

Thesis

REGIONAL DIMENSIONS OF
SINO-PAK STRATEGIC RELATIONS

IN THE POST COLD WAR ERA



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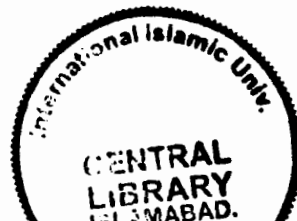
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**REGIONAL DIMENSIONS OF
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**Thesis for the Award of the Degree of Master of Science in Politics and International
Relations—A Partial Fulfillment**

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Declaration

I, Hafiz Muhammad Shahzad Qasim, hereby declare that the work presented here is my original work, except where otherwise I have tried to acknowledge in the text, and is not plagiarized. Moreover this paper has not been presented previously to any other institution, or shall be presented for a degree. This work has been carried out and completed at the International Islamic University, Islamabad.

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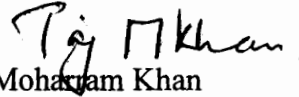
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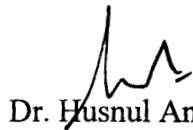


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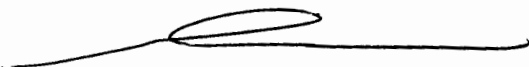
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May Allah bless them here and hereafter with happiness and good life! (Ameen)

DEDICATION

I dedicate this research to my loving father, Muhammad Qasim, my mother, Ayesha Bibi, my younger brother Muhammad Ijaz Qasim and my sisters who have been a source of strength for me, through their economic patronization, prayers and valuable suggestions and much more during my educational career, being far away from home.

ABSTRACT

All-weather, permanent, time tested, time honored, deep rooted, higher than Himalayas, deeper than oceans and sweeter than honey are the titles of long lasting vital and special relations of Pakistan and China on the ever changing global geo-political stage. These titles are neither baseless nor the construct of emotions rather entrenched in the geo-political and geo-economic realities of the region with rational basis.

At the time when the communist bloc was encircling China owing to its communist profile, Pakistan was a window for it to the outer world while now Pakistan is becoming the corridor for its energy, raw material, and manufactured goods to and from Middle East, Central Asia, Africa and other regions of the world. Gone are the days when China used to threaten India to intervene in her war with Pakistan but Pakistan is still a strategic partner of China to attain power, prosperity and peace. Despite differences of the orientation between China and Pakistan, in the beginning, the two countries had a common interest to ensure survival and security against India, maintain their territorial integrity and secure peace in the region. Now despite Chinese policy of not supporting Pakistan in any military conflict with India and stepping back from its support over Kashmir issue, the two countries share the old interests with the addition of enhanced cooperation in every field of defense from development.

Convergence of Chinese and Pakistan's interests in the past tied the two countries together, the increased numbers of common interests have strengthened their partnership and there will be no overlap in their desires in the foreseeable future that will keep them both stick together.

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Chapter No. 1

Introduction and Theoretical Framework

1. 1. Introduction

When Islamic Republic of Pakistan and Peoples' Republic of China emerged on the map of the World, the end of World War II and the subsequent developments had already divided the world into two blocs, capitalist and communist. The communist bloc was headed by the Union of the Soviet Socialist Republics (USSR) and the capitalist bloc was led by the United States of America (USA).

China was ideologically closer to the USSR or the communist bloc and Pakistan due to its ideology, religion, inherited problems of Kashmir, weak economy and the inclination of its ruling class towards the United States compelled Pakistan to join the capitalist bloc.¹ Soon after the establishment of Peoples' Republic of China on October 1st 1949, Pakistan was the 1st Muslim, 2nd Commonwealth and 3rd non-communist country to recognize it on January 5, 1950 despite differences of history, culture, religion, ideology and socio-political systems.² The two countries established their formal diplomatic relations on May 21, 1951.

Until the Sino-Indian war of 1962 on the bilateral border issue, China and India were nearer than Pakistan and China. But after the war, China and Pakistan became closer friends under the philosophy of 'enemy of my enemy is my friend'.³

¹ Akram Zaki, "China of Today and Tomorrow: Dynamics of Relations with Pakistan", IPS: Islamabad, 2009, P. 5.

² Ibid.

³ Fazal-ur-Rahman, "Pak-China Economic Relations: Constraints and Opportunities", *Strategic Studies*, No. 2 Volume XXVI, 2006.

Pakistan and China resolved their border issues and started a new chapter of long lasting special relations. Since then, China is the only major power of the world that has been a relatively reliable friend of Pakistan in its history of international relations. China helped Pakistan in its war of 1965 against India. Pakistan helped and mediated its good relations with the United States of America after the surfacing of border and ideological differences with the USSR.⁴

Normalization of Sino-US relations created anxiety in USSR and the USSR signed a treaty of friendship with India. This treaty of friendship between USSR and India triggered another wave for strengthening Sino-Pakistan rapprochement. China helped Pakistan in different fields and supported its official stance over Kashmir issue at various international forums.⁵

China played its role in maintaining the balance of power between India and Pakistan by providing military technology and know-how of military development. In spite of many differences, the two countries not only maintained their good relations but also strengthened this partnership with the passage of time.

Cold War ended with the disintegration of USSR and marked the victory of capitalism on one hand while changing the global order from bi-polar to uni-polar one on the other hand as the US became sole super power in the world.

In this changed scenario of capitalist uni-polar world, priorities and preferences of every state with respect to their foreign policies were also altered. To adjust in the

⁴ Muhammad Ayub Khan, "*Friends Not Masters*", Mr. Books: Islamabad, 2002. PP. 114-153.

⁵ Ibid. PP. 154-183.

transformed world with new rules of the game in international relations, each state reviewed, redefined their interests and reframed their foreign policies to secure the maximum of national interests accordingly. Hence, Sino-Pakistan relations need to be studied in this changed scenario especially in the regional context.

1. 2. Post Cold War Period

Disintegration of USSR compelled Chinese leaders more to concentrate on domestic issues especially human development as the huge military buildup of USSR could not prevent it from breakdown. China continued to develop its ties with India in a bid to boost up the economic development in peaceful neighborhoods with calmed down secessionist tendencies in Tibet.

China, Pakistan and India were concentrating more on their dream of economic development for lifting up their masses from clutches of poverty. Pakistan and China kept exchanging high level visits of their leaders.

China had close consultations with Pakistan over developments in Afghanistan as Taliban were gaining control of the country to impose Sharia Law. Pakistan was among the three countries to recognize Taliban Government in Afghanistan. The country was moving towards stabilizations and it was helpful for regional countries' economic development. Pakistan was concerned about the burden of three million Afghan refugees who came to Pakistan after invasion of USSR. Afghans were not only the burden over Pakistan's meager economy but also a sources of increasing crimes, spread of small but sophisticated arms and drug trade and addiction. Pakistan wanted to overcome these

issues and China wanted Pakistan to neutralize Taliban Government ideological influence in its Western province of Uygur Muslim region Xinjiang.⁶

After Cold War, China started normalizing its relations with Russia for ending the differences because Russia was no more an ideologically, economically and militarily an imperial power to threaten China. After achieving successful targets of developing their economy at home, China was out to look for energy, raw material and market for its finished goods. China was not only concentrating in South Asia, South East Asia, Central Asia and Middle East but also Africa, Europe and Americas. China was also devising the strategy to deal all the issues under its global strategy.⁷

As India carried out nuclear explosions in May 1998, India declared that it was necessary to attain nuclear arsenals for tackling the Chinese threat. It was really a stunning shock for China as India was out to confront China instead of enjoying the peaceful neighborhood detrimental for their mutual cooperation on the track of development. Indian Prime Minister Atal Bihari Vajpayee told the US that explosions were necessary as China was providing atomic arsenals to Pakistan. It worsened the regional environment making it tense. The West was angry to see South Asia going nuclear as Pakistan was going to explode its devices of nuclear arsenals. Despite pressure from the US and the West, Pakistan also exploded its devices on 28 May 1998 to respond India as she had imbalanced the power in South Asia and Pakistan considered it a direct threat to its national security.

⁶ Swaran Singh, *China-South Asia: Issues, Equations, policies*. Lancers Books: New Delhi. 2003. P. 171-209.

⁷ Ibid.

This tense security situation led to the Kargil crisis in 1999 between India and Pakistan. China remained neutral as she had already neutralized its policies over Kashmir and Indian justification of nuclear arsenals to counter Chinese threat made the situation more critical as India could react in case of Chinese support to Pakistan in the crisis.⁸

9/11 attack and subsequent developments compelled China to work with the US and Pakistan due to balance of threat perception regarding its Xinjiang province. China and Pakistan supported the US in war in terror and China asked the US to recognize the sacrifices of Pakistan in the war as the US was skeptic of Pakistan's role in the war on terror and Afghanistan.⁹

Pakistan and China completed Gwadar port to boost their economic development but terrorism and soared insurgency in Baluchistan compelled them to postpone their economic development plans until the security situation improves in Pakistan.

Pakistan and China issued a joint declaration in 2003 to make 'all-weather friendship' from defense centric to all rounded through cooperation in every field of common interest. Later, Pakistan and China signed a treaty friendship with uniqueness of not having such agreement with any other country and supporting each other for territorial integrity and security.¹⁰

Rational behavior of China improved its ties and trade with India and China retreated back from its last position over Kashmir by issuing visas to the citizens of

⁸ Dr. Muhammad Ijaz Butt, "Focus on China: Relations with Pakistan", Advanced Publishers: Lahore, 2007. P. 123.

⁹ *Daily Express*, 20 December 2010.

¹⁰ China-Pakistan Relations, *Fact File IPRI*, Volume VII, Number 3, March 2005. P. 92-94.

Kashmir on Indian Passport instead of plain paper to keep record that Kashmir is a disputed territory yet.¹¹

Pakistan used to be a strategic card for China to handle South Asia in the regional context but now Pakistan is more than strategic partner for China as its global strategy gives more roles to Pakistan from economic to diplomacy and defense. Thus Pak-China friendship has become a permanent feature due to regional factors and cooperation has increased in a number of fields but the friendship is no more India or defense centric as China has normalized and improved ties with India by creating economic interdependencies.¹² Chinese and Indian forces carried out joint exercises also but Indian establishment still perceives and declares India an enemy. Complex Sino-Indian ties yet have the space for Pakistan's role but Pakistan would no more get any support leading confrontation of India and China.

Pak-China partnership is yet to be strengthened more through materializing the cooperation in all the fields of common interest to make all-weather friendship as all-round cooperative and truly beneficial.

1. 3. Hypothesis

The end of Cold War marked the changes in the world order that affected inter-state relations. Hence the end of Cold War changed the Sino-Pakistan relations also especially with respect to their neighbors under the regional dimension of bilateral relationship.

¹¹ *Daily Jang*, March 27, 2012.

¹² Sino-Indian Relations, *Fact File IPRI*, Volume VII, Number 10, October 2005. P. 3

1. 4. Research Questions

1. Were the Sino-Pak strategic relations affected in the regional context after the end of Cold War?
2. Why China was neutral in Kargil crisis?
3. Did the balance of threat perception compelled China to work with Pakistan and the United States against terrorism?
4. Have the factors of Sino-Pak strategic relations been changed in 21st century?

1. 5. Significance of the Study

China is emerging as a very important and truly global influential power. Before the end of Cold War, China was a regional power and of course its policies and preferences were mostly determined by the regional factors and dimensions but now China's foreign policy behavior has been changed owing to the changes in global arena, its economic achievements and regional international relations chess board. Hence there is a dire need to scholarly study the regional dimensions of Sino-Pak strategic relations in the changed scenario.

Government sponsored and even private think tanks in Pakistan and China are carrying out research on the opportunities and vistas for strengthening the Sino-Pakistan friendship. They tend to promote or publicize the joint projects and proposed the neglected areas for cooperation other than pointing out the fields where interests of the two countries converge and advocate cooperation. Therefore, there is much hype and ambiguity among the Government officials as they often think and argue to play China

card against India and even the US. Hence the significance of the study is that it will be a research for figuring out and understanding the actual and rational foundations or factors in the region behind 'all-weather' friendship.

This study will be source of knowledge for the students, scholars, journalists, Government officials and policy makers to understand the changed behavior of China based on different lens for the regional dimensions with its redefined national interests, and reframed policies based on newly assumed status of global player. They have to realize that gone are the days when China use to come for threatening India to intervene in case of prolonging war with Pakistan. Thus the study will enable Government officials, policy maker to come out of the confusion and pragmatically reframe policies or make decisions by rightly putting or playing the China card wherever it is workable for securing the maximum national interest of Pakistan.

It is widely believed that 21st century is the century of economic development and geo-economics has overcome the geo-politics as the future world powers will be formed with soft power of economic development, science and technology capabilities, innovations, education, efficient media, good governance, social welfare and well being of the masses.

Geo-politics could not be overcome by geo-economics in South Asia as Pakistan would not accept to make this shift until the solution of Kashmir issue.¹³ Understanding the changed preferences of China in the region and its subsequent foreign policy behavior especially about Kashmir would compel policy and decision makers to look forward for

¹³ *Daily Times*, 23 June 2011.

the other ways or available options for the solution of Kashmir issue and employ alternate means for pursuing national core and peripheral interests.

Less and decreasing scope of strategic relations in 21st century would also sooner or later compel Pakistani policy and decision makers to come out of the strategic and military build-up obsession and diversify Sino-Pak relations by creating economic and other types of beneficial interdependencies for translating it into a multi-dimensional thriving and truly beneficial 'all-weather friendship'.

1. 6. Literature Review

Swaran Singh in his book "China-South Asia: Issues, Equation and Policies" stated that Kashmir issue got importance only because of China's role and China played this role to get support from Pakistan for its own internal issues of Tibet, Xinjiang and Taiwan. China remained neutral in Kargil war and later on in 2002 offered to play arbitrary role for the solution of Kashmir issue maintaining her role more rational and responsible as a global player.

John R, Faust and Judith F, Kornberg in their book "China in the World Politics" stated that Sino-Pak friendship is based on the principle of enemy of enemy is friend. They added that China is supporting Pakistan to counter influence of India in South Asia. They claimed that China will never be neutral between India and Pakistan. They added that if China shows such attitude then China would be supporting Pakistan secretly.

Kjeld Erik Brosgaar and Bertel Heurlin in their book "China's Place in Global Politics" wrote that Chinese leaders still believe that for their domestic development and stability, they need regional harmony that is why they will not go to confront India at any

front. China will remain neutral and it has maintained its policy of equi-distance for India and Pakistan.

Akram Zaki, former ambassador of Pakistan to China, in his article “Pakistan China Relations within the Global Strategic Environment” presented on 23 March 2006 in Islamabad, stated that the first decade of their diplomatic relations was not warmth because slogan of ‘Hindu-Cheeni Bhai Bhai’ had emerged. After 1962 border war of India and China, Pak-China friendship achieved the new heights and laid the foundation of model friendship. Later, he maintained that Pakistan has become more important for China for its rule as a global leader.

Former Chinese ambassador to Pakistan Ma Zhengang in his article presented in Islamabad mentioned that Pak-China relations proved that that this is an ‘all-weather friendship’ that helped both countries to fight common challenges and pursue for a common development strategy.

Cai Bingkui in his article said that he does not like to mention any threat that could be materialized in the future but he added that Pakistan and China will tackle the common enemy and threat together as they did so in the past.

Hu Shisheng in his article “China’s South Asia Policy and Its Impacts” presented in Institute of Regional Studies Islamabad in 2003 explained that China maintained its good relations with other countries under five principles of peaceful coexistence for safeguarding itself externally to keep its progress in economic development.

Ashok Kapur in his book “Regional Security Structure in Asia” claimed that China has same relation with Pakistan as the US maintains with India. He added that China is maintaining good relations with Myanmar and Pakistan for containing India. Predicting about the future designs of China, he maintained that China intends to channel her diplomatic, economic, and military power from Tibet and Xinjiang through Pakistan and Arabian Sea. China has planned to acquire naval bases of Pakistan for its naval presence in Arabian Sea. Later he mentioned that China will use Pakistan as a corridor for energy, raw material and finished good to and from South-Western region.

Swaran Singh in his book ‘China-Pakistan Strategic Cooperation: Indian Perspective’ tried to analyze the partnership subtracting the Indian factor and attempted to showcase as India factor is not very much important rather Xinjiang, Gwadar and Pakistani corridor for Chinese development is more important as India has successfully minuses its enmity from this rapprochement.

1. 7. Lack of Objective Analysis of Regional Dimension in Sino-Pak Strategic Relations

Most of the available literature on Sino-Pak relations has mostly been produced in China, Pakistan and India. Scholars from other countries tend to study the relations with other context especially with respect to the Western or US interest in the region. While Chinese and Pakistani studies are either aimed at projection of joint projects and programs or exploration of the field of common interest for pursuing the bilateral programs to strengthen the ties.

Many of the Indian studies have been conducted to solve this puzzle of “all-weather friendship”. Indian perspective even by academia is always exaggerated and tends to create hype about the basis of the Sino-Pak friendship on Indian enmity only. Some of the studies tried to showcase the Sino-Pak partnership subtracting the Indian factor with claims that Indian rivalry is no more a glue to the ‘all-weather friendship’ as India has normalized the relations with China as well as Pakistan.

Hence, this study would not only address these issues by bringing a balanced analysis of regional cementing factors of Sino-Pak strategic ties but it would also clear the clouds on Pakistan’s perspective regarding foundations of ‘all-weather friendship’.

1. 8. Research Methodology

It is qualitative research while primary and secondary sources (interviews, books, research journal articles, magazines, newspapers and websites) have been used as per requirements. Interviews of political leaders and Government officials of both countries also used to mark the future prospects of Sino-Pak strategic relations. In the study, the data was analyzed through neo-realists approach.

1. 9. Study Division

This study is divided in seven Chapters and conclusion. First chapter discusses the introduction and the theoretical framework of the study. Second chapter discusses the historical background of the Sino-Pak strategic relations. Third chapter discusses the Indian factor in the rapprochement. Fourth chapter analyzes the Afghanistan factor in cementing Pak-China partnership. Fifth chapter comprises on arguments about the US role in Sino-Pak relations. Sixth chapter is about the factors of Middle East and Central

Asia. Seventh chapter is about much needed aspect of the friendly relations i.e. economic development. At the end, conclusion includes findings and recommendations.

1. 10. Theoretical Framework

The need for a theory to conduct the study of international relations at any level is actually aimed at bringing the better empirical analysis and understanding through the tool of already agreed principles among the scholars of the subject worldwide. The theories equip scholar to analyze things rationally and making the study more comprehensible.¹⁴

As the realist paradigm still dominates and defines the most interstate relations in the World, Sino-Pak “all-weather friendship” is no exception. Among all the theories of International Relations, the neo-realist school of thought better explain this complex and multi-dimensional relationship. Thus the data collected for the study of regional dimension of Sino-Pak strategic relations will be analyzed through the yardstick of neo-realists.

1. 11. Neo-Realism

The neo-realist school of thought emerged in 1970s to address the shortcomings of realist school of thought and include the developments in international relations arena. The neo-realist theory of Kenneth N. Waltz and the subsequent scholars arguments in the school of thought will be used as a yardstick to explain, analyze and understand the regional aspects of the Post-Cold War Sino-Pak strategic relations.

¹⁴ Seyom Brown, “*International Relations in a Changing Global System*”, Westview Press, Oxford, 1992. P. 1-12.

Kenneth N. Waltz is a famous scholar of international relations. He developed and wrote the theory in his book, "Theory of International Politics" in 1979. Neo-realism was a reaction to the challenge created by interdependency theory and it was as a corrective to the neglect of economic aspects by the traditional realists.

Kenneth N. Waltz's approach of the systemic study of the international relations will help to explain the cementing factors of Sino-Pak long lasting partnership despite the twists on the regional chess board. The neo-realist theory elucidates the inter-state relations in an environment where international system affects their cooperation through making alliances for balancing of power, balancing of threat, addressing security problem and securing other common interests particularly economic development.

1. 12. Assumptions and Main Points of Neo-Realism

- The structure of the international system is a primary determinant of the actors' behavior in the system.
- States and non-state actors work together in an environment of anarchy as there is no central power or authority in international system to impose rules, principles and norms for the protection of the interests of the comity of nations.
- Survival of states is the most critical issue posed by the anarchic environment.
- Every other state is seen as the potential enemy and threat to its national security.
- Security problem, emerged by the horror and mistrust of potential enemies often stimulates the policies of states.
- States are always interest oriented while the anarchic and the competitive environment push them to rely on self help instead of cooperation of others.

- States are always rationale actors in selecting the strategies to maximize their benefits and minimize losses.

1. 13. Neo-Realism and Sino-Pak Strategic Relations

Thus China and Pakistan friendship can be said to be based on the assumptions made by Neo-Realist school of thought. Pakistan's and Chinese behaviors have been quite similar despite differences in their systems only because of common goals of desire for peace, strive for economic development and security dilemma created by fear and mistrust of their potential enemies i.e. India and the US. Regional actors have been determining the behavior of 'all-weather friends' and have been providing the essential glue to cement them together through their perceived interests with respect to these regional factors.

Pakistan since its independence had inherited enmity of India and could not afford to have any other giant enemy like China on its borders therefore Pakistan immediately recognized it and established diplomatic relations with China. Given the anarchic environment of the World,¹⁵ Pakistan was to ensure its survival and existence against Indian threat to its security.¹⁶

As India was closer to China in the early period and China was considering Pakistan as a threat sponsored by Western blocs of SEATO and CENTO. Pakistan was skeptic of China due to its closeness with India and proposed India to form a joint defense against Chinese communist threat after solving their bilateral conflicts. Despite

¹⁵ Hedley Bull, *"The Anarchical Society: A study of World Politics"*, Palgrave Macmillan, Shinghai, 2007. P. 3-50.

¹⁶ Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto, *"The Myth of Independence"*, Classic, Lahore, 1967, P. 66-78.

denial of India, Pakistan opposed China in the United Nations because Pakistan was getting substantial economic and military support from the US. On the other hand, China had suspicion from Pakistan as it seems to be extension of capitalist bloc.¹⁷

As the Sino-Indian war erupted in 1962, Pakistan found it a good opportunity to come closer to China and they both settled their only problem of border demarcation. Both of the countries signed agreements to materialize their relations and establish contacts. Thus as per neo-realist assumption, search for security against India led Pakistan towards China and Chinese fear of India, US and USSR brought China closer to Pakistan.¹⁸

China supported Pakistan against India in their war of 1965 and even threatened India to intervene as India was non-aligned, aloof and foe of China. Sino-US-Pakistan triangle in 1971 created insecurity in USSR and India and they came close to sign a treaty of friendship for 20 years. China could not come to support Pakistan overtly as China was fearful of its security because of USSR rapprochement with India.¹⁹

Nuclear device test by India in May 1974 led China to support Pakistan to develop nuclear and missile technology as it was necessary to tie India in South Asian affairs and not let her challenge China. Chinese help to Pakistan in nuclear technology was actually to create balance of threat against India.²⁰

¹⁷ Ibid.

¹⁸ Swaran Singh (ed), *China-Pakistan Strategic Cooperation: Indian Perspective*, Manohar, New Delhi, 2007. P. 17-24.

¹⁹ Ibid.

²⁰ Muntazir Ali, "China as factor of Peace in South Asia: Problems and Prospects", *Pakistan Horizon*, Volume 63, No. 3, 2010.

Death of Mao Tse Tung and rise of Deng Xiaoping led China to be rational actor, divorce its ideology from its foreign policy behavior, open its market up, keep profile low, seek friendly neighborhoods and pursue for comprehensive national development. Search for peaceful neighborhoods compelled China to normalize their relations with India and give up its support to Pakistan for Kashmir.²¹ Thus as per assumptions of neo-realism, Chinese prioritizing of its economic interest led her to step back from Indian enmity and Pakistani support to maximize its national interest.

End of Cold War eliminated the threat of USSR and weakened India as the US had gone back and the regional player were at their own for facing their challenges and pursuing their interest in the region. Pakistan was concerned about Kashmir issue and security against India.²² China was concerned about the territorial integrity and national interest of economic development. Elimination of security threats led China to focus on comprehensive national development agenda through rationale of wooing the neighborhoods.²³

Nuclear explosions by India declaring China as a threat followed by blasts of Pakistan stunned the world and make the regional situation very tense. China remained neutral in Kargil crisis because siding with Pakistan could harm its strategic and economic interest regarding India and China had already clarified the Pakistan would not

²¹ Maqbool A. Bhatti, "China-South Asia", *Strategic Studies*, No.1, Volume XXIII, 2003.

²² Shahid M. Amin, *Pakistan's Foreign Policy: A Reappraisal*, Oxford University Press, 2000, PP. 1-13.

²³ M. R. Josse, "China in South Asia", *South Asian Journal*, No. 15, 2007.

find its support in case of military conflict with China like past as it has become pragmatic instead of ideological one.²⁴

Balance of threat perception from terrorism in the region forced China to work with Pakistan and the US as she could counter secessionist tendencies in Xinjiang and end the sources of ideological mobilization could also be dismantled in Afghanistan.²⁵

Economic interest through trade, peaceful environment conducive for economic development, cutting sources of fueling separatism in Tibet and Indo-US rivalry based on Chinese are the major motivations that forced China to normalize its relations with India.²⁶

Pakistan and China's "all-weather friendship" was based on common Indian enmity and search for mutual security in the developed environment of the region. In 21st century, Pakistan is not only a strategic partner in the region but its geo-strategic situation connecting South Asia, Central Asia, West Asia, Persian Gulf and Indian Ocean is an asset for realizing its goal of flexing power and economic development. Common interests of economic development drive the two countries to heavily depend on each other and strengthen the partnership.²⁷

Pakistan is not only supporting China in resolving problems of separatism politically, handing over the separatist elements from Pakistan but also providing the ideological support to induce Uygur Muslims to give up their aspirations for separatism.

²⁴ Thomas W. Robinson and David Shambaugh, "*Chinese Foreign Policy: Theory and Practice*", Clarendon Press: Oxford, 1995. 30-46.

²⁵ Fazlur Rahim Muzaffary, "Afghanistan: Regional Security and NATO", *Policy Perspective*, No. 2, Volume 5, 2008

²⁶ John R. Faust and Judith F. Kornberg, "*China in World Politics*", Lynne Rienner Publisher: London. 1995. PP. 23-37.

²⁷ Masood Anwar, "Real Significance of Gwadar port", *Daily The News*, May 5, 2008.

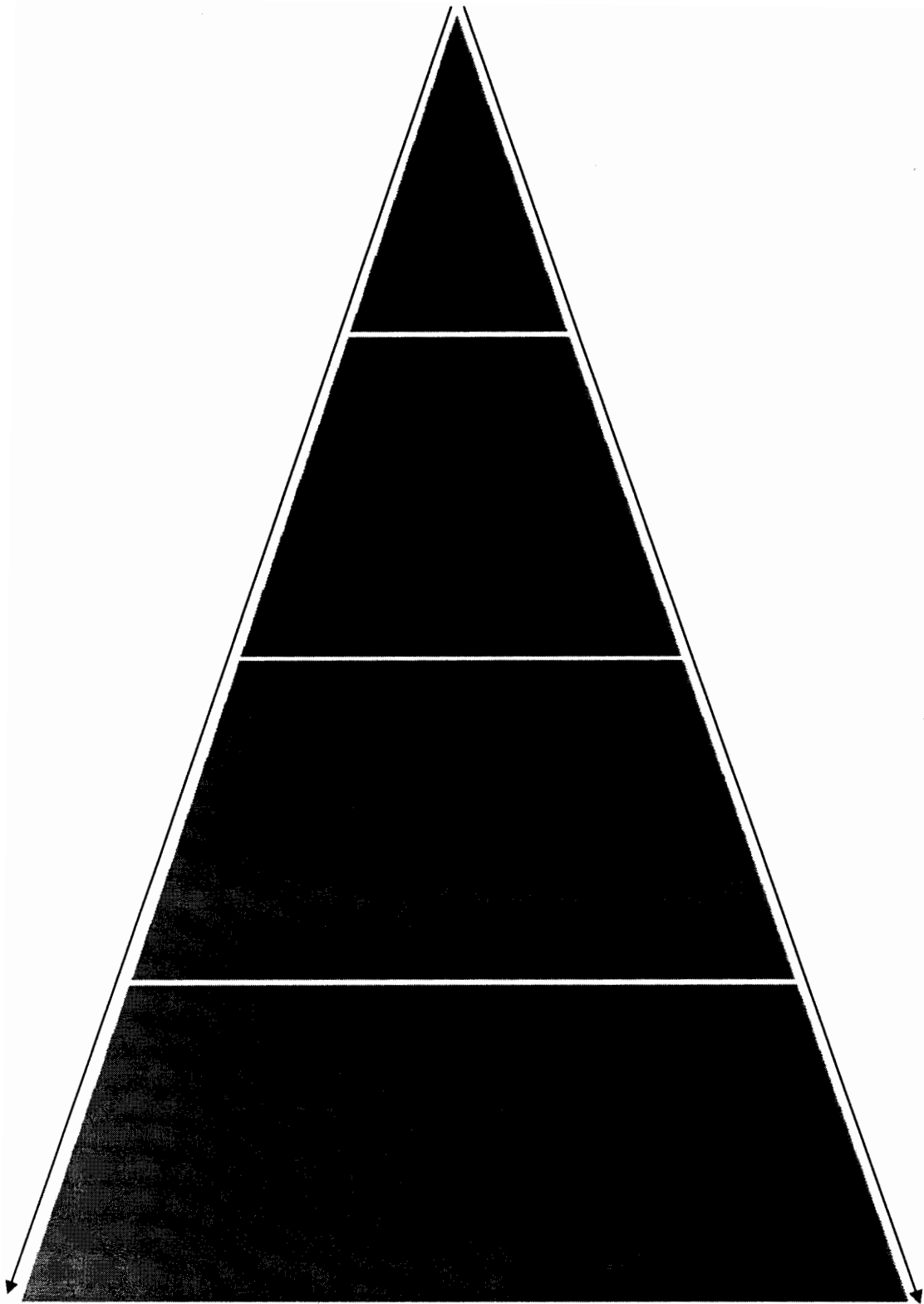
The security interest regarding Xinjiang compelled China to cement relations with Pakistan.²⁸

Chinese vested interests in the region and tentative role of Pakistan that it is playing and could play for China brought China more close to Pakistan in 21st century but China has subtracted to some extent its role against India but the remaining interests' convergence with Pakistan has made the partnership permanent and more beneficial to both of the countries. Maximization of interests brought China to support Pakistan in every sphere of common interest.²⁹ Despite elimination of Chinese support to Pakistan against India, to bandwagon with China could help Pakistan develop economy and strengthened defense against India.

Chinese Government often repeats the mantra of its support to the centrality of the United Nations (UN) especially in treaties with the other countries including Pakistan but its acts of handling the matters clearly depict that Chinese officials approach is of neo-realists for the region where suspicions and threat of other states in the anarchic world drive its relations by self reliance in handling the affair to gain the perceived goals.

²⁸ Khalid Rahman and Rahida Hameed, "Sino-Pak Relations and Xinjiang: Writings of Pakistani Scholars", *Policy Perspective*, No. 2, Volume 6, 2009.

²⁹ Shahzad Akhtar, "Sino-Pakistan Relations: An Assessment", *Strategic Studies*, Volume XXIX, No. 2/3, 2009.



Pyramid of Strengthening and Expanding Sino-Pak Strategic Relations during 60 Years

Chapter No. 2

Background

Sino-Pakistan relations background is quite important to understand their long lasting cordiality and the subsequent change in their behavior in the post Cold War period. It is also necessary to answer the question asked in the study that whether the behavior of the two parties have changed owing to the change in the regional geo-strategic environment and global shift in strategic preferences of the states towards geoeconomics from geo-political one.³⁰

2. 1. Early Period of Sino-Indian Rapprochement

The communist leader Mao Zedong proclaimed the People's Republic of China after the victory of Communist Revolutionary group against Kuomintang (Nationalist) ruling forces for controlling the power in mainland China on 1st October 1949. Pakistan was the first Muslim and 4th non-communist country to recognize Communist Regime as the legitimate Government of China, just three months after its establishment. In this beginning period of Chinese diplomatic relations, China and India were closer than China and Pakistan so much so that slogans like "Hindu-Cheeni Bhai Bhai" were enchanted.

China and Pakistan established their diplomatic relations on May 21, 1951. The first mile stone in the Sino-Pak long term partnership was laid down by Pakistan's Prime Minister Muhammad Ali of Bogra and Chinese Prime Minister Zhou Enlai when the two leader met in Bandung Conference.

³⁰ Poonam Mann, "India's Foreign Policy in Post Cold War Era", Harman Publishing House: Delhi, 2000. PP. 1-5.

2. 2. Reactionary Foreign Policy

Countries do not exist in a vacuum rather they find themselves in a pre-settled environment where they have to adopt it like the organism and act according to the standing operating procedures or predefined working rules of the game. Foreign policy serves the purpose of broad national objective in the existing and continuously changing world. Dominant and major powers come out with the assertive foreign policies to transform the world for realizing their ambitions while relative weak and poor states are left with the option of reactionary strategies, foreign policies, with respect to those assertive courses of action to secure the maximum of their national interests. States have to review their foreign policies continuously with the rapidly changing global environment for dealing new arising challenges and exploiting the vistas of opportunities in a bid to draw the maximum of benefits. Emerging powers try to reform or change the rules to make them conducive or subservient to their objectives but it depends upon their weight in the region and the world at large. As foreign policy is the continuation of internal policy therefore, states are compelled to form or modify it as the internal needs or requirements change or grow.

As Pakistan was carved on the global map, the end of World War II had shaped the political landscape of the planet by formation of capitalist and communist blocs led by the United States (US) and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republic (USSR) respectively. The US and the USSR were striving hard for defeating each other as the USSR was aiming to grab the whole planet because of inherent global philosophy of communism while the US was trying to limit it for saving the capitalist system or life style throughout the world. The US was supporting the countries with economic and

military aid just to contain the spread of communism. It also made the South Asian region important for the US as the US use to consider China as the extension of communist Soviet Union until the clashes between China and USSR surfaced.³¹ SEATO (South East Asian Treaty Organization) was formed only to counter the prospective influence of China on South East Asian Nations.

2.3. Pakistan's Foreign Policy Options and Choice

Indian leaders were not happy over Pakistan's independence, they did not accepted the partition of the subcontinent and they were of the view that Pakistan would not be able to sustain which is why that Pakistan was not provided with its due share of territories, defense arms, capital reserves and other things belonging to Pakistan by India while the Kashmir issue added to its atrocities as the established government institutions were on the Indian side.

Thus the initial pillars or determinants of Pakistan's foreign policy were to find defense against India, support for solution of Kashmir issue, economic aid and political partnership for diplomatic gains in the comity of nations.³²

Though the USSR invited Pakistan's Prime Minister for visit to Moscow but Pakistan's policy makers thought that the visit would not only close its door to the other or capitalist bloc but also would not help to address its needs while the capitalist bloc could better support for the issues faced by Pakistan. Other than this, religious impediment and the Westernized ruling elite also prevented Pakistan from joining the

³¹ Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto, Op.cit.

³² Abdul Sattar, "*Pakistan's Foreign Policy 1947-2005*", Karachi: Oxford University Press, 2007, PP.13- 68.

communist bloc. Thus Pakistan joined the capitalist bloc as India was avoiding to side with any bloc and was championing the Non-Alignment Movement (NAM).

2. 4. Pakistan in Capitalist Bloc

Pakistan became member of the US led SEATO and CENTO (Central Treaty Organization), got the economic and military aid but could get the desired result in the issue of Kashmir and it still exist as a bleeding wound in the heart of Pakistan's strategic grounds. By then, the US did not want Pakistan to be lured and attacked by the communist bloc. The US was trying to strengthen Pakistan economically and militarily against the communist threat so Pakistan banned the communist party in the country. Pakistan was taking this build up against India as it was concerned about its survival and the political landscape of South Asia instead of global hegemony.

Owing to its size, population, democracy, democratic institutions and the largest common border with China, the US looked India more important to balance China even that India had denied to join its camp and become member of SEATO and CENTO.

Pakistan and India both supported China for its seat in the United Nations Security Council (UNSC) in the early period of their diplomatic relations. After joining the capitalist bloc, Pakistan became partner in activities of isolating China in 1954. Pakistan did support to a number of US steps to create problems for China in the neighboring regions and the United Nations (UN). Pakistan opposed Chinese representation in UN.

2. 5. Opposition of China by Pakistan

Later, Pakistan's first military dictator General Ayub Khan coined an idea and initiated a step in South Asia by advocating 'joint defense' of India and Pakistan against the 'China threat' due to Chinese incursion in Northern Areas. Despite diplomacy by Pakistan, Indian leaders refused to buy the idea and sign the accord for joint defense against China.

Pakistan also criticized China in West sponsored campaigns while Pakistan also opposed the Chinese membership in UN.

On the other hand, India was getting more support and aid from both of the camps despite being champion of NAM. During Kennedy term of Presidency in the White House, Indian support was increased and relations with Pakistan became at the lower level. Pakistan was failing in its strive to get strengthened against India and its diplomacy against India was totally failed when the US gave immense military support to India in its war with China over border issues in 1962.

2. 6. Beginning of Practical and Cordial Relationships

A rethink in Pakistan's foreign policy formulation and practice was emerged and 'look east' policy was added in the foreign relation to get support from the communist bloc too. Pakistan assured China that its membership of SEATO and CENTO was not against it but it was a bid to get support against India. India promoted Curzon's policy which caused the eruption of the 1962 war between the China and India.

The Indo-China war and their subsequent enmity provided the opportunity to Pakistan for getting closer to China and laid the foundation of time tested, deep rooted, all weather special friendship on the rational of common enemy; India. Pakistani leaders considered the Western support to India a threat for Pakistani security and despite the Western concerns; they continued the policy of good relations with China.

Working and meaningful relations between China and Pakistan were established only after the peaceful settlement of border issues between the two countries when they signed a border settlement agreement in 1962 that was the only hurdle in their relations. In the beginning period when Pakistan joined the Western Camp, China used to consider Pakistan as US ally. Thus China shielded itself against India, USSR and the US by befriending Pakistan.

China and Pakistan negotiated and inked a trade agreement in 1963. Air services treaty was also finalized in 1963 and Pakistan International Airline was the first foreign airline to operate in China since the establishment of communist regime. Pakistan and China also inked a cultural accord in 1965. Despite the efforts of the two countries to diversify and broaden the base of their relations, the essence of the relation between the countries remained “defense centric” even for more than next four decades as their bondage was based on their perception of insecurity from India in case of Pakistan while India and USSR in case of China. Thus China has been looking towards Pakistan for strategic gains instead of economic until the end of cold war.³³

³³ Col Dr. Muhammad Khan, “Pak-China friendship: New Horison”, *Monthly Hilal Rawalpindi*, January 2011.

2. 7. China's Support for Pakistan in War against India

As war between Pakistan and India in 1965, China supplied arms to Pakistan. Chinese media termed India aggressor and China clearly warned India that China would also intervene in the war if India extended the war to East Pakistan.

The US rapprochement with India and Pakistan was only based on its perception of Chinese threat as extension of communist Soviet. As President Nixon came to power, he realized the need to get rid of unnecessary enmity with China as it had become clear that USSR and China were pursuing for the different goals. Pakistan played a very important role through secret diplomacy and mediating between US and China in July 1971. The US President Richard Nixon accompanied by Pakistani President Yahya Khan secretly visited Beijing via Pakistan to normalize their relations. Pakistan is yet well known among the common masses of China for its role played for the foundation of their friendship with the United States.

2. 8. Indo-Soviet Rapprochement versus Sino-US-Pakistan Triangle

Diplomacy by Pakistan for the US-China friendship gave a strong and sensitive enmity signal to India and the USSR. It provided the *raison d'être* for closeness of India and USSR. Ultimately India and USSR signed the treaty of friendship for twenty years in August 1971. Sino-Indian rapprochement as broken war erupted between the two countries on border issues in 1962 and the animosity was further aggravated by Sino-US-Pakistan triangle and Indian support to the Tibet leaders.³⁴

³⁴ Jonathan Mirsky, "Tibet: China's Gaza?", *Asian Affairs*, Volume XL, No. 3, 2009.

Pakistan became part the Sino-US alliance against USSR but it compelled India to balance this equation by forming the alliance with USSR. Though India got benefit of veto power by USSR on Kashmir issue but despite being part of the powerful alliance, Pakistan only loosed its chance over resolution of Kashmir issue and was victimized of USSR animosity over Indian attack on East Pakistan ultimately leading to its dismemberment even China and US were its ally.

2. 9. Strengthening of Sino-Pak Relations

In Nov-Dec 1971 war between India and Pakistan, China again supplied arms to Pakistan but could not intervene directly due to fear of USSR interference. Despite of promises, Pakistan could not get help from the US because it had already sanctioned arm supply to Pakistan as Pakistan used the arms supplied by the US against India in 1965 war instead of the potential threat of communism. Thus Pakistan paid a price for siding with the West not only in the form of its dismemberment and creation of Bangladesh but could not resolve the problem of Kashmir as USSR vetoed the issue in UN.

Indo-USSR treaty of friendship, dismemberment of Pakistan or independence of Bangladesh (that was important for Pakistan and China to encircle India), Bangladesh's friendly relations with India and Indian nuclear device test on 18 May 1974 with the rationale of defense against Chinese threat compelled China to sign agreement with Pakistan in September 1974 and transfer nuclear and missile technologies. China not only supplied the arms to Pakistan uninterruptedly but also transferred the technological

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know-how on “friendship price” for strengthening Pakistan or its autarky.³⁵ On the other hand, Pakistan was facing embargoes from the United States in the field of arms.

In 1979, the USSR tried extend itself by invading Afghanistan for the pursuit of “warm waters” via Pakistani province of Baluchistan as it had no access to the water round the year because Siberian routes used to become nonoperational due to snow. Afghan resistance against USSR was started and Pakistan suddenly became important for the capitalist bloc as it was to play a very crucial role in the resistance against USSR. Pakistan became the frontline state Pakistan was not only supported by the Western bloc but the Muslim world and Peoples Republic of China too. The US was opposing Pakistan over the issue during 1980s but it could not leave Pakistan’s partnership it was very important to fight a proxy war in Afghanistan against USSR. Holy war against the USSR by Afghan remained successful and the US again sanctioned Pakistan with Pressler amendment due to the latter’s strive to attain the nuclear arsenals.

2. 10. Rethink in China-Pakistan Relations

Since the beginning of reforms by Deng Xiaoping in late 1970s, China started shifting from ideological behavior to a rational and pragmatic approach. Chinese leaders started reviewing foreign policy especially with regards to the neighbors as they considered peaceful neighborhoods pre-requisite for their goal of economic development. Deng Xiaoping advocated keeping profile low and pursuing for the national goal of development. China started avoiding conflict, shelved it differences, neutralized its policy

³⁵ Fazal-ur-Rahman, “Pak-China Economic Relations: Constraints and Opportunities”, *Strategic Studies*, No. 2 Volume XXVI, 2006.

over Kashmir in 1982 and started improving its relations with India. At the end of Cold War, China had left with main concerns of strengthening national security, maintaining territorial integrity and pursuing economic development.³⁶

Though China was working closely with Pakistan over support to the Afghan Mujahideen for resisting USSR Forces in Afghanistan but it has stepped back from Pakistani support against India before the end of Cold War.

³⁶ Russel Ong, *China's Security Interests in 21st Century* , Routledge, London and New York, 2007, PP. 12-17.

Chapter No. 3

Sino-Pak Relation: Indian Factor

3.1. End of Cold War Era

Military and strategic contents remained predominant in defining the Sino-Pak partnership while India is considered foremost and important factor in this regard. Though India and China had very friendly relations during the first decade of their independence so much so that the slogans of “Hindu-Cheeni Bhai Bhai” were enchanted but soon after the Sino-Indian border conflict in 1962, this friendship was transformed into long-lasting enmity and competition for assuming the regional leadership, realization of economic development and the run for global roles.

Chinese leaders had the philosophy that being wealthy is prestigious and grand economy can afford the great military force and help the counter the various domestic concerns. Therefore since then the assumption of power by Deng Xiaoping, China opened up its economy and started to pursue its national agenda of economic development. Xiaoping also advocated avoiding the conflict, keeping the profile low and going for the economic development. China still follows the policy and it will continue some time in future too.³⁷

³⁷ Erik Kjeld and Bertel Heurlin, *China's Place in Global politics: International, Regional and Domestic Challenges*, Rutledge Curzon, London: 2002. PP. 112-133.

3.2. China Needs Peace in Neighborhoods for Development

Chinese policy makers were convinced that peace in the neighborhoods was necessary for pursuing the goal of economic development which is why China started normalizing its relations with India in 1980s. China retreated back its support for Pakistani stance of right of self determination through plebiscite over Kashmir issue and neutralized its position in 1982. Later with the elimination of USSR threat these Confidence Building Measures (CBMs) get impetus as China had embarked upon the fast track of economic development.

China has complicated the geo-political competition with India as they are the biggest trade partners in the region and they rely on each other for their on-going economic development through various means but still they consider each other the potential threat for their security due to their regional conflicting interests and being part of the global game.³⁸

3.3. Pak-India Equation

Pak-India animosity is entrenched in historical legacy, communal hatred, violent partition, Kashmir conflict and frequent wars while the continuous biased media reporting and propaganda campaigns launched by defense establishments of both countries aggravated the situation.³⁹

³⁸ *The Express Tribune*, 17 December 2010.

³⁹ Barry Buzan and Gowheer Zizvi, "*South Asian Insecurity and the Great Powers*", The Macmillan Press: London, 1986. PP. 93-123

Since the beginning, India has been more lucrative for the US and the West due to its geographical size, political system, vast market, long border with China and the potential to become important regional and global player for countering the Chinese Communist threat despite Indian refusal to join the US sponsored South East Asian Treaty Organization (SEATO), Central Treaty Organization (CENTO) and championing Non Aligned Movement (NAM). Hence, the US and the West showered their support to India in spite of Pakistan's opposition and reaction to the nexus as Pakistan had joined the treaties primarily to counter the Indian threat not the communist one. Thus the point here to make is that India has been blue eyed boy of the US and the West since the beginning of Cold War and the obsession has increased with the passage of time.

Foreign Policy is considered the first defense line of a country therefore Pakistan's core determinants of foreign policy since its inception has been tackling Indian threat and resolution of Kashmir issue both linked with India.⁴⁰ Pakistan and Chinese relations in the earlier period had nothing in common other than Indian animosity.

As soon as Pakistani establishment realized that Pakistan cannot tackle Indian threat by alliance with the US, it embraced Chinese friendship and tried to strengthen it with the passage of time. Historical ups and downs in the US policy towards Pakistan cemented Sino-Pak rapprochement. Pak-China friendship proved to be natural and China really helped Pakistan in every sphere on 'friendship price'.

China remained neutral in the Kargil crisis 1999 that occurred soon after the nuclear explosions by arch rivals India and Pakistan because China had already clarified

⁴⁰ Zafar Nawaz Jaspal, "Paradox of Deterrence: India-Pakistan Strategic Relations", Strategic Studies, Volume XXIX, No. 4, 2009.

its position in this regard. Chinese President Jiang Zemin during his visit to Pakistan in 1996 told the Senate of Pakistan in his speech that Pakistan would continue to enjoy Chinese cooperation in different spheres of economy but China would not support Pakistan in case of its any military conflict with India.⁴¹

Later after the normalization of Sino-Indian relations, China signed a treaty with India in 2003 that they would solve their bilateral border issues through peaceful negotiations and the two countries would let their differences to be hurdle in progression of their bilateral relations.⁴² The two giant neighbors share 3500 kilometer long border. Both sides claim that the other side is occupying parts of its territory. India claims that China is ruling over its 38000 square kilometers of uninhabited land mainly on Tibet plateau and it was seized by China in 1962 war. On the other hand, China declares that India is ruling its 90000 square kilometers of territory mainly in the state of Arunachal Pardesh. It is a clear indication that they agreed not to let their geopolitical issues to hinder their geo-economic axis.

One can assume that Pakistan remains no more important in Sino-Indian rapprochement but once former military ruler General Pervez Musharraf said that Pakistan-China friendship is always excellent, strategic and permanent.⁴³

Pakistan and China inked a treaty of friendship in 2005 that assured one another to defend each other's territory and not let anyone to use their territory against the interest of other state. The treaty also included the clause for regular mutual strategic dialogues

⁴¹ Dr. Muhammad Ijaz Butt, Op.cit.

⁴² "Sino-Indian Relations", *Fact File IPRI*, Volume VII, Number 10, October 2005. P. 78

⁴³ "China-Pakistan Relations", *Fact File IPRI*, Volume VII, Number 3, March 2005. P. 20

and support for the strategic development to improve defense capabilities. This strategic cooperation assures that Pakistan's defense and security will be strengthened by China for defending its territory against India and even the US.⁴⁴ The clause of regular mutual dialogues also hints that Pakistan and China will bring the common strategy with the consultations about regional and international issues.

3.4. US-Indian Partnership to Counter China

Though the US was not very much interested in South Asian affairs during 1990s but the nuclear proliferation in South Asia, 9/11 incident with subsequent developments and Chinese development miracle compelled US to again concentrate in Asia.

By then, China was the extension of communism and communism threat but now it is China threat only as the US is not ready to give up its monopoly in international affairs. That is why the US has planned to encircle, contain and counter China with the help of India, Japan, Philippine, Vietnam, Thailand and South Korea.⁴⁵

The US is using Indian Defense Establishment to invoke China and tie it with regional conflict and give up the dream of becoming a global power. Indian Army Chief threatened and claimed to conquer China and Pakistan in 96 hours is continuation of this game.⁴⁶

⁴⁴ "China-Pakistan Relations", *Fact File IPRI*, Volume VII, Number 3, March 2005. P. 92-94

⁴⁵ Dr. Shireen M. Mazari, "The New US Security Doctrine: Implications for the South Asian Region", *Strategic Studies*, Volume XXIII, No. 1. 2003.

⁴⁶ *Nida-e-Millat*, August 15-22, 2010.

3. 5. Indo-US Nuclear Deal

The US not only accepted India in elite club of nuclear states but also made a nuclear deal with India in 2003. The US is encouraging India to build strong defense and strengthen economy for countering China.⁴⁷

American President Barrack Hussain Obama on Asian visit in 2009 said that United States need cooperation of China to handle the global economy while in 2010 he declared India as partner for global politics. He said that India is 'not emerging' rather it has 'emerged' and he supported Indian candidature for permanent membership of United Nations Security Council (UNSC).

Pakistan's membership rejection in elite club of nuclear states by the US and West compelled Pakistan to look towards China for peaceful nuclear energy cooperation.⁴⁸ China built nuclear power plant I and II at Chashma despite reaction and opposition by the US.⁴⁹ This vested interest of China and the US in Pakistan and India respectively helped them sustain their nuclear programs and prepare for their traditional adversaries.

⁴⁷ Zafar Nawaz Jaspal, "Indo-US Nuclear Deal: Altering Global Nuclear Order", *Strategic Studies*, Volume XXVIII, No. 2/3, 2008.

⁴⁸ Zahir Kazmi, "Neo-nuclear Apartheid", *Daily Dawn*, 31 Dec 2010.

⁴⁹ *Daily Express*, 1st October 2011.

3. 6. India Conceives China a Potential Threat

India ruled out to sign the proposed pact of the 'no use of nuclear arsenals' with Pakistan and rejected the idea of nuclear arsenals free South Asia because they always declare China as the enemy and potential threat to their security. Indian Generals and the defense analyst always point China as the potential threat and justify their whole preparation of defense against China.

Indian Army Chief's threat and claim to conquer China and Pakistan in 96 hours is good enough evidence to hint the study that how Indian establishment see China and its military preparation is against China.

3. 7. Indian Encirclement by China

China is interested in Gwadar (Pakistan), Hambantota (Sri Lanka), Chattagong (Bangladesh) and Sitwe (Myanmar) for reducing its dependence on the straits of Malacca, as it is worried over the possibility of disruption in the movement of oil and gas tankers to the its east coast from the Gulf and Africa through the straits of Malacca due to the attacks by pirates and/ or terrorists, worries India. Indian scholars termed it a 'string of pearls' for countering and encircling India.⁵⁰

China is increasingly giving the rigid response over border issues and it is encircling India by investing in all the neighboring countries of India except Bhutan. Bilateral trade of US \$ 20 billion is in favor of China. Despite trade surplus, China is sending massive amount of Dewali items and statues of Hindu gods and goddesses but rejecting the Indian production through various barriers and objection on quality. Despite

⁵⁰ B. Raman, "China's Interests in the Region Worry India", *Daily the News Pakistan*, May 5, 2008.

having more than US \$ 3 trillion of foreign exchange reserves and investing in all the developing countries, China is neglecting India. India invested US\$ 879 million from 2005-2010 but China invested US\$ 52 million in India during the same period.⁵¹

3. 8. China shelves conflicts with India to go for development

Chinese thinkers suggested that keep the conflicting matter aside, make business first and then solve the problems because they are of the view that in this way you can get the stronger and attain the better position for bargaining. China has conflicts with the US, Japan, European Union, India and South Korea while in fact these all are its biggest business partner. They are convinced with the idea that if you are to make through economic development then you will also go for business with your enemies even. Thus China is the winner in trade worldwide i.e. it has the trade surplus with every partner.

Chinese wisdom concludes that they concentrate on the outcomes instead of actions and they refer that do not misinterpret our business with India rather look at the results that Chinese role in South Asia is bringing about. A Chinese scholar presented four C's in relation with India as Coordination, Cooperation, Competition and Conflict. Coordination on global affairs, cooperation is difficult when there is competition; competition is not in negative sense and tries to avoid conflict.

Cooperation is always basis on two aspects; common enemy or the common interest. Pakistan and China have the common enemy India and the common interest to achieve economic prosperity within a just world and kick out the outside powers from the

⁵¹ Parkash Nanda, India's Global Dynamics, *South Asian Journal*, May-June 2011.

region. Chinese refer cooperation with India is for common interest of economic development.

3. 9. Chinese Kashmir Policy (Support for Self Determination to Neutrality)

Geo-economies has overcome the geopolitics so the 21st century is the century of cooperation and economic development as the concept of power has been changed from the 'only military strength' to economic or comprehensive national strength. Now the countries of the world have started the race for economic gains to attain power. Pakistan is missing the train due to traditional power and security mindset and it and could not makeshift until the resolution of Kashmir issue.⁵²

China foreign office referred the Kashmir issue as the 'legacy of history' and suggested India and Pakistan to resolve it by peaceful negotiations.⁵³

The Chinese political leaders and policymakers suggest us to keep Kashmir issue on the back burner for the time being, concentrate on economy to strengthen it and improve political influence and do not give up your stance as the improved status bring you in the better position for bargaining.

India claims that China annexed 5180 square kilometers of Pakistani territory under border agreement and 33000 square kilometer of Jammu and Kashmir territory that is maintains a crucial link between Tibet and Xinjiang. Some India scholar believe that it is the only reason that China is not interested in the solution Kashmir issue as it will have settle the issue of territory held by her.

⁵² Haroon Mirani, "Race to the Death Over Kashmir Waters", *Daily Dawn*, 6 Oct 2008.

⁵³ *Daily Express*, Dec. 23, 2010

Complex interdependence and sophistication in defense field has ended the era of zero-sum game and China is proponent of win-win cooperation. Given their posture of a responsible global power, they have been proposing to settle the issue of Kashmir with mutual bilateral talks and negotiation.⁵⁴

Some Indian scholars argue that China was compelled by India to step back from its support to Pakistan for the right of self determination in Kashmir because India can reciprocate the support to separatist tendencies in Tibet, Xinjiang and Taiwan.⁵⁵

3. 10. China Retreats Back from Every Position over Kashmir

China later started refusing to issue the visas on Indian Passports to citizens of Indian held Kashmir and turned down the visa for General Jaswal who has commanded in Indian held Kashmir. It was actually to internationally recognize the status of Kashmir as a disputed territory between India and Pakistan. Later in the end of March 2012, India remained successful in persuading China to issue visas on Indian passport instead of a plain paper. It clearly hints that China has retreated back its every position about Kashmir and the Pakistani case regarding Kashmir has become relatively weaker.

It is worth mentioning here that India has successfully persuaded China and the US so much so that the US President and Chinese Prime Minister avoided even to mention the Kashmir issue during their last visit in South Asia and they signaled through

⁵⁴ Cui Liru, "China's vs International Order Evolution", *Contemporary International Relations*, Volume 18, No. 1, 2008.

⁵⁵ Swaran Singh, Op.cit.

different ways to solve it through negotiations. China has been advising us to resolve the bilateral issues through “mutual dialogue” and “bilateral means”.⁵⁶

3. 11. Sino-Indian Cooperation in Diplomacy

China turned down the Pakistani resolution of condemning human rights violations by India in Kashmir as it was reciprocal for Indian support to cover bad Chinese record of human rights violations against its citizens in Tibet and Xinjiang. China and India also want to work together for stabilizing energy markets.⁵⁷

Chinese acceptance and support for India as a permanent of United Nations Security Council (UNSC) to oppose Japan for this seat is another example that China and India are supporting each other in international institutions for common goals. Differences in regional interests and aspirations keep them suspicious of each other but the common goal on global level brings them together to pursue it collectively as neo-realists explain that states behave rationally for pursuing their broad national interest.

3. 12. Future of Sino-Indian Relations

According to the strategic scholars and thinker, the world is not entering an era of peaceful competition and cooperation between trading blocs rather in a period of war between religious, ethnic and organized interest groups. This phenomenon will be more prevalent where atomic arsenals have minimized the border wars.⁵⁸

⁵⁶ *Daily Nawa-i-Waqt*, Dec 20, 2010.

⁵⁷ Ma Jiali, “The energy Cooperation between China and India in the Post Crisis Era”, *Contemporary International Relations*, Volume 20, No. 3, 2010.

⁵⁸ Martin Van Greveled, *Future War*, Service Book Club, Rawalpindi, 2005. PP. 3-9

As peace always takes price in terms of compromises which is why that China will try to woo the India as it holds the key to disturb its troubled region of Tibet and can create problems for other domestic issues also other than its economic cooperation and defense against US designs. Presence of Dalai Lama in India increases Chinese fear Tibet issue. Sino-Indian mistrust of each other's and unavoidable interdependence will keep them cooperating but alert to tackle their perceived threats from one another.

3. 13. Indian Concerns Regarding Pakistan

For Pakistan, Kashmir is a core issue for settlement while India wants to see Pakistan stable with good relations evading the Kashmir issue or keeping it in the current status. India is also convinced that problem in its neighborhoods would be an obstacle to its global designs.

Indo-Pak official trade is more than \$ 2 billion which is four times less than unofficial that is done through Afghanistan, United Arab Emirates (UAE) and other neighboring countries.⁵⁹ Thus India is in hurry to develop trade relations with Pakistan keeping the bilateral issues on back burner but Pakistan is keen to solve its problems before starting the economic relations.

The Current Government of Pakistan People's Party and some non-state actor are trying to normalize relations with India. "Aman Ki Aasha" launched by the Jang Group and Times of India is a big campaign in this regard. Pakistan's establishment is yet on its traditional footprints to keep the Kashmir issue on front before going to start any adventure of creating interdependence over the giant neighbor.

⁵⁹ Q & A Session in seminar on Pak-China Relation at ISSI on 11 May 2011.

3. 14. Sino-Indian Equations with Pakistan Factor

Longstanding territorial disputes, Pakistan's friendship, the US, regional ambitions, global agendas of the two countries and their alliances are the factors of division between China and India.

Prime Minister Wen Jia Bao in his to Pakistan stated that the both countries would consult for dealing with regional and global challenges. It was translated by Maleeha Lodhi as the relations of the two countries have reached to the international and global level beyond the bilateral one. Treaties and Chinese leaders' plan for consulting Pakistan on regional and global strategic issues is aimed at knowing the perceived interest of each other to develop understanding of common goals or divergence and convergence in the aspirations to avoid the conflict and devise the strategies of actions that may not overlap.

Despite the different divergences in their goals, China and India have a common agenda of development where they have agreed to cooperate with each other. It is not a first case with China as Japan is also a big partner of China despite their concerns of threat from each other and ultimately different strategic goals.

3. 15. Sino-Indian Complex Ties

- China considers India as a major hindrance in its regional designs and an enemy with their unresolved bilateral border issues and a readymade threat to aggravate its domestic problems.
- China is convinced that Indian animosity would be a great impediment in its path of economic development.

- China is increasing its economic progress by good relations with India.
- China is convinced that by befriending India, she can stop from deteriorating its domestic issues of Tibet and Xinjiang.
- China is of the view that she can stop US-Indian relations from becoming the anti-China rapprochement.
- China intends to see India as a permanent member of United Nations Security Council (UNSC) instead of Japan.

3. 16. Indo-China Difficult Ties

- India believes that befriending China could eliminate its animosity from Pak-China bondage and can stop China to support Pakistan against India.
- India is of the view that she can neutralize China regarding Pakistan-India conflict of Kashmir by improving relations with China and to some extent India has successful in this regard.
- Despite joint military exercises with China, India considers and declares China as an adversary and potential threat to its security.
- India justifies its nuclear program and massive military buildup as a preparation to handle the China threat.
- India plan to tackle China threat with the support of US and US intends to use India from stopping China to become an Asian or Global power.

- India is convinced that economic relations with China can help impetus its economic development and bring prosperity to its people's poverty.

3. 17. Pakistan in Sino-Indian Complex Ties

- Border issues between India and China are yet to be resolved as the two countries renew their claims time to time.
- India and China are competitors and have shelved their differences as a need of the hour to go ahead with their common interests especially the economic cooperation or trade.
- Pakistan is convinced that despite good economic relations, Chinese and Indian interests in the regional context diverge and China can better handle India with the help of Pakistan.
- Both India and China will hold the US, Russia, Australia, Japan, Pakistan and the ASEAN cards for handling each other. Thus Pakistan will remain a factor in Sino-India difficult relations.
- Despite heavily depending upon each other economically, China and Japan have the different strategic goals; they are opponent and consider each other threat to their security and interests.
- Pakistan is no more a decisive card and dominant factor in Sino-Indian relations but it is not totally out of the game rather it will continue to play an important role

in the bargaining position of China and therefore Pakistan will continuously be supported by China militarily, politically and the last but not least economically.⁶⁰

⁶⁰ *Daily Ausaf*, 6 January 2011.

Chapter No. 4

Sino-Pak Rapprochement: Afghanistan Factor

Afghanistan is geographically situated on the crossroad of Central Asia and South Asia therefore it has been battleground of major powers due their vested interests in the region though interestingly no power remained successful in controlling it that led to instability in the two regions. The historical legacy of successes in resisting against the invading powers, traditional tribal system and experiences of waging long insurgencies amalgamated with Islamic concept of Jihad has transformed the countrymen as the warriors with strong nerves and ultimate winner.⁶¹

4. 1. Global War on Terror

The “strange” incidents of 9/11, 2001 occurred in Washington, subsequent developments, launch of “global war on terror” and ultimately attack on Afghanistan on October 7, 2001 by US led North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) with International Security Assistance Force (ISAF) once again pushed the destroyed country into a long war. Difference of interests among NATO countries has exacerbated the situation.⁶² Experts believe that War on terror is actually to influence rest of the world to impose its values, wield influence, capture markets and extract resources.⁶³

⁶¹ Nathaniel Davis, “From Colonialism to Neo-Colonialism: Nationalism, Islam and the Cultural Farming of Conflicts in Afghanistan”, *Journal of South Asian and Middle Eastern Studies*, Volume XXXIII, NO. 3, 2010.

⁶² Sarah Akram, “NATO at Crossroads”, *Strategic Studies*, Volume XXIX, No. 2/3, 2009.

⁶³ Najam Rafique, “Interpreting the Nature of US War on Terrorism”, *Strategic Studies*, Volume XXIII, No. 3, 2003.

US led forces of 37 countries termed as ISAF to Afghanistan with the declared aims of removing Taliban from power, fighting terrorism, destroying Al-Qaeda infrastructure, building democracy, empowering women, developing and stabilizing the region and stopping the flow of drugs.⁶⁴

The aim of ousting Taliban from power could not have been met without the help of regional countries. Countries of the region provided the Western troops with necessary logistics and military support or at least refrained from protesting against the war on Taliban or war on terror due to obvious reasons of their interests. India was concerned due to ideological linkage of Taliban with freedom fighter in Kashmir. China was also concerned due to fear of Uygur Muslims of Xinjiang links with Taliban and Iran was not happy with fundamentalist Sunni regime while Pakistan supported US due to fear of attack in case of denial for cooperation.⁶⁵ Thus here balance of threat from terrorism compelled India, China and Iran to support US sponsored war on terror or at least remain silent over attack in Afghanistan and subsequent regime change.⁶⁶

4. 2. Chinese Concerns over Presence of ISAF Troops in Afghanistan

The arrival of foreign troops in Afghanistan changed the strategic equation in the region. Their presence poses threat to the interests of the regional countries like Pakistan Iran, China and Russia. That is why; member of Shanghai Cooperation Organization (SCO) opposed the presence of foreign troops. Both major powers in SCO have their

⁶⁴ Fazlur Rahim Muzaffary, "Afghanistan: Regional Security and NATO", *Policy Perspective*, Number 2, Volume 5, 2008.

⁶⁵ Karamatullah K. Ghori, "West's corporate Interests in Afghanistan", *Daily Dawn*, 28 Nov 2010.

⁶⁶ Ibid.

particular concerns in this regard. SCO has demanded timeline for the stationing troops in Afghanistan.⁶⁷ Some analysts believe that US troops have come here as a part of New Great Game and therefore a new Cold War in the region has started. The aim of this Cold War is to contain China.

After the end of Cold War and disintegration of USSR, the US and other Western powers find the opportunity to penetrate in Eastern Europe and the countries in Central Asia. Though initially, the US has been somewhat successful in wielding some influence and even establish its military bases there in Uzbekistan and Kyrgyzstan but later the US was compel to leave the of its troops in Uzbekistan.⁶⁸

Russia is re-emerging after solving its domestic issues and coming back to cultivate its traditional influence in its sphere particularly in Central Asia. Afghanistan is having precious minerals reserves while the west is eyeing these deposits.⁶⁹ Resources-rich Central Asia comprising of former part of USSR have particularly tremendous deposits of fossils fuel and natural gas. Caspian Sea is considered one of the most important reserves in this regard. Energy experts are of the view that this region would be supplying oil and other energy resources to most countries of the world. Therefore, each country of the region and especially major powers intend to have access and good relations with these countries i.e. Turkmenistan, Uzbekistan, Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan and

⁶⁷ Amina Afzal, "Security Cooperation in Central Asia: The Changing Role of Multilateral Organization", *Strategic Studies*, Volume XXVI, No. 4, 2006.

⁶⁸ Ibid.

⁶⁹ Raza Khan, "Now Eyeing the Minerals", *The News Pakistan*, 11 July 2010.

Tajikistan while Afghanistan is a gateway to this energy-rich region.⁷⁰ A power having control over Afghanistan would be having easy access to all these landlocked countries of the region that is why the US and NATO attack on Afghanistan is considered as part of larger game in Asia.

China shares a long border of its under developed Uygur Muslim autonomous region Xinjiang with resource-rich Central Asian states. China does not want only to secure its territorial integrity but also link it with Central Asian states for economic development.⁷¹

4.3. ISAF Gain in Afghanistan

After fighting war for 12 year, ISAF has not successful in attaining its defined goals. The writ of the regime is confined to metropolitan area and the attacks on Kabul unveiled the success trumpeted by the US and its allies. After raising concerns by the regional countries, allied countries, Afghan and the US taxpayers, they gave deadline to leave Afghanistan in 2014.⁷² Later, the US has signed a strategic agreement with Afghanistan to keep its troops in Afghanistan till 2024 in the name of training Afghan forces.

Pashtuns are not happy with their representation in western-installed democracy of Afghanistan because it is much lower than their actual due share. Tajiks of former

⁷⁰ Zalmay Khalilzad & Ian O. Lesser, "*Sources of Conflict in 21st Century: Regional Future and US Strategy*", Rand: Washington, 1998. PP. 17-53

⁷¹ Wei Zonglei and Fu Yu, "China's Foreign Strategy", *Contemporary International Relations*, Volume 20, No. 3, 2010.

⁷² Amina Khan, "Obama and Afghanistan", *Strategic Studies*, Volume. XXIX, No. 2/3, 2009.

Northern Alliance and mainly belonging to Shiite sect have been brought in Government. They have past grievances with Taliban mainly Pashtuns belonging to Sunni sect. Thus it has already been transformed into a controversial system among conflicting forces.⁷³

Some analysts are of the view that despite opposing Shiite leader Iran, the US has started a secret game of supporting Shiites by bringing them in power as it did in Iraq and Afghanistan desperately when their population ratio is very small to level grounds for Sunni-Shiite rivalry as it would ease up the US job to tackle with Muslims all over the world. Thus the US has entrenched the conflict in the rival groups in Afghanistan. As Saudi Arabia claims to be leader of Muslim world being home of Islam while Iran also claims the same role with some obvious justifications of older civilization, unique democracy with Islamic system and its strong voice against West and particularly Israel. This run for leadership has started a race among the two Sunni and Shiite states to support their ideological followers to come to power in their respective countries and then support their leadership in the region and the world.

The US has a number of undeclared and invisible goals for coming to Afghanistan. By sitting in Afghanistan, the US eyes Iran, Pakistan, access Central Asia, contains China and confront Russia for exploiting the resources of the region other than materializing its strategic goals in the region and the Asia as a whole.⁷⁴ The US has already declared that she would remain a power in Asia even if she could not manage its decline.

⁷³ Interview of Sultan Amir, "Security Challenges in Afghanistan", *Policy Perspective*, Number 2, Volume 5, 2008.

⁷⁴ Interview of Akram Zaki, "Security Challenges in Afghanistan", *Policy Perspective*, Number 2, Volume 5, 2008.

4. 4. Future of Afghanistan

Once foreign troops leave, the traditional warlords mainly Taliban will again come to power, the drug trade will rise, political turmoil and instability in Afghanistan will destabilize the region. Destabilization in Afghanistan will affect the security situation of neighboring countries and create hindrance in the development of regional countries. Pakistan will be the immediate victim of atrocities in Afghanistan.⁷⁵

The game for attaining more power in the country will again start from zero and then regional countries will again come to support factions of fighters leaning towards them or suitable for the security of their interests.

Afghan resistance against alien forces is not only a national movement but a holy war against the infidel invaders attracting Muslims from all over the world especially from Pakistan, Uzbekistan, Turkmenistan, and countries of Arab world, Chechnya, Turkey and Western China or Xinjiang. Muslims from these countries come to join the resistance and some of them provide moral or material support. On the other hand, regional countries who perceive threat to their national interest from foreign forces are also supporting the resisting forces to push them out of Afghanistan.⁷⁶

The US claims that its troops would stay for stabilizing Afghanistan with control of indigenous forces while Mullah Omar is of the view that they fight until the

⁷⁵ Ali Muhammad Jan Orakzai, "Situation in FATA: Causes, Consequences and Way Forward", *Policy Perspectives*, Volume 6, No. 1, 2009.

⁷⁶ Ibid.

occupation forces leave because it is against their national dignity and honor to cooperate with occupants while they are free to choose their leaders and system of governance.⁷⁷

In this scenario one cannot predict but see the continuation of resistance against US forces strengthened with Islamic concept of Jihad and supported by interest of the regional countries ultimately creating a hurdle in development of the region and providing justification for thriving of extremist and terrorist forces.

4. 5. Pakistan's Concerns in Afghanistan

Pakistan has been concentrating and wasting its resources on external issues instead of resolving the domestic problems. Pakistan's external role has been unfortunately pre-occupied by Afghanistan issue.⁷⁸

Pakistani establishment has been meddling in Afghanistan internal affairs since the invasion by USSR as it was the requirement of the capitalist and Muslim bloc too because it was a different economic system and against the religion. At the end of Cold War, the US left Pakistan and Pakistan by relations with Taliban had cordial relations with Taliban regime.

As the US declared war on terror and attacked Afghanistan to oust Taliban, Pakistan became frontline, provided logistic support and took a lot many steps to counter terrorism in Afghanistan as well as in Pakistan.⁷⁹

⁷⁷ Interview of Mirza Aslam Beg, "Security Challenges in Afghanistan", Policy Perspective, Number 2, Volume 5, 2008.

⁷⁸ Ahmed Rashid, *The News Pakistan*, Feb 12, 2012.

⁷⁹ Bobby Ghosh, "Talking it to Taliban", *Time*, March 8-14, 2010.

Pakistan's support to US and role in war on terror make it victim of terrorism in the length and breadth of the country. From tribal area of Waziristan to Swat and Quetta to Karachi were attacked by terrorists. Even high security zones in federal capital Islamabad and Army headquarters (General Headquarters) were attacked.⁸⁰ Around 3500 of security forces personnel and 30,000 civilians laid their lives in blow back of this menace. Precious personalities were martyred by terrorists as a revenge of supporting their anti-forces like US.⁸¹

War on terror and Pakistan's role in this regard not only destroyed the country, its socio-political system in tribal areas and hampered economic activities nationwide. Due to concentration divert from all other domestic concerns like energy problems towards terrorism and pooling of its almost all resources in this regard lagged the country development far behind then the actual potential. Tourism industry of Pakistan was also destroyed. Other than the hindrances in its economic development, a lot of its basic economic infrastructure was destroyed and as per some estimates, Pakistan has suffered losses of about US \$ 85 billion.⁸²

Despite losses of human resources, economic resources, economic infrastructure, and development potential, the US does not recognize its sacrifices, blames for supporting the terrorism (Haqqani Network) and keep pressurizing through various means based on fact distorting reporting and media hypes sponsored by the Western

⁸⁰ Kiran Firdaus, "Militancy in Pakistan", *Strategic Studies*, Volume XXIX, No. 2/3, 2009.

⁸¹ Fazal-ur-Rahman, "Pakistan and the War on Terrorism", *Strategic Studies*, Volume XXIII, No. 3, 2003

⁸² *Daily Jang Rawalpindi*, 3 June 2012.

media.⁸³ In this very difficult and complex situation, China came to rescue and support Pakistan by siding Pakistan and asking international community to accept the sacrifices made by the latter.⁸⁴

US provided more roles to India in Afghanistan in spite of reservations and reaction of Pakistan, neglecting its traditional interest, influence and interventional capacity that caused resentment in Pakistan against the rules for the game.

4. 6. Indian Role in Afghanistan

India got an opportunity to wield influence in Afghanistan under the umbrella of ISAF owing to the less Pakistani role wished by the US.⁸⁵ Indian arrival in Afghanistan was driven by curtailing Pakistan's influence in Afghanistan, countering terrorism by linking it with its occupied territory of Kashmir, encircling and weakening Pakistan, for the enhancement of its presence and influence in the region.⁸⁶

India claims to deal with Afghanistan as it is a gateway to energy-rich Central Asian and its non-military development role could stop the fusion of terrorism against it. India claims not to use Afghanistan as a theater of rivalry with Pakistan.

As per BBC, India is a famous country in Afghanistan due to its role in its development. India constructed a highway in Afghanistan along Iran. India constructed Afghan Parliament building and Salma dam in Herat Province. India is training Afghan ambassadors, military officers, police officers and Government officials. India is also

⁸³ Yousuf Raza Gillani, "We will Fight Terrorism Our Way" *Daily The News Pakistan*, 5 January 2008

⁸⁴ *Daily Jang Rawalpindi*, 19 December 2010.

⁸⁵ Tariq Fatemi, "Indo-US Nuclear Deal", *Daily Dawn*, 3 February 2007.

⁸⁶ Fazlur Rahim Muzaffary, Op.cit.

contributing in health, education, communication, telecommunication and energy fields. Pakistan fears that Indian training to Afghan army and presence in Afghanistan is aimed at invoking and strengthening opposition forces of Pakistan. China is also uneasy with Indian position in Afghanistan.⁸⁷

4. 7. Baluchistan Issue and Afghanistan

Separatist tendencies in Pakistan's largest province Baluchistan are older due to its strategic importance and the vested interests of major powers in the region. Socio-economic deprivations caused by tribal system and unfortunately supported or not curbed by Government due to obvious reason has aggravated the situation in this regard.

Pakistan considers Afghan Consulates as intelligence offices as part of fueling secessionist and separatist movement in Afghanistan while India sees Pakistan's hand in abduction and killing of workers working on development projects.⁸⁸

Pakistan is very much concerned about the increasing influence of its enemy India in its traditional sphere of influence in Afghanistan. It does not curb Pakistan's interest in Afghanistan but its internal instability is directly linked with insurgency in Afghanistan while insurgency is emanating from the very invasion of foreign forces.⁸⁹

Pakistan's stability, territorial integrity and its road towards development passes through the peaceful Afghanistan and peace is a far cry until the occupation forces withdrawal from Afghanistan and subsequent power handover to the just ruler having

⁸⁷ Amina Afzal, "India's Growing Influence in Central Asia", *Strategic Studies*, Volume XXIII, No. 3, 2003.

⁸⁸ Ibid.

⁸⁹ Fazal-ur-Rahman, "Pakistan and the War on Terrorism", op.cit.

roots in the Afghan masses. Energy crisis is very robust and primary problem of Pakistan while proposed Turkmenistan-Afghanistan-Pakistan-India (TAPI) gas pipeline will remain only on paper till the establishment of stability in Afghanistan.⁹⁰

4. 8. Separatist Movement of Xinjiang and Chinese Concerns

It is a well known fact and already invented wheel that Pak-China relations are pre-dominantly strategic one. After the Cold War, main security concerns of China shifted from external to internal one as China is facing trouble to maintain territorial integrity due to separatists tendencies in its three out of five autonomous region. Therefore, Chinese foremost problem lies within its own territory and it is the maintenance of territorial integrity and social order from mainland China to Xinjiang and Tibet to Taiwan. Therefore, post 9/11 period added the aspect of cooperation in countering terrorism between Pakistan and China.⁹¹

China closely worked and cooperated with Pakistan to support Taliban for resisting against Soviet Socialist Republic (USSR) forces invasion in Afghanistan. China sent Uyghur Muslims from its Xinjiang to participate in Jihad.⁹² Later guns, ideas and money came to Xinjiang in 1989 though foreign involvement for starting separatist struggle.⁹³

⁹⁰ *The News Pakistan*, 12 December 2010.

⁹¹ Fazal-ur-Rahman, "Traditional and Emerging Areas of Cooperation between Pakistan and China", *Strategic Studies*, Volume XXIX, No. 2/3, 2009.

⁹² Interview of General (R) Hameed Gul on 13 May 2011.

⁹³ Khalid Rahman and Rahida Hameed, "Sino-Pak Relations and Xinjiang: Writings of Pakistani Scholars", *Policy Perspective*, No. 2, Volume 6, 2009.

Global War on terror provided countries all over the world the opportunity justification for labeling the resisting forces against their rule to brand them as “terrorists”. China branded Uygur Muslims’ East Turkistan Islamic Movement (ETIM) of Xinjiang struggling for the establishment of Islamic state as a terrorist organization. Though India could not do so because of accepted status of Kashmir movement by UN as fight for freedom but India remained pro-active in propagating the fueling of insurgency from across the borders and termed it cross border terrorism.

One sixth of Chinese land area, housing nine millions Uygur Muslims and connecting Chinese border with eight countries including Pakistan, Central Asia and Mongolia make Xinjiang region very important for China strategically.⁹⁴ The region contain two fifth of China’s total oil reserves that are about thrice of those in Saudi Arabia and it has potential of 160 billion cubic meter natural gas. Xinjiang is the largest producer of cotton in China. The ancient silk route also passes from this region. It has the vast mineral resources too. Thus Xinjiang is not only important geographically but due to its economic potential too.⁹⁵

92% of the Chinese population belongs to the single ethnic Han group while other 8% is divided in other 56 minority groups.⁹⁶ Uygur Muslims have threat to China because of separatist tendencies ideological influenced from Afghanistan and politically exploited by forces hostile to China.

⁹⁴ Li Sheng (ed), “*Xinjiang of China: Its Past and Present*”, Xinjiang Peoples Publishing House: Urumqi, 2005. PP. 1-5

⁹⁵ Ibid.

⁹⁶ Getachew Metaferia, “The Dynamics of Ethnic Politics and Economic Development: the Case of China and Ethiopia”, *Journal of South Asian and Middle Eastern Studies*, Volume XXXII, No. 4, 2009.

China has started developing the region at very fast pace and closely cooperated with Pakistan for countering these separatists' tendencies influenced by Jihad in their neighborhood i.e. Afghanistan and Pakistan. Pakistan arrested many Chinese Muslims associated with East Turkistan Islamic Movement (ETIM) and handed over to China for persecutions. In early 2012, violent riots erupted in Xinjiang and China officially told that the terrorists were trained in Pakistan. Later, when western and Indian media tried wedge a gap between Pakistan and China, China again declared that Government of Pakistan has nothing to do with the training of the terrorists. Actually, they got training in remote and out of the Government writ area of Waziristan.

Pakistan's President Pervez Musharraf, and Jamat-e-Islami leader Qazi Hussain Ahmed visited Xinjiang region on special invitations of Chinese Government to convince Uygur Muslims to live with China and give up their wishes for separatism as Islam was a peaceful religion and they need not to be exploited by the external forces to serve their interests.

4. 8. Convergence of Sino-Pak Interests in Afghanistan

China and Pakistan both are concerned over stationing of US and ISAF troops in Afghanistan as they consider it a threat to their regional interests. They both believe that destabilized Afghanistan is a direct threat to their internal security and territorial integrity with regards to Xinjiang and Baluchistan issues respectively.

Pakistan and China jointly countering terrorism and fundamentalism while China formed the Shanghai Cooperation Organization (SCO) at least in the beginning for the purpose of combating terrorism, extremism and separatism.⁹⁷

China is a big country of Asia and it is connected with Central, North, South, East and South East Asia. Destabilized regions of Central and South Asia are affecting its plan of channeling its energy, raw material and finished goods through Gwadar port of Pakistan. The continuation of the situation will definitely keep China away from materializing its aims for development.

China has also plan to connect its Xinjiang region with Europe through railways via Iran and Iraq but it would also remain a pipe dream until the restoration of peace and stabilization of Afghanistan. Russia has also concerns over the US presence in Afghanistan that could help the US in wielding some influence in Central Asia.

Pakistan's first and foremost concern is kicking out its biggest and traditional foe India from Afghanistan because it is only fueling the insurgency in Baluchistan but also damaging its interests in Afghanistan and in the region. Pakistan has some traditional links with the resisting forces i.e. Taliban and has the intention to wield influence but the US is supporting India instead of accepting Pakistan's role. Turkmenistan, Afghanistan, Pakistan and India (TAPI) pipeline project would not be materialize therefore it is not only hindering Pakistan's and China's road to peace, stability and economic development.

⁹⁷ "Asian NATO: New Global Military Agenda", Weekly *Nida-e-Millat*, 19-25 August 2010.

One can change its friends but could not its neighbors therefore China and Pakistan have common interests in the Afghan issue and want the early and sustainable solution that should be helpful and beneficial for the region. As agreements and their predominant contents of their relations show that their friendship is excellent, strategic and permanent hence they have consultation for the relevant strategy to deal with it.⁹⁸

⁹⁸ *Daily the Express Tribune*, 17 Dec 2010.s

Chapter No. 5

Sino-Pak Partnership: Middle East and Central Asian Factor

Indian Ocean is the lifeline of trade not of the regional countries but around half of the world. Around half of the world's transported oil, purchased from Middle East and East Coast of Africa, passes through the ocean while two fifth of world's transported oil passes through the Persian Gulf and Arabian Sea.⁹⁹ As international interdependence is largely fulfilled with maritime security, Pakistan is of vital importance for China to access resources and markets of Middle East, Central Asia and Africa through Persian Gulf, Arabian Sea and Indian Ocean.¹⁰⁰

China is the World's largest developing country of the world and given its tremendous progress in economic development, its energy needs have increased manifolds. China became net importer of oil in 1992 and the second largest importer of oil in 2007. China is the 2nd largest energy consumer of the world and its needs are expected to be doubled within next 25 years.¹⁰¹ For fulfilling its needs of energy, China is extending its role in the hydro-carbons and energy rich regions of Central Asia and Middle East.¹⁰² Middle East possesses around 715 billion barrels of oil and 2462 trillion cubic feet of natural gas while Central Asian Republics have the second largest energy reservoirs in the world estimated approximately 75 billion barrels of oil and 64952

⁹⁹ Khurshid Ahmad, "Global Capitalism, Energy Politics and the Middle East", *Policy Perspective*, Number 1, Volume 10, 2010.

¹⁰⁰ Ibid.

¹⁰¹ Shaukat Aziz, "*China and the Emerging Asian Century*", Institute of Strategic Studies, Islamabad, 2005. P. 3.

¹⁰² Rashida Hameed, "Sino-Iran Relations: Current Developments and Future Scenario", *Policy Perspective*, Number 1, Volume 10, 2010.

trillion cubic feet of gas. China wants to develop and secure energy supplies from these two regions. Caspian basin and the Central Asian states have vast reserves of oil and gas resources. 30 billion barrel oil reserves are known while estimate for the whole region is 200 billion barrel oil that is equal to the reserves of whole North Sea. Though the Caspian oil reserves do not match the Middle Eastern reserves that are 65% (684 billion barrel) of the world proven oil reserves but even then the region is becoming important for world energy supply security.¹⁰³ Chinese aspirations are to link these regions with China by building roads, railway line and pipelines for energy supplies to China and its finished goods to the market of the region. China has showed interest to extend Iran-Pakistan-India (IPI) gas pipeline or buy Indian share if she withdrew from the project.¹⁰⁴ Experts believe that IPI gas pipeline would help mitigate difference of Pakistan and India.¹⁰⁵

5.1. Chinese Interests in Central Asia and Middle East

Chinese political and diplomatic interests in the Central Asia and Middle Eastern regions are to get support for its one China policy, counter the influence of extra-regional forces particularly the US, and support Central Asian states to fight extremism, terrorism and separatism, get support for issues of common interests in international institutions and maintain peace in the region.¹⁰⁶ American Foreign Policy Council's Vice President said that China and Iran are finding ways to contain the US and uni-polar world.¹⁰⁷

¹⁰³ Ibid.

¹⁰⁴ Arshi Sleem Hashmi, "Politics of Sanctions: Future of Iran-Pakistan-India Pipeline", *Regional Studies*, Volume XXVIII, No. 3, 2010.

¹⁰⁵ Saleem H. Ali, "Pipelines and Conflict Resolution", *Pakistan Journal of International Relations*, Volume 1, No. 1, 2009.

¹⁰⁶ Mushtak A Kaw, "Reassessing the Role of SCO in South & Central Asian Context", *Journal of South Asian and Middle Eastern Studies*, Volume XXXIII, No. 2, 2010.

¹⁰⁷ Rashida Hameed, "Sino-Iran Relations: Current Developments and Future Scenario", *Policy Perspective*, Number 1, Volume 10, 2010.

Economic interests of China include securing and diversifying its energy supplies necessary to fuel its economic engine, exploitation of mineral and natural resources of countries of the region, increasing share in markets of the regions for its manufactured goods, encouraging the countries to purchase arms from China instead of Western countries and find space for its companies to make profits.¹⁰⁸

China's foremost and priority interests are to bring energy and raw materials from the two regions and supply the "made in China" to the markets of the region. Chinese traditional energy route from Middle East to its east coast via Indian Ocean and strait of Melaka is the longest route, very expensive and increasingly insecure due to various reason of Indian, US and other regional countries meddling in Indian Ocean and South China Sea.¹⁰⁹

Deng Xiaoping propagated his view that let a group of people be rich first. According to this philosophy, the concentration for development has shifted from the east to its west especially Xinjiang. The next step would be to tackle the problem of unequal distribution of wealth or minimizing the gap between rich and poor.

Shift of economic development in Western China makes these regions very important and role of Pakistan "very crucial" to establish links of Western China with these regions to materialize the Chinese Government aspirations. Construction of Karakoram highway, Makran Coastal highway and Gwadar port are linked with the

¹⁰⁸ Ibid.

¹⁰⁹ Li Shaoxian, "China and the Middle East", *Contemporary International Relations*, Volume 17, No. 1, 2007.

strategy to realize the Chinese dream of making Pakistan corridor to channel its economic and military power.¹¹⁰

5. 2. Strategic Importance of Gwadar Port

The Union of Soviet Socialist Republic (USSR) invaded Afghanistan in 1979 in a bid to get to access to the warm waters through Baluchistan Province of Pakistan as it was not possible for USSR to keep its global reach via water ways throughout the year because its port were seasonal and could not remain operational for the whole year. Thus Gwadar port is considered the brainchild of USSR.¹¹¹ The second largest economy and global major power China faces the same problem. Gwadar port seems to be of no major use for Pakistan in the Desert of Baluchistan but it has been constructed on the financing and requirement of China. China plans to reach Middle East and Africa through Persian Gulf, Arabian Sea and India Ocean.¹¹²

Gwadar port is located near the Strait of Hormuz in the Persian Gulf through which 13 million barrel of oil passes every day. Gwadar port is now emerging on the world map as the most important coastal town located at the intersection of three most strategically and economically important regions of the world which are oil rich Middle East, South Asia where one fifth of world's population lives and Central Asian Republics having the vast reserves of oil, gas and minerals.¹¹³

¹¹⁰ *Daily Express*, 20 December 2010.

¹¹¹ Ikram Azam, "*Pakistan and the Asian Collective Security System*", Matboat-e-Hurmat: Rawalpindi. 1983. P. 4.

¹¹² Masood Anwar, "Real Significance of Gwadar port", *Daily The News*, May 5, 2008

¹¹³ Mushahid Hussain, "*Pakistan and the Changing Regional Scenario*", Progressive Publishers: Lahore. 1988. PP. 222-234

5.3. Gwadar Port and Its Economic Importance for China

Construction of Gwadar port and Makran coastal highway linking the port to Karachi will help develop the Western China especially the Muslim majority autonomous region of Xinjiang.

Oil supply from Middle East to Chinese Industrial areas in its Western region via Shanghai port of China is at the distance of 16000 kilometers and the sea travel takes additional two to three months times. It costs them a lot in the form of taxes and duties as well. While Gwadar port is at the distance of 2500 Kilometers only and it could remain operational the whole year. The distance from Kashghar, capital of Xinjiang and current centre for development, to the east coast ports of China is 3500 Kilometers, whereas Gwadar port is just 1500 Kilometer away from Kashghar.¹¹⁴

China plans to establish electronics and renewable energy products manufacturing industry in Xinjiang and link it with Central and South Asia.

China has planned to set up free trade zone in Gwadar to process and export finished goods not only to Central Asia and Middle East but Africa too. China is the biggest investor in African continent currently. China is not only investing but supporting African countries with complete package of economic, political and diplomatic support in international institutions.¹¹⁵ Quoting Zimbabwean ruler Robert Mogabe would be enough to describe the Sino-African relations as he said “we no more see towards the West where

¹¹⁴ Masood Anwar, Op.cit.

¹¹⁵ Ma Zongshi, “Some Thoughts on Harmonious Globalization”, *Contemporary International Relations*, Volume 18, No. 6, 2008.

the Sun sets but we look towards the East where the Sun rises”. China is importing oil too from countries of Africa as a strategy to diversify its long term and sustainable oil supplies. Africa is of vital importance for providing oil, gas, mineral resources and timber and consuming Chinese products. Gwadar port can also cut the distance and time to reach Africa and access its markets.¹¹⁶

Using Gwadar port for supply of energy and transportation of Chinese products could not only save its time, transportation expenditure and taxes / duties. Hence it can help to cut the input expenditure and economy of scale like Chinese one can improve competitive edge in the market.

5. 4. Strategic Significance of Gwadar for China

China has the multiple interests in Gwadar including the protection of oil supply route from the Middle East as Chinese think that in case of war, the US naval forces can block oil supply. Naval base in Gwadar can help China in keeping eye on the US navy, deployment of its navy near the Western India and threatening the oil supply of Taiwan and Japan through the Arabian Sea.¹¹⁷

As per media reports, former president Pervez Musharraf made commitments that Pakistan would not allow Chinese navy to block US trade goods on the route. China has spent and is still spending on its navy for sophistication and has launched a new class of the nuclear submarines in 2006 and an aircraft carrier later. Gwadar as Chinese naval

¹¹⁶ Wen Jiabao, “China is Building a Better Future for All”, *Daily The News Pakistan*, 26 June 2011.

¹¹⁷ Azhar Ahmad, “Maritime Security Post 9/11: Challenges and Response”, *Strategic Studies*, Volume XXIX, No. 2/3, 2009.

base is denied by Pakistan but the United states believe that Pakistan has given a green signal to China for this whole game.

China has no blue water navy and feels defenseless in Indian Ocean and Persian Gulf against any hostile activity that could disrupt its oil supply. For countering any such threat China has envisaged a plan to keep its naval forces in Persian Gulf, Bay of Bengal and the Indian Ocean.¹¹⁸ The US calls this plan as “assembling a string of pearls”. Besides Gwadar, string of pearls includes Hambantota of Sri Lanka, Chittagong of Bangladesh and a port of Myanmar.¹¹⁹ It has also established a post on Coco Islands of Myanmar to monitor the sea traffic. China has financed the road and railway track linking its Yunnan province to the ports in the Bay of Bengal. India feels encircled by China from three sides; Myanmar, Tibet and Pakistan.¹²⁰

Following the Chinese ambitions, the US joined India with a new naval doctrine for protecting energy routes and responding Beijing’s inroads into the Arabian Sea and Indian Ocean. India is the fifth largest energy consumer and is getting its 90% from the Middle East. Therefore India is also planning to stretch its naval power from the Strait of Hormuz to the Strait of Malacca and the East coast of Africa to the shores of Australia.¹²¹

¹¹⁸ Jack S. Levy and William R. Thompson, “Balancing on Land and at Sea”, *International Security*, Volume 35, No. 1, 2010.

¹¹⁹ Masood Anwar, Op.cit.

¹²⁰ Li Li, “India’s Engagement with East Asia and the China Factor”, *Contemporary International Relations*, Volume 20, No. 5, 2010.

¹²¹ Dr. Shireen M. Mazari, “The New US Security Doctrine: Implications for the South Asian Region”, Op.cit.

5. 5. Chabahar Port of Iran

To offset Sino-Pak collaboration, India engaged Afghanistan and Iran in the economic and strategic alliance. To counter Gwadar port that is called Chinese Gibraltar by the US, India constructed Chabahar port in Sistan-Baluchistan province of Iran, just adjacent to Gwadar. India also helped Iran in constructing 200 Kilometer road connecting Chabahar with Afghanistan. It could be used for trade to Afghanistan and central Asian state which is India's most urgent need for its objectives in this region.¹²²

There is a problem with Chabahar too that it could not remain operational during moon soon period. The other issue is that the US does not want friendly nations, Central Asian republics (CARs), to share benefits with Iran by shipping their oil and trade goods from its port.

5. 6. Gwadar is Vital for China and Pakistan.

Gwadar port was completed in March 2007. It is situated on the mouth of the Persian Gulf near the Strait of Hormuz. The major shipping route connecting three main continents; Asia, Africa and Europe passes from its vicinity making it a key strategic and commercial port. It can handles up to fifth generation ships including Panamax and mother vessels. Establishment of the oil refineries, industries and free trade zones would boost the economic activities making it hub of commercial activities. Its potentials to unlock the riches of Central Asian Republics and become the global economic hub which would undermine the operations of already working ports invited the wrath of global conspirators. While a half of the Australian energy supplies go from this route.

¹²² Kashif Mumtaz, "Changing Patterns of Iran-India Relations", *Strategic Studies*, No. 2 Volume XXVI, 2006.

Iran Pakistan gas pipeline has the potential to be taken to the Chinese autonomous region, Xinjiang. President Asif Ali Zardari, on his visit to China, proposed building oil and gas pipeline from Gwadar to Chinese Western region Xinjiang that would be the cheapest and immediate link for Middle Eastern and Central Asian energy to the Chinese soil. China has also the same wishes to lay down a pipeline from Kashghar (Xinjiang) to Gwadar port. China has started work to build a railway line across the Khunjrab Pass alongside Karakoram high way up to Gwadar. China envisages accessing Europe through railways via Kyrgyzstan, Tajikistan, Iran and Iraq.¹²³

South Asian states are equipping their naval forces with the sophisticated weapons. Iran is leader in oil politics in Middle East and naval power in the Persian Gulf. Russia is also expected to come to the Indian Ocean for its due share of influence and politics after addressing its domestic issues.

New Eurasian Great Game to control energy resources in Central Asia influences the Gwadar port as the peer competitors do not like any role of China in exploring, transporting or controlling the hydrocarbons or energy resources of Central Asia, Caspian Sea and the Middle East. To some extent, Russia and China are cooperating through the platform of SCO to counter the influence of US and the West from the region.¹²⁴

¹²³ Dr. Muhammad Khan, "Making Best Use of Gawadar Port" , *Monthly Hilal, Rawalpindi*. November 2010.

¹²⁴ Michael Boll, "Russia: The Politics of an Emerging Regional Power", *Strategic Studies*, Volume XXIII, No. 1. 2003.

Central Asian states location and natural resources have made them important in strategic global politics. It is not only a historic buffer zone between Asia and Europe but also the old trade route connecting the different regions.

India, Iran Turkey, Russia, China and the US are vying for influence in the Central Asian region. Pakistan also looks to access Central Asia through Afghanistan and China for trade and energy as it has already road and rail links with Afghanistan.¹²⁵ CARs will have to sooner or later realize Chinese importance for the region.¹²⁶

¹²⁵ Mehwish Hassan Sara, "Security and Political Implications of NATO's presence in Central Asian Region", *Strategic Studies*, Volume XXVII, No. 4, 2007.

¹²⁶ E. Yazdani and V. Paranamov, "China and Central Asia: Present and Future of Economic Relations", *The Iranian Journal of International Affairs*, Volume XIX, No. 3, 2007

Chapter No. 6

All Weather Friendship: the United States Factor

. The geo-political and geo-economic realities are supposed to be analyzed for clarification of factors behind the special relation that won so much sweet titles despite a lot many changes in the world and the region at large. The US is one of the factors behind all-weather, permanent, time tested, time honored, deep rooted, higher than Himalayas, deeper than oceans and sweeter than honey, long lasting, vital and special relations of Pakistan and China on the global geo-political stage. The titles won by Sino-Pak relations are neither baseless nor the construct of emotions rather entrenched in geo-political and geo-economic realities of the region and provide rational basis for exemplary relations.¹²⁷

6.1. Reasons to Study Extra-regional Factor

The US is an extra-regional power but it is naïve to exclude the US factor while striving for comprehending the essence of Sino-Pak friendship because the US has been an important player of the region throughout the history since the inception of Pakistan and China. The other reason to discuss US factor is the challenges posed by China to the sole super power for global governance and the US response to confront China in its neighborhoods.¹²⁸ The US is the second largest strategic factor providing the essential glue to keep Pakistan and China stick together.

¹²⁷ Vidya Nadkarni, *“Strategic Partnership in Asia”*, Routledge: London and New York, 2010. PP. 114-148.

¹²⁸ Elizabeth C. Economy, *“The Game Changer”*, *Foreign Affairs*, Nov-Dec 2010.

6. 2. Global Leader China

China is the World's largest populated country with continuous civilization and culture dating back to 4000 years. It has the largest military in the world.¹²⁹ Guangdong or the middle kingdom of the world is its domestic name that clearly tells us Chinese belief to be center of the planet. Sense of humiliation of defeat in war by aliens (West) mixed with nationalism has transformed Chinese feelings to develop country and become central power.¹³⁰ The splendid economic development with a high rate of annual development, fabulous military overhauling and marvelous institutional improvement is evident that China is heading towards its presumed destination.¹³¹

China became the second largest economy of the world in 2010. According to Goldman Sach estimates, China will become the largest economy in 2027, Standard Chartered predict the year 2020 for this milestone while the Economist projections show that China will surpass the US in 2019 to become the biggest economic engine.¹³²

Chinese leaders have started challenging the Dollar's status as international currency as the reality of the past. They are of the view that they would replace Dollar with Yuan as the international currency.¹³³

¹²⁹ *Daily Dawn*, 16 January 2011.

¹³⁰ Ghulam Ali, "The Changing Role of Nationalism within China's Domestic and Foreign Policies", *Strategic Studies*, Volume XXVII, No. 4, 2007.

¹³¹ Joshua Cooper Ramo, "How to Think About China", *Time*, April 19-25, 2010.

¹³² Dating Game, *The Economist*, 18-31 Dec 2010.

¹³³ Joshua Cooper Ramo, How to Think About China, *Time*, April 19-26, 2010.

The US is feeling threat to its interest as China has deployed and still producing sophisticated weapons for tackling any kind of threat worldwide.¹³⁴ Chinese anti-satellite technology has alarmed the global community and signaled the US that its monopoly in the space weapons has been ended.

Chinese expenditure of US \$ 44 billion on Olympic Games 2008, its marvelous administration, preparation and winning 1st position with 51 Gold Medals as runner up US could reach 36 Gold Medals only is enough to tell that China has assumed the position of next super power. Therefore, it seems that China will be formulating a foreign policy during the next ten year as it has constructed the stadiums and airports of international level.¹³⁵

“Harmonious society and the world” is a principle, vigorously propagated by Chinese thinker and leaders. China claims that its policy is to react if anyone interrupts the harmonious regional or the world order.¹³⁶ It clearly hints that China has assumed the status of global player.

6. 3. Chinese Fear from US-Pakistan Strategic Relationship

Since its inception, Pakistan has been a base camp for the US operations in the region. Pakistan government policy of ignoring the US activities in the form of Jundullah against Iran from its soil of Baluchistan especially the provision of bases to the United States during its proxy war against USSR in 1980s and then its invasion in Afghanistan in

¹³⁴ Yang Xuetong and Xu Jin, “Sino-US Comparison of Soft power”, *Contemporary International Relations*, Volume 18, No. 2, 2008

¹³⁵ Hanna Beach, China Play, *Time*, September 8-15, 2008.

¹³⁶ Li Xing, “The Rise of China and ‘Four China’ Nexus”, *Strategic Studies*, Volume XXIX, No. 4, 2009.

2001 created a threat for China that Pakistani territory could be used for its containment.¹³⁷

Pakistan's very important strategic location due to interests of global powers in the region and irrational policies of Pakistani policy makers it has become a curse instead of a blessing. For this all, Pakistan has been getting the economic and military aid from the US. Thus Chinese policy makers' utmost desire has been to minimize the dependence of Pakistan over the United States and shift it toward them.¹³⁸

The US is the most influential political and military power in Asia and the world. The US is trying to play its role to manage the balance of power disturbed by the rise of China. This management could lead to a new cold war in Asia with politicized trade pacts, arms races and proxy conflicts in the region.¹³⁹ Some analysts believe that Pakistanis leaders' assurance to China after 9/11 that they would not let any force to use their territory against China is not actually for East Turkistan Islamic Movement (ETIM) only but for the US too.¹⁴⁰

Perhaps these reasons led China to sign treaty of friendship with Pakistan in 2005 to assure that both countries would not let any force to use their territory for disturbing the other's interests and would protect the each other's sovereignty and territorial

¹³⁷ Majid Ali Noorani, "Is China Heading Towards Next Cold War", *Asia Pacific Journal*, Volume 27, 2009. (China is improving relations with South Asian countries for minimizing US cards for the Cold War. Means China feared US use of South Asian countries against her interest.)

¹³⁸ Maleeha Lodhi, *Daily The News Pakistan*, Feb 12, 2012.

¹³⁹ Saadat Hassan, "Chinese Pre-emptive Counter Containment Strategy", *Asia Pacific Journal*, Volume 27, 2009. (US consider China as an economic competitor and potential military adversary. US want to contain China and China's challenge is to counter the containment through ganging up with Pakistan, Russia, North Korea and many other countries of the region.)

¹⁴⁰ *Nida-e-Millat*, August 15-22, 2010.

integrity.¹⁴¹ Foreign Secretary of Pakistan Salman Basheer translated the agreement as an assurance of defending each other's sovereignty and territorial integrity. The treaty also assures the both of the countries would not sign the same agreement with any third state.

6. 4. China as Alternate of US for Pakistan

Chinese prime Minister offered easy loan of \$ 400 million in December 2010 with a signal of being another source for credit against the US and International Monetary fund (IMF) that use loans as instrument to influence and compel Pakistan to change its internal and external policies to meet their agendas.¹⁴²

The US court fined \$ 4000000 to a branch of the US company operating in China against exporting nuclear related material for Chashma Nuclear power project in Pakistan stating that it was not authorized and had not this mandate.¹⁴³

The US has strongly been opposing on the platform of Nuclear Supplier Group the provision of civilian nuclear energy by China to Pakistan by constructing at Chashma. But China did not paid any heed to its propoganda as the US had already violated the rules of the game while signing the treaty with India. China has actually been supporting Pakistan meaningfully to bring Pakistan towards autarky and according to Swaran Singh against "friendship price".

At times when US leaves Pakistan, Pakistan tries to balance it with extending relations with regional countries particularly strategic adversaries of the US like China,

¹⁴¹ "China-Pakistan Relations", *Fact File IPRI*, Volume VII, Number 3, March 2005. P. 92-94.

¹⁴² *Daily the Express Tribune*, December 20, 2010.

¹⁴³ *Daily Express*, Dec., 23, 2010.

Russia and Iran and it compel the US keep Pakistan with her for the realization of its goal in the region.¹⁴⁴

6. 5. Clash of Sino-US Interests

The US and China diverge the approach on some global issues and some US thinkers believe that China is a 'game changer' that does not only wants more share in the international institutions but also sought to remake the rules of the in the international arena.¹⁴⁵

China mistrusts the US led world order.¹⁴⁶ Western hawks have concluded that China has divorced its pragmatic approach that it practiced the previous three decades. Western thinkers and leaders suggest that Chinese tough stance warrants tough response.¹⁴⁷ The US policy makers believe that the US will remain the military power for long time. Cold War has started for race to secure influence in the regions and states between China and the United States.¹⁴⁸ Japan and South Korea have announced closed defense cooperation, of course on support of the US, obviously against China. The US wants China to not disrupt the current order and accommodate China in the current world order that would obviously give the US upper hand. To materialize this, the US proposed a forum between them to discuss the defense issues.

¹⁴⁴ *The Express Tribune*, 24 December 2010.

¹⁴⁵ Alan S. Alexandroff and David Shorr, "What We Learned: New Foundations for Global Governance", *Contemporary International Relations*, Volume 20, No. 5, 2010.

¹⁴⁶ Rana Froohar and Melinda Liu, "China Rules", *News Week*, 22-28 March 2010.

¹⁴⁷ Fareed Zakaria, "Worldview", *Time*, January 17-24, 2011.

¹⁴⁸ Dr. Shireen M. Mazari, "NATO's Expanding Operational Milieu Post-Bipolarity", *Strategic Studies*, No. 2 Volume XXVI, 2006.

Meeting with Dalai Lama and arms sale of \$ 6.4 billion to Taiwan deteriorated the Sino-US relations and Obama's visit to China in 2009 was not appreciated. Stealth fighter jet, which has the capability to evade the radar, and anti-ship missiles, creates uneasiness in Washington as it is a challenge to the US dominance in the world in this sphere. Interestingly the stealth fighter took first flight during the US Defense Secretary Robert Gates visit of China.¹⁴⁹

Peoples Liberation Army (PLA) looks no benefit in contact with the US Army and has a minor clash occurred between the two armies in the South China Sea. The US wants to keep forces in the South China Sea and China has also deployed the aircraft carrier and medium range (covering 1500 kilometers) ballistic missile to safeguard its interests in the South China Sea. Both armies are suspicious of each other's ambitions. China also plans to oversee its interests in the Pacific Ocean also.¹⁵⁰ In the nut shell China wants the US to respect its interests.

Global Times, the Communist Party's mouth piece, wrote an editorial that the US freedom of navigation, which she claims to protect, is actually the freedom of the US military to threat other countries.¹⁵¹ Conflict in the Pacific Ocean, Stealth fighter aircraft's flight on Robert Gates visit to China, overreaction on Obama's meeting with Dalai Lama and arms sale to Taiwan, Obama's humiliation in Copenhagen Climate Change Conference by China, which is reputed to have more control over rational and strategic decision making, including its assertive attitude suggests that there is large trend

¹⁴⁹ "Discard", *The Economist*, January 15-21, 2011.

¹⁵⁰ "Another Go at Being Friend", *The Economist*, January 15-21, 2011.

¹⁵¹ Fareed Zikria, Op.cit.

at work challenging the American supremacy in the world. But recent article by Chinese foreign Minister shows that the Communist Party still adheres to the Deng's line of conciliation which is actually based on to 'do more and speak less' and China is trying hard to prove that its development is not a threat for anyone and has proved it so far.¹⁵² Chinese military might be, due to its ideological and strategic mindset, convinced that the US is sworn enemy and the conflict with it is inevitable therefore they rejected to revive the relation with the US military. Therefore, Americans and the Western analysts propagate that the emerging post American world would be multi-polar or non-polar but as the rising states in the world have different agendas that would make the global integration difficult.

Henry Kissinger said that China fears from the US military encircling its territory and the US considers China a threat to its interests and feels that China is strengthening its position to kick her out from the continent.¹⁵³

6. 6. US Plan: Containment of China

The US is preparing India in South Asia, Philippine and Singapore in South East Asia, and Japan and South Korea in East Asia for containing and countering the peaceful rise of China.¹⁵⁴ South China Sea and India Ocean are the most debated center for flexing the power by these countries and possible conflict with clash of interest. Here comes the significant role of Pakistan's geo-strategic location to provide access to China through Gwadar port.

¹⁵² Shi Jing, "Getting China Right: The Chinese World Order and Asia-Pacific Regional Integration", *Contemporary International Relations*, Volume 18, No. 6, 2008.

¹⁵³ Henry Kissinger, *Time*, June 6-13, 2011.

¹⁵⁴ Saadat Hassan, Op.cit

Though US Defense Secretary Leon Panetta denied the shifting of six aircraft carriers loaded with warrior aircraft to Asia as part of containment of China but some scholars and a section of media believes it because the US has been frequently practicing the coercive diplomacy throughout its role in international affairs.¹⁵⁵

There is much debate among the scholars that the US is going to start a new cold war with China as China is challenging its monopoly over the international arena and the US plans to maintain its power and influence in the world. But actually China wants to work with the US for securing common interest and avoid contradiction and conflict.¹⁵⁶

Last but not least when there are talks of the US decline in the world and the Asia century and shifting of global power of center with emerging Asian powers, the US Secretary of State Hillary Clinton maintained that the US will remain a major power of Asia. One can understand that as the US has somewhat opposition in Europe and South America and Africa is yet behind the world, next center of gravity is an attraction for the US while China is more important in this case. So, the clash of interests is evident and perhaps unavoidable.

The international relations had two different phases; intense rivalry and intense interdependence. The chapter of history with intense rivalry almost closed at the end of Cold War and then it gave birth to the era of intense interdependence. Hillary Clinton

¹⁵⁵ Daily Jang, June 3, 2012.

¹⁵⁶ Yuan Ping, "Strategic Reassurance and the Future of China-US Relations", *Contemporary International Relations*, Volume 20, No. 5, 2010.

said that it is still uncertain that either economic and defense interdependence keep countries pacific and the competition would not led them to conflict.¹⁵⁷

In the developing scenario, there are predictions of another Cold War of US against China for the containment of China. Hence, China and the US are trying hard to grab their strategic partner and prepare for countering each other. This factor makes Pakistan very important for China to confront the US strategic threat and pursue its goal of economic development.¹⁵⁸

¹⁵⁷ *Daily Dawn*, Dec 19, 2010.

¹⁵⁸ Majid Ali Noorani, *Op.cit.*

Chapter No. 7

Building Future Together

The name of this chapter has been taken from the title of Wen Jiabao's speech to the joint session of Pakistan Parliament and the slogans propagated on the visit of Chinese Prime Minister Wen Jiabao on 20 December 2010. As it was a clear message that both of the countries are going to build their future together. So now both countries are convinced that one's brighter future is detrimental for the other's prosperity.¹⁵⁹

7.1. Prosperous, Peaceful and Powerful Pakistan Necessary for China

A European journalist said that China and Pakistan have the unconditional friendship on the geo-political stage. It is not only threat of common external enemies but internal problems of extremism, terrorism, separatism, poverty, illiteracy and drug trafficking that could hamper the common desire of economic development and peace along their borders particularly and in the region generally. Therefore, 'all-weather friends' not only choose to remain limited to the strategic partnership or defense centric but also believe in the common fate of their two people.¹⁶⁰

Chinese leader are also pragmatic in assessing that a weaker, underdeveloped, turbulent and impoverished Pakistan would be a very strange threat to China's internal security and may be partner of its enemies exploited against Chinese interests.

¹⁵⁹ Mehmood ul Hassan Khan, "Pakistan-China Friendship: Important Accord on Major Economic Projects", *Daily The News Pakistan*, 20 October 2008.

¹⁶⁰ Zhou Rongji Address to Senate of Pakistan in 1996.

7. 2. Non-traditional Security Threats

Extra attention to the traditional national security concept as per assumptions of Clausewitz and strategic preparation and military buildup in this regard has hampered the progress of tackling the non-traditional security threats like poverty, food security, human security and environmental degradation etc.¹⁶¹

There is clear example of USSR that its large military assets could not save it and food insecurity led to its dismemberment. Turbulent situation, poverty and illiteracy in neighborhoods also become impediment in the progress. Hence, development of Pakistan is important for China too and Chinese leadership is convinced to take Pakistan along on its way to development, peace and prosperity.¹⁶² China has already molded its foreign policy with pragmatic approach supporting its economic development.¹⁶³

It is only poverty, illiteracy and social injustice that has led to the insurgency in Baluchistan province of Pakistan and make the “Gwadar Port” operations for China a distant dream. Hence a stable and prosperous Pakistan would provide an environment conducive to be used as Chinese corridor.

¹⁶¹ Dr. Umbreen Javad (ed), *Peace and Security in South Asia: Issues and Challenges*, Pakistan study Centre, University of Punjab Lahore. 2006. P. 5.

¹⁶² Arshad Ali, “External Debt and Economic Growth: Trend and Challenges—A Case Study of Pakistan”, *Strategic Studies*, Volume XXVIII, No. 2/3, 2008.

¹⁶³ Zhang Yimeng Liu Liping, “Scientific Outlook on Development and China’s Foreign Policy”, *Contemporary International Relations*, Volume 18, No. 6, 2008.

7. 3. Peace and Prosperity Favors Whole Region

The economic, political and social aspirations of China, India, Iran and Afghanistan turn on securing peace, prosperity and stability in Pakistan. Pakistan is creating the economic interdependence between Central Asia, South Asia and Middle East regions through the trade and energy partnership.¹⁶⁴

Owing to the military competition between India and Pakistan, the major portion of economic resources of the two countries was pooled to the purchase of weapons and acquire war related sophisticated technology since the partition of the subcontinent that prevented states to provide the basic rights to its citizen. The dominance of the military mindset in Pakistan and India led them to four wars that bring more miseries to the one fifth of the global population. That is why the region is hit by underdevelopment, unemployment, poverty, illiteracy and ill-economy albeit the region offers great potential and opportunities provided there is peaceful co-existence especially among India and Pakistan.¹⁶⁵

7. 4. Sino-Pak Partnership for Common Fate of their Masses

Pakistan launched a communication satellite on August 14, 2011 from china. The satellite would work for broad band internet and digital broadcasting. The satellite has been made in Pakistan with the technical and financial help of china. Thus china not only financed it, shared technical know in making it but also will help for launching it.¹⁶⁶

¹⁶⁴ Pervez Musharraf, "Don't Mess with Pakistan" ,*News week*, Nov. 22-29.2010.

¹⁶⁵ Dr. Umbreen Javad, Op. cit.

¹⁶⁶ *The Daily Jang*, December 28, 2010.

Chinese leaders assure Pakistan officials that there is only one country whom they say all-weather friend. Hence China and Pakistan are cooperating in all fields of common interest in this way that both countries have not such cooperation with any country else. A brief and comprehensive joint declaration was issued by the both countries with salient features of cooperation in the fields of agriculture, science, technology, trade, energy, IT, medicines, petro-chemistry, nuclear power, forestry, fishery, industry, joint industrial production, military, diplomatic and strategic consultation, culture, education, public health, sports, media, economical use of energy, environment, water consumption, countering terrorism, extremism, separatism, religion, transnational crimes, human, arms and drugs trafficking and prosecution of extradited criminals. The sub fields of these are also included for cooperation to make all-round cooperation.¹⁶⁷

China has already helped in setting up Karachi Shipyard and Engineering Works, Heavy Mechanical Complex, Heavy Foundry and Forge, Aeronautical Complex, Heavy Electrical Complex, Pakistan Machines Tools Factory, Steels Mills in Kalabagh and Karachi. These heavy industries not only helped Pakistan to produce the defense and other electro-mechanical productions to cater its domestic needs but also enabled Pakistan to earn foreign exchange reserves through export obviously on Chinese “friendship price”.¹⁶⁸

As all Pakistan is convinced that Chinese friendship is nothing but benefit for Pakistan therefore no opposition of China has surfaced in political parties of Pakistan. During address of Chinese Prime Minister to Pakistani Parliament, surprisingly the

¹⁶⁷ *Daily the Jang*, 24 Nov 2006.

¹⁶⁸ Dr. Muhammad Ijaz Butt, Op. cit.

highest number of law makers attended the session despite it was in the early morning and no voice against the China-friendship surfaced. Responding to the address, Opposition Leader Chaudhary Nisar Ahmed said that there is no difference of opinion over friendship with China.¹⁶⁹

Chinese learn from history while Pakistanis live in history. Thus Pakistan needs to learn from the Chinese collective wisdom and system of governance especially the way to fight corruption. China became a developmental state from security state in 30 years only. China shifted its concentration from geo-politics to geo-economics.

Pakistan needs to prepare with the internal reforms for long term and meaningful integration with China. Pakistan needs to change beliefs, attitudes and finally culture for getting on track to the economic development.

7. 5. Addressing the Language Hurdle

As a stone for cultural diplomacy, China opened Confucius Institute, first of its kind in the Muslim World, in National University of Modern Languages (NUML) Islamabad which is aimed at promoting the cultural exchange. There are thirteen points of Chinese language teaching in Pakistan which were holding sixty classes attended by around 2000 students on the beginning 2011. Language barrier between the people of the two countries is still a big drawback and the both sides are convinced to increase the cultural activities that deepen the understanding and eliminate the misconceptions. Pakistan and China still lack the people to people contact largely because of cultural impediments.

¹⁶⁹ *Daily the Jang*, Dec 20, 2010.

The same NUML is providing the basic training of English Language to the Chinese professionals/army personnel who come here in groups under the scheme of cultural exchange. The groups follow each other. Around 5000 Chinese are studying in the Universities in the capital city of the country alone. Pakistan offers a number of scholarships to the Chinese students per annum. In the same way a number of students proceed to China for higher and professional studies from the social sciences to the medical and engineering. Chinese-Urdu Dictionary is about to be complete in Center for Pakistan Studies in Peking University.¹⁷⁰

7. 6. Hand-Over of Sino-Pak Friendship to Next Generation

Provincial Government of Sindh announced to teach Chinese language in primary schools from 2013. Considering Pak-China friendship a permanent relation, the two countries are trying to inculcate the positive image of the bond in the minds of masses and young generation as a step to handover the permanent and beneficial friendship to the next generation.

China has donated 40,000 wheel chairs to Pakistan Bait-ul-mall for helping the handicapped Pakistanis to take part in economic activities and their day to day affairs. The catchphrase of 'Pak-Cheen Dosti Zindabad' written on the back of these wheel chairs is a further public diplomacy step of China to distribute the benefits in far flung and remote areas of Pakistan and further inculcate its positive image of friend in the minds of less literate or illiterate masses.¹⁷¹

¹⁷⁰ Director Confucius Institute of Islamabad in Q & A Session in Seminar on China at ISSI on 11 May 2011.

¹⁷¹ *Daily Narva-e-Waqt*, December 20 2010.

Both countries celebrated 2011 as year of Sino-Pak friendship on completion of 60 years of their diplomatic relations. Government of Pakistan issued notification to various Government Departments to celebrate the year and organize the special programs in this regard. Education institutions up to elementary school level were instructed to organize programs to tell the young generation about the long lasting 'all-weather friendship'.¹⁷²

Pakistan Academy of Letters has translated the Chinese literature in Urdu and even seven local languages of the country. It shows the commitment on Pakistani side that is aimed at inculcating the Chinese link in the minds of less educated or common people.¹⁷³

Pakistan proposes the joint film and drama production for enhancing understanding of cultures of both countries to the masses of both. A scholar has recently suggested Pakistan to improve its propaganda efforts by its embassy in Beijing. Perception is always more powerful than the reality and perceptions need to be updated with a regular interval.

Centre for excellence on China are being proposed in the Pakistani Universities for enhancing understanding in Pakistani population. There is also need to establish a joint think tank to work for increasing understanding and enhance the struggle for shared goals.¹⁷⁴

¹⁷² Nayyer Rizvi, "Daily Jang Rawalpindi", 7 June 2011.

¹⁷³ Dr. Abdal Bela, Chairman Academy of Letters, in Q & A Session in Seminar on China at ISSI on 11 May 2011.

¹⁷⁴ Panelists in Q & A Session in Seminar on China at ISSI on 11 May 2011.

The two countries have been a bit successful in realizing the masses the two countries are good friends. Any one in remote areas of Pakistan with a limited education would tell that China is Pakistan's best friend while Chinese masses believe that Pakistan has been China's friend through thick and thin.

7.7. Materializing Diversified Sino-Pak Relations

There is great rhetoric on the China Pakistan relations and the policy makers of both countries want to materialize these on concrete basis reaping the benefits of advantages offered by both countries. Much needs to be done for the sustenance of exemplary friendship.

Though there is contact among institutions from military to defense production, universities to think tanks, political parties to political leaders, federal ministries to the provinces and cities administrations to the various state apparatuses. Now Pakistani and Chinese officials are striving hard to further institutionalize their relations or create links between institutions of both countries for strong, long term and fruitful partnership. Policymakers and proponents of Sino-Pak relations also intend to keep these relations for generations to come and thus handover this legacy to the youth of both sides.

Opinion makers and researchers of Pakistan also propose the establishment of a University with cooperation China in Taxila on the foundation of Gandhara civilization and Buddha's legacy. It would also change the history description of Pakistan as cradle of the oldest civilization instead a window of Islam to the subcontinent opened by Muhammad Bin Qasim in 712 A. D. Similarities in cultural heritage of the countries

indicate the historical bonds among the ancient civilizations of the both countries and provide a best essence for publicizing the relations of the modern states.

Gomal Zam Dam would be financed by China and Pakistan can get financing and technical help for establishing small dams in its arid land of Potohar for improving agriculture development and live stock flourishing. Pakistanis demand China to transfer technology at the industrial level so that Pakistan could also sustain its economy against Chinese economy of scale. Pakistan need to invite Chinese bankers for investment in terrorism hit area for creating the economic opportunities for the local population. Some Pakistanis also envisage Chinese investment in marble sector of Pakistan that could earn it more profit than whole Saudi oil.

Pakistan and China need to diversify the basis of their relations. Chinese media referred Wen visit to Pakistan as key to complete the relation by including the economic factor in priority as two countries were mainly based on defense and political cooperation.

Conclusion

Pakistani and Chinese nations have different history, religion, culture, political system, economic system, social structure and ideology but even then their strive for pursuing broad national goals, endeavor for realization of national aspirations and attempts to maintain their status in the comity of nations provides the essential glue to stick them together.

Sino-Pak strategic relations are unique in the history of international relations. Popular slogans of time-tested, deep rooted all weather, higher than Himalayas, deeper than oceans and sweeter than honey are not baseless. The slogans have the strong base as the major interests of China and Pakistan converged in the past, present and predictable future. These relations were established soon after their independence and were strengthened in early 1960s.

For the first four decades, Sino-Pak relations were mainly defense centric and cooperation was based on mutual search for security. India and USSR threat provided the rationale for the rapprochement during cold war era. Pakistan's role in Chinese relation building with the US is also regarded yet by the masses of Peoples Republic of China.

The end of Cold War eliminated the USSR threat to China and provided it with the enough space to pursue its national agenda of economic development. Now Chinese foremost problem lies within its own territory and it is the maintenance of territorial integrity and social order from mainland China to Xinjiang and Tibet to Taiwan. Chinese leader came up with the philosophy that being wealthy is prestigious and grand economy can afford or support the great military force. Hence they formed their foreign policy

supporting their agenda of economic development. Deng Xiaoping propagated his idea to let a group of people be rich first. According to his philosophy, the concentration for development has shifted from the east of China to its western part. The next step would be to tackle the problem of unequal distribution of wealth or minimizing the gap between rich and poor.

To pursue for the economic development and keep its progress cycle on track for attaining the planned targets, Chinese Government desire has been to promote the peaceful relations in neighborhood particularly and in the world generally. China shares its border with 14 countries and could not afford the turbulence on its border that would be the obstacle to its objectives of economic development, prosperity and ambition of becoming influential global power instead of just economic one. Chinese are still proponent of “harmonious society” within the country, neighborhoods and the world at large but analysis of its actions proves that it has pragmatic and realistic approach instead of ideological one.

China achieved its target to double the Gross Domestic Production (GDP) by 1990 from 1980. It further planned to double the GDP rate by 2000 from 1990. The Chinese population is expected to increase up to 1.5 billion by 2049 and Chinese policymakers have planned to make it middle income country with \$ 4000 per capita, by 2049 i.e. GDP of 6 trillion but it would have achieved more than this target. To attain this goal, China is integrating its economy throughout the world.¹⁷⁵

¹⁷⁵ Fu Mengzi, “What Does China’s Change Mean to the World”, *Contemporary International Relations*, Volume 18, No. 3, 2008.

Indian huge market, economy, long shared border and its strategic position near its turbulent region of Tibet have compelled China to change policies about India and support to Pakistan against India. China neutralized its policy over Kashmir since 1982. Later, for some period of time China gave visas to Indian Held Kashmir citizens on a plain paper instead of India passport to mark its position and highlight the disputed territory. Once she turned down a visa of Indian Army General over his bleak record of human rights violations during service in Kashmir. But Indian diplomacy compelled China to reverse its steps and issue the visas to citizens of Kashmir on Indian Passport and to their General too. China is trying to equi-distance from India and Pakistan as in Cold War. India considers Pakistan immediate threat and China long term threat while China still feels India a threat and considers her a competitor.

Openness of Chinese society to the outside world and its governing and political system's transformation from authoritarian to the democratic one is the next challenge ahead for China as it can disturb the social order and territorial integrity.

In this situation, Pakistan's support is crucial for maintaining its sovereignty in Xinjiang region particularly and the whole China generally. Pakistan is a very important energy, two way trade and strategic corridor for China to access Arabian Sea, Middle East and short route to Africa. Pakistan may provide naval bases to China for safeguarding its oil, trade goods and other interests in Indian Ocean. Pakistan though not very lucrative but provides a considerable market to China for consumption of its goods. India factor would also be better handled by the help of Pakistan. In fact Pakistan is a key for China

to handle the whole South Asia and extra-regional forces interference from Pakistan. Unstable and weaker Pakistan becomes vulnerable for exploitation particularly by US against China.

On the other hand, Pakistan balances its status by siding with China as an alternate to the US. Pakistan also gets defense production and technologies for maintaining minimum deterrence against its arch rival India. After becoming the second largest global economy and accumulating sufficient foreign exchange reserves, now China has become a source of Foreign Direct Investment (FDI) in different fields of economy thus strengthening Pakistan economically.¹⁷⁶ China is providing support for solving Pakistan's energy problem.¹⁷⁷ Pakistan also looks towards China for political and diplomatic support in international relations and international organization too. As China has been supporting Pakistan against US for recognition of its role in war in terror and stopping drone attacks to respect and not violate its sovereignty.

Pakistan is pivotal for China to achieve its goals and realize its aspirations including the desire to become a true global power. On the other hand, China is one shop solution for Pakistan's issues of defense, economy and diplomacy. In nutshell, Sino-Pakistan rapprochement has become a multi dimensional partnership from only defense centric relation for a long time. Their consultation over strategic and foreign policy will also help them understand each other's goal and devise a collective strategy to attain the mutual goals.¹⁷⁸

¹⁷⁶ *The Express Tribune*, 3 December 2010.

¹⁷⁷ *Daily The News Pakistan*, 19 October 2010.

¹⁷⁸ Maleeha Lodhi, "Strengthening of Strategic Partner", *The Daily Jang Rawalpindi*, 22 December 2011

At the time when the communist bloc was encircling China owing to its communist profile, Pakistan was a window for it to the outer world while the same status would continue as Pakistan is now becoming the economic corridor, for its energy, raw material, and manufactured goods to and from Middle East, Africa and other regions of the world through its sea ports, and strategic partner to channel Chinese naval power in Persian Gulf and Indian Ocean. Despite differences of the orientation between China and Pakistan, the two countries had a common interest to handle India and now they share the same interest with addition of enhanced defense cooperation and common quest for economic development while in the foreseeable future for pursuance to their shared interests will keep them bonded together.

China, befriending Pakistan, maintains its territorial and social integrity in Xinjiang, curtails the US influence in Pakistan, handles India, manages South Asia, influences Afghanistan, accesses Persian Gulf / Indian Ocean, envisages land route to Middle East and woos Muslim World to pursue its economic, military and political goals.

For Pakistan, China is an ally against India, alternate of the United States, shop of defense supplies, source of economic investment, relatively reliable supporter for pursuing its broad national interest, a strategic partner in the region and a resource of diplomatic support with the veto power to its political agenda as both are the proponent of the United Nations and other international institution for global governance, peace, just

order and the “harmonious world”. Thus China is solution to many problems of Pakistan.¹⁷⁹

Now as per Chinese President Wen Jia Bao as he said while addressing Pakistani Parliament in 2011, China-Pakistan friendship has entered a new era of collective prosperity, confronting the challenges together. As common security interest of their same threat perception from India and US, collective goal of development for the betterment of their people, shared problem of territorial integrity, fighting terrorism, extremism and tendencies of separatism and their shared objective for regional peace and eliminating the influence of the extra-regional forces keep them on the same page despite different history, religion, culture, political system, economic system, social structure and ideology.

¹⁷⁹ Sultan Ahmed, “Economic Cooperation with China”, *Daily The News Pakistan*, 29 November 2010.

Findings

- China has divorced its ideology from the foreign policy since 1980s and has become a pragmatic and rational player with neo-realist assumptions to safeguard its national interest in the anarchic world.
- Pakistan-China relations were based on regional politics in Cold War. Now these are part of Chinese global strategy.
- India still provides the *raison d'être* for long lasting Sino-Pak strategic relations and cooperation due to its designs and support by West for countering China.
- China can no longer support Pakistan against the issues outstanding with India including Kashmir due to its economic rapprochement with the latter.
- Pakistan cannot play the China card against US and even India but China can provide technology for building strong defense and perhaps secret support in case of any conflict with both of the perceived enemies.
- China remained neutral as it had already declared that it would not support Pakistan in case of any military conflict with India.
- Secessionist tendencies in Xinjiang and Tibet created the balance of threat and compelled China to work with the US and Pakistan.
- Economic aspect of Sino-Pak relations would remain more dominant in the upcoming period of Sino-Pakistan cooperation instead of strategic and defense.

- China does not aid like US that make Pakistan more handicapped and parasite¹⁸⁰ rather China try to support for its self sufficiency and autarky as China is convinced that a weaker Pakistan can be exploited against Chinese interests. Hence China would not leave Pakistan at the hour of need.¹⁸¹
- During the Cold War, Pakistan was a strategic card and political supporter in the international arena but now Pakistan is an exclusively important partner of China for its economic development, design in the region, and for global strategy.
- Pakistan and Chinese interests converged in the past, present and the predictable future therefore they will remain “all-weather friends” but the friendship in no more strategic and India-centric only but now it is multi-dimensional based on interdependencies in a number of fields.
- Pakistan had been opposing, criticizing and playing its part in Western-sponsored anti-China activities in the international arena especially the UN. Now Pakistan will not oppose or play any role in anti-China activity in the foreseeable future.

¹⁸⁰ Murad Ali, “US Aid to Pakistan and Democracy”, *Policy Perspective*, Volume 6, No. 2, 2009.

¹⁸¹ Daily Jang, 20 December 2010. (Chinese Premier said that China will not leave Pakistan at the hour of the need and will extend all-out support to Pakistan.)

Recommendations

- Gone are the days when economic development used to be dependent on land, capital, technology and labor. In the current age of modern production and development, land has been replaced by production units or technology. Thus movable and transnational capital, technology and raw material now-a-days have made development dependent on suitable state environment, stable political system, social harmony, cheap labor with quality education / training and motivation for national development.¹⁸²

- Thus Pakistan needs to concentrate on its policies for development by making the development culture and conducive environment as mentioned earlier while rest of the ingredients like capital and technology are available with China that can help us grow Pakistan healthier with a strong state defense and make a better bargaining position over all the outstanding geo-political issues with India including Kashmir.

- Pakistan can resolve all of its domestic issues with the help of China as a stable, stronger, prosperous and peaceful Pakistan is in favor of China. Pakistan can tackle issue of Baluchistan and can play a better role in Afghanistan by taking help from China for the common good and kicking back the India after US.

¹⁸² Hamish Mcrae, "*The World in 2020*", Harper Collins Publishers: Ali Majeed Printers: Rawalpindi, 1996. PP. 3-23

- Chinese marvelous economic development, its huge market, role in the world and its dependence on Pakistan is a blessing therefore Pakistani policy and decision makers need to diversify the Chinese cooperation with Pakistan and materialize the slogans of “all-weather, and deep rooted friendship” to make it fruitful for the common masses.
- West-leaning political leaders and bureaucratic system is needed be purged of rampant corruption and divert its direction from West to the East for balancing relations and get an appropriate benefit from the wealthy friend for fitting Pakistan in the shifting center of Power and making best out of the Asian century.
- Chinese Premier Wen Jiabao quoted a Chinese quote while addressing joint session of Pakistani Parliament as “close neighbor is better than a distant relative”. The time has come when we should realize to come out of US obsession and concentrate on materializing our multidimensional relations with close powers including China.

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