

MS International Relations

Analysis of Sino-US Relations in Post 9/11; A New Cold War Perspective

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MOST GRACIOUS AND THE MOST
MERCIFUL”**

Certification

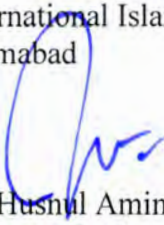
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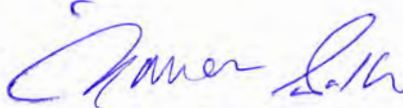
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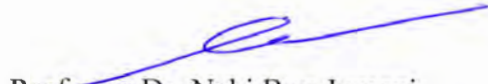
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DEDICATION

To my Late Grandfather (Sahib Khan), He inculcated in me a profound sense of analysing battles and behaviours of States, by telling me stories about battles, kings, and emperors during my Childhood.

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Abstract

The clash of ideologies concluded peacefully in 1992 by creating US a sole superpower, by converting USSR into Russia. China a weak state of history became a new contender of US in the world in the post-Cold War scenario with a robust economy and unconventional armed technology. After 9/11 US became much cognizant about its supreme eminence which compelled US to intervene in the domestic affairs of different countries like Afghanistan and Iraq with myriad goals. US started great cooperation with PRC but she could not overlooked the elements of competition with China in different fields. US became exceedingly concerned with the rising of PRC particularly China's contribution in different regional organizations, its engagements in Middle East, Africa, and all other prosperous regions of the world. US started patronizing Taiwan and Philippine in the South East, India in South Asia to counter the rise of PRC. US contemplates China a competitor in the Central Asia that's why US ensured its continuous presence in the Central Asian regions. US is much apprehensive about the String of Pearls, Considering it a strategic design of PRC. China is busy in a soft balancing strategy against US in diverse regions of the world and it is extraordinarily successful in building a soft image of it in the world. China has become an excellent alternative to the hegemony of US in the Middle East and Africa. It has become the supreme exporter of the world and it is world's second biggest economy. China has made advancements in the space technology and became an inordinate competitor of US in the space. In many issues China do not accept unipolarity and the omnipotence and supremacy of US in the world, issues like, dealing with the Rogue states, its stance towards Taiwan and North Korea. China is not going to compromise when US assists Taiwan against China, when US supports South Korea against North Korea.

List of Abbreviations

ASEAN: Association of South East Asian Nations

AU: African Union

BRICS: Brazil, Russia, India, China, South Africa

CW: Cold War

CWI: First Cold War

CWII: Second Cold War

CPEC: China Pakistan Economic Cooperation

CARS: Central Asian Republics

CIA: Central Investigation Agency

EU: European Union

FT: Foreign Trade

GB: Gilgit Baltistan

KKH: Karakorum Highway

KP: Khyber Pakhtunkhwa

MOSSAD: Intelligence Agency of Israel

NPT: Non-Nuclear Proliferation Treaty

NATO: North Atlantic Treaty Organization

PRC: Peoples Republic of China

RC: Republic of China

RAW: Research and Analysis Wing

SAARC: South Asian Association for Regional Cooperation

SA: South Asia

SAE: South East Asia

SR: Silk Route

SCO: Shanghai Cooperation Organization

SCS: South China Sea

SC: Security Council

US: United States

UNO: United Nations Organization

USSR: Union of Soviet States of Russia

UAE: United Arab Emirates

WTC: World Trade Centre

WWII: Second World War

WTO: World Trade Organizations

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Chapter One

Introduction

1.1 Introduction

The history of world politics has been the history of competition among different nations for supremacy. War has been used as a tool for the competition among the states. The conception of supremacy over other states is almost very much old phenomenon. Nations struggle for dominance and preservation of superiority was experienced in the history and it is practiced by United States of America in the contemporary world. Modern world experienced two disparaging and chaotic wars in the 20th century only because of the desire of different major powers like Germany, Japan, Italy, United Kingdom, France, USSR and USA, to be superior in the world. After Second World War nations comprehended that wars are damaging, fashioned international organizations like United Nations (UNO) but still the factor of competition persisted in the world in the form of Cold War. After altering the world map, Cold War ended peacefully.

In the post- Cold War the superpower of the world, United States started to practice its imperialistic policies in the world. US defeated its outstanding opponent of the Cold War, the Soviet Union. New powers like China appeared on the scenario and became threat for the economic imperialism of USA in the world; particularly in Asia. The emergence of China as an economic giant of the East confirmed the idea that competition of the nations for superiority still exists in the world. Majority of experts and writers are of the view that the world will be multipolar and there will be no war of ideologies. Uni-polarity will not be the

solution of any Cold War because different states of the globe are always in competition with one another, this competition is itself a Cold War among the nations.

A New Cold War is referred to the rising tensions between USA and Russia. Cold War between Soviet Union and USA was over by converting Soviet Union into Russia. Putin's rise in Russia and his statements against the hegemony of USA and growing strength of NATO stirred researchers of the world politics like Edward Lucas to use new terms like "New Cold War" in his book. He argues that "My shorthand term for the new Era of uneasy confrontation between the west and the kremlin is "New cold war". (Lucas, 2008) In the post 9/11 scenario both USA and China are conjoining in many fronts. This collaboration can be a guarantee for many researchers, for a peaceful future. During Cold War USA and Soviet Union were liaised in many fronts, they even conserved trade relations with each other during "détente". No doubt a huge cooperation is existed between USA and China but a race for supremacy is still there. This competition can be called a new type of Cold War. A well-known realist scholar John Mearsheimer maintains that "there is greater possibility of US and China going to war in future than there was of a Soviet –NATO general war during the Cold War" (Keck, 2014)

China has become a potential threat for the economic hegemony of USA in the world. A second Cold War has been started between USA and China in the post-Cold War scenario without proper announcement. This second Cold War is in fact a Colder war than the first Cold War. In the first Cold War, hard power was used to counter the opponents. Use of soft power is the main apparatus which is being used atomic powers like China to counter the hegemony of United States in the world.

China by being a greatest exporter of the world has been the biggest investor in Middle East and Africa. It has started cooperation with Rogue States like North Korea and Iran, despite the imposition of sanctions by the US on those countries.

US intervention in Afghanistan and Middle Eastern countries is nothing to do with the exportation of democracy but its mere a way to check the rising of PRC in the region. SinoUS competition on the earth is apparent but this competition has also reached in the space. US is super power in the space technology and the only competitor of US in space technology is PRC.

In a short period of time from 1990 to 2015 China has made a remarkable advancement in every arena of life which is a prospective threat for US's domination because US don't want to see a challenger for her hegemony in the world.

1.2- Statement of the problem

The issues like rising economy of China and its need for oil reservoirs, the issue of Taiwan State, China's relations with the "Rogue" States and the USA's fight against Rogue states have created a Cold War competition between China and USA. The present study aims to explore that, is there any new Cold War between US and China? And how both the states view each other's position in world politics?

1.3- Significance of the study

This study will fill many gaps in the existing literature through addition of knowledge in the respective area of research. It will open new avenues of thought and will open new ways to think about the relations of great powers in a Nuclear World. In the 21st century USA is performing its governance all over the world, some powers like PRC are growing with a high tempo. China's rise can become a great challenge for the hegemonic powers like USA. The rise of China is in fact a magnificent question for the researchers and writers of the international politics. Particularly the future peace of the world is deeply concerned with this statement. This study will bring new realities between the relations of two great powers like USA and China after 9/11. This study will be helpful for the upcoming researchers in the field of international relations and especially it will be helpful for the researchers of the great power relations in the world. Above all this research will add one more feather to the crown of international relations study.

1.4- Review of literature

Joseph S Nye (2008) in his article "Taiwan and fear in US-China ties" published in *TAIPEI TIMES*, maintained that "today the greatest prospect of destabilizing incident lies in the Taiwan Strait". Taiwan can be the cause of tension between US and China in the future.

In September 18, 2012 Muhammad Arif Shafi in his Article "The Cold War II: U.S and China, in *Global research*, says that "Cold war has been started between USA and China. Without any proper declaration Cold War has started with the difference of opinion and some recent developments many world affairs give evidence of it. Cruz (2014) in his article "The second Cold War" published in the *OPINION* has given his point of view that Putin want to recover the Soviet Union and want to become a superpower again. The multibillion dollar agreement which was signed between China and Russia for natural gas pipeline. This agreement will provide sufficient energy supply to China, it will strengthen relations of both these countries. Quansheng Zhao and Guoli Liu (2007) in his article "The challenges of a rising China" published in the journal "*Strategic studies*" argues that a rising China provides great challenges and opportunities for the peace of globe in twenty first century. In 2002

A.V.Lele in his article "China as a Space Power" published in the *STRATEGIC ANALYSIS* says that for the last 30 years China is making advances in the space technology. It will arise as space power in the near future and it will be a heavy threat for USA.

Horace Campbell (2008) in his article "China in Africa: Challenging US global hegemony in 2008 maintained that the emergence of China in the Africa has complicated the tussle of EU and USA in Africa and it has become a great question for US hegemony in the region.

Charles W Kegley Jr (2004) in his book "World Politics" has mentioned "a new global hegemon". He views China as a global richest country of future. This has created a fear in USA. M Ehsan Ahrari (2007) in his article "The beginning of a new Cold War?" in the

journal "European security" has mentioned that an expanding NATO and US hegemonic activities in Yugoslavia and Iraq has generated a great challenge for both China and Russia.

Justin Hempson (2009) in his article "managing a rising power" in the *Rusi journal*, is hopeful of managing China as rising power. He considers China as a rising challenger to USA because of her defence spending about 90\$billion, Garpreet S Khorana (2005) in his article "China's String of Pearls' in the Indian ocean and its security implications." In journal *strategic Analysis* has expressed *Strings of Pearls* as beginnings of military strategic end. Qinxin Ken Wang (2008) in his article "In search of stability and multipolarity: China's changing foreign policy towards South East Asia After the Cold War "in *Asian Journal of political science*" has argued that "South East Asia has played an increasingly important role in China's post-Cold War grand strategy to become stable in the region and its progress and opposition to the unipolar world dominated by USA." USA views such relations threat for her.

James Manicon (2014) maintained in his article "China and American super power in East Asia: Is accommodation possible with a question of accommodation between USA and PRC" in the "*Journal of strategic studies*" He argues that American maritime hegemony in the east can be a challenge for China.

Michael MC Davit (2014) in his article "The East China Sea: The place where Sino-US conflict could occur." In *Journal American foreign policy interests: The journal of national committee on American foreign policy*" in *American Foreign policy Interests: The Journal of National Committee on American Foreign policy*" argued that China and USA can be involved in a conflict in the East China sea if China and Japan come to blows over sovereignty. USA will not intervene directly because China has grown militarily so that USA will start a cold war to minimize the influence of Chinese her in the region.

J. Peter Pham (2009) in his article "China's surge in the Middle East and its implications for US interests" in *American Foreign Policy Interests* argued that China has engaged in Middle East for its energy needs in the future. But he has ignored the strategies of USA in the Middle East to contain any future competitor by keeping huge arms in the region. Keeping huge army in the region clearly shows that USA is preparing for a second Cold War with China in the region.

Ren li (2007) in his article "The China challenge: theoretical perspectives and policy implications" in the journal of the "Re- emergence of China" will cause instability in the world, but the point is that China is developing peacefully; it can only be a grave challenge when any power fights war with China Flynt Leverett and Jaffrey Bader (2010) in the Journal "The Washington quarterly" in article "managing China-US Energy competition in the Middle East" are engaged for energy requirements and it can be challenge for United States.

Huang An-Hao (2009) in his thesis "The maritime strategy of China in the Asia pacific region" has argued that China has shifted from traditional land power to maritime power for conducting strategic counter strike" Christopher Marsh (2010) in his article "New cold War, new NATO, and new states in a desecularizing eastern Europe" in "The review of faith and international affairs" "has argued that a new Cold War is not possible with Russia". Geoffrey Forden (2008) in his article "Viewpoint: China and space war in "Astropolitics: The international Journal of space politics and policy" considers China's space technology as threat for US dominance in the earth and space. This space technology has become a threat that's why USA is fighting a war like Cold War with China. Jin Canrong (2010) in his article "The US global strategy in the post-cold war Era and its implications for China-United States relations: A Chinese perspective" maintained that US post-Cold War policy is engagement and enlargement strategy.

1.5- Gap of knowledge

Many writers are of the view that a New Cold War may be possible between USA and Russia again. It is an incredible view that USA is fighting an already New Cold War with China in many fragments of the world like, in the Middle East, in the Indian Ocean and in East Asia, in the Central Asia. A great debate has been engendered by the rising of China. Much has been written on the engagement of USA and PRC but what are the suspicions and what USA is doing to address an arising competitor. Still many writers of the world politics are optimistic about the rise of a challenger to the super power but its looks quit impossible because where ever the factor of competition lies a conflict becomes more likely. USA needed to fight a Cold War in an atomic age for more than 46 years to become a super power, when a new challenger arises then it will need such a long period of tension to become a superpower. Economic development has replaced the old techniques of arms race and military preparedness, in this scenario the economic development of China is seen as a peaceful development. The competition of economic development is itself a New Cold War because an economic war has been replaced the traditional war in the modern period.

Many writers and researchers of the Cold War still consider Russia with a strong SCO can be a challenge for the hegemony of USA in the world particularly in Asia. China is not considered as a strong challenger for USA because of its policy of peaceful development. The point is that China will be the leading power and Russia with the Central Asian Countries will be the most allied allies of China in the region.

1.6- Research Questions

Q1: Will the rise of China be a challenge for the hegemony of US in the world?

Q2: How the US will deal with an economic rising China in the future?

Q3: Is there any New Cold War between US and China?

Q4: How the New Cold War is different from the Old Cold War?

1.7- Theoretical Framework

USA is neither a permanent friend nor does it remains a long-lasting ally of any nation. The Sino- US relations in the post 9/11 scenario, USA depicts that it is deeply concerned about the rising of China. The element of competition lies between these two countries. USA always followed a realist foreign policy in the past. Many realist scholars in USA like Mearsheimer view the rising of China pessimistically. States following a realist foreign policy use war as a technique to achieve their long term and medium term objectives in the international politics. USA has fought many bloody wars in the past with different countries to procure such a higher prominence of the superpower. Realists maintain that in a unipolar world other powers will emerge and the predominant status of USA will not last forever. (Lir. 1999) It involved itself in two destructive World Wars and finally appeared as a super power in the world stage. After World War II USA felt the need to dominate some Atomic powers like Soviet Union which USA considered its competitors. USA used another tactic to become a super power by instigating a Cold War. USA won the Cold War and became a formidable superpower in the world.

The realistic policy which USA followed made it a superpower and still it is the policy which can guarantee its dominance in the world politics. "For realists, The Emergence of China as a potential great power in the international system must be understood within the context of the end of bipolarity and the advent of a 'unipolar movement' following the

disintegration of the Soviet Union” (Lir, 1999) In 2005 USA made a civil nuclear agreement with such a state which was a non-signatory of non-nuclear proliferation (NPT). Although this move was against of international law but realist states do not accept international law when it legislates against their interests. By signing a nuclear deal with India, USA want to maintain a balance of power in Asia. China is becoming a hegemon in Asia which USA considers a threat to its hegemony. Both China and India have traditional animosities with each other.

“The emergence of great powers, is a structurally driven phenomenon.” (Layne, 1993) Neorealism has been applied to this study because the core concern of USA in its relations with China is the struggle for the position and the power. Its motives are power, prestige, and advantage over China. Neo realism also shows a dim view of cooperation which USA and China exercise to maximise their gains, but competition still lies in between them for hegemony. “Any state that want to increase its status in an anarchic world must try to balance its position against the dominance of hegemonic powers.” (Lir, 1999)

China’s cooperation with Rogue states is against international law but despite trade sanctions both Russia and China cooperate with such states like Iran and North Korea. States which follow realist foreign policy always violate international law when it is beyond their States’ interests.

NATO was an alliance to counter communism in Eastern Europe but the existence of this alliance after the peaceful end of Cold War and the emergence of Shanghai Cooperation Organization (SCO) are the examples of one of the famous technique of balance of power like “Alliance and counter alliance”.

As Kenneth Waltz argues, “for a country to choose not to become a great power is a structural anomaly, countries with great –power economies have become great powers, whether or not reluctantly.” (Waltz, 1993)

As it is the old phenomenon of realist school of thought that, "the enemy of your enemy is your friend." In the case of India and USA, the challenger of your challenger is your co-operator. China is a potential threat for USA and India is challenging the rising of China. Both USA and India are co-operators of each other's. They both are perceiving a common competitor. India is preparing to compete China, while China is rising to compete America. USA follows a realist view to compete and counter its challenger. India is also following a realist policy to work with USA to counter a rising China in the region.

On the one side USA is propagating democracy and export of democracy has become its motive to intervene in the domestic affairs of many countries in the world. The overt aim of USA is to make world a suitable place for democracy. On the other hand side she hatches conspiracies to counter China in Asian regions. This is a dual morality which USA is performing. This type of dual morality is functional for the neo-realist school of thought.

Neo-realists accept international law when it suits with their state's interests and disobey it when it is against their interests. India is a non-signatory of Non-Nuclear Proliferation Treaty (NPT). USA want to accept India as a nuclear state, despite, India being a non-signatory of NPT. USA did a nuclear deal with India in 2005. According to international law this deal is not lawful and justifiable. If Iran try to become a nuclear power then USA tried its level best by putting sanctions on Iran to humiliate it in the international community. USA sanctioned India when it became nuclear power, later on it started cooperation with India, because India was needed to counter China in the region.

USA want to create a balance of power in Asia by making India powerful enough to contain China. India has become most allied Non-NATO ally of USA in the region. For USA a rising India is the sign of counterbalance to China. According to realists allies might grow State's power to defend it. USA makes India an Ally for its second Cold War with China.

The economic imperialism of China is not acceptable for both India and USA. USA want to impose its power all over the world through economic domination. In this scenario a rising China becomes potential threat for USA. USA tries to weaken China's economy by making India an imperial power in Asia. Thus USA uses all these tactics along with realism and neorealism to maintain the hegemony of USA in the region.

Both US and China are severely concerned about their existing status in the international Arena. US want to maintain its hegemonic state while China is striving to uplift its current status in the world. Neo-realism assumes that the anarchical structure compels nations to be conscious about their relative position in the disbursement of power. USA and China have unprecedented economic cooperation. This economic cooperation is mere a great game of maximum gain. In this cooperation each state is highly concern about her relative economic gain.

Power is the central concept of neorealism, as US spends 601\$billion for the purpose of maintaining a superior status in the world politics. China spends \$219billion on its military and defence purpose to acquire power in the world. China keeps the greatest standing military for her defence purpose. Both China and US are searching for the core concern of neorealism.

In the past a common enemy drew both US and China near to each other. China allied with USA when she felt USSR a potential enemy for her. Before 1960s USSR was a close friend of China. When China felt USSR's policies against her state interest then suddenly she shifted her favour toward US.

Both China and US are the permanent members of Security Council and propagate nuclear non-proliferation in the world and discourage arms race. Arms race is the central concept of neo-realism. Arms sale constitutes a prominent part of the GDPs of the both these countries. It clearly shows dual game of both the States' policies.

1.8- Objectives of the study

The objectives of this study is to explore the relations of USA and China in a New Cold War perspective. This study has been conducted to analyse the growth of China as future challenge for the hegemony of US in the world. The ambition of this study is to discover the designs of US through which US is going to encounter an upcoming economic superpower like Peoples Republic of China in the future. This study is going to evaluate the reality of a New Cold War, which is in progress between US and China. Various US programs like the policy of exporting democracy to non-democratic nations need a deep analysis; because in the name of exporting democracy what USA is exporting to the world community. This research aims to search out all these truths. All such concerns have been addressed in this study with the reference of opinions and interpretations of diverse intercontinental political geniuses. Furthermore, this research was conducted to fill the gap of study which was found during literature review of this study. To offer new avenues to the researchers of International Relations, has been the objective of this research work.

1.9- Methodology

A descriptive-analytical and qualitative approach has been used for the current research. Both Primary and secondary sources have been accessed to analyse the data. Primary sources include firsthand statements of relevant persons of academics, policymakers and researchers. Secondary sources include books, research papers, articles, web sources, magazines and newspapers.

Online journals from electronic library of HEC have been used as reference sources. Archives have been used as primary source of research.

1.10-Organization of the Study

Chapter One: Introduction

Chapter Two: Background of Sino-US relations

A) Cold War relations

B) Post-Cold War relations before 9/11

Chapter Three: Global Unipolarity and China's response

Chapter Four: Rising China and US policy

Chapter five: Chinese relations with Rogue States

Conclusion

Chapter Two

Background of Sino-US Relations

2.1- Introduction

China had been a magnificent business hub for the world in the history. US had business relations with China in the earlier times. Before Cold War, China and US collaborated in many occasions but China was not a powerful kingdom like Germany and Japan to be much fascinating for US. China's role in the world politics had not been much prominent like Western countries. Republic of China became Peoples Republic of China (PRC) in 1949 after crushing the nationalists who were backed by the US. Cold War relations of US and China were the products of the Cold War which was fought between US and USSR from 1945 to 1989. The creation of PRC out of China was in fact an initial failure of US's Cold War with USSR. US focussed on East Europe to counter USSR and the threat from USSR restricted US to acquire its desired results in the late uprising of 1948 in China among the Nationalists and communists.

Different events in the Cold War period became the cause of divergence in the mutual relations of US and China. The dispute of Korea made China a direct adversary of USA. When Korean War 1950 was started by US for the cause of United Korea, which forced Mao to send Chinese armed forces into Korea to safeguard the existence of such a "buffer state" like North Korea. (Roy, 2011) China positioned its forces on North Korea because China sensed the manifestation of US in its neighbourhood is a threat for her. North Korea was a country backed by USSR and South Korea was backed by USA. North Korea favoured communism while South Korea was in Favour of capitalism. By being a communist state China became a close ally of USSR and North Korea. US was trying to contain the domino effect of communism in Asia.

Vietnam War became another case where both US and USSR tried to encounter each other. North Vietnam was supported by USSR and China and South Vietnam was supported by the US. USA lost its more than 50000 personals in this bloodiest War. US faced a serious setback in the Vietnam War.

Taiwan problem had been the bone of contention between USA and China in the times gone by. This problem passed through different phases in the Cold War. US supported the nationalists in Taiwan from the very first day when its efforts were failed to support a nationalist government in China. US provided aid and support to the nationalists of Taiwan Strait. During the Cold war US decided not to support Taiwan as a sovereign entity but again it became a problem of contention between China and USA. After 1971 US tried to make sound relations with the Communist State of China because USSR had postured many threats to the domination of US in the world. The clash between USSR and China gave way to US to make close ties with it. Henry Kissinger provided diplomatic way and Nixon established approachable relations with China by assuring cooperation on many fronts.

Tiananmen crisis once again troubled Sino-US relations but the relations were reinstated soon. China was enforced sanctions by the US and other countries in 1989. Cold War ended peacefully in 1989. USSR was dismembered into Russia and US started cooperation with China. President Zemin and President Bill-Clinton visited US and China respectively and assured cooperation among these two states. The issue of Taiwan remained unsettled and it draw attention from both nations.

2.2- Sino-US Relations before Cold War

In the ancient times China was a greatest civilization but in the contemporary history China's role in the world politics remained passive. US was previously a colony of Great Britain but later on in 1776 it became an independent state. In the aftermath of World War I it appeared as a Great Power on the world stage. China was famous for trade in the history so US and China enjoyed trade in the past. Sino-US relations are deeply rooted in the history. The first embassy of China was made in the US in 1878. China established a diplomatic mission in Washington DC. This historical move originated two-pronged relations between the two countries. In 1900 anti-foreign reactions gave rise to Boxer uprising. Foreigners were confronted but boxers were badly crushed. In 1905 China became an ally of US but later on treaty of Versailles could not fulfilled its hopes. China was hoped by President Wilson to give them the former businesses that japan had taken. (Office of the Historians)

In 1942 China and the US made a "Wartime alliance". General Joseph Stilwell was sent to Chongqing as advisor of US army to the Chinese Government. A civil war was broke out in China in 1946 among the communists and Nationalists. President S Truman of US tried to negotiate it but could not become likely for him. Later on in 1947 President S Truman sent

General Wedemeyer mission to China to evaluate the situation of civil war. US favoured to give aid to nationalists on recommendations of Wedemeyer. US gave aid to nationalists but they could not provide much aid because they had provided much more aid to Europe at that time. The defeat of nationalists were obvious in 1948. US provided aid to the adversaries of communists and communism finally founded Peoples Republic of China in 1949. Mao-Zedong established China was inclined towards Russia but Truman tried his level best to draw the attention of China towards US but all was in vain. US's support for nationalists of China was in fact a greatest failure of US on the starting of Old Cold War. This failure of US was due to its extra aid delivery to Europe and its activities in the East Europe. (Office of the Historians)

China was considered a 'graveyard for American officials' in the World War II. (Holt, 1944) American forces faced a lot of problems due to the differences in weather, culture, and language in dealing with military activities. China had been a low priority in the Allies; strategy that's why it received minimum aid from her allies. Lend-lease aid of US to China in 1943 and 1944 was 1.5 of the total aid set by it. (Young, 1963)

2.3- US-China Relations during Cold War

The period starting from 1945 to 1989 is historically categorized as the period of Cold War between USSR and USA. Both of these countries were fighting for the supremacy in the world community. US was proliferating democracy and USSR was scattering communism in the world. This was in fact a greatest clash of ideologies. The clash of ideology placed China on the communist block automatically because communists had founded PRC. During the initial years of the Cold War China became People's Republic of China. The formation of China as a communist state was in fact a greatest setback for US. During this period China became a centre of attention for USA. At first it tried to contain the domino effect of communism and also it stressed to contain China. Sundararaman stated that "What followed

between 1949 and the early 1970s was the response of the United States to what they conceived as the threat from the communist ideology." (Sundararaman, 1999) Later on US tried to come closer to PRC because China had instigated some border skirmishes with the USSR. US started cooperating with a communist state despite its fight and containment policy about communism. Throughout the Cold War period many ups and downs are been seen in the relationship of US and China. Taiwan problem has been a dominant issue between these two States during Cold War period. Cold War period was a difficult period for USA because it was fighting with a communist giant USSR near to China and it was very close partner of China before 1969 boarder clash between PRC and USSR.

a) Period of Restrained Relations 1949-1969

Mao led China became threat for US in the Cold War. For more than 20 years (1949-1969) US tried to contain China's communism. US alleged China an unsympathetic state that propogates threat for its neighbours. On the Eastern and Southern borders of China, US had raised an off-shore line of military treaties. These included alliances with Japan, South Korea, and Taiwan. USA formed South East Asian Treaty Organization (SEATO) to counter communism and its domino effect. Pakistan and Australia were also members of this treaty. Washington strictly proscribed its allies not to enter into diplomatic relations with Beijing. US citizens were banned to visit China. US cut-off trade relations with China. (Asia for Educators)

In 1950 Korean War was started by General Douglas led US army in the 38th parallel and drove north towards China. Chinese armed forces came to guard their boarders and this became a direct clash between China and US since the Boxer Uprising of 1900. US and China's clash stirred anti-US sentimentalities in China. To press China Truman sent seventh fleet into Taiwan Strait. China tried to put an end to nationalists in Taiwan but US continued assisting Jieshi government in 1954. In 1958 PRC once again tried to obliterate nationalists of

Taiwan, again US impeded by sending ships into Taiwan Strait. In 1964 Vietnam War became another bone of contention between USA and PRC. Here in this case US buttressed South Vietnam. USSR was fighting in favour of North Vietnam. USSR and PRC were facing the same threat in this war. PRC became a nuclear power in 1964 which posed a grave threat to US in the region. In 1969 a conflict between PRC and USSR was erupted which made both these communist partners as grand opponents. (Office of the Historians) This border dispute gave a chance to the Western world to make friendship with PRC. US benefited from this incident.

b) Period of Reconciliation 1970-1979

China and USSR's conflict finally gave a golden chance to United States to come closer to PRC. China needed US to force USSR and USA needed any pretext to leave Vietnam War. The National security advisor of USA Henry Kissinger visited China many times in 1972 through a "backdoor diplomacy". He made ground for President Nixon's visit to China. USA finally came near to China through its most allied ally Pakistan. Nixon visited China in 1972. This visit became a great development in the reconciliation process between China and USSR. Zhou Enlai and Nixon signed Shanghai Communiqué. This communiqué acknowledged that Taiwan is the part of China. US vowed to pull out its forces and all installations from Taiwan. (Asia for Educators)

In 1971 China joined United Nations Organizations (UNO). According to Kamath "China was made an acceptable player in international relations by the US under the geopolitical and geo-strategic policies pursued by Richard Nixon and ably implemented by his national security advisor, Henry Kissinger." (Kamath, 1998)

Ambassadorial talks were re-started in 1970 after cultural revolutions, US and Chinese ambassadors met in Warsaw. In 1971 China invited the US to China. The Chinese ping-pong team went to US in 1972. The period from 1970s onward witnessed a fast progression of institution building. China became an international economy by opening its trade with the US. But US continued restrictions on the exports of technology to the PRC. During this phase US exported to China more than its imports from China. Trade between these two countries enlarged very speedily. In 1978 the total trade was \$1.1 billion and in 1979 it became \$2.3 billion. (Wang, 2013)

In 1979 Deng visited US to make some agreements with some companies. The two countries signed trade contracts. On the other way in the same year USA signed Taiwan relations act in 1979. This act provided military and other backing to Taiwan and delivered military and other support to Taiwan and provided guidelines for future trade and other relations. (Office of the Historians)

c) Period of Full Political Relations 1979-1989

China increased its trade with US in this period through progress and reforms. In 1982 the third communique was issued. In this communique US agreed to a peaceful solution on Taiwan issue. Reagan administration still assured Taiwan that it would help the island and its government.

In 1984 the president of China Li Xiannian turn out to be the first president to visit US. President Reagan visited China as a third US president to visit China. In 1986 China joined some international organizations like Asian Development Bank and applied for membership in GATT and WTO. US did not approve the entry of China in GATT and WTO. At that time, due to some reservations about the degree of openness of China's Economy. In 1988 both the US

and China agreed to allow the Peace Corps to begin sending its volunteers to China. The first Group reached in 1992. (Office of the Historians)

In 1989 Tiananmen crisis became cause of another divergence in the US-China relations. In Tiananmen more than 400 protestors were crushed by China which revived many questions about the unpredictable and intimidating mood of China. US and other nations enforced economic sanctions on PRC. US citizens left China to their country. On the other side president George W Bush continued his relations with senior Chinese officials clandestinely. Although this event incited a lot of criticism but the diplomatic ties between US and PRC were maintained and not destroyed. (Office of the Historians)

This event also showed the attitude of China towards democracy and human rights. China's autocratic nature was exposed in this crisis. US could not take a stern standpoint against China only because it had freshly got rid of a Cold War with USSR. USA was not in a position to respond China in this matter.

2.4- Post-Cold War Relations before 9/11

US became superpower after the dismemberment of USSR in 1991. It really became a problem for China to continue its relations with a superpower. The potential competitor after USSR was the rising China for US. US took China's rise seriously and started to counter rising China in different parts of the world. According to Sundararaman "From July 1991, the United States policy towards China centred around what came to be known as "constructive engagement" the essence of which was the continued interaction with China and the use of diplomatic leverage to address certain concerns that it had, while at the same time the granting of MFN status would assure that the trade relations remained unaffected."

(Sundararaman, 1999) On September 2, 1992 George W Bush sold 150 F-16 fighter Jets to

Taiwan. This move posed a great threat for Beijing, its relations with US were worsened. US on 2, October 1992 signed US-Hong Kong policy act. China staged huge demonstrations all over the country on this act. On September 7, 1994 US tried to advance its official level Taiwan office. It changed the name of the "Taiwan negotiation committee in North America" into "Taiwan economic and cultural office in US". For China it portrayed alarming signs of threat. On May 22, 1995 the government of US allowed the leader of Taiwan to pay his private visits to US. For China, USA violated the principles of three communiques that were joined by both US and China to collaborate with each other. Relations between the two countries were impaired by these events. (Qichang)

China started assisting some states which were under the patronage of USSR. US Called these states as "Rogues" because they spread terrorism and aid terrorists. States like Iran, North Korea and Libya which were previously close associates of USSR were considered by the US as "Rogues". The approach of PRC towards all these states has a direct with the attitudes of US towards them. According to Roy "The loss of Soviet patronage with the breakup of Soviet Union left an economically under-performing North Korea more dependent on China." (Roy, 2011) Similarly Iran had become anti-US state in Asia which joined USSR and later on tried to seek favour of PRC. A great adjustment in Sino-Iran "Nuclear Cooperation" took place in July 1991, when Li Peng waged a formal visit to Iran. Li and Rafsanjani jointly stated their opinions about the collaboration between the two nations. China agreed to create a fissile plant at Bushehr. (Garver, 2006) Although US had many reservations on this cooperation but China continued cooperation with these states.

On November 4th 1997 president of PRC Zemin visited USA. In this visit Zemin and his counterpart President Clinton delivered a joint communique that realized cooperation towards a productive strategic partnership in 21st century. This visit greatly endorsed

cooperation in different fields of assistance like politics, economy, Science and technology. US president Bill Clinton visited China in 1998 and assured that US does not accept Taiwan as a sovereign entity. Chinese premier Rongji's visit to China in April 6-14, 1999 further make stronger the agreements of Zemin and Clinton. (Qichang) In 1999, again a new incident occurred which became the cause of divergence between China and US relations, this episode was the bombing of Chinese embassy by a US led NATO force propelled a missile attack that hit the Chinese embassy in Belgrade, it killed three Chinese reporters. Chinese condemned this ruthless strike of US-led NATO force attack. China claimed that the UN should issue a condemnation that the NATO bombarding was a bellicosity. It further demanded that

- 1- Apologise officially to the Chinese and Chinese government.
- 2- Examine the bombing.
- 3- Expose the outcome of the investigation.
- 4- Punish those who were in authority.
- 5- After frequent excuses President Clinton and NATO spokesmen failed to convince China. (Gao, 2000) US claimed it as an accident and not an international attack on China. China US relations faced another grave problem here in this Stage.

On May 25 1999 the Cox report suspects China of thieving US nuclear technology. Zhu Rongji the prime minister of China said that "US had made two mistakes; understanding its own abilities in confidentiality and underestimating Chinese ability to develop military weapons." On December 11, 1999, US government detained Wen-Ho-Lee a Chinese American Scientist who was blamed of leaking US nuclear information to China. The incident undesirably affected the relations of US and China. On April 2001, an air crash incident again tumbledown the relations of US and China. A US spy plane bombed into a Chinese air force plane on South China Sea. (Qichang)

Although policy-makers from US, PRC and Japan all approve that the China-US ties have not reached a phase of inclusive strategic partnership, they have unlike views concerning the forthcoming trend of the mutual relations. (Hu, 1999) The world politics took a new turn after the catastrophic events of 9/11. US transformed its policy towards the third world countries. Prior to that US ambition was to make world safe for democracy. After 9/11 US implemented hard-hitting approach towards "Rogue" states like Iran, North Korea, Syria and all other Rogues. US policy focussed to make third world countries like Afghanistan, Iraq and other countries free from terrorism. In the pretext of war on terror US introduced its robust existence in Asia to hostage the growing power of China and Russia.

2.5- Conclusion

Although cooperation between USA and China has been witnessed in the history but at the same time dissimilarities between the conduct and behaviour of both of the states are clearly seen in the bilateral interaction of these two states. The most important issue which creates differences between these two states is the question of Taiwan which had been the bone of contention between US and China. The forthcoming situation across Taiwan is not yet certain between the China and US. (Hu, 1999) The target of US during the initial years of the Old Cold War was to contain the spreading of communism of China which was badly failed due to US's efforts in other continents like East Europe. Mao led Communist China considered US as its opponent because US was propagating democracy in the world. Many issues became causes of divergence between US and China's mutual relations during the Cold War. The issues of Korean War and Vietnam War were strong matters which made US a treacherous enemy of China in the region. Some issues like the clash of USSR and China, became solid cause of convergence between these two states.

The issue of Taiwan remained an unsettled issue between US and China even in the post-Cold War scenario. Despite passing three joint communiques the issue of Taiwan remained ambiguous and unsettled. US had reinforced Taiwan many times in the history and it continued the same in the post-Cold War. During Cold war USSR was potential threat for US. US's policies were countering the policies of USSR in different parts of the world. China conventionally had many boarder disputes with almost every neighbours. Its boarder clash with India became cause of a huge outbreak of a war. China' boarder dispute with USSR provided a grand chance for US to converge with China. Although US benefited from this clash. This dispute was not conspired by the US but it was China's traditional matter with the USSR.

Historically, the relation between the two states have been based on trade. US always tried to check the progression of China in different fields of life. In 1964 China surprised the whole world through its nuclear tests later on it entered in the United Nations Organization. (UNO) in 1971. China's entry in the UN made it clear that it gave up neutrality. Prior to that PRC was not interested in world politics.

USA was much fearful about the grand triangle in the late 1960s which was about to be made by USSR, China and India. On the one side China and USSR's clash of (1969) disturbed this grand triangle strategy and on the other hand the Sino-Indian war (1962) ruined this plan of the three countries. These events became most favourable for USA which brought USA near to India. These events also brought China near to US. USA started its support to India and prohibited Pakistan not to interfere in Sino-Indian war. Pakistan started its relations with China which was disregarded by USA and India. The whole political environment in the Asian continent was changed in a dramatic manner. This changed environment favoured US rising as a super power.

Some other differences between the two countries like the dealing and cooperation of China with the Rogue states like Iran, North Korea and Libya was clearly different from that of USA. US always tried to seclude these states during and after the Cold War. China's relations with all these Rogues also created great differences between the two states. PRC and Iran cooperated in nuclear technology just after the end of Cold War, it had a profound cooperation with North Korea. The issue of dealing with Rogue states is remain unsettled between the two countries.

Chapter Three

Global Unipolarity and China's Response

3.1 Introduction

The old Cold War ended calmly by making US a super power and the world became Unipolar. Multi-polarity disappeared when USSR was dissected into fifteen states. US started to run-through hegemony over the world. It became the sole superpower to influence the whole world. China was once a probable threat for capitalism in the East became a collaborator of US after 1971. Both of these powers tried to contain USSR. China became nuclear power and joined international organizations in the Cold War period and gradually became a major power. The economy of China was increased leaps and bounds after 1970s. After 1990s the economic growth of China became quicker in an extraordinary manner. US became apprehensive about the progression of China in the post-Cold war scenario. All other powers except China and Russia displayed submission to the superpower of the time the USA. China and Russia still contemplate the world as a multipolar world. Multipolarity has been a momentous aim of China's foreign policymaking process in the post-Cold War period. (Shi, 2009) China being a communist state facilitated many rogue States like Iran, North Korea and Syria and also it assisted some "Pariah" states like Zimbabwe. Chinese strategies show that it has no any apprehensions about the global unipolarity.

China embraced a “soft balancing” strategy after the end of Cold War. Although China had made it crystal clear that it will not compromise with its “national interest”. The issue of Taiwan falls in the National Interest of China. China can fight a full-fledged war if Taiwan is backed by the US to fight against China. China’s military preparedness, its advancement in the Space, its technology advancement display that China is formulating itself for a grander rivalry in the world. China has become a latent challenger for US in almost all landmasses of the world. In the Middle East China has shaped a soft image, every state is ready to join forces with China in every compass. China imports enormous amount of oil to fulfil its energy requirements. China is a biggest source of imports for different Middle Eastern countries. Some Middle Eastern countries like Iran and Syria even deliberate China an equalizer of USA in the region.

China’s trade dealings have hauled the industrialised countries in the South East. Australia and South Korea were adversaries of China, now they reflect it a dependable partner for business. China’s relations have deviate these countries from the US. In the African continent China has been more popular power than European Union and USA. China imports myriad number of oil barrels from Africa and it is busy in Africa in countless projects. In China’s diplomacy the production of networks of outgoing “friendly supporters” in Africa has become a noteworthy task. (Shi, 2009) China performances in Africa as a super power. It is trustworthy in Africa as a super power. Even the American continent has been a place of China’s influence. China Fascinates left-inclined leaders of American continent like Venezuela and Brazil are prime co-operators of China. Its participation in different regional Organizations like Shanghai Cooperation Organization (SCO) and BRICS has influenced many great powers of the world. These all activities of China portray that it is reacting against the global Unipolarity.

Although China has collaboration in many fields with USA, it has trade relations, it has strategic relations but China cannot compromise with its national interests in this unipolar world. Clash of interests between US and China are visible in a unipolar world. This Chapter states that how China is operating its "soft balancing strategy" through engagements in different energy hubs of the world? How China is answering the Unipolarity of the world by influencing different regions of the world?

3.2- China's "Soft Balancing" Strategy of US

Although China is a growing power in the world but in Asia it is a grown power. China is balancing US in Different domains of influence where US is enjoying its domination. China is one of the supreme business partner of Middle East; it is prime investor in Africa and it is famous in the South East. China has also reinforced its business ties with those countries of American Continent who are leaning towards communism. Through business relations with the whole world China has produced a soft image in different countries of the world where anti-US sentiments are found in a myriad number. China has massive trade relations with European Union and it is also member of ASEAN and one of the greatest partner of ASEAN group of countries.

The five approaches Beijing has introduced under Hu's headship. The first policy is to enrich its economy and to maintain its reconstruction and progress, USA will closely cooperate with the US.

Secondly Beijing has associated its benefits with US, both will carry anti-terrorist drives, the "six party talks on North Korea" non-proliferation of military and other tactical issues.

Thirdly China has established a good neighbour policy. South East Asia is dominated by US, so China has embraced outgoing relations with the region.

Fourthly China has advanced amicable relations with major powers like France, Germany, and European Union.

Fifthly China will not compromise with its "national interest" and "sovereignty" despite its pacifying policy which has been mentioned above. Taiwan issue falls in this category. China will not display any tolerance when its national interest and sovereignty is confronted. (Zhao, 2005) The above four strategies are the ways of "soft diplomacy" of China. Traditionally in the Old Cold War, hard power had been used to intimidate the challengers and antagonists.

Politically China and US strive for supremacy in regional organizations. This is grasped in South East Asia. US is prevailing in APEC, China dominates Association of South East Nations (ASEAN) but US is not a member of ASEAN. (US-Asean Business Council, n.d.) China is the second largest importer of oil from Middle East. Middle Eastern countries are warmly welcoming their trade with China. Many countries like Iran and Syria have massive trade relations with China because they contemplate it a counterweight to US. In the Middle East China's soft diplomacy has been a threat for the supremacy of US in the region.

In Central Asia China is well-thought-out as a trustworthy partner, Kazakhstan is the main focus of China's consideration in Central Asia. This is the location of Beijing's most determined pipeline plan to date, and it is also a striking overseas attainment "Petro Kazakhstan" for US\$ 4.18 billion during 2005. (Goldstein, 2006) China is receiving enormous energy deliveries from Africa. China is becoming one of the main seller of Nigeria's Soldierly hardware. Nigeria is going to welcome Chinese backing and prefer Chinese support then that

of US. (Mathani, 2006) China has robust relations with the “pariah” countries of Africa like Zimbabwe. It acquired Chinese armaments worth \$240million in June 2004. (Eisenman, 2005)

In 2003 the total venture in Africa has been augmented to \$35 billion in 2003. (Shelton, 2005)

In the Latin America China is busy in a trade and “resource diplomacy” to cooperate with the left-tilting leaders. Sino-Brazilian relations are primarily grounded on trade.

(Hawksley, 2006) China’s 2003 importing of 2.4million tons of Brazilian steel, worth \$370 million, made China one of Brazil’s topmost three export destinations. (Benson, may 2014)

Venezuela purchases martial belongings from China. Venezuela’s buying of Air defence RADARs would be a peril for US. (Times, 2005) European Union is China’s paramount trading partner. Its trade with EU is even grander than that with US and Japan. (Wu, 2004)

China’s soft power has subjugated the South East Asia. Trade with this area is rising and Chinese language, ethos and values have become a trend of this Area. Ethnic Chinese societies in the South East are re-making their associations with Chinese. Australia and Chinese relations are grooming in a proper manner. Australia has begun to depart from US. In this way Australia deviates from US policies. In the North East, China’s economic ties with South Korea appeals Seoul from US and nearer to PRC (Goldstein, 2006) Goldstein further demonstrates the claim of two Chinese analysts that China’s rise is different from that of the former powers because it is just a passive reinstatement of ex-capabilities and is also part of Asia’s greater rise. (Goldstein, 2006)

3.3- Chinese Engagements in the Middle Eastern Region

a) China's Exploration of Oil

Chinese pursuit for oil has turned out to be its coercion to make inordinate bonds with the Middle Eastern region. According to Bader "in nine years From 1993-2002 Beijing's oil demand raised to 90%, but the local production was raised not more than 15%. By 2004 her "oil demand had risen to six million barrels per day, with 40% coming from imports" (Bader) such an extraordinary demand for oil entails some durable relations with oil rich countries of the world. As China is the biggest population in the world, similarly its need for oil is highest in the world. This higher need for oil has forced it to have good relations with Middle Eastern countries of the world. This year China is estimated to surpass the United States as the largest petroleum importer, and Beijing will soon get over 60 percent of its oil deliveries abroad.

(Keck, 2014) For this purpose China is ready to offer its services and exports to the Middle East. It will provide technology to further the search of hydrocarbons in the Middle Eastern world. During the last decade, China has tried to nurture its ties with Gulf energy producer States and non-Gulf oil producers like United Arab Emirates, Kuwait, Algeria, Egypt, Sudan and Libya. (Bader, 2010)

US has always been a largest importer of crude oil after World War II. Japan has been a US ally in the post-world war II scenario. China is a new competitor having such a large demand for oil is a new challenge for US in the post-Cold War period. Economic relations grow stronger as compared to other types of relations because these relations create dependence.

The concept of "Economic War" has rightly substituted the traditional war. In future the wars will be only economic. China's engagement for energy in the Middle East has declined the strategic collaboration between the Saudi Arabia and US on many facades. (Bader, 2010)

b) Trade Dealings

China is one of the paramount exporter of the world. Sixty percent of its GDP is composed of its exports. China exports everything to the world except "Democracy". On the contrary USA exports many things with democracy. China has been a most reliable country for the Middle East to import goods. China is also increasing its investment bonds with Saudi Arabia. "In the last 10 years, the annual volume of Saudi imports from China has risen steadily, expanding roughly 600% in aggregate terms over the last decade." (SAMA, 2014)

Saudi Arabia is most allied ally of USA in the region, such investment ties by a competitor like PRC is a clear threat for its hegemony. Although dominating one country through trade is a use of soft power. This usage of soft power can be harmful for USA in the region. In the post 9/11 scenario US has not been an attractive destination for the investments of Saudi Arabia. "The Saudis have turned increasingly to China to help recycle some of the enormous liquidity accumulating in the kingdom from record high oil revenues." (Bader, 2010)

In October 2004 the two states (Iran and China) signed a \$100billion pact permitting the China petroleum and chemical cooperation to yield and transfer up to 10million tons of Iranian liquid natural gas yearly for 25 years. (Pham, 2009)

Before the revolution of 1979 Iran was most allied ally of USA. After revolution Iran became a hard foe of USA. USA did everything to isolate Iran and secluded Iran in every sphere of life but Iran is still in a search of a new power to be a threat for USA. Iran considers China as a counterbalance of USA and have started cooperation with China despite the

sanctions of USA. China and Iran are designing strategies for a 386 kilometre extended pipeline that will carry Iran's oil to the Caspian Sea, from there next pipeline will link it to China through Kazakhstan. (Pham, 2009)

Syria is another country in the Middle Eastern region considering China a super power. USA and other western powers are helping rebels here to topple Assad regime. In 2008 Beijing and Syria signed a treaty to shape a \$1.5billion processing plant in the Eastern portion of the Arab country. (Pham, 2009)

China is equally busy in Arab Emirates as other parts of the Middle East. Its investment in Dubai is unprecedented. China has financed profoundly in marketing arrangements in the Middle East, the 1.2km long, 15000 square meter "Dragon Mart" in Dubai which is the biggest trading centre for products of China outside the "Mainland" China. (Pham, 2009) The exportation of China to Middle East before the end of Cold War as not as high as it started in the post-Cold War scenario. In 2006 it was estimated that Chinese exports to the Middle East were more than \$33billion. (Pham, 2009)

c) Chinese Armed Sales to Middle East

Chinese military sales are very famous in the world. Many countries in the Middle Eastern region rely on Chinese military sales. Iran seeks Chinese support to build its military might. USA has labelled it a rogue state but China never stops its military sale to this region. Iran has established long-range ballistic missile with Beijing's support. (Blumenthal, 2005) China's support to Iran in such a condition when USA is busy in disarming Middle Eastern countries. Here the visible signs of the Cold War alarm the whole world. Notwithstanding the sanctions by the US against many Chinese companies which were proliferating "missile technologies" to Iran, the trade between the two is not stopped. (USCERC, 2008)

Chinese Arm sale to Middle East pose many questions to US imperialism in the region because it is totally against the wishes of USA. USA cannot fight with Middle East but it uses different tactics of the Cold War as it used these tactics in the first Cold War with Soviet Union. It is busy in destabilizing those countries where China's cooperation is unprecedented. China's support for military "build-up" of Iran is beneficial because it would create an arms race in that region which will be advantageous for business. Saudia could not buy intermediate range ballistic missile from US and other western countries, easily acquired many missiles from China. (Pham, 2009)

d) A New Opening of Engagements of China-Middle East via

Pakistan

Pak-China friendship is an unprecedented in this nuclear world. China considers Pakistan a strategic partner in the region. This relation became strongest when India fought a war with China in 1962. China has supported Pakistan in many fronts. China helped Pakistan in making it an atomic power. USA is seriously concerned about this friendship of the two countries. This friendship of the two countries became a serious threat when Asif Ali Zardari the president of Pakistan handed over Gawadar port to China in 2012. Despite external pressures Pakistan gave it to China.

China is working on highways starting from Kashgar of China to the Gawadar port of Pakistan. Through this route China will increase its trade relations with the Gulf region. This route becomes a shorter route for the western China to reach in the Middle East. This route is infect a shortest route for China to reach in the Arab world. The distance from western China to Gulf region is 4000km while the distance from western China through its own harbor is 14000km. Western China will be much developed by doing business with the Middle Eastern region. A railway project from China to Gawadar port is also under construction. Through this scheme China attempts to connect herself with the Arabian

Sea and the Indian Ocean to Check the US's naval movements and the combined drills of Indo-US navies. (Malik, 2014) United States of America is much suspicious about such type of relations between Pakistan and PRC.

USA tried her level best to stop Pakistan in making such relations with PRC. Both India and USA disliked the idea of handing over Gawadar port to China. Both these countries have performed many clandestine actions in the Baluchistan Province of Pakistan. The aim of these powers in Baluchistan is to make that province a greater Baluchistan. From there they want to counter Iran China and then a dismembered Pakistan. US is seeking to get its manifold strategic designs by capturing the wealth of energy of Central Asia. She is also trying to weaken China, Iran, Russia and Pakistan. (Shoukat, 2014) But still Both China and Pakistan have managed Gawadar port suitable for future trade with Middle East. In the upcoming few years Chinese goods will dominate the whole Middle Eastern region.

e) Anti-American Sentimentalities in the Middle East and its

Consequences

After World War II United States dominated the whole Middle Eastern region. US imperialism played a dual morality in the region by giving a huge aid to main Arab opponent Israel in the region. Israel has been the highest aid receiver country from USA. On the one side USA tried to strengthen its relations with Arab world for the importation of crude oil and on the other side it made the foe of Arab, Israel, as a regional hegemon, this dual morality gave birth to strong sentiments like "Anti- Americanism". A soft image of China and love for China developed as a cause of this Anti-Americanism.

As Middle East is hub of Islam. USA and other western powers labelled Muslims as terrorists, fundamentalists, extremists and ignorant. They were considered as responsible for the terrorist attacks in America during the tragic events of 9/11. Anti-Americanism is the product of all such activities of United States in the region. Countries in this region are in search of an alternate of USA.

Iran has tried to pursue permanent membership in Shanghai Cooperation Organization and still is in search of a permanent contract with a country from old communist bloc. Public opinion in the Middle East regarding China is positive. China is not much powerful to be a counterbalance for USA but its activities in the region shows that it will be a hegemon in the region very soon. Sentiments like Anti-Americanism will provide enough space for China to be a counterbalance of USA in the region.

Historically Soviet Union was defeated in the region only because Middle Eastern countries were under the grand influence of western world. Western world declared monotheism as a common practice between Muslims and other Abrahamic religions. Many people in the Middle East were in favour of America only they were followers of monotheism. Soviet Union was propagated as an evil Empire by the western world. They were defamed by calling them Godless People. Communism was published a devil theory. Muslims of the world especially Muslims of Middle East were motivated to join Capitalists bloc.

Situations have been changed in the Arab world. People of the region have known the reality. These people are in search of a new alternate for US imperialism in the region. They have become tired of about American policies in the region. USA could not export democracy while the objective of foreign policy of USA was to export democracy in this region. Middle East became a laboratory for applying different policies in the region like democratization, regime change and balancing the region. General estimation in the Middle East, particularly in the Arab world, shows that China is regarded in a very optimistic way. (Pham, 2009) Middle East is in search of a new alternate for USA and the region considers that alternate the People's Republic of China.

3.4- China's Advancements in Space

China's improvement in the space is not veiled from the modern world. Its competition with the US forced it to improve its capabilities in the space. China's sound military might its immense nuclear capability is not a new idea but it has advanced its nuclear

missile capability also. China is doing all this only to safeguard its national interests which have clash with superpower of the glob in the form of Taiwan issue. The space program of China "is catching up with the rest of the developed world." (Lele, 2002)

China is a rising power so the history of its advancement in space is not as older as that of US. But in short period it has made an unprecedented progress in this field. China's space journey in the last thirty years is impressive by possessing its own indigenous capability, it has proved that its military and space advancement cannot be underestimated. (Lele, 2002) According to Fuxiang, Chinese scientists have prepared more than 40 satellites and spacecraft. (Ning, 2000) China is busy in developing this technology in a highly rapid manner. In future China will achieve strong capabilities in the use of space technology and will drastically change PRCUS balance of military so that US will find it difficult to intervene in the Taiwan Strait. (Lele, 2002)

Space technology has changed the concept of war in the modern world. Competition in the space is one aspect of the New Cold War which has been started at the dawn of 21st century between US and China. Both these powers are showing their muscles in the form of space technology. If US and China are fighting a war for the cause of Taiwan then "it is totally expected that China could considerably reduce the US capability to use space at a strategic level. (Forden, 2008)

Japan's Yomiuri Shimbun reported that China has fashioned a fifth branch of the People's liberation Army dedicated to "space operations". (Keck, 2014) China is trying to upgrade its military with "next generation fighter jet" Ballistic missiles and advanced Naval Vessels is aimed at keeping pace with the US. The two are in veritable arm race in East

Asia. China is constantly building its military with a possible invasion of Taiwan in mind. China has become second largest military spender. After 1995, China has increased its budget by 500 %. (Bender, 2014)

3.5- China's African Policy

According to Tzu "Hence to fight and conquer in all your battles is not supreme excellence; supreme excellence consists in breaking the enemy's resistance without fighting." (Campbell, 2008) This quotation suits on the policies of China towards Africa. China is deeply engaged in Africa not as a hegemon but its presence in this region is the product of its reliability in the region. Almost every nation consider China a trustworthy trade partner. The mutual trade of China and Africa has mounted from US\$81.7 million in 1989 to US \$39.75billion in 2005. (Wu, 2007) Chinese cooperation with Africa has clearly made it a sound alternate of US in the region. Chinese investment potentially provide an alternative for African leaders and entrepreneurs, while providing long term potential for the development of African economies. (Campbell, 2008)

China is one of the greatest exporter of military hardware to Africa. It has established strategic partnership with many countries in the region. South Africa and Beijing initiated a tactical partnership in 2004 (Shi, 2009) African nations have become remarkable political associates in international organizations, as well as progressively more important partners and suppliers of energy resources (Shi, 2009) Africa has been an imperative objective in China's "resource diplomacy" in recent years. China, as a most important power, has presumed a superior role in providing aid to the developing world, and Africa has become a significant addressee. (Shi, 2009) As China turn out to be livelier in global organizations she sees African states as her expected partners. China had worthy bonds with more than 48 countries in 2006. (Shi, 2009)

China is engaged in Africa not only for its oil needs but it wins favour of these states in the global organizations. At the worldwide organizations China is obliged for backing from African states on the subject of Taiwan's "representation" and its "human rights" position. (Shi, 2009) The positive image of China in the African continent is partially because of its dedication and its reconstruction process of Africa. China has been a popular country in Africa before that there was a competition between European Union and US in this continent. Many states in this region prefer China to US because China is considered more reliable.

3.6- China's Involvement in the Regional Organizations

China is participating in the regional organizations to strengthen its strategic relations and cooperation. Before 1970s China was not even a member of UNO but gradually it became part of UNO and the Security Council later on it joined other organizations like World Bank, International Monetary Fund (IMF) and other organizations. Like US it participated in the Regional Blocs like Shanghai Cooperation Organization and BRICS. China is an active member of ASEAN in the South East and APEC. Being a communist state such a participation in different organization is a revolution in the policies of China because it was considered as neutral state before 1971. After 1971 China became an international country. Although China is working on a peaceful development policy but its rapid participation in regional organizations in the post-Cold War period shows that China like United States want to dominate the world by using soft power.

In every regional organization including Shanghai Cooperation Organization (SCO) China plays a dominant role. SCO is considered the brain child of China. China want to counter

US hegemony in the region that's why it is making it strong. Many people believe the SCO is intended as a counter balance to NATO. (Roney, 2013) It is always called as the NATO of East because it is consisted of the previous Soviet States and Russia. Russia has been defeated by US in the Old Cold War but for Russia Cold War is over; Cold War is there because Russia never accepted Unipolarity. It has deep apprehensions about the expansion of NATO. Russia is not as stronger as China economically is, that's why China dominates this grand Organization. This bloc is composed of all previous communist bloc which was fighting against capitalism in the world. China do not directly declares it as counter to NATO because it don't want to disturb its business relations with the Western world particularly USA.

Western world especially US are suspicious about the creation and expansion of SCO. The sole purpose of SCO is not open it is still hidden. The aims and objectives of SCO are mysterious even for the members of this organization but certainly the supreme authority in this organization is China. (Roney, 2013) It's a cooperation organization after all it will be used by China if its national interest is at stake in the future. USA promised to abolish NATO after the peaceful end of Cold War but it was expanded but not destroyed. SCO is a peaceful reaction against the expansion of NATO.

BRICS is another economic forum which is composed of Brazil, Russia, India, China and South Africa. China's participation in this economic partnership is the product of China's soft balancing Strategy.

This business coalition guarantees economic progress of all its associates in an incomparable way. This unusual coalition is comprised of 40% of the economy of the world. China is an economic giant and magnificent frontrunner of this union. BRICS leaders are scheduling to establish a new development bank to organize wealth for infrastructure and

“sustainable development projects” within BRICS and other emerging states. The BRICS bank will increase the existing struggles of multifaceted and regional business organizations for worldwide growth and development. (Guerrero)

3.7- Conclusion

China's response in Global unipolarity is Crystal clear. China's cooperation with US is aimed to improve its advancement in economic progress. Its peaceful development policy is in fact its soft balancing strategy. Its peaceful development policy cannot compromise with the national interest of China. Despite having many differences in the way of government, in the way of dealing Rogues, in the way of treatment with human rights, the way of dealing Taiwan still China is increasing its business relations with US. This does not mean that it will compromise with the Unipolar world when a US backed Taiwan declares its independence.

China's response to the global Unipolarity is different from that which USSR s' in the Old Cold War. USSR used hard power to fight against communism. China is using soft power in dealing with the hegemony of US in the world. Beijing aims to rise its soft and hard power to threaten the hegemony of US which China considers a threat for her core interests. (Goldstein, 2006) China has no ideological clash with US but it is in fact an attempt to acquire supremacy in the world. Chinese engagements in Middle East, in Africa and in the South East are prime examples of China's soft balancing of US in those areas. The whole Middle East was used by the US to win its Cold War with USSR. It has still many most allied allies in Middle East like Arab Emirates, Saudi Arabia etc. China has become much popular in the Middle East and became a reliable country for them. For Iran and Syria, China has been a super power to counter US in the region.

China has made a large advancement in the space technology. Its space ambitions show that it is ready for an advanced war in future. Its military preparedness and advancement in nuclear missile technology is a great question for the unipolar world. China has increased its participation in different regional organizations like Shanghai Cooperation Organization, BRICS and APEC makes it prominent in different organizations. Many writers Consider SCO as the NATO of China. This is a cooperation Organization where the role of China is Dominant. BRICS is also a huge bloc which can be a counter balance to European Union in the Future. It is also a member of ASEAN.

Thus the rising China is becoming a potential threat for Global hegemony in the world. Accord. "The Asian giant's challenge to various aspects of US hegemony might even increase as the US continues to be burdened and extended by the long War against global terror." (Goldstein, 2006) It's fast economic progress, its growing trade relations with Different countries particularly with Rogue States, its military advancements, its military and nuclear cooperation with different states, its space advancements, its soft image in different business hubs of the world, its engagements in strategic Areas like Middle East and Africa and its popularity in these regions made it clear that China is fighting a New Cold War with Soft Power. In place of using balance of power strategy it is using Soft Balancing strategy to compete with the supremacy of USA in the world.

Chapter Four

Rising China and US policy

4.1- Introduction

Twenty first century approached with countless political vicissitudes in the international political scenario. After 9/11 incidents United States framed a thoroughly new policy to deal with different powers of the world. China is a mounting economic giant that the world supposes her to become the global wealthiest power. In the west especially in the US this idea has prompted an alarm that China will be the hegemon of the world and it will be the possible threat for the hegemony of US. There is possibility of a New Cold war between any pair of grander powers for the “quest of hegemony” and these powers would be US and PRC. (Wittkopf, 2004) Activities of United States after 9/11 clearly indicate his containment policy towards China. The growing economy of China has become an alarming sign for America. Although America has not directly attacked on China but it has operated some clandestine actions against China time in again. After the events of 9/11 the secret objective of American foreign policy, the containment of China became dimly visible. American intervention in Afghanistan and staying there as a bad guest, its intervention in the central Asian countries, his friendship with India and cooperation with Middle Eastern countries is a vivid signal of containment of the growing economy of China. By countering String of pearls and the construction of New Silk route are the hallmarks of American policies towards China. “Napoleon Bonaparte counselled in 1803 that world should let China sleep because, he predicted, when China awakens the world will tremble”. (Wittkopf, 2004) Twenty first century shows awakened China. US want to safeguard his hegemonic leadership in the Post- Cold War

scenario. During Cold War America was fighting to secure his hegemonic position in the world but after securing the hegemonic position USA became much conscious about maintaining his position as a hegemon. Challenges during Cold War were less stimulating than those of after Cold War for US, because making progress in any field is easier than to maintain a prosperous status.

American diplomats continually assure Beijing that Washington is not pursuing to constrain China's rise. Meanwhile, the United States is actively fortifying its alliances' in East Asia, making partner capacity in South East Asia, and firming security bonds with Australia and India. (Ratner, 2011) Bush government tried to resolve some goals of the national security stratagem of US after feeling a possible peril from the due progression of Chinese economy. According to Wittkopf this goal is to avert any other greater power to challenge the dominant status of the U S as the singular global superpower. (Wittkopf, 2004) According to a general perception America intervened in Afghanistan for humanitarian grounds, but the construction plan of the "New silk road" in Afghanistan reveals some hidden realities of the goals of foreign policy of United States of America.

Malaysia is not a US partner but its close links with China have engrossed the attention of US strategists. (Chongkittavom, 2014) Special interests of United States in the North Pacific Ocean, its engagement in Japan as a security guarantor, strong ties with South Korea and Vietnam and his cooperation with Taiwan clearly shows that the aim of foreign policy of United States has become the containment of China after a successful containment of Soviet Union.

President Obama considered India the defining partner of 21th century, it will be vibrant to the US tactical interests in "Asia-pacific and across the Globe." (Wood, 2013) During Cold War India enjoyed cordial relations with Soviet Union, but after the Cold War

both USA and India came closer because of having a common enemy. China is India's traditional foe. US cooperation with India after the incidents of 9/11 makes it crystal clear that US is making India enough powerful to counter China in the region. Many experts see increased US-India security stalemates as providing an alleged "hedge" against or "counterbalance" to growing Chinese influence in Asia, but both Washington and New Delhi repetitively tone down such possible intentions. (Kronstadt, 2011) Even after 2005 USA started cooperation with India in nuclear technology which is a serious threat for the growing military power of China in Asia.

The Shanghai Cooperation Organization (SCO) by being a strong bloc in the Central Asia became another source of tension for the superpower. US see a durable SCO as a strong threat for him. USA started cordial relations with Central Asian countries to minimize the danger of this grand organization. USA and Tajikistan relations have developed considerably since September 2001. US is assisting Tajikistan and other countries in this region. By giving aid the US policy is to intervene in the internal affairs of the Central Asian countries, after 9/11 US is successful in this policy. Given China's economic room, its totalitarian political structure, the role of the state in the economy, its dealings with pariah states such as North Korea and Iran and its target to hastily renovate its military muscle, it is clear why the United States harbors national security concerns towards China that were not present to the same degree in other two-sided investment relations. (Rhodium group, 2014)

4.2- The Emergence of New Cold War and US Plan

"The Middle East is just a blip. The American military contest with China in the Pacific will define the twenty first century" (Kaplan, 2005) The world became unipolar after the dismemberment of Soviet Union in 1991. United States became superpower of the world. United States then tried to secure her supremacy in all parts of the world. The US endeavours to preserve and boost its position. She is suspicious about the domination of China. (Pittsburgh, 2007) The navy of United States being the superior navy of the world tried to maintain her supremacy on high seas. USA has no any serious threat from his own continent because the neighbours of USA are weak. The only threat America perceived after becoming a superpower is the rise of China. The growing advancement in every field of life in China became a grave tautness for Washington.

After 9/11 terrorist attacks the policies and motives of United States made it clear that America is fighting a new type of Cold War against a new challenger. "A comprehensive document laying out American foreign and security policy in the wake of last September's terrorist attacks, it vows to present the emergence of any future competitors, commits the use of its military, political and economic resources to encourage open societies and democracy, and reorient US military strategy toward pre-emptive actions." (Yuan, 2002) US initiated a war after the incidents of 9/11 in Afghanistan; this war could not stop terrorist attacks but increased terrorism all over the world. The aim of abolishing terrorism of United States is still ambiguous because this war shows some clear signals of a new type of Cold War. China had nothing to do with the terrorist attacks of 9/11 nor has China ever funded a terrorist organization. The word future competitors in this policy shows that the aim of United States is not to abolish terrorism in its true sense but it is to weaken the growing economic giant of the world China. USA has developed dual policy program towards China. On the one hand USA welcomes the emergence

of strong, peaceful and prosperous China and on the other hand US is trying to check the rise of China. Our militaries will be resilient enough to deter probable challengers from following an armed accumulation in hopes of exceeding or competing the power of US. (Yuan, 2002) In the twenty first century the only formidable competitor is China. Other than China there is no country to compete such a power. Although United States has not yet mentioned "China" directly as a competitor but it can be perceived through the military and economic abilities of the great powers that the only competitor of United States is China.

"Hegemony as the new order is, it seeks cutting China down size by reducing it to a regional power within a small periphery, with no voice in the pacific and Southeast Asia region". (Koreshi, 1995) For United States it has become a greatest challenge to maintain its hegemony in this globalized world. For US it is very difficult to cut down China to size by reducing it to a regional power because China has deep trade relations with great powers. China has created a soft image in the world through soft power. As US is extremely jealous of any other power's emergence as a great power like China. The "peaceful development" policy of China has not yet revealed her intentions of being a hegemon of the world like America directly. America perceives some serious threats regarding it. Policy makers in the United States are designing policies to counter a new hegemon in their own way. The two concepts in the "pentagon papers" are the containment strategy in the South Asia and Far East, to restrict the rising of any new opponent to US interests in those regions. (Koreshi, 1995)

US policies towards many Asian countries like Taiwan, India and South Korea shows some more signals of the emergence of a New Cold War. However, the seeds of the China- Taiwan conflict were sown long before the 1990s, in 1971 when President Nixon visited China and declared the one China policy. (Lin, 2004) US need a strong Taiwan to compete with China for her own defence. Similar is the case with Japan where United States need a

strong Japan to combat Chinese hegemony in the region. The growing relationship of US-India also reveals this fact that US want to maintain balance of power in South Asian regions. United States has strengthened its ties with India to counter the growing power of China.

The abrupt change in the US strategic posture shows that America's engagement in fighting a New Cold War against China. The nuclear stance review that covers exigency tactics to use atomic munitions against China and six other states. (Yuan, 2002) The emergence of a New Cold War is vivid through the intentions of United States. Although United States shows something different and acts in a different manner.

4.3- US's Policy against String of Pearls

China has constructed deep water ports in different regions of south pacific regions through their policy of "Peaceful Development". China wants to increase trade relations with all other countries of Middle East and other parts of the world. In Woody Island in the east of Vietnam an elevated air strip is a pearl. In Chittagong a container shipping facility, is a pearl. Building of deep water seaport in sittve, Myanmar and creation of navy base in Gawadar Pakistan are called group of pearls US and India called this series as the series of pearls as "String of Pearl". Although China did not used it as an official terms but America and India often used this term to criticize the policies of China.

USA sees some serious threats from these pearls. US have kept a special eye on each pearl to maintain US dominance in each chunk of the world. In each of China's four security rings, the United States is All-pervading. (Scobell, 2012) China has constructed all these ports for the peaceful development and for increasing trade with other parts of the world. US has shown some serious concerns on these pearls ranging from the coast of mainland China through the shores of the south China sea, the strait of Malacca, across the Indian ocean, and on to the seafronts of the Arabian sea and Persian Gulf. This chain of pearls is considered a

strategy against United States and India. China has not shown any strategic angle regarding United States and India up till now. China is busy in developing her economy, increasing foreign trade and technology.

Many authors like Goldstein has the view that, Chinese grand strategy of peaceful development is a strategy to “mitigating the risk that other nations might perceive China as a threat.” (Goldstein, 2005) American thinkers and its powerful navy is busy to counter each pearl through their diplomatic relations with the neighbouring countries of these pearls, where they are located. United States’ aid policy to Asian countries also highlights these ambitions of United States in Asian countries.

Pakistan handed over Gawadar port to China, this move was disliked by Washington. The cooperation of Pak-China in Gawadar seaport further compelled America to strengthen his ties with India. Both India and US has some serious concerns over the Gawadar seaport. China’s approach to relations with states in the “string of pearls” considered China s’ engagement with rogue states such as Myanmar, Iran, and Sudan undermines attempts by the west to isolate or effect change in these regimes. (Bajpae, 2005) China s’ trade relations with rogue states are not accepted by United States. America has a fear that China would one day will cooperate with rogue states in such a way that they will be challenge for United States.

US strategy in Asia must not captivate itself with a Chinese build up. (Kissinger, 1997) Kissinger considered Chinese army much stronger; USA is following the same policy in Asia. Just like Cold War, a direct confrontation of USA in China has become impossible that’s why USA is using some clandestine actions to protect her interests in this area.

The String of Pearls work as a litmus test for the prospective course of US – China ties. (Pehrson, 2006) Thus the future course of US-China relations will be based on string of pearls to minimize Chinese influence in the region. Pakistan handed over Gawadar without the consent of United States; as a result Pakistan is facing some serious challenges in Baluchistan region where different international agencies like Row and Mossad are busy to make a greater Baluchistan out of Pakistan. India and Israel along with CIA are performing clandestine actions against Pakistan. Conspiracies against Pakistan in Baluchistan region are in fact conspiracies against China to affect her trade with the Middle Eastern countries. Gawadar port gives China an easy access to reach in Africa and Gulf Muslim countries. America is most influential country in the Gulf region so that it does not want to see Chinese influence in that region. America wishes to see India as a regional hegemon to secure his interests in Indian Ocean. A strong India can minimize the threat of Chinese ports around the Indian sea. In March 2006 George Bush stated that he was willing to accept India as a nuclear state despite its non-membership status of NPT. (Lanteigne, 2009) This move clearly shows that America is making India an ally for the New Cold War. USA has tried to make India as a firewall against China. America is highly concerned with the ports of China in those areas. American ties with Australia and other Southeastern countries are strategic in the sense of containing China in those regions. America strengthens Japan in the North East to check the growing power of China in that region.

The most dangerous tension involves the issue of Taiwan Korean peninsula is another potential source of conflict. The influence of United States in that region aims mostly to contain the hegemony of China. Technologically advanced Japan was the pressing need of United States but in the recent year's China left both Japan and Taiwan far behind in many aspects. Thus "The String of Pearls" the Chinese ports in the south pacific Asia pose different

threats to the hegemony of the superpower. United States of America is busy in a New Cold War with the growing influence of China in the South Pacific region of the world. Conspiracies of USA clearly show that it is engaged in a New Cold War.

4.4- US Strategy of New Silk Road

Although America intervened in Afghanistan, in the name of humanitarian intervention after 9/11 attacks. At that time the objective of USA was to break the power of militant groups in Afghanistan. In 2004 they also fought war with Iraq because America considered Iraq a producer of mass destruction weapons. In the name of ending terrorism America increased terrorism in the south Asian region. USA spent more than trillions of dollars in Afghanistan and stayed there like a bad guest who has forgotten to exit. Finally the Obama administration decided to withdraw from Afghanistan after 2014 in 2011 just after killing Al Qaeda Head Osama Bin Laden. In this period of stay in Afghanistan America tried to make India an influential power in Afghanistan.

The idea of New Silk Road in Afghanistan revealed some hidden agendas of United States of America in Afghanistan. America has given the idea of New Silk Road to make Afghanistan a strong economy. The construction of New Silk Road poses many challenges to People's Republic of China. It will minimize the foreign trade of China. Automatically it will decrease the economic growth of China. In these war years after 9/11 America has strengthened its ties with Central Asian countries, which is a menace for both China and Russia. Through this New Silk road America want to strengthen its ties with Tajikistan and other Central Asian countries. America has taken special interest in the fourteen parts of Soviet Union which were dismembered in 1991. The US diplomatic and strategic relations with Central Asia is a serious peril for China.

Through this "New silk Road" United States want to link South Asia especially India with the Central Asia. This issue was first raised by the secretary of state Hilary Clinton in a speech in Singapore on November 17, 2012. The sudden changes in the goals and policies of United States shows some alarming signs of a Cold War which US is fighting with China. At first the aim was different but now the aim is to maintain US's influence in these regions. This statement shows that the aim of USA in Afghanistan was not only to execute Osama and retreat of Taliban, but their aim was to encounter and contain the growing power of China through this region. Central Asia has now become a playground of the New Cold war that's why it has become the centre of attention for great powers like United States, Russia and China. "We cannot forget that, as history has shown us simply abandoning Afghanistan could potentially have terrible consequences for American, regional and global security." (Hormats, 2011) Thus US still want to leave his traces in this area after her withdrawal, for future strategy in the region.

4.5- US's Fear about Shanghai Cooperation Organization: A Counter Strategy

Shanghai cooperation organization has been designed by Russia and China to cooperate in the region. The Shanghai Cooperation Organization (SCO) is often portrayed as attempting to encounter the increasing western presence in Central Asia.(Zurich, 2009) SCO has been criticized by the western writers as a potential threat for NATO and United States. "However current American concerns about SCO stem from the possibility that it might develop through Russian and Chinese influence as a balancing actor in Central Asia, designed to minimize US influence." (Lanteigne, 2009) Shanghai cooperation organization has become another tension for the think tanks of the United States: The hasty expansion of the SCO signifies a chief challenge to western standards of political growth and international

collaboration. (Yee, 2011) The main power in the SCO according to United States is China. America is trying to make a strong NATO to counter the rise of SCO. USA do not want to see such type of organizations in the region in future. By making strong ties with the Central Asian countries US is trying to weaken such type of organizations in the region. The initiative of New Silk Road can be dangerous for the growth of Shanghai Cooperation organization.

NATO is committed to support Afghan security institutions after 2014. (Hormats, 2011) This commitment of NATO infect checks the rise of a regional organization like SCO. Many Eastern writers now call SCO as NATO like organization in the East. This idea of SCO is strongly disliked by the United States of America. United States is not in a position to strengthen NATO as historically she has done through Marshal Plan during the initial years of the Cold War. China is in a position to strengthen SCO. Although at present the Central Asia has become more important than the Middle East for United States. The region's Status as a geo-political pivot and as a secondary energy producer lead the diplomatic competition between United States and China. We should repel the supremacy of Asia by any state. (Kissinger, 1997)

4.6- US Policies towards South Asia; Tactics to Contain China

The US foreign policy towards South Asia just after the tragic events of 9/11 shows a new turn in containment policies of USA. A new era began after 9/11 attacks; the need for global hegemony and influence pushed the US towards seeking better ties with important South Asian countries, especially India and Pakistan. US relations with South Asia have always been labelled controversial, unstable and uncertain in nature. Historically US have always been a fair-weather friend of Pakistan. Whenever United States felt the need of Pakistan then developed strong relations with Pakistan. This relation has always been uncertain in the past.

After 9/11 USA made cordial relations with Islamabad. Such cordial relations were seen during the Cold War era but soon after they gave up. Pakistan enjoys cordial relations with China, which is detested idea for United States. USA has performed many coward operations in Pakistan. In Salalah incident in 28 November 2011 USA has been witnessed in clandestine actions within the territory of Pakistan. International agencies have also been blamed for the killing of Chinese engineers in the territory of Pakistan. Kashgar to Gawadar railway track plan is under way between Pakistan and China, which America feels a great threat for the hegemony of USA. United States and other countries are trying to destabilize Pakistan, after declaring it a failed state they try to hamper the pacts between China and Pakistan.

Indian agency Row is operating coward operations in Pakistan. Pak-China relations are also a threat for India that's why India want to destabilize Pakistan in the region. Both US and India have strengthened their defence cooperation. Relations between US and India reached their peak through the US- India Civil Nuclear Agreement in 2008. (Vikram, 2012) A destabilized Pakistan is the need of United States of America. Mercenaries of many powerful countries like Israel, India and America are busy in different areas of Pakistan. China needs a strong Pakistan to fulfil her aims regarding advancement of trade through Kashgar to Gawadar

railway track. A strong and stable Pakistan can never be the dream of United States because Pakistan enjoys cordial relations with China. Pakistan is fighting American proxy war in its FATA region, lost more than 43 billion\$ and thousands of military personals and civilians, but still Pakistan could not be able to please her bad master the United States.

The barbaric assassination of the three Chinese engineers in Pakistan was aimed to create a "wedge" between China and Pakistan. (Yan, 2006) In June 2005 the new framework for India-US defence framework treaty was announced. This comprises joint planning and action as well as defence procurements. This initiative included expanded cooperation in civil nuclear technology as one of the three goals. It also called for enhanced cooperation on the peaceful uses of space technology trade was the third trinity issue agreed upon by the NSSP initiative in 2004. This defence framework agreement has become a serious threat for the growing economy of China because she is the traditional foe of India. The most serious challenge is the presence of US military in the Central South and South East Asia. This presence may undermine Chinese influence in those regions.

4.7- Future Prospects of US Policy towards China after Its Withdrawal from Afghanistan

According to the future plan of United States, she will make India as the regional hegemon. India is employing a Global positioning system Assisted Geo Augmented steering method for civil aviation purposes through a viable treaty with the US firm Raytheon.(office of the spokesperson, 2013) She will leave a weak and unstable Pakistan. US will maintain his influence in the region. NATO will maintain its cooperation with Afghanistan. In the name of New Silk Road America will try to weaken the economy of China. US policy towards China will show some dramatic changes. Sometimes US will be very much near to a direct

confrontation. According to economic experts of USA China will be an economic superpower after 2020. This assumption of USA about Chinese economic growth has left many questions for the think tanks in Washington. America will continue its unprecedented support to India, militarily, economically, diplomatically, and above all technologically. After becoming a strong country in the region India will be a greatest threat for China. India will reopen all the old issues with China to redress at the suitable time. USA then will try to perform the role of a cunning Arbiter overtly and she will back India to fight against China cowardly. Asia will be the battlefield of a big war. Russia will not be able to decide taking part in either side. Again USA will try to give aid to Pakistan. US will try Pakistan not to participate in that war. US will warn Pakistan as he did in 1962 Sino-Indian war. It will be a greatest blow to the economy of China. Both India and China will suffer a lot. US will try to support India. Obama stated in favour of India in this way US views India as a risen power. India is securing its deserved place in Asia and on the world. India's rise is respectable for the US and good for the world. (Obama, 2010) USA will be the excellent beneficiary of this war. USA will try to maintain her hegemony in Asia in a different manner.

European Union and NATO will support India. NATO will perform very well in this war and all other countries of the globe who want to support China in this war will not be able to support China because of the fear of United States of America. The trade of many other countries with China will suffer a lot. Again the highest exporter of some times like Germany will become the highest exporter of the world. Japan will try to fulfil the aims of United States of America. On the South Eastern front Australia will be a staunch ally of United States of America will show her strong favour to India in that war. Middle Eastern countries like Saudi Arabia and all other countries will do only that what the United States ask them to do. US declared Rogue states like Iran, Burma, and Sudan will not be able to play an efficient role in that war.

4.8- Conclusion

As it is rightly said that achieving a hegemonic status is not as big challenge as to maintain that hegemonic status. There are some quite natural characteristics of a hegemon that he wants to maintain his status by all means. Same is the case with United States the hegemon, the super power of the world. United States fought a war about a half century starting from 1945 to 1991 for the cause of becoming the super power of the world. USA had scarified more than 50000 arms men in Cold War in Vietnam, trillions of dollars in achieving this status of hegemonic power. As US has paid such an amount for hegemonic status, similarly USA is ready to fight wars, to spend trillions of dollars for the maintenance of this status of a super power. USA is conscious about its competition in the world and USA will not pardon any challenger, any competitor in the world. As compare to many other world powers China seems to be a potential threat for USA. In the name of "peaceful development" China is very near to become the world's greatest economy on the earth. Vibrant growth of the economy of China has deeply surprised the superpower of the modern era. Many activities of USA after the end of Cold War have clearly shown that United States is fighting a "new Cold War" with China. The activities in this New Cold War are different from those of the Old Cold War, which was fought between USA and Russia; Soviet Union was an open challenger with an opponent ideology. In the New Cold War China is a secret challenger of United States of America. Both USA and China are indispensable trade partners and China has adopted a non-interventionist policy which makes China different from Soviet Union of late seventies. The response of USA towards China in this competition is secret in nature.

“China can become a rival to it in Asia Middle East and at some future date in Africa also, when it graduates into international power politics as full-fledged superpower.” (Koreshi, 1995) Fearing from such assumptions of different scholars USA is trying to humiliate the economic and technological growth of China. The idea of New Silk Road is an idea to minimize the growth of Chinese economy. USA has putted an active check on the Chinese ports in different areas in South Pacific region. The idea of “String of Pearls” was developed by USA to keep aware of other great powers like India and Japan. The policy of US after 9/11 is a hallmark of “New Cold War”. USA dramatically strengthened his ties with Central Asia. All these activities in Afghanistan and Central Asia clearly reveal the fact that America is busy in a new type of Cold War with China in these regions.

Chapter Five

China's relations with the "Rogue states"

5.1- Introduction

The word "Rogue" is connected with those states which act absolutely in contrast to the approval of the power bloc of the time. China was formerly a "Rogue" state. During and after the end of Cold War, USA declared Iran, North Korea, Libya, and Syria as "Rogue states". Afghanistan was intervened in 2001. Similarly the aim of USA after 2001 became the devastation of all "Rogue states". According to US these nations are subsidiaries of terrorist organizations to incite terrorists around the world. "Rogue" states are no doubt potential threats for the supremacy of US. These states consider PRC and Russia counterweight to the hegemony of US. These states are direly searching for good relations with powerful countries like Russia and China. During the Old Cold War all these powers were in favour of USSR. North Korea fought a big war with South Korea, North Korea was tried to humiliate and unify, by South Korea with the help of US. Libya, Iran, Syria were also favouring communism in the world. Cold war is over for all other states but Cold War is there for all those states which are tagged as "Rogues". US tried to target them time in again. North Korea and Iran can never be good friends of US. Syria cannot be an ally of US in the Middle East. All these "Rogues" see China's growing optimistically. Because Beijing makes them powerful. "Beijing has proven masterful at procuring time for nuclearizing Rogues" (Chang, 2014)

This chapter states that How China is cooperating with "Rogue" states in a Unipolar world? Cooperation of PRC and such powerful "Rogues" despite large sanctions from the US is a clear sign of New Cold War. On the one side China favours sanctions on these states, on the other side it initiates cooperation with these states. On the one side it is against nuclear proliferation, on the other side it is nuclearizing "Rogues."

After the peaceful end of Cold War the main concern of US has been to weaken "Rogue" states but China's aim is to strengthen them and support them. Cooperation of China with these states is multifaceted. China's trade relations with different countries including "Rogues" is a separate and it can be acceptable matter for US but its cooperation in nuclear technology, missile technology and arms sale to Rogue states have raised many questions in research circles of the world politics. This has raised several questions in the Washington about the relations of China and US. China's nuclear cooperation with North Korea, Iran and Pakistan shows that it does not admit the superiority of USA and its efforts to de nuclearize the world.

5.2- China and Iran

After revolution of 1979 Iran became an open rival of US. Iran always tried to collaborate with great powers to counter US hegemony in the world. The peaceful ending of the First Cold War and the Uni-polarity of the world bothered Iran about its existence as a sovereign country. US targeted Iran in many fronts to detach it from the rest of the world. Rising China after 1990s became a hope for Iran to counter US animosity with Iran. Iran's natural resources fascinated China. Its oil reservoirs became coercion for China to cooperate with it. Both China and Iran maintained good relations in different spheres of life. "Despite continued US pressure, China has been able to maintain positive, if somewhat strained, relations with both US and Iran by supporting Nuclear arms sanctions on Iran diplomatically and by flouting them in practice" (Kasting, 2012)

A great move in Sino-Iran "Nuclear Cooperation" was started in July 1991 when Li Peng paid an official visit to Iran. Li and Rafsanjani mutually expressed their views about the cooperation between the two countries. China approved to make a nuclear plant at Bushehr. Previously Germany and France had built it on 1970s which was destroyed after 1979 revolution. (Garver, 2006) China has stimulated Iran by declaring Iran as a sovereign state. China considers the peaceful use of Nuclear energy is the right of a self-governing state like Iran. (Lei, 2010) US consider Iran a promoter of terrorism in the world. Both viewpoints of Washington and Beijing display an apparent clash of ideas about Iran. China plays two roles in the continuing tension between US and Iran. It acts as a backer and as a "spoiler" between these two countries. China uses its twin role effectively. As a UN security council member it acts as a mediator, as a "benefactor" of Iran it gets benefits from Iran. (Kasting, 2012)

More than 100 corporations of PRC are operational in Iran to advance infrastructure but many European countries have decreased their trade with Tehran in reaction to the stress from Washington but China and other Asian countries are filling this US made breach. (Lei, 2010) Russia helps Iran because it has been in a long enmity with USA in the form of a Cold War from 1945-1989, Putin's Russia have still many differences with US. Both Russia and China have cooperated in many fronts with Iran when it was secluded by the Western world.

For China, good relations with such a country like Iran occupied by oil reservoirs has become a compulsion. For US it has become a complex process to break the relation between PRC and Iran. US has prohibited many companies of PRC not to cooperate with Iran but still it cannot manage to dismantle this relation.

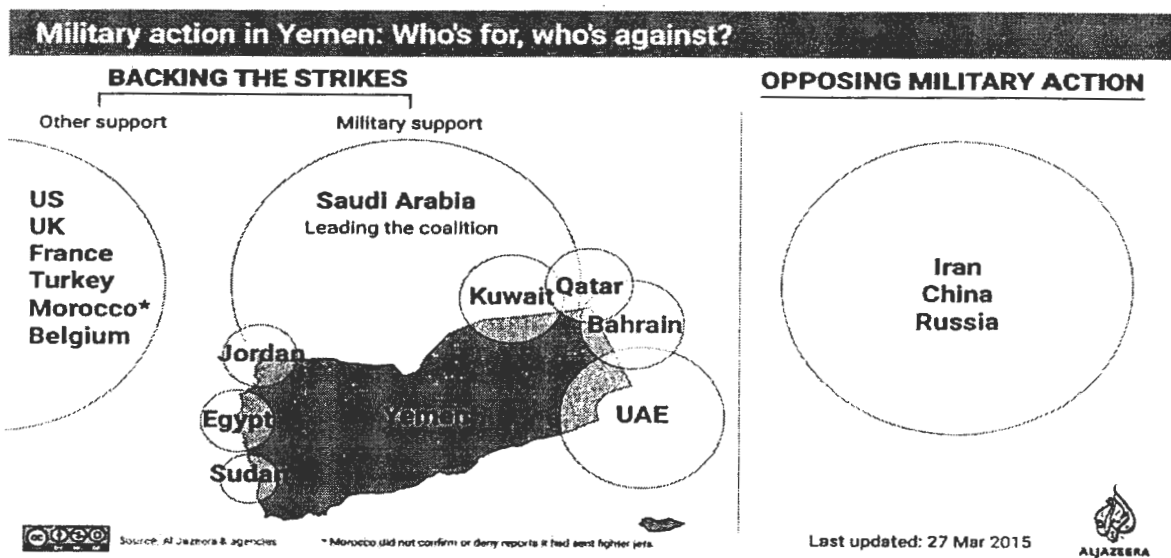
In March 2011, leadership in Tehran have shown some enthusiastic signs about Sino-Iranian relations. According to them, they can change the world order by making durable relations with China. Ahmadi Nejad the President of Iran stated that the order which administer the world is corroded and its nature has been visible to everyone. The world strongly need a system belong to humanity. (Kasting, 2012) These statement from a "Rogue" state have not been fated by PRC practically.

David Shambaugh has identified that China's policy-making procedure is moving towards "Hard-line Realists" who sees the efforts of US's lifting sanctions on Iran as a sign of US restraint policy of China. (Kasting, 2012) PRC fashions Iran Injurious. Iran cannot repel global pressure without the support of Beijing. It bother US sanctions by initiating a huge trade with Iran (Chang, 2014)

In March 2011 in Port Klang, two containers were carried towards Iran from China, these containers were detained by Malaysian police. Some authorities found some parts of fissile technology in those containers. These fragments were concealed under pharmaceutical and chemicals. (Chang, 2014) China helped in the development of the Noor, an anti-ship missile. In 2006 Israeli Navy "Saar 5- class corvete" was targeted by Hezbollah and it was backed by Iran. Hezbollah was delivered Noor by Iran. (Pham, (2009))

In 2008 US China Economic and Security Commission Review stated that China has assented to several worldwide covenants on non-proliferation and has liaised with the US on some non-proliferation matters but China had shown reluctance on the efforts to denuclearize Iran. (ESRC, 2008)

In the recent skirmishes in the Middle East the posture of Iran, Russia and China is noticeably against Western Powers particularly US. Western world is in favour of attacking on mutineers in Yemen. Saudi Arabia is leading the alliance of Middle Eastern states like Jordan, Egypt, Sudan, Kuwait, Qatar, Bahrain, and UAE and western powers like UK, USA and France are backing these strikes. The position of Iran is clear in this chart. This stand of Iran shows that it will be a strong associate of Russia and China when in future, when USA is fighting any type of war with China and Russia.



Source: Aljazeera

5.3- China and North Korea

North Korea is located in the south East of China. It shares almost 1416 kilometre long boarder with China. Historically this region has been very close to PRC. North Korea was a great proponent of Communism during First Cold War. USSR was on the side of North Korea and US was Backing South Korea. North Korea has not forgotten that old animosity with USA. It is still a socialist country being an impediment for US's democratization process in the world. In 1953 more than 180000 Chinese soldiers were executed in the war. China was on the side of North Korea which was attacked by US backed South Korea. In 1961 China and North Korea signed the "Sino North Korean mutual aid and cooperation friendship Treaty" China assured to give all military and other support to North Korea if any power attacks on it. (MAX B) Later on it was protracted two times in the history in 1981 and in 2001.

Half of the total aid which China give to different countries of the Globe, China gives it to North Korea. China is a sponsor of North Korea. It has a fear that the demolition of North Korea would lead to the amalgamation of the North and South with the help of US. It has also fear that this unified state will be the ally of USA. (FOCUS, 2013) China's policy of UN sanctions against Korea is not yet clear. Beijing has not shown any sternness on trading pieces of dual use. Chinese exports of luxury goods to North Korea are increasing. (Manyin, 2010) According to the China's ministry of commerce the total trade between these two countries in 1995 was \$549.646 million and it increased greatly and in 2009 it was 2680.767\$ million. (CMC) This gradual increase in trade with a "Rogue" state pose some Alarming signs to the international community particularly to the hegemony of US.

North Korea is the instant neighbour of China has tested its nuclear capability in 2006 and 2009. It is now a nuclear power and a critical threat for US domination in the world. It has developed a paramount missile expertise. US tried its level best to denuclearize this state but still it became atomic power with the help of PRC. North Korea is a traditional opponent of US and South Korea. It cannot be existent without the backing of PRC and Russia. Its survival as a sovereign state is obligatory for China because it borders with China in the South East. China Consider it a threat against her when any superpower intercedes in an instant neighbour of it. Being a member of six party talks it preferred sanctions on North Korea just not to disrupt its business relations with the US, but later on it continued its cooperation with North Korea in many fields. China's implementation policy of UN sanctions in the North Korea are not distinct yet because its chief interest in the region is quite different from that of US. Beijing exhibited a negative reaction towards North Korea in 2009 when it tested its nuclear missile, but later on it became very handy in terms of economic ties with North Korea in 2010. It has not shown any austere attitude on the sale of dual use items but still tried to impose some parts of sanctions directly associated to missile test. Many Observers are of the view that China has not stopped "Air trafficking" between North Korea and Iran. (Manyin, 2010)

5.4- China and Libya

China and Libya were historically good friends. Libya's Anti- US attitude, its traditional acrimony with US and its trade competences and Heaps of natural resources appealed China to come closer with Libya. Historically these two states did an outsized trade with each other. China was also transferring weapons and other war technology related to security issues. Natural resources of Libya were great source of Chinese imports. Gadhafi was an anti-American and he was confident about Chinese superiority in the world. China shifted Gaddafi \$200million worth of armaments such as "rocket launchers, anti-tank missiles, and portable surface to surface air missile." (Sotllof, 2012) China by being a greatest oil purchaser relied on the oil of Libya. In 2010 China brought in 11% of Libya's oil exports. (Sotllof, 2012)

Arab spring troubled many nearby friends of China in the Middle East but in African Continent China is again a greatest investor. US achieved its goal in Libya by toppling Gadhafi administration there. Gadhafi government was in favour of China but China could not support its worthy friend appropriately. During Gadhafi regime China was an unprecedented co-operator but later on it could not take its clear standpoint against the rebels, in this way it lost a valued friend and a great opportunity in the region. "In all, Beijing had outstanding contracts worth about \$20billion before the war employing 36000 Chinese before the revolution." (Sotllof, 2012) This was in fact a great lose for China and Russia. This is certainly a triumph of New Cold War for USA.

Although China's policy is to make progress peacefully, this policy of China did not permit her to intrude in that crisis. Some papers reveal a coward action of China in the region. The documents of Gaddafi regime Indicates that China and other states have played a dual "game" in the Libyan crisis by displaying themselves neutral and facilitated an autocrat in a clandestine manner. (Smith, 2011)

The same documents informed some facts about a secret visit of Gadhafi's security members to Beijing. They reached in 16th July and met with the engineers of weapons like "China North Industries Crop". (NARINO) "The China national precision machinery import & export Corp". (CPMIC); "The China Xinxiang Import & Export Corp." These companies gave the contents of "Stockpiles for sale" and promised to make more deliveries. (Smith, 2011) Gadhafi administration was dissolved by rebels who were backed by Western world Particularly USA. Libyan crisis taught great lessons of defeat to China because it's a defeat for China in its Cold War with US.

5.5- China and Syria

Syria always tried to reinforce its relations with China to make it a counterbalance to USA in the region. Bashar al Assad presented his optimistic viewpoint about emergent China in the people's daily in this way; "China's role as a superpower is very much important in the absence of USSR. For Syria and other small countries its importance has been increased. It is a "key element" in world politics. For many issues it is highly needed in the Middle East, for the "peace process". (Pham, (2009)) Syria is not natural resource rich country but its geographical location is imperative. Both Russia and China support this region to stop the domino effect of Interventions. Syria borders with Iran and the presence of Western world in Syria is a direct threat for Iran. The next target can be Iran which is against the interest of

Russia and PRC. In October 2014 when USA was bombing Syria Russia replied in this way; "The officials said Russia warned it could potentially retaliate if US or Arab air strikes go beyond targeting Islamic State of Iraq and Syria or ISIS, and instead bomb any Syrian regime target." (Klein, 2014) Russian posture on Syria is harsher than China and it is in favour of China because Russia is the old player of Cold War with US in the history and again it is has many reservations with US policies. Its stout relations and cooperation with China confirm its Proximity to China.

On 22 may 2014 BBC news identified that, Russia and China stopped Resolutions Carried by the western world. In Syria almost 160000 deaths have been noticed and other 9.5 million people have been homeless since 2011. (BBC, 2014) China rejected hostilities in Syria and stressed all groups for the reestablishment of peace. It greatly favoured UNSC resolution 2042 and 2043. The first one is about sending 30 peaceful "observers" and the latter one is about the making of "UN Supervision Mission in Syria". (Tatar, 2012)

China's efforts at UN forum regarding Syrian crisis were on the one side but apart from that PRC gave its own-plan on Syria. It emphasized some peaceful ways to resolve the issue. MFA of China presented six point Agenda. The following points were in the Agenda;

- 1- Both Government and opposition should stop hostilities.
- 2- A negotiation should be propelled between both sides.
- 3- China shows its consent on UN "Human Assistance" and it is ready to give aid but it is against of any intervention in the name of humanitarian interference in the domestic issues of Syria.
- 4- The international world should respect the sovereign status of Syria, China was not in favour of any armed intervention to topple the government of Syria.

- 5- The joint special emissary to Syria from UN and Arab league and its efforts to bring peace is considered by The PRC.
- 6- All the members of UNSC should follow the UN charter. (Szczudlik-Tatar, 2012)

The recent position of China and Russia on the Syrian Crisis shows the presence of A New Cold War in the region. US is not successful in Syria because of backing of Russia and China to Syria. The position of both these powers in Yemen crisis is also similar to Syria. US's intervention in Afghanistan and Iraq was tacitly approved by these states but in Syrian crisis China never remained silent. China and Russia continued its arms sale to Bashar-ul-Assad Regime. It give some more signals of China's concern and interference in the issues of world politics.

5.6- China's Cooperation with Rogues; An Indirect Threat to USA

On the one side US is trying to reduce the growing power of "Rogues" and on the other side PRC is cooperating with them to maximize their power. Both China and US are conjoining in various fronts but in the matter of "Rogue" states China encroach upon its own promises which it makes in the UN resolutions. USA is trying to de-nuclearize "Rogue" states but China is helping them to develop their nuclear weapons. "Rogue" states contemplate China a counterbalance to US and they reflect themselves allies of China if it aims to fight a war against USA. The aim of sanctions on "Rogue" states for US is to segregate these states from world politics and PRC becomes an apparent hitch in the way of isolation of "Rogue" states. China has retained a great deal of trade with all such states. China has never isolated these states and this act of China further reassures these states to conduct nuclear experimentations. By taking part in six party talks China shows itself a staunch advocate of non-proliferation and by cooperating with these Rogue states its role becomes ambiguous.

A New Cold War is clearly evident between USA and China in the matter of Iran. China is strengthening a robust adversary of United States. China played a pivotal role in the enlargement of missile and nuclear technology with the help of its exports and assistance for the last 20 years. It is providing military equipment including "ballistic missiles". (S.Shujia, 2008) US would not be able to intervene in the domestic politics of Iran as it intervened in the politics of failed states like Afghanistan in the post 9/11. Direct intervention in Iran has been impossible for USA. China and Russia don't want to see USA in Iran because naturally it neighbours both these great powers.

USA would have been intervened in Iran if it was not backed by PRC and Russia. This is in fact the second Cold War which rescued Iran from USA's intervention. USA attacked Afghanistan and Iraq in the aftermath of 9/11 tragedy. Iran was on the top of the list after the attack on Iraq. Iran, China, and Russia are making close connections alongside the dominance of US in the world. (Ahrari, 2001) In future it would be much difficult for US to demean Iran in the presence of China and Russia. China will never left Iran alone if US coerces Iran to its utmost. In the presence of a mounting China sanctions of US will be less operative because China is a sufficient Market for Iran to import and export its merchandises. Hossein Shariatmadari the Editor of "Kayhan" states that "Sanctions are not effective nowadays because we have many options in secondary markets, like China." (Wright, 2004)

5.7- Conclusion

A new phase of Cold War is clearly discernible in the initial years after the end of Old Cold War. New powers like China were once "Rogue" state and established itself economically in a dramatic manner and became hope for the 'Rogue' states like Syria, Iran, Libya, and North Korea. PRC helped "Rogues" to compete with the domination of US in different parts of the world. Existence of "Rogues" in the world is a vibrant intimidation for the super power that's why western world enforces sanctions on these "Rogues". Mounting China is efficacious in making these sanctions ineffectual through cooperation in many fronts. "Not that long ago, China was itself a "Rogue". During the Mao-Zedong years, especially in the 1960s, and 1970, China's seclusion rivalled North Korea's so it naturally gravitated toward its Rogue peers; they could offer each other things they could not get from Nations that ostracized them" (Fish, 2010)

There are seven atomic countries and more than 20 countries retain nuclear capabilities. But this capability is forbidden for Iran, North Korea and Syria. For US these states are sponsoring violence. In the old Cold War these states were in favour of USSR except Iran, they never acknowledged unipolarity and the superiority of US in the world. Iran was considered a watchdog of US in the Middle East before the revolution of 1979. After 1979 Iran became anti-American. In 1953 war of Korea US joined and supported South Korea massively. North Korea was backed by communist USSR. In the same way North Korea has become a close ally of China. China cannot compromise with any regime change in the North Korea. The existence of North Korea is the necessity of China. China will do whatsoever for the existence of North Korea as a sovereign state. China has a fear that a US backed South Korea will unify North Korea and will create problems for China.

In the same way China cannot give up the cooperation with Iran. Iran's oil reservoirs are direly needed for PRC. Secondly Iran being an Eastern country neighbours China. "China's anti-US hegemonist solidarity with Iran carried the danger of provoking backlash from the United States." (Garver, 2006) It is the biggest trade partner of China. China is Iran's trusted friend and Iran consider China as alternate to USA. Iran has developed a lot of nuclear capabilities till know and this is an achievement for the Old Communist Bloc countries like Russia and China. Iran follows a policy of "look for the East" Which is a peril for western world.

In Syrian crisis both China and Russia demonstrate a different Stand. Western world first supported to topple Bashar -ul -Assad regime but China was on the favour of Bashar- ul Assad because he was such a Syrian president who considered PRC as a super power. In the recent Yemen crisis Saudia Arabia was backed by Western countries but again the same stance of China, Russia and Iran is different from western world. Russia, Iran, and China are against of the war but US is backing Saudia Arabia to fight against Houthi tribes of Yemen.

Clash of interests and opposite ideas about one issue are thus crystal clear in different issues between US and China. It indicates that a Second Cold War is going on between these two countries without any proper declaration. It was totally impossible for Iran, North Korea, Syria and Libya to exist as sovereign States without sound cooperation of China and Russia. USA would have been democratised these states according to its will. North Korea's existence as an anti-US country with limited nuclear capabilities was just a day dream without the existence of a power which can challenge US hegemony. All these are attainments of New Cold War which is fought between United States and PRC.

Conclusion

A new Cold war is in progress between USA and China devoid of any appropriate testimony in the post 9/11 years. In the Old Cold War US and USSR had tussled a Cold War without any pronouncement. In the World War II both USSR and US were praiseworthy allies and they both had a common contender like Germany. When Germany was defeated severely then USSR and US became contestants for each other. The end of Cold War saw a new Challenger for the US. In the post-Cold War era US sensed China a probable threat for its hegemony. US policies towards different portions of Asia portrayed that it is full of activity in a new type of Cold War. Many authors even do not agree the idea of the finishing point of the Old Cold war. For some Researchers Cold war is still there, with Russia. Russia cannot be a potential rival for the hegemony of US single-handedly. China the "Sleeping Lion" of the older days has theatrically progressed in every single pitch of life including space technology, military might, economy, human resources, missile technology, and even in educational fields. The only contestant which has become a peril for the think tanks of Washington is Peoples Republic of China. China's evolvment in every arena of life evidently displays that it is determined to contend the Super Power of the time. US's suspicions about its standing and its activities in Asia, Pacific and South China Sea and all other landmasses is in fact its course of action to surround a potential competitor in the world, conceivably this adversary is China.

Historically joint cooperation and conflict of interests have been frequently seen between the bilateral relations of the two world economic Giants the United States and the Peoples Republic of China. The issue of Taiwan has been the bone of contention between these two Powerful states. This issue has given forth a massive uncertainty in the bilateral relations of US and China. USA could not fruitfully contained the growing communism of China during the first phase of Cold War starting from 1945 onwards because USA was greatly busy in all

other portions of Europe to contain USSR's domino effect of communism. Mao led communist China eluded USA by considering it a diffuser of capitalism in the name of liberal democracy. Many other issues like Korean War of 1950 and the Vietnam War further worsened the relations of US and China. Both convergences and divergences had been seen during Cold War period. During the initial years of Cold War China and US were very far from each other. In the later years of Cold War convergence of US and China had been witnessed. Sino-USSR clash of 1969 brought China very much nearby to USA.

In the post-Cold War period the issue of Taiwan persisted as an unsettled issue. This issue lingered ambiguous despite of passing three joint communiques about the issue. China had many border clashes with her neighbours. She fought war with India in 1962 and embarrassed India Badly. She fought war with USSR in 1959. USA benefitted from all these three wars and came closer to China. Historically China and US conjoined in trade only. This was purely a trade relation which was initiated by President Nixon after 1971. USA also checked the growing China in various fields. In 1969 China tested its nuclear capability which was a jolt for US. China become a world power like USSR and US. China entered in UNO and gave up neutrality in 1971. All these activities during the first Cold War evidently indicated that, China stepped forward to become an international power like USA.

In 1960 USA was much fearful about the strategy of grand triangle of USSR, PRC and India. USSR- PCR clash and later on Indo-PRC clash sabotaged this strategy and provided an all-encompassing chance for United States to become a hegemon of Asian continent. US fully availed this opportunity by making India and China its good friends separately. USA made amiable relations with China and India. China became a fascinating country for US because it had become the enemy of USSR. In the global unipolarity China's response is much clear. China cannot compromise with her sovereignty in the Taiwan and Uighur. She has deep

cooperation with USA in many fronts but animosity in some issues is still there. China's peaceful development policy is in fact the way of its soft balancing strategy against USA. China cannot compromise with the unipolar world despite having such comprehensive trade relations with great powers and USA. It has many differences with USA like the way of treating Rogues, the way of treating human rights and Taiwan issue.

In the first Cold War USSR did an enormous competition with the US by using its hard power. China's response to the global unipolarity is totally different from the way USSR responded. China uses soft power to deal with USA. China is fighting a Soft War with USA. There is no noticeable ideological clash between China and USA. The Old Cold War was in fact a clash of ideologies. China fights new Cold War with its soft power. China's growing economy, its engagements in the Middle East and Africa, its treatment with Rogue states, its participation in regional blocs like BRICS, SCO and ASIAN are leading examples of its soft power capacity. China has won the favour of many states in the Middle East and Africa, and in Latin America some Middle Eastern countries like Syria and Iran consider it the superpower.

China's military preparedness and its advancement in the space, its advanced missile technology, its lively participation in the regional organizations like BRICS, SCO and ASEAN, all are the great indications of its hegemonic designs in a unipolar world. Despite having good relations with the superpower of the time, China acts against the will of US in the world. This turn of China clearly signifies that China do not admit the supremacy of US in the world. It also shows that China is in a position to compete with the advancement of USA. This competition of China and US is a type of New Cold War.

After the pacific end of the Old Cold War US became the sole superpower of the Glob. The main challenge US started facing in the post-Cold War is the maintenance of its hegemonic prestige in the globalized world. Growing China became a grave peril for the omnipotence of USA. As in the history US fought wars for decades to achieve a supreme rank in the world community. US lost trillions of dollars for the same purpose. An example of such an episode is the loss of 50000 military men in the Vietnam War. In the same way US is ready to fight wars, to lose arms men, to spend trillions of dollars to maintain its superlative status in the world community. US is ready to stand against a new potential challenger like PRC. USA is dealing with China in a way considering her a new competitor, in the form of a second Cold War.

USA is not hushed on the issue of rising China in different fragments of the world. She is busy in its containment policy against China. US is much apprehensive about the exceptional growth of China. In the name of war on terror USA is checking the progression of China from Afghanistan. In the post 9/11 USA on the one way US started to target all those countries which were very good co-operators of China like Iraq, Iran and Syria. US's close collaboration with the natural resource rich states of Central Asia, its plan for New Silk Rout, US's plan to contain String of Pearls, its strategy of Taiwan, its activities in Japan and South China Sea, its close bonds with India and its nuclear deals with India are different chunks of its containment policy against the rising of China. In the name of exporting liberal democracies USA intervened in many states like Afghanistan and Iraq. Although USA could not fulfilled its aim of exporting democracy but it consider itself successful in those countries only stopping Chinese influence in those countries. Containment of China is a hidden agenda of US, for this purpose it has operated many coward and award operations.

China was once a neutral, Rogue and Pariah state in the world community before 1971. After becoming a powerful state it became a safe refuge for Rogue and Pariah states like Myanmar, Zimbabwe, Syria and North Korea. All these Rogues sought guidance of every kind, support, assistance from China. US is trying to humiliate all Rogue states by secluding them from the World politics because US feels the existence of these Rogues as a grave threat for the supremacy of US in the world. US enforced many sanctions on Iran, Iraq, Syria, and North Korea. China has supported the Rogues many times in the history. Rogues like North Korea and Syria have informally declared China the superpower. USA is direly suspicious about China's relations with Rogues and trying to contain this relation through different tactics.

North Korea's existence as a state is indispensable for China and it's a threat for USA. In the first Cold War China backed North Korea and US supported South Korea. Similarly China is ready to support North Korea if US fights a war with North Korea with the help of South Korea. American presence in North Korea is never acceptable for PRC. PRC will consider it a direct threat for her. China also favoured Asad regime in Syria but US supported rebels to topple Asad Regime. Both Russia and China are totally against the idea of US intervention in Syria. Similarly China cannot give up its relations with Iran because Iran considers China most trusted friend and they have signed many deals of cooperation bilaterally. China strongly needed the oil reservoirs of Iran. China is ready to transfer nuclear arsenals to Iran and it has signed many collaboration deals.

The factor of competition between China and US is seemingly visible in the beginning of 21st century. This factor has been the major cause of second Cold War between China and US. To some extent it may be called as a new ideological clash but the idea of competition has become an ideology itself with the nomenclature Competism. Competism has been a new ideology between US and China. The aim of this new ideology is attaining

supremacy. For US this ideology means competition with the most powerful state other than US itself to maintain its prevalent Superiority. For China it means to compete with the superpower of the time in the race of hegemony. War is a synonym of competition. Competition is a positive terminology. Although US and China are not fighting a hard war but competition is still around. They both are cooperating in many fronts, competition is still existed between these two.

One thing is crystal clear that US will not compromise with a new challenger in future. China is not yet ready to compromise with her national interests. The future prospects of bigger conflicts in the World politics are deeply concerned with the clash of interests of both these states. USA will not remain noiseless when China acts like a hegemon of the Global world, when China becomes world's biggest economy, When China starts becoming an arbiter of the world. China will not compromise when US fights a war with North Korea, when USA backs Taiwan and Uhigars.

In the post 9/11 scenario USA has demonstrated that it is containing the rise of China. USA's nuclear deal with India is in fact a containment strategy of USA. USA's activities in Asia pacific, in South China Sea, in the Middle East and in all other parts of the world is aimed to counter the rise of China. China's engagement in the regional organizations, in the Middle East, in Africa, in Latin America, in Asia shows that China is increasing its soft power for the sole purpose of its soft balancing strategy. The strategies of both these great powers thus clearly displays that these two powers are busy in a second Cold War in the post 9/11 scenario.

Recommendations

To avoid a new Cold War, from further expansion and to save the upcoming generations from the scourge of Cold War the following suggestions are made for the policy makers of both USA and PRC. These suggestions will be helpful for both these countries to avoid any future conflict:

- ❖ USA should include morality in its foreign policy practices. By avoiding dual policy in international politics, US can easily avoid the chance of any future war.
- ❖ True and sincere efforts from both sides of the states should be made to empower international organizations and both US and China should obey the international organizations to be role models for all other states of the world.
- ❖ Maximum consideration should be paid to eradicate the root causes of many evils like poverty and crime from the world, as 60% of the population of the world lives below the line of poverty. Special efforts should be made to facilitate different residents of the global village in spite of selling them arms materials to those poor countries which have higher poverty rates.
- ❖ Defence budget of US is equal to the half of military budget of the whole world and China is the second country having a huge military budget. Both countries should minimise their military budget and it should be used for the betterment of their citizens and the citizens of poor countries.
- ❖ Sovereignty of each state should be respected by both US and China to ensure submission to the principles of United Nations Organization, and the US should not intervene in the domestic issues of weak countries in the name of exportation of democracy.

- ❖ Taiwan issue has been a bone of contention between US and China in the history. This issue can sabotage the relations of both these countries in the future so that it should be taken serious and US should stop its military sails to Taiwan.
- ❖ Rogue states like North Korea, Iran and Syria are seeking guidance from China. A clear policy should be made to curtail this relation to avoid any future clash between China and the US.
- ❖ Mutual interdependence between the US and China should be increased through bilateral trade to that level where both countries would not be able to fight a war with each other.
- ❖ People to people contacts should be increased, cultural exchanges should be frequent and all such activities should be highly regarded to avoid any future clash.
- ❖ Both the US and PRC should consider Public opinion as a potential source of the foreign policy making process so that it will guarantee the peace and friendly environment in the future.

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