹⁴ as Snyder presupposes when

¹⁴ Entrapment means being dragged into a conflict over an ally's interests that one does not share, or shares only partially (Snyder, 1984 : 447)

the disproportionate costs and risks stemming from rebalancing was by the alliances ridden on the US security guarantees. To put it in a different way, America during the era transformed from 'utilizing' to 'being utilized' with more costs than benefits resulting from the imbalance of power and commitments, (3) rising of Sino-American distrust; as well as intensifying the distrust of China, the US was not able to handle the rising momentum of China while strengthening its relations with neighboring countries, which were already distrustful of China. In this way, Obama administration not just contributed the distrust between China and the US to become worse but also led China go 'west' to strengthen its relations with Russia like the 'Belt and Road Initiative (B&R), which was never good to American interests. What is more, China became proactive in diplomacy in Asia-Pacific region. All in all, rebalancing policy of the Obama administration deteriorated the Sino-American bilateral relations and fell through to limit China, and contributed China to expand its diplomacy towards critical western spaces, (4) fiasco of the Trans-Pacific Partnership (TPP); a fruitless, inconclusive project to the US was the most significant action for the rebalancing. This meant that money and time spent on the project provided the US with almost no significant outcome, (5) a global setback in strategic retrenchment; the Obama rebalance strategy was not a success story to lead the US as the dominant right of the Asia-Pacific economic regulations; instead, the policy inhibited the US to conduct its global retrenchment. Namely, it was not so active as needed in other parts of the world. For example, it might not have pivoted away from the Middle East with lots of problems like Iran nuclear issue, the Syrian war, and the ISIS, the political transformation in Egypt, and so on.

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