

# **CHINA-PAKISTAN STRATEGIC RELATIONSHIP: IMPLICATIONS FOR SOUTH ASIA**

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**BY**

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**June, 2014**

## DECLARATION

I hereby declare that the work embodied in this dissertation entitled “**CHINA-PAKISTAN STRATEGIC RELATIONSHIP: IMPLICATIONS FOR SOUTH ASIA**” has been prepared by me under the guidance of Dr. Nishtha Kaushiki, Assistant Professor, Centre for South and Central Asian Studies, School of Global Relations, Central University of Punjab. No part of this dissertation has formed the basis for the award of any degree or fellowship previously.

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## CERTIFICATE

I certify that work entitled “**CHINA-PAKISTAN STRATEGIC RELATIONSHIP: IMPLICATIONS FOR SOUTH ASIA**” was carried out by Mr. Ghulam Mohiudin Naiko for the award of M.Phil. Degree under my supervision and guidance at the Centre for South & Central Asian Studies, School of Global Relations, Central University of Punjab, Bathinda.

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## **ABSTRACT**

### **China-Pakistan Strategic Relationship: Implications for South Asia**

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Strategic relations between the two countries were established in 1972. Ever since then the two countries have given to each other the much required political and diplomatic support on various issues like, Kashmir, Tibet, Taiwan and Xinjiang, etc.

In this study, an attempt has been made to first analyse the rationale behind the Sino-Pak relationship. How and why India is a major factor in their bilateral relations has been probed into. The study discusses the scope of their strategic relationship. The next section of this research includes the implications of their strategic relations on South Asia and particular emphasis has been placed on India. It has been analysed how strategic relation between the countries work for 'tying down India to South Asia'.

The second part of the dissertation has dealt with the recent geopolitical shifts in the region that have further cemented their bilateral relationship, such as Indo-US nuclear deal and a ten year defense pact; Asia pivot etc. It has brought to surface the shifting Asian balance of power and how the Sino-Pak strategic relations affect India. Finally, the study is an attempt to recommend some policy measures for India that it can adopt for neutralising the affects of their strategic partnership on its foreign policy and larger strategic goals.

Ghulam Mohiudin Naiko

Dr. Nishtha Kaushiki

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## TABLE OF CONTENTS

Sr. No.	Content	Page Number
1	Declaration	I
2	Certificate	II
3	Abstract	III
4	Acknowledgement	IV
5	(Chapter-1) Introduction	1-12
6	(Chapter-2) Review of Literature& knowledge Gap	13-20
7	(Chapter-3) Rationale and Scope's of China-Pakistan strategic Relationship	21-38
8	(Chapter-4) China-Pakistan attempts to tie down India in the South Asia Region	39-55
9	(Chapter-5) Changing Geostrategic Profile Of South Asia and Sino-Pak Response:Implications For South Asia	56-77
10	(Chapter-6) Summary and Recommendations	78-82
11	References	83-98

## LIST OF TABLES

Table No.	Table Description	Page Number
	India's own Missile production	37

## LIST OF FIGURES

Figure No.	Description of Figure	Page Number
1	Map of the String of Pearls	51
2	Map showing proposed Rail and Pipeline Between Gwadar to Xinjiang	54

## LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

Sr. No.	Full Form	Abbreviation
1	United States	US
2	Central Treaty Organization	CENTO
3	Nuclear Supplying Group	NSG
4	North Atlantic Treaty Organisation	NATO
5	Non-Proliferation Treaty	NPT
6	International Atomic Energy Agency	IAEA
7	Global War of Terror	GWoT

8	Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam	LTTE
9	Inter Service Intelligence	ISI
10	South East Asian Treaty Organization	SEATO
11	Defence Intelligence Agency	DIA
12	North West frontier Province	NWFP
13	Union of Soviet Socialist Republics	USSR



## CHAPTER 1

### China-Pakistan Strategic Relationship: Implications for South Asia

#### INTRODUCTION

The term 'strategic' is mainly concerned with the ways in which nations use defence power and potential to achieve political goals. Strategy is based on consideration of national interests and the most important aspect of national interest is the national security (Majesty, 2010). National Security calculations may include both domestic and international aspects of short and long term military advantages of political and economic gains. Various dictionaries have defined the term differently, for example The Business dictionary defines, "A method or plan chosen to bring about a desired future, such as achievement of the goal or solution of the problem" (Business dictionary)<sup>1</sup>. The Oxford Dictionary defines strategy, "A plan of action designed to achieve a long-term or overall aim" (Oxford dictionary)<sup>2</sup>. The Cambridge Dictionary defines, "Strategy is a detailed plan for achieving success in situations such as war, politics, business, industry, or sport, or the skill of planning for such situations" (Paxton, 2011).

Before getting into the particular details of Sino-Pak strategic relationship and its implications for the region, it would be appropriate to give a brief background of both countries. Both countries are linked with one another with the natural border that includes some of the world's tallest and most beautiful mountains. Pakistan and China has a long history of friendly relationship. During the Buddhist period, Taxila was the centre of Buddhism 2500 years ago where the world's first Buddhist University attracted Chinese scholars and monks. During the same period, silk and tea from China reached Pakistan through the silk route, which became a popular trade route eventually becoming a bridge with the West for promoting commerce (Chowdhury, 2011). Before the revolt India and Pakistan are one country as well as came under Company rule till 1857. After the revolt of 1857, British parliament ruled

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<sup>1</sup><http://www.businessdictionary.com/definition/strategy.html>

<sup>2</sup><http://www.oxforddictionaries.com/definition/english/strategy>

India till Independence (Haq, 2011/a). After the Independence from British rule, India got divided into two countries Pakistan and India. After independence Pakistan became the first Muslim country to establish diplomatic ties with China in 1951.

### **Scope of Sino-Pak Strategic Relation**

China-Pakistan strategic cooperation is considered as an important relationship in world politics. The Diplomatic relations between the two countries was established on 21<sup>st</sup> May, 1951. Pakistan was amongst the first Muslim country to establish diplomatic relationship with the people's republic of China (PRC) following the communist takeover. In the year 1960 China faced international isolation. In 1961 Pakistan improved its relationship with China, when it voted for a bill concerning the restoration of China's legitimate rights in the UN. The Sino-India war 1962 provided further opportunities for the Sino-Pakistan cooperation and both countries signed their first trade agreement in 1963 and in the same year they followed diplomatic exchanges. China-Pakistan strategic relationship was established in 1972 and both the nations celebrated the 60<sup>th</sup> anniversary of their diplomatic relations in 2011. It has its consequences on the South Asia region with India in particular. The importance of this strategic relationship can be well founded in the fact that the Indian foreign policy takes it into consideration for its policies in South Asia and Central Asia. Though both countries China and Pakistan followed different ideologies and at later stage joined opposite security blocks created by the cold War their relations have withstood despite the changes of domestic, regional and international environment. Pakistan has always supported China in most of the important issues, especially those related to the questions of sovereignty. No relationship between two sovereign states is as unique and durable as that between Pakistan and China (Akhtar, 2013).

As both China and Pakistan have poor human rights record at the international level, they found themselves supporting each other on the Kashmir, Tibet, Taiwan and Xinxiang issues. Thus they were more than ready to extend support to each other in the field of defence that was initiated in the year 1976. Relationship between the two

countries was at peak during the 1980s and early 1990s due to the domestic political economy of China and its strategic calculus. China-Pakistan relations have more strengthened at the time when Pakistan handed over the port to China. Through this Gwadar port China got access to the energy rich countries (Sandili, 2010).

China and Pakistan relationship is strategic in nature as it is driven by the defence and security compulsions (Mussarat, 2012). Although there has been substantial Chinese strategic convergence with Pakistan since the mid-1950s as part of an anti-India logic, US strategic links with Pakistan was another factor that led to establishment and deepening of the bilateral relations on the part of China. Thus, it becomes very important to highlight the fact that both of them had different objective for strategic relationship. It was the geographic proximity of the two countries along with India with its unique location that raised questions on the security of India. As the globalization took over and the international community perceived India to be a rising power, it was from here that both the nations aimed to tie down India in the South Asian region.

### **Sino-Pak Defence Relations**

Strategic partnership was initially driven by the mutual needs to counter the Soviet Union and India for the purpose of strengthening the relationship. Furthermore China supported Pakistan with economic and military in its two wars against India in 1965 and 1971. The military alliance led to the creation of the joint committee for economic trade and technology in 1982, also discussing the sales of M-11 Missile and related technology to Pakistan in the same year.

In the year 1996 Chinese leaders visited Pakistan and both countries decided to establish a comprehensive friendship. The important treaty of friendship and cooperation was signed, where they committed that “neither party will join any alliance or bloc which infringes upon the sovereignty, security and territorial integrity of either two countries. During the post cold war period, China emerged as Pakistan’s most important Strategic guarantor. China became initial source for Pakistan’s

nuclear weapon design and conventional weaponry and important source of trade and investment. After India's nuclear test in 1974, Chinese leaders stated that South Asian security has destabilized, and argued that China has a long term security threat. However, such nuclear tests setback Sino-India relation. Deterioration of Sino-India relationship reinforced Pakistan's importance for China in the South Asian region. China strategically helped Pakistan in their nuclear programme. It developed Pakistan's confidence to re-establish the strategic balance in South Asia by conducting by its own nuclear tests (Khurished, 2011).

During the Kargil conflict between two nuclear states in 1999, China adheres to a strict neutral position and advised both countries to resolve tension through bilateral talks. Pakistan had a complete understanding of China's interest to improve bilateral relations with India; particularly in context of growing Indio-US strategic partnership (Mussarat, 2012).

After the events of 9/11, 2001 Pakistan and China consulted each other on the unfolding situation in the region. A special visit was made by Chinese President to Pakistan where he met General Parvaiz Musharraf and other officials and discussed the situation emerging as a consequence of the 9/11 attacks. Pakistan's decision to provide use of airspace and base facilities to US had raised some fear in Chinese policy-making circle (Kan, 2013). However, the high-level visits make clear that the Pakistan's position under no conditions would allow its cooperation with US to undermine Chinese strategic interests. Another important land mark in the Pakistan-China defence cooperation has become the most important factor between China-Pakistan strategic relations. The high-level exchange of visits for consultations between armed forces has provided sustenance to the bilateral relations. In the recent years, a mechanism of defence and security consultations has been institutionalized between the two countries.

## **Objectives of China-Pak Alliance**

There are several reasons behind China-Pakistan alliance. The alliance between the two countries has often been labelled as an “all-weather and time tested alliance”. Given below is an analysis of the reasons of strengthening of the relations between the two countries:

China has achieved the status of a Super Power in both the East Asian as well as in the South Asian region. It has also made efforts to strengthen its relations with the Central Asian states through economic arrangements that suits its energy needs too. However, the most important geographical region for it is South Asia for its geographical location as a corridor between China and energy rich Central Asia (Sandili, 2010). China had already established its supremacy in the region through the policy of “string of pearls”, Though India is far behind in terms of a nuclear and conventional military build up and financial capabilities, yet its own aims and ambitions often challenge China. Also, the bitter war fought between the two is another simple reason that cannot be ignored. Thus, an alliance with Pakistan is perceived to be of utmost importance for the region (Tellis, 2013)

The second most important reason for a strong alliance between the two countries comes from Pakistan. Though one need not go into the finer details here, given the historical rivalry between India and Pakistan on the Kashmir issue, what is most striking is the fact that Pakistan handed over the management and security of the Gwadar port to China for own interests that ranges from political, military, and economic.<sup>3</sup> In addition, the deteriorating US-Pakistan relations on the killing of Osama Bin Laden, drone attacks and the Indo-US nuclear deal has again given an impetus to the strategic relations between China and Pakistan. As India is a ‘traditional’ enemy of both the countries, more recently, they have voiced their concerns over Obama administration’s policy of “Pivot” to Asia and Indo-US Nuclear deal (Chellaney, 2012).

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<sup>3</sup>AlokBansal. “Gwadar-A Chinese Outpost in the Gulf” 2013. Accessed on 12/july/2013  
<http://saisaonline.org/geopolitics/gwadar-a-chinese-outpost-in-the-gulf/>

The third and another important aspect of China-Pakistan relation is economic cooperation. China gains economically at a large scale when Pakistan purchases its weapons and other military technology. Both countries have several joint venture projects. China helps Pakistan to develop infrastructure and provides soft loan to overcome their economic crises.

Additionally Pakistan is strategically significant because of its link between Central and South Asia. Due to its geographic location as a corridor of energy resources, the difference between China and US in the Pakistan's point of view is that China has been 'All weather friends' and US is 'Fear weather friend'(Dumbaugh, 2010). China considers Pakistan's support as strategically important to consolidate its position in Central Asia and to achieve some of its vital national objectives. Not only have they acted to view their political, military and economic collaboration but also as a tool for countering India's power (Dumbaugh, 2010: 12-15).

Fifth, Pakistan-China Nuclear cooperation: After India's test of nuclear Weapons, Pakistan President Zulfikar Ali Bhutto stated "We will eat grass or leaves, even hungry, but we will get one of our own (atom bomb)" (Bur, 2009). Pakistani leaders were aware that the traditional enemy's nuclear weapon is becoming serious threat for their national security. Pakistan's quest of nuclear weapon pushed Pakistan towards China and a close political relationship between China and Pakistan premise Pakistan for development of nuclear program.

The close strategic relation with Pakistan allowed China to a greater sphere of influence in South Asia as well as become bridge between Muslim world and Beijing. In spite of that China have a hedge against India and for Pakistan aside from providing strategic leverage against India. Therefore, Sino-Pak alliance provided Islamabad an opportunity to access the Chinese military and civilian resources. The military and strategic relationship of Islamabad with Beijing is now considered as a corn-stone of its foreign policy. So it is a mutual relationship, because China too needs Pakistan for both regional and global influence (Haq, 2011).

## **China-Pakistan Relations and South Asian Security Balance**

India's position in the South Asian region is a conventional hegemony on the base of nuclear power and military capability (Mussarat, 2012: 8-10). Thus, without China external balance of power tilts heavily in favour of India. Sino-Pak relations affect South Asian regional security. South Asia is largely represented by Pakistan and India. However, the role of China in the region's political, economic and defence affairs cannot be ignored. Thus, relations between the two countries are one of the most debated topics in the field of academics.

Major part of the literature available on the topic argues that China is playing the Pakistan card or in simple words is using it to maintain its status quo in the South as well as in the Central Asian region. The fact is that US has extended financial and military help to Pakistan after the period of 9/11 attack. However the situation changed when Osama Bin Ladin was killed in Pakistani territory. The latter has strained Sino-Pak relations which compelled US in seeking a close and strategic partnership with India. Further, as the US administration has come up with their Asia pivot strategy, in the times to come, this relationship will strengthen more.

Constituting a strategic triangle, these three countries are locked in complex relationships that strategically put China and Pakistan against India (Chellaney, 2012). The depth of their relations are marked by nuclear, missile and conventional-military cooperation, major new Chinese strategic projects in Pakistan, and the reported presence of soldiers of the People's Liberation Army in the Pakistani-held part of disputed Kashmir, whose control is divided among the three countries (Haq, 2011). The bilateral equations as well as the relationship of each of these three players with the United States have an important manner on the regional security dynamics. Even as India's relationship with the US has improved, its ties with China have deteriorated, largely due to Beijing's territorial hostility contributing to new military and political tensions. History continues to cast a shadow on the China-India and India-Pakistan political relationships. Coming to terms with history so that history is not a barrier to charting a better future remains a basic challenge in the region.

However, the real issue is not its relationship with India but its own future trajectory: Whether it will continue to drop in extremism, terrorism and militarism or emerge as a stable moderate Islamic state (Chellaney, 2012).

A second school of thought views the relations between the two states from the Pakistan's perception. It believes that its relations with China can be potentially advantageous for elevating its prestige and position in the South Asian region. Pakistan hoped that China would serve as counterweight to Indian influence. After the end of Sino-India war, China and Pakistan yielded the trans-Karakorum to end border disputes and improve diplomatic relations. The main objective of their alliance was opposition to India. On the other hand China considers the presence of US in the South Asia region as against its interests. Pakistan has gained from the large-scale infrastructure development that has taken place in Gwadar and will continue to do so. China-Pakistan relations are significant for South Asia because both two nuclear powers have played a significant role in the South Asia security. Despite, China is not South Asian country. China has currently taken over the management of Gwadar port and India has a firm belief that Chinese presence in Indian Ocean and its relation with Pakistan is a major threat to Indian strategic and economic interests (Tang, 2012)

Another major school of thought believed that the relation factor has got China and Pakistan strategically closer to each other. The geographical proximity to Kashmir is a major cause for this. Pakistan handed over port of Gwadar to China in 18 February 2013 (18 Feb, 2013 Pakistan signed an agreement with China overseas Port Holding Authority); both governments signed an agreement with the China Overseas Port Holding Authority (COPHA), whereby the operations of Gwadar Deep Sea Port were taken over from Port of Singapore Authority (PSA) (Sandili, 2010: 4-7).

Another school of thought believed that competition between USA and China for Pakistani alliance worsened security environment of South Asia. Both countries are busy in modernizing military arsenals of South Asian countries. The 9/11 attack changed political scenario of the region. United States brought its presence in



Pakistan and strategic links with India. On the other hand, China is strengthening its position as a regional leader and Pakistan is among key objectives for Beijing's influence building strategy.<sup>4</sup> Consequently, China supports Pakistan in every critical time when they need, in times like Bangladesh war and Kashmir issue for solidifying its position in Pakistan foreign policy. The year 2011 was a difficult one for relations between Islamabad and Washington with the number of incidents contributing to deterioration. Consequently, Pakistan distances itself from its long-time old strategic ally, the US. Anna Mahjar-barducci stated that killing of Osama Bin Ladin could be used as an alleged reason by Pakistan and China to start a new war against the US, which they accuse of having violated Pakistan's sovereignty (Tseng, 2008).

In the year 2011 Chinese leaders stated 'Any attack on Pakistan would be considered as an attack on China' and also warned the US after the Abbottabad operation, in which they accuse the US of having violated Pakistani sovereignty, when Pakistani Prime Minister Yusuf Raza Gilani visited China (Barducci, 2011). Pakistani Minister of Information Firdous Ashiq Awan, who said on Pakistan TV that the unilateral operation by the United States in Abbottabad has made the nation united against the US. He added that concerning relations with the US, there is a need to move forward keeping in mind Pakistan's national interests. Henry Kissinger's book, *On China*, reveals Beijing's hegemonic plans. As he puts it, the rise of China could "make international relations bipolar again. China should control from "peaceful development" to "military rise" and look forward to the "duel of the century" with the US (Clarke, 2010).

“Just as the assassination of Archduke Franc Ferdinand of Austria in Sarajevo on June 28, 1914 was used as the casus belli to formally start World War I, analysts are

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<sup>4</sup> Faisal Mahmood, "Pakistan turning away from bald eagle and towards red dragon" 2011. Accessed on 26/12/13 <http://rt.com/news/pakistan-China-ties-us-647/>

concerned that China might use the Abbottbad operation against Osama bin Laden as the casus belli to start a new cold war with the US - or even a hot one".<sup>5</sup>

On a traditional front China helps Pakistan by providing all kinds of assistance to modernize it's military. The extent of defence cooperation between the two countries can be seen from the fact that the Pakistan's missiles are often labelled as red missiles painted green.

### **Objectives of the study**

- 1: Examine in detail the genesis and scope of China-Pakistan strategic relations.
- 2: To analyse diverse effects of Sino-Pak Nuclear cooperation and String of Pearls on India.
- 3: Examine the Sino-Pak response on recent geo-political shifts in South Asia and its Consequences.

### **Methodology**

The methodology to be used for this research would be descriptive and analytical. The data for the research is mainly collected from the primary and secondary sources. The primary sources would include defence reports issued by the US and China's foreign policy documents and the official statements.

The secondary data will be collected from different books, journals, articles and working papers of various educational and research institutes etc such as the *Institute for Defence Studies and Analyses*) *Institute for Peace and Conflict Studies* etc would be extensively read on Indo-US strategic relations.

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<sup>5</sup>B, Raman, "China Bolsters Pak Army's Image" 2012. Accessed on 26/11/13, <http://www.pakistanaffairs.pk/threads/4275-China-bolsters-Pak-Army-s-image>

### **Importance of this Topic**

This topic has a great significance for the South Asian states with particular importance for India. Since both China and India compete with each other in economic and military platforms, both China and Pakistan allegedly work hand in glove to 'tie down' India to the South Asian region. Pakistan's recent decision to hand over the management of Gwadar Port to a Chinese company is just another stark reminder of the objective of the Sino-Pak strategic relations. The recent Chinese incursions from the Line of Actual Control (LAC) and shelling on the Indo-Pak border certainly cannot be just a matter of coincidence. With such developments in place miscalculations would escalate the tensions between China and Pakistan on one hand and India on the other. The extent of Pakistan-China cooperation is likely to push India closer to US as a counterweight to Chinas' possible hegemony in South Asia. US in turn is eager to utilise this opportunity and use India for its Asia pivot strategy.

Next, the growing rivalry between the US and China, and the US efforts to build up India as a 'linchpin' against China, has important strategic implications for both India and Pakistan that can affect the regional stability of the South Asian nations. Strategically, if one assumes that both Pakistan and India are mere pawns of the South Asian region, China and U.S. would increase their tendency to use both India and Pakistan against the other.

Thus, the topic holds immense value for research in South Asian studies and is in accordance with the mandate of the centre.

## **CHAPTERISATION OF THE DISSERTATION**

### **CHAPTER 1: Introduction.**

This chapter contains the introduction that includes overview of the work, methodology, statement of the problem, scope and the plan for dissertation.

## **CHAPTER 2: Literature review.**

This chapter contain review of literature about Sino-Pak strategic alliance and its implications for south Asia particularly India.

## **CHAPTER 3: Rationale and Scope of China-Pakistan Strategic Relations.**

This chapter contains the factors which are responsible for China-Pakistan's strategic relations. Like Chinas development in economic and military in Asia. India's nuclear test, India-US closes ties. Obama's Asia pivot policy. Pakistan's security insurance against India.

## **CHAPTER 4: China-Pakistan Attempts tip down India in the South Asian Region**

This chapter contains the China-Pakistan nuclear agreements; the string of Pearls theory and Sino-Pak attempts to limit India's endeavours in the South Asian region.

## **CHAPTER 5: Changing Geostrategic Profile of South Asia and Sino-Pak Response: Implications for South Asia**

This chapter contain some recent geopolitical Shifts in South Asia which solidify Sino-Pak relationship like Indo-US Nuclear Deal, Obama Asia Pivot, Death of Osama Bin Ladin and NATO with drawl as well as its implications for South Asia.

## **CHAPTER 6: Summary& Recommendations.**

This chapter contains conclusion of the China-Pakistan relations. China and Pakistan are considered as all weather friends. This type of relations is one of the major security threats for India, on the other hand counter balance US in the South Asia region.

## CHAPTER II

### Literature Review

Ample literature is available on the topic. There are numerous books, research papers and articles on the China-Pakistan strategic relations and cooperation in other areas. Most of the literature available on the topic holds the perspective that cooperation between the two countries is of strategic importance for both of them.

The First School of thought perceived that China has been playing the Pakistan card or in simple words is using it to maintain its position in the South Asia and in the Central Asian Region. This statement is given by following scholars like Noor Ul Haq (2011), Fazal Ul Rahman (2012) and Tan Tai Yong (2010) speak of Pakistan's strategic importance for China. Haq (2011) opines that the relations between the two countries as an 'all weather friendship' holding common objectives of fighting terrorism, religious extremism and separatism within their territories. Willem Van Kemenade (2010) stated that China-Pakistan is perhaps the most incongruent allies in the world. In spite of religious differences, China and Pakistan becomes the real allies. China use Pakistan as the back door to the Indian Ocean and the Middle East and prevent India from becoming the dominant power in South Asia when it relations are deter with Moscow. He also state China played a key role in development of nuclear bomb and ballistic missiles, China has own strategic interests to containing Soviet-allied India. Rizwan (2012) stated in his article namely "Pakistan-China relations: where they go from here" that China and Pakistan leadership described that relationship between two countries is higher than mountains, deeper than the Oceans, and of late, Sweeter than honey, is unique in the present world and the relationship is based on sound geostrategic and realist calculations. He also state the main contributing factor for diversifying and strengthening is economic relations and there is no chance of any problems emerging for this relationship. It has been analysed China-Pakistan relationship further solidified, because China's investments in different projects and people to people contact with each other. Shahzad Akhter

(2011) stated in his article that China and Pakistan have maintained cordial relations for the last fifty-eight years, since the established diplomatic relations in 1951. With the beginning of the 1960s, however, a number of factors pushed China and Pakistan closer to each other. Those included the Sino-India and Pak-India rivalry and Pakistan's disappointment with its western allies, India's refusal to Pakistan's proposal for the joint defence of the subcontinent, and the US arming of India against China. Consequently, both China and Pakistan maintained good relations which have deepened and strengthened with the passage of time. Author said both countries survived geostrategic changes at the regional and international level. Zhang Jiegen (2012) stated in his article that there are several geopolitical shifts in South Asia after cold war, but China and Pakistan preserves its original status and nuclear issue plays a pivotal role in the strategic cooperation between the two countries. Beijing's motivations in the transferring materials and technology to Pakistan derive largely from Chinese concerns about the regional balance of power and a part of a Chinese effort to pursue a strategy of containment in its enduring rivalry with India. He additionally said China-Pakistan nuclear cooperation will pushed India-Pakistan towards arms race. Fazal Ul Rahman (2006) stated that Pakistan has successfully transformed the challenges into opportunities and has deepened its economic relation with China on the account that both security and economic development are inter-linked. Further, Tan Tai Yong (2010) concludes in his study that the recent developments in Indo-US relations has brought the two countries closer as allies, that has resulted in elevated significance of Pakistan for China.

With regard to India, a sub branch of this school of thought has brought to the surface a major rationale for the Sino-Pak alliance and that is to contain a rising India and US role in maintaining the balance of power in the South Asian region. Rizwan Naseer, B Raman and M Jabeen. Rizwan Naseer (2011), in his article "Dynamics of Balance of Power in South Asia: Implications for Regional Peace" Evaluates the role of China in the South Asian regional affairs and examines the geographical location of the region. He affirms China has a positive role in the region and that is to maintain the balance of power in the region so that it does not tilt in favour of India that can eventually

threaten its security. (M. Rasgotra, 2012) opined that China strategically growing influence in Island states in the Indian Ocean, to develop footprints in the Indian neighbours, on the other hand India revise their policies towards their neighbourhood. He further state Maldives share religious and cultural ties with Pakistan – a bonding which India would not aspiration to be cultivated into a stronger politico - military partnership which might prove hostile to Indian interests in this region. Growing links between Jihadists of Maldives and Pakistan in recent years is another cause of discomfort for India. After some recent reports of such linkages, there is renewed concern about the use of the Indian Ocean islands as a possible launching pad for attacks against India. In recent years, many Maldivian nationals have been drawn to Pakistan to join the Lashkar-e-Taiba and other Islamic terrorist groups. Another cause of concern is the emerging trilateral ties between China, Maldives and Pakistan. According to some reports, Pakistan had played a key role in pushing the Maldivian government to finalising the Marao-deal with China. The strategic relationship between China, Pakistan and Maldives destabilize Indian national security. B Raman (2012) emphasizes that China has placed its 'strategic eggs' in the South Asian basket. Its relations with Pakistan is grounded on the fact that in any case of hostility with either Pakistan or itself, India would be faced with a potential military threats on two sides, thereby dividing its capabilities to virtually half. However, he also warns that it can be a potential provocation for India to cross the 'red line' in the issues that might crop up either between India and Pakistan or between India and China. M Jabeen (2012) outlines that China-Pakistan relation is considered as "All weather friendship" and both the countries has benefited through this relation. Author also argues that China-Pakistan relationship is based on the common interest of the both the countries. He argues that this deep-rooted friendship has a strategic partnership has not facing number of ups and downs. It is observed that local, national and international developments frequently affect bilateral relations between two states. China-Pakistan friendship have withstood the tested of time in international politics. The world has-been continuously transforming since Pakistan has established diplomatic relations with China. Nothing has changed in terms of mutual understanding but the only change is that the relationship becomes stronger with

each passing phase such as in defence, economic, political and strategic. Pakistan foreign policy pays special attention towards China, because the prime objective of the small nation's foreign policy is to ensure its survival or independence and it becomes the prime challenge for the states, which are dependent on superpowers both economically and militarily. Ma-Jiali 2012 (China South Asia strategic engagements), in this research paper author emphasis that South Asia is emerging important concern for international politics because of China's close neighbourhood. It has considered that China has huge strategic interests with South Asia region and approach to all South Asian countries for their security interest. Author stated that it is necessary for South Asian countries to solve border disputes because they are interrelated to security of the South Asian countries. In the second argument author mentioned that it is essential to handle properly South Asian major powers and try to exclude the internal disputes and to promote regional cooperation. It is considered that the primary aim of China's diplomacy in South Asia is to handle its relationship with India and Pakistan. China has positive attitude towards the regional cooperation and all South Asian countries to solve the problems of poverty and backwardness and to promote regional security and development through collective efforts and eliminate the soil of terrorism in region. H.K. Awasthy, 2013 (China-South Asia Political Relation: A View Point of Nepal) in this book author stated that China is well aware about the South Asian countries interstate relations, which are affected for their size and power. Consequently, China took steps to develop cordial relations with these small countries and helped them to become independent with providing economic and military assistance to drawdown role of India and western countries among them. The 1962 war between China and India, China realized the importance of their neighbouring countries as important for their security. China strategically stabilize these small countries to protect its frontier region, Author further opined that China stabilize South Asian Security with providing assistance to those small countries, one hand and destabilize Indian security environment with providing arms and defence equipments to those small states. Rajshree Jetly (2012)in which research paper author examines Sino-Pakistan relations stand out that China-Pakistan have withstood the pressures of time and shifting geo-strategic conditions. This paper



states the defence and security dimensions of the Sino-Pak relationship which have been based on collective strategic interests and geo-political goals. He analyses some of the important political and geo-strategic issues distressing this relationship. Author analysis the regional and international dimensions, in particular the importance of India and the United States to Sino-Pak relations. It examines the path of Indo-US strategic ties and the downhill increase of US-Pak relations which triggers its own logic on Sino-Pak security dynamics. He argues that as long as India-Pakistan peace process leftovers based on the issue of terrorism and Kashmir, and Pakistan's relations with US are a down spiral, Pakistan would continue to view China as its most strategic ally in counterbalancing India, and to some extent the US. China will also have an inherent stake in shoring Pakistan's political and military stability in terms of its long-term security interests in the South, Central and Western Asian region, and examination the increasing existence and power contour of the US. Finally the paper concludes that in spite of some strains and pressures in the relationship, Sino-Pak friendship will undergo in the foreseeable future.

A second school of thought believes that the Pakistan-China strategic alliance threatens South Asian peace and stability and holds particular importance for India. Proponents of this view are Amit Gupta (2009), Tan Tai Yong (2010), Senge H. Sering (2012) and Fazal-ur- Rahman. Fazal-ur- Rahman (2012) concludes that Pakistan's survival is important to Chinese dominance and influence in South Asia and the Muslim world. China does not hesitate to use Pakistan as a tool to protect and achieve its interests through it. However, in this process, a major consequence of this alliance results in India being threatened by it and South Asian security compromised. Amit Gupta (2009) has emphasized that China's path to raise a superpower in the world is most doubts for the South Asia for their security. China-Pakistan relations is become threat for the South Asian security balance. Tan Tai Yong (2010) in his book he states that, China-Pakistan relationship was built in the period of post cold war. The recent developments in indo-US relations, that have pull the two countries closer allies have further increase Pakistan's significance. Both the countries counter Indo-US significance in South Asia. Senge H Sering (2012) has evaluated that Pakistan serves as a key to Chin's dominance and influence in the

South Asia and the Muslim world. Strategically China has developed friendly relations with other countries for the purpose to counter Indian and western influence in the region. Pakistan continuously becomes a tool to protect interests of China in the South Asia. Parama Sinha Polit (2011) stated in there article that China and India both is keen to maintain peace and security in their neighbourhood. They have analysed that the external powers are very important for their economic growth and consequently regional and global strategic influences. They further stated that China's interest in south Asia use soft power and employment and tries to draw relevant inferences for India's soft power in the region are analyzed with respect to public diplomacy as well as economic assistance. Justin logan (2013) emphasis in his research paper that in the last few decades US Administration focuses on the Middle East for their energy rich resources and security of their energy consumption. But in the last few years focus of US administration drown towards Asia, because in present scenario Asia become most important factor for the international politics. The Obama Administration pivots towards Asian Pacific. Author stated that the main reason behind the Obama Asia pivot is China's economic growth and rising military power in the region. China's rising military power and its policy "String of Pearls" is the major concern for the Washington's policy.

Another School of thought belief that since India is immediately affected by the Sino-Pak strategic alliance, India should take concrete measures to solve its bilateral territorial disputes with both Pakistan and China. This view is being held by Anna Orton (2012). He believes that the disputes that India has with China and Pakistan have already triggered several wars. In the light of three nuclear power involved in the disputes, it is high time to settle them at the earliest as possible. Ishtiaq Ahmed (2010).In this paper, the author has opined that the 1962 crushing defeat in the border war with China was the beginning of a rapid modernization and expansion of the Indian armed forces. Since then China and Pakistan became all weather partners and compelled India to be ready to fight a war on two fronts. Moreover, periodic Indian military exercises along the Pakistan border always kept caused great concern for Pakistan. Author blamed that India's nuclear test of 1974 further boosted the arms

race in South Asia. India's protracted Operation Brass tacks during 1986 and 1987 along the hundreds of kilometres-long India-Pakistan border generated profound anxiety in Pakistan. India's nuclear tests in 1998 added fuel to the fire and triggered Pakistan to conduct its nuclear explosion which took place after two weeks of India's explosion. B Raman(2012) In this article, the author has brought to the surface that China is consistently providing support to Pakistan in the nuclear and missile technology despite the latter's role in Xinjiang and support of the Taliban of Afghanistan which has been training the Muslim fundamentalist of Xinjiang. In the views of the author, it poses security concerns for India. Despite the improvement in the relations with India, China has not yet given up its past strategy of keeping India preoccupied on its northern border with China and western border with Pakistan, in order to avoid India from emerging as an economic and military power at par with China. After its nuclear test of 1974, India has exercised restraints and waited patiently for 24 years, hoping for universal nuclear disarmament at the global level including China, which is not forthcoming whereas on the other hand the collusion of China and Pakistan was not contained by US as was expected by India. Ultimately India explodes explosion in 1998. Razivan zab (2003) author concluded that Pakistan and China friendship has described by the leaders of the both countries as time tested and All weather friendship, it is well known fact that China-Pakistan relation is unique in international system. Author asserts that China-Pakistan relation is based on the common interests and it is analysed that this relationship is further diversified, strengthen and improve their economic conditions. It has been concluded that there is no chance of any problem emerging to limit such relationship because there are four main issues will be important in shaping up the darnning outlook of Sino-Pak relations. Terrorism, Security of China personal engaged in different projects in Pakistan, People to People contact and India's.

### **Knowledge Gap**

Both the countries have good relations since 1950. This relationship effects South Asia region particularly India. The available literature lacks in:

1: How the strategic relations between China and Pakistan affects South Asian regional stability and in particularly India.

2: How the China-Pakistan strategic relationship will further 'push' India in favour of US and how India would be able to resist itself from being used by the US for its aims and ambitions.

3: How the recent geopolitical shifts solidified Sino-Pak Relationship.

## CHAPTER III

### **Rationale and Scope of China-Pakistan Strategic Relationship**

#### **(Building of Strategic Relationship)**

South Asia is Geo-strategically important for world due to its unique geographical position i.e. Cross-roads of South Asia, the Middle East, Central Asia and western countries. The region is encircled on the South by Indian Ocean and on land by West Asia, Central Asia, East Asia and Southeast Asia. India and Pakistan are the key players of the region, and both possess the nuclear weapons. External powers such as China and the US have always played an important geopolitical role, especially with regard to security. To think of South Asia without China is inconvincible.

Sino-Indian war of 1962 brought two countries strategically closer to each other. During the war India got diplomatic support from the west especially from the US. As a result China and Pakistan signed a border agreement in 1963. Both the nations agreed to construct a road link between China's Xingjian regions with the northern area of Pakistan. In the same year China and Pakistan signed first trade and travel agreement which helped China to connect the world particularly Muslim countries. Since then the bilateral relationship progressed and high level diplomatic exchange increased significantly. During the Indo-Pak war of 1965, China assisted Pakistan both militarily and strategically (Mohan, 2003). China not only assisted Pakistan during Indo-Pak war of 1965, but also maintained its status quo on Kashmir issue as a disputed territory, forcefully occupied by India.

Islamabad looks at Beijing as an important partner in providing its assistance in national security needs and with critical aid and investment to improve Pakistan's weak infrastructure, like construction of Karakorum Highway, Heavy Mechanical Complex at Texila, Chashma Nuclear Plant and joint defence production etc (Bhatty, 2005). On the other hand Beijing counts Islamabad to strongly support its position in Taiwan, Tibet and Xingjian as Chinese territories over a long period of time. Therefore, China justified its pose in assuring ethnic stability in these areas.

China often relies on Pakistan to act as a mediator for its ties with the other Islamic countries of the world especially the Middle East, Afghanistan and Central Asian Republics (Mohan, 2003). During Indo-Pak war of 1971, China supported Pakistan economically by providing militarily by transferring arms and politically by using its veto in the United Nations Security Council (UNSC), against the move to recognize Bangladesh as an independent sovereign nation (Dittmer, 2005). In addition to this, Sino-Pak relations evolved for many reasons, some of the important are discussed below.

### **Sino-Pak Strategic Embrace from 1947 to 1990**

The strategic relationship between China and Pakistan is discussed, in the light of the triangular involvement among India, China and Pakistan as below:

#### **1: India factor**

The first and most important aspect of the strategic relationship between the two countries is that of India. As both aim to contain India in its geo-strategic outreach, there emerges a triangular dynamics between the three countries. Bhola (1986) (Pakistan-China relations: search for political and strategic relationship) stated that as a triangular relationship both countries have common factor of antipathy towards India. The Chinese leaders' perceive India as a principal contradicter in the South Asian region. Therefore the most important objective of their strategic relations is to virtually 'tie down' India to the South Asian region. Thus, it is this very objective that brought both countries on the common platform against India (Kardon, 2011: 4-7). Since the establishment of Sino-Pak diplomatic relationship both countries take India as a major threat for their national security because both countries share borders with India. China and Pakistan fought four wars with India, the major reasons behind these wars are territorial disputes, Line of Actual Control (LAC) and Kashmir issue (jetly, 2012). According to Mussarar Jabeen (2012) China worries more to India as a competitor and rival than India. After Indo-China war (1962), China takes major consideration to contain India. Therefore, China helps Pakistan strategically to counter engage India with Pakistan. Upon test of five underground nuclear bombs by

India, both countries stated that it became threat to regional security. Chinese president Dong Biwn stated that India's possession of nuclear weapons influences balance of power in the region and becomes major threat for China's national security. China helps Pakistan economically as well as to modernize Pakistan's military to contain India's power and engage its peer competitor with Pakistan. In order to counter India's nuclear test, China Strategically helped Pakistan to build nuclear weapon to stabilize regional security and balance of power for instance Pakistan's Nuclear Weapon and Chashma Nuclear Power Plant (Jabeen, 2012)

According to Islamabad's perception, India is the major threat for Pakistan's national security and integrity. Pakistan fought three wars with India on Kashmir issue. As a conflict partner Pakistan felt insecure with rising India's military and economic power in the South Asia. Ghulam Ali acknowledged in the article "Sino-Pak relations: India factor" (2003) that Indian missile technology and nuclear weapons are key factors for Pakistan's alliance towards China. The leadership of Pakistan expressed Indian nuclear weapons and missile technology as a major threat for both China and Pakistan. Consequently, both countries took major considerations to contain India. Zhang Jiegen (2012) explained in his article (China-Pakistan nuclear relation after the cold war and its international implication) stated that China-Pakistan nuclear cooperation is the result of India's nuclear test and Indo-US cooperation. Therefore, Pakistan's foreign policy took major considerations to improve its relations towards China. Consequently, China provides assistance to Pakistan in nuclear weapons and missile technology (Kan: 2013).

### **Chinese Interest in Pakistan**

Pakistan is geo-strategically, politically and geographically important country from China's point of view. This important relationship serves China's vital geo-strategic objectives in the region. First, their relation with Pakistan provides a useful counterbalance to India's outreach in South Asia. It helps to check India's growing presence and influence in the region. China is using Pakistan to confront India with the possibility of a two-front war (Beckly, 2012). The second interest is that Pakistan opens a possibility for US-Chinese cooperation. During China's isolation in the world,

Pakistan gave diplomatic support and helped to break its isolation. It played an important role in bridging the gap between China and the United States (Cheng 2010). The third is China's interest in energy rich Middle East and Central Asia region. China uses Pakistan as a corridor to get access to these regions, China's interest in the Gwadar Port is well established because of its location. It is geographically very important as a junction of South Asia, Central Asia and the Middle East. It is close to Iranian border and lies at the Strait of Hormuz, a key world oil supply route. Experts have analyzed that the port could turn out to be China's naval base in the Indian Ocean and facilitate Beijing to observe Indian and US naval activities in the Indian Ocean (Ali 2013). The port has called to be links with China's 'string of pearls' strategy and the last one is to contain Islamic fundamentalism and Uighur Terrorism in their Xinjiang province of China (Doherty, 2011). Chinese Leaders Analysed that Pakistan is the only country that has the political will and military capabilities to stand up against India and thereby prevents Indian hegemony over the region, thus fulfilling a key objective of China's South Asia policy. Paul K-Kerr and Mary Beth Nikita in their research paper titled "Pakistan nuclear weapon proliferation and security issue" (2013) opines that China helps Pakistan in providing blueprints for nuclear weapons and missile technology and other weapons. India perceives this as a support to maintain strategic imbalance between the two South Asian giants, there by worsening the security situation in South Asia region. Shirley A. Kan (2013) mentioned in his article that US, India and other western countries charged China for transmitting the nuclear and missile Technology particularly Hatif I, II, III, and Shaheen versions to Pakistan. China did not surrender to US warning and helped Pakistan in the nuclear arena in the aftermath of American and Western sanctions (Jabeen, 2012).

### **Soviet Occupation of Afghanistan: implications on China-Pakistan Alliance**

Another important development of Pakistan-China alliance is the Soviet occupation of Afghanistan and the resulting international front against USSR, and the Jihad against the red army. Both Pakistan and China were worried about the military presence of Soviet and the threat it posed to the entire region and thus prepared to



bring together their policies to face the challenge (Bhatty, 2005). A joint committee was established in 1982, for trade and technology development between two countries, the relationship progressed and even after the disintegration of USSR and end of cold war, the threat of soviet comes to an end, However, both countries took advantage and made joint efforts to make this relationship more stronger (Statement, 2006).<sup>6</sup> After withdrawal of red Army from Afghanistan US leaders changed their policy and stopped aid and equipment support to Pakistan and also put ban on it.

### **Xinjiang and Counter-Terrorism**

The rising extremism in Pakistan became threat for China's national integration. Leaders of China perceived that the extremist groups of Pakistan helped Xinjiang Muslim rebels against China and also stated that this factor posed danger for the China's national integration and Security. Because, Xinjiang is an important region of China for the reason that Xinjiang is one of the largest province of China and the second largest in the oil and gas production (Dawn, 2012).<sup>7</sup> Muslim populations in the region have been fighting for their separate state for a long time and it has been examined that Xingjian became the centre of revolt against the Chinese central authorities. China fears that separatism sentiments of Uighurs can undermine its national integrity and control. Therefore, it became the reason why China showed negligence in openly criticizing Pakistan. Pakistan ensured China that rising extremist sentiments in Pakistan will be curbed so as to control and endanger China's interests in Xinjiang (Jetly 2008).

### **Pakistan's Nuclear Weapon Quest**

After India's test of nuclear weapon technology in 1974, Pakistan realized that its old rival possess nuclear technology capable of converting it into weapons that became a great cause of concern for the country. On the other hand China did not want to see India as a regional competitor and emerging power (Dasgupta 2013). Thus, China helped Pakistan to develop Nuclear power in order to crush down upon India's

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<sup>6</sup>"Joint statement between the People's Republic of China, and the Islamic Republic of Pakistan" *Pakistan Ministry of Foreign Affairs*, 22 February 2006,

<sup>7</sup>'Xinjiang Connection'. Dawn (3 August 2012) <http://www.dawn.com/2011/08/03/xinjiang-connection>.

aspirations to play a larger regional role. Thereby it has encouraged a nuclear arms race within the South Asia region. The Consequences is a continuous arms race between the two countries. The China-Pakistan alliance took a new shape with the nuclear cooperation of two countries. China thought that India's nuclear weapon became major threat for China's national security and destabilization of regional security (Ramana 2011). China has thus made use of this coalition to "achieve double strategic objectives of encirclement of India, and a proliferation buffer, wherein Pakistan in turn further proliferated Chinese nuclear technology, giving China flexibility in investigations" (Kan 2013). Joshi opined in his article "China-Pakistan Nuclear Deal: A Real Politics Fait Accompli" that China doesn't extend its nuclear umbrella to Pakistan, but uses Pakistan as an "extended proxy" towards India (Joshi, 2011).

## **US-INDIA RELATIONS**

The first phase of Indo-US relationship was started in the period after Sino-India war. Nehru put non-alignment policy aside and looks towards West for help against China, it is considered as peak time of Indo-US relationship (Kur, 1997). In 1980 and 1985 both countries signed agreement for transfer of technology and in the same period both countries agreed to establish joint steering committees to encourage coordination between the armed and naval services. Next phase of relationship started after cold war, collapse of Soviet Union India needed a new and consistent trading partner and also a faithful supporter against its conventional rivals China and Pakistan (Bukhar 2011).

The Indo-US relationship became major factor of Sino-Pak strategic relationship. Both China and Pakistan professed that Indo-US strategic partnership is the major threat for South Asian countries. The Indo-US relation comprises a broad range of area such as political, economic, trade, technology, security etc. In 2009, Barack Obama reaffirmed the global strategic partnership between India and United States. After a year US president visited India and expressed that the emerging relationship is one of

the defining partnership of the 21<sup>st</sup> century (Nair, 2012). Both the countries launched a ministerial-level strategic dialogue. The main areas of cooperation in Indo-US bilateral relations are Strategic Cooperation, Energy and climate change, Education and Development, Economy, Trade and Agriculture, Science and Technology and health and innovation (Mohan 2010). The first meeting was held in 2010 and the fourth meeting was held in New Delhi in 2013 (Hindustan times, July 23, 2013).

The next phase of Indo-US relationship began after 9/11 attack. The relationship between two countries further strengthened, when the US President, George W Bush changed its policy towards China and called China a “strategic competitor” rather than a “strategic partner”. The Bush administration decided to help India to become a major regional power of South-Asia to contain China. Therefore, the China factor has played an important role in the development of Indo-US strategic partnership. This newly found strategic partnership between India and US immediately became a major concern for Chinese security and volatile for Pakistan.

China- Pakistan relationship become barrier in the way of US interests in the South Asia region, therefore US leaders realize that, if China remains the regional power who has the potential to challenge or reject US role in South Asia, Central Asia, East Asia and Middle East etc. On the other hand India has been concerned about the Chinese illegal military arms and equipments rapprochement with Pakistan that has potential to threaten India’s security and its influence in Asian continent (Banning 2006). As a result US helped India tactically to shape the security environment and the key objective is to assessment of the China’s rising role and also desire to counter China jointly (Green, 2009). The US relationship with India is an example of its willingness and ability to rapidly realign its relationships to suit its interests “The US had imposed restrictions to limit India’s nuclear development, however because of its national interests it changed its legislation to allow the sharing of civilian nuclear material and technology with India, as a balance to China’s power and its nuclear relationship with Pakistan” (Fiegenbaum, 2010). According to US Foreign Security

Hillary Clinton, US accelerated their acts to protect interests in Asian region (Mastanduno 2009).

Chinese strategists remain concerned about US attempts to encircle China and the deep effect on Chinese security of an eventual integration of India into a US alliance. As a result China needs to remain vigilant against the growing network running “from Japan to India” that would suffocate China (Krishnan, 2010). This strategic partnership between these two countries has major implications for China and its relations with the two countries, India and US. The large and rapid increase in US power influence and military presence in South Asia is aimed at putting China in a secondary position in the region. China considers this strategic partnership as a potential threat for itself and it used Tibet as a strategic pressure point. US strategically helps India in defence field to restrain China’s role in South Asia, on the other hand, Japan will emerge in the South East Asia to counter Chinese policy (Hassan 2011). On this occasion China argues that US presence in Indian Ocean mainly to counter Chinese strategic objectives in South and South East Asia (Nawaz 2007). On the other hand Pakistan as a traditional ally of US realized that US tilt towards India is against the interests of Pakistan. Consequently, Pakistan Strategy tilts towards China.

### **1991-Present-New logic of Sino-Pak Strategic Embrace**

The roots of this phase of Sino-Pak strategic embrace lies in the events of 9/11 and the US war on terror. Pakistan gained geopolitical importance for the time when US waged war on terrorism in Afghanistan. USA Involvement in Indian Ocean and China’s search of oil resources etc.

### **China’s search of oil Resources**

China’s energy demands in 21st century has increased tremendously as compared to its previous records, China is rising as world power in every sphere. Therefore, to

sustain their economic growth China needs sustainability of oil resources.<sup>8</sup> Currently China depends on foreign imports for over fifty percent of the oil it consumes, and half of this is imported from the Middle East. China has many reasons to worry about its energy security, lack of sufficient strategic petroleum reserve, severe pollution conditions and environmental problems (Khan: 2012). Facing this huge pressures and challenges, China's national oil companies (NOCs) began to fill short-run gaps in domestic demand from the global energy markets. The International Energy agency (IEA) has predicted that China's dependence on foreign energy will increase to over 60-70 percent of its total consumption in 2015. Such forecasts raise questions of whether China's growth is economically, socially, and politically sustainable and whether China's energy demand will crowd out other countries (Jian, 2011). Though Middle Eastern countries continue to be the most important suppliers of almost half of China's imported oil. China has attempted to reduce its dependence on imports from the volatile Middle East through investments in African countries such as Angola, Sudan, Libya, and the Congo, Russia and Central Asian countries such as Kazakhstan. Investments in these Central Asian countries can also significantly decrease sea-lane transportation risks (Jian 2011). In order to get direct access to Gwadar port, Pakistan is searching the way to transport crude oil through mountainous terrain to China's border. This could be accomplished via railway or pipeline and build Pakistan as an energy corridor for China by developing new rail and road networks. The linking of the two countries through rail and gas pipeline would ensure rapid trade and energy developments. Therefore, Pakistan is the only country which provides a land route to energy rich Central Asia. The other aspect is that all the Central Asian countries having Muslim majority population became helpful for China to establish its relations with them. Douglas and Neal stated in their article namely "Engaging the Muslim world, Public Diplomacy after 9/11 in the Arab Middle East, Afghanistan, and Pakistan" that 9/11 attack has create anti-American attitude among the Muslim countries and worsened the relationship between Pakistan and America too, which provide a chance for China to develop good relations with Muslim

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<sup>8</sup>LCDR, Cindy Hurst, 2007. "China's global quest for energy" 2007. Accessed on 27/9/2013  
<http://www.iags.org/chinasquest0107.pdf>

countries (Neal: 2013). Pakistan is also an important transit route for oil and gas from the Central Asian countries and from Iran. Consequently, China proposed a gas pipeline with Iran-Pakistan and China, which boost economy of these countries. United States spokesman Victoria Nuland, stated that “We have serious concerns if this project actually goes forward that the Iran Sanctions Act Would be triggered” (Daly, 2013).

### **Involvement of USA in Indian Ocean**

The end of cold war in 1990 changed world politics from bipolar to unipolar and United States of America emerged as super power. So that US wants to maintain its position in the world. US worries about the China’s rise in the last two decades in the world, so US took initiatives to stop China in rapidly growing economic and military power and its policy ‘String of pearls’ (Clinton, 2011). Therefore, Obama announced its Asia Pivot policy with an aim to rebalance the emerging Asian powers (Farshori 2013).<sup>9</sup> As a result of this policy China speed up the construction of Karakorum highway and rail link between Xinjiang provinces to Gwadar port. This rail and road link provide alternative route than volatile Sea route and also Gwader port provides strategic depth against Asia pivot Policy.

Another landmark of Sino-Pak strategic relationship was materialized when Osama Bin Ladin was killed in Pakistani territory (Abbottabad). As a result Pakistan and US relationship was detracted. Pakistani President Asif Ali Zardari stated that Pakistan had other options if its relationship will fade with Washington.<sup>10</sup> So for that Pakistan increased close and effective ties with China during the past decade will allow Islamabad to fill the gap arising from the prospect of reduce military aid from the United States.<sup>11</sup> It has been analysed that destabilized US-Pak relationship is beneficial for Sino-Pak strategic partnership (Alan 2012).

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<sup>9</sup>Kokab Farsori, 2013. “Pakistan-US relations deteriorate After Drone Strike” Voice of America. Accessed on 26/12/13 <http://www.voanews.com/content/pakistan-us-relations-deteriorate-after-drone-strike>

<sup>10</sup>Reuters 2013. “China treads carefully amid US-Pakistan rift” Tribune 2011, accessed on 27/12/13 <http://tribune.com.pk/story/266552/China-treads-carefully-amid-us-pakistan-rift/>

<sup>11</sup>Farhan Bokhari, “With US military aid out, Pakistan eyes China” 2011. CNSNEWS accessed on 27/12/13 <http://www.cbsnews.com/news/with-us-military-aid-cut-pakistan-eyes-China/>

## **Scope of China-Pakistan Strategic Relationship**

The all weather friendship of China-Pakistan is very significant for the both countries. It is well known fact that friendship between the two is based on common interests and trust bond, since establishment of their diplomatic relations in 1951. There are many ups and downs in the international politics, but the China-Pakistan friendship goes deeper and stronger year after year. In the year 2010 both countries celebrated 60<sup>th</sup> anniversary of diplomatic relationship. During the period Pakistani Prime Minister Yousf Raza Gilani stated that Sino-Pak friendship is higher than mountains, deeper than the Ocean, stronger than steel and sweeter than honey.<sup>12</sup> Sino-Pak two-sided relations have stood the test of time. China has always provided political, economic, humanitarian and diplomatic support to Pakistan (Akhtar, 2013). The scope of this partnership is mentioned below.

## **China-Pakistan Military Cooperation**

Pakistan's "all weather relationship" with China has endured a number of intermissions in the last six decades, in spite of the completely different type of changes in their political system. However, Pakistan has practiced a number of military regimes and democratic intervals in their political system on the other hand China has passed through number of domestic revolutions. China-Pakistan relationship went through an irreversible transformation after the Sino-India war 1962. Pakistan-China solved their border dispute in 1963. Subsequently, their relationship further solidified when China warned India during the Indo-Pak war in 1965 (Kumar 2006). In the year 1970s, world situation had taken a definite turn. China is keeping an eye over the events shaping up in South Asia during the violation uprising in West Pakistan. During the Indo-Pak war western countries (USA, USSR) helped India. Despite, Pakistan alliance with western block they supported India with economic and military aid. Leaders of Pakistan stated China is the trusted ally (Jetly 2008). This strategy of Pakistan pushed it closer to China for the purpose to expand its resources

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<sup>12</sup>Pak-China friendship is higher than mountains, deeper than ocean and sweeter than honey, 2010. The Nation accessed on 28/12/13. <http://www.nation.com.pk/islamabad/19-Dec-2010/PakChina-friendship-is-higher-than-mountains-deeper-than-ocean-and-sweeter-than-honey-PM>

of weapons and other equipments. China has never betrayed its relations with Pakistan at any time in history. Curtis affirmed in his article "Testimony before the U.S.-China Economic and Security Review" that China supports Pakistan for Self-sufficiency rather than to be dependent on it for military weapons. Pakistan has successfully built its defence-related infrastructure with Chinese help for example, Al-Khalid Tank, MI-8 helicopters, Red Arrow-8 antitank missile, F-7P aircraft, K-8 aircraft, Hatif-1 surface to surface missile, Hatif-II, III and Shaheen-I, that has played a vital role in the country's defence sector. In another article Rostham Kabraji declared that Pakistan has accomplished a number of huge projects and joint ventures for example, JF-17, F-22P and in Ballistic missiles (Kardon, 2011). China has assisted Pakistan in all the three dimensions of its armed forces army, air force and navy. Heavy Mechanical complex is the first joint project which was built in Pakistan followed by additional manufacture facilities of the Pakistan Ordnance factories and the aeronautical complex. The two countries have jointly completed the Karakoram-8 which replaces the ageing T-37 fighters and the super-7 fighters.

China-Pakistan relationship further solidified at the time when India made its first nuclear test during the year 1974. China was the only country which reacted to Pakistan's call for nuclear protection from the five-member "nuclear club", assuring Pakistan to give full and absolute support against foreign aggression and interferences. In the same year China had sent MIG-19 fighter jets, tanks and other weapons to Pakistan as part of a \$300 million economic and military aid agreement (Rizvi 2004). The death of General Zia is major factor of Sino-Pak alliance. His policy, Pakistan will not depend on one military source come end in the time when his political career comes to an end in 1988. In the same year Pakistan signed two agreements with China which increased Islamabad's military dependence on Beijing. China-Pakistan signed two agreements which envisaged, inter alia, the purchase of military goods, mutual research, and manufacturing of arms and the transfer of technology from any country. This agreement helped China to become first military seller of weapons to Pakistan. India claimed that any "deepening nuclear ties



between Pakistan-China" can have serious implications for India's national security.<sup>13</sup> Mason stated that Pakistan's nuclear-capable cruise missiles have the potential to complicate India's decision-making calculus and even constrain Indian strategic behaviour; he also stated Babur and Ra'ad have brought the fundamental dilemma in Indian defence planning vis-à-vis Pakistan into sharp relief (Mason, 2012).

In the Musharraf regime, Pakistan again came under US restrictions. Therefore, China is the only sources of arms imports. Both the countries came into a deal for manufacturing of fourth generation fighter aircraft the JF -17. They would like to design a low cost high performance multirole combat aircraft to meet strategic necessities and also cut down imports (Kan: 2013). This joint venture deal will help Pakistan to patch up with few aircraft producing countries. A joint development and production agreement was signed in June 1999 with China Aviation and Export Corporation (CATIC) and Pakistan. Both countries decided to contribute 50% of the estimated \$150 million in development costs. Additionally, Pakistan has finalized a deal to purchase of squadrons of Chinese J-10. Those are considered as backbone of Pakistani air force. Pakistan became one among those nations who make the fighter jets in 2003, when it take first flight in August and it is handed over to Pakistan Air force in 2009 by Pakistan Aeronautical Complex (Shamsi: 2012). China assisted Pakistan in the development of indigenous missile and nuclear program. Western countries blamed China for assisting Pakistan M-11 missiles and sale Ship-based medium sized Z-9c helicopters to Pakistan (Burr, 2004). China has also proven to be a consistent supplier of conventional military equipment of Pakistan. In the year 2006, China-Pakistan finalized a US \$600 million defence deal, which included the construction of four frigates, Upgrading of Karachi port and transfer of technology. Another landmark of defence cooperation started when they signed a deal for Chinese aircraft-ZDK-03.<sup>14</sup>

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<sup>13</sup>NWEs Bharati 2013, "China Signs vital Nuclear deal with Pak, India protests. Accessed on 18/12/13 <http://www.news Bharati.com/Encyc/2013/10/15/China-signs-vital-nuclear-deal-with-Pak-India-protests.aspx>

<sup>14</sup>Hindustan times, Pakistan, China finalise \$600 million defence deal. 2006, accessed on 23/12/13 <http://www.hindustantimes.com/News-Feed/NM11/Pak-China-finalise-600-million-defence-deal/Article1-100959.aspx>

Pakistan and China initiated its joint venture in the field of navy in 1994. The first project was the joint manufacturing of gun and missile boats at Pakistan Naval dockyard and Karachi Shipyard and Engineering Works. The technology came from China and the components from Germany and USA. Pakistan constructs coastal tankers, missile boats, Agosta 90-B submarines and mine hunters with the help of Chinese technology (Nawaz, 2004). The further acquisitions in the current decade include 24 C-802/CSS-N-8 anti-ship missile and four II class Jiangwei frigates. In 2006 Pakistan ordered four F-22P type frigates. The first Pakistan Naval Ship Zulfiqar, destroyer was in 2009, the second Pakistan Naval Ship Shamsheer in 2010 and the other two are in 2013. These frigates can carry one Z-9EC helicopter. The other naval defence production plans includes four modern Combat ships to build along with F-22P at KS&EW. They also have planned to manufacture of mine hunters, tankers missile and petrol boats (Jetly 2008). In the year 2010 Pakistan was the destination for 60 percent of China's total arms sales. According to the statistical data China exported \$3.195 million worth weapons to Pakistan in 2000-2010. That is helpful for all the three fields Air, Army and Navy. Kanwal Sibal, stated in his article that China's main objective is to strategically counterbalance India through Pakistan, give it the muscle to continue its confrontation with India and the capacity to deter serious Indian military reprisals for its adversarial policies. China has plan to shape the reality of any direct India-China nuclear rivalry, transferring such rivalry to the subcontinent, making India come out as the initiator of a nuclear arms race in the region, and creating in the mind of the international community a dangerous India-Pakistan nuclear equation with the Potential of a nuclear conflict erupting between two (Bur, 2009).

### **China's Assistance of Missile Technology to Pakistan**

It is in appreciative to discuss Sino-Pak Strategic gains without discussing missile technology assistance of China to Pakistan. It has been stated by the Western media that China contributed ballistic and cruise missile capacity to Pakistan. This proliferation activity has contentious issue in US-China relations. In 2002, George W.

Bush Administration imposed sanctions for China's missile technology proliferations in Pakistan. Shirley A. Kan stated in his article namely, (China and proliferation of Weapons of Mass Destruction and Missiles: Policy Issues) that Pakistan did receive M-9 and M-11 missiles from China in 1990. However, China denied the report and express that we have sold some conventional weapons to Pakistan (Kan, 2013: 3-6). However, Saunders and Jing-dong stated in his article that China began negotiating the sale of M-11 ballistic missiles with Pakistan in the 1980s and signed a sale contract in 1988. They also opine that this was a starting period of missile technology transfer between China-Pakistan. Pakistan's announced his successful test of ballistic missile Hatf-1 mount questions on China-Pakistan relationship and it is alighted that China assisted Pakistan to develop missiles and also some European companies helped Pakistan in missile program. It has been reported all the Hatf missiles versions are developed with China's assistance and the Ghaznavi missile is the version of M-11 missile or may be even repainted.<sup>15</sup> In 2006, Pakistan tested another missile (Shaheen-1), is believed to be a scaled up version of M-11s single-stage with range of 750km. Pakistan tested another missile (Shaheen -2) or hatf-6 in year 2011 which is believed to be based on the Chinese two-stage solid propellant missile M-18 with the maximum range of 2,000 to 2,500 km. The Chinese assistance accelerated in this area after Pakistan's nuclear tests in 1998. China also helps Pakistan in the development of surface-to-air missile Anza, Ammonium Per chlorate, and Special metal and electronic used anti-tank missile (Ohrenstein, 2004). Pakistan got sufficient number of missiles with Chinese assistance and takes some relief against from India's high missile technology. The US is concerned that Chinese missile transfers could lead to instability in South Asia as India and Pakistan continue to engage in a regional arms race, heightening the risk of military confrontation between the two countries (CNS News2000).<sup>16</sup> Which could turn highly destabilize the permanent

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<sup>15</sup>CNS News. "China's Missile Exports and Assistance to Pakistan" 2002. Accessed on 18/12/13 [http://cns.miis.edu/archive/country\\_india/China/mpakpos.htm](http://cns.miis.edu/archive/country_india/China/mpakpos.htm)

hostility between the two countries.<sup>17</sup> The territorial disputes exist with Pakistan is alarming India's national security. Ultimately, Pakistan's nuclear-capable cruise missiles have the potential to complicate India's decision-making calculus and even confine Indian strategic behaviour. Pakistan's cruise missile will pose a serious challenge to India's fledgling missile defence system (Mason, 2012). These missiles have brought more insecurity and tensions in the region instead of positive claims by proliferation optimists. The two countries of the region are seriously engaged in modifying and refining these delivers system. According to Jeffry S, there are several strategic and foreign policy rationales behind Chinese missile exports and assistance to Pakistan. Over the years China has provided Pakistan with a wide range of major conventional weapons systems and the two countries have also developed a close partnership in various defence cooperation programs, initially this strategic relationship grow out of the mutual needs of both countries for countering the Soviet and Indian (Hussain, 2001). Consequently, Indian decision makers took major initiative to develop their missile system that worsen security environment of the region and on the other hand compel India and Pakistan for arms race. India starts to develop indigenously weapons to counter Pak-Sino missile cooperation by this arms race India acquired number of weapon to release the pressure of Sino-Pak missile technology. Such as

#### **India indigenous Missile Technology**

Name of eapon	Year of Use	MANUFACTURED IN DRDO
Prithvi 3 version	1988-2004	Defense Research And Development Organization
Trishul	Feb 2008	DRDO
Akash	2009	DRDO
Nag	2013	DRDO
Agni 5 versions	2002-2013	DRDO
Astra	2012	DRDO
K-15 Sagarika	2012	DRDO
BrahMos	2012	DRDO and Russian federation (BrohMos Aerospace private Limited)
Tanks: Arjun	1972	DRDO
Rustom aircraft	2010	DRDO

Source: Data accessed at <http://drdo.gov.in/drdo/English/index.jsp?pg=homebody.jsp>

<sup>17</sup>Nyan Chanda and Susan V. Lawrence, "US-China Relations: Final Deadline," *Far Eastern Economic Review (internet edition)*, 18 May 2000. Accessed at [http://cns.miis.edu/archive/country\\_india/china/mpakpos.htm](http://cns.miis.edu/archive/country_india/china/mpakpos.htm) on 25/9/2013

## **Karakorum Highway: A strategic link Between China and Pakistan**

After the US assault on Afghanistan in 2001, China Strategically desires to make Physical link with energy rich Middle East and Central Asia Region. China deliberately decided to invest in Gwadar Port and Karakorum Highway which afford China a Physical link with such energy rich countries. This link provides opportunity to China for easy access to the Street of Hormuz and Suez Canal which was unimaginable for China. This road connects the strategic trading post of Kashgar in Xinjiang to Pakistan (Pehrson, 2006: 11-14). It has been analysed that India has much alarmed with this strategic link, such road passes through the disputed territory so-called as Azad Kashmir. It is estimated by leaders of India that the strategic route would facilitate Chinese intervention in the expected new Indo-Pak war (Pehrson 2006:12-16).

Recently, Sino-Pak signed eight agreements among these agreements one is construction of a 200km-long tunnel (worth \$8 billion in cost). This corridor will link Pakistan's Gwadar port on the Arabian Sea and Kashghar in Xingiang province of China. It has been analysed that completion of Karakorum Highway relieved Pakistan's geo-strategic pressure. The highway enabled Pakistan to access Gligit-Baltistan and the North-Eastern valleys of North West frontier Province (NWFP). This helped Pakistan strengthen its military bases near Line of Control and also increase the ability of its troops to penetrate swiftly and deeply into ladakh and the Kashmir valley.

From the Chinese perception Karakorum Highway is important strategic link for China, because United States presence in the Indian Ocean and Middle East is volatile for China Energy routes. China needs an alternative for security of their energy needs and transportation. So Karakoram highway provides them their goal. China wants to connect Karakorum Highway with Gwadar port and Xinjiang province of China (Sering, 2012). India is concerned with building of Karakorum corridor stretching right up to Pakistan's Chinese –built Gwadar port, at the entrance to the strait of Hormuz- as well as an East-West strategic corridor. Such links hold grim

security implications for India because they allow Beijing to strategically meddle in India's northeast and west step up indirect military pressure (Chellaney, 2012). As a traditional enemies of India both China and Pakistan took initiatives to tie down India's role in South Asia, like nuclear cooperation and String of pearls.

## CHAPTER IV

### **China-Pakistan Attempts to Tie down India in the South Asia Region**

The chapter would focus on the attempt made by the two countries to restrict India's geostrategic influence within the region. Both China and Pakistan regarded India as a principal foe and thereby both countries are linked with each other as well as with the borders of India by land, water, mountains and rivers challenging its status quo in the region. China and Pakistan had developed relations with the other neighbouring countries like Sri-Lanka, Nepal, Bangladesh, Bhutan and Afghanistan in order to lower down the status of India in South Asia region. Both countries took certain initiatives to make India feel inferior from time to time and declared it as a major opponent in South Asia region (Malik 2001).

According to China's line of thought, India is the only country which challenges its supremacy or hegemony in the region because of India's tremendous growth in economic and defence fields (Moore, 2008). Consequently, leaders of China claimed after India's nuclear test in 1974 that India spoils the security environment of South Asia region. Its nuclear weapon is threat for regional security. For this purpose China provided assistance to Pakistan for its nuclear development programme and made them feel free from the nuclear threats of India.

In the last two decades China has achieved tremendous growth rate that has caused changes in world politics. The political structure is undergoing a change with power gradually shifting from the West to East. He also explained the most two populous countries China and India are gaining very high speed in economic and military spheres. On the other hand Japan raised its military profile, with this raise in that profile the Southeast Asia countries overcome from their economic setbacks and get related with the worlds developed countries. However, China is very cautious about India's emergence in the region and initiates different Strategies to halt economic growth of India and also helps Pakistan with economically and politically against India at several times when Pakistan needed. China provides weapons and other defence equipments that develop Pakistan's confidence against India.

An attempt has been made to first discuss Sino-Pak nuclear cooperation and its consequences for the world as well as for regional politics. It has been analysed that China has been an active player in the development of Pakistan's nuclear program. Zhang Jeigen stated that Sino-Pak Nuclear cooperation has different phases. The first phase of nuclear cooperation started from 1970 that lasted till 1990. In this period China assisted Pakistan in the building of nuclear bomb. They also mentioned to formalization of a robust nuclear transfer which already underway between the two countries. American journal Bill Gertz mentioned in 1996, China had gifted Pakistan 50 kilogram of weapon-grade enriched uranium and blueprints to develop the nuclear bomb (Smith, 2009).

The second phase of nuclear cooperation begins after the end of cold war. There are two major changes in world politics during this period, firstly the process of the world arms control and nuclear disarmament and second was that the United States has taken more measures on arms control and imposes sanctions on Pakistan and China because of the transfer of nuclear products.

The third phase of nuclear cooperation began in 1998, just after South Asia tested its nuclear weapons. These nuclear tests in South Asia marked the open nuclear weaponization for India and Pakistan. After these tests of nuclear weapons by India and Pakistan, both India and Pakistan faced sanitation implemented by international community led by US. Both China and Pakistan encountered difficulties to develop nuclear relationship, by the rules and practical. However, the scenario of world nuclear politics has changed when China joined Nuclear Suppliers Group (NSG) in 2004, which additionally reduced the space of Sino-Pak nuclear cooperation and China provided nuclear reactor to Pakistan. Meanwhile in 2005 China provided second nuclear power station to Pakistan. In the year 2010 China agreed to construct two other 650 MW nuclear power reactors in Chashma and decided to supply the fifth reactor to Pakistan (Jiegen, 2012).

Another milestone of Sino-Pak strategic relation was China's policy of 'string of pearls'. In this phase we analyse the strategic objectives of China's 'string of pearls' policy. The main strategy behind this policy is to protect its energy routes. The second



reason of this policy is to sustain its energy import and continuous flow of oil at reasonable prices. China imports half of its oil from Middle East, North and East Africa. Virtually, all oil moves to China by tankers across the Oceans of India. Therefore, Beijing is worried about its trans-Indian-Ocean oil supply because of raised US influence in the Indian Ocean. The next problem is the conflict between United States and Iran. Iran is the largest oil supplier to China (Sandili, 2010). Leaders of China analysis that if United State conflict with Iran, it can change into war and becomes serious challenge for China's oil supply. As a result of war United States restricts its oil shipments through the Strait of Hormuz which become threat of China's future development.

The strategy behind China's policy of string of pearls is to decry India's role in Indian Ocean. India is raising navel power in the world politics and its collaboration with US poses threat for the Chinese oil supply and its naval power in the Indian Ocean. The next factor is US-China conflict over Taiwan that raises tensions in China. Beijing realised it is possibility that US naval may block Chinese oil supply in Indian Ocean (Ross, 2012: 42-47). In any of these contingency, China desires to protect its vessels carrying oil from the Middle East ports to China. China's policy 'String of Pearls' has helped China to develop a robust over-land transportation between Yunnan and the Bay of Bengal, and between Western Xinjiang and Gwadar that could substantially strengthen the China's ability to sustain intense military cooperation's in the eastern and western India Ocean. These newly created transport lines via Myanmar and Pakistan become quite useful (Garver, 2005: 7-8)

Chinese base in the India Ocean is littoral (Coastal Areas) (perhaps at Gwadar and Kyaukpya). These two ports provide option for China to develop strong road and rail lines. India's geographic advantages would be substantially diminished due to the PLA-N's advantage (Malik, 2013).

Another reason for the development of China's 'String of pearls' policy is to develop multi-dimensional cooperation with South Asia countries. "Multidimensional" signifies military ties as well political and economic cooperation. It has analysed that India is the main object for the China to develop friendly relations with India's neighbouring

countries for example Pakistan, Myanmar, Nepal, Sri-Lanka, Bangladesh, Bhutan, and Maldives. Beijing views to create relations with the South Asian neighbouring countries with whom it is mainly important to have friendly cooperative ties in order to the increase China's own economic and political influence and to decry the ability and potentially of hostile powers (currently the U.S) which challenges China's interests (Cheng, 2010: 9-10).

### **Objectives of China-Pakistan Nuclear Cooperation**

China-Pakistan relationship is considered as a unique relationship in the world politics. The world politics faced ups and downs but Sino-Pak relationship become deeper and stronger day by day. The last sixty two years partnership of Sino-Pak relationship mainly is related with securing each other with from external threats and its key pillars are defence and Nuclear co-operations. It is unappreciated to talk Sino-Pak relationship with out Sino-Pak Nuclear cooperation (Bur, 2009). Paul K. Kerr and Mary Beth Nikitin (Pakistan's Nuclear Weapons: Proliferation and Security Issues, 2013) stated that Pakistan's nuclear program started just after Indo-Pak war 1971. Pakistan's loss in war with India triggered a secret nuclear weapons program with China. Deterring India's military capability and augmenting Pakistan's inferior conventional forces are widely believed to be the primary missions for Islamabad's Foreign Policy. T.V. Paul, James McGill stated that the traditional rivalry between China, Pakistan and India is the major reason behind the Sino-Pak nuclear ties is to "Balance of Power". It is important to know the history about the Sino-Pak nuclear cooperation.

### **Historical, Review of Sino-Pak Nuclear Ties**

Pakistan's nuclear energy programme started in 1950s. However, it has been analysed that Indo-Pak war in 1971 triggered Pakistan for Nuclear weapon programme with China. In another statement it has been analysed that India's 1974

nuclear explosion in Rajasthan acted as the crucial moment that gave additional urgency to the Pakistani nuclear program (Albright, 2002). Pual K. Kerr opined in his article that Pakistan's nuclear program started in 1960s to 1970s and also confirmed that China is not only source of nuclear related information to Pakistan but he also accessed nuclear related technology and uranium from different sources; for example Europe, this statement is confirmed by leaders of US (Kerr 2013). During this period India fought three wars with the two neighbouring countries China and Pakistan and ultimately the result ended in speeding up Sino-Pak nuclear cooperation.

This nuclear cooperation between Sino-Pak has been divided into three phases by different scholars for example, Zhang Jiegen, Paul K. Kerr, Mary Beth Nikitin and Siddhartha Ramana. They stated that the first phase of Sino-Pak nuclear cooperation begins from 1960s and lasted till 1990s. During the Indo-Pak war in 1970s China played minor role in the war. China remained neutral during the war, but helped to provide security to Pakistan by presenting weapons and other military aid. Due to the Sino-Pak close political relationship, Pakistan opens the doors for nuclear cooperation and China is also willing to cooperate with Pakistan in their nuclear program. Zhang Jeigen (2012) stated that the solid reason behind the Sino-Pak nuclear cooperation was India's nuclear test in 1974 (Jiegen 2012). After India's nuclear test, Pakistani Prime minister Zulfiqar Ali Bhuttu remarked that "If India builds the bomb, we will eat grass or leaves, even go hungry, but we will get one of our own" (Ramana, 2011). Consequently, Pakistan's close ties with China fulfil the dream of Pakistani Prime Minister with providing blueprint of nuclear weapons. As a result Western countries blamed China busy for being busy in nuclear proliferation in South Asia (Ramana2011: 4-5). However, both China and Pakistan denied these blames.

In another statement Pakistani Prime Minister (Zulfiqar Ali Bhattu) disclosed that Sino-Pak Nuclear cooperation began in 1976 and the main focus was given to nuclear reprocessing technology instead of uranium enrichment (Burr 2009). This argument is further defended by R. Jeffrey Smith (2009) when he stated that the father of Pakistan's nuclear programme (Dr Abdul Qedeer Khan) cited in his letter that Pakistani military C-130 which left the Chinese city with enough weapons-grade

uranium for two atomic bombs and also mentioned that China has gifted 50 kilograms of weapon-grade uranium when we wrote a letter to Chinese minister. This statement is solidified by Siddhart Ramana (2011) when he stated the formal nuclear cooperation between Sino-Pak started in 1986 when they signed nuclear agreement. This agreement outlines the nuclear transfer between two countries. Another scholar Rajesh Kumar (2001) pointed out a new factor for Sino-Pak nuclear cooperation. He stated that Cold war conflict in Afghanistan is major factor for nuclear cooperation. He said China worries about the USSR presence in the South Asian region. Consequently, China assisted Pakistan with Nuclear technology and military assistance to Counter USSR in Afghanistan (Kumar, 2009). During this period China additionally assisted Pakistan with the Kahuta Nuclear Reactor, and transferred tritium gas, which were helpful for the manufacturing of a Hydrogen Bomb (Kemenade 2009).

The second phase of Sino-Pak nuclear cooperation began from 1990s and lasted till 1998. The end of cold war emerged in creating two major obstacles for Sino-Pak Nuclear Cooperation. The first being; the world committee decided to ban the production of mass destructive weapons. However, China did not cooperate with international nuclear non-proliferation regime which results in more and more restrictions on Sino-Pak nuclear cooperation. The second is that US took rigid measures for arms control and imposed a series of sanctions on both countries. Despite the fact of imposing restrictions on China by US, China didn't pay heed towards these impositions and in turn it helped Pakistan secretly in its nuclear development program and it has been proved that China provide assistance to build the Chashma 300-MW nuclear reactor for Pakistan. Zhang Jiegen (2012) stated that Sino-Pak nuclear cooperation has been questioned by western media. They stated that China is the country which transfers complete nuclear weapons related destructive materials such as uranium enrichment programme and ring magnets (Jiegen 2012: 7-9). In spite of China's membership in Non-proliferation treaty (NPT) and International atomic Energy Agency (IAEA) the nuclear cooperation between two countries has surprised international non-proliferation regime when Pakistan conduct its nuclear tests (Jiegen 2012: 10-11).

The third phase of Sino-Pak nuclear cooperation started just after open nuclear tests by India and Pakistan. These tests accelerate open nuclear race in the South Asia region particularly India and Pakistan (Waltz 1981). US government blamed China for its help to Pakistan in providing their nuclear weapons development program. Subsequently, Chinese government give assurance to America that we will cooperate with nuclear non-proliferation regime (Michels, 2006). In the year 1998 leaders of Pakistan stated that Pakistan restored the strategic balance against India's nuclear weapons. On the other hand China blamed India for the current tensions in South Asia and also stated India initiative in nuclear route and leaving no option for Pakistan for testing nuclear weapons (Jabeen 2012). US imposed restrictions upon both countries from time to time. However, situations got changed when China joined the Nuclear Supplying Group in 2004 which additionally compressed the space of Sino-Pak nuclear cooperation. Therefore, the nature of Sino-Pak nuclear cooperation is not interrupted and they further progress their nuclear technology and development of civil nuclear technology (Zia Mian, 2007).

In the year 2005 Sino-Pak accelerated nuclear cooperation when China decided to provide second power station to Pakistan just after the Indo-US nuclear deal. Consequently, Pakistan demanded for similar deal, but US official states that Pakistan is not eligible for that deal. So, China deliberately comes forward to help Pakistan in civil nuclear technology by building and helping in the Khusab Nuclear Programme in 2008(Haq, 2011: 8-9). In the year 2010 China agreed to construct two other 650 MW nuclear power reactors in Chashma and decided to supply the fifth reactor to Pakistan. Both countries strongly opposed this deal and blamed that US will push South Asia towards Nuclear arms race and also stated this nuclear deal develop tensions among the regional countries (Rauch, 2010).

### **Rationale behind India and Pakistan Nuclear Arms Race**

South Asia is considered as a threat for the world because of its instability and Indo-Pak rivalry is considered as a major factor for being South Asia as instable. As the

countries like India and Pakistan fought three wars with each other, while China being the third country which fights with India. It is unappreciated to discuss South Asia politics without China. All the three countries possess nuclear weapons. China is the first country which has tested its nuclear weapon in 1964 and considered as the founding stone of South Asian nuclear arms race. Due to this reason Indian leaders claimed that China's nuclear bomb is a major concern for India and also stated that China's explosion of nuclear bomb led India to seek nuclear umbrella for its security (Johnson, 2009). At the same time Indian defence minister George Fernando stated that China is the number one threat for India. As a result India started its nuclear weapon program to counterbalance China. In the year 1974 India tested its first nuclear weapon. Leaders of Pakistan claimed against India's nuclear test in front the IAEA (International Atomic Energy Agency). China is the only country who has replied to provide full support to Pakistan against India's nuclear weapon. China secretly helped Pakistan in the development of nuclear weapon to engage India with Pakistan and also halt its economic and military progress. With the Chinese help Pakistan tested its nuclear weapons in 1998. The Chinese leaders Stated that Pakistan restored the strategic balance in South Asia and carried out six nuclear tests. In spite of Pakistan's nuclear tests, Chinese leaders blamed India for the current tensions in the South Asia. Ajay Darashan Behra (2012) stated that Pakistan's nuclear tests would tie down India's role in the South Asia region and Beijing will continue to use Pakistan as a competitor to India. Because Chinese decision maker knows that India is the real challenger of China's role in the South Asia region. Shalini Chawla (2008) stated in his paper that China's capability reinforced Pakistani capability to continue its decades old war against India and will continue with its Proxy war with it. The consequences of this proxy war will create the fear of nuclear war in future (Chawla 2008). The statement is defended by Shirley A. Kan (2013) he stated that China strategically is helping Pakistan in the nuclear and missile area and assisted them to modernize its nuclear weapon programme. China wishes to lower down the Indian nuclear capabilities at the minimum cost (Kan, 2013). China helped Pakistan as a partner to tie down with India and also with its Western friends. As a result China strategically upsets Indian aims at the regional and global level.

The landmark change of Chinese interest in Pakistan came into existence when India-United States finalized nuclear deal in the year 2005. China offered similar deal to Pakistan. This deal is believed to help Pakistan to acquire 6 Chinese nuclear reactors and is also estimated that Pakistan will build six new nuclear reactors in the next 10 years. However, both US and India opposed this nuclear deal and blamed China that he does not care for the obligation of any international treaty but only cares about its national interests. In contrast Indian leaders stated the Chinese interest is to build up Pakistan against India by providing weapons and Missiles (Basu 2006).<sup>18</sup> However, the statement is solidified by Ashley J. Telli, A Washington DC-based influential scholars, when he stated Indo-US civil nuclear Agreement and Pakistan-China relation is totally different. According to him the Indo-US civilian nuclear initiatives are publicly debated, but the Sino-Pak agreement is secret agreement. He also concluded that US respected the international non-proliferation regime by requesting a special Nuclear Supplying Group (NSG) waiver to permit nuclear trade with India. However, China seek Short-circuit the NSG rather than appeal to its judgment. He also stated that it is time for both India and US to raise the voice against the China's plan to sale reactor to Pakistan (Tellis: 2010). The main reason behind this perception of China is to attain hegemonic stature over other countries. On the other hand China counters against India's nuclear power and influence of US in South Asia region.

Accordingly, China that claimed Sino-Pak nuclear cooperation helps Pakistan to overcome the future energy problems. The Chinese National nuclear Cooperation decided to supply the fifth nuclear reactor to Pakistan with a 1GW capacity. These nuclear reactors will help Pakistan to generate 8,800 MW of nuclear energy by 2030.

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<sup>18</sup>Dr.Dipak Basu, "Indo-US nuclear Deal and its consequences" 2006. Ivarta.com accessed on [http://www.ivarta.com/columns/OL\\_061219.htm](http://www.ivarta.com/columns/OL_061219.htm) 24/12/2013

## **Sino-Pak Nuclear Cooperation and its Implications on India**

The Sino-Pak nuclear cooperation pressurized India's security environment. The gap between India-Pakistan nuclear power will be fulfilled by Sino-Pak nuclear cooperation. On the other hand India believes that China is propping up Pakistan's nuclear and military capabilities in those areas where western technology was not fulfilling the demands of Pakistan requirements. China deliberately helped Pakistan to pose threat for Indian national security and engage its own peer competitor with Pakistan (Khan, 2012). In the year 2010 China decided to sell two nuclear reactors to Pakistan which wills Pakistan to fulfil the required energy need. However, India has raised objections in this regard with this matter at both political and official levels in front of China and Nuclear Supplying group (NSG) and also said deepening nuclear ties between Pakistan-China can have serious implications for India in the future. This deal helped Pakistan to speed up their weapons programme (Panwar 2013).<sup>19</sup> Both countries helped each other to cripple down India's role and counter its dominance in the South Asia region.

Another factor for India's concern with nuclear cooperation is the Abdul Qadeer Khan's Black marketing. He stated that he has sold Pakistani nuclear weapons technology Iran, North Korea and Libya and offered technology to Iraq (Bagal 2004). He also said China has played major role in the Pakistani nuclear program. The United States government worries that Khan later shared related Chinese design information with Iran and Libya (Smith, 2009). Consequently, US worry about the black Marketing of Nuclear technology becomes threat for US national security. US officials state that A Q Khan's black Market Network is more dangerous than Proliferation of nuclear weapons. These countries are vulgar states and not loyal towards International laws of non-proliferation and it is suspected these nations sale their nuclear weapons to terrorist groups, which is major threat for security environment of whole world particularly India and US (Glimun, 2013).

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<sup>19</sup>Preeti Panwar 2013. China to sell two nuclear reactors to Pak, India protests. News on India. Accessed At <http://news.oneindia.in/international/china-to-sell-two-nuclear-reactors-to-pakistan-india-protests-1324378.html#infinite-scroll-2> 16/1/14.



India's response on A Q Khan's Black marketing of nuclear technology poses threat for national security. The United Kingdom's Foreign and Commonwealth Office has argued that "Pakistan's strategic posture including nuclear is clearly framed around its perception of the threat from India" (Hussain, 2001). Similarly, DIA (Defence Intelligence Agency) Director Burgess told the Senate Armed Services Committee on 10 March, 2011 that the "persistent India-Pakistan rivalry drives Islamabad to develop its nuclear infrastructure, expand nuclear weapon stockpiles which are based primarily on highly enriched uranium, and seek more advanced nuclear warheads and delivery systems including cruise missiles".<sup>20</sup> This statement was confirmed when Pakistani foreign minister stated in 2011, Pakistan is mindful of the need to avoid arms race with India. Nevertheless, Pakistan appears to be increasing its fissile production capability and improving its delivery vehicles in order to become alert against possible increases in India's nuclear power (Dittmer, 2005).

### **China's 'String of Pearls' and its Strategic Interests in Gwadar.**

The concept behind Chinese "string of pearl" Strategy is very difficult to understand as for its reality is concerned. It is important to understand the meaning of 'string of Pearls' before discussing strategic objectives of China's 'string of pearls' policy. According to Zedong Mao, "A string of pearls" strategy is a strategic move which involves establishing a series of nodes of military and economic power throughout a region. Each node is a "pearl" in the string enhancing the overall power of the parent nation" (Cheng, 2010).

The paradigm for a Chinese geopolitical, economic and military trick in the Indian Ocean has been called the 'string of pearls'. The term 'String of Pearl' is coined by Booz-Allen. He described that China's purported plan to establish naval bases and intelligence stations throughout the shores of South Asia. He stated that Beijing has spent the past decade to try to create closer diplomatic relationship with many Indian

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<sup>20</sup> Memorandum submitted by the Foreign and Commonwealth Office, October 1, 2008. Cited at, House of Commons. Accessed at, <http://www.publications.parliament.uk/pa/cm>. June 14, 2009.

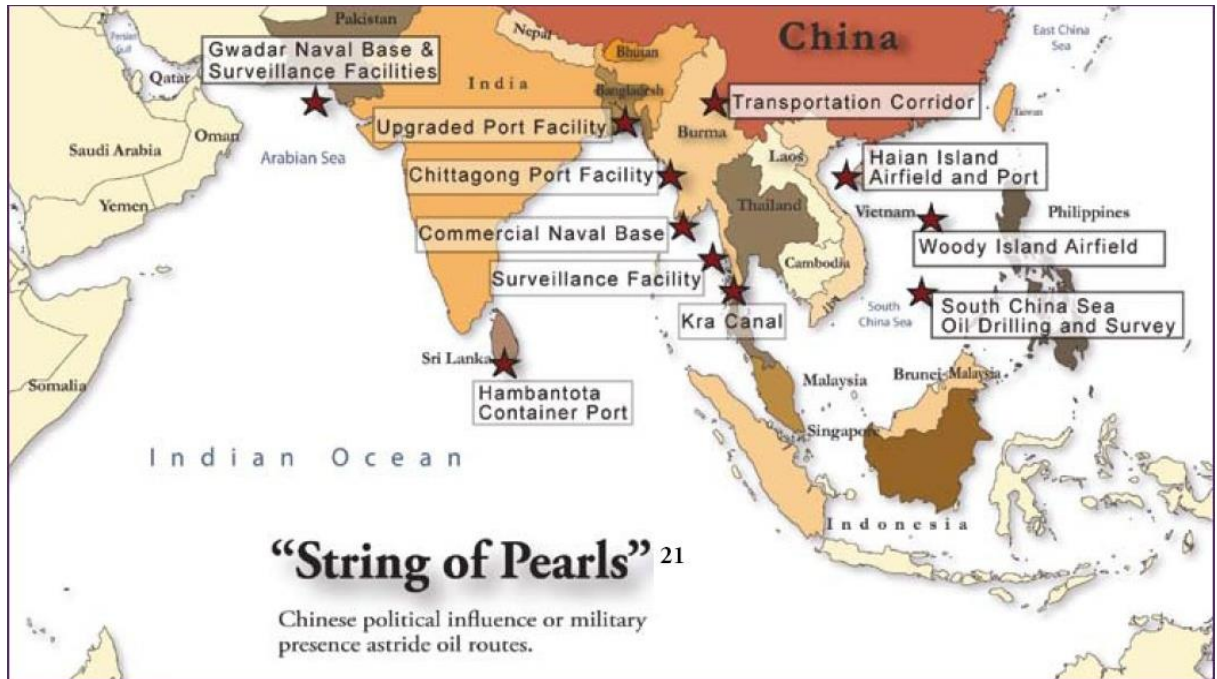
Ocean nations and China strategically assisted countries with the multi-million dollar aid, trade and defence deals in capitals across the region (Clarke, 2010). China financed the commercial ports in Pakistan (Gwadar), Sri Lanka (Hambantota and Colombo) Bangladesh (Chittagong) and Burma (Sittwe and Kyaukpu) to boost their economy and Influence in South Asia region.

In the 21<sup>st</sup> century China's identity has undergone a major change. China has emerged as a global player in the world politics by its tremendous economic and military growth. For the purpose to sustain its growth continuously they need to protect its oil routes and energy resources (Clarke 2010). There are two reasons behind the Chinese strategic policy of 'String of pearls'. China knows that the Indian-Ocean region became dangers for the oil transport and also the rising India-US collaboration in Indian-Ocean and claims that main reason behind Chinese 'String of Pearls' was to counter the India-US collaboration. The second strategic objective of the Chinese 'String of Pearls' was to take hold of India through the constructions of ports. Consequently, Leaders of China took certain initiatives to protect its oil transit routes through the policy of 'String of Pearls'. Hence, the third strategic objective of the Chinese 'String of Pearls' was to take hold of India through the constructions of ports Gulf (Kesavan, 2011).

The Chinese logic behind the strategy of "String of Pearls" is to decrease China's flow on unstable shipping routes through the Malacca Strait "chokepoint" where Beijing fears that its tankers could be blocked by the US warships that have been already deployed by US to that region of Indian Ocean. This strategy provides options and flexibility about vulnerability of Indian Ocean energy supply-lines across which around 80 percent of Beijing's crude oil is imported by this route to the mainland (Schear 2009).

This Map shows the Chinese involvement in the Indian Ocean and also its proximity to the Indian naval bases.

### CHINESE 'STRING OF PEARLS'



[Source: Joint operating Environment (JOE 2008), highlights the Challenges and Implication for the Future Joint Force by USJFCOM.

### **Gwadar Port another Objective of Sino-Pak Strategic Cooperation.**

Gwadar port is another sign of Sino-Pak strategic partnership. The main objective behind Chinese strategy of investing in Gwadar port was to handle the huge maritime trade and get access to land locked Central Asia. It is geo-economically and geo-strategically pivots to China and Pakistan, its location bridges South Asia and the oil-rich Middle East, Central Asia and also emerges as a vital naval base for China. Another aspect of Gwadar port is its closeness with 'Choke point' the Straite of Hornuze, it helps China to observe the navel activities of India and US in the Indian Ocean. Another implication of Gwadar port is China's energy security threat by rising role of US and India in the Indian Ocean, they assume that the presence of US in Indian Ocean is volatile for Chinese oil tanker ships. Gwadar port provides land route

transition of oil resources through Karakoram highway and provides China a gateway to Arabian Sea (Hussain, 2001).

Gwadar port is important for both China and Pakistan it boosts economy of both countries and provides strategic goals of China. Pakistani leaders are estimating that Gwadar port is helpful for both military and economic fields of the two countries. This route is secure, short and can serve as an alternate to the sea route that passes through the Straits of Malacca. In 2008 both countries signed 11 agreements in the field of energy, infrastructure, agriculture, industry, mining, telecommunication, disaster relief and space technology and China also promised to help Pakistan with 500 million US dollars for their financial disaster.<sup>21</sup> Trade between two countries rose to \$7 billion in 2008 and it reached \$14 billion in 2010 and 2011 (Beckly, 2012). China became largest investor in Pakistan with its investments went to \$15 million in 2012. The development of the Gwadar port holds out for the regional countries massive economic returns (Anwar 2012). The port facility at Gwadar for example, is a win-win prospect for both China and Pakistan. A modern port at Gwadar would enhance Pakistan's strategic depth along its coastline with respect to India (Townshend, 2011).

According to Pakistan's perception this port facilitates Pakistan's strategic depth along the coast in the Arabian Sea and provides an alternative to the Karachi port, the closeness of India to Karachi port handles 90% of Pakistan's trade and which in turn is highly vulnerable for the Pakistan's flow because of the reason of blocking once by India in earlier times in 1971 (the viability of the naval blocked was amply demonstrated during the 1971 Indo-Pak War). Therefore, this port facilitates Pakistan's strategic depth along the coast in the Arabian Sea with regards to India. The second point he mentions is that Pakistan has developed Gwadar port as a major naval base with the Chinese \$1180 million assistance. The third strategic objective is Chinese energy resources vulnerability. Chinese most energy supply is imported from the Middle East and Africa. China is worried that any hostility with the US will become hindrance for their energy supply. US's presence in the Gulf region could choke off

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<sup>21</sup>"Pakistan, China sign 12 agreements, protocols, *Dawn*, October 16, 2008.

China's energy supply. Therefore, Gwadar is located at the juncture of South Asia, Central Asia and the Middle East is close to the Iranian border and lies at the gateway to the Strait of Hormuz that is the key route of world oil supply. Ashley S. Townshend stated in his article that if China were contemplating militarizing these "pearls" this became serious threat for India and other countries all over the Indian Ocean (Muni, 2012).

The additional reason mentioned by Ghulam Ali (2013) that China assisted Pakistan in the development of Gwadar port for its location near the energy rich Central Asian Republics and acts as a corridor between China and Central Asia. Government of China realize Iran and US confrontation on the nuclear issue and Syrian crisis develop possibilities of war and finally it worries China for its oil import. Therefore, Gwadar port provides an alternative route to protect its oil coming from Middle East and Central Asia region (Ali, 2013). China strategically assisted Pakistan in infrastructure development specially Karakorum Highway which offers inland route for oil supply from Pakistani port Gwadar to Western province of China (Xinjiang). China also proposed to construct pipeline and railway track and the major purpose behind this will be its oil import from the Middle East that will be stored and refined at Gwadar and then sent to China via roads, pipelines and railways (Ali, 2013: 5-6)

[The map shoes the proposed project of land route and pipeline between Gwadar port and to China's Xinjiang Province.]



[Source]:[http://axisoflogic.com/artman/publish/Article\\_61094.shtml](http://axisoflogic.com/artman/publish/Article_61094.shtml). Accessed on 12/10/13

## **China's 'String of Pearls' Policy: Implications for India**

China's 'String of Pearls' policy especially Gwadar pearl is a major concern for India. The Indian scholar's analyses that the 'String of pearls' is a Strategic foray against India. The unsettled border issue is the focal point of Sino-Indian tension and is likely to stay same in the future. This means that if a conflict between these rising powers does take place, it would most likely be a largely land war, most probably in the Himalayan Northeast. As of now, the Indian Navy can only be expected to play a minor role in such a clash (Rehman, 2010). The fresh tragedy off the coast of Gaza starkly brought to light; naval blockades can be confused affairs resulting in security civilian casualties. India worries about China's Presence in the Indian Ocean because if Chinese merchant ships started to provide their squad members with small arms to fend off Somali pirate attacks that will finally create barriers and in turn will disrupt international trade (Rehman, 2010: 10-12).

India is mainly tensed about the strategy of String of Pearls because this strategy worries India and compels them to think that China will slowly take over shipping lanes, which are issues of concern for India in the Indian Ocean (Barrel 2012).<sup>22</sup> China's naval build-up against India signifies more than common threats. 26/11 has highlighted more than ever non-traditional maritime threats facing India. China's strategy to take hold on India through the building ports around India especially in Sri-Lanka, Pakistan, Maldives, Myanmar and Bangladesh. China's Sanya naval base in South China Sea, an underground nuclear submarine base, is about 1,200 nautical miles from the strategic Malacca Strait and the nearest naval base to India. With the building of Gwadar naval base in Pakistan (400 km east of the Strait of Hormuz), China plans to restrict the movement of Indian Navy in the Arabian Sea. The strategic importance of Gwadar will also reinforce Pakistan's Karachi naval base against India (Kumar 2009). India also concerns with the Chinese involvement in the project. From the very beginning, India felt that Gwadar port would give Pakistan and China an edge over India in Central Asia (Yousaf 2013). India also believes that Chinese Navy

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<sup>22</sup>The Barral, 2012 Meaning, Context 'string of pearls strategy' & its implication for India. The barrel current Affairs and news analysis. Accessed at 12/22/2013 <http://thebarrel.in/meaning-context-string-of-pearls-strategy-its-possible-policy-implications-for-india/#>

can use the Gwadar port to park its ships in order to watch over its trading ships and help them in situations of security risks.

Sino-Pak relation is the main cause for the South-Asian politics as both countries cooperates with each other in several fields to cripple down India's role in the South Asia. Since the formal establishment of diplomatic relations both countries took major steps to counter India's influence. China and Pakistan relationship is considered as security cooperation in the world. The 21<sup>st</sup> century the world focused towards Asia particularly towards South Asia region. These changes become helpful for China and Pakistan to strengthen their strategic relationship (Merrington, 2012).

## CHAPTER V

### **Changing Geostrategic Profile of South Asia and Sino-Pak Response: Implications for South Asia**

South Asia region is a witness of many geopolitical shifts. These changes provide depth in Sino-Pak strategic cooperation. Since the establishment of diplomatic relations between China and Pakistan, world have witnessed number of Geopolitical shifts that further strengthened the relationship between China and Pakistan. Both countries strategically adopt different policies that are used to counter India and US in region. In this chapter, we firstly include Indo-US civil nuclear deal and its implications on regional politics. In 2005 Indian Prime Minister and then US President made a civil nuclear agreement. In 2006, President Bush stated that India will be one of America's most crucial partners in the 21<sup>st</sup> century. With this nuclear deal into effect, China and Pakistan got worried as it was detrimental for their security as well as positions in the South Asian region. So this stimulated China-Pakistan goes for the similar type of nuclear deal. Chinese leaders announced that Indo-US nuclear deal is the indication of US intentions to stop China progress and power in the South Asian region. On the other hand Pakistan lodged the same protest against the nuclear deal and emphasized its own worthiness for the same deal. However, US rejects the Pakistan's protest as Richard Boucher said that Pakistan and India doesn't need the same energy requirements and therefore Pakistan should not expect similar type of arrangements that United States had made with India. In 2004 Abdul Qadeer Khan's Black-marketing of nuclear technology which surprised the whole world make the Bush administration inflexible and reluctant with regarding to signing of a nuclear deal with Pakistan. China as an "all weather" ally of Pakistan, forwarded a similar agreement to maintain a regional balance in 2010(Kazi, 2013). Chinese leaders stated to assist Pakistan with civil nuclear reactor to overcome the energy defections.

The second section of this chapter analyses Obama's Asia Pivot. The Obama administration's "pivot to the Asia-Pacific" strategy is announced in the year 2011. The Asian governments recognize the "pivot" as changing policy of the United States as they increased their military and economic role in the region. Naofumi Hashimoto a



scholar stated that four major developments brought about a strategic change in the Asian subcontinent. Firstly, Asia's Economic growth, especially China's; China's rapid military increasingly assertive posture in the South and East China sea; the US military lower down in the broader Middle East, and secondly the increasing US economic interests as well as strategic opportunities and concerns in the Asia-Pacific.

The third section of this chapter contains Bin Laden's Death in 2011. The location and circumstance of Osama Bin Ladin's death have intensified Washington's long-held doubts about Pakistan's commitment to superficially shared goals of defeating religious extremism, and may endanger future US assistance to Pakistan. President Obama and other Top officials have maintained a general positive posture towards Pakistan in the weeks following Abbottabad raid (Jacob 2012). This event develops mistrust among US officials about Pakistani government and its role in the war of terror. It has been analysed that death of Osama Bin Ladin is a game changer for US policy towards the region. US leaders stated that by the death of Osama Bin Ladin, they have achieved their goal of defeating Al-Qaeda. However, the incident raised sovereignty issues for Pakistan. The former Pakistani President spoke out against the attack, the US actions in the Abbottabad is violation of Pakistani sovereignty. By this incident there is likely to be a permanent impact on the bilateral relationship between the two and that may bring Pakistan more closely towards China. The death of Bin Ladin provides several opportunities to China. Firstly, deterrence of US-Pakistan relationship provides them strategic grip on the Pakistan and Afghanistan. The second opportunity is to prevent rising role of US in the Pakistan and another one is to protect its oil supply routes via Pakistan, Afghanistan and Central Asia.

The fourth section of this chapter contains the withdrawal of NATO (North Atlantic Treaty Organization) forces from Afghanistan. President Obama announced on 22 June 2011 that we have completed our mission in Afghanistan and are planning to withdraw 10,000 NATO troops from Afghanistan as the killing of Osama Bin Ladin, breaks the backbone of terrorism in region. He further stated that Afghanistan no longer stand for a terrorist threat for the US (Nadiri 2007). Therefore, US policy takes major shift towards India and Indian Ocean. Consequently, leaders of both countries

argue for increase of US partnership with India and its growing influence in Afghanistan. The other stakeholders strongly favoured withdrawal of US coalition force from Afghanistan except India. They stated that long-term presence of forces brought great changes in regional balance of Power. In short the NATO withdrawal is becoming major event in the South Asia changing political scenario. The changing nature of US policy towards Afghanistan and the strategic partnership with India developed mistrust among China as well as with Pakistan and other major stakeholders of Afghanistan.

### **Indo-US Nuclear Deal**

As the Asian subcontinent is now destined to become the centre of gravity for significant geostrategic changes, it is positioned by many scholars that both India and China will dominate in 21<sup>st</sup> century. This sentiment is essentially rooted in belief that Asia will become the engine of global economic growth and that its two largest countries China and India will dominate the world in many ways (Nair 2012). India has faced increasing deficit in power supply. In the 2011 India faced 73 billion (kwh) energy shortage.<sup>23</sup> Therefore, India needs further resources to curb the gap of energy requirements. Accordingly India made nuclear deal with United States President George W. Bush announced a joint statement with Prime Minister Manmohan Singh in 2005 that he would “seek agreement from Congress to adjust US laws and policies” and work with friends and allies to adjust international regimes to enable full civil nuclear energy cooperation and trade with India (Kerr 2012). The statement was welcomed in India, where it was perceived as recognition of that country’s rising energy need and its natural great power status. However, this deal was condemned by American proponents of nuclear non-proliferation; they argued that Bush administration had undercut the non-proliferation regime (Gahlaut 2005). Noor UIHaq (2006) stated in his article that US-India nuclear agreement represent a new set of

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<sup>23</sup>National Electricity Plan (Volume 1) Generation Government of India Ministry of Power Central Electricity Authority January 2012 accessed on [http://www.cea.nic.in/reports/powersystems/nep2012/generation\\_12.pdf](http://www.cea.nic.in/reports/powersystems/nep2012/generation_12.pdf) 11/11/2013 .

landmarks in rapidly warming ties between two countries. United States have strategic interest with India to counterbalance the rising power of China in South Asian region. He stated that US moves to build strategic relationship with India as a part of effort to “counterbalance” the rise of China as a major power. On the other hand many scholars concern about the potential damage to international non-proliferation regimes. However, US officials expressed that they follow the rules and guidelines of the Nuclear Supplier Group (NSG) (Kerr, 2012: 6-7). Many other scholars voiced against this deal, they argued that India’s relation with Iran develop suspicion that India secretly helps Iran Nuclear Program. It has been analysed that Indo-US nuclear deal as a non-proliferation disaster.

A group of Indian leaders like (Jaswant Singh and Lal Krishna Advani) are among those who criticise the Indo-US nuclear cooperation. They stated that nuclear deal severely damaged county’s political sovereignty and foreign policy. Yashwant Sinha strongly opposed this deal; he stated that this deal makes India subservient to US, as it will have to follow the rules of the Hyde act, a domestic US law, and that this situation is humiliating for India (Sinha, 2008).<sup>24</sup> Bharat Karnad (the Asian age 2 December, 2005) rejected the Jaswant Singh and Lal Krishna Advani’s statement about Indo-US nuclear deal; he mentioned that this deal is extremely important for India to conduct nuclear tests in future. This deal changes future of Indo-US relations as it is beneficial for both countries and ends India’s nuclear isolation, provides opportunities for new energy sources which India needed very much for their sustaining future development (Evans, 2012).

### **Sino-Pak Response on Indo-US Nuclear Deal**

According to Chinese perception, strategic partnership between Washington and New Delhi has serious implications for China. They stated that the US policy to increase power, influence and military presence in South Asia is aimed at putting China in a secondary position in the war of terror in region with America. As US is worried about

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<sup>24</sup>Yashwant Sinha, “We can live without nuclear power,” *Rediff News*, 2008, [www.rediff.com](http://www.rediff.com). Accessed on 9/12/2013

China's increase in international economic, military, and political influence in region (Haq, 2006). For the protection of national interests, Washington have long search for friendly Asian powers that may offset Chinese power and prevent Chinese hegemony and provide favourable opportunities for control in South Asia. Chinese president Hu Jintao while stating the anxieties about US encirclement of China, he said:

“The United States had strengthened its military deployments in the Asia-Pacific region, strengthened the US-Japanese military alliance, strengthened strategic cooperation with India, improved relations with Vietnam, inveigled Pakistan, and established a pro-American government in Afghanistan, and increased arms sales to Taiwan, and so on. They have extended outposts and placed pressure points on us from the East, South, and West. This makes a great change in our geopolitical environment” (Gilley, 2002).

The statement expressed by Chinese president is solidified by Jin Canrong, when he stated that US strategy in the Post-cold war has been relatively stable, that has provided USA the world leadership status. He further mentioned that Chinese growing position in the international arena have worried the US rulers and Washington tries every possible step which can stop China's growing influence. The nuclear deal becomes major concern for China as well as for many western countries. They argued it will enable India to divert its domestic uranium natural resources towards its nuclear weapon programme (Craig, 2007). It is thought that US administration believed that enabling India to bolster its nuclear arsenal would provide a bulwark against China. Consequently, China assisted Pakistan in the development of Nuclear power Station in 2008, which will help Pakistan to overcome its energy problems in future. It has been suspected that Iran has joined hands with China and Pakistan strategically to counter India and United States partnership (Sokolski, 2008). For this Indian leadership argued that Sino-Pak nuclear deal will increase the capacity of weapon development and becoming major cause of arms race in the region. It has been analysed that Sino-Pak Nuclear Agreement in 2010 helped Pakistan to counter India's nuclear posture. Pakistan is called rouge state for

its instability and its rising fundamentalism. India worries about the protection of Pakistani nuclear weapons, believes if Pakistani nuclear weapons put into wrong hands definitely will be used against India. This deal will compel Pakistan to follow a qualitative approach to improve its technology developments in the field of defence. Pakistan strategically pursues some latest developments in its nuclear field. Leaders of Pakistan believe that Indo-US nuclear deal disturbed power balance in the South Asia region (Khan, 2012). Both countries make strategy to decry the influence of Indo-US relationship. Pakistan deliberately offered a naval and commercial rights Gwadar port to China, which represents the new great game in the South Asia region and also undermine the Indo-US goals of supremacy and dominance in Arabian Sea and Persian Gulf region (Yusuf, 2007). At the same time Pakistan constructs two more nuclear power plants with Chinese assistance to counter down India's nuclear capability in the region.

### **Sino-Pak Response of Indo-US NUCLEAR deal**

The Indo-US nuclear deal is an important landmark for India-US relations and important era of regional security environment stated by US president Gorge Bush. In this period major countries of the South Asia region have concerned of Indo-US relationship. The policy makers of China, Pakistan and Iran are closely following course of Indo-US "global partnership" with an eye towards how their own geopolitical standing is affected (Kronstadt, 2013).

Pakistan argued that the rising Indo-US strategic partnership has results a number of security risks for Pakistan. Therefore, Pakistan was compelled to explore a number of options that would best serve its security interests to counter India. It has been analysed that, primary worry for Pakistan was acquisition of counter-force to the capability of India. The main concern for Pakistan is the Indo-US nuclear deal (Bukhari, 2011). Pakistani leaders explained that India may convert its civilian nuclear program into nuclear arms, which has serious security implication for Pakistan. They further stated that this deal has compelled Pakistan to pursue a qualitative approach to counterbalance Indian pressure (Kazi 2013). This includes technology

improvements in its offensive and defensive capabilities. The current strategic partnership between India and United States disturbed current security environment in South Asia. Indo-US Nuclear deal disturbed the balance of power between India and Pakistan (Khan, 2013). This deal pushes Pakistan towards China for their assistance against India. China Deliberately helped Pakistan in the nuclear advancement to counter India's nuclear program. It becomes main reason for nuclear arms race in the region. US have Strategic interests in this nuclear deal to develop India against China and restrain or fades China position in the region but India could not create conditions to stand itself against China (Oglesby, 2010). It is unlikely that India would mind, even though it does not want to be directly and visibly involved in any anti-China strategy. So US strategically forward the nuclear deal into India to develop it and to counter China's rising power in the global politics.

The nuclear deal between India and United states tilt the power balance in India's favour, which have compelled Pakistan, China and other countries to start taking extraordinary measures to ensure a capability for defence and also brought India and Pakistan in a position to get into nuclear arms race (Haq, 2006). This nuclear deal develops suspensions among the neighbouring countries as they believe US strategy behind nuclear deal is to develop India's nuclear capability to develop potential threat for these countries. Leaders of China believe this deal provide lobby to US in the South Asian region and develop India's nuclear power to counter China's nuclear capability (Claeson, 2005). While Leaders of Pakistan expressed this deal develops nuclear warhead capability of India which turn into security threat for Pakistan. At the same time leaders of Iran explained this deal will provide base for US in the region and the rivalry on the bases of nuclear program develops suspensions that US strategic partnership with India emerged threat for its national security (Croddy and Wirtz 2004). At the same time Russian government stated that this deal worsens the security environment of region. They stated US strategically develop India's nuclear power to frighten all its neighbouring countries (Hassan, 2011).

## **Obama's Asia Pivot Strategy**

This policy is aimed at re-balancing US defence policies towards Asia. The Obama administration has reframed its policy away from the Middle East towards Asia-Pacific. The US aims to increase its naval presence from the current 50/50 split between Atlantic and Asia-pacific to 40/60 respectively by 2020 (Logan, 2013). The previous statement is solidified by US President Barack Obama speech in the Australian Parliament, in which he confirmed that the Asia Pacific is in the top US national security priority. With the new strategic direction, adopted in January 2012, the US military strategy in the Pacific is changing (Ungaro, 2012). As the defence priority changes for the Asia Pacific region, it will have its consequences for South Asia too. India too would be affected by it as it has been termed as a 'linchpin' of the policy.

The geographical scope of Asia-Pacific has been defined as “enlarging from the Indian Subcontinent to the western shores of the Americas, the region spans two oceans—the Pacific and the Indian—that are increasingly linked by shipping and strategy” (Clinton, 2011). This implies that South Asia as a whole is going to be affected by this policy. Though India has welcomed US initiative tactically, yet, it has not announced its formal alignment with US to curtail China growing influence. Eric S. Morse explained in his Article (Pivot to Asia: Calculus and Consequences) that the main rationales for new directions has been twofold. First, the pivot assumed that conflicts in the Middle East, primarily Iraq and Afghanistan, were winding down, allowing the US to focus its attention and resources elsewhere (Morse, 2012). Second, the Pivot acknowledged that Asia-Pacific region is becoming a major driver of global politics that the US cannot afford to ignore. The region has overtime acquired its own importance due to the Malacca Straits as passage of oil and sea bound trade, fastest growing economies of China & India, nuclearization of South Asia and North Korea and, above all, an aggressive China. North Korea and China threat are the two main reasons that its allies in East and South East Asia fear most, thus raising suspicion amongst them on the US ability to protect them against any eventuality (Morse, 2012: 4-8). US have thus been compelled to refocus on the Asian Pacific region by its allies who want it to demonstrate its commitment to their security.

It has been analysed that, main strategy behind Asia Pivot policy is to sustain US Global leadership (Chen, 2013). Mark E. Manyin mentioned in his article that US have number of interests in Asia-Pacific region that become major cause for Obama's Asia pivot policy. E.g. US desire to avoid a Sino centric regional order. As a hegemon it would be unwilling to accept Chinese supremacy in region. He mentioned the second interest of US behind Asia pivot policy is for further development of twenty-first century are going to take place in this strategically vital region and is of view that it could overcome its economic low-down only by involving economically itself with countries of this region. The third interest is that US has faced casualties in Afghanistan and the main objective- killing of Osama Bin Ladin is now over, so US is no longer interested in extending its military deployments, though it wants to continue its minimum strategic presence in region (Mark, 2012).<sup>25</sup> The number of scholars gave different opinion about the Obama's Asia pivot policy and most of scholars unanimously agreed that the rising power of China are the lone factor for Asia-Pivot policy in order to make a stop on its rising power and threaten its national security. Therefore, Chinese leaders argued that Obama's Asia pivot policy spill the security environment of region. China worries about US presence in Asia-Pacific as it poses a threat for its oil carrier containers coming for Middle East, Central Asia and Russia.

### **India's Role in Asia Pivot**

The shift in the US policy along with the recent developments in the East Asian region clearly shows that the most important international political developments in the coming years are likely to happen in Asia. In the coming years, both China and North Korea can individually pose a threat to Asian peace and security. South Asia as a region will be particularly affected with developments to come.

India, because of its remarkable economic growth and strategic position in Indian Ocean and Malacca Straits has been assigned a significant position under this policy.

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<sup>25</sup>Leonard, Mark(2012): The end of the affair? Four years after Barack Obama's landmark Berlin speech, the transatlantic alliance is fading fast. What went wrong? *Foreign Policy*, July 24 2012. Accessed on [http://www.foreignpolicy.com/category/topic/barack\\_obama?page=7](http://www.foreignpolicy.com/category/topic/barack_obama?page=7) 12/11/2013



India looks favourably towards this strategy owing to its own concerns about an assertive and militarily powerful China (Muni, 2012). The main reason of growing Indo-US strategic relations in the Asia-Pacific region is Washington's perception of looking upon India and its growing influence as an alternative to Chinese hegemony in region. While the most countries such as Australia, Japan and the smaller South East Asian countries do hold strategic relevance for America's Asia-Pacific strategy, it is perhaps the nuclear India with its growing economy that currently tops the US priority list for its regional designs as the US defence secretary Leon Panetta also projected India to be a 'linchpin' of the American strategy, because of being the biggest and most dynamic country in this region. (Sahgal, 2012). US use India as a card against China in the region by developing its nuclear and defence strength. China got worried about the US deployment of Naval foresees in the region, because of which China accelerate the defence production and develop some latest weapons, such as T-20 and aircraft carrier.

### **Sino-Pak Repose on Asia Pivot: Concern for India's Security Environment**

The Obama's policy of 'Asia Pivot' is surprising advancement made by Chinese military, such as successful development of its aircraft carrier, advanced jet fighters etc. In light of Washington's claims of superiority, the sea routes through Strait of Malacca do not look as attractive to China as it did before. The bottleneck of the strait is starting to look more like the entrance to a trap. Obama administration assumes that China wants to diversify and protect its oil supply and trade routes with the policy of 'String of Pearls'. Consequently, Obama's administration desires to contain China's dominance in the Indian Ocean, South China Sea and East China Sea. Obama's administration strategically announced a new policy 'Obama's Asia Pivot' in name of rebalancing Asian region. Chinese government strongly criticized the policy and replied that the main strategy behind policy is to stop the oil shipments which are coming from Gulf region. They also argued that this policy develops potential threat for Chinese national security (Clarke, 2010). US strategically developed military strength of the Chinese neighbours (India, Japan and South Korea) in order to

develop a front line threat to China. On the other side, India also welcomed the Asia-pivot policy for their own strategic interests to counter growing Chinese hostility in the region. Another reason is the widening Sino-Indo gap in defence capabilities and the two countries on going border dispute. Consequently, Delhi replied that the unambiguous Chinese assertiveness on the India-China border or in neighbouring countries like Sri-Lanka, Bangladesh, Nepal and Maldives could lead India to align itself more closely with US. However, the continuing distrust of China and the potential emergence of a China-centric Asia as a growing threat could push India to play a more prominent role in supporting the U.S. rebalance.

The Pakistan government strongly opposite Asia-pivot policy and also stated US-India strategic partnership is major threat for Pakistan (Acharya, 2011). Because U.S policy to modernize India's defense sector and nuclear weapon program poses a security threat for Pakistan, because India blamed Pakistan for helping the insurgent movements active in India. Pakistan also got worried about the India's growing nuclear capabilities as it may later led into a Hot war over the Kashmir Issue. Consequently, Pakistan government announced that China is the most reliable friend of Pakistan. Pakistani government offered port to China. On this occasion Chinese leaders stated the port agreement provides vast potential benefits for both countries (Yousaf, 2013). China and Pakistan strategically counter the US-India Strategic cooperation in region with assisting each other. Indian government claimed that China and Pakistan helps insurgent groups who are operated in India. On the other hand US blamed, Pakistani government support Islamic fundamentalist which are potential threat for US security. The competition between two big powers China and United States worsen security environment of region (Mohan, 2010). It has been analysed that the increasing tensions among the three countries emerging two front threats for India.

### **Osama Bin Ladin's Death**

China-Pakistan strategic alliance come closer at the time when Osama bin Ladin was killed by US army in Pakistani territory (Abbottabad) near Afghanistan border on 2

May, 2011. American president Barack Obama while announcing the death of Bin Ladin said that former Presidents (George W. bush) Mission has been accomplished. It was nearly 10 years ago that a bright September day was darkened by the worst attack on the America. The most wanted man's death is a real success for America (Tadjbakhsh, 2011). This incident gave a serious setback to the Pak -US relationship. Pakistani government argued that the raid is a grave violation of Pakistan's territorial sovereignty. This event also develops mistrust among US against Pakistan as the later could not fully support in the war of terror. US have made suspensions that whether or not Pakistan military and intelligence service have been playing a double game with America (Jacob, 2011). Further, the relation worsens when US stressed Pakistan to attack on Haqqani Network (a Taliban group with safe havens in North Waziristan). Pakistan refused to take actions against the Haqqani Network. An infuriated Admiral Mike Mullen, outgoing chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, pointed out Pakistan, saying, Haqqani Network was a "veritable arm" of Pakistan's Inter Service Intelligence (ISI) agency. On the other hand US recognize the important role of Pakistan in the war of terrorism. As a result US make diplomatic efforts to stabilize relationship with Pakistan. However, these efforts of US did not become fruitful; because of NATO forces attacked the Pakistani checkpoint in Salala in November 2011. In this assault Twenty-four Pakistani soldiers died. Pakistan got fruited over such attack, immediately suspended NATO supply lines and boycotted the Bonn conference of December 2011. Consequently, several administrators and Members of Indian Congress have argued for side-lining of Pakistan and giving India a larger stake in Afghanistan (Quzi, 2012). Pakistani retired army chief and Ambassador Jehangir Karamat stated, US-Pakistan relations were at their worst because relations between US and Pakistan relations are further complicated because of clashing security interests, especially vis-a- vis the Afghan Taliban. US realizes that Pakistan played important role in "War on terror" they want Pakistan to take action against Taliban group based in Pakistan (North Waziristan) and also demand Pakistan to force Taliban to negotiate with US and Karzai government. However, government of Pakistan refused to comply with US on this matter. Against this US blamed Pakistan for providing shelter to the leaders of all major Taliban factions. This statement was

further hardened by London School of Economics when the declared that Inter-Service Intelligence (ISI) high officials are participating in the decision-making meetings of Taliban's major councils as well as provide Pakistani Passports to them by which they travel to different parts of world (Rasheed, 2011). The purpose of supporting them is to stop Indian influence in Afghanistan.

### **Indo-US Relationship after Bin Laden's Death**

As we know that India is the dominant one among the South Asian countries and this world's largest democratic country continues to increase its diplomatic, economic and military influence throughout the region. India is trying to become more powerful by expanding its influence in the region (Bisley, 2013). With the same vision India expanded its military and diplomatic influence beyond its borders up to Central Asia and increased its arm race in order to get a dominant position in the region (Vaughn, 2011). India strategically helped US in the Global War of terror (GWOt) particularly in Afghanistan as both the countries were worried about the rising terrorism in South Asia and the death of Osama Bin Ladin provided bed stone for Indo-US strategic cooperation. The death of Osama Bin Ladin in Pakistani middle populated city "Abbottabad" create suspicion among the US leaders, they believe Pakistan played double game with US one side they actively participate in "War on Terror" with US and on the other hand Pakistan's Inter-service Intelligence (ISI) actively participate in the meeting of Taliban (Qazi, 2012). Consequently, those rationales are major cause for worsening Pak-US relationship and strengthening of US and India relationship as it was crucial for South Asian security. As both the two democratic nations were victims of "terrorism" seemed to draw India and the US close together with new bond (Ollapally, 2010).

They further agreed to collaborate in different operations, counter-terrorism, technology transfers and capacity building. In this regard US Secretary of Homeland Jenet visited India in November 2011 to hold first round of dialogue and the second meeting was held in May 2013 in Washington, the dialogue reviewed engagement in

each of the Homeland Security Dialogue Sub-Groups, namely: (a) Megacities Policing; (b) Combating Illicit Finance, Bulk Cash Smuggling, and Counterfeiting (c) Cyber-security and Critical Infrastructure Protection; (d) Port, Border, Maritime, Transportation and Supply Chain Security; (e) Science and Technology Cooperation; and (f) Capacity Building. Further both countries have intensified and expanded their strategic consultations in recent years with dialogues covering Middle East, East Asia, Central Asia and West Asia (Bukhari, 2011).

### **Sino-Pak Response after Bin Ladin's Death**

Sino-Pak relationship is considered as a pillar of Afghanistan's future, as China is a major player in the infrastructural development of Afghanistan as well as other South Asian Countries. Since the last two or three decades, China policy towards the neighbouring countries is very soft except India. Pakistan is most trusty ally of China for past sixty three years. Both countries have strategic partnership to counter Indo-US role in the region. China has always tried to keep US away from the South Asian region. During the Afghan war, the deteriorating relations between Pakistan and US provided Chinese government the opportunity to eliminate the influence of US by strategically helping Pakistan. Pakistani leaders said, China will continue to perform its traditional role of backing Pakistan in times of trouble (Lodhi, 2010).

China's has great geopolitical interests in Pakistan that were kindled in the first Sino-Indian war in 1962. Due to this war, the China-India relations got deteriorated and Pakistan took benefit of this situation by solving the border dispute with China. Moreover, China and Pakistan pledged to build a highway through the Karakoram Range as the first land bridge between two countries. Recently, the increased frictions between US-Pakistan after Bin Ladin's death bring the two countries more close. Beijing has switched its focus to highlight Pakistan's vital role in countering terrorism and supposed American propensity to violate national sovereignty and international law and asked America to respect Pakistan's sovereignty. America's

military operations in the South Asian region made the two countries i.e. China and Pakistan to take collectively a stand against America (Felbab, 2012).

### **NATO withdrawal from Afghanistan**

In the 21<sup>st</sup> century, the political focus of world's politics got shifted towards Asia, Particularly when Al-Quada attacked on America 2001. As a result of this attack, attention of world's largest military power got shifted toward the region. Within a decade the mastermind of the 9/11 was killed which was announced himself by American President Barak Obama. After this great achievement, US were not sure of any role left for the US forces to stay longer in Afghanistan. So accordingly they announced that over the next 15 months, they would be removing the "surge" troops from Afghanistan.<sup>26</sup> In the next phase of speech, President Barak Obama announced that US forces in Afghanistan will retreat from the combat missions in 2013 by leaving the burden of those operations to US special and elite forces as well as trained Afghan forces. This decision was taken on 2010 in a summit of the alliance in Lisbon, where President Hamid Karzai and US security-General Anders Fogh-Rasmussen signed the program of co-operation to establish an "enduring partnership". The long-term partnership is designed to promote stability and prevent repeat of violence that was followed by Soviet withdrawal in 1989 (Franklin 2012). Obama also announced to hand over security to Afghan authorities in 2014. According to Nasser Saghafi-Ameri, US announcement of accomplishing its mission was not because of Osama Bin Ladin's death, but was due to relentless budget pressure (Ameri 2009). However, many scholars stated that Afghani forces are not capable to control the situation in Afghanistan and there is the possibility of civil war in the country. It has been argued that after the NATO forces withdrawal from Afghanistan, that region may become volatile for regional security environment. The hasty exit of US may be dangerous of Pakistan's security as well, because the Taliban forces may later turn against the Pakistan. Mulla Nasir, one of the commandants of Taliban make it clear that the

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<sup>26</sup>President Obama Announces troops drawdown June 22, 2011. Accessed on 2/12/2013  
[http://www.upi.com/News\\_Photos/News/President-Obama-announces-troop-drawdown/fp/5312/](http://www.upi.com/News_Photos/News/President-Obama-announces-troop-drawdown/fp/5312/)

Taliban are still in full spirits and their backbone is yet strong enough to be broken. Practically, counter-insurgency mechanism failed at the ground level to wipe out the Taliban's completely, has resulted in making Afghanistan and the Pakistan's tribal belt a war zone belt (*The Washington Post*, 2011, May 31). It has argued that the balance of power contest between India and Pakistan played out in Afghanistan could fuel another civil war in the country.

### **Afghanistan as focal point for the world**

The geographical location of Afghanistan is considered as an important for world. It has been considered as the tri junction of three strategic regions and is also called a region at the cross roads of history, as it has been used as a trade way linking Central, West and South Asia. Pakistan directly transacted with whatever power existed to facilitate the development of ground trade with Central Asia (Dasgupta, 2013). The collapse of Soviet Union and discovery of mineral resources in Central Asia dramatically altered the geopolitical equation. Afghanistan has thus, once again obtained a critical importance as a land bridge for oil and natural gas pipelines and trade route. Today, the Central Asian states have come to draw their attention towards Afghanistan as it is believed that they hold the potential key to energy security in the 21st century (Borha, 2013).

### **Pakistan's role in Afghanistan after NATO withdrawal**

The post withdrawal of NATO forces from Afghanistan offered opportunities and challenges for Pakistan. It has been argued that the gradual withdrawal of NATO troops from Afghanistan will make easy the settlement process inside Afghanistan that will result in the regional peace and stability. The US and NATO forces decided to hand over power and military command to the Afghan government that is yet immature enough to handle the situation. (Khalid Ahmed & Maqsoodul Hasan Nuri) Pakistan on the other side can be a key player in the politics and security of

Afghanistan in post NATO withdrawal (Nuri, 2012). Though Pakistani leadership accept that India has played important role in Afghanistan's economic reconstruction,<sup>27</sup> but Pakistani security establishment at the same time is suspicious about the growing Indian influence in Afghanistan and New Delhi's greater ability to influence the endgame negotiations and the post-settlement dispensation in Kabul. Despite of insurmountable problems faced by two countries, the Pak-Afghan relations may improve in the future due to the countless areas where the joint and mutual efforts of the two countries are possible. Both countries cooperate in the field of politics, security, trade and economy. Not only in the field of trade. Pakistan can play a constructive role to forming a strong political settlement in the Afghanistan after NATO withdrawal from the region. Pakistani government has also supported Hamid Karzai's peace efforts in dismantling the terrorist's threat. On the other hand they support Afghan-led and Afghan-owned process of reconciliation with the Taliban or the Haqqani network which is vital for peace, stability and prosperity of the region (Nuri, 2012). A peaceful, stable and affluent Afghanistan is in Pakistan's national interest while war and instability in Afghanistan is hugely detrimental to its prosperity and stability (Biltzar, 2011).<sup>28</sup>

### **India's role in Afghanistan after NATO withdrawal**

Afghanistan-India relations were not so strong during the Taliban period. However, the scenario of regional politics has changed in the year 2001, when Al-Qaeda attacked on America. The investigation committee of America found out the man who was the main culprit of this attack was hiding in Afghanistan. As a result Bush Administration told Taliban to handover Osama Bin Ladin to American, but Taliban government denied to handover it to America. Consequently, Bush administration launched a war on Taliban. Since that period Indian government took several

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<sup>27</sup>(Khalid Ahmed. The Express Tribune, ("Pakistan after the American withdrawal" 2012). Accessed at <http://tribune.com.pk/story/368057/pakistan-after-the-american-withdrawal/> 22/11/2013

<sup>28</sup> Wolf Biltzer, 2011. US-Pakistan relations potentially at a disastrous turning point. CNN's accessed at 14/1/14 <http://situationroom.blogs.cnn.com/2011/09/27/blitzers-blog-u-s-pakistani-relations-prove-potentially-disastrous/>



initiatives to make good relationship with Afghanistan (Gupta, 2012). After the long battle, US know they have failed to defeat Taliban and Taliban knows that as long as Western forces are in Afghanistan they can only have inequitable control of the country (Felbab-Brown, 2012). On the other side, Pakistan got benefited from a face-saving exit of US from Afghanistan, it allowed Pakistan to increase its so-called strategic depth in Afghanistan, while as India found it difficult to choose the policy with regarding the Afghanistan after the post western forces pull out in 2014. India having many strategic interests in Afghanistan became the reason for India's interest in investing in the present regime and signed a strategic partnership in 2011. India has also agreed to support training and equipping of Afghanistan security forces that it will take without the support of Western troops. Secondly, Afghanistan is important for its energy security. It becomes gateway for energy rich Central Asia. Third, a stable Afghanistan is important for India's national security (Felbab 2013). It has been analysed that since US invasion of Afghanistan, militancy has reduced in the border provinces. Before the present war Afghanistan posed a significant danger to India. Fourth, India is second largest investor in Afghanistan today. It owns the mining rights to three of the four blocks of the Hajigak iron ore deposits, and funded the construction of the 218 kilometres Zaranj-Delaram road in Afghanistan, which gives Afghanistan the access to the sea via Iran. India uses the Iranian port Chabahar to transmit supplies to Afghanistan (Borah, 2013). Those interests of India in Afghanistan provoked New Delhi to make efforts to Control rise of Taliban in the country. On the other side, Pakistan does not want India's presence in Afghanistan, so they accordingly helped Taliban against the Afghan forces to control country, which is major threat for India's national security. The Indo-Pak rivalry pushes Afghanistan into civil war between Afghan forces and Taliban, which make region security environment volatile.

### **China's role in Afghanistan after NATO withdrawal**

China from the last two decades has become more conscious about South Asia's political transforms. China's influence across South Asia is increasing as it deepens political relationships and economic engagement with the region's smaller states.

This is motivated by the China's desire to become the regional as well as the global power. China is apprehensive of its interests in Afghanistan after the withdrawal of the NATO forces (Castillejo, 2013). Earlier Afghanistan and China were not at good relations during the Taliban period. The two established bilateral relations in 2001, When US launched attacked Afghanistan and Taliban regime got collapsed. China's primary interest in Afghanistan are of security and economic in nature. Besides this the US presence in its neighbourhood as well as chances of Afghanistan to become a regional centre for Islamic extremism makes it more uncomfortable. Thirdly China being an industrial country needs minerals, which are easily and abundantly available in Afghanistan. Fourthly China wants to avoid civil war in Afghanistan, which has become a sort of security threat for it. China being the dominant player in South Asian region can play a critical role after NATO Withdrawal (Soherwordi, 2012). In the 'Daily Outlook' an Afghani newspaper, Abdul Ahad Bahrami wrote that China's future role is seen highly important in the international efforts to stabilize the country and develop its weak economy. Besides economic relations with Afghanistan, China can play a remarkable role in the promoting regional cooperation by supporting the Afghanistan government politically as well as economically. Both countries have upgraded their relations to the strategic level. In the year 2012, China hosted a trilateral summit of China, Afghanistan and Pakistan, this summit was signalling the message that China is willing to engage in Afghanistan's security challenges. These three countries work closely with each other on controlling the tribal and border areas between the two countries. As China is apprehensive about the withdrawal of NATO forces, as they believed that armed Uighur separatists of China, which demand independence of Chinese Muslim province of Xinjiang, a province bordering with Afghanistan and Pakistan, being trained at militants' training centres in those bordering areas may pose a serious threat to their national integration (Suhrke, 2012).

### **China-Pakistan Response and its Consequences**

Indo-US nuclear deal has compelled the minor South Asian states to become allies of those countries which will offer them the nuclear technology. China and Pakistan

being the traditional enemies of India may help these countries in their defence and economic development. And in future it has been suspected that China and Pakistan may provide them the nuclear weapon related technology that will have unfortunate consequences as it will led to the proliferation of nuclear race in South Asia (Main, 2006). These minor countries started to purchase arms and ammunition from Pakistan and China for their security purposes, which according to the Indian government may be used against India in future.

China and Pakistan strategically develop relations with the small South Asia countries to tip down India's role and pressurize India's national security environment. In response of Indo-US strategic presence in Indian Ocean and South East China Sea, China solidified its military ties and transfer arms to Pakistan, Iran, Nepal, Bangladesh and military-ruled Myanmar and also made efforts to secure naval facilities in the Indian Ocean littoral and deploy naval power, which would touch off suspicions and tensions with the US, India and Indonesia. On the other hand China speedup its military build-up in its Naval and air power, and modernization of its strategic weapons, India Vietnam, Indonesia will be concerned mainly by this rise of China (Chowdhury, 2011).

Sino-Pak strategically makes efforts to counter US presence in the region for their own interests. Both adopt policies to assist small South Asian countries by assisting Taliban to counter NATO forces and Afghan police. China's sale of missiles and conventional weaponry to Pakistan are geopolitical and economic in nature. Meanwhile, Sino-Pak co-operation that includes the development of Gwadar Port, the construction of road and communications infrastructure in the Pakistani occupied Kashmir has effect of keeping India on tenterhooks (Jacob 2012: 4-5). China strategically develops ports and road links in these small South Asian countries and assisted them to become self-sufficient to reduce role of India and western powers influence in their region (Castillejo, 2013).

China and Pakistan are neighboring countries of Afghanistan and both have long-term strategic interests in Afghanistan. Since US invasion of Afghanistan, Pakistan was directly involved in the war as a front line state while on the other hand China denied direct involvement in the war. US presence in Afghanistan and Pakistan was a matter of grave concern for China. However, the recent conflict between Pakistan and USA over violating the sovereignty of Pakistan gives an edge to China and they supported Pakistani leaders in their protest against the US moves. Both countries adopted different policies that will stabilize Afghanistan after the NATO withdrawal, for their own strategic interests. Withdrawal of forces would provide a chance to take active part in creating a new regime. The new president that is going to be chosen in the presidential election this year may turn out to be a Pakistani protégé (Thakur, 2012). Pakistan in its turn will seek his influence over the Pastune areas and will use Afghanistan to provide strategic depth against India. On the other hand China is not having such a big role in Afghanistan as it is having in Pakistan as China is more interested in Pakistan as a partner and ally that provides him a strategic depth against India (Cordesman, 2012). Pakistan describes China as an “all weather” friend when compared to US to which it sees as untrustworthy ally. According to press report released in 2011, Pakistani Prime Minister Yousuf Raza Gilani told Afghan president Hamid Karzai, that US had let them both down and that had made the both to turn towards China. On the other hand Beijing seeks a stable Afghanistan to minimize the need for a long-term U.S presence on China’s western border (Cohen, 2013). It continues to seek improve the relations with, and stability and security for Afghanistan. Generally Afghanistan finds itself on the periphery of Chinese political interests. It has been analyzed that Beijing played a growing role in Afghanistan after NATO withdrawal (BBC News 2013).<sup>29</sup> Both countries realize the growing role of India in Afghanistan and its growing partnership with the western countries become a major threat for their interests. They strategically want to make down India in Afghanistan.

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<sup>29</sup>BBC news Asia 16 February 2012, Afghanistan's Karzai in Pakistan for talks on Taliban..<http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/world-asia-17055246>accessed on 26/11/2013

Russia, China, Pakistan and Iran want to reduce the US role in the region (Michals, 2006).

India is second major factor for Sino-Pak nexus in Afghanistan. China is growing Industrial country that needs more raw material, resources and Markets. On the other hand Pakistan being a traditional conflicting friend of India would like to minimise its role in Afghanistan, because it creates two side front line security threats for Pakistan. As a result of both countries adopt policies to counter India's role in Afghanistan. It has been analysed that the presence of China and Pakistan in Afghanistan is a major hindrance in India's way to get connected with Central Asia region. The US policy of withdrawal of NATO forces from Afghanistan provides a lobby of Sino-Pak strategic interests in Afghanistan to counter India's role in Afghanistan, at the same time both countries adopt policy to develop anti-India attitude among Afghani Taliban. This become the major threat for India's interests not only in Afghanistan, but also infiltrated Taliban insurgent and other countries insurgent groups as well as trained local insurgent groups active in India. On the other hand other neighbouring countries are concerned with the NATO withdrawal from Afghanistan. They stated Afghanistan is highly volatile and critical for their security. It poses a number of interrelated threats, including terrorism, drug trafficking, nuclear proliferation and long standing national, ethnic and sectarian conflicts (Soherwori, 2012). This policy worsen security environment of India as well as South Asia.

## CHAPTER VI

### Summary & Recommendations

#### Summary

China-Pakistan strategic relationship is of the unique in the international politics; leadership of both countries termed it as all-weather and time tested friendship. Since the establishment of diplomatic relations in 1951 between these two countries, both countries are having close ties with each other but after Sino-India war in 1962, their relationship got further cemented. India being the traditional rival of both; they helped each other at the crucial time. Both the countries are strategically, politically and economically interdependent on each other and that forms the important factor for Sino-Pak close relations. Among the three aspects, the strategic aspect is of utmost importance. In 1972, the formal strategic relationship was established between the two countries just after Indo-Pak war (1971 Bangladesh war). The several reasons behind the strategic relations between Pakistan and China includes strategic interests of China in Pakistan, counter-terrorism in Xinjiang, Pakistan's nuclear quest, Indo-US relationship, India's nuclear test, China's energy need and Obama's Asia pivot Policy, but India factor is considered as the main reason responsible for close Sino-Pak relationship.

The strategic relationship results in the economic, political and defence corporation between the two. Pakistan got its own nuclear weapons, Missile technology and large infrastructure developments with China's assistance to counterbalance India's nuclear weapon and Missile technology. On the other hand China engages its regional competitor with Pakistan and pressures its national security and foreign policy.

China-Pakistan took different initiatives to slope down the India's role in South Asia with assisting Small South Asian Countries providing Military equipments. China assisted Pakistan by providing blueprints of nuclear weapons and uranium enrichment technology. Therefore this Sino-Pak Nuclear cooperation worsen security

environment of South Asian region as the proxy war of India and Pakistan (on the bases of Kashmir issue) will raise the chance of nuclear war in future.

Another strategic objective of Sino-Pak relationship is to cripple down India's and western powers role in the South Asia. China has played important role in the world politics for last two decades. China adopts policy of 'string of Pearls' to protect its energy, oil and trade routes through the investment in infrastructure and ports development in different countries. However, many scholars stated that the main reason behind China's strategy is to encircle its peer competitor (India) and counter western influence with its neighbouring countries like Pakistan, Afghanistan, Nepal, Bangladesh, Bhutan and other neighbouring countries. Gwadar port is considered one of the important pearl of China as it provides an alternative to China against the volatile Indian Ocean, while on the other side provides Pakistan a strategic depth against India. However, Indian and western scholars views that China will use these port as military bases, if India or US make any sort of incursion against China. It has been analysed that these ports possess potential threat for Indian national security and worsen security of these countries. Many western countries were influenced by this strategy like US, Britain. Consequently, US adopt 'Asia pivot policy' to counter Chinese rise in Indian Ocean. These two policies worsen security environment of South Asian region and build up threat of wars. On the other hand China helps strategically to those countries to drawdown the Indian dependence and counters its role in these countries. If India wants to compete with China's "string of pearls" naval access strategy, which plants China's military strength firmly in its neighbourhood, the best option for India is to resolve problems in its backyard and improve its relations with neighbours.

There are several geopolitical shifts in South Asia, which are helpful to solidify Sino-Pak strategic relationship, such as Indo-US nuclear deal, both China-Pakistan strongly opposite the deal and argued that this deal will increase arms race in region. They also state this deal compel Pakistan for nuclear proliferation. China deliberately comes forward with a similar nuclear deal with Pakistan to counter Indo-US nuclear deal. As Indo-US nuclear deal has posed a sort of threat to the security of Pakistan,

therefore compelled Pakistan to explore such options that would best serve its security interests as well as to counterbalance India threat. China also perceives the Indo-US strategic partnership as an attempt of USA to increase their power, influence in South Asia as well as put China behind and stop Chinese hegemony in South Asia.

China-Pak relations got further solidified their relations with the announcement of Obama's 'Asia Pivot Policy'. China diversifies and protects its oil supply and trade with the policy of "String of Pearls". USA aspires to make dominance in the Indian Ocean, South China Sea and East China Sea. In order to achieve the same goal and in order to counterbalance the growing power of China in the South Asian Region, Obama's administration announced Asia Pivot Policy. The US naval presence in Strait of Malacca becomes vital threat for Chinese trade of goods, oil and national security. On the other hand Pakistan government considered US Asia Pivot policy, US-India strategic partnership as well as US policy to modernize India's defence sector and nuclear weapon program as the major threat for Pakistan. So Pakistan government announced that China is the most reliable friend of Pakistan. China and Pakistan strategically counter the US-India Strategic cooperation in region by assisting small countries of South Asia in their development.

Another movement of strategic cooperation starts when Osama Bin Ladin (Head of Al-Qaeda) was killed in Pakistani territory near Afghanistan border on May, 2011. This incident makes the US Pakistan relation quite strained. Pakistani government opposes the raid and said it is grave violation of Pakistan's territorial sovereignty. The increased frictions between US-Pakistan relations after Bin Ladin's death further cemented the relations between China and Pakistan. Both Sino-Pak strategically deepens their relations with Afghanistan to undermine the role of India and US in the region. China is a dominant player in the Afghanistan infrastructure development process, because China has its own strategic interests to get access to energy rich region (Central Asia) and on the other side desires to decrease US role in Afghanistan and Pakistan. It has been analysed that China is involved to develop economic relationship with the small South Asia states to counter Western and Indian



influence in their neighbourhood. India raised voice against the Sino-Pak presence in neighbourhood countries as it becomes a sort of security threat for India.

Pakistan is a major player in the Afghanistan to reconstruct its economy and stability. They supported Hamid Karzai's peace efforts to dialogue with Taliban and Haqqani network which are important for peace and security of the region. On the other hand Pakistan assists Afghanistan for own strategic interests like to hold India's dominance in the Afghanistan and helped Taliban to come in power. However, India would not like the Taliban to come in power once again because of their pro-Pakistani nature. Thus, China-Pakistan rivalry with Indo-US makes South Asia security environment volatile. While as China and Pakistan uses proxy wars against India which possess threat for nuclear war in future. After NATO withdrawal from Afghanistan, there are more chances of civil war in Afghanistan due to longstanding Indo-Pak rivalry. As a result of this the whole South Asian countries will come under security threat.

## **Recommendations**

1: There is an urgent need of solving all the prevailing border disputes among South Asian Countries so that the atmosphere of tranquility can be maintained. By this a check will be made on the arms race that has become a fashion/trend among the South Asian countries.

2: India needs to revise its policies to maintain good relation with China because China is an emerged power in world affairs in both economic as well as in military spheres, and any sort of confrontation between the two will poses danger for India's national security.

3: Indian security planners need to work out an effective strategy in the Indian Ocean, not just because of conventional maritime threats, but also because of the fact that foreign naval bases around India might be used to link counter-India elements in Pakistan, Bangladesh and Myanmar.

4: India has a great role in the Asia Pivot Policy and its strategic partnership with US is Major obstacle in China-India Relationship. India must take some handy measures like to maintain maritime cooperation with China, which will be beneficial for its future perspectives.

5: A joint front of India, Japan and the US should be formed for the nuclear cooperation, so that a check can be made on the aggressive designs of Beijing.

6: India needs to maintain good relations with small South Asian countries to safeguard its interests.

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