

**NUCLEARISATION IN SOUTH ASIA: THE CHINA FACTOR**

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**SOUTH AND CENTRAL ASIAN STUDIES**

BY

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## CHAPTER 1

### INTRODUCTION

#### **A General Overview of Geostrategic concerns in South Asia**

*“The voracious thirst of human beings to prevail over others militarily has led to an evolution in the weapons.”* (Khan 2002: 1).

Nuclearisation in South Asia is predicated upon deterrence of aggression and prevention of war. South Asia is an expanse in which three adversary nations- India, Pakistan and China<sup>1</sup> share disputed borders (Dhanda 2010: 3). They are ragged by deep rooted animosities and countenance each other with nuclear and missile capabilities. On the one hand, the conflict between India and Pakistan and on the other hand between India and China are spurring the costly arms race and creating complex security problems in the region. The nuclear explosion of China in 1964 created apprehensions among the South Asian countries in general and India in particular because of having shared disputed border with it. China being conventionally superior to other countries in the Asian continent conducted nuclear explosion and achieved nuclear power status. However, Indian subcontinent shared historical and civilization relations with China but this crescendo of

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<sup>1</sup> Though China is not a part of South Asia but it has serious implications for South Asian security. The South Asian security equation cannot be realistically assessed without taking China into account. China sees itself as an emerging military, economic and political superpower, with real and expanding interests in South and Southeast Asia. Thus China challenges India's pre-eminence and their relationship has settled into a protracted rivalry. Since the mid 1960s, China has lent its political support and transferred arms to Pakistan to create a counter weight to India position. Above all, India believes that the balance of power in South Asia is affected by China being a nuclear power. For full discussion see Dhanda, Suresh. (2010). *Nuclear Politics in South Asia*. Regal Publication: New Delhi.

cordiality remained for a very brief period after the independence. India has not only recognized it as communist country but also supported its permanent candidature in United Nations Security Council (UNSC). Further, both countries have signed Panchsheel agreement in 1954 based on mutual interest. This bonhomie was disturbed by disputes over territorial boundaries in Aksai Chin, Arunachal Pradesh and Tibet. Asylum to Dalai Lama (xiv spiritual leader of Tibet) who fled from Tibet, added fuel to the fire and this animosity reached its climax with the Sino-India War 1962 (Chari 2007: 15). Conflict of Sino-India fostered close relations between China and Pakistan which is India's rival in South Asia since the partition of subcontinent on the Two Nations Theory.<sup>2</sup> Over the issue of Kashmir both India and Pakistan fought first war in 1948, led to the division of Kashmir into Indian administered Kashmir and Pakistan occupied Kashmir (POK) (Ganguly 2001: 17). In 1963, Pakistan and China signed a treaty by which Pakistan handed over a large part of Indian Territory of POK under her illegal occupation to China (Ganguly 2003: 96).

With these problems, on the one hand India and China drifted apart from each other and on the other hand, China and Pakistan came closer to each other. China wanted to create balance of power in South Asia without involving itself directly and in view of this started supporting militarily and economically to Pakistan to counter Indian hegemony.

China became a nuclear power in 1964 and its alleged role in developing Pakistan's nuclear technology, posed a real threat to Indian security. To counter the two frontier threat of Pakistan and China, India conducted a nuclear test at Pokhran (Rajasthan) on 18 may 1974 (Singh 2010: 37-39). The Indian Government announced the blast (without specifying the location) and declared it as "a peaceful nuclear explosion experiment." The Atomic Energy Commission (AEC) states that India has "no intention of producing nuclear weapons"

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<sup>2</sup> The two-nation theory was a founding principle of the Pakistan Movement (i.e. the ideology of Pakistan as a Muslim nation-state in South Asia), and the partition of India in 1947. An interpretation of this principle contends that Hindus and Muslims constitute two distinct, and frequently antagonistic ways of life, and that therefore they cannot coexist in one nation. For details see, Prasad, Rajendra. (2010). *India Divided*. Penguin Books : New Delhi.

(Perkovich 1999: 178). Pakistan detested India's role as a big brother in South Asian region and reacted predictably to the Indian blast. On May 19, Prime Minister Zulfikar Ali Bhutto declared that the test was a threatening development. Pakistan was determined not to be intimidated and would never fall prey to "nuclear blackmail" by India (Perkovich 1999: 185). Pakistan took the help of China in making its nuclear weapons. Also, Pakistan which had lost 1965 and 1971 war with India also had in mind that its conventional military strength is inferior as compared to India. During Indo-Pak conflict of 1965 and 1971, China condemned India as an aggressor and supported the cause of Pakistan. During war, China supplied huge quantities of arms, tanks etc. to Pakistan to make good the losses suffered by her in the war. All these gestures on the part of China contributed in the enhancement of cordial and friendly relations with Pakistan. There is also the oft-heard view that the Pakistani nuclear program is meant not just to deter an Indian attack but also to offset India's superiority in conventional military strength (Singh 2010: 40-41).

As China is playing important role in Pakistan's nuclear technology to create counterweight against India and in view of this, the presence and role of China in South Asian dynamics cannot be ignored. Its ambitions in the regional construct lead to change in regional dynamics and dampened the prospect of a safe and secure nuclear future for the region. The primary objective for Pakistan after Indian nuclear tests was to safeguard her national security. Pakistan's strategic analysts viewed that national security of Pakistan was threatened when India conducted the nuclear test -Smiling Buddha- in Pokhran (Rajasthan) in 1974. But on the other hand, India repeatedly emphasized that the tests were not directed against any country but to provide a credible option to counter the geo-strategic threats in the region as well as to develop nuclear energy to meet the increasing demands of its industrialization. On the basis of these arguments advanced by India, tests conducted by it were said to be Peaceful Nuclear Explosion (PNE).<sup>3</sup> However, Pakistan considered it as a paradigm shift in India's nuclear posture. India explained its point of view regarding nuclear explosion to China. India sought to

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<sup>3</sup> Raja Ramanna, the then chairman of IAEC contended in his book of 1991 that the India's Pokhran -1 test was not meant for nuclear development, but its main purpose was to meet the basic energy requirement of India.

enhance friendly cooperation with neighbouring countries as well as China. But given the hostility between the two nations; Pakistan disregarded Indian statements of a peaceful nuclear programme and centred their arguments on a grand hegemonic design that India had all along for South Asia which was realized by her nuclear testing. In such scenario, Pakistan took decision regarding developing its nuclear programme taking into consideration its strategic goals and objectives as well as nuclear posture of India. Exploiting the Indo-China animosity, Pakistan made efforts to turn China in its favour by taking advantages of Chinese nuclear technology to develop its own nuclear programme. China's role in the development of nuclearisation of South Asia in general and Pakistan in particular had drastic impact on the larger Asian balance of power (Brzezinski 1997: 58).<sup>4</sup> Both India and Pakistan transformed themselves from nuclear capable to nuclear weapons state in 1998. President Bill Clinton, based on a U.S. National Intelligence Estimate (NIE), described the region as the most dangerous place in the world (Miller and Risen 2000: 8).

A nuclear triangle has been formed in South Asia with India, Pakistan and China as nuclear weapons states. In the views of the strategic thinkers, this nuclear triangle would have serious implications for the regional peace, stability and security. This milieu has altered the security set up in South Asia. Stability of the region is totally dependent on the development of command and control arrangements over their establishments. This nuclearisation of South Asian region has created deterrence stability. India and Pakistan have not used their nuclear weapons after they have conducted tests in 1998.

Apart from China, there are many other external powers which are/were playing important role in relations between India and Pakistan since their independence. The Cold War politics has also played the mischievous role to make them fight against each other and accelerated the pace of nuclearisation in South Asia. The international security system of alliances and counter alliances heightened security concerns in South Asia. Oftenly, attempts have been made by

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<sup>4</sup> There is also the oft-heard view that the Pakistani nuclear program is meant not just to deter an Indian attack, but also to offset India's superiority in conventional military strength see Brzezinski Zbigniew. (1997) . A Geo-strategy for Asia'. A *Foreign Affairs* 76, 5: 58.

the major powers to maintain asymmetries in the distribution of military and economic powers and to create technological and legal condominiums to enshrine the rights of great powers. This has been amply manifested in USA's dual containment policy in respect of Pakistan and India (Zafar 2001: 3).

The main focus of this work will be analytical study which includes the overall geostrategic and geopolitical environments of South Asia along with the genesis of problem and the roots of mistrust between the two countries. The main focus of this work will also examine the role of China in the nuclearisation of South Asia. It also briefly touched upon the reasons for non adherence of non-proliferation treaties in vogue by the two countries.

## **REVIEW OF LITERATURE**

Since India and Pakistan conducted their nuclear tests, voluminous literature like books, research papers and articles have been written about how South Asia has become victim of nuclearisation. Most of the literature revealed the role of external powers (USA, China) as the major initiators of India-Pakistan nuclear explosions. China being nuclear power on India's border, as well as its support for Pakistan's nuclearisation was the main concern of India for developing its nuclear programme. India's defence policy has always been based on the principle of 'keeping one step ahead of Pakistan and at par with China' (Malik 1995). Seeing China as the reference point of India's economic, security and diplomatic policies, India's strategic analysts have been emphasising the need to keep up militarily with China.

India's concern from China in terms of nuclear development is coinciding with Pakistan's concern from India for the same. Having lost 1962 war with China, India considered nuclear weapons as a practical way to neutralise the superior conventional and nuclear strength of much larger and a powerful adversary. After the 1971 war with India, Pakistan has also adopted the same approach and considered nuclear weapons necessary to neutralise India's conventional superiority and strategic advantages. China tested its first atomic bomb in 1964. India followed suit in 1974. Similarly Pakistan also indulges in the arms race with the assistance of some extra-regional countries particularly US and China and

also with its own efforts. Through their own efforts as well as extra regional powers' assistance Pakistan tested nuclear explosion in 28 and 30 May 1998, after two weeks of India's explosion on 11 and 13 May 1998. Some of the books, research papers and articles which reviewed during my course study regarding my Dissertation are as follows:

**Ahmed, Ishtiaq. (2012). *The India-Pakistan Imbroglio: Time to Change Course*. Journal No. 9, FPRC: New Delhi.**

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.

**Chadha, R.C. (2008). *India's Nuclear Policy and the Infrastructure*. NDC Portal.NewDelhi.**

**([http://ndc.nic.in/research\\_papers/NDC\\_Paper3\\_corrected\\_2008.pdf](http://ndc.nic.in/research_papers/NDC_Paper3_corrected_2008.pdf))**

In this paper author clearly pointed out that the acquisition of nuclear weapons by India was inevitable in view of the two hostile nuclear neighbours. India has not yet acquired the capability to effectively deter China. India needs a lean and cost effective infrastructure that is quantitatively adequate and qualitatively appropriate to project India as a nuclear power capable of deterring war and of imposing unacceptable damage on the enemy, if provoked.

**Garver, John W. (2001). *Protracted Contest: Sino-Indian Rivalry in the Twentieth Century*. Seattle: University of Washington Press.**

This book comprehensively covered India's rivalries with Pakistan and China and Sino-Pak nuclear nexus. These conflicts and nuclear dangers on

contiguous borders ultimately provoked India to conduct its nuclear explosions in 1974 and 1998 to develop nuclear weapons.

**Hussain, Nazir. (2007). *Nuclearisation of South Asia and the Future of Non-Proliferation*. Journal of Political Studies, Issue XII: 1-6. University of Punjab: Lahore.**

Hussain argued that the international community is responsible for nuclearisation in South Asia. The p-5 countries which had been granted status of NWS have failed to manage the issue of non-proliferation in an appropriate manner. As NPT is the only tool available to control the proliferation of nuclear weapons, therefore it is essential to implement it in a letter and spirit. Instead of controlling the proliferation, they increased their inventories in order to enhance their dominance and interests which further triggered the countries like India, Pakistan, Israel, North Korea and South Africa etc., with Nuclear weapon programmes. He further stated that future of non-proliferation is highly uncertain and we cannot forecast successes or failure of non-proliferation efforts due to irresponsible and dual behavior of P-5s.

**Joshi, Sharad. (2007). “*Nuclear Proliferation and South Asia: Recent Trends*”. Paper posted to NTI.**

This paper contended that nuclear proliferation in South Asia is in part a consequence of the security dilemma existing in the subcontinent. China's desire to catch up with the United States obliged India to prevent an adverse strategic balance of power. India's need for a reliable nuclear deterrent against China involves expanding nuclear weapons and delivery system capabilities. This creates apprehension in Pakistan because while New Delhi has a China focus for expanding nuclear arsenals, it naturally has edge over the capabilities of Islamabad as well. It is widely accepted that since its inception, Pakistan's nuclear policy has been a constant response to the perceived threat from India. Therefore, in order to maintain the strategic balance or to at least prevent from the present imbalance from widening, Pakistan further expands its own nuclear capabilities.

**Kapur, Ashok. (1987). *Pakistan's Nuclear Development*. Routledge: London.**



In this book, the author has pointed out that Pakistan's actions are a major example of the defiance of international laws on non-proliferation. He further pointed out that major players in helping out Pakistan in becoming nuclear have been China, the USA, and the Muslim world by providing it military assistance from time to time.

**Mitchell, Derek, J. and Bajpae, Chietigj. (2007). “*The China balance sheet in 2007 and Beyond*”. Center for Strategic and International Studies, N.W. Washington, D.C.**

In this article, both the scholars contended that China's continued support for Pakistan has long been a source of friction in China-India relations. The China-Pakistan relationship grew out of their mutual desire beginning in the 1960s to counterbalance India. The nexus between China Pakistan develops a psyche apprehension among Indian leaders regarding two frontier threats. India was compelled for acquiring nuclear development that came true in 1998 nuclear test.

**Narasimha, Roddam. (2001). *Evolution of India's Nuclear Policies*. A Paper based on a talk given at the 13<sup>th</sup> Amaldi Conference held at Rome.**

This paper focussed on many factors which played significant role in Indian strategic calculus. Chinese explosion in 1964, the presence of the nuclear-powered and armed USS Enterprise in the Bay of Bengal during the Bangladesh War of 1971, Sino-Pak nuclear partnership, strong statements from political, military and scientific leaders in Pakistan regarding the availability of nuclear weapons in the 1990s and the pressures exerted by the United States against the conduct of any further nuclear or missile tests during much of the 1990s, instigated India to go for nuclearisation.

**Paul, T. V. (200). *Great Powers and Nuclear Non-proliferation Norms: China in South Asia*. *International Studies Association (ISA) Convention, Los Angeles*.**

In this paper the author described that China's involvement in nuclear proliferation in South Asia has been long-standing. It is both a cause of and a contributor to proliferation in the region. As a military ally of Pakistan and an adversary of India, China has helped Islamabad to build its nuclear and missile

capabilities. China has used this assistance to Pakistan as a way to balance India militarily and politically.

**Rajan, Arpit. (2005). *Nuclear Deterrence in Southern Asia: China, India and Pakistan*. SAGE: New Delhi:**

In this book, the author focused on the strategic culture of the South Asia region. He discussed regarding the triangular relationship involving India, Pakistan and China. On the one hand, he strongly advocated a nuclear weaponised India “to serve the cause of disarmament” whereas on the other hand, he put on alert India regarding the qualitative and quantitative improvement of Chinese nuclear forces which could be threat perception for not only for India but for the whole region. An expansion of China’s nuclear arsenal could also alter India’s and Pakistan’s strategic calculus. According to the author, given the pressure of domestic constituencies, political leadership of the either country did not want to appear weak on national security issues. While India might continue to develop delivery system indigenously, Pakistan might be compelled to rely on its strategic allies China and North Korea for new missiles. While Pakistan might be content with acquiring a strategic equilibrium with India, Indian ambitions may compel it to project a regional power image, thus adding an impetus to a regional arms race.

**Raman, B. (2011). *China’s Strategic Eggs in South Asia*. A paper prepared for presentation at a seminar on “strategic contours of india-china relations” at vizag: Vishakapatnum.**

In this paper, the author has critically analysed that China is one of the important factors which directly or indirectly linked with the nuclearisation of the South Asia. For the dominance of South Asia, India is a competitor of China. With the intention of keeping its competitor engaged with Pakistan, China began with the premise that relationship with Pakistan would be of advantage to both the countries, as it would presented India with a two front military threat. Providing Pakistan every kind of assistance and supply of nuclear and missile technologies and there by provocation for India’s nuclear weapons programme has been both vital and decisive in the evolution of India Pakistan nuclear deterrence. In the end

of the paper, the author concluded that external powers in general and China in particular played an important role in the nuclearisation of South Asia.

**Raman, B. (2012). *Pokhran-II & Indo-US Relations*. Paper No.4, SAAG: New Delhi.**

In this article, the author has pinpointed that China is consistently providing assistance to Pakistan in the nuclear and missile technology despite the latter's role in Xinjiang and encouragement 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 prevent 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 exploded in 1998.

**Ramana, M. V. and Rammanohar Reddy.C. (eds.) (2003). *Prisoners of Nuclear Dream*. Orient Blackswan: New Delhi.**

The book claims that Nuclear Weapon States themselves violated the NPT norms such as China and USA. Transfer of missiles by China to Iraq, Pakistan and Saudi Arabia had to be deliberated and factored into the security matrices of South Asia particularly in context of India. Discussing the Sino-Pak nuclear axis, there is enough evidence regarding the continuous nuclear cooperation since 1976. However, the precise quantum of Chinese aid to Pakistan remains unclear. The cooperation of these two arch rivals created a security threat in both the political leadership and people of India which compelled to develop its nuclear weapons.

**Tellis, Ashley J. (2005). *India's Emerging Nuclear Power*. National book network: New Delhi.**

In this book, the author has analysed that the strategic calculus at the regional and global level posed security challenges for India which compelled to reorient its nuclear program. Author has also argued that China is a major concern for India being nuclear weapon state as well as Sino-Pak nuclear nexus. The international non-proliferation regimes alike NPT and CTBT were not signed by India on the grounds of being discriminatory and due to this India has kept its options open regarding nuclear weapon technology. The book also deals with the availability of the fissile material with India, which prompted the scientific community to pursue the nuclear program. Plutonium was found in abundance in India, which is the central element of the development of the nuclear facilities. India had developed the nuclear weapons but did not have the delivery systems. It developed the missile technology as the delivery base for the nuclear weapons. India started the missile development program in 1962 and since then it has tested various missiles like Prithvi, Akash, Agni, Naag, Trishul and many others. This has enabled India to have the second strike capability and secure it from the adversaries.

## **METHODOLOGY OF THE STUDY**

### **Statement of the Problem**

This research proposes to analyze the role of China in the nuclearisation in South Asia.

### **Sub-problems**

In the year 1964, China became the fifth nuclear power. India embroiled in dispute with China and suffered humiliation in the 1962 War, apprehended the political leadership as well as the people of India. Security concerns found important place in the strategic thinking of the country which lead to the policy decision makers to give serious thought to conduct its nuclear explosion. It conducted its first nuclear tests in 1974. Meanwhile, Pakistan's nuclear programme was lagged far behind. In order to balance Pakistan's strategic posture with India China supported the former by financially as well as technologically. The study would examine:

1. The geopolitical and geostrategic interests of China in South Asia.
2. The factors responsible for nuclear tests of India and Pakistan.
3. The role of China in the nuclearisation of South Asia.

### **Hypothesis**

The hypothesis will be tested through the research, "Nuclearisation in South Asia: The China Factor". China conducted nuclear test in 1964 and became the fifth nuclear power. Nuclear China shares long border with South Asian countries which heightened security concerns in the region in general and for India in particular. Alarmed by this, India felt insecure and in turn conducted nuclear test in 1974. This further threatened Pakistan's security which resulted in the development of nuclear programmes in both India and Pakistan.

### **Methods of data collection**

The methodology to be used for this research would be descriptive and analytical. The data for the research will be mainly collected from the primary and secondary sources like white papers available in embassies, the interviews of leaders of India, Pakistan and China, foreign policy documents, official statements, books, journals, articles, unpublished thesis and internet sources.

### **DEFINITION, RATIONALE AND SCOPE OF STUDY**

Nuclearisation in South Asia means nuclearisation in the major two countries of this region *viz.*, India and Pakistan. Only these two countries in the region, possessing nuclear weapons in order to balance each other. The South Asia region consists of eight countries including Afghanistan, Bangladesh, Bhutan, India, Maldives, Nepal, Pakistan, and Sri-Lanka.

The study will investigate the overall geopolitical and geostrategic environments of South Asia. The study will also explain the problem areas and the roots of mistrust between the two countries.

The specific emphasis will be on the security threats which China created in the region after conducting nuclear explosion in 1964. China after winning war in

1962 against India became a nuclear power in the Asian continent in 1964. This created apprehensive security environment around India. In such scenario, India conducted nuclear tests in 1974. In order to free manoeuvres in the Asian continent, China created two war fronts for India by making close alliance with Pakistan and helped it in making nuclear weapons which further heightened the security concerns of India. With India's explosion Pakistan also made an attempt and both countries conducted nuclear tests in 1998 and declared themselves nuclear powers.

The study will also briefly touch upon the reasons for non-adherence of nonproliferation treaties by the two countries.

The study argues that the world, in general, and South Asia, in particular, will remain under the clouds of nuclear disaster due to India and Pakistan, unless Kashmir problem is amicably solved.

## **ORGANISATION OF THE DISSERTATION**

It is proposed to study the subject by analysing the following aspects:-

### **CHAPTER - 1**

This chapter contains the introduction that includes the overview of the work, review of literature, statement of the problem, hypothesis, scope and the plan of the dissertation.

### **CHAPTER - 2**

This chapter analyses the geo-political and geo-strategic environment of the South Asia region which achieved critical significance since the partition of India. Major Powers for their vested interests intervened in the internal affairs of the region, whetted up the rivalry, and used the one country against the other.

### **CHAPTER - 3**

This chapter examines the issues of rivalry between India and Pakistan including Kashmir, Siachen, Sir Creek, Wular Barrage/ Tulbul Navigation Project and Terrorism. China in the neighbour takes full advantages of these issues and

created a situation of animosity between India and Pakistan instead of bringing them in solution.

#### **CHAPTER - 4**

This chapter analyse the China factor in the South Asian region regarding nuclear proliferation. China conducted its nuclear test in 1964 and in the mean time developed Sino-Pak nuclear nexus. This chapter assesses the security concerns of India out of this nuclear nexus which resulted in development of nuclear weapons in the India and in turn in Pakistan.

#### **CHAPTER - 5**

This chapter contains the conclusion and recommendations.

## **CHAPTER 2**

### **REGIONAL GEO-STRATEGIC SIGNIFICANCE: CONTEXTUALISING INTERESTS OF EXTERNAL POWERS**

#### **INTRODUCTION**

The South Asia region is described by most of the experts of International relations as a volatile region of the world. This image of South Asia has been viewed from the strained relations developed between India and Pakistan since their independence. Due to its strategic location and natural resources, this region attracted the attention of many external powers such as China and USA. These countries made an attempt to increase their economic stakes in both India and Pakistan as both countries in the South Asian region have possessed well established geographical and geopolitical significance. Both powers also seek to engage India and Pakistan with respect to security and energy issues in West and Central Asia, the Indian Ocean and South East Asia. However, the main focus of this chapter is to analyse the geo-political and geo-strategic environment of the South Asia region which achieved critical significance since the partition of India. Moreover, the chapter also includes the role of major Powers who for their vested interests intervened in the internal affairs of the region and whetted up the rivalry, and used the one country against the other.

#### **COMPOSITION OF SOUTH ASIAN REGION**

South Asia is now applied to what, in colonial days, was generally famous as the “Indian subcontinent” – a diverse mix of British India and a range of kingdoms with varying degrees of subservience and allegiance to the colonial power (Bose and Jalal 2004: 3). The strength of colonialism was felt around the world, including in South Asia. South Asia provided an outstanding example of colonialism’s role in establishing most of the current political borders in the world. From the sixteenth century onward, colonial powers began to arrive in South Asia



to conduct trade. The British East India Company was chartered to trade with India in 1600. It traded in spices, silk, cotton, and other goods. During that time the local kingdoms in subcontinent were plagued by conflicts and bitter rivalries among themselves. Exploiting the conditions prevailed at that time, the East Indian Company started establishing colonies in the subcontinent. Britain controlled the South Asia till the mid of the twentieth century either through the East India Company or the British Crown (James 1994: 15, 32, 57). After the end of the Second World War, Britain was not in a position to keep control over the subcontinent and in mid 20<sup>th</sup> century left the subcontinent after partitioning it into India and Pakistan (Gidvani 2009:723). With the partition of the subcontinent, many conflicts and controversies related to boundaries came into existence. The partition grew into a tragic civil war, as Hindus and Muslims migrated to their country of choice. More than one million people died in the civil war, a war that is still referred to in today's political dialogues between India and Pakistan (Gidvani 2009: 725).

The notion of "South Asia" is useful in referring to the countries of the region as a group. South Asia extends south from the main part of the continent to the Indian Ocean. The main boundaries of South Asia are the Indian Ocean, the Himalayas, and Afghanistan. The Arabian Sea borders Pakistan and India to the west, and the Bay of Bengal borders India and Bangladesh to the east. The western boundary is the desert region where Pakistan shares border with Iran as shown in the figure 1.

South Asia is a sub region of Asian continent comprising the modern states of Afghanistan, Bangladesh, Bhutan, India, Maldives, Nepal, Pakistan and Sri Lanka. It covers about 4,480,000 km<sup>2</sup> or 10 per cent of the continent, and is also known as the Indian subcontinent. The countries of the region cooperate through the South Asian Association for Regional Cooperation (SAARC) (Budania 2001: 78). This was formed in 1985 with the main contribution of Bangladeshi president Sheikh Mujib-ur-Rehman. The principal goal of SAARC is "to promote the welfare of the peoples of South Asia, to improve their quality of life, to accelerate economic growth, social progress and cultural development and to provide all individuals the opportunity to live in dignity and to realize their full potential"

(Bhasin 2004 : 492). South Asia ranks among the world's most densely-populated regions and approximately 1.75 billion people living in the region (Human Development Report 2010: 145).

Figure 1.1 Main Features of South Asia



Source: Updated from map courtesy of University of Texas Libraries, accessed on September 15, 2012.

### **GEO STRATEGIC IMPORTANCE OF SOUTH ASIAN REGION**

South Asia is moored in Indian Ocean and on account of that it holds very pivotal position in the geopolitical and geostrategic landscape. It has been remained as the cross road for migration of the culture, religion, civilization, language etc. In the ancient time it has been known for its spices and natural wealth. It has attracted the attention of major external powers in the region on account of these riches. It has not only connected South East Asia to Middle East Asia but has also worked as a junction to connect Asia to Europe through Central Asia. This region remained as quite sensitive and strategic on account of its encirclement by the very ambitious powers like China and Russia. Its western side provides access to the Persian Gulf while on South eastern side provides an access to the Malaccan Strait which are playing very strategic role in geopolitics and geo-economics (Devare 2006: 19). Indian Ocean on its South has remained strategically important throughout the recorded history being arteries of world trade and rich in natural resources. Its importance has further increased after the

establishment of United States Base at Diego Garcia, just South of Maldives (Moshaver, Ziba 1991: 52-53).

Given of the enormous size and military technology, India and Pakistan are holding geo-strategically dominant position in the South Asia. India's central location increased its strength in comparison with its neighbours. It touches territorial and maritime borders of all the South Asian countries (Gopal 1996: 218). Other South Asian countries can only reach one another by crossing through Indian Territory. India is the largest country in South Asia with respect to land, geography and population (Ahmad 2009: 3). It is economically, scientifically and technologically more advanced as compared to other countries of the region. It is the world's largest democracy with well established and stable political system over the other South Asian countries (Jain 1987: 25).

Pakistan is a bridge between South Asia and South West Asia. Afghanistan, Iran and Central Asia are rich in energy resources (Lodhi 2012: 31). With the onset of globalization and liberalization and introduction of economic reforms, India and China's economies are on high trajectory and to sustain this growth rate they needed sustainable energy supply. On the one hand both the countries are deficient in energy resources whereas the Middle East and Central Asia are rich sources of energy. However, with the interventions of major powers stability in these regions is a distant dream. On account of this Pakistan holds a pivotal position being sitting on the energy routes. India, Pakistan and Iran (IPI) and Turkmenistan, Afghanistan, Pakistan and India (TAPI) proposed pipe lines corroborate the geo-strategic importance of Pakistan in the region not only for the region but in the adjacent regions also. Pakistan is a short cut route for IPI project. However, India could access to Afghanistan, Iran and Central Asian energy sources through the maritime routes using Iran ports but it is proving costlier ones. Hence, Pakistan provides short cut routes for trade and energy from these regions which enhanced its geostrategic significance.

During the Cold War, interventions of the major powers in the South Asia added fuel to the fire in the regional conflicts and controversies. Its strategic location could help the major powers to counter the strategic manoeuvres of their adversaries. Pakistan's geostrategic location sometimes had created problems for Pakistan. United States used Pakistan in proxy war against Soviet intervention in Afghanistan in 1979 (Khan 2009: 68). In the post 9/11, United States used

Pakistanis' strategic built up to counter Taliban and Al-Qaeda in Afghanistan. Pakistan is also helping the USA's global War on Terror (WOT) (Nazir 2010: 63-81). Despite this, Pakistan is paying heavily in the terms of man and materially due to terrorism on its soil and from Afghanistan.

It is considered that some potential powers are emerging in the subcontinent. China is one of them. Similarly, India and Pakistan declared themselves as nuclear powers in the region after conducting their nuclear tests in 1998. US interests in the region is to contain the growing influence of China in this region. Nuclear ambition of Iran is an eye sore of USA and at any cost it wanted to contain the nuclear ambitions of Iran (Sokolski 2004: 1).

Post 9/11, Afghanistan became battle field for International Security Assistance Force (ISAF) to control the Taliban regime and evil designs of the Al-Qaeda. With the introduction of liberalization, India is emerging a major market for the MNCs and the major external powers wanted to extract the benefit from this. With the disintegration of the USSR in the 1990s, the unipolar world has emerged in the form of USA. Being the sole power, USA entered this region with more vigor. Geostrategic and geo-economic are the two main objectives and interests of US in the region. USA used Pakistan as a front line state to fight against terrorism and counter the influence of China and Russia in the region. US is sole super power in the new globalized world order and Pakistan is geo-strategically important for the former one in order to fight a WOT and keep watch on the rise of any rivals such as China or any other power (Ray 2007: 104).

USA wanted to maintain its dominance in the region to have control over the Middle East and Central Asian energy resources (Ahmed 1999: 181). Through Pakistan, USA has maintained its dominance in the region and has been able to minimize the influence of other competitors. Pakistan is also considered as a strategic balancer in the Middle East. Saudi Arabia viewed Pakistan as a balancer against Iran. USA and Saudia Arabia shared the same views on the role of Pakistan to counter evil designs of Iran in the Middle East and Southern Asia.

Central Asian Republics (CARs) are rich in oil and gas resources. They are landlocked states and need a corridor for export of their energy resources and a transit route for trade and commerce with South Asia through Pakistan. Pakistan is

also crucial for China because China finds way to Indian Ocean and Arabian Sea through Korakoram Corridor (Misra 1986: 176). Pakistan's Gwadar port is holding strategic importance for China. Through this port, China could access and protection energy from the Middle East Asia (Pant 2007: 54-71). It not only provides short cut routes to energy sources but with this, it could be able to monitor adversaries' strategic manoeuvrability in the Indian Ocean.

### **DOMINANCE OF INDIA AND PAKISTAN IN THE SOUTH ASIAN REGION**

India and Pakistan are the two dominant Countries as compared to other countries of the South Asian in many ways. India's domination is displayed in terms of its area and it is also the second populous country in the world (Chapman 2011: 238). It is economically, military and scientifically far better than other countries of the region. India finds itself at an advantageous position in most of the areas influencing the formulation of nuclear strategy; for example her conventional strategic military superiority, geographic depth, large stockpiles of fissile material, satellite capability and a stronger economic base (Smith 1994: 181). These dimensions made India to think herself as a dominant country in South Asia. In terms of descriptive analysis of the region, the following salient facts emerge (Berlin 2006: 58-89).

- I. In South Asia, India is the major power in terms of 'comprehensive power' analysis.
- II. Terrestrially, India embedded and moored into the Indian Ocean and with a reasonable naval built-up. India could competently control the Arabian Sea, Bay of Bengal and the Indian Ocean. Generally, it is perceived by China that Indian dominance in the Indian Ocean would pose threats for its sea borne trade (approximately 75 per cent passes through the Sea Lanes of Communication -SLOCs) and future energy security as approximately 70 per cent of its energy requirements passes through SLOCs.
- III. Politically, India is the world's leading democracy and with a record of political stability extending into the sixth decade, unlike its other neighbours, India is a major potential power with a strong "civil society" in its most liberalist interpretations.

- IV. Economically, India is on high trajectory after the introduction of LPG. Its economy has touched double digit growth rate. It has foreign exchange reserves over \$100 billion. It is worlds' largest emerging market.
- V. India today is a nuclear weapon and space power and with the second largest armed forces in Asia after China.

On the other side, Pakistan is the second dominant country in South Asia. In terms of its area, population, economic growth, militarily and scientifically and possession of nuclear weapons comes after India (Bhargava 2000: 16). However, it has made tremendous progress in science and technology with the assistance of some external powers like USA and China which have vested interests in the region. Pakistan is a dominant and influential country in the South Asia and playing important role in the SAARC. Conventionally, Pakistan is weaker to India. Hence, India is more dominant country in South Asia. China is also not sharing congeniality with India and not wanted to see India as a dominant country in South Asia. Therefore, China had adopted policies of "strategic de-stabilization" of India; and Pakistan has become tool for China to achieve this goal. This has been corroborated by the following points (Hassan 2011: 73):

- I. China with massive military aid endeavoured to build up Pakistan as a strategic counter-weight to India.
- II. China provided nuclear technology to Pakistan and built up its nuclear and missile arsenal.
- III. In recent years, China facilitated through North Korea the supply of North Korean (IRBM) to Pakistan. In return, Pakistan supplied nuclear weapons technology to North Korea.

India and Pakistan are the only two nuclearised countries in the world having the distinction of fighting three direct wars in the last sixty-five years of their existence as independent states. Moreover, both the countries are still in a state of animosity, trying to contain each other's threat by opting for higher military expenditure and more sophisticated arsenal. The latest conflict over Kargil has only heightened apprehension of an all out nuclear conflict in the region (Chari 2007: 119). This apprehension was further accelerated with the nuclear blasts carried out by both the countries in 1998 (Ahmed 1999: 5). The security concerns

of the two countries are no longer remained at individual level but have become international ones.

### **CHINA'S INTEREST IN THE SOUTH ASIAN REGION**

However, China is not a part of South Asia but it is playing important role in South Asian region. It perceived India as its competitor in the Asia. South Asia being strategically located, many major external powers are at play in this region. Their interests are contradictory to each other. In order to achieve their objectives, they used fair or foul means and one of them is to make fight the South Asian countries against each other. China has same kind of objects in the region which are summed up as follow:

1. Countering and minimizing India's influence.
2. Geopolitical containment of USA.
3. Give blow to democratic waves.
4. Maintaining access and dominating control over energy sources.
5. Secure the sea lanes of communication by expanding People's Liberation Army (PLAs) activities in the Indian Ocean, including construction of ports in friendly countries, establishment of electronic intelligence facilities and exchanging of naval ship visits.

In order to achieve these objectives in this region, China is seeking to co-opt Pakistan as a junior partner. China views India as the single most potent long term threat to its continued domination in Asia. It is, therefore, China is engaging with the neighbouring hostile countries of India, diplomatically, economically and strategically to hamstring it from all directions (Kumar 2007: 13).

China continues to "balance" India by providing strategic support to Pakistan. The main objective of China's policy has been to prevent the rise of a rival to challenge its status as the Asia-Pacific's 'Middle Kingdom'. As an old Chinese saying goes, 'one mountain cannot accommodate two tigers' (Malik 1999: 32). Oftenly, Beijing is considering that it is only India which has the size, might, numbers and above all, the intention to match China. In the meantime, perceiving India as weak, indecisive and on the verge of collapse, from Beijing's perspective, is to keep New Delhi under pressure by arming its neighbours and supporting insurgency movements in India (Malik 2001: 74). That is why Beijing has pursued

a policy to isolate India from this region by supporting its neighbouring countries (Kumar 2007: 12-24). After the India-China War of 1962, China has sought to build up Pakistan as a military counterweight to India, so as to engage India on two war fronts. Despite Chinese efforts to justify military links with Pakistan as normal state-to-state relations, India has remained unconvinced and demanded not to arm India's hostile neighbours (Kumar 2007: 13).

India has always perceived this Sino-Pak military nexus as threatening to its security (Kapila 2009). The most security concern of India is the Chinese transfer of nuclear and missile technology to Pakistan. New Delhi's repeated protestations to Beijing have fallen on deaf ears. China provided Pakistan with a tested nuclear warhead design, M-9 and M-11 ballistic missiles and missile components, fissile material, nuclear plants, and ring magnets for enriching weapons-grade uranium. These transfers led to the imposition of US sanctions against China in 1991 and 1993. Even the recent Sino-Indian rapprochement belied New Delhi's hopes that improved ties would lead to more circumspect Chinese behaviour. In fact, Beijing stepped up its nuclear and missile transfers to Pakistan as a bargaining chip in its attempts to curb US arms transfers to Taiwan.

The Sino-Indian dialogue in the recent years saw China's assistance to Pakistan overshadowing the thorny territorial dispute between India and China. Throughout their independent existence, most of the time both China and Pakistan have been maintaining cordial relations and obviously China is not going to be less friendly to Pakistan, even following normalization with India. It is primarily because the combined strategic and political advantages China receives from its relationship with Pakistan. China can outweigh India not only in South Asia but also in other regions through other Pakistan friendly countries. Above all, Pakistan is the only country that stands up to India and thereby prevents its hegemony over the region. This is what the key objective of China's South Asia policy.

## **CONCLUSION**

Since antiquity South Asia has been an attractive economic proposition for the non-region people. Initial migrations into the region came through the land route. Later, sea route was used by outsiders for penetrating the region. South Asian states are prominent and very important because of their geo-strategic



location, instead of getting benefits out of this, their geo-strategic location become nuisance for these states. A famous proverb which depicts real position of the region that when elephants fight, it is grass which has to suffer. Same is the case with the South Asian countries particularly for India and Pakistan. South Asian states have become battle field among strategic competitors because of their strategic location. In South Asia, India and Pakistan became arch enemies of each other with the intervention of external powers. So threats and opportunities in the region have all become complex and interlocked. Pakistan cannot become a normal country unburdened of its insecurities and unsustainable regional ambitions without normal relations with India. Pakistan's relations with the China have become both an opportunity and compulsion for it to meet the crises both of its own and China's making. China itself cannot achieve its strategic purposes without a cordial relation with India and stable Pakistan. This is a compelling reason for all the players in the region to coordinate and accommodate each others interests in order to stabilise the region.

Nuclearisation is very critical problem in the South Asia. It has very serious implications for the region. The next chapter is going to focus on the main irritants in the region which in return heightened the security concerns and how it is whetted up by the external powers particularly China which ultimately became the underpinnings of the nuclearisation in South Asia.

## **CHAPTER 3**

### **REGIONAL CONFLICTS IN SOUTH ASIA: INTERNAL AND EXTERNAL DYNAMICS**

South Asia is a vast region. Home to one-fifth of humanity, it is a region that offers so much to the world, yet, it is held back by poverty and underdevelopment. The serious economic and social challenges that it face have been compounded by long-standing intra-regional tension and unresolved border disputes. The politico-strategic environment in South Asia has been seriously hindered by internal or intra-state conflicts. The region is one of the most ethnically, culturally and linguistically diverse. It is host to deeply entrenched ethnic hostility, communal violence and numerous wars, both inter and intra-state. Some of these conflicts, such as those in Kashmir and Sri Lanka, are well documented, while many others receive minimal attention. Diverse political experiences, ideologies, ethnic identities and economic conditions across and within the states pose serious challenges for the security of the region. South Asia has been increasingly overwhelmed with what has been termed “non-traditional security threats”, such as ethnic and ethno-nationalistic insurgencies that undermine the ability of state institutions to manage conflict. Conflicts in the South Asia are having various forms (Ahmed, Bhatnagar 2008: 7-8) such as territorial disputes between India-Pakistan over the deadlock on issues of Kashmir, Siachen Glacier and Sir Creek. Border dispute between Afghanistan-Pakistan is also lingering. Sri Lankan ethnic conflict is a serious concern for the regional security. Cross border terrorism for the last three decades has been seriously threatening the region. India-Pakistan on several occasions has been blaming each other for carrying out terrorist activities or supporting such acts in their respective countries. Conflict over natural resources is also figuring in the changing dynamics of security matrices. Baghliar Dam being built over River Chenab in Indian administered Kashmir is opposed by Pakistan. India-Bangladesh relations have been disturbed by many bilateral issues such as Farrakha Barrage and Moore Island. Bilateral relations between India and Sri Lanka have been affected by the unresolved Sri Lankan ethnic conflict and

highly aggravated by the Indian intervention. Although India shares cordial relations with its neighbourhood but it lacks intensity and substance in its relations whereas Pakistan is sharing up to some extent good relations with South Asia countries except India.

It is considered that despite many other conflicts in the region, controversial issues between India and Pakistan attracted more attention. The continuing conflict between India and Pakistan has led to ever-increasing investments in arms and ammunitions to counter each other's military capability. Both states continue to invest huge amounts of their financial resources in buying weapons from the USA, China, Russia, Israel, Canada, Sweden and France. The complex security challenges confronted by South Asia have assumed an ominous dimension with India and Pakistan, two nuclear capable states, always remaining in a confrontational mode. No other region in the world today is as volatile and unstable as South Asia with its longstanding India-Pakistan hostility and conflict and its crucial role.<sup>5</sup>

The history of Indo-Pak relation is a narratives of two hostile neighbours, having different religious ideologies, different socio-economic bases and conflicting national interest. Its reality can be best described as a dichotomous model where the two countries are seen as locked in a zero-sum conflict *i.e.*, the gain for one is seen as the loss of the other (Khan 2009: 62). Unfortunately, the relationship between India and Pakistan since independence has been turbulent and hostile marked by wholesale communal massacres at the time of the partition of British India. Soon after their independence, relationship between both the states witnessed deficit of trust (Rizvi 2012: 1-38). Three wars (1947-48, 1965,

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<sup>5</sup> The former president of Pakistan, General Pervez Musharraf, has been quoted by a newspaper in the United States as having called South Asia "one of the most volatile regions in the world". He called on the US government "to address the root causes of problems in the region and force Pakistan and India to resolve their political differences". He said the region faced three major challenges: terrorism and extremism, the acrimonious relationship between India and Pakistan, and poverty and underdevelopment. He said, "Pakistan faces all facets of extremism, including Al Qaeda and the Taliban, and...groups [that propagate them] must be stopped from spreading in the society...this is a battle for hearts and minds". See also, Editorial (2009). South Asia: the most volatile region. Reported in, The Daily Times of Pakistan.

and 1971) were fought between both the countries. At least four occasions (1987, 1990, 1999 and 2002) they were at the brink of a major armed conflict. Thus relationship between both the states remained most of time volatile except for brief periods (Tashkent<sup>6</sup> and Shimla Agreements<sup>7</sup>). However, this was an exception rather than a normal practice in their bilateral relations. The motive, which impelled both India and Pakistan towards hostility and rivalry “are embedded in history and politics of the subcontinent (Nazir 2004: 21). The hostile relationship between these two countries has not only posed economic, political and security challenges but has also severely affected the security environment of the region (Marwah 2003).

On the other hand, many efforts have been made by both the countries to normalize bilateral relations but peace remained as a distant dream. Soon after independence, Jammu and Kashmir has become a bone of contention, over which both the countries fought two wars in 1948 and 1965. The 1971 year proved a very catastrophic over the issue of Bengali refugees and both the countries met with an another destructive war which led to the liberation of East Pakistan

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<sup>6</sup> The Tashkent Declaration of 10 January 1966 was a peace agreement between India and Pakistan after the 1965 war. Peace had been achieved by the intervention of the great powers those convinced the two nations for cease-fire. A meeting was held in Tashkent in the USSR (now in Uzbekistan) beginning on 4 January 1966 to try to create a more permanent settlement. The Soviets, represented by Premier Kosygin moderated between Indian Prime Minister Lal Bahadur Shastri and Pakistani President Muhammad Ayub Khan. See also, Brig. Shakti Gurung.(2008). Strategy to resolve the Jammu and Kashmir dispute, pp. 10-12. Asian Security Scenario, NDC, Papers.

<sup>7</sup> The Simla Treaty, popularly known as the Simla Pact or the Simla Agreement, was signed between India and Pakistan on 2 July 1972 following the 1971 India- Pakistan War. The treaty was signed in Simla, by Zulfikar Ali Bhutto, the President of Pakistan, and Indira Gandhi, the Prime Minister of India. The agreement laid down the principles that should govern their future relations. It also conceived steps to be taken for further normalization of mutual relations. It is significant that the Cease-Fire Line was changed to the LC during this summit. This was not merely a change of nomenclature but a consequence of an agreement, seeking to adhere to the status quo by all means. The treaty has been the basis of all subsequent bilateral talks between India and Pakistan, though it has not prevented the relationship between the two countries from deteriorating to the point of armed conflict. See also, Brig. Shakti Gurung.(2008). Strategy to resolve the Jammu and Kashmir dispute, pp. 10-12. Asian Security Scenario, NDC, Papers.

(Bangladesh) out of partition of Pakistan (Sanskar, Shrivastava. (October 30, 2011). However, by Shimla Agreement (1972), both the countries agreed to resolve their differences through peaceful means mutually agreed upon between them but the civil and military leadership of Pakistan could not forget this insult (Dixit 2002: 210). To take revenge of 1971, Pakistan started aiding and abetting cross border terrorism in India. At the same time, South Asia region has also been remained as the playground of Cold War politics. Many external powers such as USA, USSR and China intervened in the bilateral issues of both the countries and whetted up the animosity for their geopolitical and geostrategic interests in the region. These powers started assisting both the countries militarily and economically. Also, to contain Indian influence in South Asia, China supported Pakistan with nuclear technology. Changing security environment and Sino-Pak nexus compelled India to develop nuclear capability.

On account of security concern perceptions, both the countries India and Pakistan, conducted their nuclear tests in 1998 to display their nuclear technology. In 1999, Kargil war started in Kashmir. As a result of this misadventure, both nations had suffered considerable losses in term of man and material. Instead of bringing peace and prosperity to their majority of population deprived of basic needs, people of both the countries felt threatened and insecure by such misadventures. The Indo-Pak rivalry remains one of the most enduring<sup>8</sup> and unresolved conflict since their independence. (Paul and Hogg 2005: 253). Paul who is expert in this area contended that there is no sign of a permanent settlement is in the vicinity in near future despite occasional normalcy being witnessed by these countries. During 1990's, the acquisition of nuclear weapon and introduction of terrorist tactics into the conflict heightened the possibility of breaking out a catastrophic war in South Asia with unimaginable consequences (Paul 2005: 3).

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<sup>8</sup> The Kashmir conflict is one of the most controversial in nature. Although it can be argued that six decades of conflict is rather modest in an historical perspective, the conflict is frequently portrayed in terms of 'enduring' and 'protracted'. Defined by Paul as a; "*persistent, fundamental, and long term incapability of goals between India and Pakistan*". For full detail see, T. V. Paul, 2005.

The rivalry between the two countries further intensified when India began to assert its role as a hegemonic power in the region. Pakistan, though accepted India as a significant player in the region, sought to resist its attempts for domination. Consequently, Pakistan's foreign policy towards India has been remained as reactive (Paul 2005: 4). The many incidents such as the Kargil crises (1999), the terrorist attacks on the Indian parliament (December 13, 2001); Indian railways in Mumbai (August 2006); Taj and Oberai Trident hotels (November 26, 2008) etc. further intensified bilateral animosity.

The Indo-Pak relations remained one of the most hyperbolic and unresolved conflict since their independence. In such milieu, the relations are once again became tensed and poised and does not need more than a few hours to enter into a conflict situation because of the recent terrorist activities. Despite Pakistan's rejections of all imputations of involvement in the terrorist attacks, Indian government is pointing its finger at Pakistan. Thus, the South Asian security dynamics revolve basically around the rivalry and antagonism between India and Pakistan.

The external powers particularly USA and China had played a critical role in India and Pakistan relations. These two powers openly supported Pakistan for their geo-political influence. Sisir Gupta, an expert of the strategic affairs, outlined America's and China's anti-India approach in the following words:

“Although China and USA shared the belief that India could be kept under check through Pakistan. The reasons for their doing so might have been different.

In the case of America, the underlying assumption behind its foreign policy postures was in its supreme confidence in itself. There was consequently a broad western stance of siding with the so called weaker powers in regional contests, for example, Malaysia against Indonesia, Pakistan against India, and Israel against the Arabs.

In the case of China, its geopolitical stakes in preventing India from becoming a major power were so high that it began to perceive a

great deal of interest in the ability of Pakistan to act as a check on India” (Gupta 2008: 145-52).

The purpose of this chapter is to understand the issues of rivalries between India and Pakistan. It is an attempt to know the causes of persistency of this rivalry even when some other long-running conflicts in different parts of the world have come to an end. This chapter also analyses the role of external powers in whetting up the conflicting issues rather than helping to resolve them.

## **ISSUES OF RIVALRY BETWEEN INDIA AND PAKISTAN**

Since partition India and Pakistan see each other through the prism of animosity. The rivalry between India and Pakistan is a legacy of the British imperialism. There are a number of reasons behind the Indo-Pak persistent enmity, of which, the most important are discussed below;

### **THE BALANCE OF POWER**

The India-Pakistan power relationship is characterized by a distinct form of power asymmetry. The inability of either state to impose a settlement or convince the other to make significant concessions is because of the peculiar power asymmetry that has existed between the two states (Paul 2006: 600-30). India is over seven times larger than Pakistan in population and size of natural economy, and four times in territorial size. However, Pakistan has been able to borrow power to balance India through externally procured military capabilities and alignment with outside powers (Chandra 2003: 158).

Until the 1980's, the Pakistan's economy also performed slightly better than India largely due to external aid, remittances of Pakistani expatriate workers and its limited free market economic policies. However, this situation began to change after India launched its policy of economic liberalization in 1991. Power differential between the two countries in terms of economic and conventional military strength began to alter in India's favour after the early 1990's. Islamabad increasingly resorted to asymmetric strategies such as supporting insurgency and proxy war to

continue its struggle with India (Paul 2005: 12). Until 1965, India's defence posture against Pakistan was based on "matching capabilities" but since 1965 India's policy has been to maintain "sufficient deterrence" or a "slight edge" in its force deployments vis-à-vis Pakistan. Thus, in 1965 India possessed seven divisions while Pakistan had six, with Pakistan holding qualitative superiority in tanks and aircraft. Since 1971, India has maintained the slight edge both qualitative and quantitative defence areas. With the acquisitions of nuclear weapons, Pakistan believes that it has obtained a "great equalizer" at strategic level, since its missiles can hit most industrial parts of India (Nizamani, Haider K. 2001). Furthermore, the politico-military support that Pakistan enjoyed off and on from US and continuously from China since the 1960's has enabled Pakistan to reduce the power asymmetry with India. While the US gave aid with the intention of using Pakistan for its larger strategic goals (Hussain 1993: 108-111), Pakistan's main goal has always been to increase its capabilities vis-à-vis India. Some of the strategic scholars argued that the period of Indian military preponderance was associated with stability or absence of war and crises in South Asia. During 1972-87, Pakistan was weakened considerably following its defeat of 1971 War.

Thus, nuclear acquisition is viewed by the Pakistan military elite as a way to equalize the power relationship with India and as a cover for conducting sub strategic level operations in Kashmir with more vigour (Paul 2005: 13-16). The balance of power concept between India and Pakistan has raised different patterns of resolve and bitterness. Most oftenly, the weaker party has shown more tenacity to resolve the disputes through military means including guerrillas/terrorist operations. The sense of bitterness is higher in the weaker party as the status quo seems to favour the stronger side. Further, the territorial dismemberment in 1971 solidified the existing bitterness of Pakistan about the "unfairness" of territorial divisions. This attitude of bitterness among Pakistani's itself visible intensely in communal dimensions, especially the teaching of history that keeps alive negative and stereotypical images of India and Hindu religion. Indian also embraces stereotypical images of Pakistani's, as is clear in the often negative media coverage of that country and the burgeoning number of Bollywood movies with anti-Pakistan themes (Paul 2005: 16-17). Most of the Pakistani elites believe that India and Pakistan ought to be coequals geopolitically and see relative



parity in military and diplomatic terms as a goal worth striving for, even at the cost of development of society. On the one hand, India is making efforts to achieve major power status through getting permanent membership of the UN Security Council is viewed with great apprehension. On the other hand, Pakistan is making efforts diplomatically to prevent India's entry in UNSC as permanent member (Rangarajan 1996: 20).

Pakistan fears that this power asymmetry and Indian hegemony in the subcontinent will adversely affect its security and power position in the region. Since independence, Pakistan has consistently pursued a policy of obtaining parity with India, often through military and diplomatic means. Alignment with outside powers and membership of various strategic alliances like SEATO, CENTO and the acquisition of qualitatively superior weaponry have been two key objectives of this strategy. (Paul 2005: 17-18) The nuclear arms race between the two states has been another basis for the parity notion.

## **SECURITY COMPETITION BETWEEN THE TWO COUNTRIES**

Security competition between India and Pakistan is the legacy of the past (i.e., at the termination of the British Raj in 1947). The partition of British India was a painful event that involved an artificial crash of territory, the displacing of about ten million individuals and the death of nearly a quarter of a million people in violence that accompanied the greatest mass migration in modern history, this horrible event left indelible imprint on the psyche of people from both the sides (Johnson 1952: 6). India viewed partition as unnecessary and tragic, but essentially complete. Pakistan viewed partition as inevitable and necessary, but fundamentally incomplete because Kashmir, a Muslim majority state, remained with India (Haqqani 2003: 34). The loss of Kashmir for Pakistan was inconsolable because it was important part of Two Nation Theory.

Besides Kashmir, there are some other unresolved territorial disputes such as Siachen Glacier, where India and Pakistan continue to fight an active, high-altitude war, and over Sir Creek in the Rann of Kutch, where in 1964 both states fought a limited action that incorporated the use of armour. The Wular Barrage

constitutes a dispute over water rights pertaining to one of the tributaries of the Indus. Although only Kashmir contains the potential for full-scale conventional war, the others have contributed to incompatible “atmospherics” and occasional political crises in the past.

Security competition is increased by hostile political visions and matched identities. India portrayed its motivation from the principle of liberal democracy, which includes secularism<sup>9</sup> even as it struggles to hold new revisionist parties that adopt more self-conscious forms of Hindu nationalism (Summit 2001:25-35). In contrast, Pakistan not only criticizes Indian secularism as a myth valuing the reality of Hindu domination, but also holds out a yet-to-be defined Islam as its preferred ideal over non religious secularism (Khan 1956: 62). Pakistan’s vision of itself as the guardian state for South Asia’s Muslims, however, it is challenged by disconcerting empirical facts. India’s Muslim population is almost as large as Pakistan’s entire population, thus making Pakistan not the larger Muslim state (Paul 2005: 23).

Indo-Pakistan competition is defined by the twin motifs of dominance and resistance (Tellis 2005: 6). In Indian views, true security can drive only from an unchallenged recognition of its standing as an important state about to actualize its vast potential after several centuries of division and subjugation. It possesses a large population and an extensive landmass. It has great economic, technological, and military potential. Thus for India, survival means survival as a great power and security has come to be described the safety that enables India to develop, maintain and prosper in its political eminence (Paul 2005: 28). This vision of security is by no means directed primarily to intimidate Pakistan. Rather, it draws upon India’s perceptions of itself, its history, its view of the world, and the role it seeks in the global arena. The Indian desire for eminence engenders unintended consequences where Islamabad is concerned. From Islamabad’s point of view, the

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<sup>9</sup> Explaining the secular character of the Indian Constitution the Supreme Court observed: "There is no mysticism in the secular character of the state. Secularism is neither anti-God nor pro-God; it treats alike the devout, the agnostic and the atheist. It eliminates God from the matter of the state and ensures no one shall be discriminated against on the ground of religion. See, Kamaluddin Khan. (2003). *Secularism In India: A Brief Idea*. RIJS Volume 1, Issue 10: 14.

eminence that guarantees India permanent security is highly menacing and could represent the end of Pakistan as an autonomous political entity.

### **KASHMIR ISSUE: A STUMBLING BLOCK TO PEACE**

*“When the media covers Kashmir, it inevitably focuses on the possibility of war between India and Pakistan”.*

**Izzat Jarudi**

Kashmir, a 222,236 sq km area in the north-western Indian subcontinent, is bordered by the Indian states of Himachal Pradesh and Punjab in the South, Pakistan in the west, China in the northeast and Afghanistan in the northwest. The area has been baptized a "disputed territory" between India and Pakistan since independence. India-Pakistan relations have revolved mainly around the issue of Kashmir. This issue has been a major bone of contention on which they have fought two wars (1947, 1965) against each other. First Kashmir War was fought from 1947 to 1948. It was the first of four wars fought between the two newly independent nations. The results of the war affected the geopolitics of both the countries. While the struggle for attaining the right of self-determination which was being carried out peacefully in the political arena, has been transformed into an armed resistance movement for the last three decades. Tension between the two countries is unlikely to diminish without an amicable resolution of the conflict.

After the withdrawal of the British from India in 1947, the princely state of Jammu and Kashmir like other states has been given the right to choose India, Pakistan or remains independent. According to the instrument of accession relating to the Partition of India, the rulers of princely states were to be given the option of either acceding to India, Pakistan or remaining independent. The then Maharaja of Kashmir, Hari Singh chose the latter and tried to avoid accession to either country. When British forces withdrew from Indian subcontinent, there was an uprising in western Kashmir and the region was invaded by Pashtun tribals from the North West Frontier Province (NWFP) (Chaudhary 1967). Finding not in a position to withstand the assault from Pashtun tribals, the Maharaja asked India for military assistance. India set a condition that Kashmir must accede to India for it to

receive assistance. Maharaja Hari Singh signed the Instrument of Accession to India on October 26, 1947. (Lamb 1993: 135) The instrument of accession was on temporary basis which declares that after normalisation *i.e.*, till law and order restored, and then the will of the people would determine either to join India or remain independent. Whereas, the Government of India recognized the accession of the erstwhile princely state to India and was considered the new Indian state of Jammu and Kashmir (Grover 1995: 108). Indian troops were sent to Kashmir to defend it against the Pakistani tribal forces. First Kashmir War was fought from 1947 to 1948. The ceasefire was established through UN intervention, adopted a resolution 47<sup>10</sup> calling for holding the plebiscite, (Misra 2005: 18) which was never held till date. Since then, it has been the most outstanding dispute between India and Pakistan. (Nazir 2004: 38). But India did not accept the resolution on the ground that all the parts of the region including POK and China occupied part would be kept in the agenda and until Pakistan shall not stopping insurgency, plebiscite is not possible. India considers the retention of Kashmir an essential feature of its secular-composite national identity while Pakistan considers its Muslim identity incomplete as long as Kashmir has not joined it (Basrur 2010: 19-21).

Pakistan claims that India is defying the United Nations resolutions that called for holding a plebiscite under UN auspices to determine the status of the state of Jammu and Kashmir. It was a violation of UN resolution 47, and its own commitments (Haq 2003: 28). Pakistan views India's occupation of Kashmir as a persistent threat to its security. The strategic northern areas and the vital railroad of Pakistan, linking Lahore-Islamabad-Peshawar, would be both under constant threat from India if India is holding Kashmir. All the rivers flowing into Pakistan originate in Kashmir. "The shutting off of water supplies to the canals leading to

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<sup>10</sup> The Security Council adopted Resolution 47 on April 21, 1948, which outlined that "early restoration of peace and order in Jammu and Kashmir is essential and that India and Pakistan should do their utmost to bring about a cessation of all fighting", [and] "noting with satisfaction that both India and Pakistan desire that the question of the accession of Jammu and Kashmir to India or Pakistan should be decided through the democratic method of free and impartial plebiscite. To see this report, available in "Resolutions adopted and decision taken by the Security Council in 1948" at <http://www.un.org/documents/sc/res/1948/scres48.htm>, p. 4. And also in Aushtosh Misra 2005.

Pakistan in 1948 was indicative of the damage that India could inflict upon Pakistan (Haq 2003: 29).

The Kashmir dispute kept India and Pakistan divided and has largely influenced the international outlook of the two countries. It has been a major cause of the armed conflicts between India and Pakistan. In fact, this dispute has hampered all the efforts on part of both states to normalize their relations. Until this dispute is settled, the threat of war is bound to persist (Gupta 2011). Their relations have been affected by this issue very seriously and most of the scholars hold this issue responsible for the failure to reach an agreement on any other major issues and weakened the pace of any normalization process between the two countries. Both nations have unfortunately continued to look at the issue in an emotional rather than a rational and realistic manner.

Pakistan has consistently maintained that Kashmir is the 'core' problem between the two countries and until this issue is resolved, all the attempts to bring normalcy in their relations will be fruitless. Both the parties have remained largely inflexible in their positions. Even, mediatory efforts by some friendly countries have not been fructified. However, both the countries made many efforts to resolve this dispute, but due to stubborn attitude from both the sides, this issue is lingering since independence of both the countries. India has tried a variety of strategies to keep Kashmir in its fold such as Article 370 of the Indian constitution.<sup>11</sup>

However, from the mid-1960s onwards, India sought to integrate Jammu and Kashmir more tightly into the mainstream. These efforts might have provoked Pakistan in 1965, causing the outbreak of a second war between the two countries (Paul 2005: 215). Despite the failure of the earlier bilateral efforts, many more were made by Pakistan to resolve the dispute through bilateral negotiations that were all frustrated by Indian intransigence. In fact, the two Indo-Pak wars 1948, 1965 and a mini war the 'Kargil Conflict 1999' have been fought over this conflict and the energies of the two countries have been greatly consumed over the tension generated by this issue. Noor-ul Haq argued in one of his articles that

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<sup>11</sup> Article 370, gave the state of Jammu and Kashmir a "special status" with greater autonomy over other Indian states. It contains 'temporary provisions' with respect to the State of Jammu and Kashmir. For more detail see, D.D. Basu (2012). *Introduction to the Constitution of India*. 20<sup>TH</sup> edition. Lexisnexis: New Delhi.

people of Kashmir have been fighting for freedom for the last sixty years which was referred by India as an “insurgency”; later, as “militancy” and now it is referred to as “terrorism”. All these terms are used to mislead international opinion and to disguise the fact of the continued forcible Indian occupation of Kashmir (Haq 2003: 29).

Kashmir is very important for both the countries on account of its strategic location and major source of water. Strategically, it borders with Afghanistan, Tajikistan, Sinkiang and Tibet. Kashmir was conceived as a gateway to Central Asia and a stronghold of defence. It also holds a key of both countries economy being origin of rivers flowing in India and Pakistan. The Indus River originated and flows in Tibet, Kashmir and Pakistan. It provides water resources for the economy of Pakistan -especially the breadbasket of Punjab and Sindh which account for most of the nation's agricultural production. The control of this river system is critical to the survival of people living in northern Pakistan. If India were to place a dam on the river and divert the water to their side of the border, to the dry regions of the south, Pakistan could suffer a water shortage in the northern part of the country.

### **SIACHEN GLACIER**

The Siachen glacier is the highest battlefield in the world, having witnessed military skirmishes between India and Pakistan for approximately three decades. This glacier is 70 km long and flows from an altitude of 5750 meters. Considered uninhabitable, it was left un-demarcated. The line of control between India and Pakistan in Jammu and Kashmir terminated at the Saltoro range in the northeast at the point named NJ9842 (Koithara 2004: 36). Both India and Pakistan claim sovereignty over the entire Siachen region. Prior to 1984, neither India nor Pakistan had any permanent presence in the area. When Pakistan gave permission to a Japanese expedition team to scale the important Rimo peak in 1984, it provoked India to take measures in order to secure the glacier.

The peak, located east of Siachen, and if it comes under Pakistan, it weakens the Indian claim over eastern areas of the Aksai Chin. The Indian military believed that such an expedition would provide a link for the western and eastern routes — the trade route leading to Karakoram Pass and China and eventually

provide a tactical, if not strategic advantage to Pakistan and China. In 1984, India launched a successful military operation (Meghdoot). Against Indian operation Pakistan launches operation –Ababeel. (Joshi, 2012), but India succeeded in maintaining control over the Siachen Glacier and its two passes Sia La and Bilafond La (*The Tribune*, April 14, 2012). The areas north and east of this point had been under India's control. Shimla Accord (1972) forbade unilateral territorial alteration by positioning troops in the Salto range. Pakistan accuses India with the charges of control over the area while India's position is that the areas were under her control before the Shimla Accord. India's occupation of the Siachin Glacier was viewed by Pakistan as a stab in the back. The ensuing crisis nearly brought the two countries to come to blows in 1984. Further attempts to reclaim positions were launched by Pakistan in 1990, 1995, 1996 and even in early 1999, just prior to the Lahore Summit.<sup>12</sup> Political constraints on the Indian government, however, compelled it to pull out of negotiations and the dispute has continued ever since. However, Ashutosh Mishra, an expert on this issue has argued that both the countries close to resolution of this problem since late 1980s. (Mishra 2010: 118). This conflict puts an enormous drain on the national exchequer on both sides. India suggested a comprehensive cease-fire in the region, while Pakistan wants redeployment. (Joshua 2012).

In order to sort out this crisis, both the countries made many efforts in this direction. Till date, 12 rounds of talks held but could not make any breakthrough. Both sides were sticking to their respective positions and still viewing the dispute as a zero sum game. During the latest talk between the defense secretaries of both the countries, on Siachen in June 11-12, 2012, advocated the early resolve of dispute. The Siachen talks were held when both the sides strongly raising demand for the demilitarization of the glacier after a destructive avalanche took place on

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<sup>12</sup> The Lahore Declaration was a bilateral agreement between India and Pakistan signed in February 21, 1999, by the then-Prime Minister of India Atal Bihari Vajpayee and the then-Prime Minister of Pakistan Nawaz Sharif in Lahore, Pakistan. It signalled a major breakthrough in overcoming the historically strained bilateral relations between the two nations in the aftermath of the nuclear tests carried out by both nations in May 1998. But did not show any positive result due to the Kargil misadventure on the part of Pakistan. For more details see Ministry of External Relations, Republic of India., Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Islamic Republic of Pakistan.

April 7, 2012 in the Gayari region. Unfortunately, no major headway was achieved during the talks as both the countries are sticking to maintain the status quo. A Joint statement of the meeting is enclosed as **Appendix A**.

## **SIR CREEK**

The dispute over Sir Creek is related to the maritime boundary between the Kutch and the Sindh region of respective countries. This is a 96 km marshy strip in the Rann of Kutch area lying between the southern tips of Pakistan's Sindh province and Indian state of Gujarat, opening in the Arabian Sea. Pakistan claimed over this region as per paras 9 and 10 of the Bombay Government Resolution of 1914 signed between the then Government of Sindh and Rao Maharaj, the ruler of the princely state of Kutch, according to which Creek was included in Sindh region. This dispute became reason for Indo-Pak War of 1965.

The British Prime Minister Harold Wilson successfully persuaded both countries to end hostilities and set up a tribunal to resolve the dispute in the same year. This case referred it to India-Pakistan Western Boundary Case Tribunal, presided by Swedish Judge Gunnar Lagergren. It awarded a solution in February 1968 that was accepted by both contestants. The International Tribunal that settled the Kutch dispute left untouched the Creek, saying it is out of the purview of tribunal (Mishra 2010: 32). A consensus was reached and boundary was fixed in 1968 which saw Pakistan getting 10% of its claim of 3,500 sq. miles. But what complicates the issue is that the Creek is a fluctuating tidal channel that from time to time shifts its course. India's case is based on a 1914 map, which shows the land extremities of the estuary, which should be extended on -normal nautical principles- to the maritime boundary. Pakistan contends that the outer limits of Sir Creek have been altered considerably over the years due to tidal interference, which shifted it outward, and the Sea space should be equally divided irrespective of the claims based on India's long coast lines (Mishra 2010: 32-33).

The Indian Air Force fighter plane MiG-21 shot down a Pakistani Navy Breguet Atlantique surveillance aircraft over the Sir Creek on August 10, 1999, killing all the 16 crews on board. This incident surcharged the strategic environment on both sides and armed forces again deployed on both sides of the



LOC. India claimed that the plane had strayed into its airspace which was disputed by the Pakistani navy.<sup>13</sup>

Given the mutual possibility of the loss of territory and potential economic dividends, both sides trying to find out the solution of this problem through dialogue and the latest two-day talks on Sir Creek issue was held on 18-19 June 2012 in New Delhi.<sup>14</sup> The two sides discussed the land boundary in the Sir Creek area and also delimitation of International Maritime Boundary between both the countries. Both sides reiterated their desire to find an amicable solution of the Sir Creek issue through sustained and result-oriented dialogue. Both sides agreed to hold the next round of the talks on Sir Creek issue in Pakistan at mutually convenient dates to be determined through diplomatic channels. A Joint statement of the meeting is enclosed as **Appendix B**.

## **TULBUL NAVIGATION PROJECT / WULAR BARRAGE AND STORAGE PROJECT DISPUTE**

The project itself in nomenclature displays dispute. India refers to it as Tulbul navigation project where as Pakistan calls it Wular barrage. The basic dispute concerns a barrage being constructed by India in 1984 on the Jhelum River just below Wular Lake, about fifteen miles north of Srinagar and 5,180 feet above sea level. Pakistan protested claiming it was a violation of 1960 Indus Water Treaty (The Times of India, July 29, 2004). Under the Indus Water Treaty (IWT) of 1960 unlimited use of the eastern river water of the Indus system i.e., Beas, Ravi, Satluj are assigned to India while the western water i.e., Chenab, Indus, Jhelum belong to Pakistan (Mishra 2010: 32). The treaty allowed Pakistan to construct a system of replacement canals to convey water from the western rivers into those

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<sup>13</sup> MacKinnon, Ian. (August 11, 1999). 16 dead as India shoots down Pakistani naval plane, The Independent (London). Also can see in <http://indiancurrentaffairs.wordpress.com>

<sup>14</sup> Extracted from the joint statement -on India-Pakistan Talks on Sir Creek June 19, 2012. The Indian delegation was led by Surveyor General of India Swarna Subba Rao and the Pakistani side was led by Additional Secretary in the Ministry of Defence Rear Admiral Farrokh Ahmad. For this see, <http://www.mea.gov.in/mystar.php?id=530519646> Accessed on November 5, 2012.

areas in West Pakistan which had previously depended for their irrigation supplies on water from the eastern rivers (Bhatnagar 1986: 230-31). Pakistan has built the Mangla and Tarbela dams and several other similar facilities on the waters of Indus, Jhelum and Chenab. Similarly India has been building various dams and barrages on the Ravi, Sutlej and Beas. Disputes over the shared waters have been cropping up from time to time, most notably over the Baglihar dam which India has constructed on Chenab River (Vaid and Maini 2012: 6). Pakistan took this case to Indus Waters Commission (International Arbitral Court) in 1986. India suspended construction work until some agreement could be reached. Due to geo-economic importance and geostrategic location, it has become a politically sensitive issue for both sides (Mishra, 32-33). More than ten rounds of talks have been held to resolve the issue. Recently in March 27-28, 2012, both the countries resumed dialogue. Delegations of the two countries tried to resolve this issue.<sup>15</sup> A Joint statement of the meeting is enclosed as **Appendix c**.

## **TERRORISM**

Terrorism is a major problem of the South Asia region. The terrorists are playing havoc with the man and material. Both the countries are charging each other for this problem in their areas. With the intervention of the external powers for their vested interests, this problem was further heightened. When Soviet Union withdrew from Afghanistan in 1989 and the United States followed suit, a civil war broke out among Afghan ethnic warlords. Though, in the beginning, Northern Alliance was successful but the Taliban comprising mainly Pakhtuns of southern Afghanistan ousted them in 1996. This Taliban regime received support and recognition from Pakistan. Pakistani defence strategists had always worried about Pakistan's lack of 'strategic depth' vis-à-vis India began to entertain ambitions of creating an Islamic super-state or confederation comprising Pakistan, Afghanistan and Indian administered Kashmir. Many of the Pakistani Mujahideen from the

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<sup>15</sup> During this dialogue the Indian delegation was led by Mr. Dhruv Vijai Singh, Secretary, Ministry of Water Resources (GOI), and the Pakistan delegation was led by Mr. Imtiaz Kazi, Secretary Ministry of Water and Power. Pakistan delegation also met to Vincent H. Pala, Minister of state for Water Resources, (GOI). Both sides committed to bilateral engagement in a spirit of constructive cooperation.

Afghan theatre had already shifted their activity to the Indian-administered Kashmir. Within Pakistan militant fundamentalist organizations were openly active in recruiting volunteers to fight in Kashmir. The Harkat-ul-Mujahideen (HUM), Jaish-e-Muhammad (JUM) and the Laskar-e-Tayyaba (LeT) were the major concerns from Indian security perspective. The Mujahideen perpetually crossing into the India and carried out armed attacks against what they perceived were Indian occupation forces. These organizations were patronized by ISI of Pakistan as well as by the Pakistan military (Ahmad 2012: 77).

This problem haunting India during the last 30 years but terrorist attacks have been increased exponentially in the first decade of the 21<sup>st</sup> century. On December 13, 2001 an attack by Pakistan based militants on the Indian Parliament drove the two countries near to war as both sides deployed soldiers on the both sides of LOC. It was international diplomacy which calmed tempers on both sides and a major war between two neighbouring nuclear-weapon states averted. However, on November 26, 2008 a terrorist attack carried out by the LeT cadres in Taj and Oberai hotels and consequently 170 innocent people including more than 50 Indian Muslims died in this incident. Once again the prospects of an all-out war became imminent. Good sense prevailed and averted the war through the international diplomacy. On the other hand, Pakistan has persistently alleged that India is behind the on-going armed insurgency in Balochistan.

In the post 9/11, Pakistan joined George W Bush's war on terror and consequently the Pakistani Taliban turned their guns on the Pakistani power elite while simultaneously wreaking havoc on completely innocent men, women and children through a spate of indiscriminate suicide bombings. During 2001-2011 at least 35 thousand Pakistanis including 5000 military personnel lost their lives because of the terrorism carried out by the Taliban in Pakistan.<sup>16</sup> Such activities had devastating impact on the Pakistan economy as foreign investors fled and Pakistan gained the unenviable reputation of the epicentre of international terrorism and much worse. India is always expressed its fear regarding the Pakistan's nuclear may go into the hands of extremists. Various efforts have been made between the two countries in order to bring normalcy, but all these proved fruitless. In recently a joint statement was signed between the foreign secretaries

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<sup>16</sup> Terror In Pakistan Since 9/11 available on [www.truther.org](http://www.truther.org). Accessed 2012 September, 28.

of India and Pakistan on July 5, 2012, New Delhi. A Joint statement of the meeting is enclosed as **Appendix D**.

## **ROLE OF CHINA IN INDO-PAKISTAN RELATIONS**

Since end of the colonialism, South Asia has been remained as a battle field for external powers. These powers did not want to leave this region for one or the other reasons. When the question comes of Indo-Pak relations, external powers involvement became more perceptible. With the beginning of the Cold War, Indo-Pak relations have been hijacked by the Cold War politics. These two countries instigated to fight against each other by these external powers. Both USA and China helped Pakistan militarily and economically. To check communism and kept its hold on these regions, USA led security alliances were formed. Pakistan joined these security alliances like SEATO, CENTO etc. whereas India on account of its Nonalignment policy kept itself at bay from these security alliances. In this way, these countries remained in the opposite groups.

In order to achieve their vested interests, attempts have been made by these great powers to maintain asymmetries in the distribution of military and economic power. This has been amply manifested in USA's dual containment policy in respect of Pakistan and India (Zafar 2001: 3). In the same, Pakistan has been given pivotal place in the Chinese foreign policy. On the one hand, it consistently created pressure on India by interfering in the Kashmir issue and on the other hand supported Pakistan during the Indo-Pak war by providing strategic support. India's major concern come into play when China being itself nuclear power, started helping in the modernization its military built up as well aiding in the development in its nuclear programme.

Although, geographically China is not considered the part of South Asia but it is an important factor in geo-strategic landscape of South Asia. The uncertain triangular among India-Pakistan-China is also contributing to the tensions between India and Pakistan. Zafar argued in one of his papers that the legacy of the distrust and conflict, the unresolved border issues and the plurality of perceptions and options of the decision-makers in each country heightened tension and complexity in this region (Zafar 2001: 1). In the views of perceptible scholar that structured

tension between India and Pakistan is the brainchild of China, to maintain its superiority in this region. Though the roots of India-Pakistan animosity are deep-seated in religion, history, and the politics of revenge and thus predate Sino-India hostility. China's strategists recognized the enduring nature of the India-Pakistan enmity and exploiting it to Beijing's advantage. In fact, Beijing has long been the most important player in the India-Pakistan-China triangular relationship. Since the Indo-China border war of 1962, China has aligned itself with Pakistan and made heavy strategic and economic investments in that country to keep the common enemy, India under strategic pressure (Malik 2003: 35-50). In the triangular power balance game, the South Asian military balance of power is neither pro-India nor pro-Pakistan; it has always been pro-China.<sup>17</sup> Beijing will take all possible means including war to ensure that the regional power balance does not tilt in either India or Pakistan favour. Even in the absence of war, Pakistan hopes to continue to reap significant military and economic payoffs not only from the intensifying Sino-Indian geopolitical rivalry in Southern Asia but also from confrontation between China and the United States, which will further increase the significance of China's strategic ties with Pakistan.

Along with the role of great powers in the South Asian region, there are some other potent powers /elements that are really disturbing the peace between India and Pakistan. There are some local groups and organizations who do not want the normalcy and peaceful relations between the two countries. Through different terrorist activities in both the countries, they generate the tensions, distrust and misperceptions on both sides.

## **CONCLUSION**

The politico-strategic environment in South Asia remained 'tensed', throughout the last sixty five years on account of regional disputes. However, many efforts have been made to normalize this environment but no considerable impacts are visible. Along with the regional disputes, some external power intervention in this region further intensified animosities among the countries of

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<sup>17</sup> For full discussion refer to Trenin, Dmitri. 2012: TRUE PARTNERS? How Russia and China see each other, Centre for European Reform (CER), Great College Street, London.

this region. Also, they made fight against each other in order to create balance of power in their favour.

India and Pakistan are deeply immersed in these conflicts. The present conflict between India and Pakistan is not a new phenomenon, but it is the legacy of the past. From the very beginning, the relations between the two countries are marked by conflict, discord, mutual distrust and suspicions. There were some brief periods when these relations could be described as normal and cordial. However, this was an exception rather than a normal practice in these bilateral relations. Both states have followed a “swing” model of relationship, where the pendulum of the relationships swings from one end to the other. The peace, security and stability of South Asia primarily depends on the status of relations between the two antagonists being the two powerful states of the region. This hostile relationship has immensely affected the security environment in the region. Due to a qualitative change from conventional to nuclear, economic sanctions and embargoes, the perimeters of competition between the two rivals could result in domestic destabilization, and hardships in both states, economic as well as political and security challenges. Analysts believe that conflict between the two states is of a protracted nature, leaving behind little opportunities for peaceful coexistence.

Perceptible scholars of the region realized that the Kashmir issue is one of main reasons for the nuclearisation. In addition to this, it is also perceived by Pakistan that the military imbalance is the major threats from India. In order to come at par with India, its efforts have been supported by external powers in general and China in particular. Mutual distrust may lead to the possibility of war. In the next chapter, main focus will be moored on the points how India Pakistan security threats provoked both the countries to nuclearise and how India China animosity turned Pakistan in its favour. It will also analyse Sino-Pak nexus helpful in Pakistan’s nuclearisation and China’s role in international control regime to contain India’s nuclear programme.

## CHAPTER 4

### NUCLEARISATION IN SOUTH ASIA: ROLE OF CHINA

"No free man shall ever be de-barred the use of arms. The strongest reason for the States to retain their right to keep and bear arms is as a last resort to protect themselves against adversary."

Thomas Jefferson

India and Pakistan were recognised by the International regime de-facto nuclear weapon states (Chakma 2011: 1) in the Southern Asia which posing a threat to each other. But the driving force for the two countries in developing nuclear capability was China (Chakma 2011: 192). Prior to Chinese nuclear testing the two countries exhibited no interest in developing nuclear weapons. The nuclear test of China in 1964 brought nuclear deterrence into the region. In order to retaliate the threat of China, India initiated nuclear programme, which in turn gave threat to Pakistan. Pakistan took the advantages of Sino-India rivalry and developed cordial relationship with China by ceding a Trans-Karakoram part of Kashmir to China in 1963 (Chawla 2012: 46). In return, China provided all types of assistance such as militarily, economically, politically and technologically to Pakistan.

Since 1960s, India and Pakistan have been endeavoured to developed nuclear capability. India conducted its first nuclear test in May 18, 1974. By 1998, both the countries conducted their nuclear tests and declared sixth and seventh nuclear powers. There is a visible danger of a nuclear warfare between the countries relating to the Kashmir issue. Kashmir can trigger the spark of nuclear conflict between India and Pakistan (Khan 2009: 90). Many strategic scholars are convinced that China has played a mischievous role in the nuclearisation of the South Asia. Thus, the main focus of this chapter is to find out China's role in the nuclearisation of South Asia with specific reference to India and Pakistan. The main focus of this chapter is to analyse the twists and turns of bilateral relations of India and China. How Chinese interests in Pakistan have turned this region into a

nuclear flash point? It will also examine how Indo-US civil nuclear deal of 2005 opposed by China to contain Indian nuclear programme on the one hand and on the other hand how it endorsed and accepted Pakistani proposal for civil nuclear deal.

## **NUCLEAR WEAPONS IN INDIA AND PAKISTAN: SECURITY THREAT AS FACILITATOR**

Nuclearisation in South Asia is in part a consequence of the security dilemma<sup>18</sup> existing in the region (Tellis 2001: 727). As Tariq Rauf expert in non-proliferation studies argued that the South Asian nuclear security complex involves several security dilemmas, including India-China, Pakistan-India and Russia-United States (Tariq Rauf, 1998). United States and China further accelerated the security dilemma in the region. India and Pakistan have been directly affected by this security dilemma which impels them to shape their nuclear decisions. From India's perspective, the menace from China is of prime concern and, therefore, India's nuclear and missile development program is geared, in part, toward countering Beijing with a secure deterrent (Acharya 2007: 57-60). However, China's primary threat perception stems from the United State's role in the Asia-Pacific region (Parthasarathy 2007). To deal with this threat, Beijing has proceeded with its plan to strengthen its strategic capability through the development of mobile long-range ballistic missiles, both land-based and submarine-launched (Sevastopulo 2012). However, China's desire to catch up with the United States would compel India to prevent an adverse strategic balance. The defeat in a 1962 war, followed by the first Chinese nuclear test 1964 and hydrogen explosive test in 1967 and China's strategic and psychological support to Pakistan during the 1965 and 1971, heightened the security concerns of India and compelled to conduct its own nuclear tests (Ganguly 1999: 156-159). During the war, the US, Pakistan and China had approached each other. The US intervened in the conflict by moving an aircraft carrier towards the Bay of Bengal, thereby putting pressure on India not to invade West Pakistan (Ganguly

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<sup>18</sup> Security dilemmas arise when a state's mechanisms for increasing its security negatively impact the security and threat perceptions of other states.



1999:159). Most of the scholars and analysts convinced that the U.S.A., in fact, threatened India with nuclear weapons (Thomas 1981: 60). India was surrounded by two enemies that had close relations with each other marked a clear turning point in the Indian strategic thinking in general and for its nuclear program in particular. India's need for a reliable nuclear deterrent against China involves expanding nuclear weapons with delivery systems capabilities.

With the dismemberment of Bangladesh (East Pakistan) from Pakistan in 1971, Z. A. Bhutto approved a secret nuclear weapons program in March 1972<sup>19</sup> (Rehman-ur-Shahid 1999: 17-18). This programme was adopted to counter India's conventional forces and also to build a new national identity after the division of the country and to improve the status of the defeated military. In 1972, the first Pakistani nuclear reactor capable of producing plutonium started operating. With the Indian nuclear explosion in 1974, The Pakistani programme to develop nuclear weapons was accelerated. However, it proposed a Nuclear Weapon Free Zone (NWFZ) in South Asia (Meyer 1984: 135).

China became a nuclear weapon state in 1964 and it has drastic impact on Indo-Pakistani nuclear programme. India has a China focus for its expanding nuclear arsenal and it has increased its capability vis-à-vis Islamabad as well (Dittmer 2001: 90). Perceptible scholars in this area widely accepted that

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<sup>19</sup> On 20 January 1972 Zulfikar Ali Bhutto holds a meeting with senior Pakistani nuclear scientists to discuss the possibility of embarking on a nuclear weapons program. The meeting is held at the residence of the Punjab Chief Minister Nawab Sadiq Qureshi in Multan. Key invitees include scientists from the Pakistan Institute for Nuclear Science & Technology (PINSTECH), the Pakistan Atomic Energy Commission (PAEC), Quaid-e-Azam University, Islamabad, Government College, Lahore, and the Defense Science & Technology Organization (DESTO). Nobel laureate Dr. Abdus Salam also attends the meeting. During the meeting, several scientists enthusiastically support the idea of a nuclear weapons program. Bhutto endorses the idea and promises that his government will spare "no facilities and finances" for a weapons program. He also demands that the scientists produce a fission device within three years. Toward the end of the meeting, Bhutto announces that Munir Ahmad Khan will replace Dr. Usmani as Chairman of the PAEC. See for the full commetry, Shahid-ur-Rehman. (1999). "Z.A. Bhutto," *Long Road to Chagai*, Islamabad: Print Wise Publication), pp. 17-18.

Pakistan's nuclear policy, since its inception, has been a constant response to the perceived threat from India (Salik 2006: 21-45). Therefore, in order to maintain the strategic balance and or to at least prevent India's design of hegemony, Pakistan expanded its own nuclear capabilities with the assistance of China (Charnysh, Volha 2009). On the one hand, growing Sino-Pak strategic cooperation and on the other, the USA's friendly overture, perceived by India that it would have impact on the strategic balance of power in South Asia. Throughout the Cold War era, US-Pakistan alliance was seen as detrimental to Indian interests. However, after the end of the Cold War coinciding with the collapse of USSR in the late 20<sup>th</sup> century, perceptible change took place in USA foreign policy vis-a-vis India. Indo-US improved relations as well as Indo-US civil nuclear deal of 2005, was perceived by Pakistan as detrimental to its national interests. This insecurity dilemma in the South Asian region operates as a chain reaction that includes regional and extra-regional powers with competing interests. These developments reflect, partly or in whole, the need for the weaker protagonist to correct the perceived security imbalance against the stronger threat.

## **THE CHINA FACTOR**

Since its independence in 1949, China is a major regional power and playing important role in the regional geopolitical and geostrategic affairs. To understand the strategic calculus of Indian subcontinent, it is important to examine security threat perceptions posed by China to the regional countries. Strategic scholars and analysts hold China responsible for the nuclearisation of the South Asia. Only India and Pakistan have nuclear weapons in this region and, therefore, it becomes essential to examine India China relations and security perceptions of both the countries as well as Sino-Pak bilateral relation and its impact on Pakistan's nuclearisation and in return its implication for Indian nuclear programme.

## **INDIA CHINA RELATIONS: BONHOMIE TURNED INTO NUCLEAR ANIMOSITY**

Till the outbreak of the armed hostilities between India and China in 1962, the relationship between the two countries almost remained cordial. Even before independence when China was victim of Japanese aggression the people of India

expressed sympathy with her. Soon after its independence, China was one of the first countries with which India established diplomatic relations (Athwal 2008: 20). Moreover, when the Nationalist government was overthrown by the communists in 1949, India recognised the new government on December 30, 1949. She even tried hard to get Red China admitted to the United Nations as well as permanent seat in UNSC. In 1950 India was surprised when the Chinese army entered Tibet, after all India concluded an agreement with China in 1954 by which Chinese suzerainty over Tibet was accepted (Srivastva 2009: 118). The relations between the two countries once again became cordial and cooperated at the Bandung conference. Both states emerged as developing world leaders and became signatories of the Five Principles of Peaceful Coexistence or Panchsheel <sup>20</sup> in 1954.

By this treaty, India recognised the right of China to set up its commercial agencies in New Delhi, Calcutta and Kalimpong. India in return was allowed to establish her own trade centre at Gangtok in Tibet. During the early stages of the Cold War, Nehru and Mao found common cause in anti-colonialism, socialism, adherence to strict notions of national sovereignty and equality in international affairs and a developing-world psyche that sought to distinguish itself from traditional, great-power politics. When Chinese Premier Zhou Enlai visited India in 1956, Indians lined the streets and chanted “Hindi-Chini bhai bhai,” or “India and China are brothers” (Bhagel 2009: 230).

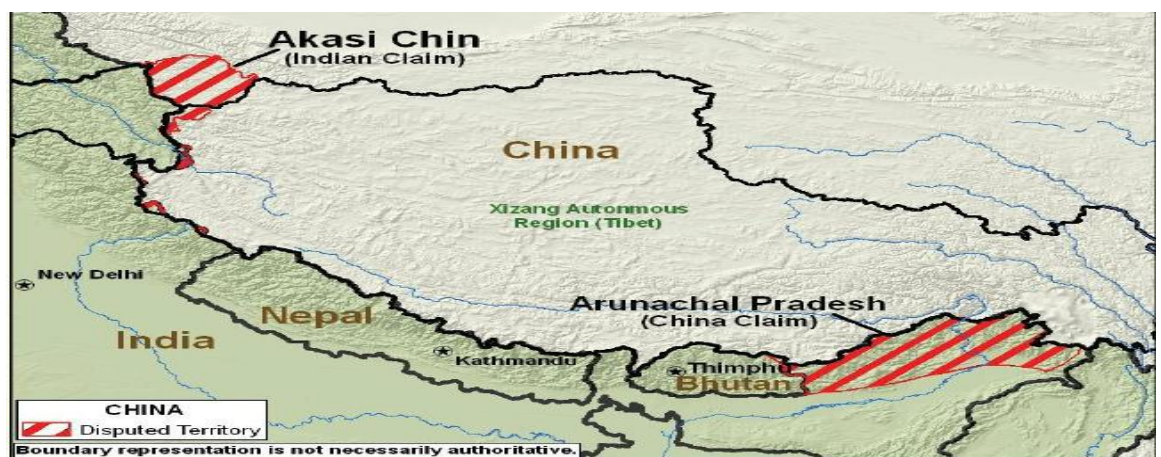
Soon after the Bandung Conference, both the countries lost bonhomie due to their territorial dispute as shown in figure 2. The period from 1955 to 1962 between India and China marked with tension and clashes on the international border. Naville contended that the issue of Tibet along with Aksai Chin and McMahon line gave a new security twist to the region. A ring road was constructed by China, which led from China to Tibet and from there passing through the Karakorum Range to Sinkiang and Mongolia and then back to China. Further

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<sup>20</sup> Agreement between the People’s Republic of China and the Republic of India on Trade and Intercourse between Tibet Region of China and India, April 29, 1954. The Five Principles of Peaceful Coexistence are as follows: (1) Mutual respect for each other’s territorial integrity and sovereignty; (2) Non-aggression; (3) Non-intervention in other’s domestic affairs; (4) Mutual benefit and equality; and (5) Peaceful coexistence. For details see, Srivastva 2009.

deterioration in Sino-Indian relations could be seen with the Tibet revolt of 1959 when Dalai Lama (xiv spiritual leader of Tibet) and large numbers of Tibetan refugees fled to India and were given asylum in and by India. It was viewed as violation of the Panchsheel Agreement by China (Naville 1991: 171). Chinese troops have been indulging in border violations ceaselessly. China claimed Arunachal Pradesh as a part of Tibet. China expressed its concerns over the asylum given by India to Dalai Lama as well as on interfering in Tibet by offering shelter to Tibetan refugees. India has repeatedly said that it recognized China's sovereignty over Tibet and New Delhi was not supporting Tibetan independence movement.

**Figure 2: India's territorial dispute with China**



**Source:** Annual Report to Congress: Military Power of the People's Republic of China 2012, available at [www.defenselink.mil/pubs/pdfs/China\\_Military\\_Report\\_08.pdf](http://www.defenselink.mil/pubs/pdfs/China_Military_Report_08.pdf). Accessed on November 19, 2012.

By late 1959 Chinese expeditions into Indian Territory were getting more and more frequent, and as a result the Chinese army was entered into Indian border in NEFA. Increased tension, feeling of mistrust and failed negotiations finally lead to 1962 direct border clash between the two countries. Many of the Chinese strategic scholars argued that China has responded to Indian provocations which ultimately led to 1962 war. Chinese troops advanced over Indian forces, capturing Rezang la in Chushul in the western as well as Tawang in

the eastern regions (Neville 1970:168). The Chinese however, chose not to advance further and on November 21, 1962, declared a unilateral cease-fire".<sup>21</sup> This war has drastic implications for South Asia. On the one hand, both the countries lost cordiality and turned from friend to arch foes and on the other hand, it provided an opportunity for China and Pakistan to come closer in order to contain India by strategically and diplomatically (Panda 2011: 25).

USA and China relations had adverse implications for politico-strategic environment. On the one hand, it created political bitterness and on other hand, it sowed the seeds of nuclearisation in South Asia. Since 1949, the United States tried to disrupt, destabilize and weaken China. Most of strategic scholars from USA convinced that China was an aggressive, imperialist power that threatened the security of its non-communist neighbours. In order to contain Chinese chauvinism, the United States established many military alliances along with China's eastern and southern neighbour countries which included Japan, South Korea, and Taiwan. With its allies, the United States formed the Southeast Asian Treaty Organization (SEATO) that included Thailand, the Philippines, and South Vietnam, and the Australia, New Zealand, USA Treaty (ANZUS) that linked these countries among themselves in order to contain communism phobia. The United States maintained military bases and in stationed significant numbers of troops in many of these countries especially Japan and South Korea. USA encouraged its allies to refrain entering into diplomatic relations with China. To encourage split between the two communist allies the United States pursued a so-called "wedge

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<sup>21</sup> After pushing back the Indian forces to within 48 km. of the Assam plains in India's eastern sector and occupying strategic points in Ladakh in the northeast, China declared a unilateral cease-fire on November 21 and withdrew 20 km behind its new line of control. Unlike the India-Pakistan border dispute in 1947, when a formal peace agreement was signed following the hostilities and the cease-fire line was converted into the Line of Control (LOC), China and India signed no peace agreement, and the location of the Line of Actual Control (LAC) remains under dispute. For further information, refer to Sino-Indian War. For detail see, Neville Maxwell's, *India's China War*, 1970.

strategy” (Ian 2002: 21).<sup>22</sup> Very shortly this strategy fructified resulting in worsening bilateral relations of China and Russia. These factors compelled China to conduct its nuclear test in 1964 (Malone and Rohan 2010:137-58).

This nuclear test of China lead to a debate in India for security concerns on account of its geographically proximity as well as not sharing cordiality since 1955. After the 1964 explosions, spontaneously India started debating on this question. What should India do to counterbalance China? Dr. Homi Bhabha called a press conference in London on October 16, 1964, when he heard about the Chinese nuclear test. He told the reporters that if the Indian scientists wanted to produce a nuclear bomb, they could produce it within 18 months (Bhatia 1979: 113).

Reacting to the Chinese explosions, the then Indian Prime Minister, L B Shastri admitted that the blasts came as a shock and posed a danger to world peace (Perkovich 1999: 490). He conveyed his message through All India Radio (AIR) to the people of India that the Indian government was not in favour of following the Chinese example of developing and testing nuclear weapons (Bhatia 1979: 109). He was not in a favour of nuclear weapons and decided not to carry out any reciprocal nuclear test. But very shortly, he took u-turn and on November 24, 1964, while replying to the debate in the Parliament, he said that his government continued to oppose the development of nuclear weapons but this position should not be regarded as permanent one (Paranjape 1997: 65). While speaking in the Rajya Sabha on November 27, he said that India was willing to create a consensus between political leadership and the public in favour of development of nuclear explosives for any purpose (Paranjape 1997: 65).

Indian anxiety over the Chinese nuclear programme had never diminished since 1964. In this context, Shrikant Paranjpe believed that Indian concerns about China’s nuclear capability became even more serious, as possibility of being able

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<sup>22</sup> Wedge strategy is a policy adopted by the United States for splitting China and Soviet Union by using divarication and conflicts between them during Truman Administration (1948-1953). It aimed at deepening and expanding the divarication and conflicts between these two countries by placatory and pressed policies. Therefore, it was beneficial for Unite States to protect herself interests and political framework in East Asia by destroying Soviet Union’s strength and impeding its expansion of strength in East Asia. See, Ian, Ward. (2002). The Tampa, Wedge Politics, and a Lesson for Political Journalism. *Australian Journalism Review*, Vol. 24, No. 1, pp: 21-39.

to deploy medium range missiles along Indian borders (Paranjape 1997: 67). In 1964, a number of members of parliament from various Indian political parties urged the Indian Government to develop nuclear weapons or assure the Indian people's protection from security threats from neighbour countries (Bhatia 1979: 121). On January 8, 1965, Prime Minister Lal Bahadur Shastri attended the Annual Conference of the Indian National Congress Party in Durgapur (West Bengal). He told the party leadership that he could not speak about the future nuclear programme of India but its current policy is to develop nuclear energy for constructive purposes, not to build nuclear weapons. In fact in 1968, the Government of India presented an assessment of the nuclear strength of China in the Indian parliament. The assessment stated that China could produce about 40 nuclear bombs every year of 20-kiloton capability (Paranjape 1997: 67). On account of such nuclear threats from China, Indian political leadership accelerated demands for a nuclear weapons option and it became a regular feature in the Indian Parliament.

By the beginning of 1970s the signals regarding Peaceful Nuclear Explosion (PNE) started to make an appearance. The concerns about Chinese development were evident not only in the Parliament <sup>23</sup> (Perkovich 1999: 151) but also in the negotiations on the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty (NPT) where India opposed the monopoly of nuclear weapons by P-5 and defended its nuclear research programme. Besides these debates, the changing international environment like Sino-US-Pakistan alliance of 1970, Indo-Soviet Treaty of Peace, Friendship and Cooperation (1971) and its victory over Pakistan in the same year, further motivated Mrs. Gandhi to pursue a more proactive nuclear policy. On May 18, 1974, India conducted its first peaceful nuclear explosion (Perkovich 1999: 178). Strong reaction came from Pakistan and Prime Minister Zulfikar Ali Bhutto declared that this test was a threatening for not only Pakistan but the whole South Asia region also. He strongly claimed that Pakistan is determined not to be intimidated and would never fall prey to nuclear blackmail by India. (Perkovich

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<sup>23</sup> On April 1970 China launches a long-range rocket carrying a satellite into orbit. This feat "alarms Indian officials and intensifies the national debate on nuclear policy." To see the full commetry please refer to George Perkovich 1999, *India's Nuclear Bomb: The Impact on Global Proliferation* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press), p. 151.

1999: 185) On June 2, 1974, Central Working Committee of Jana Sangh Party (Opposition Political Party) passed a resolution declaring May 18 as a red letter day in the Indian nuclear programme history. The party expressed high appreciation for the Indian scientists who placed India on the nuclear map of the world. (Perkovich 1999: 179) Indian decision to go nuclear, reopened the debate on the issues regarding either nuclear weapons are required for India or not.

After this bitterness, India China relationship considerably improved by the visit of Indian foreign minister, Atal Bihari Vajpayee, in 1979. The major breakthrough however, in terms of improvement of relationship, was achieved after Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi's visit to China in December 1988, the first since Prime Minister Jawaharlal Nehru visited China in the 1950s. During Gandhi's visit, India and China agreed that peace and tranquility should be maintained on the border as both sides negotiate to resolve the dispute through consultations and dialogues (Perkovich 1999: 198-199). A Joint Working Group was set up to look into all the outstanding issues between both the countries. However, Indian political leadership and media always kept on expressing their concerns about the Chinese threat to Indian security both, directly and indirectly throughout 1990's. During 1995 Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty (CTBT) came into force, India refused to sign it on the ground of its discriminatory nature. On August 15, 1996, addressing the nation on Independence Day, India's Prime Minister H.D. Deve Gowda said that India would oppose any treaty that discriminates between nuclear weapon states and non nuclear weapon states and is imposed on India. At any cost, India is not going to compromise its national security. On June 28-29, 1996, L.K. Advani President of Bharatiya Janata Party (BJP) said that his party wanted India to have nuclear parity with its neighbours. He said that there is no reason for India to desist from developing a nuclear deterrent when both China and Pakistan have developed nuclear weapons (Graves, Nelson 1996).

George Fernandes, the Indian Defense Minister (1998–2004), was the first one who expressed his concerns publicly about Chinese threat, calling China as enemy number one. (Swami 1998). Speaking in a public gathering on May 5, 1998, he said, "We certainly have tensions and dispute with Pakistan, but for a country like India, Pakistan is not our biggest threat, the biggest threat is China". This statement by the Defence Minister was the first remark which directly targeted China since the conclusion of the 1964 debate. Soon after his remarks India



conducted Pokhran II on May 11 and 13, 1998. Indian tests added fuel to the fire in terms of Sino-Indian relations. Reacting to the Indian tests, Foreign Ministry spokesman of China, Zhu Bangzao stated that, "Chinese government expresses grave concern over India's nuclear tests. India's nuclear tests under such circumstances run counter to the international trend and are not in the interest of South Asia's peace and stability". Various surveys and debates were conducted throughout the country *vis-à-vis* need of nuclear weapons for India and China as a motivating factor behind Indian decision of nuclear tests. Some of the arguments put forward in the debates in the Parliament and outside are as follows:

Indian Prime Minister Atal Bihari Vajpayee wrote a letter on May 13, 1998, to USA President Bill Clinton justifying India's decision to conduct its nuclear tests. Vajpayee said that his government's decision was driven by "deteriorating strategic environment especially the nuclear environment faced by India for some years past." The letter further clarified, "We have an overt nuclear weapon state on our borders, a state which committed armed aggression against India in 1962. Although our relations with that country have improved in the last decade or so, an atmosphere of distrust persists mainly due to the unresolved border problem. To add to the distrust that country has materially helped another neighbour of ours to become a covert nuclear weapons state." Vajpayee assured Clinton that India's "nuclear tests are limited in number and pose no danger to any country, which has no inimical intentions towards India". Vajpayee has also reiterated that India is ready to work with the United States "in a multilateral or bilateral framework to promote the cause of nuclear disarmament". India is also "ready to participate in negotiations to be held in Geneva in the Conference on Disarmament for the conclusion of the fissile material cut-off treaty."<sup>24</sup>

Addressing on May 27, 1998, to the Indian Parliament, on the issue of nuclear test series carried out on May 11 and 13, the then Indian Prime Minister Atal Bihari Vajpayee, said, "India is now a nuclear weapon state. It is not conferment we seek, nor is it a status for others to grant... It is India's due, the right of one-sixth of the humankind." Vajpayee says that India will neither use nuclear

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<sup>24</sup> Text of the Indian Prime Minister's Letter to the American President, 13 May 1998, *Embassy of India, Washington, DC*, [www.indianembassy.org](http://www.indianembassy.org). Accessed on November 19, 2012.

weapons “for aggression or for mounting threats against any country” nor engage in the arms race. According to Vajpayee, India needs nuclear weapons only for self-defence, “to ensure that India is not subjected to nuclear threats or coercion.”<sup>25</sup>

In a nutshell, Indian political leadership and public opinion convinced that China is steadily improving its own nuclear arsenal and cementing ties to the military regime in Pakistan and Myanmar. China is encircling India as well as aiding Pakistan’s nuclear weapons programme. This was the deteriorating security environment was felt by Indian leadership.

### **PAKISTAN AND CHINA: ALL-WEATHER' ALLIANCE**

The China-Pakistan relationship has been described as an “all-weather relationship”. President Hu Jintao described it as, “higher than the Himalayas, deeper than the Indian Ocean, and sweeter than honey”, during his November 2006 visit to Islamabad (Hindustan Times, November 27, 2006). Since their independent existence, Relations between Pakistan and China are very cordial. Pakistan was among the first a few countries to recognize the PRC. Diplomatic relations were established in 1951. The 1962 Sino-Indian War catalysed the bilateral relationship between both countries and accorded considerable importance for maintaining an extremely close and supportive relationship. Since then, the two countries have regularly exchanged high-level visits and signed a variety of agreements. The PRC has not only provided economic and technical assistance but military aid to Pakistan has also played significant role to cement the bilateral ties. Both countries consider each other as close strategic ally.

The nexus between China and Pakistan both in terms of security and strategic lines have long been a source of antagonism in China-India relations ever since Beijing and Islamabad signed the border agreement in March 1963. However, these relations were not entirely remained cordial due to numerous regional issues. These included Pakistan’s membership of Western backed alliances, including South East Asian Treaty Organization (SEATO) and Central

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<sup>25</sup> Suo Motu Statement by Prime Minister Atal Bihari Vajpayee in Parliament on 27 May 1998, Ministry of External Affairs, Government of India, [www.meadev.nic.in](http://www.meadev.nic.in).

Treaty Organization (CENTO) (Singh, Swaran 2003). However, In 1954 Pakistan reassured Beijing that the Southeast Asia Treaty Organization (SEATO) was not directed against China, and in 1961, it supported the draft resolution for Peoples republic of China's (PRC) membership in the United Nations Security Council.<sup>26</sup>

Although the China-Pakistan relationship grew out of their mutual desire beginning after India-China border war of 1962 to counterbalance India. In 1963, Pakistan ceded to China the Trans-Karakoram Tract, also known as Shaksam Valley, of the disputed territory of Kashmir. The area subsequently became part of the land bridge linking Pakistan to China's Xinjiang along the Karakoram Highway. China sided with Pakistan during the 1965 and 1971 wars against India (Chawla 2012: 50) during which China put its own forces along the Indian border on high alert, in order to put pressure on India from two frontier sides. Since then, China has proved one of the most reliable partners to Pakistan. China has provided military equipments and economic aid whereas its other friends such as the United States started cutting off military aid. China always come forward to support Pakistan when it was isolated by the international comity due to various reasons like its nuclear proliferation, the antidemocratic coup d'état in 1999 and its support of the Taliban regime in neighbouring Afghanistan. China has not only remained reliable partner but it helped Pakistan to develop its nuclear programme.

In South Asia, Pakistan is the only country that counters India's dominance. It was in a position to be helpful in fulfilling the objective of China's South Asia policy. The Chinese believed that as long as India is engaged with Pakistan on its western frontier, it will not be a danger on the Tibetan border. A secure and stable India at peace with Pakistan would, on the other hand, make it free from pressure to focus on China and East Asia. John Garver has succinctly summed up China's Pakistan policy:

*“China's overriding strategic interest is to keep Pakistan independent, powerful, and confident enough to present India with a standing two-front threat... Were India able to dissolve this two-front threat by subordinating Pakistan, its position against China would be much*

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<sup>26</sup> A decade later, China reciprocated by supporting a resolution condemning India's actions in its 1971 war with Pakistan, one of Beijing's first resolutions upon taking up a permanent seat in the UN Security Council.

*stronger ...[This would amount to] conceding South Asia as an Indian sphere of nuance. Such a move would spell the virtual end to Chinese aspirations of being the leading Asian power and would greatly weaken China's position against Indian power" (Garver 2008: 80-85).*

Through Pakistan, China wants to create the threat perception which saps India's military power. It was the provision of the Chinese nuclear and missile shield to Pakistan during the late 1980s and 1990s (at the height of China–India rapprochement) that encourages Islamabad to wage a proxy war in Kashmir (Kumaraswamy 2004: 135). According to Ehsan Ahrari, "In enabling Pakistan to become a nuclear power China has already created a very painful long-term reality for India. The strategic parity with India, that Pakistan has given it tremendous potential to emerge as a major factor in South West and Central Asia, if it could set its economy in order" (Malik 2004: 136). A reliable ally such as Pakistan also provides China with a secure access to naval bases (Karachi and Ormara) in Arabian Sea. China's concerns about separatist Islamic influence in its Xinjiang also kept China's engaged with Pakistan (Kumaraswamy 2004: 135). Engaging Pakistan's government and even its fundamentalist religious parties, is an important part of keeping control on its own restive Muslim northwest Xinjiang. Rabid Talibanisation of Pakistani state and society during the 1990s has, however, created some frictions between Beijing and Islamabad. Wang Jian Ping, an expert in religious studies working in the Chinese Academy of Social Sciences (Institute of World Religions), admitted that 'China has some problems with Pakistan' over its deep involvement with the Taliban regime in Afghanistan and the 'export of fundamentalist Islamic political ideas'. (Malik 2000: 14-16). Though Pakistan has been scrupulously careful in trying not to offend China, relations between the two 'All-weather friends' may sour if Islamabad fails to keep the fundamentalists on a short leash in respect of Xinjiang or if the fundamentalist organisations take over that country.

A key feature of Beijing's South Asia policy has been its 'India-centric' approach, which, in turn, has seen military links with India's neighbours dominating the policy agenda. The major objective of China's Asia policy has been to prevent the rise of a peer competitor *i.e.*, India as a real Asian rival to challenge China's status as the Asia–Pacific's sole 'Middle Kingdom'(Kapur 2011: 163. As an old

Chinese says, 'one mountain cannot accommodate two tigers'. Beijing has always known that India, if it ever gets its economic and strategic acts together, alone has the size, might, numbers and, above all, the intention to match China. Therefore, China wanted to weaken it by supporting and arming its neighbours (Garver 2001: 93) and supporting insurgency movements in India's minority regions (Perkovich 1999: 289).

India factor has played important role in Pakistan's nuclear programme. Apart from India some other factors like uneasy relationships with Afghanistan, the former Soviet Union and the energy shortage have also contributed in its nuclear programme to become a nuclear power as part of its defence strategy. In order to develop its nuclear policy, it established Pakistan Atomic Energy Commission (PAEC) in 1956 (Kapur 1987: 38, 39,42). Initially its nuclear policy to directed towards to meet the energy shortage which was corroborated by the statement of its Foreign Minister Zafarullah Khan. He publicly stated that "Pakistan does not have a policy towards the atom bombs".<sup>27</sup> USA and Pakistan reached an understanding concerning the peaceful and industrial use of nuclear energy which also includes a \$350,000 worth pool-type reactor (Rehman 1999: 23). Till 1971, Pakistan's nuclear programme remained peaceful though, in 1960s, many major proposals have been made by the several defence officials and senior scientists to the PAEC under its chairman Ishrat Hussain Usmani but it made no efforts to acquire nuclear fuel cycle for the purposes of active nuclear weapons programme (Kapur 1987: 77-87).

After the 1965 Indo-Pak war, the then Foreign Minister Zulfikar Ali Bhutto (later Prime Minister) vehemently advocated the option of "nuclear weapons programmes" but such attempts were dismissed by Finance Minister Muhammad Shoaib (Rehman 1999: 21). Pakistani scientists and engineers working at IAEA became aware of Indian nuclear program towards making the bombs. Therefore, in October 1965, Munir Ahmad Khan, director at the Nuclear Power and Reactor Division of the International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA), met with Z. A. Bhutto in Vienna, revealing the facts about the Indian nuclear programme and a weapon production facility in Trombay (Pasha 1972).

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<sup>27</sup> Atoms for Peace: Eisenhower UN Speech," The Eisenhower Institute, 8 December 1953.

## PAKISTAN-CHINA NUCLEAR NEXUS

In the aftermath of the Indian nuclear test in 1974, Pakistani Prime Minister Zulfikar Ali Bhutto meets with senior Pakistani officials to discuss the implications of India's nuclear tests. A statement by the Pakistani foreign ministry, released after the meeting, stated that India's pronouncements of peaceful intentions do not meet Pakistan's security concerns. The statement also noted that nuclear programs often incorporated both peaceful and military ends. Z.A. Bhutto had also remarked that, "If India builds the bomb, we will eat grass or leaves, even go hungry, but we will get one of our own" (Phil 2012). In June 7, 1974 Pakistani Prime Minister said that India's nuclear program is designed to intimidate Pakistan and establish "hegemony in the subcontinent", and Pakistan will develop a nuclear program in response to India's nuclear testing of an atomic device. However, Bhutto insisted that Pakistan's program would be limited to peaceful purpose.

The year 1976 was as an inaugural of the Sino-Pak nexus which was corroborated by the statement of Zulfikar Ali Bhutto, "in the light of the recent developments which have taken place, my single most important achievement which I believe will dominate the portrait or my public life is an agreement with China of June 1976 (Koch, Andrew., Topping, Jennifer and Mason. David. A. 1997: 50-51). Americans expressed concerns over this development. Talks between US Secretary of State Henry Kissinger and Bhutto during this period discussed the nuclear cooperation between the two countries, however, the focus was on nuclear reprocessing and uranium enrichment was not yet a concern.

The year 1986, proved as a milestone in the nuclear programme of China. In September 15, 1986, Pakistan and China signed a formal agreement outlining the nuclear cooperation between the two states (The Pakistan Times, September 21, 1986). Buoyant by this agreement, President Zia ul Haq rhetorically said, "It is our right to obtain technology. And when we acquire this technology the Islamic world will possess it with us." (Martin, 2011). As a corollary of this agreement both countries formalized to transfer and share nuclear technology between each other.

However, Dr. Abdul Qadeer Khan, the father of Pakistan's nuclear program, unofficially contended that nuclear cooperation between the two countries started taking place 1982 onwards. This was corroborated by personal request made by Dr Qadeer Khan to the Chinese government and approximately got 50 kilograms

of weapon-grade enriched uranium (R. Jeffery Smith and Joby Warrick 2009). There are also indications that China provided Pakistan with nuclear warhead designs from China's 1966 nuclear test. In addition to this, Pakistan also got blueprints to develop the nuclear weapons (Bonior 2000). This nuclear nexus of Sino-Pak was also substantiated by the two former USA nuclear bomb designers that the PRC transferred nuclear bomb technology to Pakistan, including a test conducted in 1998 for its nuclear bomb (Reed 2009). According to Thomas Reed, former US Air Force Secretary, had China not supported Pakistan's nuclear tests in May 1998, it would not have been possible to conduct its nuclear explosion. He contended that the United States itself took over two weeks to retaliate to a Soviet nuclear test, despite having the nuclear technology for years.

Cooperation between the two countries steadily has been increased with substantial transfers occurring since then. Most of the strategic scholars were also convinced that China offered its test facilities at Lop Nor in 1989, to conduct a Pakistani nuclear test. However, there is no evidence that a nuclear test by Pakistan was taking place at the People's Republic of China (PRC) testing ground located at Lop Nor. Though international community was aware of such transactions but reaction to this on the part of control regime and international community was limited owing to a variety of geo-strategic and diplomatic considerations.<sup>28</sup> Due to callous attitude on the part of international community, China without any pressure assisted Pakistan's nuclear programme.<sup>29</sup> It assisted for the establishment of Kahuta nuclear reactor and transferred tritium gas, used in the manufacturing of a hydrogen bomb. Beijing has also supplied heavy water (D2O) to the safeguarded KANUPP reactor (originally supplied by Canada), which

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<sup>28</sup> One of them was economic; in 1985 the Chinese and US governments signed a Nuclear Cooperation Agreement (NCA) that, when enacted, would allow American firms to apply for licenses to sell agreement on the US side required the president to certify to Congress that China was not proliferating nuclear weapons.<sup>19</sup> Additionally, the Pressler Amendment was passed which required the US government to certify at the start of each fiscal year, that Pakistan did not possess a nuclear device. The government did so, since Pakistan was a frontline ally, against the Soviet forces in operation in Afghanistan.

<sup>29</sup> "Nuclear Scientist Qadeer Khan Interviewed," *Nawa-I-Waqt (Rawalpindi)*, 26 January 1993, Pp. 28-29, 87; *Proliferation Issues*, 12 February 1993, Pg. 12; in NTI Nuclear and Missile Database, 12 February 1993, [www.nti.org](http://www.nti.org).

is a central element in the production of plutonium, deuterium and tritium for advanced compact warheads (i.e. thermonuclear weapons). In 1994, information surfaced that China's Nuclear Energy Industry Corporation had transferred 5,000 ring magnets to a Pakistani nuclear weapons lab for use in gas centrifuges to enrich uranium (Hibbs, Mark 1996).

China has been actively assisting Pakistan with its nuclear program in many aspects of nuclear programme. Late 1980s onward it has provided with ready-to-launch M-9, M-11, and Dong Feng 21 ballistic missiles, thus helping it to bridge the military capability gap with respect to its arch rival India (Rehman 2012: 65-66). Pakistan's first nuclear plant KANNUP was established and followed by other two in Chasma and Khushab by the Chinese assistance and Beijing's planned construction of two further nuclear reactors in Punjab (Chasma III and Chasma IV) was announced in early 2010 (Rehman 2012: 73). USA indicated that China must seek an exemption from the NSG for any future nuclear technology transfers where as the latter has argued that the new proposed sale should be viewed as part of the earlier agreement struck with Pakistan before Beijing joined the NSG and thus be "grandfathered" into international acceptance.

It is widely accepted that China transferred equipment and technology and provided scientific expertise to Pakistan's nuclear weapons. Ballistic missile programs of Pakistan throughout the 1980s and 1990s was also not left untouched which got optimum assistance from China and enhanced Pakistan's strength in the South Asian strategic balance. The most significant development in Chinese-Pakistani military cooperation occurred in 1992, when China supplied Pakistan with 34 short-range ballistic M-11 missiles. Beijing also built a turn-key ballistic missile manufacturing facility near Rawalpindi, and helped Pakistan develop the 750-km-range solid-fueled Shaheen-1 ballistic missile (Curtis, Lisa and Scissors, Derek. (2012).

No other Asian country has armed another in such a consistent manner over such a long period of time as China has armed and backed Pakistan. China knew that India at peace with a secure and stable Pakistan would make India to focus on China. Indian strategic scholars interpreted the May 1998 nuclear tests as endeavours to check Indian circumspection by China. India remains the only Southern Asian country determined to resist China's dominance of Asia by developing its strategic and economic capabilities (Singh 1998: 41-52).The China



factor is central to the nuclear equation in South Asia. India sees China as the mother of all its security concerns from the Bay of Bengal to the Persian Gulf. Pakistan has always been a sideshow. Reluctantly, India agreed to live with one nuclear power on its borders for three decades, but found it increasingly hard to live with two closely aligned, hostile nuclear powers that together claims vast tract of Indian Territory. Thus, it is strongly believed by the Indian strategic scholars such as Mohan Malik, had China not provided nuclear and missile technology to Pakistan and non-proliferation regime not tried to foreclose India's nuclear option, India would have maintained its 'bombs-in-the-basement' posture. (Malik 1999: 34) However, China is unwilling to accede 'strategic space' to India as a regional power.

Seeing the trend of nuclear proliferation, international scrutiny by the control regime put in place but it was not effective in case of China and Pakistan. In 1991, China was agreed to build the Chashma 300-MW nuclear power reactor for Pakistan (khan 2010: 27-40). In order to provide legitimacy, Pakistan was asked by China to sign an IAEA safeguards agreement for the reactor at Chashma (Shirley A. Kan). After the end of Cold War, nuclear proliferation by transferring nuclear technology to Pakistan by China increased manifold. Similarly, further attempts at proliferation were seen in 1995 when 5,000 specially designed ring magnets from the China Nuclear Energy Industry Corporation (CNEIC), provided to an un-safeguarded Pakistani nuclear facility (Ibid).

### **CHINA'S PERCEPTIONS AND REACTIONS TO THE INDO-U.S. DEAL**

India-US formulated the framework of its nuclear deal in Jul 18, 2005. India did this nuclear deal for enhancing its nuclear energy. Under this deal India agreed to separate its civil and military nuclear facilities and ready to place all its civil nuclear facilities under International Atomic Energy Agency's (IAEA) safeguards and, in exchange, the United States agreed to work towards full civil nuclear cooperation with India. This Indo-U.S. nuclear deal passed through several complex stages to come to fruition. These stages included amendment of U.S. domestic law -specially the Atomic Energy Act of 1954, a civil-military nuclear Separation Plan in India, an India-IAEA safeguards (inspections) agreement and the grant of an exemption for India by the Nuclear Suppliers Group (NSG), an

export-control cartel. (The Indian Express September 6, 2008). In August 18, 2008 the IAEA Board of Governors approved, and on February 2, 2009, India signed an India-specific safeguards agreement with the IAEA (Times of India Feb 1, 2009). When India brings this agreement into force, inspections began in a phased manner on the 35 civilian nuclear installations which India has identified in its Separation Plan (Paddock 2009: 2). The deal is seen as a watershed in Indo-US relations. The implementation of this waiver made India the only known country with nuclear weapons which is not a party to the non proliferation regime but it is still allowed to carry out nuclear commerce with rest of the world.

This deal has drastic implications for nuclearisation of South Asia. On the one hand by this, India's nuclear programme got legitimacy (Raghavan 2008) and on the other hand, it provoked other countries in general and Pakistan in particular to accelerate their nuclear programme. In South Asia, particularly Pakistan demanded the same treatment from the international community. As a reaction to this, China came forward and offered to Pakistan same kind of nuclear deal.

This nuclear deal placed China on high alert as India could expand its nuclear weapon programme and free up its uranium to build more nuclear weapons which can tilt the balance of power in Asia. China firmly opposed this agreement on grounds of unfair move towards to the South Asian region, arguing that Pakistan as well should be given the same treatment which India had qualified for (Singh, Jasjit, et. al. 2007: 1-10).

China argued the Indo-US nuclear agreement constituted a major blow to the international non-proliferation regime. As Henry Sokolski contended that this deal has violated Article I of the NPT which prohibits nuclear states (US) to help non nuclear states (India) for developing nuclear weapons. He further pointed out that despite US's rhetoric of bringing India into the non proliferation mainstream via this nuclear deal which is not a signatory to the NPT even till date. Moreover, this deal trades away our credibility on North Korea and Iran the United States will be joining the ranks of North Korea and Iran as NPT violators (Sokolski 2006). China has also expressed its concerns over the US's strategy -balancing the geopolitics of Asia. She viewed it as the unintentional infringement of the NPT by the US and if Washington violates the NPT the world's superpower, then China can also follow the same suit.

China cautioned the USA that had China signed the same deal with Islamabad, a non-NPT state it would have further damaged the non-proliferation regime as well as provoked the other nuclear powers including the US. Indo-US nuclear deal has serious implications for non proliferation regime as it jeopardized the legitimacy of the NPT. On account of Indo-US nuclear deal, the longstanding Sino-Pakistani nuclear partnership is likely to intensify further. Undoubtedly, in the post nuclear deal of Indo-US, China deepened its nuclear support to Pakistan in order to ensure that it stays competitive with India in nuclear capability.

China has a long history of providing nuclear and missile-related assistance to Pakistan, including weapons-grade uranium and warhead designs. However, as a reaction to Indo-usa Nuclear Deal, China further intensified with the signing of China-Pak nuclear deal signed in 2010 (Chaudhry, Sajid 2010). Under this agreement China going to give two nuclear reactors -Chashma 3 and Chasma 4 for the nuclear complex in Punjab province. According to Pakistani officials, China offered generous financial conditions, without which the deal would have been a non-starter for Islamabad. According to a Chinese foreign ministry spokesperson, the latest expansion project at Chashma is part of a 2003 agreement between Islamabad and Beijing (The Daily Times, September 22, 2010).

However, when China joined the Nuclear Suppliers Group (NSG) in 2004 it informed NSG member states that apart from Chashma 1 and 2 it would not supply any further reactors to Pakistan. Beijing also listed the items it was committed to export to Islamabad under the original agreement (Mark Hibbs 2011). The NSG issue is crucial since under the group's rules, nuclear fuel, reactors, and technology cannot be supplied to countries, such as Pakistan, that do not adopt full-scope safeguards. Beijing is seeking to "grandfather" the two-reactor deal through the 2003 agreement, since this agreement was concluded before China's entry into the NSG (Buckley 2011).

China did not bring its deal with Pakistan before the NSG, either to request a limited or across-the-board exemption (the latter would presumably be analogous to the India exemption). In addition to the two new reactors for the Chashma complex, the China National Nuclear Corporation (CNNC) will supply a fifth nuclear reactor to Pakistan with a 1GW capacity (The Daily Times, September 21, 2012). But there is no indication that this reactor deal, which presumably will not be part of the Chashma complex, was approved by or even brought before the

NSG (Horner 2011). According to one account, at the 2010 NSG plenary meeting, even though several member states had requested clarifications from China regarding the deal, Beijing responded that all exports to Pakistan would follow NSG guidelines, implying that the latest round of reactor transactions would be grandfathered through the earlier 2003 agreement. The Pakistani position is that the deal does not violate its non-proliferation obligations, because it is not connected to the military side of its nuclear programme (Schneidmiller 2011).

China perceives U.S.A.'s willingness to team up with an "inferior" India clearly indicated the US strategy of China containment in Asia in general and in South Asia in particular. As an implicit denouncement of the U.S.-India nuclear deal, Beijing published a white paper on arms control in August 2005, weeks after the announcement of the U.S.A.-India civil nuclear energy agreement was made in July 2005. According to Beijing's white paper on arms control, China's endeavours for Arms Control, Disarmament and Non-Proliferation, because of its experience during the "Century of National Humiliation," Beijing understands and therefore fully supports world peace, referencing its "Five Principles of Peaceful Coexistence." That white paper was aimed at controlling rumours of Beijing's alleged violation of non proliferation protocols prior to becoming a member of the NSG in 2004 and also to "fully elaborate Beijing's policies and positions and to give a systematic account of China's involvement in the international community." The key word here is "judgment," which implies that Beijing will do what it perceives as the right thing to do to benefit from whatever the circumstance may be.

Beijing blames Washington for the India deal because this deal violates the NPT, says Dr. Phillip C. Saunders, a China watcher at the National Defense University's Institute for National Strategic Studies (Singapore). Nevertheless, since Beijing also provided assistance to Islamabad's nuclear weapons and missile programs, neither can point fingers at one another because both Washington and Beijing are violating NPT together.<sup>30</sup>

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<sup>30</sup> Phillip C. Saunders, interview by author, Monterey, California, April 5, 2007. Dr. Saunders is a former director of the East Asian Nonproliferation Program at the James Martin Center for non-proliferation Studies at the Monterey Institute of International Studies. He is a noted China watcher and has published extensively in the United States.

Shen Dingli, a nuclear security expert and Vice President of Institute of International Studies at Fudan University asserts that the U.S.-India nuclear deal is about helping New Delhi developing nuclear weapons aimed at Islamabad “containing another country.” Shen further claims that Washington’s assistance in New Delhi’s nuclear weapons program “is intended to suppress the rise of what in the eyes of Washington is an authoritarian power.” (Shen Dingli 2006) Moreover, Shen accused Washington of “contributing to nuclear proliferation” as New Delhi can now devote its resources and energy to the research and development of nuclear weapons. Wouldn’t it be possible for other nuclear states to cooperate with Pakistan in the development of nuclear energy? Pakistan has a need to develop civil nuclear energy and the right to do so. Beijing has signaled that it could do the same with Islamabad.

While in August 2008 Chinese opposition waned during the important Nuclear Suppliers Group (NSG) waiver to India, a sting in the tail soon followed. Contrary to this, in April 2008, China guaranteed Pakistan all help and support to set up at least four new nuclear power plants to meet its “growing energy demands.” (The Hindustan Times, April 14, 2008).

In order to avoid the harsh opposition following the announcement, China muddied legal waters relating to the agreement, by arguing that the sales were in fact “grandfathered”, under a nuclear agreement with Pakistan signed in 1986. China gained membership of the NSG in 2004, and therefore it would be bound by the rules and regulations of the NSG only for agreements signed post 2004. This argument was unanimously supported by the NSG during its 23-24 June 2011 plenary meeting, clearing the way for the nuclear transfer. However, what the Chinese cleverly sidestepped was the fact that their pre-joining declaration to the NSG was to build an additional reactor for their Chasma 2 power plant, not to build additional nuclear plants (Tellis 2010: 5). The nuclear agreement with Pakistan has created serious ripples in the non-proliferation regime, and holds important geo-strategic implications.

## CONCLUSION

An analysing of the dynamics of proliferation in South Asia depicts that China factor plays a crucial role. First, the India was no need of becoming nuclear in south Asia because of having superior conventional military strength as compared to its other neighbours in this region. India, with its superior conventional strength, does not need nuclear weapons to counter a non-nuclear Pakistan. In fact, Pakistan was almost peripheral to Indian nuclear planning in the 1960s and most of the 1970s. Conversely, however, nuclear weapons can play a key role in Pakistani security plans to counter the growing military dominance of India in the region. The acquisition of nuclear weapons could be seen by Islamabad as providing a deterrent against an Indian invasion or a further Indian-supported breakup of Pakistan. This is underscored by official arguments that nuclear-weapons capability will provide Pakistan "a meaningful deterrent."<sup>31</sup> Pakistan has a far smaller nuclear program and less capability to produce weapons-usable fissile materials than India, a gap that is expected to widen further in the 1990s. China has assisted Pakistan's nuclear development and has provided short-range missiles to that country. An important foreign policy objective of India, therefore, has been to block or slow down the Pakistani nuclear program. India has retained its nuclear option primarily to counter what it perceives to be the intimidating nuclear might of China, although Pakistan's nuclear- weapons capability drive has prompted India to accelerate work on its programme. China, in fact, has been central to Indian security planning.<sup>32</sup>

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<sup>31</sup> Husain, Mushahid. (October 14, 1989). Pakistan 'Responding to Change. *Jane's Defence Weekly*, (Interview with General Mirza Aslam Beg, Chief of the Pakistan Army Staff), p. 779. See also statement by General K.M. Arif, Lang (Lahore), August 10, 1989, p. 3.

<sup>32</sup>For an analysis of how the China factor influenced Indian security planning and shaped Indian attitudes on international nonproliferation controls, see Michael J. Sullivan III, "Indian Attitudes on International Atomic Energy Controls," *Pacific Affairs* (Fall 1970), pp. 353-369. .

## CHAPTER 5

### CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

#### SUMMARY

In the first chapter, over all conceptualization of this work has been discussed. In the second chapter strategic significance has been highlighted. South Asia is moored in Indian Ocean and on account of that it holds very pivotal position in the geopolitical and geostrategic landscape. Given of the enormous size and military technology, India and Pakistan are holding geo-strategically dominant position in the South Asia. India's central location increased its strength in comparison with its neighbours. After the end of the Second World War, on account of South Asia's strategic location and natural resources has attracted many external powers. China being its neighbour, it has geostrategic and geo-economic interests in the region.

This chapter has also tried to dig out the interests of China in the region. After the end of the Second World War, on account of its strategic location and natural resources this region has attracted many external powers. China being its neighbour, it has geostrategic and geo-economic interests in the region.

China perceived India its strong competitor in South Asia. In order to make its strong foothold in South Asia it wanted to contain and minimize the influence of India in the region by providing strategic and military aid to the neighbour countries of India. India is the largest country in South Asia and its neighbour countries always remained apprehensive. China exploited this situation and turned it in its favour and resultantly Pakistan came very closer to China. USA is also a major challenge for China in South Asia. Along with India, China also wanted to contain the geopolitical interests of the USA in this region. This country has always supported anti democratic forces in the region. Since 1980s, its economy is high on high trajectory and to maintain access the energy resources from this region is

remained the remained one of the important interests in the region. In order to make its objectives successful in the region, China is engaging with the neighbouring hostile countries of India, diplomatically, economically and strategically to hamstring it from all directions.

The third chapter has made an attempt to examine the internal and external factors which contributed in the nuclearisation in the region. After the decolonization, the region has been plagued by the internal and external dynamics. Most of the countries of this region have long-standing intra-regional tension and unresolved border disputes. The politico-strategic environment in South Asia has been seriously hindered by internal or intra-state conflicts. The region is one of the most ethnically, culturally and linguistically diverse. Since its independence, peace remained as distant dream on account of ethnic hostility, communal violence and numerous wars, both inter and intra-state.

Some of these conflicts, such as Kashmir, Siachan Glacier, Sir Creek, Indo-Sri Lanka ethnic problem, territorial disputes between India and Bangla Desh heightened the security concerns in the region. Also diverse political experiences, ideologies and economic conditions across and within the states posed serious challenges for the security of the region. It has also been increasingly overwhelmed by “non-traditional security threats”, such as ethnic and ethno-nationalistic insurgencies. Territorial disputes between India-Pakistan over the deadlock on the issue of Kashmir is remained as the major factor for security concerns for both the countries over which two wars have been fought. Border dispute between Afghanistan-Pakistan is also lingering. Sri Lankan ethnic conflict is a serious concern for the regional security. Cross border terrorism for the last three decades has been seriously threatening the region. During the Cold War, this region became the hostage of super power politics in order to maintain the balance of the power in their favour. These external powers intervened in the regional disputes. With other powers, China is also one of the main powers that not only intervened in the region but also whetted up the regional disputes to turn the balance of power in its favour.



The chapter four mainly analysed how nuclearisation took place in South Asia. Soon after Panchsheel Agreement of 1954, the magic of “Hindi-Chini Bhai Bhai” tempo lost by the border dispute which turned into 1962 War and India and China turned friends to foes. In this war India was humiliated which left very indelible imprints of Indian leadership’s psyche. Nuclear test of China in 1964, further deepened the apprehension. This lead to serious debates among the people and Indian parliament. In this highly surcharged strategic environment, India conducted its first nuclear test in 1974.

Long standing disputes between India and Pakistan, made South Asia very highly dangerous area. On the one hand, India is not sharing good relationship with China and on the other hand Sino-Pak relations are very cordial ones. For expanding its strategic interests and geopolitical space in the region, China wanted to engage India with Pakistan. China has helped Pakistan in its nuclear weapons by providing technological and monetary assistance. The main findings of this chapter are China is the main cause and contributor in the nuclearisation of South Asia. When China did its first nuclear test in 1964, it created and enhanced security concerns of India. With India’s first nuclear test, of 1974 Pakistan became apprehensive and consequently in 1998 both India and Pakistan conducted their nuclear tests. When **India and USA did Civilian Nuclear Deal in 2005**, China reacted very strongly and opposed this Nuclear Deal and demanded for the same kind of treatment for Pakistan. When no country came forward to ink same kind of deal then China itself offered to Pakistan **Civilian Nuclear Deal** which was formalized in 2010. Therefore, it can be said that the China is/will remain the main factor in nuclearisation of South Asia.

## **IMPLICATION OF SOUTH ASIAN NUCLEARISATION**

- Serious setback to Non-Proliferation Regime (NPR)
- Regional security has been jeopardized and it has become the most dangerous place
- The quest of other threshold nuclear countries for nuclear weapons has been enhanced

- Peace and stability in the world has been negatively affected
  - It has very serious socio-economic implications for the region.

## **RECOMMENDATIONS**

As long as China and India retain their arsenals, so will Pakistan. Improving the relationship between Islamabad and New Delhi and stabilizing the region is the only way to avoid the rapid growth of nuclear arsenal and the proliferation risks such growth entails.

### **REDUCE INCENTIVES TO TEST AND DEPLOY NEW NUCLEAR WEAPON**

The first step in preventing a new nuclear arms race between India and Pakistan is reducing incentives to test and deploy new nuclear weapons, which can be accomplished if the major powers United States, Russia, Britain, France and China takes the lead in ratifying the CTBT and urges India and Pakistan to follow its example.

### **RESOLVE THE KASHMIR ISSUE**

The nuclear powers should also continue to support of ongoing Indian and Pakistani efforts to resolve the Kashmir issue. Washington should avoid creating an impression that one or the other country gets preferential treatment, as occurred after the US-India nuclear cooperation agreement was signed. Such double standards only erode US credibility and send reassuring signals to nuclear proliferants seeking easy profit without considering the gravity of consequences. Being strict with its own allies, like Pakistan, is a sure test of US non proliferation commitment.

### **IMPROVE THE SECURITY OF PAKISTANI NUCLEAR ARSENAL**

On the non-proliferation issue, it is in China's interest to ask India and Pakistan to sign the NPT and CTBT. In the meantime, China should help Pakistan to improve the safe management of its nuclear arsenal, and work with the US and the international community to prevent any possibility of nuclear conflict in South Asia.

## **DEVELOPING OF A POLICY OF PEACE AND FRIENDSHIP**

If both India and Pakistan behave irresponsibly and do not demonstrate the necessary maturity, outside powers are likely to benefit at the expense of both countries. They will play the Indian or Pakistani card at will to further their objectives and interests. The strategic and economic interests of both states could be better served if they pursue a policy of peace and friendship towards accept the idea that security of one cannot be at the expense of each other (Gidvani 2009:774). India and Pakistan confrontation will be solved if the leaders of the both countries agreed to develop security and confidence building measures. Bilateral negotiations should be of prime concern since the two countries have become nuclear capable and are aware of each other's nuclear capabilities. External powers will also understand the maturity and will stop in playing these two countries for the strategic and political interests through which they had develop between them the line of animosity. This will prevent the nuclear crisis in the region and will maintain peace and stability in the region.

## **HYPOTHESIS PROVED**

China's nuclear and conventional forces have been constantly upgraded and modernized. China had been supplying nuclear warhead designs and components to Pakistan well before Pokhran II. The Indian tests in 1998 forced Pakistan to reveal its nuclear weapons capability. India has acquired limited nuclear capability, though not yet deterrent against China. The tests conducted, by both countries India and Pakistan was a cause of concern, India from the China and Pakistan from India. Through these tests they had also maintained minimum deterrence capability. The hypothesis "China the main factor in the South Asian region nuclearizes the South Asia" has been proved.

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## APPENDIX A

**India-Pakistan Joint Statement on Siachen Talks June, 12, 2012,  
Rawalpindi, Pakistan<sup>33</sup>**

The defence secretary level talks between India and Pakistan on Siachen were held at the ministry of Defence, Rawalpindi from 11-12 June 2012. The Indian delegation was headed by Mr. Shashi Kant Sharma, Defence secretary of India and the Pakistan delegation was headed by Mrs. Nargis Sethi, Secretary defence of Pakistan

1. The Defence secretary of India called on the Minister for Defence Syed Naveed Qamar.
2. The talks were held in a cordial and friendly atmosphere. Both sides reaffirmed their resolve to make serious, sustained and result oriented efforts for seeking an amicable resolution of Siachen. It was agreed to continue dialogue on Siachen in keeping with the desire of leaders of both countries for early resolutions of all outstanding issues. Both sides acknowledged that the ceasefire was hold since 2003.
3. It was agreed that the next round of talks on Siachen will be held in New Delhi on mutually convenient dates, to be fixed through diplomatic channels.

**APPENDIX B**

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<sup>33</sup> Ministry of External Affairs, Government of India, June 12, 2012.  
<http://www.meaindia.nic.in/mystart.php---id=190017693>



**Joint statement on India-Pakistan Talks on Sir Creek June, 19, 2012,  
New Delhi, India<sup>34</sup>**

Under the resumed dialogue process between India and Pakistan, delegations of the two countries met in New Delhi from 18-19 June 2012 to discuss the Sir Creek issue. The Indian delegation was led by Surveyor General of India Dr. Swarna Subba Rao and the Pakistan delegation was led by Additional Secretary in the Ministry of Defence Rear Admiral Farooq Ahmad. The Pakistani delegation met Shri Shekhar Aggarwal, Additional Secretary, and Ministry of Defence.

2. The talks were held in a friendly and cordial atmosphere. The two sides reiterated their commitment to bilateral engagement in a spirit of constructive cooperation.

3. Both sides emphasised the need for an early and amicable resolution of the issue through sustained and result oriented dialogue. The two sides discussed the land boundary in the Sir Creek area and also delimitation of International maritime boundary.

4. They agreed to hold the next round of the talks on Sir Creek issue in Pakistan at mutually convenient dates, to be determined through diplomatic channels.

**APPENDIX C**

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<sup>34</sup> Ministry of External Affairs, Government of India, June 19, 2012, <http://www.mea.gov.in/mystar.php?id=530519646>

## **India-Pakistan Joint Statement on Tulbul Navigation/ Wullar Barrage Project**

**March 28, 2012, New Delhi, India<sup>35</sup>**

1. Under the resumed dialogue process between India and Pakistan, the delegations of the two countries met in New Delhi from 27-28 March 2012, to discuss the Tulbul Navigation/Wullar Barrage Project. The Indian delegation was led by Mr. Dhruv Vijai Singh, Secretary, Ministry of Water Resources, Government of India and the Pakistan delegation was led by Mr. Imtiaz Kazi, Secretary, Ministry of Water and Power, Government of Pakistan and the Secretary Kazi and members of the Pakistan delegation also called on Mr. Vincent H. Pala, Minister of state for Water Resources, Government of India.
2. The talks were held in a friendly and cordial atmosphere. The two sides reiterated their commitment to bilateral engagement in a spirit of constructive cooperation. They discussed their respective positions on the Wullar Barrage/Tulbul Navigation Project while reaffirming the commitment to the Indus Waters Treaty 1960.
3. Both sides emphasised the need for an early and amicable resolution of the issue within the ambit of the Indus Waters Treaty. In order to address the concerns of both countries, it was agreed that the Indian side shall forward comprehensive technical data to Pakistan. The Pakistan side shall examine the said data and furnish its views before the next round of talks. Both sides further agreed to take the matter forward in the light of the outcome of such technical consultations and in accordance with the provisions of the Indus Waters Treaty.

### **APPENDIX D**

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<sup>35</sup> Ministry of External Affairs, Government of India, March 28, 2012, <http://www.mea.gov.in/mystar.php?id=530519156>

**Joint statement on India Pakistan Foreign Secretaries Level Talks July 5, 2012, New Delhi<sup>36</sup>**

1. During the second round of resumed dialogue process, the foreign secretaries of India and Pakistan met in New Delhi on July 4-5, 2012 for bilateral talks on peace and security including CBMS, Jammu and Kashmir and promotion of friendly exchanges.
2. The talks were held in a frank and cordial atmosphere. The two sides reiterated their desire to bilateral engagement in a spirit of constructive cooperation.
3. The issue of peace and security, including CBMs, was discussed in a cordial manner. Both sides emphasized to need to promote greater trust and mutual understanding through constructive dialogue.
4. The Foreign Secretaries reviewed the ongoing implementation of the treaty adopted nuclear and conventional CBMs. It was decided that separate meetings of the Expert Level Groups on nuclear and conventional CBMs will be held to discuss implementation and strengthening of the existing CBMs and suggest additionally mutually acceptable steps that could build greater trust and confidence between the two countries, thereby contributing to peace and security. The dates for the meetings of Expert Level Groups will be determined through diplomatic channels.
5. The Foreign Secretaries noted that both countries recognize that terrorism poses a continuing threat to peace and security. They reaffirmed the strong commitment of the two countries to fight and eliminate terrorism in an effective and comprehensive manner so as to eliminate the scourge in all its forms and manifestations.
6. The Foreign Secretaries had a comprehensive exchange of views on the issue of Jammu and Kashmir and agreed to continue discussions in a purposeful and forward looking manner with the view to finding a peaceful solution by narrowing divergences and building convergences.
7. Both sides recognized the need to strengthen the existing Cross-LoC CBMS for streamlining the arrangements to facilitate travel and trade across LOC. They decide to convene a meeting of the Working on Cross-LoC CBMs on July 19, 2012 in Islamabad to recommend steps for strengthening and streamlining and

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<sup>36</sup> Press Information Bureau, GOI, July 05, 2012, <http://pib.nic.in/newsite/erelease.aspx?relid=85192>

effectively implementing and effectively implementing the existing trade and travel arrangements and propose modalities for introducing additional cross LoC CBMs.

8. Both sides underlined the importance of greater people to people contacts and friendly exchanges in building relationships of trust and friendship between the two countries. They noted that the extent of a revised bilateral Visa agreement has already been finalized and decided to work for its early signing. They emphasized the importance of greater parliamentary exchanges; promotion of cooperation in various fields including facilitating visits to religious shrines and cessation of hostile propaganda against each other.

9. The Foreign Secretaries also emphasized the need to promote media and sports contacts.

10. During his visit the foreign secretary of Pakistan will be calling on Minister of External Affairs of India. H .E. Mr. S. M. Krishna and National Security Adviser H. E. Mr. Shivshankar Menon.

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