THE DYNAMICS OF PAKISTAN-CHINA STRATEGIC RELATIONS: CHALLENGES AND PROSPECTS IN POST 9/11 ERA

PhD DISSERTATION

This Dissertation is submitted to National Defence University, Islamabad in partial fulfillment for the degree of PhD in International Relations

BY

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ABSTRACT

The dynamics of Pakistan-China strategic relations are increasingly shaped by the global power play in Asia Pacific region which is emerging as a new pivot strategically and economically for the whole globe. China has remained most significant strategic ally of Pakistan and its relations have largely been driven by its strategic necessity to continue balance of power in region. The nuclearisation of India in South Asia and its strategic partnership with US and desire to play a soft balancer’s role in Asia Pacific has accentuated Pakistan-China strategic relationship. Both neighboring states China and Pakistan has had expressed commonality of interests at bilateral, regional and international levels. At the bilateral level China perceives Pakistan as a viable corridor for energy resources from oil and gas rich Middle East in her regional as well as in global perspective. For Pakistan its strategic partnership with China has played very important role in country’s security against her arch rival, the hegemonic India. The recently launched China-Pakistan Economic Corridor (CPEC) would not only strengthen economic partnership but also create mutual strategic interdependence between the two neighboring states. Geopolitical scenario is getting more multifaceted with the passage of time with impending challenges and enormous opportunities. The study argues that the shifting structures of security in Asian Supercomplexare increasingly reinforcing the dynamics of Pakistan-China strategic relations in the twenty first century. Using the main framework of Regional Security Complex theory it examines the growing interplay of Asian Supercomplex with the South Asian Regional Security Complex which is marked by increased US-China strategic competition in Indo-Pacific region and China’s Malacca dilemma as well as growing Indo-US strategic partnership in the region. In search of viable alternate energy routes, China has turned to Pakistan and initiated CPEC which will allow Beijing to use Gwadar port for transportation of Middle Eastern oil to Xinjiang through the pipeline. This has created a new set of strategic complex interdependence between Pakistan and China which is likely to sustain their strategic relationship in future.
# TABLES, FIGURES AND MAPS

## Tables

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Table</th>
<th>Description</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>2.3</td>
<td>Types of security complex</td>
<td>87</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.2.2</td>
<td>CPEC Economic and Cumulative Dividends for Pakistan</td>
<td>140</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

## Maps

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Map</th>
<th>Description</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>2.4</td>
<td>Regional Security Complex in Asia during Cold War</td>
<td>88</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.4</td>
<td>Regional Security Complex in Asia Post-Cold War</td>
<td>89</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.1</td>
<td>Original See Route to China</td>
<td>109</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.2</td>
<td>Highway Network of CPEC</td>
<td>126</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.2</td>
<td>CPEC Three Alignments</td>
<td>133</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
### ACRONYMS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Acronym</th>
<th>Abbreviation</th>
<th>Description</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>AIIB</td>
<td>Asian Infrastructure Investment Bank</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>APEC</td>
<td>Asia Pacific Economic Cooperation</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
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<td>ARF</td>
<td>ASEAN Regional Forum</td>
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<td>ASEM</td>
<td>Asia-Europe Meeting</td>
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<td>BCIM-EC</td>
<td>Bangladesh-China-India-Myanmar Economic Corridor</td>
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<td>BMD</td>
<td>Ballistic Missiles Defence</td>
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<td>BRI</td>
<td>Belt and Road Initiative</td>
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<td>BRICS</td>
<td>Brazil, Russia, India, China and South Africa</td>
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<tr>
<td>CBM</td>
<td>Confidence Buildings Measure</td>
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<td>CCP</td>
<td>Communist Party of China</td>
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<tr>
<td>CEP</td>
<td>circular error of probability</td>
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<tr>
<td>CNEIC</td>
<td>China Nuclear Energy Industry Corporation</td>
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<tr>
<td>CNP</td>
<td>Comprehensive National Power</td>
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<tr>
<td>COD</td>
<td>Commercial Operation Date</td>
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<tr>
<td>CPEC</td>
<td>China-Pakistan Economic Corridor</td>
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<td>CSA</td>
<td>Currency Swap Agreement</td>
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<td>EAS</td>
<td>East Asian Summit</td>
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<td>ETIM</td>
<td>East Turkistan Islamic Movement</td>
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<td>EU</td>
<td>European Union</td>
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<td>FC</td>
<td>Financial Close</td>
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<td>FDI</td>
<td>Foreign Direct Investment</td>
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<td>FDP</td>
<td>Full Dialogue Partner</td>
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<td>FTA</td>
<td>Free Trade Agreement</td>
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<tr>
<td>HIT</td>
<td>Heavy Industries Taxila</td>
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<td>HRF</td>
<td>Heavy Rebuild Factory</td>
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<td>IPC</td>
<td>Iran-Pakistan-China</td>
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<td>IR</td>
<td>International Relations</td>
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<td>IS</td>
<td>Islamic States</td>
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</tr>
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<td>JCC</td>
<td>Joint Co-ordination Committee</td>
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<td>JeM</td>
<td>Jaish-e-Mohammad</td>
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<td>JuD</td>
<td>Jama`at udDawa</td>
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<tr>
<td>KSEW</td>
<td>Karachi Shipyard and Engineering Works</td>
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<tr>
<td>LCA</td>
<td>Light Combat Aircraft</td>
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<td>LEMOA</td>
<td>Logistics Exchange Memorandum of Agreement</td>
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</tr>
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<td>Let</td>
<td>Lashkar-e-Taiba</td>
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<td>LOC</td>
<td>Line of Control</td>
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<tr>
<td>LPG</td>
<td>Liquefied Natural Gas</td>
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<tr>
<td>MBT</td>
<td>Main Battle Tank</td>
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<tr>
<td>MFN</td>
<td>Most Favored Nation</td>
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<tr>
<td>MOU</td>
<td>Memorandum of Understanding</td>
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<tr>
<td>MRBMS</td>
<td>Solid Propellant Medium Range Ballistic Missiles</td>
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<td>MRBMS</td>
<td>Solid Propellant Medium Range Ballistic Missiles</td>
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<td>Acronym</td>
<td>Full Form</td>
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<tr>
<td>NATO</td>
<td>North Atlantic Treaty Organization</td>
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<td>NDA</td>
<td>National Democratic Alliance</td>
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<tr>
<td>NDB</td>
<td>New Development Bank</td>
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<td>NDRC</td>
<td>National Development and Reforms Commission</td>
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<tr>
<td>NDS</td>
<td>National Defense Strategy</td>
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<td>NDU</td>
<td>National Defence University</td>
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<tr>
<td>NSA</td>
<td>Non State Actors</td>
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<td>NSG</td>
<td>Nuclear Supplier Group</td>
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<td>NSS</td>
<td>National Security Strategy</td>
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<tr>
<td>OBOR</td>
<td>One Belt One Road</td>
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<tr>
<td>PAC</td>
<td>Pakistan Aeronautical Complex</td>
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<td>PBoC</td>
<td>People’s Bank of China</td>
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<td>QSD</td>
<td>Quadrilateral Security Dialogue</td>
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<td>RMA</td>
<td>Revolution for Military Affairs</td>
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<td>RSC</td>
<td>Regional Security Complex</td>
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<td>Regional Security Complex Theory</td>
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<td>SAARC</td>
<td>South Asian Association for Regional Cooperation</td>
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<td>SAFTA</td>
<td>South Asian Free Trade Area</td>
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<td>SAIOR</td>
<td>South Asia-Indian Ocean Region</td>
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<td>SBP</td>
<td>State Bank of Pakistan</td>
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<tr>
<td>SCO</td>
<td>Shanghai Cooperation Organization</td>
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<td>SEZ</td>
<td>Special Economic Zone</td>
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<td>SIPRI</td>
<td>International Institute of Strategic Studies</td>
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<td>SLOC</td>
<td>Sea Lane of Communications</td>
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<tr>
<td>SPA</td>
<td>Singapore Port Authority</td>
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<tr>
<td>SPSRBM</td>
<td>Solid Propellant Short Range Ballistic Missiles</td>
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<tr>
<td>SREB</td>
<td>Silk Road Economic Belt</td>
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<td>SSG</td>
<td>Special Service Group</td>
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<tr>
<td>TAC</td>
<td>Treaty of Amity and Cooperation</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>TAPI</td>
<td>Turkmenistan-Afghanistan-Pakistan-India</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
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<td>TDAP</td>
<td>Trading Development Authority of Pakistan</td>
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<tr>
<td>TPP</td>
<td>Trans Pacific Partnership</td>
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<tr>
<td>UNSC</td>
<td>United Nations Security Council</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>WMD</td>
<td>Weapons of Mass Destruction</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
## CONTENTS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Section</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Acknowledgments</td>
<td>iii</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Abstract</td>
<td>iv</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Table, Figures and Maps</td>
<td>v</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>List of Acronyms</td>
<td>vi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>INTRODUCTION</strong></td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>CHAPTER1: LITERATURE REVIEW</strong></td>
<td>27</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>CHAPTER 2: CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK</strong></td>
<td>65</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.1 Core Concept of Security</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.1.1 Security and Power Balancing</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.2 Regional Security Complex Theory</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.3 South Asian Security Complex to Asian Supercomplex</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.4 RSC Theory and Pakistan-China Strategic Relations</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>CHAPTER3: REGIONAL SECURITY COMPLEX: BILATERAL DYNAMICS OF</strong></td>
<td>94</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>PAKISTAN-CHINA STRATEGIC RELATIONS</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.1 Dynamics of Security Cooperation</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.1.1 Conventional Security Cooperation</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.1.2 Civil Nuclear Cooperation</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.1.3 Maritime Security Cooperation</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.2 Dynamics of Economic Cooperation</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.2.1 Bilateral Trade &amp; Investment</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.2.2 China-Pakistan Economic Corridor</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>CHAPTER 4: SOUTH ASIAN REGIONAL SECURITY COMPLEX AND REGIONAL</strong></td>
<td>142</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>DYNAMICS OF PAKISTAN CHINA STRATEGIC RELATIONS</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.1 Pakistan’s Security Dilemma in South Asia Regional Security Complex</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.2 China’s Interests in South Asia and Pakistan’s Role as Strategic Balancer</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>CHAPTER 5: EMERGING ASIAN SUPERCOMPLEX AND DYNAMICS OF</strong></td>
<td>174</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>PAKISTAN CHINA STRATEGIC RELATIONS</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.1 Emerging Contours of Asian Supercomplex</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.2 Growing China and US Strategic Competition</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.3 India’s Act East Policy and Sino-Indian Relations</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.4 American Factor in China-Indian Relations</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.5 Pakistan Factor in China-India relations</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>CHAPTER 6: CHALLENGES AND PROSPECTS IN POST 9/11 ERA -ANALYSIS</strong></td>
<td>210</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6.1 China’s Grand Strategy and Challenges to Beijing’s Interests in Asian Supercomplex</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6.2 Is India Emerging as a Counterweight to China in Asian Supercomplex?</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6.3 Pakistan’s Growing Strategic Value for China in Asian Supercomplex</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6.4 China-India Growing Trade Relations and Pak-China Strategic Partnership</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6.5 Continued Conflict in Afghanistan as a Challenge to Development of CPEC</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>CONCLUSION</strong></td>
<td>254</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>BIBLIOGRAPHY</strong></td>
<td>270</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
INTRODUCTION

Pakistan’s national security has been a primary driver of its strategic relationship with China. The issue of territorial security has been at center of Pakistani policies due to the threat from India. Despite its best endeavors, the Western alliances of Southeast Asia Treaty Organization (SEATO) and Central Treaty Organization (CENTO) could not provide the most needed security to Islamabad vis-à-vis New Delhi. In such a scenario, China has been a source of major support for Pakistan in order to safeguard its territorial integrity, sovereignty and ward off the impending threat from the gargantuan neighbor, India.

China remained as a significant pillar of security for Pakistan in South Asian region. Commonality of enmity against India led to deep rooted friendship between Pakistan and China. The border agreement of 1963 provided foundation stone for the strategic partnership between Islamabad and Beijing. Over the past six decades, Pakistan’s strategic partnership with China has played a very important role in the state’s security and strategic interests. Both states have expressed a commonality of interests at regional and international levels. This bilateral strategic partnership has remained a vital instrument in promoting global peace, development and cooperation. Pakistan has developed a deep-rooted strategic relationship with China and has vigorously conducted economic, cultural and public diplomacy to promote significant cooperation particularly in the defense and strategic arena. Over the years, Pak-China relationship has become multi-dimensional. Most vitally, strategic cooperation between Pakistan and China has boosted the security of Pakistan against her archrival India. Pakistan remained in search of security due to India factor. Pakistan has been looking for the balancer to preserve her sovereignty, territorial integrity and independence against her most powerful neighboring state of India.

Sino-Pakistan strategic relationship has substantially benefited both countries and they have remained reliable friends through thick and thin in international arena. Pakistan is imperative gateway for Chinese outlet to energy rich Islamic World. Pakistan and China have been enjoying excellent cooperation in conventional and non-conventional weaponry. This cooperation remained as effectual stumbling block against the Indian adventurism in South Asia. US global supremacy has shifted strategic configuration in Asia. Pakistan policy makers’
perception regarding China’s persistent economic development and potential for global power foresee hectic redistribution of power in Asia – one that may favor Pakistan – but challenge and prospects exist since 9/11. United States global hegemony is affecting vital strategic alignments in Asia. Pakistan has six decade old most trusted friendship with China, which is now emerging as effective power of the turbulent globe. Pakistan continues to look for the military and strategic essentialities as well as most warranted security. Crucial decisions are being taken by Islamabad and Beijing, in response to Washington-New Delhi’s strategic alliance.

Historically most states remained concerned primarily with intentions and capabilities of their neighboring states. Processes of securitization and degree of security interdependence remained strong between states within the particular complex as compared to the actors outside the regional security complex. With this perspective, the visible strategic complementarity between China and Pakistan in the region is India’s unbridled desire for regional hegemony. Pakistan has always been looking for the national security since her independence. Her security is jeopardized and seriously threatened by the Indian hegemonic designs in the region. Pakistan has been anxiously looking at the recent development in Sino-Indian relations but initiation of CPEC has dispelled all such fears and created interdependence between Beijing and Islamabad, which has further augmented the strategic partnership.

The dynamics of relationship have been changing since the start of the 21st century and incidents like 9/11 and consequent war on terror have played key contributory factors. Post 9/11 scenario has shown surge in geo-strategic relationship between China and Pakistan, while CPEC has further added a strategic dimension and enhanced importance of Islamabad in Beijing’s eyes. A stable Pakistan has become extremely important for China as US through its ‘pivot to Asia strategy’ is trying to limit Beijing’s growing influence in Asia Pacific. China feels its energy security is threatened by over reliance on the Malacca Strait1 and perceives Pakistan as a viable corridor of energy resources to oil and gas rich Middle East.2

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1 A narrow strait exists between Malaysia and Singapore. One of the most significant shipping lanes existed in the globe. It is a significant shipping channel existed between Indian and Pacific Ocean. It provides linkage amongst major economies of the world including India, China, Japan and South Korea. China heavily relies on Malacca Strait for its energy supplies; upto 80 percent of its energy passes through it.
Economic Corridor or CPEC in 2015 which is most critical component of China’s Belt and Road Initiative (BRI) has given a new impetus to their ties as Pakistan emerged as a key alternative for uninterrupted supplies of goods and oil to China from the Middle East, Europe and Africa. The study is about going through the changing dynamics of Pak-China ties with the parameters of emerging regional and sub-regional security conundrum.

1) Objectives of the Study

The objective of this research is to investigate as to how the configuration of security in Asian Supercomplex is increasingly reinforcing the dynamics of Pakistan-China strategic relations. China, Pakistan and India triangular relationship has economic and security interdependence. This interdependence is also exhibited in the bilateral and multilateral relations with extra regional states. Therefore, the question required to be answered is how growing integration of South Asia RSC with East Asia RSC is influencing the dynamics of Pakistan-China Relations in post-9/11 arena.

China is largely self-sufficient in defence production but interdependent on the world for economic and trade development. China and India are the major trading partners. India has both economic as well as security interdependence. As far as economy is concerned, India is dependent upon China as well as US. For security India is dependent upon France, US and Israel. Pakistan is increasingly dependent on China for economic development and security. China is the largest arms supplier and the fourth biggest trading partner of Pakistan.

Within the above paradigm, the study addresses such important issue that how Regional Security Complex is shaping bilateral dynamics of Pakistan-China strategic partnership. The study also explores and analyzes as to how China-Pakistan Economic Corridor (CPEC) has become a strategic dimension within the framework of Regional Security Complex in South Asia having particular focus on the Sino-Pakistan strategic relationship. Another prime objective of the analysis is to explore that how pattern of amity between Pakistan and China and pattern of enmity between China and India are determining the regional dynamics of Pakistan-China strategic partnership.
2) Significance of the Study

The study differentiates between system level interplay of global powers, whose capacities and capabilities enable them to surpass distance and the subsystem level interplay of lesser powers whose main security environment is their local region. Polarity can be affected but it does not determine the character of security relations. Process of securitization is quite open and concerns with hosts of factors. It provides basis to understand structure of security at regional level as well as at global level and convolution of outcome of both levels of security. It provides an analysis that how superpower and great powers relates to one another and distinguish between global and regional levels. The study indicates that India has shifted to ‘Act East Policy’ and has deepened her security dialogue with Japan and Vietnam, who bear historical enmity with China. Embroiled in such a security milieu, China sees in Pakistan a trusted partner whose geo-strategic position, lends Beijing reasonable economic, diplomatic and defence maneuverability to counterblast the Indian expansionist moves in South and South East Asia.

Sino-Pakistan cooperation in spheres of high tech equipment, short and medium range surface to surface ballistic missiles as well as long range ballistic missile projects is exemplary. Now Pakistan is able to indigenously produce the Solid Propellant Short Range Ballistic Missiles (SRBMs) as well as Solid Propellant Medium Range Ballistic Missiles (MRBMs). Pakistan is looking for Chinese collaboration for satellite imaging and navigational capabilities, which would be beneficial for improving circular error of probability for Pakistan’s missile system. Former Prime Minister of Pakistan Ms. Benazir Bhutto referred to Pak-China friendship as an all-weather relationship, explained that Pakistan-China ties were the cornerstone of Pakistan’s foreign policy and desired to enhance all-round cooperation between the two countries. Pakistan attaches highest priority and weightage to Chinese cooperation for its strategic vision and interests in the region. Former President of Pakistan General Pervez Musharraf, during his Beijing visit in November 2003 termed the partnership between Pakistan and China as ‘deeper than oceans, higher than the mountains’. Both Pakistan and China always claimed as having ‘total unanimity of views on all global and regional issues.’
3) Gaps in Literature Review

Most of the existing body of knowledge on Pak-China relationship pertains to historical analysis of Pakistan-China ties or how India factor is shaping this partnership that has grown over the last several decades. Pakistani authors³ are mostly of the view that Islamabad has been looking for sources of security to offset Indian threat that has been accentuated by enduring rivalry with India. Indian writers⁴ look at Sino-Pakistan friendship with suspicions and maintain that Pakistan-China axis is against India. It is meant to “block the growth of Indian influence in the region.”⁵ Western authors⁶ mostly feel Pakistan is beneficiary of its relationship with Beijing. In the current context there is a perception that China is making strategic inroads in Pakistan and Gwadar Seaport can be used for strategic purposes. Chinese authors⁷ underscore that Pakistan is ‘natural ally’ of China in balance of power in the region as well as a gate way to its interaction with Middle East and the West, especially the United States. On the other hand Beijing views that it has to manage its cooperation and competition with New Delhi especially when China is rising in Asia.

Gaps in literature: It has been found that there is dearth of analysis in the existing body of knowledge about the dynamics of Pak-China strategic relationship through the prism of Regional Security Complex Theory, especially on how emerging structures of security in Asian Supercomplex are defining Sino-Pakistan’s strategic partnership. The research intends to fill up the following gaps in the literature:

i) No study on Pak-China strategic relations through the prism of Regional Security Complex (RSC) has ever been made. Mostly Balance of Power theorem has been used in the contemporary study on Pakistan-India relationship.

ii) No comprehensive study on the subject indicating bilateral, regional, interregional/global levels is available.

iii) Lack of major work by Pakistani scholars on the dynamics of Pakistan’s strategic relations with China covering recent times at doctoral level.

An extended literature review has been provided in a separate chapter.

4) Thesis Statement

Pak-China ties cannot be studied in isolation. China-US rivalry in the Asia-Pacific, Sino-India economic and strategic competition, Indo-US strategic cooperation, Pak-India enmity and Pak-US tension over Afghanistan crisscross at multiple angles to weave a complex phenomenon that is shaping up Pakistan strategic relations with China. Of all the factors, it appears that the shifting structures of security within “Asian Super-complex” are increasingly reinforcing the dynamics of Pakistan-China strategic relations in the twenty first century. Using the broader framework of Regional Security Complex Theory, the study examines the growing interplay of East Asian Regional Security Complex (RSC) with South Asian Regional Security Complex (RSC) which is marked by increased US-China strategic competition in Asia Pacific region, China’s Malacca dilemma and growing Indo-US collaboration in East Asian RSC and South Asian RSC.

The study maintains that all states in the system are connected to the web of security interdependence. Insecurity is linked up with the proximity. Anarchy, distance and geographical diversity are yielding pattern of regional based clusters where interdependence intensely existed amongst states inside the peculiar regional security complex as compared to outsider states. Both Pakistan and China are dependent on Gulf energy supplies and have common interest in having close and friendly relations with the energy supply states i.e. Middle Eastern countries and have shared interest in security of the transit routes for such supplies through the Indian Ocean. Both states have common interest in developing and ensuring access to Central Asian
Energy Corridor. Both neighbors are looking for close and friendly ties with Muslim majority Central Asian Republics. Development of Gwadar port with Chinese cooperation and jointly engineered / constructed trans-mountainous Karakorum Highway are quantum leap towards ever expending trade, commercial and strategic interests of both states.

5) Hypothesis

The shifting structures of security in the emerging Asian Supercomplex are increasingly reinforcing the dynamics of Pakistan-China strategic relations in the 21st century.

In the above hypothesis, shifting structures of security is an independent variable; the emerging Asian Supercomplex is an intervening variable; while Pakistan-China strategic relationship is the dependent variable.

6) Main Research Questions

• How growing integration of South Asian Regional Security Complex with East Asian Regional Security Complex is reinforcing dynamics of Pakistan-China Relations?
• How South Asian Regional Security Complex is shaping bilateral dynamics of Pakistan-China Strategic partnership?
• How pattern of amity between Pakistan and China and pattern of enmity between China and India are influencing the regional dynamics of Pakistan-China Strategic partnership?
• To what extent emerging Asian Supercomplex is defining the dynamics of Pakistan-China Strategic partnership?

7) Theoretical framework

The triangular relationship amongst Islamabad-Beijing-New Delhi can be studied through the prism of Regional Security Complex Theory (RSCT). The Regional Security Complex (RSC) has vital importance for deep security analysis. The existing patterns of amity and enmity pattern can best be understood through deep study at regional as well as at global levels where global actors are working on one side while the domestic factors are working on the other side to define the phenomenon of cooperation or hostility. The pattern of amity and enmity is generally generated internally in region through the blend of politics, history and material facts. For most
of the states, regional level is most significant for accurate security analysis. For the global powers, the regional level is most important in shaping essential alternatives, consequences as well as for projecting their influence and enduring rivalries in the system. The regional level is not only significant for the states located within region but also concerning the global players. Security features at regional level are generally considered durable. These are self-containing structures not only in the sense of totally free standing but rather possessing security dynamics that would exist even if other factors did not depend upon it.

Barry Buzan and Ole Waever are two renowned names in the literature of international security.\(^8\) They have propounded that the security complex of states can best by analyzed and explained within the regional context. The Regional Security Complex Theory envisages that regional pattern of security has attained more prominence in international politics. It provides a profound analysis upon different dynamics of regional security linked with international traditional power mechanism. Main focus remains on regional security with reference to the structure of international security. The writers deliberate upon the structure of regional security in the backdrop of pre and post-cold war era, avoiding generality of unipolarity in new international security order. The RSC theory has opened up new avenues of research and analysis of radical diversity found in different regional structures of powers within the overarching international security environment, with particular reference to East Asian and the South Asian Regions, which also happens to be the point of focus and investigation in the instant Study.

The study uses Regional Security Complex Theory (RSCT) framework to explain the dynamics of Pakistan-China strategic relations at bilateral, regional, and interregional/global levels. The theory emphasizes the significance of regional structures and argues that processes of securitization and de-securitization are interlinked in a region.

In Asia, there were three Regional Security Complexes in cold war period – North East Asian, South East Asian and South Asian Regional Security Complexes. At the end of cold war and with the rise of China, the North East Asian and South East Asian Security Complexes which had been very important in shaping China’s security dynamics, have been integrated into

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East Asian Regional Security Complex where China is emerging as key player. The integrated East Asian Regional Security Complex is centered on China and is characterized by mild conflict formation and weak security regime where US continues to play a pivotal role. Buzan refers to it as Asian Supercomplex which is now increasingly reinforcing China’s strategic relationship with Pakistan. The South Asian Regional Security Complex where Pakistan is located has been conflictual in nature and less influenced by global overlay. Here the pattern of amity continued between Pakistan and China. However relation between Pakistan and India has been shaped by their enmity, enduring rivalry and continued distrust. China’s own relationship with India has been largely shaped by its border dispute, distrust and continued rivalry, though moderated by growing economic interdependence between the two neighboring states. The end of cold war did not transform the South Asian regional security complex either externally, or internally. The inclusion of Afghanistan into South Asian Regional Security Complex and deployment of US and NATO forces in that country in the wake of 9/11 has only added complexity to the region. However, with mounting Indo-US strategic partnership and US pivot to Asia strategy, New Delhi’s proactive engagement with East Asia has created an environment where China has launched One Belt One Road (OBOR) initiative in which CPEC seems to be pushing South Asia into larger ‘Asian Supercomplex’\(^9\). The structure of security appearing from integration of South Asian Regional Security Complex with East Asian Regional Security Complex is strengthening the dynamics of Pakistan-China relations since September 11, 2001.

Washington perceives New Delhi as a counterweight to Beijing in future as upcoming power. Indian economic growth and enhanced military capability can put New Delhi in a position where both Beijing and Washington would have to take it quite serious. In the changed circumstances, New Delhi has adopted the position of an ally of Washington and looking for great power status and desirous to serious competition with Beijing. In this perspective substantial transformation is undergoing in relevance and standing of South Asian RSC. It has been noted that domestic and regional dynamics of security in South Asian RSC have been largely preserved. But it does not mean that importance of domestic and regional dynamics of

\(^9\) Asia has already gone through internal and external transformation, when Northeast Asia Complex and Southeast Asia complex have been merged. In South Asia, possibility of internal transformation cannot be ruled out as it is moving from phenomenon of bi-polarity to unipolarity. Possibility exist that interregional dynamics linking South Asia RSC and East Asia RSC would further be strengthened, transforming the Asian Supercomplex into a full-fledged Asian Regional Security Complex (RSC). - Buzan and Waever, *Regions and Powers*, 172
security in large paradigm will remain the same. Undoubtedly, there is constant confrontation between Islamabad and New Delhi but it is also a fact that significance of South Asian RSC is decreasing to India and New Delhi’s importance is constantly increasing within Asian Supercomplex.

Pakistan and China have been expanding economic and commercial ties; their bilateral trade which stood around $14.2 billion\(^{10}\) annually, enhanced to $20 billion in 2016. On the other hand, China’s trade with India presently figures over $70 billion annually. The same pattern is expected to continue as a trade target of $100 billion has been fixed between China and India for next few years. This has somewhat moderated the conflict having various challenges and prospects in this triangle. Notwithstanding the economic and commercial interdependence, the trio exhibits a mix of hope and apprehension of mutual amity as well as enmity. For India, Pakistan-China durable relationship is a security nightmare. On the other hand, Chinese inducement to take maximum advantage of implacable India-Pakistan rivalry is one of the dominant drivers of its security strategy. Pakistan, on its part, considers China a counterweight against the security imbalance created by Indian expansionist designs in the region. At the same, it is also wary of Chinese concerns about extremism in Xinjiang region and of the need to ensure that its soil may not be used for activities by any terrorist group including East Turkistan Islamic Movement (ETIM). Besides, in view of its troubled and transactional relationship with the United States, Pakistan continues to look towards East which is described as ‘all-weather friendship.’

History bears it out that power tends to create friction and fear. A common geography and history of military conflicts, define this process of friction and fear amongst China, India and Pakistan. India sees China too formidable a competitor to be tackled without the help of an equally potent power player. This threat perception explains its growing military/defence стратегический relations with the US. The situation, at the same time, has led to persistent security interdependence between China and Pakistan. The emerging scenario presents an interesting model for study and research of the security structure of South Asia in the light of Buzan’s theory of Regional Security Complex. The scrutiny focuses on the dynamics of Sino-Pakistan strategic relations: challenges and prospects in post-9/11 arena.

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\(^{10}\) “China envoy attends NA Body Meeting”, *The News International (Islamabad)*, May 16, 2014
8) Scope of the study

China enthusiasm and proactive approach in the region can be understood in perspective of its security apprehensions owing to significant geopolitical upheavals in South Asia. Arrival of US military forces in Afghanistan following post 9/11 debacle and Global War on Terrorism (GWOT) remained thorny development in connection with internal and external security apprehension of Beijing. Chinese were openly talking about the southern discomfort and top military commander Fu Quanyou warned US that in this region “counterterrorism should not be used to practice hegemony.” Nevertheless, there were tactical gains for Beijing that uncompromising-stubborn Taliban were crushed and overthrown in Afghanistan as their negative fallouts aggravated the worsening scenario in turbulent province of Xinjiang.

US presence close of Chinese western border remained a constant discomfiting factor for Beijing. China remained apprehensive that US presence in Afghanistan for the purpose of fighting against Taliban may have other strategic designs in the region. Beijing remained anxious that Washington may create trouble and instability in Chinese periphery adjacent to Central Asia as US did not consider Uyghur separatists as terrorists. Expressing Beijing disquiets, Chinese strategist Zhang Xiaodong mentions his fears that keeping in view past decades of Washington’s moves, “US might get involved in Xinjiang”.12

China’s apprehension on US Central Asia Strategy remained alive and thwarting for Beijing. Central Asian trajectory, where Beijing had been actively involved after demise of Soviet Union being strategically vital periphery having potential to cater for growing energy essentialities of China. Establishment of Shanghai Five organizations was transparent manifestation of critical significance of the peculiar region for China. Henry Kissinger pinpoints that Asian future depends on that “how China and America envision it, and by the extent to which each nation is able to achieve some congruence with the other’s historic regional role.”13

Heightening post 9/11 tensions in the region was main cause of anxiety for China. Similarly Beijing remained concerned about widening conflict and possible negative fallouts

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upon war tore Afghanistan. Rising tension between Islamabad and New Delhi had potential to embroil Afghanistan situation and stabilization became thornier. Chinese worrisome can be seen from the conversation where Chinese Foreign Minister Tang warn Powell during 2001-2 crisis mentioning that if situation became out of control and armed clash between India and Pakistan “it would influence the peace process in Afghanistan and endanger stability and development of South Asia and even all of Asia.”

Beijing worries has been exacerbated on US-India rapprochement and incessantly expanding military and strategic ties in background of 9/11 incident. Enhanced cooperation between New Delhi and Washington in geo-politico-military arena is considered by Beijing as phenomenal continuation of US strategic thinking such as petting ‘India as counterweight to China’. By expressing Chinese worries in post p/11 era, Dr. Rashid Ahmed Siddiqi noted that US-India has commonality regarding China “as a potential threat and main rival. Thus, their common interest remained to limit China’s rise.” Shahid M. Amin remarks on vigilance of Beijing that “China is aware that in the last decade, US-India relations have taken a quantum leap. India and the US have developed a strategic partnership which has notably, led to the signing of a civil nuclear deal.”

Another justification that why post 9/11 era chosen is that New Delhi was making all the moves in the region in perspective of 9/11. India had been developing closer cooperation with East Asian states including Japan, Philippine as well as Vietnam, to whom Beijing’s relationship remained tense owing to various factors including issues of South China Sea. Beijing showed serious apprehensions on Indian navy’s flexing of its muscles in the South China Sea, the most prioritized-valuable area for China. In post-9/11 era, Beijing felt that India became more assertive on issues of bilateral relationship. In this context, Pakistan-India confrontation emerged qualitatively distinguishable from the past history and the security dilemma further aggravated in the South Asia. In the past Indian coercive tactics in the region remained within the bordering parameters as per US strategy in the Asia. However, in post-9/11 arena, New Delhi became more assertive. Charles E Zeiegler already warned that if “China develops its naval presence in the

Pacific and Indian Oceans it will spark a reaction amongst its large pacific neighbors including Japan and India."

9) Research Methodology

Exploratory case study technique has been utilized. An analytical approach with interpretative/descriptive method is used. The study has employed primary as well as secondary sources as per requirements and essentialities of the research to understand the dynamics of Sino-Pakistan strategic relationship, challenges and prospects in post-9/11 arena, which has been deliberated upon in the forthcoming chapters. The study is chiefly empirical and exploratory in its essence dealing with the complex strategic issues mainly focusing on Pakistan-China relations since September 11, 2001.

This research is based upon variety of sources for the required data. Broadly speaking, these sources can be divided into two different sets; one is the primary source for requisite information and the next is the secondary source for requisite data. Primary source of information is significant component for ingenuous analysis.

For the peculiar purpose of research, several open-ended interviews of the most relevant academicians and professionals have been made. Interviewees selected vertically and horizontally keeping in view the interest of the experts. Various selection techniques were utilized to identify the interviewees. These experts were directly approached by the researcher in several cases. These professionals were selected through analyzed documents, recommendations by well-informed professionals as well as principal information available with the researcher on their expertise. In a few cases, snowball technique was utilized wherein an interviewee recommends another professional on a particular sector/sphere. Interviewer remained focused on different dimensions of Sino-Pakistan strategic relationship emphasizing upon challenges and opportunities in post-9/11 arena.

The secondary sources include all published materials e.g. journals, books, magazines, electronic sources, newspapers and published reports. Secondary source remained another significant modus operandi for data collection for the peculiar analysis. Shortage of credible

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academic published in Pakistan has been experienced. Thus it was not an easy task to attain all relevant requisite published information without hectic endeavors. At numerous occasions, it was observed that the information available via different sources was either incompatible or insufficient to meet the requirements of the specific analysis. Some documents were pointing out lone purpose without pondering upon theoretical issues and conceptual framework. In spite of all odds, essential data collected from primary and secondary sources and the gathered information had been analyzed.

The methodology particularly employed a theoretical frame of reference to examine and analyze the hypothesis and main research question which comprises upon following essential features:

a. **Theoretical and Conceptual Innovation:** The theme has been studied mainly in the light of realism and its key approaches such as classical, offensive, defensive, core concept of security, regional security and Regional Security Complex Theory (a combination of realism and constructivism). Realism is the most influential theoretical tradition in international relations. E. H. Carr and Morgenthau are founders of traditional realism while Kenneth Waltz propounded neorealism. Realist regards war as an inevitable feature of international politics. Sovereignty, anarchy and security dilemmas dominate realists’ thoughts. Realist theories of war focus on the distribution of power and the potential for offensive war. Most realist explanations of war hold that states make decisions for war and peace on the basis of changes in distribution of power in the international system. Realist theories are not monolithic. Structural realism initially advanced by Kenneth Waltz says that states start war when benefits of going to war are quite high and the costs and risks of doing so are substantially low. Two important factors including distribution of power amongst states and nature of military power are significant. Wars are less likely under bipolarity as compared to multi-polarity. Nuclear weapons deterrence and balance of power tend to cause peace.

b. **Regional Security Complex Analysis:** South Asia regional strategic stability has been analyzed through the prism of Regional Security Complex Theory. The dynamics of Pakistan-China strategic relations have been scrutinized and examined at strategic /
regional levels emphasizing upon that how different Asian Regional Security Complexes have been reinforcing Pakistan-China relations since September 11, 2001. Why is RSCT the best approach for the peculiar issue? Keeping in view the prioritizing nature of securitization, different cases cannot be disconnected. A securitization of economic or strategic threat structured and linking it to draw energy from the same threat appearing in several other sectors. The integrated approach has two significant merits. Firstly, it catches all loops, spillovers and security dilemma that existed across sectors. Pakistan being connected by both strategically and geographically, on the basis of securitization, taking measures that Indian hegemonic desire is creating threats to her strategic, economic and societal security. Secondly, theory illustrates that why an issue is preserved not only in a geo-political environment but also as a strategic security problem. It mostly happened when actor deemed accountable in an arena wherein same is already being seen as security issue in another sector. Unquestionably, securitization approach is combined with constructivists understanding “which separated security from routine politics.” Hence RSCT is considered as the best approach to analyze the issues regarding the dynamics of Pakistan-China strategic relations: challenges and prospects in Post 9/11 era. The RSCT has provided a comprehensive framework to discuss and scrutinize the pros and cons of the issue with solicitous insights.

The research utilizes case study methodology by employing qualitative research methodology through analytical approach. The exploratory research design is used to explore the research questions. To understand the strategic relations of Pakistan and China in post-9/11 period both primary as well as secondary sources have been consulted. The current research is covered by basic components of research that is analytical description as well as exploratory.

For deeper insight and analysis the views of intelligentsias, experts and academicians have been included. These professional were directly approached by the researchers for firsthand knowledge after hectic process of selection. Prominent names of professionals have been incorporated in Appendix-I. Moreover, essential seminars and workshops held on the subject have been attended and requisite information incorporated.

18 Buzan and Waever, Regions and Powers, xvi
10) Organization of the Study

The study comprised an introduction, main body divided into six chapters and the conclusion. The introduction unfolds the main focus of the research along with the background, problem statement and detailed research methodology.

The First Chapter is about literature review. It provides details of existing literature on Pakistan-China strategic partnership and discusses at length the contribution by Pakistani, Indian, Western and Chinese writers.

The Second Chapter is about the Conceptual Framework. It discusses the balancing alignments alongside Regional Security Complex Theory (RSCT). The RSC theory is propounded by Barry Buzan and Ole Waever through their contribution in form of Regions and Powers: The Structure of International Security.

The Third chapter, titled Regional Security Complex: Bilateral Dynamics of Pakistan-China Strategic Relations, examines Pakistan’s deep rooted defence and civil nuclear cooperation as well as growing economic ties with China in the region.

The Fourth Chapter titled as South Asian RSC and Regional Dynamics of Pakistan-China Strategic Relations examines regional dynamics of Pakistan-China strategic relations against the backdrop of South Asian RSC.

The Fifth Chapter titled as Emerging Asian Supercomplex and Dynamics of Pakistan-China Strategic Relations identifies numerous challenges and opportunities that have come up in the emerging Asian Supercomplex.

The Sixth Chapter titled as Challenges and Prospects in Post 9/11 Era – Analysis explains that Beijing-New Delhi trade and economic partnership has attained new heights but the relationship is subjected to growing geo-political competition, contradictions and conflicts in Asian Supercomplex as well as South Asian Regional Security Complex.

The Conclusion of the study gives major findings. It also enumerates various trends regarding Pakistan-China strategic partnership within broader conceptual framework.
The first chapter of the study deals with literature review. The literature has been scrutinized with the spectrum of Chinese, Pakistani, Indian and Western writers covering multifarious levels including bilateral, regional and interregional/global dimensions. After a deep deliberation, literature gaps are required to be identified for further profound analysis.

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Chapter 1

LITERATURE REVIEW

The existing body of literature on Pakistan-China Strategic relationship has been examined from the Chinese, Pakistani, Indian and Western perspectives and covers bilateral, regional, interregional/global dimensions. After an in-depth discussion visible gaps have been found that there is no study that examines the growing impact of Asian Supercomplex on strategic dynamics of the South Asian Regional Complex involving Pak-China relations. This study intends to fill this major gap in the literature.

Pakistani authors are mostly of the view that Pakistan has been looking for the most needed security umbrella in the region due to her geographical location showing presence of great powers such as Russia and China in her surroundings. Defence cooperation between Beijing and Islamabad remained hot issue of the day. Now trade and economic ties between Beijing and Islamabad are being debated besides strategic relations. Possibility exists that the rising partnership of Pakistan with China may have had further positive affects as a result of already vacillating relationship of Pakistan with US. Pakistani scholars such as Hasan Askari Rizvi, Abdul Sattar, Shahid M. Amin, Musa Khan Jalazai, Mushtaq Ahmad, Anwar Hussain Syed, Zafar Iqbal Cheema, Zulfiqar Khan, Nadir Mir Latif Ahmed Sherwani, Dr. Shabbir Ahmed Khan, Dr. Raja Muhammad Khan, Khalid Mahmood, Rashid Ahmad Khan, Shahzad Akhtar, Dr. Rashid Ahmed Siddiqi, Zahir Ali Khan, Anjum Saeed, Amana Yusuf Khokhar, Saadat Hassan and Dr. Aman Memon as well as Dr. Ghulam Ali have argued that China has been a great source of security for Pakistan vis-à-vis India. It is considered a reliable all-weather friend. Mutuality of interest and cordiality between Pakistan and China has become permanent feature of the bilateral relationship. Moreover, Pakistan has become central point in China’s security system in the South Asia region. China is becoming a significant pole of power in the international arena. Gwadar deep water seaport would change the economic, political, strategic and socio-cultural destiny of Pakistan. Furthermore, Pakistan’s rapid civil nuclear development was not possible without Beijing cooperation. India’s incurable chauvinism would not permit cordial relationship between two South Asian neighboring states i.e. Pakistan and India.

On the other hand, Indian writers hold that Pakistan-China axis is the most defining development from the regional and international security perspective. These writers such
asSwaran Singh, Maj Gen PJS Sandhu, Harsh V. Pant, Dr. Pushpa Adhikari, Mohan Malik, Col S.C. Narang, Aparna Pande, Ashok Kapur, Dr. N K Tripathi, Jagannath P. Panda, Prem Shankar Jha, Rajshree Jetly, Mohan Guruswamy, Zorawar Daulet Singh, Waheguru Pal Singh Sidhu, Manochehr Dorraj, Vidya Nadkarni, Air Commodore Ramesh Phadke and Santhanam Srikanth Kondapalli emphasize that unqualified hurdles in cordial relationship between Beijing and New Delhi have yet not been over. On the contrary, China is becoming economically more powerful in Asia. Thus, assertiveness in Chinese aptitude in future cannot be overruled.

Triangular relationship amongst Islamabad, New Delhi and Beijing defines the distribution of power in this region. Beijing can change configuration in Asia Pacific region when it emerges as the predominant power. Irrespective of the nature of regime in New Delhi, India always pursues her geostrategic interests and whatever the nature of regime in the neighboring states these states have tendency to concert against the dominance of India.

Western authors such as Henry Kissinger, Eva Paus, Penelope B. Prime Jon Western, George J. Gilboy, Eric Heginbotham, William H. Avery, Carrie Liu Currier, Ashley J. Telis, Travis Tanner, Jessica Keough, Mathew John, Jonathan Holslag, Gilbert Rozman, Amelia U. Santos-Paulino, Guanghua Wan, Jenny Clegg, Michael Dillon, C. Thomas Finger, Pauline Kerr, Stuart Harris, Qin Yaqing, James R. Hlmes, Toshi Yoshihara, David Smith, David B.H. Denoon, Judith F. Kornber, John R. Faust, C Fred Bertsten, Bates Gill, Nicholas R. Lardy, Derek Mitchell, Peter Hopkirk, Alastair Lain Johnston, Robert S. Ross, Owen Harries, Abram N. Shulsky, Denny Roy and Geoffrey Murray have mostly focused that China is striving hard to perform an active role in global affairs including UN and other organizations. If current trends continued, China would be most formidable rising power in next decades while Pakistan and India are aggressively looking for their national interests in the region. Rising China is a new challenge for US hegemony in the region. However, US has decided to use India for “China’s curtailment” against the rising power of Beijing.

Moreover, Chinese authors such as Mingjiang Li, Jing-don Yuan, Quasheng Zhao, Guoli Liu, Wang Zaibang, Li Xing, Jing Dong Yuan and Yong Deng underscore that Beijing and New Delhi would have to manage their cooperation as well as competition in their rising spree in the same region and their relationship has far-reaching implications for the regional and global security. Power alignments, global arms control and nuclear proliferation are new challenges of
international affairs. At the same time, realists, offensive realists and institutionalist are concentrating upon the peaceful rise of Chinese posture and global interdependence. Nevertheless, Chinese soft power concept has attained popularity in new scenario. China’s current security and foreign policy is based upon the soft power perceptions, which is a novel and practical concept.

Some strategists believe that in post-9/11 era, there is a significant shift in Pakistan-China strategic relationship. These scholars consider different challenges owing to Beijing rapprochement with New Delhi, which has paved way to adopt a policy of neutrality by Beijing on the core issue of Kashmir as well as bilateral and regional impediments. Some scholars argue that Islamabad adopted foreign policy by using ideology as a formidable strategic tool. Islamabad’s Pan-Islamism proved counterproductive to attract the Central Asian Republics as well as causation for irritation between Beijing and Islamabad on Xinjiang imbroglio.

Notwithstanding, it has been observed that important trajectory of events cannot be overruled in long and medium period in South Asia region. It would be appropriate if the findings of the relevant writers are discussed at bilateral, regional as well as interregional/global patterns, so that a clear picture could be evolved on Beijing-Islamabad strategic relationship scenario in post-9/11 era. However, limitation of overlapping has been observed at some places while discussing the Pakistan-China strategic relations with its implications at bilateral, regional and interregional/global levels, at the same time.

1.1 Bilateral Dimensions: At bilateral level between Pakistan and China, major argument indicates that Islamabad has always been looking for the most-needed security since her inception. Proximity of two big powers China and Russia enhanced her geopolitical importance in the region. Further the possibility existed that Pakistan’s growing intimacy with Beijing would affect adversely the Pakistan-US relationship. India would never go for war against China. On the contrary, India was just using Chinese threat for acquisition of maximum weaponry to be used against Pakistan.

Beijing believes that its interests are best served through bilateral relations based on such agreements as may promote mutual self-interests of both states. Mutuality of interest and cordiality between Pakistan and China has become permanent feature of the bilateral
Pakistan has become central point in China’s security system in the region. China is becoming another pole of power. Gwadar deep water seaport would have enormous impacts upon economic, political, strategic and socio-cultural destiny of Pakistan. Furthermore, Pakistan’s rapid nuclear development was not possible without Beijing cooperation. On the contrary, India’s incurable chauvinism would not permit cordial relationship between two neighboring states. However, bilateralism between Beijing and New Delhi is based upon queer scenario of cooperation and competition phenomenon.

Anwar Hussain Syed has written the book titled “China & Pakistan: Diplomacy of an Entente Cordiale” (1974). The writer has provided an insightful work in the context of Pakistan’s China Policy as well as a mesmerizing entente cordiale in perspective of the border agreement between two neighboring countries. International politics is dominated by national interests and nations used to speak and act for national interests. Smaller states such as Pakistan has been facing much bigger neighborhood challenge and confronting pressures of mutually antagonistic global powers. Hence the aforementioned scenario depicts that Islamabad-Beijing partnership is based upon mutual interest, mutual respect and mutual trust. Thus the novel dimensions of cordial partnership between two neighboring countries have been added up in the form of infrastructural developmental and connectivity projects.

Hasan Askari Rizvi, in his book “The Military & Politics in Pakistan 1947-97” (2009) has pointed out that New Delhi has always used Beijing threat to get maximum support and weaponry from the western countries including US but such arsenals have usually been used against its neighboring state of Pakistan. Hasan Askari has also focused on historical perspective of Pakistan-China cordial relations and influence of Military in Politics.

Abdul Sattar, a former foreign minister of Pakistan in his scholarly work “Pakistan’s Foreign Policy 1947-2009, A Concise History” (2010) has provided a comprehensive analysis of foreign policy of Pakistan up to 2009. Sattar has drawn attention towards deeper understanding of the essential strategic compulsions which remained as driving force for taking decision in national security and foreign affairs issues. However, he has not discussed in detail

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19 Anwar Hussain Syed, China & Pakistan: Diplomacy of an Entente Cordiale (Amherst: The University of Massachusetts Press, 1974).
the emerging dynamics of Islamabad-Beijing relations rather provides a brief encounter showing strengthening strategic ties. It is further needed to discuss that how growing integration of South Asia RSC with East Asia RSC is shaping Islamabad-Beijing ties in post-9/11 period.

Col(R) S.C. Narang, in “China and Pakistan: Perceived Difference” (2011)\(^\text{22}\), argues that Pakistan and India has fully understood what made the United States pulsation during Cold War arena. Thus the perceived difference was the containment of communism through essential alliances has driven engines of US foreign strategy. India and Pakistan were amongst the first countries to recognize China and establish diplomatic ties with her. Pakistan-China relations attained momentum after the 1962 Sino-Indian war. S.C.Narang concludes that border dispute between two neighboring states, China and India is a bone of contention as two rising powers of Asia.

In the given circumstances, it is need of the hours to integrate the new aspects of triangular relationship; Islamabad-New Delhi-Beijing with bilateral, regional and interregional dimensions where emerging Asian Supercomplex is shaping dynamics of Pakistan-China strategic ties.

C. Fred Bertsten, Bates Gill, Nicholas R. Lardy and Derek Mitchell, in the book, “China: The Balance Sheet” (2006)\(^\text{23}\) provide that current China’s Policy is complex, contradictory and confusing one. These authors have noted that for centuries, China proved difficult for Americans to understand. They have emphasized that China-US relations will define the strategic future of the globe for years to come. It is cleared that China is heading towards most powerful state of the globe. In the new arena, US would have to make essential adjustments and re-adjustments in her foreign policy for rising power of China in Asia Pacific. Thus it is necessary that whole picture of regional as well as interregional/global levels be analyzed especially in post-9/11 period.

In “Explaining Pakistan’s Foreign Policy: Escaping India”\(^\text{24}\), Aparna Pande narrates that Deng examines how Beijing has adapted to the global hierarchy proactively connected with great power politics having its own peculiar global and regional environment to

\(^{22}\) Col (R) S.C.Narang, India, China and Pakistan: Perceived Differences (New Delhi: Prashant publishing House, 2011). i-ii
\(^{23}\) Bertsten, C Fred, et al., China: The Balance Sheet (New York: BBS Public Affairs, 2006), 1-2
\(^{24}\) Aparna Pande, Explaining Pakistan’s Foreign Policy: Escaping India (Abingdon: Rutledge, Oxon, 2011)
make its own separate path in the globalized order. The writer has emphasized that after twenty years, Yong Deng provided distinguished account of Chinese rise right from the periphery to the main stage in post-cold war arena.

The literature further needs to be reviewed to provide a detailed account of Pakistan’s foreign policy in post-cold war era with its dimensional development especially with reference to China where external transformation of South Asia RSC and East Asia RSC is taking place. Between China and Pakistan connectivity has become all the more significant where One Belt One Road (OBOR) is progressing by leap and bounds.

Rashid Ahmad Khan, in “Pakistan and China: Cooperation in Counter Terrorism” (2013)\(^{25}\) has focused on most needed collaboration to counter the danger of extremism and terrorism in the region. The author points out that, Beijing-Islamabad relations are free from any friction. He underscores that China has already made involvement in counter terrorism strategy of Pakistan, which is beneficial for both countries.

A research is further required to evaluate that whether there is any resentment by China on Pakistan’s counter-terrorism endeavors. Pakistan has taken the mighty bull of terrorism by the horns through Operation Zerb-e-Azb and Rada-e-Fasad and even through other multifarious endeavors in the right direction.

Khalid Mahmood, in “Pakistan-China Strategic Relations” (2011)\(^{26}\) has emphasized that Beijing remained most friendly state and trustworthy as well as reliable source for military equipment and defence hardware to Islamabad. Beijing supported Islamabad in significant projects in heavy industry, defence, energy including nuclear power generation area and infrastructural developmental projects, which has made Pakistan one of the strong states in the region.

There is an urgent requirement to evaluate that how China is enhancing stakes in Pakistan’s territorial integrity and security arena keeping in view over $50 billion (originally $46 billion) foreign Chinese investment in Pakistan especially in infrastructural projects. Moreover


an analysis is required that how growing integration of South Asian RSC with East Asian RSC is shaping various dynamics of Pakistan-China Relationship in near future?

Shahzad Akhtar in “Sino-Pakistan Relations: An Assessment” (2009)\(^\text{27}\) has argued that over six decades, Beijing-Islamabad succeeded in building such measures of trust and confidence as well as deepen the collaboration that their relations would grow irrespective of any peculiar component. Shahzad Akhtar has pointed out that rising trade and economic ties of Beijing with New Delhi would have no negative implication on Beijing-Islamabad strategic relationship. In past, undoubtedly, Indian factor played a pivotal role in enhancing and strengthening Beijing-Islamabad defence and strategic relations. In near future Beijing-Islamabad strategic relationship would grow independently without any reference to New Delhi. Other factors influencing dynamics of Beijing-Islamabad deep rooted relationship include internal development amongst two neighboring countries, Islamabad-New Delhi troublesome ties and essential developments happening in the region, impending consequences on War on Terror and augmenting the role of actors, especially un-concealed participation of the sole superpower i.e. US in the region.

Maj Gen PJS Sandhu in his book *Rising China Opportunity or Strategic Challenge* (2009)\(^\text{28}\) recounts that China is presently facing a security dilemma in the region where sole super power of the globe and unsatisfied neighboring states are at the same page. China feels sandwiched between an established power like the US and its uneasy neighbors on the other side.

China has adopted a policy of peaceful rise to reassure the neighboring countries and world at large about its thinking and security intentions which undoubtedly is a very challenging job. Sometimes, China feels that the US is a strategic challenge and most pressures come from the American’s side. Thus all pros and cons of the question and emerging challenges and opportunities require to be thoroughly investigated.

A famous writer Jonathan Holslag in his volume titled “*China and India Prospects for Peace*” (2010)\(^\text{29}\), mentions that Pakistan-China ties have been driven by mixture of common interests and mutual respect as well-known international players having mutual understanding,

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\(^{28}\) Maj Gen PJS Sandhu, *Rising China Opportunity or Strategic Challenge* (New Delhi: National Security Seminar, 2009), 179

\(^{29}\) Jonathan Holslag, *China and India Prospects for Peace* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2010), 1
which has created overlapping influences for both neighboring states. Hence cooperation and competition between the two states China and India are expected to continue in near future.

However there is serious need to discuss the thorny issues between New Delhi and Beijing, which kept them on the verge of war and both countries mostly remained embroiled in a diplomatic war of nerves. It demonstrates that why the two Asian giants are still trapped in their protracted contest besides striving for trade partnership which currently figures at more than $70 billion and how are they militarily disposed in a region where South Asia RSC and East Asia RSC are going for external transformation.

Two well-known Indian authors of international relations have discussed India China ties with the historical perspective of border issue. In their book titled “India China Relations, The Border Issue and beyond” (2009)\textsuperscript{30}, Mohan Guruswamy and Zorawar Daulet Singh show that from an Indian context, Indian borders with China would never be formalized on the Brahmaputra plains.

Undoubtedly, Himalayas remained a natural defensive line of India. Himalayas is separating Tibet from India and remained as unbreakable barrier. The defensive line was included in 1914 line, where India has non-negotiable interests. Hence, there is need that while enhancing trade and commercial ties between Beijing and New Delhi, the thorny border issue may also be addressed at length. In their book titled “China and India: Cooperation or Conflict?” (2003)\textsuperscript{31} Waheguru Pal Singh Sidhu & Jing Dong Yuan have highlighted that significant obstacles would continue in haunting conducive ties for regional stability and peace, facing a formidable challenge for the policymakers in two rising powers of Asia that is China and India. Both the authors have focused on various key challenges including mutual non-confidence, territorial disputes including mutual distrust and territorial disputes, Tibet and Sikkim status, trade disagreements, nonproliferation treaties, reginal role of Pakistan and implications upon domestic public opinion.

\textsuperscript{30} Mohan Guruswamy and Zorawar Daulet Singh, India China Relations, the Border Issue and Beyond (New Delhi: Viva Books, 2009).
\textsuperscript{31} Waheguru Pal Singh Sidhu & Jing Dong Yuan, China and India: Cooperation or Conflict? (New Delhi: India Research Press, 2003)
It is need of the hours that the impending scenario amongst Pakistan China and India may be seen through the prism of Regional Security Complexes where various regional actors are behaving with different dimensions bilaterally, regionally and interregional/globally.

The latest volume of a renowned Indian author on Chinese development in the field of military and security with Indian perspective is a good addition. Jagannath P. Panda, in his book “China’s Path to Power: Party, Military and the Politics of State Transition” (2010) portrays that the particular analysis is showing that transformation in China is taking place and transformation in terms of civil, military, political and economic spheres is underway.

It is an essential requirement that political structure combined with socio-economic and strategic dimensions are integrated for a comprehensive study on the subject with a view to examine that dynamics of Chinese Foreign Policy regarding Pakistan are changing in the post-cold war era having impending challenges and opportunities.

Perm Shankar Jha, in “India and China: The Battle between Soft and Hard Power” (2010), becomes more critical and skeptical regarding Beijing and Indian rise in twenty first century for global dominance. This incisive book brings new insights into the dynamics of the economic, social and political workings of Asia’s two most influential rising powers. The writer examines the ramifications of US hegemony unchallenged in post-post-cold war world and looking upon the quickly deteriorating ties between China and India.

It is an immediate requirement to discuss the policy of realignment, encirclement and hedging in the modern time and its looming ramifications on South Asia region where cooperation and competition is going on side by side between Beijing and New Delhi with inevitable consequences upon the nearby periphery.

In his eminent book titled “The Rise of China: Implications for India” Harsh V. Pant, (2012) emphasizes that as and when China becomes economically most strong, it was bound to become more assertive and ambitious by asserting its profile across the world. The writer has

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mentioned that China is emerging as big player in the global politics. China is rising as a great power at the horizon of Asia and is going to challenge the dominance of sole superpower of USA across the world. China’s rise would be a surprising factor but it would not be astonishing one for those, who have already been looking at the Beijing’s geo-economic trajectory.

Again it is need of the hours to give detailed account of policies of hedging and encirclements by New Delhi where both the states; Beijing and New Delhi have developed simultaneously competition alongside of cooperation in context of global affairs.

Indian and Chinese authors Jing-don Yuan and Waheguru Pal Singh Sindhu in their book titled “China and India: Cooperation or Conflict?” (2003)\(^\text{35}\), produced an important work showing that how these two emerging great powers would manage their cooperation and competition in the coming years. Sino-Indian cooperation or conflict will have a major impact on regional security, great power alignments, and progress on global arms control and nonproliferation.

There is a dire need to examine the rising strategic relations between China and Pakistan and their essential fallout on near periphery including India. China reportedly encouraged Pakistan’s May, 1998 nuclear tests in South Asia to avoid asymmetry with arch rival India. There is an urgent need of in-depth analysis that how the structure of security in emerging Asian Supercomplex is shaping emerging dynamics of Pakistan-China strategic relations.

IPRI Fact file (2011)\(^\text{36}\) explains that China’s relationship with Pakistan has often been regarded as all-seasons and time tested. This relationship is based on common interests, mutual respect and geo-strategic partnership to counter Indian and the Soviet Union impending threat. However, Sino-Pakistan strategic relationship in post-9/11 era is based on mutual interests, common respect and needs instead of any reference to a third country such as India.

As far as bilateralism is concerned, the scholars are agreed that Beijing as a rising power of Asia would look at the international affairs through the paradigm of its global interests. These writers consider that unlike the cold war era conflict, Beijing trade and economic cooperation with New Delhi would not affect the Beijing-Islamabad strategic partnership owing to deep

\(^{35}\) Sindhu and Yuan, *China and India: Cooperation or Conflict?*, vii  
rooted strategic ties as well as unflinching economic, political and strategic interests of Islamabad. Despite serious engagement of China with India, there are three main reasons for deep rooted partnership of China with Pakistan. Firstly, Islamabad’s strategic significance for energy and trade corridor through recently developed deep water seaport of Gwadar. Secondly, Beijing is highly concerned with regional stability with reference to Afghanistan especially in post-departure NATO forces arena in Afghanistan. Beijing applauded vital role of Islamabad in facilitating most needed peace process in Afghanistan. Similarly, Islamabad considers Beijing role in Afghanistan as regional stabilizing factor in Asia. Thirdly, prosperous and strong Pakistan is in the national interests of China. Unwavering and determined Pakistan would strongly fight out against the menace of religious extremism and terrorism in the region.

Some notable scholars have also analyzed the Islamabad-Beijing strategic relationship and emphasized on transformation in Beijing’s policy and its possible implications for strategic relationship of the two countries. They stress that Islamabad-Beijing has enjoyed most cordial strategic relationship in sixties. The deep strategic relations continued up till 1990s but showed signs of decline in late 1990s. Emergence of Taliban factor in Afghanistan, enhanced separatists activities in Jammu Kashmir and dynamics of changes in Beijing’s foreign and domestic policies affected the strategic relationship between Islamabad and Beijing in late 1990s. Beijing’s Kashmir policy went through various stages from neutrality to formidable support to right of self-determination to Kashmiri masses and now again to neutrality in post-9/11 era. Beijing’s stance on Kashmir is directly connected with national interests of China. Some scholars have highlighted Beijing-Islamabad strategic engagement through the prism of regional stability syndrome and emphasized upon the challenges and opportunities in post-9/11 era. To overwhelm such daunting challenges both the countries have concentrated in trade, economic and strategic fields. New scenario of cooperation and collaboration emerged in many areas including energy and counter terrorism.

Pakistani social scientists have emphasized that Beijing’s image in Pakistan is quite positive in governmental sector and amongst the general Pakistani masses. Both states have consolidated their defence and strategic relationship owing to their shared geo-politico-strategic interests and to counter the impending security threat in the region. To further deepen the
strategic relationship both neighboring countries are concentrating on enhanced economic and trade relations as well as people-to-people contacts at grass root level.

The aforementioned literature review has been made through prism of bilateralism within the context of Sino-Pakistan strategic relationship on the one hand and Sino-Indian ties in the perspective of turbulent border issues, on the other hand. Further research is required to assess that in recent years how the friendship between Beijing and Islamabad has further been deepened as China has started several infrastructural, energy and connectivity projects in Pakistan offering new challenges and prospects for the region. Therefore, it is appropriate to examine the existing literature through the prisms of regional dimensions of Sino-Pakistan strategic relationship.

1.2 Regional Dimensions: At regional level, main argument depicts that Pakistan-China axis is one of the most fascinating developments in International Relations. Significant obstacles would continue to exist in the way of an amicable relationship between two rising powers of Asia i.e. China and India. Undoubtedly, with the passage of time China is becoming economically more powerful. Thus it is bound to become ambitious and assertive across the globe. Triangular strategic relationship of India, Pakistan and China defines the distribution of power and major center of gravity of regional conflict and regional change in the South Asia Region. Further, China might find it easier to take off than to take over in regional affairs.

Pakistan’s foreign policy entered into another phase with Sino-Indian border conflict in 1962 as it became policy of dual alignment; with the West for essential weapons and strengthened her informal relationship with China. Moreover, rise of China will alter geopolitical regional configuration in Asia Pacific and many mechanism would inevitably be changed when China emerges as dominant power. Nevertheless, whatever the nature of regime, India will peruse her geostrategic interests in the region and whatever the nature of regime in nearby smaller states, they have tendency of concert with other powers to offset the Indian regional pressure and dominance posture. To arrive at the bottom line of the regional dynamics, it would be apposite to make a study of necessary regional dimensions and review the relevant literature in this arena.
An eminent Pakistani author Hasan Askari Rizvi, in his work titling “Pakistan and the Geo-strategic Environment: A Study of Foreign Policy” (1993)\(^{37}\) says that new trends in Pakistan and China’s foreign policies have shown most demanded stability despite several changes of governments and key personnel in the two neighboring countries. However, unquestionably rising strategic ties between Pakistan and China have regional implications especially upon New Delhi. The author has focused that the mutuality of common interests and extreme cordiality which was developed between Beijing and Islamabad in the sixties became a permanent feature of their bilateral relations with essential consequences upon the region. Islamabad has come within the line with the national interest of Beijing. It is needed to examine that how Regional Security Complexes are shaping novel dimensions of both neighboring countries i.e. China and Pakistan in post-9/11 arena.

A famous Pakistani strategist, Zafar Iqbal Cheema in “Indian Nuclear Deterrence: Its Evolution, Development, And Implications for South Asian Security” (2010)\(^{38}\) states that the Indian sources allege that Pakistan’s rapid nuclear development was a result of extensive nuclear cooperation between Pakistan and China. Notwithstanding, the volume provides a detailed analysis in background of nuclear energy cooperation between two neighboring countries of Pakistan and China. Nuclear cooperation between Islamabad and Beijing attained more prominence. US-India Civil Nuclear Deal 2005 further augmented Indo-US strategic partnership.

There is further need to focus on rising cooperation of Pakistan in defence, civil nuclear energy collaboration, infrastructural development project, cultural exchanges and growing trade and commercial ties in economic spheres with possible consequences on regional security and stability in post-9/11 era.

Shahid M. Amin in “Pakistan’s Foreign Policy: A Reappraisal” (2010)\(^{39}\) has accentuated that China no longer needs Pakistan as was the case of the past decades. Nevertheless, the author has focused that the deep rooted strategic relationship between Islamabad and Beijing would continue owing to common mutual interests and mutual requirements instead of third party

\(^{37}\) Hasan Askari Rizvi, Pakistan and the Geo-strategic Environment: A Study of Foreign Policy (St. Martin’s Press, 1993), 138

\(^{38}\) Zafar Iqbal Cheema, Indian Nuclear Deterrence: Its Evolution, Development, And Implications For South Asian Security (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010),172

\(^{39}\) Shahid M. Amin, Pakistan’s Foreign Policy: A Reappraisal, (Karachi: Oxford University Press, 2010).
reference i.e. Indian influence in regional periphery. It goes without saying that it would be unwise for Pakistani policy makers to expect China to give the kind of assistance which it did in the past in case of confrontation with India keeping in view the rising economic and trade relations of both countries where volume of trade has reached to over US$70 billion. Undeniably, Pakistan has to be in line with Beijing’s national interest for strong bilateral ties between two neighboring countries. This needs an in-depth analysis of changing dynamics of Beijing-Islamabad strategic dimensions through the analytical study particularly in post-9/11 period.

Musa Khan Jalazai, in “The Crisis of Pakistan’s Foreign Policy” (1999)\(^4^0\) has taken a stock of Pakistan’s foreign policy and appraisal of its crisis at different stages of her history. The author explains that it is clear that Pakistan does not enjoy the same pre-eminent position in the eyes of Chinese leadership once it had in past having a different conception of an average man in the street and a far-reaching change has occurred since 1990. Ironically, Musa Khan Jalazai could not comprehend the novel dimension of the foreign policy in post-9/11 period, where CPEC has become cornerstone of the bilateral relationship between Beijing and Islamabad having impending regional implications. It is pre-requisite to make a threadbare analysis of CPEC and its ramifications to understand how Regional Security Complexes are shaping different dimensions of both neighboring countries i.e. China and Pakistan with peripheral consequences in post-9/11 era.

Mushtaq Ahmad in “Foreign Policy: Pakistan’s Option” (1995)\(^4^1\) stresses on the role of superpowers and their relevance with Pakistan especially detailed analysis of Beijing’s foreign relations with Islamabad. These developments have been examined with regional objectivity and detachments. The fait accompli is that Mushtaq Ahmad has merely focused on historical background but could not add new dimensions and dynamics of the foreign policy of Pakistan with reference to Beijing in post-9/11 arena. It is an urgent requirement to note down that how Islamabad is striving hard to keep her balance between US, a sole superpower of the time and China; a rising great power of Asia.

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\(^{40}\) Musa Khan Jalazai, \textit{The Crisis of Pakistan’s Foreign Policy} (Lahore: Farhat Shah Institute of Research & Studies, 1999), 202

\(^{41}\) Mushtaq Ahmad, \textit{Foreign Policy: Pakistan’s Option} (Karachi: Royal Book Company, 1995), ii
In “Nuclear Pakistan, Strategic Dimension” (2011) Zulfiqar Khan argues that the foreign and security policies of India and Pakistan are replete with crises, misperceptions and perilous brinkmanship. Nevertheless, enhancing cooperation between Beijing and Islamabad in nuclear energy and strategic dynamics has further enhanced the deep rooted relationship. The cordial entente between Washington and New Delhi and Indo-US nuclear civil deal has added a new dimension in already precarious regional security of South Asia, which needs further analysis and elaboration in post-9/11 period.

Indisputably Gwadar deep water seaport of Baluchistan has become all the most significant in post-9/11 developments in the region where prominent Chinese saying One Belt One Road (OBOR) has become order of the day. A Pakistani author Nadir Mir in his volume “Gwadar on The Global Chessboard, Pakistan’s Identity, History, and Culture”(2010) indicates that Gwadar Coastal Development Concept was conceived in the year 2000 having far-reaching implications upon entire region including Central, South and West Asia.

Gwadar deep-water seaport carries immense strategic importance for Pakistan and the region. India has however started investment in Chabahar seaport of Iran to counterbalance the advantages of connectivity through Pakistani seaport of Gwadar. Still further study is required to indicate that Pakistan needs to convince all neighboring countries including India and CARs that development of Gwadar seaport is not only within the vital interests of Pakistan and China but also within the interest of whole region.

Swaran Singh in his volume “China-Pakistan Strategic Cooperation: Indian Perspectives” (2007), gauges extensive magnitude of the Pakistan-China strategic partnership and its impacts upon regional level, international norms and regime. This book provides an assessment on Indian perspective on the multifaceted topic of Pakistan China’s strategic ties, policymakers and opinion makers. The writer underscores that Indian obsession remained confined to transfer of the Chinese technology to Pakistan while its real perspective for such

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42 Zulfiqar Khan, Nuclear Pakistan, Strategic Dimension (Karachi: Oxford University Press, 2011), xiv
43 Nadir Mir, Gwadar On The Global Chessboard, Pakistan’s Identity, History, and Culture, (Lahore: Ferozsons Pvt Ltd, 2010), 8
44 Swaran Singh, China-Pakistan Strategic Cooperation: Indian Perspectives (Manchar: Publication of French Institute in India, 2007)
fascinating axis between China and Pakistan has never been explored by policymakers. Transfer of missile technology and alleged nuclear material support to Pakistan from China remained vulnerable to populism and a source of emotional outbursts owing to limited western deliberated leaks on Indian media. Such leakages trigger flash of interest and no serious follow ups made by such Indian media houses. The investigation provides critical information on the topic by shedding populism and brushing aside many myths those remained in vogue in Indian minds on Sino-Pakistan strategic ties.

Essential gap is required to be filled with debate on the contours of Pakistan-China strategic relationship. The probe requires answer that in the perspective of post-9/11, whether growing India-China understanding has been undermined by Pakistan-China axis?

Dr. Pushpa Adhikari, in his analysis on “China Threat in South Asia” (2012) deliberares that US desirous for uni-polar globe but a multi-polar Asia; while China seeks a multi-polar globe but uni-polar Asia. Notwithstanding, Tokyo and New Delhi are aspiring a multi-polar Asia and a multi-polar world. The writer considers that Beijing’s rising economic as well as military power is threatening not only to South Asia but also to the all states of Asia Pacific region. The writer was required to incorporate the modern trend of Asian Supercomplex, where rising powers such as China and Japan are placing their position at the pivot of Asia having enmity and amity side by side. Thus a detailed explanation and a threadbare analysis of all essential factors are required.

Askhok Kapoor has concentrated upon triangular strategic relationship among Pakistan, China and India. In his famous book titled “India and the South Asian Strategic Triangle” (2011), Ashok Kapoor traces the triangular strategic relationship of India, Pakistan and China over the second half of the twentieth century and shows how two enmities –Sino-Indian and Indo-Pakistani - and one friendship – Sino Pakistani – defines the distribution of power in regional perspective. Pakistan, India and China are tied to each other and their actions reflect their view of strategic and cultural problems as well as geo-politics in a volatile area where cooperation and competition is going on side by side on two sides of the same border between China and India.

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45 Dr. Pushpa Adhikari, China Threat in South Asia (New Delhi: Lancer Publishers, 2012), 312
46 Ashok Kapoor, India and the South Asian Strategic Triangle, (Abingdon: Rutledge Milton Park, Oxon, 2011)
Look/Act East Policy of India and Go West Policy of China are at their full swing having deep rooted impacts on South Asia, that needs a thorough analysis where external transformation between South Asia RSC and East Asia RSC is still stable and India-Pakistan are playing strategic game within periphery of South Asia region.

Ira Pande, in his book “India China: Neighbors Strangers” (2010)\(^{47}\) focuses that the other school of thought, which may be called the Chindia School, holds that despite all the differences, the very impetus of globalization will require collaboration between the two Asian giants i.e. India and China and that it will be the only way to balance and even overcome the long history of Western dominance in Asia. China watches her relationship with India which tends to fall into different categories. One of them is what may call the Eternal Enemy School, which holds that China and India are destined to remain in adverbial and even conflictual relationship due to inherent ideological, demographical, economic and geographical factors.

It further needs to discuss with detailed analysis that what is underpinning of competition and cooperation between two rising powers of Asia i.e. China and India where enmity and amity is existed at the same time with essential regional amplifications.

Mathew John has focused on internal social and political dimensions of Chinese milieu and has pointed out the conflict in Confucianism, Buddhism, Taoism and imperial past of China within periphery of Asia. Mathew John in his celebrated book, “Dragon Unraveled, A New Perspective on China” (2011)\(^{48}\), describes that the recent upsurge in nationalism and increasing pride in its imperial past, Confucianism, Taoism and Buddhism, earlier looked down upon by Mao, is in contradiction to absence of true nationalism in the conflict zones. The fast systemic changes affected to speed up much needed Foreign Direct Investment (FDI) and have made China the manufacturing capital of the world, and thereby created millions and millions of jobs for the rural unemployed youth.

Though corruption is considered a major problem in both China and India the hard working, literate, low cost and more productive Chinese labor is an attracting element for global investors. India has so far failed to modify outdated labor laws to facilitate smooth flow of FDI


\(^{48}\) Mathew John, *Dragon Unraveled, A New Perspective on China* (New Delhi: Pentagon Press, 2011), 277
into its manufacturing which has the potential to at least partially solve India’s unemployment problem. It makes an interesting study to examine as to how hegemonic unbridled desire of Indian leadership has jeopardized the peacemaking endeavors by Pakistan at regional level and made solution of burning imbroglio of Kashmir difficult where possibility of internal transformation in South Asia region cannot be ruled out.

Michael Dillion in “Contemporary China–An Introduction” (2009)⁴⁹, states that Chinese society and the leadership as well as the state of China are combination of contradictions and complexities. The state of China is however not debarring the strategists or analysts from attempting to characterize it as either heroic or villainous, according to their own prejudices as well as in line with their own political and cultural perspective.

It is necessary to pinpoint that China is a country with a vigorous economy that is finally allowing its populations to break out of decade’s old torpor, making dividends for millions including both peasants and urban dwellers to improve their opportunities for suitable education extensive travelling and their striking family life. The emerging dynamics of Chinese growth has definite impending challenges and prospects for the region, which are required to be enumerated keeping in view the New Delhi’s Look/Act East Policy.

Prashant Agrawal “China and India: A Comparative Analysis of Approaches to Energy Security” (2009)⁵⁰ has illustrated that India and China, both the neighboring countries are pursuing the strategy for economic growth depending upon extensive energy supplies. Hence energy competition between two rising powers cannot be avoided in the long run.

Thus competition in Asia between India and China has become inevitable. It is essential to settle that how Beijing and New Delhi would manage the balance keeping in view the severe difference especially troublesome border issues and robust economic, development and rising trade needs in Asia.

James R. Holmes and Toshi Yoshihara, “Chinese Naval Strategy in the 21st Century” (2008)⁵¹ has highlighted the significance of Sea Lane of Communications for Beijing. The

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⁴⁹ Michael Dillon, Contemporary China – An Introduction (London: Rutledge, 2009), vii
authors have elaborated that China shall leave no stone unturned in safeguarding its naval power and essential sea routes. China would seek to safeguard its maritime communications and is becoming tremendously big sea power and it will take on increasingly suitable policy and strategic initiatives in the right direction. In post-9/11 arena, Beijing has already turned its attention from Land Power to a Naval Power. Thus regional dynamics in East Asia particularly in Asia continent in general can go for the impending emerging transformation. There is a need for further investigation that how transformation between South Asia RSC and East Asia RSC is affecting either way to the main players of the region i.e. China India and Pakistan.

Dr. Shabbir Ahmed Khan in his article “Geo Economic Imperatives of Gwadar Sea Port and Kashgar Economic Zone for Pakistan and China” (2013)\(^{52}\) argues that deep water seaport of Gwadar and Kashgar economic zones would play a fundamental role in economic and trade development of the region. He has underlined that fast political, strategic and social relationship between China and Pakistan is resulting into enhanced economic and trade cooperation between Islamabad and Beijing.

It is important to examine that CPEC is opening new vistas of opportunity for speedy development of the deep-water seaport of Gwadar and Kashgar Economic Zones. Islamabad’s policy of ‘Look East’ and Beijing’s policy to ‘Go West’ are further deepening the partnership between two neighboring countries having regional ramifications.

Khalid Mahmood, in his well thought research article “China’s Strategic Relations”(2011)\(^{53}\) describes that China remained the closest friend of Pakistan and an important source of military weaponry as well as technology in line with her active involvement in significant infrastructural projects. He explains that significance of Pakistan in the eyes of China did not fall despite its tremendous increase in trade and commercial ties with India.

It is essential to delve on new vistas of opportunity that have opened up owing to CPEC wherein heavy investment in infrastructural and energy projects are likely boost Pakistan’s industries and economic as well as commercial capabilities. Nuclear energy cooperation between China and Pakistan has already been making incessant progress. A new research is required to

\(^{52}\) Dr. Shabbir Ahmed Khan “Geo Economic Imperatives of Gwadar Sea Port and Kashgar Economic Zone for Pakistan and China” *IPRI Journal*, XIII, no. 2, (Summer,2013)

\(^{53}\) Khalid Mahmood “China’s Strategic Relations” *Strategic Studies*,XXXI no.1-2 (Spring & Summer, 2011)
examine that how deep rooted ties with China have become a cornerstone of Islamabad’s foreign policy in perspective of its relationship with US.

Dr. Rashid Ahmed Siddiqi, in his article “China’s Evolving Posture in South Asia: Some Reflections” (2014) has focused on rising China powers with emerging implications upon South Asia especially on Pakistan. The scholar explains that the China’s South Asia Policy in case of US is predominantly to pull her out from Afghanistan. China considers presence of US in Afghanistan as a grave threat to her security and stability in the surrounding periphery. China is desirous for earliest pull out of NATO forces from the soil of Afghanistan. The writer has emphasized on cordial partnership of Beijing with Islamabad and New Delhi for regional stability, security and peace.

However, an analytical study is required to point out that how at the advent of US pullout from Afghanistan, all the regional actors would have to play their positive role for stability and peacemaking endeavors in the region.

Zahid Ali Khan, through his research study “China’s Gwadar and India’s Chahbahar; an analysis of Sino-India geo-strategic and economic competition” (2013) has drawn attention upon the rising competition between Beijing and New Delhi through developmental seaport projects of Gwadar and Iranian seaport of Chahbahar. He has emphasized that intensification of already existed competition between Beijing and New Delhi in Arabian Sea has also raised US concerns regarding Beijing offensive capabilities in South Asia region. He has contended that Beijing’s string of pearls has been making regional and global environment somewhat more complicated.

The emerging regional scenario shows that there is an urgent need for independent analysis focusing on maintainability of most needed stability, permanency and regional security through focusing upon status quo. There is a requirement of an independent study to probe that how all the actors of the South Asia Region would have to play their pivotal role in positive direction for peace and harmony.

54 Dr. Rashid Ahmed Siddiqi “China’s Evolving Posture in South Asia: Some Reflections” IPRI Journal, XIV, no. 2, (Summer, 2014)
55 Zahid Ali Khan, “China’s Gwadar and India’s Chahbahar; an analysis of Sino-India geo strategic and economic competition” Strategic Studies, XXXII & XXXIII no.4 &1 (Spring, 2013)
Anjum Saeed, in his article “China’s quest for energy and diplomacy” (2011)\textsuperscript{56}, underlines that currently China has strong relations with Middle Eastern countries and African Continent for most needed energy supply. China is slowly becoming global player in energy pursuit. He has argued that Beijing would have to concentrate on energy security by safeguarding maritime lane of communications.

There is a necessity of a relevant study to evaluate that whether China is taking all the essential steps where energy is conveniently available in pursuit of her peaceful rise and gigantic economic growth.

In “Sino-Indian Relations: Implications for Pakistan” (2010)\textsuperscript{57}, Amana Yusuf Khokhar has issued warning that despite of all longstanding Sino-Indian rapprochement and strategic significance of Islamabad, the landscape is not all that conducive. The writer’s main argument revolves around that global environment is rapidly changing, Beijing and New Delhi in spite of all their differences are going to further deepening their economic and trade ties. Hence Pakistan would have to reevaluate its position with reference to Chinese rising power in Asia.

China and India economic interdependence has been enhancing as both the states have realized that economic cooperation and trade development ultimately cuts down the cost of doing business. Some strategists have already made claim for appearance of a ‘Chindia’ in the next 25 years. This question is required to be examined critically through analytical dissertation having regional consequences in post-9/11 arena.

Li Xing in his article “The Rise of China and the ‘Four-China’ Nexus” (2009)\textsuperscript{58} has pointed out that both rising Beijing and the West being established global ruler would have to find ways and means to accommodate one another. Both would have to pass through a constant struggle, accommodation and adjustment as well as tension and re-adjustment. The writer has emphasized that the West has no choice except to recognize Beijing as rising power of Asia.

It is however too prematurely to make any prediction that rise of Beijing to the West means as global disorder, a world reorder or even a new world order in this global arena. It will

\textsuperscript{56} Anjum Saeed, “China’s quest for energy and diplomacy” Strategic Studies, XXXI no.3 (Autumn 2011)
\textsuperscript{58} Li Xing, “The rise of China and the ‘four-China’ nexus” Strategic Studies, XXIX, (Winter, 2009)
be relevant to analyze that how growing integration of South Asia RSC with East Asia RSC is ultimately shaping dynamics of Pakistan-China cooperation in post-9/11 period.

Mohan Malik in his book, “China and India, Great Power Rivals” (2011)\(^{59}\) concludes that China-India economic as well as military rise is inevitable. He has highlighted that China might find it easier to take off than take over. He has mentioned that there is nothing unavoidable about the rise of China and India at the cost of the West. The writer has presented account of New Delhi-Washington and Islamabad-Beijing rising closeness and its ramifications on the regional and interregional curvatures.

Consensus amongst scholars has been evolved that Islamabad-Beijing strategic relationship has foundation stone of strategic ties with multifaceted mutual benefitted cooperation. Since six decades strategic relationship between Islamabad and Beijing remained incessantly enhancing pretending a suitable response to emerging regional and inter-regional challenges in Asia. The strategic relationship promoted regional security and peaceful prosperity. Some scholars have analyzed Islamabad-Beijing relationship at the regional level. The rapid developments in Islamabad-Beijing strategic relationship in post-9/11 era is sheer result of mutual common interests in regional security and regional economic developments.

One significant imperative in regional stability is promotion of regional integration for all states interested in regional peace and harmony having foundation stone of mutual interests, sovereignty and mutual respect. Dr. Raja Muhammad Khan in his research article titling “China Economic and Strategic Interests in Afghanistan” has underscored that constant constructive commitment with Kabul would definitely serve “Chinese strategic economic and security interests.”\(^{60}\) He has illustrated that major Beijing interests in stabilizing Afghanistan are nothing less than stability and security of turbulent Xinjiang region. Beijing has ample resources for devising long term investment programs in belligerent Afghanistan. Beijing has iron determination for collaboration, coordination and communication with global and regional imbroglios. Undoubtedly Kabul has acceptability for Beijing’s enhanced and effective role in Afghan’s affairs.

\(^{59}\) Mohan Malik, China and India, Great Power Rivals, (Colorado: First Forum Press, Boulder, 2011), 2
\(^{60}\) Dr. Raja Muhammad Khan, “China’s Economic and Strategic Interests in Afghanistan”, FWU Journal of Social Sciences, no.1 (Summer, 2015)
On regionalism, Chinese scholars consider that in South Asia security structure, hegemonic dominance of New Delhi in the region is a pivotal factor for all neighboring states. Economic dependency of neighboring countries upon New Delhi has been resulting into weakening of regional economic integration and leading Islamabad to westward and New Delhi to eastward. On the contrary, Beijing adopted western grand developmental economic strategy. If Beijing western style development strategy becomes East Asian westward expanding developmental trends, it would pave way for new dimensions of Beijing-New Delhi relationship as well as Islamabad-New Delhi ties. Western expansion has unbreakable linkage with industrial developmental shift from East Asia to South Asia and to enhance the East Asia autonomous regional market with South Asian industrial progress, imperative for economic development and human developmental spree.

The discussion on aforementioned literature accentuates that China and India would have to manage their cooperation and competition in the forthcoming years having major implications upon the regional security, great power alignments and progression on global arms control and nonproliferation. The strategists and authors belonging to India, Pakistan China and the West still could not agree that how China would behave as rising military power in Asia. Further that another important issue in strategic studies from New Delhi’s perspective is as how to meet the deepening challenge of a rising China in Asia. Notwithstanding, it is appropriate to discuss the interregional/global dynamics of strategic studies through the prism of available literature so that a comprehensive picture could be developed for future study.

1.3 Interregional/Global Dimensions: China is expected to play significant role in the world that is emerging in twenty first century. Only Taiwan remains to fulfill the Beijing’s dream of a greater China as Hong Kong and Macao have already returned to Chinese control. Further denial of rightful place for China and India in the global economy would not be apposite for peace, harmony and security at regional and interregional levels. In a few decades, if current trends persisted, China would be a world’s leading military and economic power. US’s security and economic interests could therefore face new challenges in the regional and global arena.

Smaller Asian states are economically integrating with Beijing and astonishingly at the same time these states are looking to preserve their security and autonomy against Beijing’s rising economic prowess. Smaller Asian states are looking at US to counterbalance Chinese
growing might. Further, distrust of each other intentions between China and India remains alarming as both sides are keeping all military options opened and no serious progress has been noted on the final settlement of turbulent border dispute. Incontrovertibly China went much further than US in building Pakistan as a military force in the South Asia. China supplied most needed military hardware to Pakistan, which could turn on India in the hours of need. Besides, China has multilateral approach and offering most needed economic assistance to the developing states and helping them to build requisite institutions required to run a multipolar global world.

Latif Ahmed Sherwani in his book “Pakistan, China and America”(1980)\textsuperscript{61} suggests that cordial relations with the Soviet Union and close relations with China and America, based upon a real understanding of each other’s circumstances and expectations, should be the prime target of Pakistan’s foreign policy. He has narrated the triangular account of relationship amongst Islamabad-Beijing and Islamabad-Washington up to 1980s with an apt analytical approach. He has presented a comprehensive analysis of Pakistan’s foreign policy on US and China up till 1980s.

By keeping the same perspective, new dimensions of close strategic relationship between New Delhi and Washington through prism of nuclear civil deal and Islamabad-Beijing bilateral strategic ties through emerging dynamics of CPEC are required to be further deliberated upon with essential consequences upon regional and interregional spheres.

Dr. N K Tripathi, in his book “China’s Asia Pacific Strategy and India” (2011)\textsuperscript{62} has deliberated on rising power of China with especial emphasize on Beijing Asia Pacific strategy. The writer has remarked that one of the central ideas is that it is unhelpful to see China’s rise in twin binary dispositions, viz China as belligerent or China as benevolent. This study reflects more on Indian’s aspirations and anxieties. However, a dispassionate scrutiny of China has been made by hyperbole around it. It will be wiser to see that China is a country whose nature, characteristics and features are natural for its size and development as compared to India. In fact, the Chinese ruling elite has mostly asserted that China is only a developing country. Dr. N K Tripathi asserts that China’s natural growing power would give more means and resources at its

\textsuperscript{61}Latif Ahmed Sherwani, \textit{Pakistan, China and America}, (Karachi: D & Y Printers, Arambagh, 1980)
\textsuperscript{62}Dr. N K Tripathi, \textit{China’s Asia Pacific Strategy and India} (New Delhi: Vij books India Pvt Ltd, 2011), xi
disposal, which will alter altogether geopolitical configurations of the Asia Pacific having adversial ramifications upon rising spree of India.

A critical inquiry is required to further judge that how peaceful rise of China and its soft power projection has profound impacts upon the interregional/global arena.

Rajshree Jetly, in his book “Pakistan in Regional and Global Politics” (2009)\textsuperscript{63} has focused upon role of Pakistan in regional and global arena with Indian perspective. He expresses that the most positive thing that can be said about Kashmir is that violence on the Indian side has tremendously been reduced. But this scenario is not permanent one as it could be changed if New Delhi does not use the opportunity to find a more lasting settlement of the most dangerous dispute of the globe to overcome the alienation of Kashmiris. The writer has pointed out that the US and China is desirous to see progress on Kashmir. The writer claims that constant disarray is prevailing in Pakistan on Kashmir issue. Keeping in view the current scenario in India and Pakistan, there is not much likelihood of serious bilateral dialogue in South Asia. It goes without saying that for lasting peace and security in the region of South Asia solution of imbroglio of Kashmir is essential requirement of the time. China has already adopted a policy of visa staple for Kashmiris, where India has serious reservations. It is an urgent need to deliberate on underpinning of China’s neutral Kashmir policy in twenty first century having far reaching impacts on the regional and interregional issues.

Vaidya Nadkarni in his book “Strategic Partnerships in Asia: Balancing without Alliances” (2010)\textsuperscript{64} has deliberated upon strategic partnership of India and China on Asian horizons. Vaidya Nadkarni has highlighted that success of the Sino-Indian Partnership rests heavily on India’s neighboring states particularly Pakistan and Bangladesh as well as Asia’s other giants, who are not yet willing to accept the particular vision of rising Asian powers’ strategic partnership.

Sino-India relations and Sino-Pakistan relations are not directed against any country rather based on mutual interest and mutual trust as well as for mutual benefits. Research question is to be examined in new research that whether environment of amity between Beijing and

\textsuperscript{63} Rajshree Jetly, Pakistan in Regional and Global Politics (New Delhi: Rutledge, 2009), 91-92
\textsuperscript{64} Vaidya Nadkarni, Strategic Partnerships in Asia: Balancing Without Alliances, (Abingdon: Rutledge, 2 Park Square, Milton Park, Oxon, 2010)
Islamabad and animosity between New Delhi and Islamabad would continue in Asian Supercomplex or some new configuration would take place in South Asia.

In “China’s Power Projection”, (2005)65, Air Commodore Ramesh Phadke has focused that China’s security policy has real objectives to spread confusion and camouflage aims of Beijing’s real rising power. He emphasizes that mere bean counting of China’s nuclear weapons and missiles system does not illuminate the real strategic picture of Asia. It will take a long time to China to become more transparent. The writer expresses that China gives the impression of showing its clean hand; the real purpose is to confuse the enemy without disclosing real intentions of Beijing. China remained busy in modernizing its conventional as well as nuclear forces but its real force remained alert through multiplier via its strategy of deception. The writer re-emphasized that in international politics secrecy, deception, camouflage and concealment in interactions are common phenomenon. Distrust between Beijing and New Delhi is prevailing despite rising economic and trade ties and sincere efforts are required to sort out all outstanding issues including border debacles.

Santhanam Srikanth Kondapalli in his book titled “Asian Security and China 2000-2010” (2004)66 has critically analyzed the Asian security for first decade of twenty first century with reference to especial focus on Beijing’s role. Santhanam Srikanth Kondapalli remarks that high economic growth rates in Asia and increasing integration at the bilateral and multilateral levels coexist with destabilization tendencies arising from territorial claims, conflicts, terrorism and old fashioned economic pressures. The Writer has pleaded that Asia is becoming center for global diplomatic, economic, political and military attention. He questions that China claims that she is peaceably rising but how shall her rise remained peaceful, which is serious query in presence of imbroglio of Taiwan and China Sea disputes with her neighboring countries.

The emerging scenario emphasizes on the need of deep analysis that how growing integration of South Asian RSC with East Asian RSC would shape dynamics of Pakistan-China strategic Relations with essential implications on regional/interregional periphery.

65 Air Commodore Ramesh Phadke, China’s Power Projection (New Delhi: Manas Publications, 2005), 156
Eva Paus, Penelope B. Prime and Jon Western, in their book titled "Is China Changing the Rules of the Game?" (2012) are of the view that by rising powers of China, all conditions of competition and arms race tend to increase the probability of war in Asia Pacific. The authors claim that American and Chinese leaders believe that China is rising, but they are not sure that how the phenomenon poses threats to global peace or creates windows of opportunity on both sides. US leadership is not yet convinced that how China will behave after attainment of the status of superpower in international arena.

George J. Gilboy and Eric Heginbotham, in their volume, "Chinese and Indian Strategic Behavior, Power and Alarm" (2012) indicate that the domestic challenges are long term issues both in China and India that will take decades to address. They hold out the prospects for constraining the role wherein either India or China will play in global politics. The authors believe that the leadership of China and India is preoccupied with serious domestic challenges including ensuring domestic economic and social development, buttressing social stability and fending off internal challenges to their respective political systems.

In the given scenario, it is prerequisite to deliberate on detailed analysis that how both countries would keep equilibrium in competition as well as in cooperation while aspiring for the gigantic growth and in ensuing power politics where India is striving hard for attaining the status of third Asian power.

A prominent writer William H. Avery in his volume, "China’s Nightmare, American’s Dream: India as the next Global Power" (2012), has highlighted New Delhi’s global aspirations with Washington dream to maintain status quo and Beijing’s “String of Pearls” strategy. It is a frank critique of India’s national passivity in conduct of its foreign and domestic affairs and a call to action for a more assertive India in every sphere fostering innovation. The author mentions that India is desirous to claim Asian power status which however remains subject to geo-political and eco-security realities of the region.

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69 William H. Avery, China’s Nightmare, American’s Dream: India as the next Global Power, (New Delhi: Manjul Publishing House Pvt Ltd, 2012), xvi
Thus, it is a prerequisite to ponder through a new research on the Indian hegemonic desire to overcome all the neighboring countries without respecting the principles of sovereignty and noninterference as well as impartiality in her most cherished Look/Act East Policy.

The most renowned American writer Henry Kissinger in his book “On China” (2011) underscores cultural, political, economic, geographical, social and geo-strategic factors in its domestic and foreign policies. The writer describes that different histories and cultures produced occasionally divergent inferences. The writer does not agree with the Chinese claim of their peaceful rise. Simultaneously, the author is convinced that Beijing is going to perform a pivotal role in the world that is emerging in the twenty first century. The particular volume is based partially on conversations of the author with Chinese political leadership explaining conceptual way of Chinese thinking regarding problems of peace and war and international order. The writer claims that China leadership adopted more pragmatic approach as compared to the American approach in international arena. It is nice effort by former US Secretary of the State as the strategists are interested in Chinese thinking on phenomenon of war and peace.

It is an urgent requirement that an analytical study to be developed that how China would behave as superpower in the multifarious globe where Beijing is striving hard as sandwich between one established superpower and her neighboring East Asian countries having territorial and South China Sea disputes.

Carrie Liu Currier and Manochehr Dorraj, in their book, “China’s Energy Relations with the Developing World” (2011), mention that Chinese experts are constantly worrying about their excessive dependency upon the seaborne crude oil consignments. The authors underline that Seaborne imports constitute 80 percent of the total imports and overland oil pipelines will not diametrically reduce this unflinching reliance on seaborne shipments. The writers have pointed out that presently 40 percent of Beijing’s oil comes through sea routes. It is an undeniable fact that China has already become oil importer since 1993 and has also become a net gasoline importer by end of 2009. While a very important oil producer, Beijing has now become the world’s second largest oil user. Keeping in view the aforementioned scenario in mind,

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Chinese interest in Gwadar Deepwater seaport can be gauged. Hence, there is a dire need to further study Beijing’s energy requirements and significance of Gwadar Deepwater coastal seaport of Pakistan in regional and interregional perspective.

Ashley J. Telis, Travis Tanner & Jessica Keough, edited the book “Asia Response To Its Rising Powers: China And India”(2011)\textsuperscript{72}. Ashley J. Telis stresses that New Delhi is far away to become central strategic focus in Asia. He mentions New Delhi’s democratic character is making it more acceptable and attractive partner for other smaller states looking to counterbalance the Chinese growing might. The global dominance of Asia’s rising giants is not inevitable, as both China and India face significant domestic challenges. On the contrary, India has already adopted the Policy of Look/Act East and aligned herself with the superpower of US and other regional powers to contain rising powers of Beijing.

Gilbert Rozman in his book “Chinese Strategic Thoughts towards Asia” (2010)\textsuperscript{73}, states that China went much further than the United States in building up Pakistan as a military machine. Beijing cooperated with Pakistan in nuclear weapons, which could be turn on India and endanger regional stability. China delayed in improving relations with India. The writer has deliberated upon that from the late 1950s to late 1980s China’s rivalry with India was the principal factor shaping its security and strategic policies towards South Asia. Beijing-Islamabad strategic relationship remained gigantic throughout this period. Strong ties of China to Pakistan served the objectives and made sense during the decade when Pakistan was the gateway to Afghan war of resistance on eve of Soviet occupation.

The need arises to further study on the amity and enmity queer relationship of Islamabad with Beijing as well as Islamabad with New Delhi respectively.

Amelia U. Santos-Paulino and Guanghua Wan, in their book titled “The Rise of China and India, Impacts, Prospects and Implications” (2010)\textsuperscript{74}, underscore that rising economic and military power of China, India and Russia is torch bearing for developing states. The other successful emerging economies of the globe such as Brazilian economy is most attractive and

\textsuperscript{72} Ashley J. Telis, Travis Tanner and Jessica Keough, Asia Response To Its Rising Powers: China And India, (Washington: National Bureau of Asian Research, 2011)

\textsuperscript{73} Gilbert Rozman, Chinese Strategic Thoughts Towards Asia, (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2010), 211

\textsuperscript{74} Amelia U. Santos-Paulino and Guanghua Wan, The Rise of China and India, Impacts, Prospects and Implications, (London: Palgrave Macmillan, UK, 2010), 269
creating more positive results being working on most rapid developmental spree. Reform agenda is essential to get the cherished results. Both China and India would have to keep tender balance in their vulnerable relationship which has been suffering adversely owing the acute border issue and a phenomenon of queer amity-animosity unabated relationship which is continuing between two neighboring Asian countries.

Jenny Clegg in his book “China’s Global Strategy towards a Multipolar World” (2009)75, is of the strong view that Beijing is fast emerging as a powerful player on the global stage. Jenny Clegg takes a deeper analysis of Beijing’s stance on a range of regional and global issues. He argues that that Beijing has most successful multipolar diplomacy, which is giving strong strategy to contain US in pursuit of unipolar primacy.

An analytical research in the particular subject would have to determine that whether China will come into direct conflict with America as the two great powers are going to compete on the world stage and whether Chinese rise is a peaceful rise as has been claimed by the Chinese leadership or is otherwise?

An imminent American scholar C. Thomas Finger in his book “Global Trends 2025: A Transformed World” (2008)76 has highlighted that if present tendency continued by the year 2025 China will have the world’s leading military power in a few decades. The current scenario shows that American trade and economic interest can face upcoming challenges, if Beijing becomes a severe competitor having strong military capability, robust economy and demanded for most needed energy security.

In this background Pakistan’s importance can be judged in the region wherein China is looking with vision of One Belt One Road (OBOR) and enhancing integration of South Asia RSC with East Asia RSC which is shaping anew dynamics of Pakistan-China Relations.

Pauline Kerr, Stuart Harris and Qin Yaqing, in their joint book titled “China’s New Diplomacy: Tactical or Fundamental Change?” (2008)77 have focused on glaring “difference between diplomatic tactics and tactical diplomacy”. They reveal that it is important to emphasize

77 Pauline Kerr, Stuart Harris and Qin Yaqing, China’s New Diplomacy: Tactical or Fundamental Change? (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2008), 244-45
that Beijing “new diplomacy is basically a fundamental change” in international affairs. Thus, opening up policies of security and stability is beneficial for the region. It is expected that China, like any other country, uses various tactics in international diplomacy and this is clearly demonstrated. There is requirement of further study to see that how through involvement of new diplomacy China has engaged itself in “a process of tactical diplomacy with or without a revisionist agenda”.

David Smith in “The Dragon and the Elephant: China, India and the New World Order” (2007), has drawn conclusion that expectations about prosperous future have been raised amongst the people of China and India. The author has proclaimed that China and India are two rising powers of Asia. Engagement of China and India as their prosperity has come from engagements with the rest of the world. There is a pre-requisite for further inquiry to explore that how pivot of Asia is becoming all the more important in foreseeable future in interregional perspective.

David B.H.Denoon, in his fundamental volume, China Contemporary Political, Economic and International Affairs” (2007) claims that in the early years of the twenty first century, China’s leadership would be in a position to claim much to celebrate. It is an open secret that the communist regime has brought unparalleled and unprecedented economic growth and wellbeing for the Chinese people. The author has drew attention that the expansion of Chinese influence throughout the Asia Pacific region and beyond as well as the return to Chinese control of Hong Kong and Macao has become all the more significant. In this scenario only Taiwan remains to yet fulfilling Beijing’s dream of a Greater China. Unquestionably, Pakistan supports One China policy.

Hence it is required that a deep analysis of the underbelly of China i.e. Taiwan to be critically analyzed in the emerging Asian Supercomplex, which is shaping new dynamics of Beijing’s foreign and security policy in post-9/11 period.

Judith F. Kornber and John R. Faust, China in their work titled “World Politics, Policies, Process, and Prospects” (2007)\(^80\) underscore that China believes that its national interests can be best served by bilateral relations based on pragmatic agreements promoting mutual self-interest. The writers mention that historically China has had neither permanent friend nor enemy and has been remained suspicious of entangling alliances. Westphalian values are the cornerstone of such bilateral relations.

Beijing believes that its interests, with few exceptions, can be served through bilateralism. Thus a deep analysis of the Chinese behavior on their bilateralism, regionalism and inter-regionalism is required where East Asia RSC and South Asia RSC are swiftly internally integrating with each other.

In his book titled “The Great Game: on Secret Service in High Asia” (2006)\(^81\), Peter Hop Kirk, a legendary author on secret services, has expressed that besides the Americans and Russians, other regional powers, notably China, India and Pakistan, are looking on with intense self interest and concern in Asia. The author has asserted that on the collapse of strong Russian rule in Central Asia, CARs have tossed the landscape back into the melting pot of history. It has been perceived after collapse of USSR that all the regional countries including India, China and Pakistan are striving for greater influence as per their national interest. A new competition can take a novel proposition and anything can be happened. Peter Hop Kirk believes that in new configuration, nobody can predict futuristic scenario with certainty.

Hence new research is required on challenges and prospects in post-9/11 era with reference to Sino-Pakistan strategic relationship, where internal transformation is taking place between two significant Regional Security Complexes.

Both the fame authors Alastair Lain Johnston and Robert S. Ross in their volume, “New Directions in the Study of China’s Foreign Policy” (2006)\(^82\) concentrated upon the changing dynamics of Beijing’s foreign policy especially its emerging role in global economic institutions.

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\(^82\) Alastair Lain Johnston & Robert S. Ross, New Directions in the Study of China’s Foreign Policy (Stanford: University Press, California, 2006)
The writers have made efforts to examine traditional issues including globalization. Thus the legendary work of both the writers is required to be applauded.

However, there is requirement to judge the ever changing strategic behavior of China through an analytical analysis while Beijing is growing and rising incessantly where structure of security in emerging Asian Supercomplex is shaping dynamics of Pakistan-China’s strategic relations.

Owen Harries, Editor of the book titled “China in the National Interest” (2003)\(^\text{83}\), argues that in emerging novel scenario, America’s option has been reduced to a stark choice between engagement and containment in case of China. The writer has pointed out that the real and relevant questions should be given terms engagement, containment and balance to economic and commercial significance. It has been observed that America’s option has been reduced to a vivid choice between engagement and containment of China. But irony of the fate is that there is no such simple choice for US leadership either to engage or to contain the rising China. The constant growth of China has created multifarious strategic challenges and prospects in the region, which definitely need a deep and novel analysis.

In his book “Deterrence Theory and Chinese Behavior” (2000)\(^\text{84}\) Abram N. Shulsky explains that Beijing is appearing as strong reginal and global actor that would play an effective role in 21\(^\text{st}\) century in Asia. It is need of hours that US to address the rising giant of Asia through deterrence theorem as a part in US foreign policy well in time.

Therefore, better understanding regarding Beijing’s military, economic and trade capabilities would assistant in crisis management to avoid any military showdown with any state. The Regional Security Complex framework provides an opportunity to assess China’s national interests that are bringing it closer to Pakistan.

In the volume, “China’s Foreign Relations” (1998)\(^\text{85}\), a famous author Denny Roy states that China leadership’s emphasis on economic development is entailing two major corollary strategies at the same time. The first is participation in economic activities and second is

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\(^{83}\) Owen Harries, ed., China in the National Interest, (New Brunswick: Transaction Publishers (USA), 2003), xi

\(^{84}\) Abram N. Shulsky, Deterrence Theory and Chinese Behavior, (RAND Publications, 2000)

favorable political environment. It has been noted that the Cold War era saw China had attained liberation and consolidated its independence. Now China is seeking to close the gaps in political, economic and military capabilities separating it from the other great powers. China is striving hard to take what it sees as its rightful place as the prominent state in Asia. Thus it is required to determine the China’s position in the Asian Supercomplex viz-a-viz other actors of the regions through a deep-rooted strategic study through a new research.

In the book, titled “China: The Next Superpower, Dilemmas in Change and Continuity” (1998)\(^8\), Geoffrey Murray attempts to examine that China is on the verge of becoming a superpower. The superpower that has preceded it over the ages has all significantly shaped the world order and China is unlikely to be any exception in the particular arena. The writer has focused the continuity would prevailed till rising power of China. However, on declaration of superpower most demanded change would become imminent through new world order.

An investigation is required to judge the China’s credential of a superpower and to consider that what influence it would make upon the neighborhood in general and the world at large especially in lights of findings of RSC theory.

In “Soft Power: China’s Emerging Strategy in International Politics” (2010)\(^7\), Mingling Li says that soft power is depicting a quite popular concept in global affairs. It is interesting to note that Joseph Nye coined the terminology of soft power in 1990 in his book; Bound to Lead, the particular terminology has been appearing in governmental policy plans, discussion in academia and print and electronic media. The writer has pointed out that China adopted soft power as a strategy in global affairs and successfully implemented the new conception in its foreign policy.

The concept of soft power has become quite popular since 1990s. The soft power is providing a distinguished context concerning with Beijing’s foreign policy as well as on its security policy. It is need of the hour to examine all essential pros and cons and trajectory of


\(^7\) Mingjiang Li, Soft Power: China’s Emerging Strategy in International Politics, (New Delhi: Pentagon Press, 2010),1
Beijing’s rise in short, medium and the long term and its ramifications upon the Asian Supercomplex.

In “Managing the China Challenge: Global Perspectives” (2009)\textsuperscript{88}, Quashing Zhao and Guoli Liu, address the global view of the topic managing China challenge, offering unique and often controversial perspectives on the nature of rising China. Rising China and managing its challenge remained an important issue in global defence and strategic studies in recent times. New scenarios are emerging including US response to the China’s challenge, Tokyo’s shifting strategy toward a rising China, possibility of China’s strategic partnership with Russia and implications of uni-polarity for China and its ramifications upon regional/interregional panorama.

Yong Deng in the analysis “China’s Struggle for Status: The Realignment of International Relations” (2008)\textsuperscript{89}, describes that at end of cold war, Beijing felt herself into a severe global crisis having formidable issues at politics at home as well as in its foreign policy. Yong Deng provides a distinguished detailed analysis of Beijing’s applauded rise from a corner to the central stage in post-cold war era. It is valuable contribution of Yong Deng towards the answering of the burning questions that how China has realigned itself in global hierarchy as well as in great power politics with regional and global happenings in order to adopt a global way within the international arena.

Dr. Raja Muhammad Khan in his study “Pak-China Strategic Relations: Regional and Global Impacts” (2013)\textsuperscript{90} mentions that Pakistan relations with China are connected with the current scenario of regional security and Chinese continued apprehension on the spreading terrorism and extremism. He has asserted that Pakistan must not weaken against terrorist groups rather crush them with iron hand. Pakistan is leaving no stone unturned to crush the evil of terrorism, extremism and separatism. As a result China would not have any need to look elsewhere to neutralize the impending threat of terrorism in its autonomous region of Xinjiang.

\textsuperscript{88} Quashing Zhao & Guoli Liu, Managing the China Challenge: Global Perspectives, (Abingdon: Rutledge, Oxon), 2009, i.

\textsuperscript{89} Yong Deng, “China’s Struggle for Status: The Realignment of International Relations” (2008) i

\textsuperscript{90} Dr. Raja Muhammad Khan “Pak-China Strategic Relations: Regional and Global Impacts” Regional Studies, XXXI, no.1 (Winter 2012-13).
Wang Zaibang, in his study “Chinese Vision of the emerging world order” (2011) illustrates that emergence of China is a positive factor for building of a harmonious world as Chinese masses are pursuing the philosophy of “peace is most valuable.” The writer has apprised that China has been peacefully rising by maximum avoiding hegemony and power politics in the region. Chinese claim that most powerful china means most harmonious globe.

Sadat Hassan, in his research article “Indo-US Nuclear/strategic Cooperation: Chinese Response” (2012) apprises that US adopted both competitive and cooperative approaches towards China’s rise. US approach is a combination of engagement and balancing mechanism. US are desirous for binding China with existing norms, regulations and rules through multilateral engagements. The author pinpoints that US cannot altogether stop the rise of China, which is an open secret on global horizons. US have already engaged India, Japan and Indonesia as she still has ability to define strategic outcomes in Asia Pacific.

Dr. Amman Memon, a fame Pakistani scholar in his article “Emerging Regional Equations in South Asia and Eurasia” (2011) accentuates that the US defence arrangements with India have created a deep sense of insecurity amongst the small nations of South Asia including Pakistan. The defence pact has helped India’s shifting balance of power in South Asia in its favor. The growing Indian power in the region has compelled China, Pakistan and other nations of the region to reexamine their foreign and strategic priorities.

Andrew Small highlights that Beijing-Islamabad strategic relationship is based upon their shared mistrust with New Delhi. Pakistan-China partnership is significant for new emerging geopolitical order in Asia continent consisting from Indian rise to post-America drawdown in Kabul, from danger of nuclear terrorism to natural resource development in region as well as constructing pipelines and shipping ports. The writer argues that Pakistan-China partnership is further strengthened in perspective of Washington-New Delhi cooperation. He has focused upon Beijing-Islamabad nuclear cooperation, Taliban factor in the region and presence ETIM in North Waziristan. He has underscored that Beijing-Islamabad partnership strengthened owing to

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91 Wang Zaibang, “Chinese Vision of the emerging world order” Strategic Studies, XXXI no.1-2 (Spring & Summer, 2011)
93 Dr. Aman Memon, “Emerging Regional Equations in South Asia and Eurasia”, Regional Studies, XXIX, no.2, (Spring, 2011)
perpetual dilemmas Beijing facing between pre-requisite of stability in the region and rising competition with Washington and New Delhi. Islamabad falls within parameters of Beijing’s geostrategic needs “from its take off as a global naval power to its grand plans for new silk road connecting the energy fields of the Middle East and the markets of Europe to the mega cities of East Asia”. 

Pakistan has successfully driven out hard core members of ETIM from North Waziristan in recent military operations in FATA.

Some strategists consider that geopolitical scenario around New Delhi’s neighborhood can be transformed owing to different developments e.g. uncertainty on geo-political economy, instability within borders of Afghanistan, enhancing influence of regional factors, migration issues, adversarial climate changes as well instability within Pakistan’s milieu. Multifarious security and strategic challenges cause to regional and interregional cooperation. There is dire need to review the Indian policies in emerging new scenario within the South Asia region. New Delhi needs robust economic development alongside strong defence capabilities.

In a nutshell, essential literature review on interregional/global view of the topic is offering unique perspective from realists, offensive realists and institutionalist power transition, interdependence and constructivists. US response to China’s challenge is being worked out and novel Japan’s shifting strategy towards rising China has been taking place. Moreover, Beijing’s soft power concept has become quite popular in the international affairs. Soft power concept provides unique analysis on Beijing’s “current foreign and security policy but more significantly on the trajectory of China’s rise in the long run”. In consequence, it is proper to deliberate upon bilateralism, regionalism and inter-regionalism/globalism through an analytical study.

There is a need to weigh out that in lieu of rising Beijing’s power in Asia, how the significant actors of the South Asian region are looking forward towards Chinese economic and military prowess and by the same token China has started embarking on a policy of expanding geopolitical and commercial influence in the region by developing strong strategic and economic ties with East and South Asian states.

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1.4 **Gaps in Literature:** The foregoing literature review indicates that the existing body of literature on Pakistan-China Strategic relationship has glaring gaps, which are required to be filled. These include:

i. no particular study through the continuum of Regional Security Complex (RSC) in the context of emerging Asian Supercomplex has ever been made on Pakistan-China Strategic Relations in post-9/11 era. Balance of Power scheme has mostly been used by the Analysts to discuss the dilemma of security or trilemma spectrum.

ii. no comprehensive study is available showing the dynamics of Pakistan-China strategic relations, regionally, interregional/globally having implications on regional stability and security in South Asia.

iii. little major work at doctoral level is available on *The Dynamics of Pakistan-China Strategic Relations: Challenges and Prospects in Post 9/11 Era* especially with reference to *Regional Security Complex Theory*.

The preceding discussion shows that the state of Pakistan has been suffering from the security dilemma vis-à-vis India and considers China as dependable strategic ally. This is reinforced by pattern of amity and enmity between Beijing and New Delhi. Hence a detailed analysis is required for bridging the literature gaps by pondering on structure of security in emerging Asian Supercomplex which is shaping new dynamics of Pakistan-China strategic relations in post-9/11 arena.
China-Pakistan ties have evolved into a strategic and economic relationship over the last many decades. Security cooperation is an important central piece of this relation. China-Pakistan Economic Corridor (CPEC) has added new dimensions to the cooperation. India’s overt opposition to CPEC and its increasing competition with China’s expanding regional clout has created a complex security situation, which can be explained best through the prism of Regional Security Complex Theory by Barry Buzan and Ole Waever. The study deploys RSCT theoretical framework to understand and explain the dynamics of Pakistan-China strategic relations since 9/11.

The theory as propounded by Barry Buzan and Ole Waever argues that the threat travels more quickly and easily over the short distance as compared to long distances. As such security interdependence owes to the regional based clusters, which are called security complexes and sub-complexes. Within this context, a combination of three complexes - emerging Asian Supercomplex, South Asian Regional Complex and sub-complex of security in Afghanistan - become relevant to the study.

2.1 Core Concept of Security

Before application of the most relevant theory in perspective of the South Asia with dominant factor of China and two important players in the region i.e. Pakistan and India, it may be appropriate to have a brief overview of the significant theories of war and peace in the realm of International Relations. The burning question can be answered through the philosophical underpinnings of war and peace with significant emphasize on the perpetual issue that how and why war occurred which remained main concern of the classical as well as modern writers of the international politics. Realists such as Thucydides, Hobbes and Machiavelli consider that world’s imperfections are the result of forces inherent in human nature. On the other hand, liberals such as Rousseau and Kant conceive man is naturally peaceful as the law of nature dictates him.

harmony and cooperation. The interest of the states is competitiveness and a state remains in search for power. Nature of international system is anarchic, balance of power sigma continued, bipolarity and multi-polarity as well as Regional Security complexes remained useful concepts. Morgenthau and E.H. Carr have founded traditional realism whereas Kenneth Waltz founded neorealism. Structural realism was supported by Kenneth Waltz.

On the contrary, liberalism is rooted in the idealist and classical liberalist traditions and is oppose to the previously dominant theory of realism. Major proponents include Doyle, Mansfield, Rummel, Russets and Snyder etc. Liberals argue that war and conflict are not inevitable in the international system. Cooperation is desirable and possible. Cooperation generates peace. Neoliberals emphasize the importance of international institutions, regimes and conventions which can mitigate the negative effects of anarchy. Liberals’ ideas include peace, democracy, freedom, market economy, internationalism and Human Rights etc. Security is vital conception in the eyes of realists as well as liberalists.

Conceptual analysis of security started with Wolfers’ article published in 1952. In the same sequence in 1965, P.G. Bock and Morton Berkowitz lamented that “there have been very few attempts…to define the concept of national security.” \(^{96}\) Klaus Knorr started survey of the field of security in 1971 by mentioning his real intention to “deliberately bypassing the semantic and definitional problems generated by the term ‘national security’”. \(^{97}\) Richard Smoke in 1975 expressed that international politics had “paid quite inadequate attention to the range of meanings of ‘security’. \(^{98}\) In 1991, Barry Buzan mentions the security as “an underdeveloped concept” and observed lack of “conceptual literature on security prior to 1980s.” \(^{99}\) A few attempts to redefine security have been made at the end of Cold War. Buzan mentions five possible reasons and explanations to neglect the vital concept of security. \(^{100}\) Firstly, concept of security is difficult to understand. However, he emphasizes that now this conception is no more difficult to comprehend. Buzan along with Ole Waever provided comprehensive analysis of

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99 Buzan B., *People, States*, 3-4
international security through their work on *Regions and Powers: The Structure of International Security*. Secondly, there is an overlap between concept of power and security. Hence confusion remained prevalent in scholarly discussions. Thirdly, critics of realism had shown lack of interest in conception of security. Fourthly, security scholars remained too busy with developments in technology, nuclear weaponization and policy. Thus these scholars have given low priority to conception issues and had shown lack of interest in detailed explanation of security. Fifthly, policy makers find ambiguity in conception of ‘national security’. However, David A. Baldwin opines that “on balance, none of Buzan explanations is very convincing.”

Hans J. Morgenthau in his work *Politics Among Nations: The Struggle for Power and Peace* addresses the issue of security through military, which means armament. Actual motive of armaments is the fear of attack or feelings of insecurity. Devices like collective security or a global force can also become helpful. The motivational force and need for armament would disappear as the nation found new stratagem i.e. security they were seeking to attain through armaments. “Since the end of the First World War, all politically active nations of the world have been, at one time or another, legally committed to two such devices: collective security and an international police force.” In collective security, the issue of security is no more concern of the individual nation.

The concept of security is defined by Barry Buzan by saying that “security is pursuit of freedom from threats.” This definition condenses the meaning of security for establishing singular scientific goal for future research projects. This definition is leading towards the conceptual analysis. Conceptual analysis is a comparative scrutiny of all definitions with sole purpose that is developing a comprehensive definition. Conceptual analysis formulates a common denominator by showing that “common conceptual distinctions underlying various conceptions of security.”

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101 Baldwin, David A., The Concept of Security, 9
103 Morgenthau and Thompson, *Politics Among Nations*, 451
regarded as “essentially contested concept.”

On the contrary, Wolfers considers that the concept of security can be “dangerously ambiguous” and it should not be used without additional specifications. Baldwin has formulated series of the questions including; how much security, security for which values, security for whom, security from what threats, in what time period, by what means, at what cost – which should make analytical framework for study of security.

Traditional school of thought adheres to the realists, defining security as freedom from objective military threat for the sole purpose of state survival in an anarchical international system. Stephen Walt’s definition of security studies expresses traditional understanding of the issue. He defines the security studies as “the studies of the threat, use, and control of military force.” This approach is founded on ontological view point that social truth is primarily result of the material forces. Similarly, F. Ejdus mentions that “the social relations as well as security threats are result of material factors and that they exist objectively.”

Basic technique for theories of securitization is positive method. Positivist approach is that social facts should be regarded as things, such as the case of natural sciences. Causal relationship and laws of social phenomenon need to be discovered through description and arranging noticeable facts. Analyzing and observing object and subject and their analysis is alienated in the particular case.

Barry Buzan and other wideners have challenged the traditional concept of the security studies both vertically and horizontally. Considering horizontal dimension, wideners consider that security concept has been expanded from military onto economic, political, environmental and societal sectors. By considering vertical dimension, the altered security concept is opened to referent objects other than the state (social group, individual and humanity as a whole). Buzan, Waever and de Wilde mention that “referent objects: things that are seen to be existentially threatened and that have a legitimate claim to survival.” Notwithstanding, critics such as Ejdus considers that “social relations and security threats are actually the result of an inter-

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106 Baldwin, D., The Concept of Security
subjective ideal social construction and that they do not exist objectively, independently." It is pertinent to mention that methodological interpretive post-positivism assumption is that an unbreakable unity existed between object and subject. Nevertheless, constructivists’ opinion is that the realists’ theories play a greater role in constructing and defining that what the facts actually are. Having said so, distinction need to be existed between the “real” and “perceived” threats seized to be occurred. The gist of the discussion is showing epistemological approach that is main goal of the security studies which is required to understand social reality rather than its explanation.

Copenhagen School has given most significant contribution including securitization theory, Regional Security Complex Theory and security sector approach. The proponents of Copenhagen School stood firmly on wideners’ side. One considers the concept of security only to certain referent objects (such as the state) and to some kind of security threat (such as military), now the question arises that “what quality makes something a security issue” that ultimately arrives at the center of the controversy. Criteria are required to distinguish and separate a security issue from the non-security issue. Barry Buzan applied multi-sectoral approach and widened the scope of security threats in relation with characteristics of peculiar referent object. Buzan identified sectors including economic, military, political, societal and environmental. Copenhagen school highlights that “security is the move that takes politics beyond the established rules of the game and frames the issue either as a special kind of politics or as above politics.” Buzan presented argument that security at individual level is related to the security at the state level and the security in international system.

Barry Buzan and Gowher Rizvi highlight the concept of security in their book *South Asian Insecurity and the Great Powers* by indicating that security is wider concept than power. Security involves all desires, capabilities and fears of an individual state. Security is relational phenomenon and “we cannot understand the national security of any given state without understanding the international pattern of security interdependence in which it is embedded.”

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110 Ejdus, F. Lecture held at the Diplomatic Academy, Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Belgrade, January, 2007
111 Buzan, B., Weaver, O. and de Wilde, J., *Security – A New Framework for Analysis*
112 Buzan, B., Weaver, O. and de Wilde, J., *Security – A New Framework for Analysis*
Two levels are apparently known. The bottom level is individual state. On the top level we deal with structure and characteristics of the global system. Principal factor for defining a complex is high level of threat which is being felt mutually among two or more states.

The discussion gathers that security refers to a situation that minimizes threat level to a state. Historically, military security dominated international security debate in the realm of international relations. But it changed over the period of time and modern concept of security further articulates different dynamics such as it can be security of an individual state, regional security or even the global security. National security remained important for a state throughout the history of international politics. In consonance with traditional concept of security, the human security is also significant in perspective of overall national and regional security.

2.1.1 Security and Power Balancing

Conventional wisdom in international politics is that the states are used to balance against the rising powers. What constitutes a balancing behavior is a significant question. Morgenthau specified two methods of balancing; either by decreasing the weight of heavier scale or “by increasing the weight of lighter one.”\textsuperscript{114} Latter strategy is relatively more plausible to the states at the time of defending their security or survival against the powerful rival and thus draws broader attention towards balancing. Dominant idea of balancing is called as hard balancing. Strengthening of military capability of a state is known as internal balancing. Formation of counter alliances is known as external balancing. Concept of soft balancing articulates tacit, limited or indirect balancing strategy through “coalition building and diplomatic bargaining within international institutions.”\textsuperscript{115}

Hard balancing is a significant idea, which follows the conceptualization of balancing. While looking at the defence budget in internal balancing whereof considering quantitative exploration, the enquiry deliberates upon three indicators, which fall upon arms buildup of a state including (a) aggregate defence spending involving arms procurements. (b) Modernization in military capability e.g. raising new battalions, advance training and preparation program matching up the capability of the rival state; and (c) repositioning the armed forces for enhancing

\textsuperscript{114}Morgenthau and Thompson, \textit{Politics Among Nations}, 135
technical enactment in battlefield and strategic advantages. Walt defines external balancing as alliance either formal or informal relationship of “security cooperation between two or more sovereign states.”¹¹⁶ The particular definition perceives exchange of benefits and commitment level for both concerning parties; serving the relationship or failing to come to the agreement would definitely costing something, and it would be compensated in another manner. The flexible technique in defining alliances is extremely concerning in explaining informal security relationships. In post-cold war arena, security relationship has already become more informal. Countervailing alliance has been termed into informal security partnership, showing variations in strategic environment and to form modality that how states have adjusted their balancing strategy.

Pakistan remained engaged in hard balancing and soft balancing strategies against expansionist India. Hard balancing against India is more evident as compared to soft balancing. Pakistan seeks balancing against military might of India by making alliance with China and modernizing its military as well as weaponization. Pakistan focused on nuclear and missile technology ensuring a credible deterrence against the potential threat from India. Islamabad is trying to catch up New Delhi to deter any threat from it. The complex triangular relationship among Islamabad, Beijing and New Delhi may be defined as ‘elusive’ in strategic terms. Islamabad is focusing on technological weapons and modernization of armed forces with the help of Beijing to balance the threat from the enemy instead of ‘man-for-man’ and ‘gun-for-gun’ strategy. Hence for Islamabad regional security has become all the more significant.

2.1.1 Regional Security

Regional security incorporates self-help phenomenon under anarchical behavior and collective arrangement at regional level. The term region is closely linked with various continents or sub-continents such as Asia, Europe, Africa, North America and Latin America. If we take example of Europe, it can be narrowed down to two scenarios: fragmentation and integration. Fragmentation is a reiteration of balance of power rationality within the continent of Europe and reappearance to some form of standard Regional Security Complex (RSC). Integration is recurrence of RSC by just a single global level state.

It indicates that in the given structure of global system, there are some possible formats that any region can adopt. It depends upon politics as well as structurally and compatibility factors with other conditions. “The concept of RSC is the basis for the general typology of the forms a region can take and thus enables the predictive element of what change is more or less likely given various scope conditions.“

With this background, China’s foreign policy has focused on development and the very purpose would be attained when there would be most needed peace in region as is denoted by Wu Chunsi, a prominent Chinese Scholar. Beijing has been striving hard for peace with neighboring states while focusing on development. Hence China’s struggle is for promotion of regional stability and regional peace. It is doing so by focusing on three element of foreign policy: a) enhancing multilateralism as well as regional cooperation; b) increasing interdependence resulting in diminishing insecurity; c) employing Asian ways to deal with persisted regional issues.

In Chunsi’s opinion these are new concepts on maintaining regional peace by China. Beijing has already changed its passive behavior regarding global system and regional cooperation as well as multilateralism. China is now actively participating in global organization. Beijing’s regional security method is based on conception of collective security. The existing example is the Shanghai Cooperation Organization (SCO), established by all bordering states of China. Pakistan and India have joined Shanghai Cooperation Organization in 2015 and enhanced the significance of regional peace mechanism by dislodging the elements of extremism and separatism in the region.

The Chinese approach to address the regional issues in Asian ways is quite interesting. China cannot keep herself isolated in the global village. For protection and promotion of its national interests, Beijing would have to play a significant job in international arena. US, Russia and European Union can enhance their role in Asia Pacific region. The significance of Asia Pacific is enhancing day by day in international affairs. Within the specific sphere, China is rising as great Asian power. China is the main player in resolution of thorny regional issues of

117 Buzan and Waever, Regions and Powers, 86
Asia Pacific in the specific Asian ways. China considers that role of Asian rising powers requires to be enhanced in the regional development and regional stability.

Wu Chunsi disagrees with the common argument that Asia Pacific has geopolitical dynamics where Beijing has taken to assertive diplomacy. Asia Pacific is confronting different and complex security issues, which cannot be attributed to simply rise of China. The issues show that Asia Pacific is undergoing profound transition and transformation where old security mechanism inherited from the cold war arena is ineffective. Thus, Asia Pacific region needs new security architecture adaptive to the essential requirement of the post-cold war era. The new security architecture must employ the thinking of cooperation, embodying Asian states national interests in regional security. The new security mechanism should have accommodativeness for divergent cultures, pathways of regional development and “incentivizing all parties of the region to learn from each other so as to jointly create a sustainable security environment for the region.”

2.2 Regional Security Complex Theory

The regional security structure can be analyzed through Regional Security Complex Theory (RSCT). Buzan defined security complex as “a group of states whose primary security concerns link together sufficiently closely that their national securities cannot reasonably be considered apart from one another”. It was further elaborated as “a set of units whose major processes of securitization, de-securitization or both are so interlinked that their security problems cannot reasonably be analyzed or resolved apart from one another.” Hence, the main concept is that the essential part of securitization and de-securitization processes in the global system shall mark them into the regional clusters. Such regional clusters are durable and different from international level processes of securitization/de-securitization. Each level requires a separate scrutiny and required to be critically analyzed as the interplay among various regional security complexes.

120 Buzan and Waever, Regions and Powers, 44
It fits to examine that how the structure of security in emerging Asian Supercomplex is shaping dynamics of Pakistan-China strategic relations in twenty first century? The significant RSC theory indicates conceptual framework of emerging structures of international security for 1+4 regions/subsystems (one superpower i.e. US, four regional powers i.e. Japan, China, Russia and European Union and regional security complexes such as South Asia Regional Security Complex and East Asia Regional Security Complex). The RSC theory elaborates that regions are an appropriate level of analysis of security study.

Secondly, regions provide useful organization and essential structure for empirical study. Thirdly, regions provide analytical scenario for deep analysis of possible development in near future. Thus, the RSC theory provides a global map wherein patterns of amity and enmity are depended upon the proximity and specific roles of friend, enemy or rival. It defines security from bottom up to the regional or local actors’ level. Nevertheless, state remained as the central unit. Though economic, environment and social security remained the subject of the security in the regions yet they could not override all the significance of territorial security. This proposition provides with historical perspective and current level of international security in cold war era and post 9/11 scenario, logical predictions at domestic, regional, interregional and global level especially on the South Asia region.

It would be appropriate to discuss, the essential assumption and proposition of the RSC theorem in the context of the debate about how China will behave at regional as well as at global level in short, medium and long terms. However, it would be apposite if one may deliberate on rising China in the context of South Asia region, especially with reference to Pakistan.

2.2.1- Structure of RSC: The essential structure of a RSC expresses following four variables:

(i) Boundary, which distinguishes the Regional Security Complex from its neighboring states.
(ii) Anarchic structure, meaning that RSC be composed of two or more units.
(iii) Polarity, covering distribution of power amongst different units/actors and

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121 Buzan and Waever, Regions and Powers, 53
(iv) Social construction, covering in vague patterns of amity and enmity amongst the actors/units.

2.2.2- Assumptions RSC: The assumptions of RSC theory are as follows:

(i) Threat travels easily over short distance as compared to the long distance. Thus security interdependence is structured into regionally based clusters, which are called as the security complexes.

(ii) RSC theory comes near to constructivism when it seems breaking from neorealist by treating concept of distribution of power and patterns of amity and enmity as essential independent variables.

(iii) RSC theory is mainly focusing on geographical factor to warrant regional security. Regional structure covers Africa, Balkan, East Asia, CIS Europe, EU Europe, South America, North America, Middle East, and the South Asia.

(iv) The theory indicates that impending three levels i.e. individual, unit and system analysis are insufficient to explain most vital security in pre and post-cold war era.

(v) It underscores that Regional Security autonomy is most appropriately applicable to international politics. Thus regions and powers are most vital in the structure of international security.

(vi) In the global security, there existed two Regional Security Complexes i.e. Standard and Centered. Standard Regional Security complex is following the fundamentals of Westphalian security complex wherein regional powers formulate security complex within the region. Centered Regional Security Complex is dominated by superpower or great power in the region.

(vii) There are three main benefits of the RSC Theory. It provides us firstly, deep level of analysis in regional security structure. Then, the theory can organize an empirical study. Finally, theory based scenario can be drawn on the foundation stone of various alternatives and forms under the aegis of Regional Security Complexes.
(viii) Through the prism of regional dynamics of security, RSCT discusses international power structure by avoiding both extremes of oversimplifications of the unipolar version and de-territorialisations of the globalist visions of new world disorder.

2.2.3: Characteristics of RSC Theory

The theory of regional security complex provides broader lines to analyze the China-Pakistan relations in the context of regional politics. The operationalization of RSC and application provides a roadmap to untangle the security matrix.

i) Threat Phenomenon: RSC theory developed with dynamics of political and military sectors within prevailing global system that consist of US, the four regional powers including China, Japan, Russia and European Union and some other regional structures.

South Asia being one important region is built on the dyadic pattern that India and Pakistan maintain. But dyadic patterns only are insufficient in explaining the security environment in South Asia, since it’s more complex and also involves China as the non-dyadic party. The region of South Asia is in volatile situation due to arms race, crises instability and threat of accidental war. Indian main military deployment remained against Pakistan and not against rising China. China condemned Indian nuclear tests and declined to take up the Indian belligerent statements as serious challenge and avoided overt countermove such as nuclear tests from the Chinese side in retaliation to Indian tests. India through rhetoric tried to enhance Indian status as rising power in Asia, competing with China in Asian Supercomplex.

On the contrary, India factually created serious threat to Pakistan in South Asia and aggravated security dilemma already continuing between two neighboring states. India and China traditionally have territorial dispute but at the same time common threat due to terrorism. Though, Pakistan has no direct conflict with China but terrorism may pose challenges for China-Pak relations. On the other hand, Pakistan and India have more hostile feelings for each other due to historical wars which have become sharp due to Afghanistan factor.

ii) Proximity: The issue of proximity plays an important role in RSC. At regional level, states are closer to each other and even their security dynamics cannot be considered in isolation. Thus implications of geographical proximity on regional security interaction are utmost effective. But
all states are also interconnected to the global web of security interdependence. “Anarchy plus distance effect plus geographical diversity yields a pattern of regionally based clusters where security interdependence is markedly more intense between the stated inside such complexes than between states inside the complex and those outside it.”

In this perspective, South Asia provides an example where rivalries and wars of subcontinent establish a distinctive pattern. However, causal effects of cultural and economic patterns on security patterns cannot be altogether ruled out. Thus defining RSCs through security having causal relationship is open for scrutiny. Some clusters of regions are linked whereas other zones are crisscrossed through a few lines. These clusters as suggested by RSCT are territorial based. There are some thinly populated terrains between RSCs. However, there are non-territorial based clusters and these are about international terrorism.

Proximity in context of South Asia was not guarantor for amity or co-prosperity as economic integration had long been hindered by hostile relationship between New Delhi and Islamabad in the past. Amongst the least integrated regions of the globe, one is South Asia. In this region, Islamabad has never extended Most Favored Nation status to New Delhi under WTO regime and both South Asian states have less participation in the global trade system. Simultaneously, India is not ready to talk over the Kashmir issue and continuously propagating Pakistan as terrorism promoting country.

The United States assigned a pivotal role to India in Afghanistan that further made the situation in South Asia more complex. Beijing’s interest and proximity to this region has further complicated the region. Pakistan is more inclined to play the role of balancer for China and India is serving more for the US interest. But after the launching of CPEC, the China besides Pakistan has to work with all other regional players including India and Afghanistan. It has made the security of South Asian more complex.

iii) Securitization: The RSCT is significant for three reasons. Firstly theory provides appropriate level analysis in security examination. Secondly, the theory can organize empirical study for deep analysis. Thirdly, theory based results can be predicted keeping in view the basis of RSCs. RSC is established through interplay on one side existing anarchy and balance of power concerns

122 Buzan and Waever, Regions and Powers, 46
while on other side there is weight of local geographical proximity. Barry Buzan and Ole Waever have categorically mentioned that “simple physical adjacency tends to generate more security interaction among neighbors than among states located in different areas. Adjacency is potent for security because many threats travel more easily over short distances than over long ones”. 123

Security interdependence is focused regionally by a unit/state. Superpower has wide ranged vital interest and has extensive capabilities to conduct rivalries over the whole globe. Even superpower considers the logic of geography and adjacency in its security relationship. On the other hand, states have limited capabilities confining to their vital security interests and activities limited to their neighbors as is the case of Southeast Asia and Southern Africa.

An independent regional rivalry as is the case of Pakistan and India create opportunity for a great power to penetrate in South Asia. Balance of power phenomenon encourages local state/unit to get assistance from outside and through this mechanism local rivalry pattern is linked with international system. On the same analogy, South Asia in the cold war arena presented complete picturesque wherein Islamabad was linked to Washington as well as Beijing while New Delhi was depended upon erstwhile Soviet Union. Hence such connection between regional security and globalized security pattern is manifestation of prevailing anarchic system in the region since 9/11.

iv) Amity-enmity patterns: The phenomenon can be understood through the analysis at the regional level and further extended to the global factors on one hand and domestics factors on another side. The particular patterns who fears from whom is not created from system level analysis rather generated inside in the particular region by combination of politics and materialistic conditions as well as history. For states in international system, though global level is important, yet regional level is most significant rather crucial for a deep rooted analysis on most demanded security. For global powers, regional level is unquestionably defining both required options including results of projecting their own competitions and influences. Thus regional level is most concerned for the states/unit within a particular region but also it is essential for globalized powers.

123 Buzan and Waever, Regions and Powers, 45
Two significant questions are required for essential settlement here. Firstly, that the presence of a RSC is not within the meaning of broader regions building or region constructing. One may not debating or defining such as example of Europe to make out a specified definition that that how states/actor would construct Europe and then start defining the boundaries of Middle East and then declare that it has become an acceptable region’s definition within meaning of a particular region. Thus RSC is an analytical idea which has been applied and defined. It is a fact that within the regions, RSCs are constructed socially then defined and applied but these RSCs are socially constructed regions. RSCs are defined in such a way that such reasons are depending upon in vogue security practice of the states/actors. South Asian Association for Regional Cooperation (SAARC) could not influence the security politics of South Asian region rather this organization could not bridge over the ever existed gaps/loop-holes and never succeeded in creation of economic interdependence in coincidence with European Union or ASEAN or other strong regional organizations/alliances. Rather it has become an easy prey of Islamabad-New Delhi security dilemma.

Another significant issue is whether RSCs are overlapping or exclusive. Lake and Morgan made an argument that RSCs have overlapping membership. While Buzan and Ole Waever consider that RSCs are mutually exclusive and distinctive. The theory should take it as a starting point of specific analysis while taking the global map, the world has to be demarcated and divided up to mutually exclusive RSCs, insulators states and international actors. RSCs are distinguishable from one another by degree of virtual security connectedness and triviality. Regions are definitely illustrious from international powers by occupying a different level of scrutiny.

In the structure of anarchy, the edifice of RSCs is determined by two types of relations including patterns of amity and enmity as well as powers relations. The power operates at the regional level known as famous concept of balance of power in which powers are interlinked to one another, takes part in same networking of the relations. Hence RSCs just as global system of which they are sub or mini-structures can be analyzed in form of polarity starting from

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124 Lake David A. and Patrick M. Morgan, *Building Security in the New World of Regional Orders*, (University Park: Penn State University Press, 1997), 343
unipolarity to bipolar and tri-polar to even multipolar dynamics. Thus it is imperative to differentiate regional actors from the international or global actors.

Second component i.e. patterns of amity and enmity less highlighted in International Relations theories than powers having an early exclusion. In the more thrilling accounts of power theory that is maximalist realism, those are merely considerations of powers relations, one fears whosoever manipulates with greater powers. Low intransigently, they are seen as much closer than comparatively a fluid movement of distribution of power, which is “parallel to Krasner’s classical discourse of regimes as the intermediary variables and many others modified realism. More realistically the pattern of amity and enmity has been assigned a historically derived reality of their own as a socially constructed dimension of structure.”

The South Asia Regional Security Complex where Pakistan is located has been conflictual in nature and less influenced by global overlay. Here the pattern of enmity between Pakistan and India has been shaped by their animosity, rivalry and continued distrust. China relationship with India has been largely shaped by its border dispute, distrust and rivalry with India, though moderated by growing economic and trade interdependence between the two neighboring states and thus pattern of enmity and amity is continuing.

It is an undeniable point that cold war did not transform the South Asian regional security complex either externally or internally. The inclusion of Afghanistan into South Asian Security Complex and deployment of US and NATO forces in that country in wake of 9/11 did transform South Asian RSC internally and externally but it added complexity to the region. Further growing closer Indo-US strategic partnership, US pivot to Asia policy, and New Delhi’s proactive engagement with East Asia through Act East Asia Policy and China becoming observer in SAARC has created an environment where China has launched the One Belt & One Road (OBOR) initiative including China-Pakistan Economic Corridor (CPEC). These developments are pushing South Asia into larger Asian Supercomplex.

It would be appropriate here to deliberate upon the pros and cons of RSC theory.

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2.3: Operationalizing RSCT: From South Asian RSC to AsianSupercomplex

The main utility of the theory is structuring practical framework organizing empirical study of regional security. RSCT specifies four levels of analysis, according to Buzzy Buzan and Ole Waever.

i) Domestically in the states of the region, “particularly their domestically generated vulnerabilities are the state strong or weak due to stability of the domestic order and correspondence between state and nation.”\(^\text{126}\) The particular vulnerability of a state would define the type of security fear it had – while another state or a group of states makes a structural threat even they had not antagonistic intents. Terrorism and independence movements or intrastate territorial disputes are vulnerabilities within the South Asian Complex of the domestic level. Terrorism even is the core concerns of China in Xinjiang and is perceived as threat to CPEC route and a major challenge to Pakistan’s internal security. Terrorism is a major problem for India and Afghanistan as well. But this phenomenon becomes complex when India through Afghanistan not only promotes terrorism in Pakistan but alleges Pakistan as a terrorist state.

ii) State to state ties generates the security region as such. At this level interstate territorial disputes/issues and trade agreements of the South Asian countries with one-another and with China are important to address.

iii) The particular region’s interface with neighboring regions, which is considered to be comparatively more limited and the particular complex is to be defined by internal interaction being most significant. For instance China’s interest in SAARC and India’s desire to move towards ASEAN more effectively.

iv) The global powers role in specified region and interaction between regional security structure and the global level.

By analyzing the aforementioned four levels together, it constitutes the security constellation. RSCT allows the concept of sub-complexes, which is just a half level within the regional level. It may not be out of place to mention that the sub-complexes have the same definition such as the case of a larger RSC. Mini-complexes or sub-complexes present a distinguishing pattern of security inter-dependence i.e. fixed up in the broader pattern, which

\(^{126}\) Buzan and Waever, *Regions and Powers*, 51
ultimately is defining Regional Security Complex. An instance can be seen within the Middle East, wherein distinguishing sub-complexes are working in Levant including, Syria, Jordan, Lebanon, Egypt and Israel. In Gulf including Iraq Iran and GCC states where a lot of interplay is showing that both sub-complexes might not be separated indicating that all the Middle Eastern gulf countries are antagonistic to the state of Israel and constant rivalry between Iraq and Syria.

The min-complexes or sub-complexes are not essential characteristic of RSCs though they are quite common, particularly when some RSC is consisted upon large number of states/actors. The stratagem of sub-complexes crushes in the beginning what might be upsetting the cases of overlapping membership between RSC and the sub-complex. For instance, if Gulf and Levant are observed as a separate distinctive RSC, Iraq would have membership of both of them. However, owing to RSC and sub-complexes, Iraq has membership of Gulf sub-complex as well as the larger Middle Eastern RSC. The RSC theory asserts on security of regions or subsystems wherein internal security interface existed, actors fearing neighboring states and going into alliances with other regional powers and mostly their borders of specified regions are demarcated geographically. Here zones of fragile interface existed or such zones are employed by an insulator such as the matter of Afghanistan, Turkey and Burma, which feels burden from both sides but never allow RSCs becoming one. The insulator conception by RSCT is defining that a particular place is employed by one or more than one units/states, where greater regional security dynamics are existed. Such concept is different from buffer state, which is placed within center of strong patterns of securitization and not existed at the edge of function of securitization.

The theory highlights that regional level would definitely be operative one and sometime it is also prevailing or dominant. It is cleared that the four levels concerning security constellation instantaneously remained in play. Hence, the peculiar question, which of the levels dominates is not thoroughly deliberated by RSCT, though the particular circumstances can avail probability either way. Defining balance amongst different levels depends upon empirically drawn observations of peculiar cases and in that way the RSCT has passed the given test. Assumptions including prevailing circumstances of post-cold war era have enhanced the share/salience of most required regional level concerning with security. Just in the social paradigm individual psychology might be more influential in elaborating behavior in one
individual case, family structure in another matter and national society is yet another format. So, in international/global world, domestic factors might dominate some security constellations, regional level another one and the global level yet another format.

It has been observed that regional level may or may not dominate but it would definitely be in play in some important sense and can never be dropped out of the scrutiny. Rising terrorism in the region is point of concern for China as well as Pakistan but both the countries are on the same page to counter terrorism, extremism and separatism at regional as well as at the interregional/global level. Beijing applauded the endeavors and sacrifices of Islamabad in the Global War on Terror (GWOT) and fierce efforts to combat the most wanted terrorists in the region. China agreed with the Pakistan’s views that terrorism may not be linked to a particular religion or ethnic group rather it is a universal phenomenon due to which whole humanity has been adversely suffering. “Incontestably, Post-9/11 situation further strengthened Sino-Pak strategic ties.”

The RSCT in its descriptive application concentrates on people working empirically on particular regions. It has a descriptive language, a technique generating order out of the problematical data and definitely writing structural account. Theory deliberates upon systematically linking study of internal conditions, relations amongst units/actors in the region, relationship between the regions and interplay of regional dynamics with global working powers. Theory provides structural logic, notably hypothesis that regional patterns of conflict are shaping the lines of intervention or intercession by global level actors. In such a way regional patterns of rivalry may be lined up and it further reinforced by global powers even though the global pattern may have little or even nothing to do with establishment of the regional pattern. RSC theory presents “some structural logic, most notably hypothesis that regional patterns of conflict shape the line of intervention by global level powers.” In the South Asian context, 9/11 reinforced India-Pakistan rivalry in Afghanistan and intensified regional rivalries by accelerating Indo-US strategic partnership on the one hand and Pakistan-China enhanced strategic cooperation, now reflected in CPEC. It has been noted that in conflict formation, security community and security regime goes in parallel lines with Hobbesian, Wendt’s, and Locke and Kantian social structures.

127 Dr. Moonis Ahmar, Dean of Faculty of Social Sciences, University of Karachi, personal interview Jan 1, 2018
128 Buzan and Waever, Regions and Powers, 52
The chief difference is that conflict formation is wider than Wendt’s Hobbesian model. Security regime is rather a narrower concept than Lockean model. The same parallel lines can be drawn with famous three traditions of English School including Grotius, Hobbes and Kant on which Wendt draws his idea. RSC Theory delivers that conflict formation is caused from amity-enmity paradigm “through security regime to security community”\(^{129}\).

We have already discussed about Centered regions, where centralization of power in a region reaches to a point wherein center is basically to be seen as a participant in global security constellation amongst the greatest powers. Here regional dynamics are no longer to be seen as a subsystem in which primary concerns and fears of a group of states/actors are defined by one another. One relevant example is North America. European Union integration process might be a thought of moving towards another process, rather in different way, talking in terms scenarios of fragmentation and integration. Yet we have not disclosed whole range of possibilities with essential details nor did one attain benefits of a transparent work out distinction between regional and global levels.

On the contrary, European Union case points out further trouble. European Union not only moved intensely towards the finishing stage of enmity as well as enmity-amity spectrum, rather it established joint-institutions which are sufficient for raising serious questions that whether EU qualify for a global anarchy. Principally, one can imagine a high degree of security community also accompanying institutions but it is easier to understand that developed security communities would normally become more institutionalized and further integrated. In European Union centeredness never attained from the dominance of a single actor/unit but coming from a chunk of collective institutions by a group belonging to several European states, which have adopted actor capabilities as a right. It can be asked that what was going inside the EU, either their own domestic politics or global impacts existed but such a burning question is not so easy to be answered with clear soul and mind. This scenario becomes sui generis, which transpires that an effective process of integration is going on and replacing the hierarchic and anarchic political construction. Thus RSC in a single security community would shape into a single actor/unit. It is undeniable fact that Pakistan and India remained two hostile states in pre and

\(^{129}\) Barry Buzan, *Security Architecture in Asia: the interplay of regional and global levels*, (London: The Pacific Review, 16 no.2 2003), 163
post-cold war era. South Asia remained a conflicting formation region and there is no possibility of establishment of security community in near future. Patterns of amity and friendship existed between Islamabad and Beijing while enmity relations existed between Islamabad and New Delhi.

A centered RSC is more stable if center establishes one type of penetrated or open hegemony wherein even dominated actors are provided opportunity to have a policy process of the imperial center. Even in tougher case, the center is a paradigm of units such as European Union and previously US when there is still anarchically structured. Imperial centered regions maintain their own format chiefly owing to power and low chances to endure upheaval in anarchical distribution of power e.g. breakup of Soviet Union Empire. These considerations goes equivalent to Kratochwil’s and Wendt’s concepts that “how social structures get internalized superficially if coercion is accepted as legitimate mechanism”. Adam Watson’s term legitimacy can be used in the same context as the designation of acceptance amongst the peripheral units/actors, to be accepted even as centeredness correct and “natural and not enforced against some enduring standard of maximum independence”.

2.3.1 Emergence of Asian Supercomplex

A transparent example is Beijing, which has played effective and central role in cold war arena as a great power of Northeast Asian RSC but also played an effective role in standard RSC in Southeast Asia and even in South Asian RSC. Beijing performed effective role in South Asia region through its formidable ally i.e. Islamabad, which is a strong opponent of India in the region, meaning thereby that New Delhi would have to keep spare sufficient energies to balancing China. During cold war era, similarly Beijing fought out a horrible war against Hanoi. US have a weak role in South America. Adjacency phenomenon devises the relationship qualitative dissimilar with global power involvement in a RSC as choice of disentanglement is not certainly accessible in same way. Russia or US can make decision whether that state may participate in Southeast Asia RSC in similar manner as was China (but she cannot penetrate without endangering Beijing’s status as great power in Southeast Asia).

130 Alexander Wendt, *Social Theory of International Politics*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999)
Formal rule violation is existence of great powers that is in contrasting to standard RSCs, one is expecting those to create the substantial level of interregional security dynamics. Rather than expecting interregional security dynamics weakening with interaction of global level as well as regional level, thus one is expecting them to be strong enough. The spillover effects might be as a result of activities of single great power as is the matter of Beijing. It might be impending consequences attained from dynamics of a great power RSC, if we suppose that Tokyo and Beijing are going to become serious friend or foe in continent of Asia. In either way, severe spillover effect would fine bind together.

Otherwise, it would distinct RSCs into Supercomplex with single or more than one great power at its cherished core. Similarly, security constellation would become definitely more elaborated than usual in such cases. Another undeniable fact is that instead of existence of only three levels including domestic, regional and global, one can add another fourth level i.e. superregional level by replacing generally weak interregional level. In the Supercomplex, surely interregional level would be strong enough and sustainable, as it remained between Northeast Asian RSC and South Asia RSC but never be much strong and overriding the regional dynamics in infiltrated RSC as in this particular matter, the case of South Asian RSC. If interregional dynamics overriding the regional dynamics as was happened during 1990s between Southeast Asia and Northeast Asia, the spillover definitely subordinates the previous structure of regional security dynamics.

Thus in the scenario, component RSCs within the specific Supercomplex would undergo external transformation resulting into merging and forming a new larger RSC as is the example of East Asia RSC. As is the concept of sub-complexes, Supercomplex picks up the specific cases having dual memberships of actors/units. RSC theory separates independently even when division becomes quite difficult i.e. “crucial insulators, sub and super-complexes and dense interregional dynamics that might signal possible transformation.”

Analyzing the cases of RSCs, one has to give concentration to the entire spectrum of levels focusing on security constellation including at regional, domestic, superregional and even at global levels. It is quite interesting that in Asian spectrum, all levels simultaneously remained

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in active play. All relevant actors are facing difficult dilemma, Japan and China may not be in a position to disintegrate their regional as well as their superregional parts from the third global level. Supercomplex is the case of standard RSC, weaker powers may look for support of great power or superpower against the regional power as is evident in several East Asian states, which are reinforcing their alliances and conducive ties with US in particular offsetting Beijing’s growing power and sway in this region.

In standard RSC, impending results of such alliances and alignments would vibrate generally at regional level whereas indirectly at global level only. If rival superpower activities existed in specific region, such as the case of Middle Eastern region in cold-war era, the same spectrum will prevail. However, particularly in case of a great power RSC or with Supercomplex, this configuration would direct vibrate at global as well as at regional levels. It is another harsh fact that Soviet Union in Afghanistan and US in Vietnam and now in Afghanistan misunderstanding the interplay of various levels can come at extraordinary price.

The *Regional Security Complex Theory* has provided detailed analysis on different types of structures/standards. As a consequence, key features of various security complexes with essential examples and different types are elaborated as under:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Types of Security Complex</th>
<th>Type</th>
<th>Key features</th>
<th>Example(s)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>&quot;Standard&quot;</td>
<td>Polarity determined by regional power</td>
<td>Middle East, South America, Southeast Asia, Horn, Southern Africa</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Centered Superpower</td>
<td>Unipolar centered on a superpower</td>
<td>North America</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Great Power</td>
<td>Unipolar centered on a great power</td>
<td>CIS, potentially <strong>South Asia</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Regional Power</td>
<td>Unipolar centered on a regional power</td>
<td>None</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Institutional</td>
<td>Region acquires actor quality through institution</td>
<td>European Union (EU)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Great Power</td>
<td>Bi-or multipolar with great powers as the regional poles</td>
<td>Pre-1945 Europe, East Asia</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Super-Complexes</td>
<td>Strong interregional level of security dynamics arising from great power spillover into adjacent regions</td>
<td><strong>South Asia and East Asia</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Sources: Buzan and Waever, *Regions and Powers*, 62
2.4: RSC Theory and Pakistan-China Strategic Relations

Buzan and Waever elaborated Regional Security Complexes during the cold-war era with a comprehensive map showing as Map1 depicting as the Regional Security Complexes in the continent of Asia in Cold-War Era. On the other hand, Map2 is demonstrating the regional security complexes in post-cold war era including South Asian RSC and East Asian RSC. Therefore, essential pictorial details of Insulator, Buffer, regional boundaries, Supercomplex boundaries, sub-complex boundaries and great powers have been highlighted. Interestingly, in post-cold war era, Northeast Asian RSC and East Asian RSC have been amalgamated and even another continental state i.e. Australia drew into the Asian Supercomplex.

Sources: Buzan and Waever, Regions and Powers, 98
RSCs in Asia Post-Cold War

Great Powers

Insulator

Buffer

RSC boundaries

Supercomplex boundary

Subcomplex boundary

Note: This map depicts the region circa mid-1990s. The NE and SE Asia RSCs have merged, and Australia has been drawn into the East Asian RSC.

Sources: Buzan and Waever, Regions and Powers, 99
The main issue with overlay is determination of boundaries between overlay and weighty penetration in any RSC by great powers. The main differentiation is that outside actors rather than interests and interface of local actors are formulating security dynamics of region. Usually, great powers/actors have sufficient armed resources in the region. Overlay can be transparently judge when it has been imposed by military might, either by invasion or by occupation by outside actors. Historically, when Great Britain occupied South Asian region, Britain had overlaid subcontinent local system, imposed upon South Asia strategic unity and a set of security determined by Great Britain regarding colonial rivalry with Russia in the context of great game. Problematic issue was semi-voluntarily consent of overlay, when local actors were agreed to subordination to some extent to outside hegemon and accepted stay of their armed/military forces at their local territory. Since 9/11, US have overlaid the South Asia Regional Security Complex by penetrating in the subcomplex of Afghanistan, which has greatly influenced by external transformation of the South Asian region.

In opinion of Buzan, it not only terminates connotation of level but also evades the conception of region, which is not meant geographical proximity. He expresses that for instance, if US is dependable actor in EU security, US would be considered as a member of European Security Complex as is the case of Italy. Similarly in East Asian region, they look at main regional actors as Japan, China, Russia and US. Barry Buzan in contrasting mentions that regions are comprehensively defined and external actors are considered in tune of penetration or overlay and not as member of RSC. Moreover, Beijing and Tokyo are significant members of East Asian Complex but contrarily Moscow and Washington are not members of the particular security complex. Buzan mentions that global power can penetrate in any security complex but “their regional dynamics nonetheless have a substantial degree of autonomy from the patterns set by the global powers.”

A reader may agree to Lake and Morgan. One’s position of compelling difference is between actors of a particular region and outside powers even though they have been equally participating in security dynamics of region such as the case of US in NATO while OSCE can be seen as extremely territorial phenomenon. Showing any specific analysis, it appears suitable to contain the relevant actors in each regional case regardless of the fact that whether these units are

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133 Buzan and Waever, *Regions and Powers*, 4
situated in the region or seems in located in another RSC or even at global level. Practically, their apparently more realistic approach has some deep analytical issues. Finally it was not the primary question of what conception provided the easiest picturesque, but which conception produced best theory. Most significance of this framework is exploring the impending question of levels in post-cold war order of the global security hence its strategy devises out of regional perspective.

RSC theory is structured to begin at regional level, diagnosis to interregional level as well as global levels and down to domestic level. RSCT fundamentally not determining which level is dominant, leaving behind an empirical question is required to be scrutinized. Buzan and Ole Waever have extensively debated on Europe, Americas, Middle East and Asia. The general sequencing shows that geo-military politico security agenda still dominating in Asia and Middle East. In Africa progressively post-modern security agenda is prevailing while in Europe and Americas non-military agenda is prevalent. It can be judge from periphery to the core though yet not perfect. Though regionalist perspective is putting Tokyo in Asia yet its individual standing as a postmodern unit is existed. The analysis enlightened on formative process, operation, transformation, present conditions and prospects of RSCs in the particular part of the globe under deliberation. The RSCs are to be investigated in terms of the following key points\textsuperscript{134}:

i) “Historical legacy of units/states in RSC and the method this conditions the principal security actors and agenda they generate.

ii) Principal security actors, issues, and referent objects defining the RSC, and the nature of the processes that create and sustain it as a process formation.

iii) The essential structure (anarchy or integration, power distribution and patterns of amity-enmity, securitization-de-securitization).

iv) The interregional dynamics between the RSC and its neighbors.

v) The global dynamics between RSC and forces and actors from the global level.

a. The relative weights of the domestic, regional, interregional and global levels and securitizing versus de-securitizing trends.

\textsuperscript{134} Buzan and Waever, Regions and Powers, 88
b. The most likely scenario(s) for the future given the current condition and dynamics of the RSC.

c. A concise and viable framework for implementing *Regional Security Complex Theory* (RSCT) to Asian Supercomplex for Pakistan-China strategic relations has been developed. Essential features of the framework have been elaborated here.”

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Asian Supercomplex and China-Pakistan Strategic Relations: Post 9/11</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Type</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
| Evolving Asian Supercomplex   | -Strong interregional level of security dynamics arising from great power spill over into adjacent regions.  
- Mild conflict formation & weak security regimes  
- Emergence of an Asian Supercomplex due to rise of China. | - A thin but significant Asian Supercomplex in operation  
- Asian Supercomplex linked closely to power transition at the global level  
- China-US strategic competition intensified at regional level.  
- US overlay weakening in the region.  
- China’s growing dominance and assertiveness in the region.  
- Hedging security dynamics that are driving the emergence of the Asian Supercomplex.  
- India’s Act East policy; increasing economic, political & strategic engagement in the region.  
- US supporting India as a balancer in the ASC.  
- India-China competing engagements in each other’s home regions  
- India forging partnerships with Japan and Australia. |
| South Asian RSC                | - Continues to be a Centered RSC on a great power.  
- Domestic level in South Asia remains largely unchanged.  
- No change in the patterns of amity and enmity.  
- South Asia displays ‘weak cooperative interstate norms.  
- Trends about polarity within South Asia remain generally unchanged. | - Rising links between South and East Asia; cross-regional memberships of various IGOs  
- China becoming more active in South Asia.  
- India looking beyond South Asia without resolving problems in the region.  
- India’s material superiority growing but it lacks legitimacy and the coercive capability to dominate the region. |
| Mini Complex of Afghanistan    | - Despite all the turbulence and intervention Afghanistan, remains an effective insulator.  
- Increased political fragmentation of Afghanistan under the impact of its own internal conflicts and the many interventions by both neighbors and great powers. | - US search for military victory in Afghanistan.  
- Indian engagement in Afghanistan grows since 9/11.  
- Intensification of Indo-Pakistan rivalry into Afghanistan  
- US supporting India’s role in Afghanistan. |

Sources: Compiled by the author
This study seeks to evaluate that whether at bilateral level, the patterns of amity between Pakistan and China would evolve into strategic complex interdependence? Whether the patterns of enmity between Pakistan and India would continue on the same lines as in the past with re-escalation of hostilities? Whether owing to deepening partnership of India and US, New Delhi’s growing status within Asian Supercomplex is further going to be enhanced? To keep effective bipolarity in South Asia with reference to RSC, what socio-eco-strategic steps are required to avoid any further declining as a state and pole in South Asia? To what extent CPEC can help Pakistan retaining effective bipolarity in South Asian RSC.

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Chapter 3

REGIONAL SECURITY COMPLEX: BILATERAL DYNAMICS OF PAKISTAN-CHINA STRATEGIC RELATIONS

This chapter discusses the dynamics of Pakistan-China strategic relations within broader context of Regional Security Complex. It argues that Pakistan-China relations are driven by shared strategic interests and cover defence, civil nuclear cooperation and maritime security cooperation as well as economic cooperation, now encompassing China-Pakistan Economic Corridor.

This Chapter has been divided into two main parts. The first part examines the dynamics of Pakistan-China strategic relations in post-9/11 arena under umbrella of conventional security/defence cooperation. The second section deals with Pakistan-China economic cooperation including China-Pakistan Economic Corridor (CPEC), which has placed new foundation stone for geo-political and socio-economic relationship between the two neighboring states.

3.1: Dynamics of Security Cooperation

Pakistan-China strategic relationship is based on the convergences at bilateral, regional and interregional levels. Chinese leadership always acknowledged Pakistan’s continuous and unwavering support to Beijing on key issues. Pakistan helped China to break isolation from the western world and reestablish formal contacts after Nixon’s visit in 1972. Recently, both countries decided increased cooperation on civil nuclear power and other security fields after the US put her weightage behind Indian regional dominance. Here Conventional Security Cooperation has been elaborated in three phases. Afterward Civil Nuclear cooperation has been discussed. Maritime/Naval Cooperation has been deliberated through Chinese Frigates and Pakistan Navy as well Joint Naval Exercises by Pakistan and China.

3.1.1: Conventional Security Cooperation: Since the border agreement, 1963, Pakistan remained the principal recipient of Chinese military assistance and weaponry technology in South Asia. Till 1980s, China’s share went up to one third of arms import to Pakistan that was “far ahead of its other major suppliers”.135 Security relationship promoted in mid 1960s with

Chinese loan & military hardware and shifted towards collaboration in arms production in 1970s and 1980s. Raison d’etre includes western arms expensive supply to Islamabad with stern conditionality. Symbol of friendship include HMC and manufacturing of Al-Khalid Tank, Chinese frigates and joint venture of aircraft fighter JF-17 Thunder. Fighter JF 17 Thunder, a multi-role light aircraft combat has been developed with joint efforts by Pakistan and China under their fabulous strategic collaboration. A cost effective aircraft meeting the rising strategic and tactical needs of Pakistan Air Force as well as other forces. The first prototype was successfully tested in 2003.

On the same analogy, keeping in view the defence production capabilities of Pakistan, Al-Khalid Tank has been jointly developed being a modern Main Battle Tank (MBT) by Islamabad and Beijing in 1990s. It was further developed from Chinese Type 90II tank. Al-Khalid is named from the legendary figure of Islamic history General Khalid Ibn Al-Walid. First production model entered into service with Pak Army in 2001 while 300 tanks had been inducted in the armored. Al-Khalid tank is based on Soviet and Chinese designs. Al-Khalid is lighter, swift and smaller than modern western specie of MBTs. Al-Khalid is fitted with NBC protection and equipped with automatic fire suppression system, armed with fully stabilized 125 mm smoothbore gun with an autoloader.

Pakistan-China security cooperation can be seen phase wise as 1954s to 1979 first phase; 1980 to the end of cold-war era as the second phase; end of cold-war era to 9/11 era as the third phase and post 9/11 era as the fourth phase.

i) Early phase of cooperation: Pakistan China early period of security cooperation is extended from 1954 to 1979. In this first phase, Pakistan arms imports from China mainly consisted upon small arms & light weapons mostly given as assistance to Pakistan as a sincere and foremost friend of Pakistan. It was a nice gesture to differentiate China from the Soviet Union, a zero sum influence chessboard game played between the two communist giants in 1960s. In cold war era, Pakistan remained a formidable ally of China against the Soviet Union. Pakistan and China worked together with the USA “to prevent Soviet expansion.” 136 Utterly disappointed from the West particularly USA as a result of Pakistan-India 1965 War, military and political leadership

of Pakistan was looking forward to self-sufficiency, indigenous technology and vibrant defence production industry. China weaponry and international market was sufficient to cater Pakistan military requirements and essentialities.

The Chinese arms were lower in worth, easy in operation and maintenance as per prerequisites of the Pakistan Armed Forces. Above all, China was most trustworthy and quite reliable in deliveries at the time of need. For China, Pakistan remained a valuable recipient of small arms & light weapons. Pakistan was the gateway to Islamic world. On the other hand, India enthused with hegemonic aspirations and designs in the South Asia and her relationship remained strained with China since 1960s. India fought war on border issue in 1962 with China. Notwithstanding, India became furious with Pakistan in 1965, when a horrible war broke out between the two neighboring states. Indian longstanding animosity and perpetual belligerency with Pakistan compelled Pakistan to become faster friend of China.

China remained a trustworthy friend of Pakistan and provided political as well as moral support to Pakistan against her powerful hegemonic foe India. It is relevant to quote Ramesh Phadke that “during the 1965 War, China was ready to open the second front. China issued a deadline to India to unfreeze the assets of its Bank of China in Bombay and Calcutta and warned India of serious consequences if India failed to provide a speedy and clear cut reply. China had some 60,000 soldiers across the border in Tibet”\(^\text{137}\) to materialize the given threat.

Security matter consultation remained an important component of security and defence cooperation. Chinese MiG and T-59 tanks became part and parcel of Pakistan Armed Forces in 1960s. “On 23\(^{rd}\) March, 1966 Chinese MiG 19 and T-59 tanks were included in the Pakistan’s Day Parade, as Pakistan’s first official acknowledgement of the receipt of Chinese weapons and equipment.”\(^\text{138}\) Premier Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto had given priority to security consultations between two neighboring states and used to include senior military officials in his delegation to China and these official remained in China for prolong deliberations on military affairs. “The Chinese government accepted Pakistan’s proposal in 1976 to include some of Pakistan’s armament

\(^\text{137}\) Phadke, *China’s Power Projection*, 199  
\(^\text{138}\) Rizvi, *Pakistan and the Geo-strategic Environment*, 155
requirements in its long term defence production program so as to ensure a regular and reliable supply.\textsuperscript{139}

By 1980s, China was declared as the fourth largest arms exporter to Pakistan, after the Soviet Union, the US and France. By 1990s, China became successful in capturing 8 percent of the global arms market. Pakistan and China Security cooperation had undergone drastic paradigm shift. The thrust of the Chinese security and defence cooperation and the strategic raison d'être to arms export to Pakistan was mainly minimizing the Soviet influence in South Asia.\textsuperscript{140}

Commercial strings were also attached to the small arms and light weaponry exports. Prima facie, the alteration in Chinese aptitude was largely concerned with the Chinese improvement of relationship with the USA and her neighboring country India during the period 1980s. However, above all estimation, Pakistan China ever survived partnership remained constant and proved strong enough to face the odd challenges of the cold war era. In common parlance, interaction between two militaries of Pakistan and China enhanced after the Soviet’s invasion in Afghanistan. Five military delegations exchanges were taken place in 1980. Out of them one was from Pakistan’s side and four from Chinese side for mutual essential cooperation as well as essential consultation to “underline their desire to pursue a shared strategy for regional security problems.”\textsuperscript{141} Subsequently such delegations at the average of 2-3 were exchanged with the Head of the State as the leader of the delegation and also accompanied by senior military officials and commanders. The visiting Chinese Command always reaffirmed their support to Pakistan’s territorial integrity and independence.

China provided arms to Pakistan either on soft terms or interest free loans or on grant basis. These soft loans contributed tremendously for enhancing defence capabilities of Pakistan. China remained single major supplier of weaponry to Pakistan till the initiation of the US aid/assistance in 1982. “China supplies in the sixties included MiG 19 (F-6), Ilyushin 28 bombers, T-59 tanks, and Shanghai’s II mortar gunboats, equipment for three infantry divisions

\textsuperscript{139}Rizvi, \textit{Pakistan and the Geo-strategic Environment}, 156
\textsuperscript{140}http://pu.edu.pk/images/journal/csas/PDF/12\%20Mubeen\%20Adnan_30_2.pdf (accessed on March 31, 2016)
\textsuperscript{141}Rizvi, \textit{Pakistan and the Geo-strategic Environment}, 156
and small arms and ammunition.”142 China provided essential financial resources and technical knowhow to establish ordinance factory at Ghazipur, near Dhaka, which started working in 1970 and Pakistan deprived of this factory when Bangladesh declared her independence.

In 1990s Beijing started the process of normalization with Moscow and New Delhi. This process had definite repercussions for Pakistan. At the juncture, Pakistan’s “role in weakening the declining Soviet Union by assisting the Afghan resistance was sharply reduced. For China, Pakistan relationship was important largely in terms of balancing India, but even here Beijing and New Delhi were moving towards a dialogue on their outstanding border disputes. Further there were reports of Chinese concern about the spread of Islamic fundamentalism into its own Muslim minority provinces.”143 In spite of all the odds and tests of the time Pakistan and China remained earnest friends and China always extended her helping hand in defence and diplomatic arena to Pakistan at the hours of need.

ii) Cooperation in Post-Cold War Era: The end of the cold-war era indicates the third phase of Pakistan-China security cooperation. The quantity and quality of the small arms and light weapons considerably deteriorated in this period. Overall China plunged to fifth biggest exporter of the conventional arms to the developing countries “accruing $600 million.”144 Russia another competitor from the Communist bloc was main adversary of China in arena of the conventional weapons with quite low prices in international arms market. The export of Chinese convention weapons adversely fell down by gigantic seventy percent during the period of 1990s. Even at this critical juncture, Pakistan’s relationship remained effective and strapping with China as strong as a rock. China deserves to be considered as unrivalled regional power and a cherished alternative to the diminishing powers of the USA in Asia Pacific. Soviet Union in pre and post-cold war arena developed the strong defence partnership with India.

Pakistan was left with no plausible choice except import of conventional weapons from China and looking for lucrative and strong security and military cooperation with Beijing. Nevertheless, Beijing considerably improved relationship with India in 1990s after signing their

142 ibid
agreements in 1993 and 1996 and adoption of various Confidence Buildings Measures (CBMs) in both neighboring countries. Beijing had adopted pragmatic approach and headed towards the more even handed diplomatic policy particularly on issue of Kashmir wherein Beijing went for bilateral agreed settlement instead of backing Pakistan for right of self-determination for Kashmiri masses. In common parlance, security and strategic relationship between Beijing and Islamabad remained strapping and longstanding in the region.

Pakistan has natural proximity of the province of Xinjiang and binding faith of Muslims provides her a natural influence in the region and heightened the prospects of security cooperation with China. China considers need to develop economically to her far flung regions and bring them in parity with the developed cities of China and is striving hard and considered an important objective of her foreign policy to “ensure domestic cohesion and internal stability by reducing regional inequalities and improving the standard of living of its population” and to “accelerate the economic development of its far flung frontier regions to keep them peaceful and to extract their cooperation in the overall national effort.”

iii) Security Cooperation after 9/11: Pakistan took immediate decision to participate in the US led Global War on Terror after the terrifying incidents of World Trade Centre on September 11, 2001. In post-9/11 arena, Sino-Pakistan interdependence has tremendously been increased. Arrival of the US military forces in Afghanistan following post 9/11 debacle and declaration of GWOT remained troublesome and thorny developments in connection with internal and external security apprehension of China. Chinese were openly talking about the southern discomfort and top military commander Fu Quanyou warned the US that in this region “counter-terrorism should not be used to practice hegemony.” Beijing was transparent on issues of terrorism and counterterrorism. However, after realizing the scenario best in the national interests of Pakistan and Pakistan’s leadership convincing the Chinese leadership, Pakistan China military and security relationship remained stable/affected even in the era of all these odd and challenges. The recent history indicates that the security relationship between two countries has attained tremendous momentum. On invitation of Pakistan, in 2002, China started construction of deep

145 Phadke, China’s Power Projection, 43
water seaport at Gwadar in the strategically important province of Baluchistan on the Makaran coast.

In common parlance, over eighty percent of Chinese crude is being imported through the Strait of Malacca. Chinese seaborne security has been suffering from the dilemma of Strait of Malacca.

In post-9/11 era, another strapping phenomenon of cooperation in Pakistan China collaboration surfaced that was rising terrorism in the region. The world generally had not taken seriously the jinx of terrorism in pre 9/11 arena. The horrifying incidents of 9/11 opened the glaring eyes of the globe and Beijing in particular about the spectra of terrorism and fundamentalism in the global village. China was already keeping an eagle eye on the issue of Uyghur in her autonomous region of Xinjiang. In an unprecedented move China handed over a list to Pakistan of the Chinese terrorists linked with Al-Qaeda outfits and asked Islamabad to “initiate action against these groups.”\textsuperscript{147} Indian analysts considered that China had moved forward China–Burma-Pakistan triangle to keep India strategically under constant pressure.

Pakistan and Burma have already working on security cooperation and Pakistan exported small conventional weapons for the Burmese Armed Forces.\textsuperscript{148} Pakistan China and Burma already joined for intelligence sharing regarding “India’s force deployments in north east India and the Bay of Bengal.”\textsuperscript{149} China remained concerned with the terrorism and separatism problems connected with the issue of Uyghur’s in her region of Xinjiang.

Pakistan China security cooperation remained strong and pivotal in the South Asia region. Pakistan China strategic and military relations remained deep rooted and outstanding. On the other hand, India considered Chinese dominance of the region as grave threat to the Indian security. In 1980s India China relations were at the lowest ebb, while Pakistan China strategic and military relations remained as usual on the top gayer. Amazingly, even on development of friendly relationship of Sino-India and other peripheral states, Sino-Pakistan entente had shown incredible firmness and stability over the years and decades. India and China fought border war

\textsuperscript{147} “China hands over list of terrorists to Pakistan”, \textit{The Dawn}, January 17, 2004.
\textsuperscript{148} \url{http://insider.pk/world/the-strategic-importance-of-pak-myanmar-military-relations} (accessed on January 6, 2018)
in 1962 and had troubled past as Indian had been instigating Tibetan refugees in her country for making upheavals and causing internal source of obnoxious disturbances in China.

Moreover, India has longstanding issue of Kashmir dispute with Pakistan and desirous for friendship and cordial relationship with China so that China may follow a neutral and prudent policy in the region and also untie cordial relations with Pakistan.

However, a noticeable thaw has been observed in Sino Indian relationship due to growing trade relationship. Trade figures of 1990s indicate Pakistan share of bilateral trade with China decreased from 44 percent to 26 percent and “India’s share increased from 35 percent to 46 percent.”\textsuperscript{150} Indian trade with China has been showing a growth of over 5 percent per annum. This phenomenon shows that trade and economic interdependence between China and India has been increasing and both economies have been growing as gigantic economies of the region. At this scenario, India and China has become enormous economic and trade partners in South Asia.

Beijing developed defence cooperation with Islamabad to produce ballistic missiles in tit for tat response to New Delhi nuclear capable Agni V missiles having 5000 KM range covering whole China. Beijing has shown willingness to co-produce ballistic and cruise missile with Pakistan “On Pakistan army chief’s visit to China, the Pakistan military has released information about the missile agreement between China and Pakistan. The agreement about ballistic missiles,” the Chinese spokesperson added. She mentioned while answering a question about a report in the state-run Global Times that “China plans to step up its defence cooperation with Pakistan, including ballistic, cruise missiles besides joint mass production a multi-role combat aircraft.” On his first visit to China, Pakistan’s army chief Qamar Javed Bajwa held talks with Fang Fenghui, Chief of Joint Staff Department under Central Military Commission of China. Bajwa also called on Chinese Executive Vice Premier Zhang Gaoli, Vice Chairman of Central Military Commission, Gen Fan Changeling and Commander of the People’s Liberation Army Gen Li Zhuocheng and discussed regional security, economy, defence cooperation and other issues of mutual interest. This is the first time the official media mentioned about the likely cooperation between the two all-weather allies on the co-production of ballistic and cruise missiles.

\textsuperscript{150} Swaran Singh, “China-India: Expanding Economic Engagement”, \textit{Strategic Analysis}, Vol. XXIV, 2000, 10
During post 9/11 era space technology remained another active area of cooperation between Pakistan and China. Both states have been extending helping hand in arena of joint research and development programs for intelligence gathering from the space. In October, 2008, agreement was signed between Pakistan SUPARCO and China’s state owned corporation, Great Wall Industry Corporation in Beijing to replace the Pakistan communication satellite PAKSAT-1. On August, 2011 Pakistan has successfully launched Paksat-1R into the space from Xichang Satellite Launch Center in Sichuan province of China. The satellite covers all Pakistan, South Asia, Central Asia, Far East, East Africa and Eastern Europe. The new satellite replaced the aging Paksat-1, which has completed its life span of 15 years. Pakistan China cooperation on space tech spread over twenty years. In 1990 Islamabad propelled indigenously developed satellite Badar1 from People’s Replica. In 1991 Pakistan and China formally signed the agreement for cooperation in space technology for peaceful purposes. Beijing provided RMB 222 million ($34.7 million) loan for development of Paksat-1R on concessional loan basis. Pakistan and China cooperation on space is timely and within the benefits of both states. China is looking for market on robust growth of its space expertise. “Pakistan needs assistance with soft loans, training of its scientists and know how in space sciences. This cooperation adds a new dimension for their already robust relationship.”

In October, 2009 an agreement concerning satellite’s ground control system was ratified during Premier Yousaf Raza Gillani’s state visit to China. In June, 2010 an agreement for most warranted finance to the project of “Framework Loan Agreement” was ratified by both states. Under this particular agreement, Pakistan would procure RMB 86.5 million loan from China on concession terms and conditions from Chinese Government to start work on ground control system. Concerned Ministries of both the states have already validated the particular project. Specialists from Naval, Air Force and Army from both states remained engaged for initial of Research and Development and regular commencement of the Space Technology project. Sino-Pakistan space technology cooperation continued alongside the rising Sino-Pakistan

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strategic relations. Sino-Pakistan strategic ties remained stable. Moreover, “the fifth round of strategic dialogue between China and Pakistan concluded in November 2012.”

3.1.2: Civil Nuclear Cooperation

China-Pakistan civil nuclear cooperation is based on the calculus of geo-strategic dimensions, stimulated by the security concerns of both the countries. Pakistan was looking for counterweight against India and ideally the China was the best choice in the region. Indo-China border war of 1962 had shown the tremendous importance of China for Pakistan in the region.

Pakistan-China civil nuclear cooperation and collaboration took serious turn in mid 1980s. Deng Xiaoping was enthusiastically working on reform agenda and was making fundamental changes in all sectors of economies and major policies of the country. Some instances indicate that China supplied “nuclear equipment and services even during the early and late 1970s.” However, passionate nuclear collaboration between China and Pakistan started after signing agreement on nuclear cooperation with Pakistan in 1985. China provided vital civilian nuclear technology to Pakistan.

China became crucial member of IAEA in 1984 and prior to this period Pakistan, China nuclear cooperation was within the framework of the guidelines and not indulging into the nuclear proliferation and trade by both the neighboring countries. After becoming the responsible member of IAEA, China started following the strict framework of the guidelines and principles for future civil nuclear trade and cooperation.

China emphasized on the following principles for civil nuclear collaboration:

- China declared that its nuclear trade and exports should be used exclusively for civilian purposes;

- All nuclear exports should be subject to IAEA safeguards; and

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154 “Pakistan-China strategic talks end”, The Dawn, November 3, 2012
• The recipient country should not transfer the nuclear technology to 3rd state without early Chinese approval.

China focused that the nuclear collaboration with any other country would be for peaceful utilization of nuclear technology. No special concession for Pakistan in this cooperation. However, Swaran Singh claimed that there was leniency on part of China for civil nuclear cooperation with Pakistan. Chinese are still completing their work on reactor designing and they are dependent on others. “But China has certain advantages over India such as an abundance of uranium supply.”

China and India both were striving for leadership of Afro-Asian countries, Pakistan was looking for Chinese strategic and military cooperation despite fundamental difference in political and economic ideologies of both Asian states. Security imperatives were main concerns of the Pakistan’s leadership against India and with the passage of time many other factors added to this relationship as formulate it as most outstanding and time tested friendship. Now Pakistan is considered a time tested and longtime formidable ally of China in the South Asia. Pakistan and China have unwavering and strong relationship of over five decades on their credit. Despite the astonishing fact that there is neither formal alliance nor full-fledged military agreement between Pakistan and China, even then Chinese cooperation with Pakistan covered all the aspects including political, social, military, nuclear, cultural, strategic economic as well as trade collaboration/cooperation. Swaran Singh alleged that China extended to Pakistan “supplies of nuclear and missile technologies components and knowhow.”

Owing to their civilian nuclear cooperation, China helped Pakistan for building 300 MW Power reactors at Chashma. China proved dependable ally of Pakistan when Japanese, French and German firms refused to provide technical assistance and essential components for the nuclear reactor. China extended helping hand in building 50 MW electric power reactors at Khushab. China helped Pakistan in developing plutonium reprocessing facility at Chashma which could not complete due to stoppage of French assistance in 1970s. China signed an

\[156\] Swaran Singh, *India and China the Next Decade*, 73
agreement for comprehensive nuclear cooperation with Pakistan in 1986. Then Chinese scientists provided essential knowhow to Pakistan. Pakistan worked on Research and Development (R&D) on gas centrifuge technology to enriching the uranium. This technology replaced the gaseous diffusion plants technology. Pakistan attained expertise in R&D owing to nuclear cooperation agreement with China. After signing the nuclear cooperation agreement, China is providing scientific products and services regarding technology, research and electric power reactors. China is the strongest source of nuclear development in Pakistan. All nuclear imports from China are under severe safeguards of IAEA and NSG regimes. China is extending help and technical knowhow to Pakistan for safeguarded KANUPP facilities. As part of the civilian nuclear cooperation, China provided special industrial furnace to Pakistan in 1990s. Some reports alleged that the imported industrial furnace from China was used in Khushab facility. The high tech diagnostic equipment falls under dual use regime (DUR). China used to export condensers, water tanks and heaters. China exported to Pakistan power plant computer system in 1997. China Pakistan nuclear cooperation is making tremendous headway.

Swaran Singh claims that after the 1998 test, the world view was that Indian was defying the nonproliferation regime. However, there are strong speculations that “Pakistan is going to sign an agreement for the supply of nine nuclear power reactors from China over the next 10 to 15 years. That is how the nuclear scenario of the next decade is coming into focus.”

Indian strategists alleged that Pakistan’s rapid nuclear development was the result of China Pakistan extensive nuclear cooperation. P.K.S. Namboodiri, blamed that China had “helped Pakistan with technical assistance in the installation of the uranium enrichment plant, and provision of a nuclear weapons design including nuclear test data and the reprocessing technology.” Indian analysts allege that “China might have made available to Pakistan nuclear test site, or be involved in a joint exercise for detonation of a nuclear device.” However, Indian could not produce any substantive evidence for the aforementioned allegations. Indian mostly relied on the statement of Z.A.Bhutto, which was smuggled out of the prison and published in his book from New Delhi alluded towards the Chinese cooperation such as “in the present context, the agreement concluded in June, 1976, will perhaps be my greatest achievement

158 Swaran Singh, India and China the Next Decade, 73
159 P.K.S. Namboodiri, “Pakistan Links: Axis with China”, World Focus, No.55, (July 1984), 17
160 IDSA Review 18, (November, 1985), 877
On the foundations provided by Z.A. Bhutto, Pakistan responded vigorously to the Indian nuclear explosion of 11 and 13 May, 1998 and carried nuclear explosions of 28 and 30 May, 1998. Indian leaders’ belligerent statements especially of L.K. Advani emphasized on Pakistan to roll back the anti-Indian policy and withdraw support from the people of Kashmir for their unwavering struggle for independence from Indian rule and stressed on Indian right to hot pursuit to teach a horrible lesson to Pakistan. Now, Pakistan became one of the de-facto nuclear capable states on the globe.

China has shown his consent for sale of second nuclear power to Pakistan in March, 2004. The 300 MW power plant is to be built at Chashma, next to the already Chashma power plant, which has already become operational in 1999. China has been following the guidelines of NSG and the Chashma 2 (C-2) power reactors have already been placed under the safeguards. China categorically elaborated that Pakistan-China nuclear cooperation is based on foundation of nonproliferation and peaceful co-existence. India remained critical and apprehensive on Pakistan-China nuclear collaboration. Indian apprehension is baseless as China already completed formalities of Additional Protocol between IAEA and China being the first nuclear country amongst the five nuclear weapons states of the globe. China declared that all collaboration of China Pakistan on nuclear energy is under the IAEA safeguards.

It is transparent that China signed in 1993 agreement with IAEA for application of IAEA protections to Chinese civil nuclear stations given to Pakistan. All other members of the nuclear club are following the safeguards of IAEA. However, India remained critical on Pakistan and China for civil nuclear cooperation. On behest of India, the USA kept pressure on China and Pakistan but all weather friendship has been advancing through step by step pragmatic approach on civil nuclear cooperation in the region. China and Pakistan successfully diverted all such undue pressures on the point that no international law has been violated during the process of China Pakistan civil nuclear cooperation. India propagated on selling of special industrial incinerator and high tech diagnostic equipment to Islamabad by Beijing. However, China rejected the unwarranted criticism on the plea that Sino-Pakistan civil nuclear deal is entirely for

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161 Z. A. Bhutto, If I am Assassinated, Vikas (New Delhi) 1979, 203
peaceful purposes. Thus Beijing is making normal civil nuclear cooperation with Pakistan for peaceful purposes and nonviolent utilization of nuclear energy.

China is responsible member of NPT since 1992 and China Pakistan civil nuclear cooperation has sole object of peaceful utilization of nuclear energy. India considers Pakistan China civil nuclear collaboration as counterweight to its nuclear program. On the other hand, most of nuclear facilities of Pakistan are safeguarded and indigenous. China has already become member of Zinger Committee in October, 1997 and all her exports are under the strict guidelines of the NSG. China published its civil nuclear exports control list containing controlled equipment and technologies and nuclear related material.

The Nuclear option remained as only viable option before the leadership of 1970s and 1980s to create balance of power in region against the hostile India which was essential in the long run for continuous peace in the region. Till Benazir Bhutto, Prime Minister of Pakistan came into power in 1990s; Pakistan became de-facto nuclear state. In era of Prime Minister Nawaz Sharif in Pakistan, Atal Behari Vajpayee shocked the world on May 11 and 13, 1998, when India went for three nuclear tests. These nuclear tests created severe imbalance in the South Asia. Foreign Minister Gohar Ayub Khan declared that India will not be without match in their nuclear tests. We are preparing to match hostile India. We have capability for nuclear tests and Pakistan would maintain balance with New Delhi in all sectors. Hence Pakistan went for nuclear testing and consolidated her position as formidable pole in South Asia. As per Buzan and Ole Waever, Pakistan has been losing its position in South Asia RSC owing to her underperformance or natural enhancing weight of its hegemonic rival India.

3.1.3: Maritime/Naval Cooperation

Sino-Pakistan Naval Cooperation initiated in 1971, when Admiral\textsuperscript{163} of Pakistan Navy visited Beijing and led a high powered delegation. It added new chapter of visits of high ranking official of Pakistan to China. Admiral Muzaffar Hassan, Commander-in-Chief of Pakistan Navy who met to Chairman Mao Zedong and Prime Minister of China Zhou Enlai. Prime Minister of

\textsuperscript{163} Admiral Muzaffar Hassan Commander–in-Chief of Pakistan Navy visited Beijing in September, 1971
China had shown his deep concerns over the deteriorating scenario in East Pakistan. He expressed his serious concerns that the slogan of autonomy of East Pakistan could go out of control and can create an ugly situation for the national security of Pakistan. Zhou Enlai ordered PLA Navy Commander in Chief to extend all possible help to Pakistan’s Navy. Zhou Enlai mentioned that “helping friends could not be measured in terms of money.”

In 1971 China took another gigantic step to counter the militancy in East Pakistan and agreed to transfer patrolling crafts without any schedule of payment. However, the patrolling crafts could not be transferred owing to outbreak of horrible War of 1971 and separation of East Pakistan into Bangladesh as an outcome of 1971 War. In 1980s military cooperation between China and Pakistan was promoted showing mammoth growth in transfer of military technology and arms production industries.

Pakistan and China started to explore possibility of sale of F22 Frigates and transfer of technology in 1985. In 1992, Pakistan’s government approved $800 million for purchase of four Jiawei-II Frigates vessel from China. An agreement was signed between Pakistan and China in 2004 for supply of F-22P Chinese Frigates. Hence naval cooperation between Pakistan initiated in 1970s, promoted in 1980s, strengthened in 1990s and further became deep rooted in post-9/11 arena. Pakistan Navy attained fabulous Launcher, Missile (Hia Ying-2, LY-60, C-801-102) Hydro-Folic, Support Ships, Fire Control Radar Frigates and warranted Missile Systems. Islamabad and Beijing have been consolidating their alliance “at both political-strategic and economic levels, whereby balancing against India is the predominant interests.”

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164 Sawaran Singh, ed., China Pakistan Strategic Cooperation, Indian Perspective (New Delhi: Manohar Publisher, 2007), 22
165 Sawaran Singh Ed., China Pakistan Strategic Cooperation, Indian Perspective, 92
a) Chinese Frigates and Pak Navy:

Sino-Pakistan cooperation is continued for building of submarines and most needed larger naval war ships. Beijing extended $750 million loan to Pakistan to build demanded four F-22 P Frigates at Karachi. Islamabad was striving hard for attaining these Frigates since 1990s. Pakistan and China enjoyed stable defence cooperation. “The Heavy Industries Taxila (HIT), which is producing the Al-Khalid battle tank with Chinese support, was itself established with help from China in 1980s called Heavy Rebuild Factory.”\(^{167}\) History shows that small arms, ammunition & defence equipment supply was cut down by our traditional ally (USA) at the odd

hours i.e. during wartime. “Indigenous defence industry thus, becomes compulsion for Pakistan rather than choice.”

In post-9/11 era, in 2004, Pakistan negotiated with China successfully and Beijing extended noncommercial loans at low costs for joint manufacturing of naval ships. The unprecedented contract was signed on April 4, 2006 by reaching to the logical conclusion of essential financial resources and transfer of technology. As per terms and conditions of the agreement, first three Frigates are to be manufactured at Hudong Zhonghua Shipyard at Shanghai China whereas the fourth Frigate to be manufactured at “Karachi Shipyard and Engineering Works (KSEW)”

“Together, China and Pakistan can play a positive role in the future framework of the Indian Ocean region.”

Pakistan-China Frigates Agreement was successfully implemented and the committed four Frigates provided to Pakistan Navy. PNS Zulfiqar, the first Chinese built Frigate F-22 operationalized in April, 2008 and was handed over to Pakistan Navy in July, 2009. In August, 2009 the particular frigate was inducted in Pakistan Navy. PNS Zulfiqar showed full potential during Pakistan Navy “Sea Spark Exercise.” “There is greater need now for ensuring capability to equip our Armed Forces with modern and technologically advanced equipment to undertake the desired operations.”

The PNS Shamsheer, operationalized in October, 2008 and was inducted in Pakistan Navy in December, 2009. Similarly, PNS Saif’s launching was made in May, 2009 and the ship commissioned in Pak Navy in September, 2010. On the other hand, PNS Aslat was handed over to Pakistan Navy in June, 2011. “The agreement was followed by another one in March 2011 to jointly manufacture two missile boats in the Chinese port city of Tianjin.” In perspective of

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168 Commodore (Retd) Asif Majeed Butt, “Defence Industry the options for Pakistan”, *NDU Journal, ISSRA*, NDU, Islamabad, 1


171 “Naval, PAF Chief Witness Exercise Sea Spark”, *The Dawn*, November 10, 2018

172 Butt, *Defence Industry the options for Pakistan*, 1

173 “Pakistan and China to manufacture missile boats”, *The Dawn*, March 3, 2011
geopolitical dynamics, “South Asian geopolitics stands to unfold in a competitive and adversarial relationship in future mirroring similar trends at global level.”

Islamabad and Beijing agreed to enhance the naval cooperation and manufacturing eight F-22P frigates. For further naval cooperation both the states are utilizing the services of Hudong Zhonghu Shipyard, Shanghai and Karachi Shipyard and Engineering Works. The estimated cost to build one Frigate would come to $175 million and “the aggregate cost of eight F22P Frigates is $1.4 billion.” The Frigate has dominant quality ability to fire surface to air missile (SAM) and long range Surface to Surface Missile (SSM). “There is dire need to develop our Armed Forces capability to handle multifarious security challenges faced by Pakistan.”

Moreover, Frigate has close in weapon system, torpedoes, 76 mm guns, depth charges having capability to conduct high tech electronic warfare. Frigate has been given name by Pak Navy as “Sword Ship.” The volume displacement of the Frigate is 3000 tons and is carrying Z9EC anti-submarines helicopters. Sea King helicopters remained in operational in Pakistan Navy but after supply of Z9EC helicopter, Pakistan Navy anti-submarine operational capability further be enhanced. Hence, “In the landmark achievement in July, 2010, the two countries also signed an agreement to joint build frigates.”

On successful completion of 3 Frigates F22P, Admiral Noman Bashir appreciated Pakistan China Naval cooperation in manufacturing of submarines and now bigger machines such as mechanized warships and attainment of Advance Technology for manufacturing high tech weapons and submarines. He announced that in the forthcoming time Pakistan-China Naval cooperation would further be deepened and both states are “determined to build bigger ships than the current F22P Frigates.” Growing Indian influence in Arabian Sea is one point of anxiety for Beijing “particularly since the US-India civil nuclear cooperation deal which worries both

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176 Butt, *Defence Industry the options for Pakistan*, 1
178 “Pakistan China sign contract to build frigate”, *The News*, July 16, 2010
179 “Pakistan and China Cooperation in Building Submarines, Bigger War Ships Identified”, *Pakistan Daily*, September 21, 2010
Pakistan and China with regard to their long term strategic and economic interests in the region.”

b) Joint Naval Exercises

The first joint naval exercise between two neighboring states was held on October 21, 2003. It was the first Naval Exercise of China with any foreign state. Pakistan considered this joint naval exercise as unparalleled in defence cooperation between Pakistan and China. Admiral Shahid Karimullah, Chief of Naval Staff, Pak Navy called on the “Defence Minister General of China Caogaugchuan, Lt. General Li Jinai, Head of General Armament Department and Vice Admiral Zhang Dingfa, Commander, People’s Liberation Navy.”

Both Pakistan and China agreed for continuation of naval exercises and extending collaboration in non-traditional security arena so as to reinforce the defence competence and professional skillfulness of both states. China has significant coastal cities including Sanya, Beihai, Dalian, Zhuhai, Xianmen, Quingdao, Guangzhou, Shenzhen, Fuzhou, Shanghai, Hanzhou, Nanging, and Qinhuangdao, and considers them “as engine of economic growth.”

Consensus developed upon long term naval cooperation and exchange of high level delegations. “More than 90 percent of the international trade is transported through sea while 95 percent of Pakistan’s trade is seaborne and its economy is heavily dependent on seaborne trade as it contributed 40 percent of the national GDP.” In post-9/11 arena, the strategic relationship between Islamabad and Beijing has further been increased especially in spheres of infrastructural development, industry, energy, connectivity and within almost all constituencies of economy. Civil nuclear cooperation and military collaboration also remained significant.

Bilateral relationship between Pakistan and China at defence and political spheres has further been deepened. Pakistan has major share of Chinese equipment and arms ammunitions with its Armed Forces. The strategic strong relationship provides underpinning for vibrant

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180 Dr. Shabir Ahmad Khan, “Geo-Economic Imperatives of Gwadar Sea Port and Kashgar Economic Zone for Pakistan and China”, *Islamabad Policy Research Institute*, Islamabad, 94
183 Khan, Geo-Economic Imperatives , 91
foreign policy. Strong naval and military friendship with China prompted from the shared perception of hegemonic ambitions of New Delhi in South Asia.

China has natural interest in India Ocean, owing to second largest economy of the globe and second largest energy consumer. Through Indian Ocean, “China’s trade passes through is about $100 billion.”\textsuperscript{184} China’s strategists consider that China oil consumption will become double within 25 years and worried about safety of secured Sea Lane Communications. China planners emphasize upon maritime cooperation of China with the relevant Asian states to balance the rising USA influence in Asia.

However, Beijing kept low profile and has no vivid plan for power projection in Indian Ocean. Beijing is more focused to East Asia energies. Most significant Security of Sea Lanes of Communication and “choke points became strategically important for regional as well as extra regional stakeholders.” The scenario has given a “justification for extra regional forces to maintain a permanent presence in the Arabian Sea”.\textsuperscript{185} Beijing remained in unthreatening posture in Indian Ocean. The chief concern of China in Indian Ocean is safety of Sea Lane Communication.

Pakistan has finalized submarine deal with China to buy eight submarines from Beijing in April, 2015. The expected expenditure was between $4 billion to $5 billion. China’s Foreign Ministry spokesperson Hua Chuning mentioned that China and Pakistan remained two friendly neighbors and both sides have normal military exchanges. As per Stockholm International Peace Research Institute(SIPRI), during 2010-14, China remained top weapon supplier to Pakistan and half of Pakistan defence inventory remained China supplied weaponry.\textsuperscript{186} Significance of Indian Ocean can be seen from the reality that Indian Ocean having an area of 28 million square miles, twenty percent of earth water resource, touching 3 continents, third largest waterbody, has 30

\textsuperscript{184} “Brahma Chellaney, China’s Indian Ocean Strategy”, \textit{Japan Times} June 23, 2015, \url{https://www.japantimes.co.jp/opinion/2015/06/23/commentary/world-commentary/chinas-indian-ocean-strategy/} (accessed on Jan 10, 2018)

\textsuperscript{185} Azhar Ahmad, “Maritime Security post-9/11: Challenges and response”, \textit{Strategic Studies, Vol.XXIX, Summer and Autumn} 2009, 83

littorals and 11 landlocked states with 1284 islands. Indian Ocean is significant for various reasons. The foremost is Persian Gulf “the major source of oil supply to the world.”

It is cleared that Pakistan remained concerned with her territorial integrity in the region against the imminent threat of her arch rival India. Pakistan-China security and defence cooperation remained pivotal for its stability in the region. Latif Ahmad Sherwani concludes that significant objective of foreign policy was to attain a “foolproof guarantee of the integrity of her frontiers, and if that is not forthcoming, material assistance from other nations in raising a sound bulwark of defence.”

3.2: Dynamics of Economic Cooperation

Traditional Pak-China economic and trade relationship was weak as compared to security cooperation. The main reason for slow economic cooperation was due to the concentration of Pakistan on exportable items, which China was already manufacturing on large scale. But the situation changed after the breakdown of Soviet Union when two sides thought to reformulate geo-strategic ties in the light of geo-economic considerations. Regional cooperation framework became driving force by focusing on economic integration and common goal of economic development. Economic Cooperation between Pakistan and China has been elaborated through Free Trade Agreements, Chinese initiative of One Belt and One Road (OBOR) through China-Pakistan Economic Corridor (CPEC) and CPEC Challenges within parameters of Pakistan China Strategic Relations.

3.2.1: Bilateral Trade & Investment

Pakistan-China bilateral trade and investment cooperation including FDI has been enhancing. The trade and investment cooperation further deepened since 9/11 arena. Trade has tremendously increased and the trade volume between Islamabad and Beijing existed at $16 billion in 2015 but both countries “plan to raise this volume to $20 billion by 2018.”

188 Sherwani, Foreign Policy of Pakistan, 14
a) **Free Trade Agreements:** Pakistan and China have three types of trade agreements including Free Trade Agreement (FTA) concerning goods and investment duly signed in November, 2006, FTA in services signed in February, 2009 and Pakistan China early harvest program, operating since January, 2006 and merged into FTA in goods and investment. Moreover, the other form of cooperation includes bilateral Currency Swap Agreement (CSA) between State Bank (Pakistan) and People’s Bank of China (PBoC) amounting to Rs 140 billion and Yuan 10 billion (equivalent to $1.6 billion). The agreement has significantly augmented trade and investment in both countries in their own currencies.

The burning question remained unanswered that whether FTA was a market driven decision or a political motivated verdict as the size of Pakistan’s economy is quite small when it is compared with the gigantic and second largest economy of the globe. There is massive gap in the level of industrial development between Islamabad and Beijing. Economy of scale of both countries is just unmatchable while looking at the structure of industrial production of both neighboring countries. Complementary of both countries is not based upon the manufactured good rather Pakistan’s exports are mainly consisted on raw materials including chrome, copper and cotton against the valued added manufactured goods from China. Chinese export to Pakistan comes to more than 20 percent share of Pakistan’s import. Pakistan’s export to China just constitutes only 0.13 percent of China’s imports.\(^{190}\)

A comparison of China’s Tariff for Pakistan and ASEAN shows that there are many factors hindering the trade and investment relationship between Pakistan and China. These factors are responsible in Pakistan including the following:

- Energy crisis and infrastructure deficit
- Poor technological infrastructure and lack of innovational culture
- Low labor productivity and unskilled labor force
- Manufacturing value addition at the low level
- Less FDI in exportable manufacturing sectors

- Anti-export taxation
- Cost of export increasing as compared to imports
- Less product diversification in exportable items
- Absence of economies of scale in production in SME

However, “over the years, China-Pakistan friendship has flourished like a tree growing tall and strong.” The year 2015 was celebrated as the year of Friendly Exchanges with endeavors to be merged with the China-Pakistan Economic Corridor (CPEC) plan.

b) China’s Foreign Direct Investment (FDI) in Pakistan: China has been enhancing gradually FDI in Pakistan. China has made huge investment in Pakistan as several Chinese companies are actively working in Pakistan. Some prominent Chinese Companies are Metallurgical Construction Corporation of China in mining sector, ZTE in information technology, Huawei Technologies in telecommunications and Machinery Import/Export Corporation are working in automobile industrial sector. International Water and Electric Corporation (China) and China Petroleum have been working in developing of oil & gas as well as power generation spheres.

During 2015 Chinese companies invested in 39 projects, total foreign direct investment was amounting to $18.9 billion. Chinese investment in Pakistan has continuously been rising during the period 2003-2015 (Table: 3.2.1) It has been noted that tangible economic cooperation between Islamabad and Beijing imitated in November 2003 after signing Bilateral Preferential Trade Agreement (PTA), which was latterly transformed into the Free Trade Agreement (FTA) in 2006. FTA covers trade in goods and investment. In 2013 a multibillions dollar contract for construction of deep-water Gwadar Seaport (originally $46 billion) was signed between Pakistan and China depicting 1+4 stratagem (CPEC – Gwadar Seaport, Energy, Transportation and Industrial Zones), which has provided a gigantic uplift to economic, trade and commercial activities in the whole region.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>No of Project</th>
<th>$ in billion</th>
<th>Year</th>
<th>No of project</th>
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<tr>
<td>2015</td>
<td>39</td>
<td>18.9</td>
<td>2008</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>6.9</td>
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<tr>
<td>2014</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>7.6</td>
<td>2007</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>4.8</td>
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<tr>
<td>2013</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>3.1</td>
<td>2006</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>4.0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
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191 “President Xi Jinping, Pakistan-China Dosti Zindabad”, Daily Times, April 19, 2015
After announcing investment policy by Pakistan in 2013, Chinese investors initiated joint projects with Pakistani companies, which have extensively enhanced Chinese FDI in Pakistan. Chinese companies have been investing in fruits, seafood, vegetables, livestock products, electronics, automobiles, textile, non-electrical machinery as well as engineering sectors creating thousands of jobs for unemployed youth as well as revenue generation opportunities for Government of Pakistan. Telecommunication sector remained one of the largest private sectors wherein Chinese investors are investing their capital and technical expertise. Presently, “China is the largest investor in FDI in Pakistan and has already outmoded USA in this regard”.  

3.2.2: China-Pakistan Economic Corridor (CPEC): Undeniable fact that CPEC is a massive project aiming to inject $51.5 billion (originally $46 billion) in Pakistan, which is over 20 percent of Pakistan annual GDP. It mainly focuses on rail, road and pipelines. This amount is more than three time FDI Pakistan received by 2008. Out of $51.5 billion, $33.8 billion are being invested in various energy projects & $11.8 billion for infrastructural projects to be completed by 2017 while 5.5 $ billion on railway track. Investment of $28 billion is being used for immediate projects and rest amount for the long term projects. Federal Minister Ahsan Iqbal emphasizes that in the past “economic relationship could not match the political one. Now the leadership on both sides has realized that we have to bridge that gap.”

Gwadar and Kashgar, the two regional markets, are being connected through Karakorum highway and two relative underdeveloped regions of Baluchistan and Xinjiang are destined to become economic and commercial hub.

CPEC would boost geo-economic as well as geo-strategic relationship between the two neighboring countries. “The Corridor is an extension of China’s proposed 21st century Silk Road

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192 “Pakistan Receives $119.3 million in FDI, Higher by 7.5%”, *Express Tribune*, September 16, 2015
Now new figure has been quoted as CPEC worth $51.5 billion (originally $46 billion). Gwadar deep-water seaport and Special Economic Zone (SEZ) Kashgar is the milestone for revival of most trumpeted Silk route. Gwadar seaport is being linked through road, rail and airways especially through realignment of Karakoram highway and Indus highway, which is opening new vista for Central Asian landlocked countries.

Development of Gwadar deep-water seaport is leading towards gigantic move for political, economic, social and strategic friendship between China and Pakistan. Beijing’s “Go West” policy and Islamabad’s “Look East” policy had further deepened already unique partnership between two neighboring states of Asia. China’s “Go West” policy aimed at development of her western region of restive Xinjiang through enormous infrastructural development in Pakistan and developing Gwadar as viable economic and energy corridor.

Pakistan’s “Look East” policy is based on mutually benefitted commercial economic, trade and geo-strategic ties with Beijing. CPEC has now become a cornerstone for underpinning of new opportunity and unending chances in the region through development of Special Economic Zones (SEZs) and geo-strategic location of Gwadar seaport. “CPEC is a mega project which aims to connect Gwadar Port in Southwestern Pakistan to China’s northwestern autonomous region of Xinjiang, via network of highways, railways and pipelines to transport oil as well as gas.”

Geographical location indicates Gwadar deep-water sea port of Baluchistan falls 460 km in the west of biggest city Karachi. Location is at top of Arabian Sea, 75 km in the East of Iran and just 400 km away from the Strait of Hormuz, a sole sea passage from open sea to Persian Gulf. Needless to mention that 80 percent of world oil tankers go from the Persian Gulf whereas 45 percent of world oil is passes through the Strait of Hormuz. The city of Gwadar already connected to Karachi through Maran Coastal Highway built with Chinese aid. Gwadar seaport connectivity enhanced through Indus Highway with Ratodero-KKH leading to Kashgar, which is located at 414 km from Pakistan, Chinese bordering area of Sost-Tashkurgan.

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194 “Xi comes calling to Pakistan, bearing gift worth $46 billion”, The Hindu, April 23, 2015
195 “With a new Chinese loan, CPEC is now worth $51.5 billion”, The Dawn, Islamabad, September 30, 2016
196 “Economic Corridor: Chinese official sets record straight”, The Express Tribune, March 2, 2015
The particular road is connecting to Tajikistan, Kyrgyzstan and even Kazakhstan. Pakistan, China and all these CARs are signatories of quadrilateral agreement on regional trade through land route. Chinese Ambassador mentioned that “China hopes that Pakistan plays a greater constructive role in regional and international affairs. We would like to work with Pakistan to safeguard peace, stability, development and prosperity in the world.”

a) Economic and Strategic Interdependence under CPEC:

China-Pakistan Economic Corridor has enhanced bilateral strategic complex interdependence for both neighboring countries of Asia i.e. Pakistan and China. Strategic partnership provided the edifices to economic and trade friendship between two neighboring countries. Pakistan is thirsty for FDI from China, transit revenues, infrastructural and energy developmental projects leadings towards regional trade hub and energy transit corridor. It is clear that CPEC has reinforced long term strategic interdependence between Beijing and Islamabad.

i) Pak-China Energy Cooperation

The Energy projects attached to China-Pakistan Economic Corridor are estimated to double Pakistan’s energy capability. Pakistan and China is strengthening collaboration in the fields of oil & gas, renewable energy generation, supporting power transmission networks to enhance energy transmission and supply capability. “China and Pakistan are strengthening cooperation in the fields of oil and gas, electricity and power grids and focus on promoting the construction of major projects of thermal power, hydropower, coal gasification and renewable power generation, and supporting power transmission networks, to enhance its power transmission and supply reliability,” according to Long Term Plan of China-Pakistan Economic Corridor (CPEC) 2017. Under the plan, it was also agreed further promotion of collaboration in the developmental spree of oil and gas resources, research on integrated vision and demand of China and Pakistan aims at improving the cooperation between the two neighboring states. The proposal remained under serious consideration for establishment of oil refineries and storages alongside CPEC route. It was agreed by both states to “optimize the sourcing and use of coal, research on development, utilization of Pakistan’s own coal for the power plant and developing technologies for surface coal gasification, expansion, and augmentation of coal mining sector”.

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197Sun Weidong, “New Starting Point for a Brighter Future”, Think Tank seminar on Building China-Pakistan Community of Shared Destiny in the New Era, at Islamabad on August 5, 2014
China and Pakistan celebrated inauguration of Karot hydropower project on December 25, 2015 another big energy project connected with CPEC. It is $1.65 billion hydropower plant, installed by Chinese well known Three Gorges Corporation. It is first project getting funding from China’s Silk Road Fund. On completion of scheduled time 2020, the Karot plant would produce 720 MW of energy connected with Jhelum River.

The Karot plant is part and parcel of broader CPEC, which itself is part of China’s “Belt and Road” initiative to linking China with Europe and all in between regions. Though, CPEC is often understood solely in terms of transportation infrastructure, developing the deep-water Seaport of Gwadar and linking to China via rail and road yet the same is not only aspect of the project. Under the “1+4” cooperation framework unveiled during Chinese President Xi Jinping’s April 2015 visit to Pakistan, the CPEC is the “1,” with the “4” representing key areas of the larger strategy. “Energy is one of those four areas, along with Gwadar Port, transport infrastructure, and industrial cooperation. In fact, China and Pakistan officially broke ground on five new energy projects, all of them considered part of the CPEC”.

Along with the Karot hydropower project, the CPEC also includes Chinese construction of the world’s largest solar plant in Punjab Province. The first section started production of electricity in August 2015; the second portion is currently under construction by Chinese firm Zonergy. When completed by the end of 2018, the entire solar plant is expected to produce up to 1,000 MW of power.

Coal power project at Port Qasim is another significant project. It is first energy power project included in CPEC. As per China Daily dated November 30 2017, the plant is being established by Power China Resources Limited having cost of $2 billion and to be finished by 2018. Project consists of two 660 coal plants for total power generation of 1320 MW. China Daily mentions that “Chinese investment in Pakistan’s energy sector predate the CPEC, just look at perhaps the most famous joint project, $10 billion Karachi nuclear power plant expansion. But the scale of the CPEC energy projects is mind-boggling”.

The 14 China’s established powers projects in Pakistan are connected with CPEC are expected to generate 10400 MW electricity by the end of 2018. Pakistan shortfall in 2015 was
4500 MW electricity. It is one part of the story. China Daily underscored that “there are a total of 21 planned energy projects in the works under CPEC framework. Altogether, these projects should produce 16400 MW electricity roughly the same as Pakistan’s current capacity”.

**ii) Pakistan-China Cooperation for Transportation System:**

Effective transport system is a pre-requisite for vibrant China Pakistan Economic Corridor. It is a significant sphere for economic and social sector development. CPEC is promoting inter-connectivity and prosperity in the whole region. Highways, railways, aviation as well as ports are essential for construction of efficient transportation mechanism. To meet the needs of social and economic developments and people to people exchanges between Pakistan and China, following initiatives have been planned by Pakistan and China as per information gathered from Ministry of Planning, Development and Reforms:

- Construction of Kashghar-Islamabad-Peshawar –Islamabad-Karachi-Sukkur-Gwadar Port and Dera Ismail Khan-Quetta-Sohrab-Gwadar Road –to increase road safety and expand transportation capability.

- Capacity building of existing present railway line (especially ML1 which has significance for strategic nature under Corridor). Construction of new projects and promotion of modernizing railways and to build an integrated transportation corridor.

- Development of Gwadar city and seaport, building of a consolidation and distribution transport mechanism, improvement in infrastructure of the seaport, acceleration in construction of East Bay Expressway, construction of new airport of international level at Gwadar and enhancement of the competitiveness of Free Zone to promote social progression and economic development in the region.

- Effective Cooperation for fast implementation of Gwadar City Master Plan.

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• Enhancing Pakistan-China cooperation in technical training and management of effective transport infrastructure to continuously providing talent for sustainable development for transportation industries including information network infrastructure.

iii) Establishment of New Industrial Zones

Ambassador of Pakistan to China, Masood Khalid has underscored that the industrial cooperation was an important component of the China-Pakistan Economic Corridor (CPEC) and now the two countries were jointly establishing special industrial zones. “China has a vast experience of setting up industrial parks and economic zones and Islamabad will establish special economic zones with its cooperation to strengthen economy and create employment opportunities for the local people,” the ambassador said. “The CPEC is a flagship project under the Belt and Road Initiative and reflective of the vision of top leadership of the two countries,” the Ambassador added.

The Ambassador of Pakistan to China has mentioned that CPEC would play a significant role for trade and economic development for the whole region. Another participant Hassan Dawood Butt, who has been working as Director CPEC in Ministry of Planning and Reforms, Islamabad has expressed that there is consensus between Pakistan and China that CPEC must be developed and completed at the gigantic speed. Hence Chinese and Pakistani experts have been working round the clock. Further, Abid Qayyum Sulehri, SPDI head has illustrated that with initial of Special Economic Zones, Pakistan would attain robust economic growth resulting into reduction in poverty, unemployment and more opportunities of employment would be created for youth of the country. Other experts had shown entire satisfaction on fast track working on CPEC showing that it was envious example for other countries vigorously following the Belt and Road Initiative (BRI) and CPEC is beneficial for Central Asian Republics as well.

iv) Gwadar Port

CPEC has opened new vista of opportunity in geo-strategic, socio-economic and geopolitical scenario in the region. Connectivity, infrastructural development and power projects have become quite significant. Oil & gas pipeline from Gwadar to Kashgar would not only create opportunity of transit revenue but also become instrumental in lowering the energy crisis of Pakistan. Incessant industrial, agricultural growth and sustainable economic development is the
net result of CPEC. There is strong possibility of change of Iran-Pakistan-India (IPI) pipeline into Iran-Pakistan-China (IPC) gas pipeline, if Pakistan-Afghanistan trans-trade route is converted into reality.

“This is the biggest overseas investment by China announced and the corridor is expected to be operational within three years and will be a strategic game changer in the region, which would go a long way in making Pakistan a richer and stronger entity.”¹⁹⁹ Now the worth of CPEC is increased to $51.5 billion²⁰⁰ (originally $46 billion). Through the three phases of gigantic CPEC, four areas are being focused including Gwadar port developmental project, energy projects, railway network and industrial cooperation. Short-term developmental projects are required to be completed by 2020, whereas medium term projects to be completed by 2025 and the long-term developmental schemes to be completed by 2030. Former China’s Ambassador to Pakistan has gone for further strong collaboration between Beijing and Islamabad by stressing that “China and Pakistan must guard against hegemony and unilateralism, and safeguard their own sovereignty and security interests. They must learn the lesson of turbulences from West Asia and North Africa, firmly safeguard their domestic security and stability, steadily promote their reform, and oppose the interference of foreign forces in their internal affairs.”²⁰¹

Gwadar is going to become hub of economic, trade, energy and commercial pivot of the region. Railways route from Peshawar to Karachi is being upgraded. Connectivity of Kashgar to Gwadar through rail is on the board. Central Asia and South Asian regions are to be integrated through web of economic and commercial development. Quadrilateral trade agreement is already in operation since 2004, which is leading towards economic and commercial integration of the region. Main imports of CARs include garments, electronics and consumer’s commodities.

Major exports of CARs include oil, gas, cotton ores and machinery items. The expected revenue generation as trade transit for oil and gas comes to $1 million per annum. It was conceived in the beginning that Gwadar deep-water seaport would serve Afghanistan, Turkmenistan Uzbekistan and Tajikistan owing to close geographical proximity. The significance can be judged from the fact that “other than transport infrastructure, the economic

¹⁹⁹ “Here’s why Indian strategists should worry about China’s $46 billion funding to Pakistan”, First Post April 22, 2015
²⁰⁰ “With a new Chinese loan, CPEC is now worth $51.5 billion”, The Dawn, Islamabad, September 30, 2016
²⁰¹ Gang, New Starting Point for a Brighter Future
corridor will provide Pakistan with telecommunications and energy infrastructure. The project also aims to improve intelligence sharing”\(^{202}\) between two neighboring states.

Now Kashgar Special Economic Zone is being connected to Gwadar by land, railway and air linkage. Even CARs would get benefit from successful operation of the Gwadar seaport. Gwadar seaport is significant owing to Seaport’s proximity with the Strait of Hormuz, being a crucial shipping spot when connectivity through rail road and air is enforced with China, Afghanistan and Central Asians states as well as rest of areas of the country. As per estimation Gwadar Seaport can seize up to 25 percent of national imports/export by 2020, fifteen percent share of transit trade with CARs, 40 percent needs of Afghanistan and over 12 percent share of Xinjiang. It would create most warranted interdependence phenomenon of the South and Central Asia, which has direct bearings upon the prosperity and stability of the whole region.

Joint Coordination Committee (JCC) constituted with powers of implementation under CPEC. First meeting of JCC was held on August 27, 2013. Ahsan Iqbal, Minister for Planning and China’s Vice Chairman of National Development and Reforms Commission (NDRC) Zhang Xiaoping had inaugurated new created security division exclusively dedicated to collaboration between two neighboring states. Notwithstanding the second meeting of JCC was held on 20-21 August, 2014 focusing on early harvested projects, rehabilitation and realignment of KKH, Karachi-Lahore-motorway, Orange-Line-Metro-Train in Lahore as well as capacity building programs. Third meeting of JCC focused on short terms schemes. “While the project took shape during Sharif’s tenure, the vision for an economic route stretches as far back as the Musharraf era.”\(^{203}\)

During the seminar on China-Pakistan Community “New Starting Point for a Brighter Future, concerning Building China-Pakistan Community of Shared Destiny in the New Era” on August 5-6, 2014, Chinese scholars had frequently used the terminology of shared responsibility, common interests, common affection and shared intellect as well as community of shared destiny to show the strong attachment between China and Pakistan. Corridor would expand numerous routes between China and Middle East as well as between China and Africa. “Energy security is

\(^{202}\) “China New Silk Road: What’s in it for Pakistan”, *Dawn News*, April 21, 2015
\(^{203}\) “Politicians hit out at ‘unfair’ Pakistan-China Economic Corridor”, *The Express Tribune*, April 22, 2015
a key concern for China as it is the world’s biggest oil importer.”  

Now the worth of the Corridor is increased to $51.5 billion\(^{205}\) (originally $46 billion).

International trade more than 90 percent is transported through the sea while Pakistan’s 95 percent trade is seaborne. Economy of Pakistan is heavily dependent upon seaborne internal and external trade. Trade has over 40 percent share of Gross Domestic Products (GDP). A decade ago seaborne trade had share of 36 percent of the GDP. Pakistan is looking towards deep-water seaport of Gwadar to lessen weighty burden on Karachi as well as Bin Qasim Seaports, which have already been operating at fullest capability and also for gigantic boost for seaborne international trade. On development of connectivity through rail, road and air, it is expected that all neighboring countries would prefer transit trade through Gwadar seaport, owing to geographic proximity and shortest route for PRC and CARs.

Now enormous opportunity for unprecedented economic growth through Gwadar Deepwater seaport is a broad day fact. Gwadar seaport has competence to generate the requisite economic resources through incessant and effective operational activities. For this purpose peace, stability and safety is needed. We have to kill the evil of terrorism, extremism and separatism with an iron hand.

Ministry of Planning, Development and Reforms indicated the connectivity through highway network of CPEC in the forthcoming map:


\(^{205}\) *The Dawn, Islamabad*, September 30, 2016
Kashgar and Gwadar fall under Chinese “Go West” policy as well as Pakistan “Look East” policy. Mutual beneficial partnership with China is the foundation stone of Pakistan’s China Policy. Beijing is making endeavor to develop its western part, relatively a backward region of China. China has workable scheme to construct oil refinery at Gwadar as well as constructing of oil pipeline starting from Gwadar to Kashgar to provide continued Arabian and African oil supply to the western part of China by reducing thousands of km of distance. Total length of the Gwadar-Xinjiang oil pipeline would be 2500 km whereas distance from Shanghai eastern seaport to Xinjiang is 4500 km. To see the comparison, if we travel from Shanghai to newly constructed seaport of Gwadar to Persian Gulf through Indian Ocean, seaborne distance comes to 10,000 km only.

It may be noted that energy and trade transport from the East African countries and Middle eastern countries via Gwadar would diametrically reduce the long distance into short one as 15000 km to just 2500 km. Reuters mentions that “China has promised to invest around $33.8
billion in various energy projects and $11.8 billion in infrastructure projects which will be completed by 2017. The deal includes $622 million for Gwadar Port. Under CPEC agreement, $15.5 billion worth of coal, wind, solar and hydro energy projects will add 10400 megawatts of energy to the national grid of Pakistan.”  

Indian occasion voyage is not only protected but also secured as compared to other maritime routes.

Presently Chinese oil tanker takes 20 days destined to Gulf. After completion of swift railways, viable road network including eastern route, central route and the western route crossing Pakistan, oil tanker from eastern part of China to Gwadar at mouth of gulf reached just within 48 hours. Thus Gwadar deep-water seaport is in the national interest of China. The new route provides safety and shortness. Gwadar provides an ample chance to China to show her presence in Indian Ocean, Arabian Sea and the gulf region where China is importing over 60 percent of its energy. Syed Fazl-e-Haider, visualizes the scenario that “the project will open trade routes for western China and provide China direct access to the resource rich Middle East region, bypassing longer logistical routes currently through the Strait of Malacca.”

Beijing offered a $12 billion project for oil refinery at Gwadar in 2009 but remained dormant owing to the worsening law and order situation in Baluchistan. Pakistan’s urgent need is stable, secured and peaceful Baluchistan for utilizing full potential of Deepwater Gwadar seaport for trade transportation, economic and commercial activities, business and industrial boom in entire region including Afghanistan, China, Central Asian Republics and even East African states and Middle Eastern countries. Islamabad needs to follow the glaring example of Beijing where China is addressing the separatism issue of Xinjiang through incessant economic developmental projects and schemes.

Trade and commercial development can bring peace and prosperity not only in Xinjiang but also in Baluchistan. Baluchistan’s package needs to be implemented in letter and spirit. Corridor would attach economic and trade agents along a well-defined geography. Corridor would give an unbreakable connection amongst economic/commercial hubs, concentration on urban landscape in which gigantic economic and commercial resources and states are located.

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“They are linking the supply and demand sides of markets.” After handing-over Gwadar seaport to China’s Overseas Port Holding, Beijing attention in CPEC has been renewed. Gwadar Deepwater Seaport has every potential to become a substitute to UAE’s Dubai Port. Asian Development Bank has already termed Gwadar as an effective substitute to Dubai Port as its location is out of any choke point i.e. Strait of Hormuz and Corridor has capacity to tackle largest cargo S class ship as well as heavy oil tankers.

Gwadar port location is facilitating over two dozen countries of Central Asia, Persian Gulf, Afghanistan, Iran, East Africans as well as China and Pakistan. Gwadar seaport after infrastructural development seems as integral trade part of Beijing’s international commercial activities and Pakistan as hub of regional trade. Gwadar has potential for two ways outlet to the most demanded markets of East and West, South and North. The port, a trumpeted milestone in Beijing-Islamabad strategic partnership is illustrious based on mutual benefits and cooperation. Newsweek Pakistan elaborates that “China and Pakistan hope the massive investment plan will transform Pakistan into a regional economic hub as well as further boost the growing ties between Pakistan and China.”

The oil pipeline is going to link Gwadar to Kashgar, which is reducing distance of several thousand kilometers but also avoiding most dangerous Straits of Malacca and hazardous maritime routes of Yellow Sea. India Times comments that media belonging to Pakistan called the investments as “game and fate changer for the region.” Dr. Moonis Ahmar has pointed out that “Pakistan provides a viable strategic link for Beijing to the Arabian Sea in order to substantially reduce its trade distance for Europe, Middle East and Africa.” With completion of just 900 km road linking Gwadar to the Indus highway and connecting Xinjiang through Karakorum highway is going to reduce a distance of 4500 km. Even shifting of administration from Singapore Port Authority to China’s Overseas Port Holding of the Port has enticed global media attention owing to geo-eco-strategic dimensions of the most significant decision of Pakistan. Saudi oil via Gwadar Seaport can be imported by China as Saudi Arabia already asked Pakistan in 2006 to extend helping hand in this scenario. Gwadar Seaport provides an

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208 “What is economic corridor development and what can it achieve in Asia’s sub-regions”, [http://adb.org](http://adb.org), (accessed on April 23, 2015)
209 *The Newsweek* Pakistan, April 21, 2015
2010 “Pakistan media hails Chinese investment as game changer”, *India Time* April 21, 2015
2011 Dr. Moonis Ahmar, Dean of Faculty of Social Sciences, University of Karachi, personal interview Jan 1, 2018
opportunity to Chinese to monitor with effective check on their Sea Lanes of Communication. The Guardian underlines that “the Chinese are not just offering to build much needed infrastructure but also make Pakistan a key partner in its grand economic and strategic ambitions.”

After establishment of vibrant SEZ in Kashgar, exponential growth of Kashgar is expected which would be over 20 percent per annum as was the case of Shenzen, which grew at astonishing rate of 25.8 percent from 1979 to 2009 and had enjoyed over 4000 time increase in just 30 years. Several high level visits between Beijing and Islamabad provided foundation stone to CPEC. Chinese Premier Li Keqiang visited Islamabad in May 2013, to sign the historic CPEC agreement. Nawaz Sharif Pakistan Premier visited Beijing in July, 2013 and boosted the establishment of CPEC.

Mamnoon Hussain, President of Pakistan visited China in February, 2014. President Xi Jinping has given proposal for formulating “China-Pakistan Community of Shared Destiny”. President of Pakistan again visited Beijing in May, 2014 and attended summit on “Conference on Interaction and Confidence Building Measures” in Asia. Premier Nawaz Sharif, visited Beijing in April, 2014 to attend “Asia Forum in Boao in April, 2014”. However, President Xi Jinping’s visit in September, 2014 could not materialize owing to political instability in Pakistan. Premier Nawaz Sharif visited in November, 2014 and signed several significant agreements.

So far signed agreements between two countries comes to over 250 with prominent ‘Treaty of Friendship, Cooperation and Good Neighborly Relations, 2005’ providing a cornerstone for the subsequent developments relevant to CPEC. Beijing is desirous to construct oil storage facilities as well as most needed refinery at Gwadar Port, for oil transportation to Xinjiang Uighur Autonomous Region through effective road network and pipeline. BBC emphasizes that “this will let it move energy and goods to inland China without going through the Strait of Malacca, which could be blocked by the US or India should hostilities break out in the region. The project will also lead to development in western China, where tensions are simmering from activities by radical separatists.”

212 “China President arrives in Pakistan to sign Pound 30 billion land corridor agreement”, The Guardian, April 21, 2015
Kashgar may become commercial and economic hub for underdeveloped Xinjiang as well as Baluchistan through Karakorum highway. SEZ of Kashgar about 50 Sq. Km would not only give a gigantic boost to the economy of Xinjiang but also provide a vista of opportunity for development in the surrounding periphery of Pakistan.

This market provides opportunities to Pakistani business community for trading with Central Asian and Chinese counterparts. Gilgit Baltistan has traditional linkage of silk route with Kashi or Kashgar. Expected investment of $51.5 billion\textsuperscript{214} (originally $46 billion) would open countless opportunities of development and employment in Pakistan. Now Kashgar to Gwadar and Kyrgyz-Kzbek-China railroad provide a golden opportunity where Kashgar is heading towards regional hub of industrial development with viable links to landlocked CARs and western China via Deepwater seaport Gwadar.

SEZ Kashgar is a multibillions dollar plan indicating that all imports/exports would take place via Pakistan through Gwadar seaport and pass on to the Arabian Sea and beyond. In return Pakistan would enjoy substantial transit fee and revenues. Horgos is another SEZ in Xinjiang, located near China-Kazakhstan bordering area, which is proposed to concentrate on pharmaceuticals, machinery, farm production, chemical industry and renewable energy resources. Gwadar-Kasha would ultimately link to Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan and Tajikistan. It is creating another Silk Route where camel caravan are converting into trucks and trains with warm waters of Indian Ocean and Arabian Sea.

Pakistan has a lot of commodities and goods for export to Xinjiang including minerals, marble, food items, textile, fisheries and leather products. Beijing-Islamabad Free Trade and Currency Swap accords would helpful and boosting factor in Gwadar-Kashgar economic and industrial integration. Chinese authorities has effective plan to connect Kashgar with Gwadar as well as Islamabad via air route. Chinese mammoth investment is being made in energy, Information Technology, engineering, agriculture, textile, agro based industry, livestock, dairy farming, food and fruit processing and packaging, banking, finance, alternate energy and renewable energy projects. More than 300 Chinese companies are working in Pakistan. Moody’s Investors Services termed the CPEC as credit positive. The Agency underscores “much of the

\textsuperscript{214}\textit{The Dawn}, Islamabad, September 30, 2016
project’s key benefits would not materialize until 2017, but stated that it believes at least some of the benefits from the economic corridor would likely begin accruing even before then.”

Pakistan has been facing incessant energy crises since 2000s. In spite Pakistan apparel and cloth industry is depicting domestically lowest labor cost as compared to international labor cost. The cost is substantially low to 25% for exporter. Pakistan has lower labor cost as compared to cost of Vietnam, China and India. Pakistan comparatively advantage over Bangladesh with her own cotton and fabric continuous supply having suitable size factories. Second largest importer of Pakistan’s textile amounting to over $1.5 billion is China after the US. Pakistan has largest potential in textile where export can be enhanced manifold and multifaceted. Beijing is buyer of Cotton yarn and cotton fabrics, where Chinese demand is quite high while production of Pakistan is limited owing to prevailing power crises. Entrepreneurs and industrialists must understand Chinese demand and avail unprecedented opportunities under Pakistan-China FTA. Pakistan is one of the cheapest rather economical bed-wear producers but our export is not altogether satisfactory to China.

b) CPEC Challenges to Pak-China Strategic Relations

CPEC is facing gigantic challenges in the way of successful operation including security phenomenon, administrative imbroglios, political instability and unskilled labor force working on corridor. CNN News underscores that “China has expressed concern that some separatist groups in Xinjiang may be collaborating with insurgents in Pakistan, and has expressed a strong desire to strengthen security ties.” Now the worth of CPEC is increased to $51.5 billion (originally $46 billion).

Deteriorating law and order situation in Pakistan is a grave challenge for the CPEC. Chinese anxiety can be seen from the fact that Beijing closed borders for trade and traffic due to grave security situation during the celebration of the Independence Day, 2013. Securitization would have to be prioritized if we want to make success this corridor. As far as security of infrastructure of CPEC connectivity is concerned, M-8 motorway from Gwadar to Ratodero is

215 “Sovereign ratings: Pakistan-China economic corridor a credit positive, says Moody,” The Express Tribune, March 3, 2015
217 The Dawn, Islamabad, September 30, 2016
quite troublesome. Developmental work on the motorway halted several times owing to worsening security situation of the restive Baluchistan. From 2007 to July 2014, 1040 terrorist attacks took place, out of them 23 percent reported in Baluchistan particularly in vicinity of Awaran, Panjgur, Lasbela, Khuzdar, Kech and Gwadar Districts, which is the active route of China-Pakistan Economic Corridor.

For purpose of security ECNEC- ‘Executive Committee of National Economic Council’ has sanctioned Rs.5.2 billion for 10,000 strong constabulary forces for safety of most needed corridor. Regarding financing South China Morning Post indicates that China neither using Asian Infrastructure Investment Bank (AIIB) nor Silk Road Fund to finance US$51.5 billion (originally $46 billion) for CPEC instead money will come from both countries. The Express Tribune says that “Pakistan plans to train 12000 security personnel to protect Chinese workers on the Corridor.” Fifty one total Memorandums of Understandings (MOUs) signed in diverse sectors between Islamabad and Beijing during Chinese President visit to Pakistan on April 20, 2015. Major energy projects under the corridor umbrella and their updated progress included. Essential details are available at Appendix-II.

Owing to deteriorating law and order scenario in the periphery of Baluchistan and KPK, the planner of CPEC have seriously considered alignment of required road networking, avoiding relative shorter trajectory to be linked Corridor with Karakorum highway through Indus highway, which goes through KP owing to worsening security paradigm. Some elements are voicing their slogans that bypassing of Baloch and Pashtun areas would increase their deprivation and miseries.

Keeping in view apprehensions of smaller provinces, Premier of Pakistan, Nawaz Sharif announced on May 28, 2015 after conclusion of All Parties Conference on the burning issue of Pakistan-China Economic Corridor that the “meeting decided to first take up the corridor’s western alignment which would pass through Baluchistan and Khyber Pakhtunkhwa connecting Khunjerab with Gwadar to address concerns of the two provinces.” Western alignment shows estimated distance of 2653 km between Gwadar and Khunjerab. If we see map of the western

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218 ibid
219 “Economic Corridor: 12000 strong force to guard Chinese Workers”, The Express Tribune, March 30, 2015
221 “Parties give go-ahead to China-Pak Corridor”, The Dawn, Islamabad, May 29, 2015
alignment, it indicates roadmap from Khunjerab- Gilgit- Abbottabad- Hassan Abdal- Balkasar-Mianwali- Dera Ismail Khan- Zhob- Qilla Saifullah- Quetta- Mastung- Kalat- Surab- Besima-Panjpur- Turbat to Gwadar. The meeting also decided for establishment of joint working group with all provinces representation for proposals on economic and industrial hub to be built along with Economic Corridor. Three alignments including eastern, central and western remained in active consideration. However, All Parties Conference on May 28, 2015 developed consensus to immediately take up the corridor’s western alignment, mainly passing through KPK and Baluchistan. The following map indicates three alignments of CPEC.

As connectivity through Railways is concerned, though millions of dollars being planned to spend for realignment and rehabilitation of Karachi-Peshawar railway linkage, yet a question mark for capability of Railways for optimum utilization of already available infrastructure. Ninety four percent passenger traffic and 97 percent of goods are being transported through the road within country. Capacity building is the biggest issue in Pakistan Railway as abysmal state of affairs and performance of Pakistan Railway is big hurdle in the cherished voyage of the
successful corridor. Difficult geography of the northern terrain connectivity between China and Pakistan is another big challenge. Geographical abstractions are being overruled being herculean tasks; bypassing of difficult Atta bad Lake with the help of newly dug tunnel for realignment of Karakorum highway in case of completion of Diamer-Bhasha Dam wherein submerging of 100 km newly constructed road. Khunjerab pass remained closed every year from November to May owing to weighty snowfall. Altitude of Khunjerab pass is another big challenge for the Truckers as height of 4693 meter – 15397 feet, truckers to offload 30 percent cargo to pass through this difficult mountain terrain as diesel engines of vehicle cannot work at its optimum level owing to low level of oxygen at excessive height. KKH has always been suffering from calamities of slides and quakes as a result of massive land sliding; Lake of Atta Abad was created in the month of Jan, 2010 and submerging a part of highway. One assurance is that improvement in highways and railways track would definitely reduce the time duration of travelling from Coast to Chinese Border.

CPEC would affect the trading pattern between Beijing and Islamabad even more imports from China. Free trade with Beijing already affected various sectors such as paperboard, ceramics, papers and other consumers’ goods. Khalid Masood former ambassador suggested that Beijing should shift intermediate level industries to Pakistan and focus herself upon the high-tech industries “which would provide Pakistan with industrial investment from China in the form of joint ventures with guaranteed buy-back arrangements.” A successful experiment is made in form of RuYi-Masood Textile Industrial Park in private sector. Linking of Central Asia with South Asia as well as West Asia and through CPEC is imminent. Hassan Askari Rizvi underscores that “Pakistan will not only have to take care of its domestic economic and security situation, but it will also have to normalize economic and diplomatic relations with India.” Vision 2025 prioritizes connectivity with the regional countries through CPEC. President Xi’s idea of China-Pakistan Community of Shared Destiny for pursuing the goals of common interest through deep rooted partnership between two time-tested friends has potential for guiding new destiny. For China CPEC is a linkage of most cherished Silk Road Economic Belt (SREB) project adding importance of Special Economic Zone in Kashgar. Gwadar

222 Ambassador Khalid Mahmood, “Building China Pakistan Community of Shared Destiny in New Era” Islamabad on August 6, 2014
significance for China is a formidable linkage with the Persian Gulf and beyond for trade and commercial activities.

CPEC would be a formidable linkage of China with Afghanistan, Pakistan and even it can be converted to a viable linkage with India. CPEC has substantial benefits for Pakistan. CPEC can increase export potential of Pakistan in agricultural products, textile, leather products and minerals besides boosting the enormous tourism activities in the region. BBC warns that “some militant separatist groups operate in Baluchistan, including Baluchistan Liberation Army and Jundallah, which have already carried out bombings.”

CPEC has been attaining highest level of government attention on both sides of the border. Agreements on rail, road and fiber optics linkage, Gwadar seaport and energy cooperation projects, CPEC is bringing prosperity for both states as well as for whole region. A look on infrastructural projects shows that CPEC has already taken serious momentums. Karakorum highway rehabilitated and realignment upto Raikot completed by Thakot by 2017. Burhan-Mensara motorway up to Havelian leg has been completed by 2017. Work on Lahore Karachi Motorway has been kicked off.

One unanswered question is KKH position after establishment of Diamer-Bhasha Dam. Security must be improved in KPK and Baluchistan for safe and secured western shortest land route via Indus Highway on one side and on the other side is Gwadar as essential part of CPEC connectivity. Grievances of people should be redressed whose areas had been neglected. However, possibility of Central route and the eastern route must be kept alive in case worsening law and order situation in Baluchistan. The Express Tribune informs that “presently 8000 Pakistani security officials are deployed for the protection of over 8100 Chinese workers in Pakistan.”

Optimism in Railroad is still alive. Dream of bullet train from Karachi to Peshawar has overtaken by the trade and commercial solid activities of CPEC. Pumping of millions of dollars for up-gradation of Peshawar-Karachi railway track may not be yielding unless tough and strong decisions at managerial level regarding efficiency and improvement standards in the institution

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225 “Army assigned security of Chinese Engineers”, *The Express Tribune*, April 22, 2015
are taken. As government is prioritizing CPEC related projects, ongoing projects of railway have been slow down and their cost has already been multifaceted and manifold increased.

Gwadar seaport has crucial significance for Pakistan. Gwadar has potential to develop the shipping industries in Pakistan and also has enormous opportunities for Baluchistan development with its gigantic untapped reserves of natural resources. Development of Gwadar seaport would further be strengthening the Pakistan-China strategic, economic and diplomatic partnership. Two factors cannot be ignored such as “(i) Chinese assistance is considered critical for the development of the port and (ii) development of the port will stoke regional tensions, with particular reference to India and Pakistan.”

Security situation of the country has been considerably improved yet many question marks still stick to developmental potential of the state. For smooth sailing on CPEC economic and commercial projects further improvement in security phenomenon and particularly safety of Chinese engineers and technicians working in Pakistan would be foremost. Political instability has direct bearings on CPEC as was the matter of cancellation of most warranted visit of the Chinese President to Islamabad in September, 2014. Special Economic Zones (SEP) establishment alongside of CPEC and relocation of intermediate level industries with cooperation of China would be beneficial for Pakistan export potential viz-a-viz China. Full potential of CPEC could be utilized if regional industrial zones are well connected as conception of Vision 2025 documented by Government of Pakistan. Crossroad location of Pakistan seems a vibrant bridge between South Asia and Central Asia as well as West Asia ideally suitable for integration of intraregional trade and commercial activities.

CPEC provides an historic opportunity to Pakistan to become regional trading hub and for this purpose we would have to improve our diplomatic and political relationship with Afghanistan as well India. The route of CPEC passes through Azad Kashmir, one of the regions that has been “contested in the Kashmir conflict between India and Pakistan, and border guards have occasionally exchanged fire.”

226 Dr. Raja Muhammad Khan “Pak-China Strategic Relations: Regional and Global Impacts”, *Regional Studies, Vol. XXXI*, No.1 Winter 2012-13, 56
227 “India, Pakistan border guards violate cease fire on Kashmir border”, *Xinhua News Agency*, April 20, 2015
In the course of President Xi Jinping stay to Islamabad in April, 2015, both sides applauded progress on CPEC an important project of “one belt and one road”. Islamabad welcomed creation of Silk Road Fund by Beijing and its utilization for Corridor related projects. Pakistan will “firmly support and actively take part in the building of the Belt and Road”. Both countries believe that “Silk Road Economic Belt and 21st Century Maritime Silk Road initiatives represent a new model of regional and south-south cooperation”. Essential recommendations for making CPEC more successful and further deepening Pakistan China partnership include:

- Slow implementation of agreements from Pakistan’s side is an issue of grave concern for China. It is high time to remove all bottlenecks, red tapes and undue hurdle in the way of collaboration and cooperation.

- Some valuable and marvelous projects offered by Chinese brethren have already been lost owing to bureaucratic officialdom and traditional sluggishness. Islamabad has to extend cooperation at the fast track by removing all obstacles in the way.

- All reasons of inhabiting trade and commercial activities with PRC including severe energy crisis, low labor productivity, trade deficit, infrastructural backwardness, low value addition, economies of scale, high taxation, anti-export biases and prejudices, lack in productivity and geographic diversity must be removed urgently to enhance exports of Pakistan to China.

- Quality and Quantity of exportable goods on Pakistan’s side are required to be improved. It is need of the hours for yielding of modern processing technologies to improve the exports quality.

- Raw material is being exported to China by Pakistani companies; same are processed and re-exported to Pakistan after value addition by Chinese Companies. Pakistan should work with Chinese Companies to process and produce finishing goods within the country.

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228 Joint statement between Pakistan and China (20.4.2015), www.mofa.com (accessed on 21.4.2015)
229 ibid
- Apparent non-complementarities between Pakistan and China need to be addressed at appropriate level and to be resolved through vibrant research and analysis.

- For China, Pakistani entrepreneur should exclusive produce goods that are entirely designed keeping in view the requirements of Chinese market.

- Pakistani entrepreneur ought to come out of mental fixation with the West and explore new markets in East particularly in China. Exporter should make endeavors for diversifying the traditional market.

- Security environment in the country is haunting and biggest hurdle in the way of Chinese investment in Pakistan. The security situation needs to be improved as the business corporations and company can be guided through trade and commercial interests and not mere governmental directions.

- Pakistan needs to employee best trade practices in order to avoid unregistered trade and commercial activities between the two countries.

- Entrepreneurs need to understand the Chinese Market and take advantage of Pakistan China Free Trade Agreement. Pakistan is major exporter of bed wear and China has not imposed any duty on bed-wear import from Islamabad. Yet the sorry state of affairs shows that our bed wear export to China is negligible.

- CPEC projects supervising mechanism should be vibrant and effective with updating information as Corridor is not only substantial passageway but also remarkable project in the region.

- Chinese language need to be learnt by the businessmen and entrepreneurs and to develop skillfulness in reading and writing as well as fluently speaking.
• Chinese dynamics are briskly changing and Pakistan has to adopt flexible dynamic policies to match with the time and tide as well as commensuration with the transformation in Chinese Market.

Border sharing, rising economy of western China, geo-regional, geo-economic and geo-strategic vision, commonality of views on all regional and global problems, convergence of interests of both neighboring countries have ensured the permanency and maturity in China-Pakistan strategic relations. On Gwadar Deepwater seaport and economic security, President Xi has written his open editorial before his visit to Pakistan in April and said that “this will be my first trip to Pakistan, but I feel as if I am going to visit the home of my own brother.”

Special Economic Zones provides milestone in already deep rooted friendship of China and Pakistan. There is gaining position on both sides of the borders. Pakistan is going to play the crucial and pivotal role in economic and commercial integration of the region. Geographical and strategic location of Pakistan proved an asset as she is located at the crossroad of demand and supply market. Presently Karachi seaport as well as port of Bin Qasim is operating at their full swing and strength. Islamabad’s dependence of seaborne trade is over 95 percent accentuated further developments of the new seaports and maritime routes. Sustainable economic growth and incessant development is the need of hours. CPEC projects would surely contribute a long way forward. Besides, economic and commercial developmental projects, their socio-political and geo-strategic dimensions are multifaceted. “Ten to fifteen years down the road, USA considers that CPEC can become strategic corridor for China.”

The Minister for Planning & Development Ahsan Iqbal has stated CPEC is beneficial for entire South Asia region and “uplift the lives of people in all provinces and regions of Pakistan by making Pakistan hub of a new region comprising of around three billion people across China, Central Asia, South Asia and the Middle East.” Sum of the discussion is that the dialogue on global partnership between New Delhi and Tokyo in 2000 already suggested that more assertive rising China may draw India in Regional Security Complex as part of the anti-Beijing coalition. Distress of resounding Chinese significant minorities in domestic politics of various East Asian

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231 Professor Dr. Hassan Askari Rizvi, Expert on Regional Security, personal interview, December 18, 2017
states especially in Vietnam, Indonesia and Malaysia cannot be ignored by these countries. Assertive China can encourage acquisition of nuclear weapons by Korea, Japan and even Taiwan. Undoubtedly, at bilateral level between Pakistan and China, the general patterns of amity would remain similar. In this scenario, Pakistan-China strategic partnership would further boom and Beijing would keep on Islamabad as formidable ally and Pakistan can further be promoted in priority list of Beijing depending upon her domestic politics.

Dr. Moonis Ahmar has opined that bilateral Challenges including growing tension between Islamabad and New Delhi. On contrary, challenges are rising including Pakistan and US rising tensions on issue of Afghanistan and augmenting Indian influence in Afghanistan. Opportunities are further institutionalizing security and strategic linkages including sharing of expertise on extremism and terrorism. Keeping in view the gigantic bilateral cooperation between Islamabad and Beijing especially in arena of security, civil nuclear and economic spheres, not only continuation of amity is expected but also further deepening of strategic cooperation between two neighboring countries. China improved tremendously commercial relationship with Pakistan since 2001. Traditionally military hardware had been transferring to Pakistan from China. Now bilateral trade has been diversified having irrefutable commercial underpinning. Both countries already concluded Free Trade Agreement in 2006 and further improvement occurred in 2009. Bilateral trade between Islamabad and Beijing has been expanded from $1billion in 2001 to $7billion in 2007, then $12.4 billion in 2012 and attained jubilant figure of $16 billion in 2015.

An analysis of CPEC’s Economic and Cumulative Dividends for Pakistan has been made by Syed Irfan Hyder and Tazeen Arsalan. The table below sums up the magnitude of CPEC.

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<th>Table: 3.2.2: CPEC’S ECONOMIC AND CUMULATIVE DIVIDENDS FOR PAKISTAN</th>
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<td><strong>ECONOMIC ADVANTAGES</strong></td>
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<td>Economic Dividends to Agriculture</td>
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<td>National and International Law Policy</td>
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<tr>
<td>Potential Threats and Challenges</td>
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<tr>
<td>A New Hope</td>
</tr>
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<td>China’s Pakistan Plan</td>
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<td>Development Strategy</td>
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233 Dr. Moonis Ahmar, Dean of Faculty of Social Sciences, University of Karachi, personal interview Jan 1, 2018
This chapter has elaborated the bilateral dynamics of Pakistan-China Strategic relations through prism of conventional security cooperation consisting upon Sino-Pakistan’s early phases, post-cold war era and security cooperation in post-9/11 arena. Moreover, civil nuclear collaboration has been deliberated upon. Maritime/Naval Cooperation focused through Chinese Frigates - Pakistan Navy as well as joint exercises by Pakistan and China naval forces. Economic Cooperation between China and Pakistan has been highlighted through Free Trade Agreement and China-Pakistan Economic Corridor.

Next Chapter will concentrate on South Asia Regional Security Complex and Regional Dynamics of Pakistan-China Strategic ties in post-9/11 arena. In this chapter prevailing security dilemma in South Asia RSC will be debated. Further Beijing’s interest in South Asia and Pakistan vital role as strategic balancer between China and India will be discussed.

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Chapter 4

SOUTH ASIAN REGIONAL SECURITY COMPLEX AND REGIONAL DYNAMICS OF PAKISTAN CHINA STRATEGIC RELATIONS

This chapter examines regional dynamics of Pakistan-China strategic relations in post-9/11 arena against the backdrop of South Asian Regional Security Complex. It argues that growing Indo-US strategic partnership and patterns of amity between Pakistan and China as well as patterns of enmity between Pakistan and India are shaping Pakistan-China strategic relations. It discusses that Pakistan and China perceive conflict in Afghanistan as factor of instability in the region and have thereby stepped up counter terrorism cooperation.

The traditional scenario of security dilemma in vogue in the South Asia escalated tension between Pakistan and India. India nuclear rhetoric and Chinese regular supply of arms and economic assistance to Pakistan indicates that still traditional equation not only continued but also deepened. Rising rivalry between China and India can be result into transformation in the South Asian RSC and East Asia RSC. The other way out is that New Delhi is desirous to develop itself as third Asian great power. Hence security dilemma between Pakistan and India has further been intensified.

In the regional dynamics, Pakistan and Afghanistan relationship has become more significant since post 9/11. The spillover impacts of instability of Afghanistan can be observed throughout the region. Especially Pakistan and China due to proximity of the periphery are most affected states of instability paradox of warring state of Afghanistan. China interest in Afghanistan can be seen through the prism of Central and South Asia in geo-political and strategic arena. China built strong road network in Myanmar, Nepal and Sri Lanka. India considers these developments as challenge to its regional and interregional hegemonic ambitions. The main purpose of China is to explore national resources and minerals deposits. Connecting Kabul with Xinjiang through railways parallel to connecting Gwadar to Xinjiang remained under consideration between China and Afghanistan. The worsening law and order
situation in Afghanistan is main hurdle on the way of economic development and regional stability.

4.1 Pakistan’s Security Dilemma in South Asia Regional Security Complex

Pakistan remained in security dilemma and has constantly been striving hard in quest of security throughout its history. Pakistan has been looking for most warranted security against its archrival India and succeeded in establishing mutually interest based and most needed friendship with China. “The development of non-conventional weapons has given an unprecedented boost to the national security of Pakistan.”234 Now that, the post 9/11 US presence in Afghanistan has given the opportunity to India to pose security challenges to Pakistan from western boarder as well. This has made the security phenomenon more complex.

i) Security dilemma in South Asia

The RSC Theory observes that dialogue on global partnership between New Delhi and Tokyo in 2000 already suggested that more assertive China may draw India in the Regional Security Complex as part of the anti-Beijing coalition. In this scenario, Pakistan-China strategic partnership would further boom and Beijing would keep on Islamabad as formidable ally and even Burma can be promoted in priority list of Beijing depending upon her domestic politics. A unified Korea having inherited dislike for Tokyo may be remained neutral or bandwagon with Beijing.

Islamabad-Beijing strategic situation at this critical juncture demands further deepening of the relationship between China and Pakistan with essential implications upon the regional dynamics. It is need of the hour that trustworthy strategic partners should extend helping hand to each other and face the odd challenges collectively. Prime Minister of China, Wan Jiabo during his visit in December, 2010 suggested that “China-Pakistan cooperation is a key part of the bilateral strategic partnership and enjoys promising projects. China expects to take concerted actions with Pakistan to bring more benefits to their people.”235 It is beyond any doubt that

Pakistan China strategic partnership is developing by leaps and bounds and being further deepened with the passage of time.

Since establishment of Pakistan, Indian hostile designs created deep sense of insecurity in the minds of Pakistan’s leadership. The leadership was constantly looking for security of the state and looking for ways and means to preserve its sovereignty and independence. New Delhi denied resolution of all long standing disputes including the imbroglio of Kashmir in accordance with the golden principles of equity, fair-play and justice. Islamabad faced wrath of hegemonic India by confronting all issues including unjust flow of rivers, unfair transfer of assets, and forceful succession of the princely states with India. New Delhi tried their best to impose their will upon Islamabad with complete disregard of the agreement of partition. Owing to disparity of material resources, New Delhi created hurdles in peaceful resolutions of all outstanding issues and depend upon threat of using force against Islamabad. Thus security dilemma remained continued in South Asia throughout establishment of Pakistan since 1947. “Regional challenges include armed conflict in Afghanistan and continued India-Pakistan tension. Opportunities include China can be admitted as a full member of SAARC for stabilizing South Asia for seeking better Chinese economic and technical cooperation in the region”.

South Asia RSC is conflictive in nature where pattern of enmity between Pakistan and India is shaped by their rivalry and continued distrust. Pakistan has been facing security dilemma since its inception, where hegemonic India has never accepted the very existence of Pakistan from core of her heart. On the contrary, the patterns of amity between Pakistan and China can be seen in the longstanding strategic relationship and deep rooted cooperation. Beijing’s own interaction with region has been largely shaped by distrust and strategic enmity with India, where astonishing combination of cooperation and competition is in vogue. In the circumstances, a pattern of amity between Islamabad and Beijing as well as a pattern of enmity rather amity is incessantly continuing between Beijing and New Delhi.

September 2001 terrorists’ attacks by non-state actors triggered reassertion of interventionism of great powers, but this phenomenon remained narrow and specified in nature

236 Dr. Moonis Ahmar, Dean of Faculty of Social Sciences, University of Karachi, personal interview January 1, 2018
and there existed no possibility of revival of cold war era superpowers’ rivalry. Autonomy of regional security devised a pattern and structure of global security diametrically opposed to rigid structure of superpower bipolarity. Such pattern is not adopted by unipolar or multipolar views or even proponents of globalization in International Relations. Growing integration of South Asia RSC with East Asia RSC is defining dynamics of Pakistan-China Relations at the regional level.

The internal transformation cannot be ruled out in South Asia, where Pakistan is still sustaining bipolarity despite New Delhi’s heavy weight and where advantage is available with India. Islamabad’s enthusiasm for alliances with outside actors as well as nuclear power remained its trump card to sustain bipolarity and avoid unipolarity in the region. External transformation is escalation of the New Delhi-Beijing rivalry to a point where it could push the South Asian regional level to some extend into the background. “This possibility was affected by the growth of nuclear weapons capabilities in South Asia, and by India’s potential to achieve great power standing beyond the regional level.” However, recently added factor in shape of CPEC could not be enumerated by the RSC theory propounded in 2003. The security dilemma between Islamabad and New Delhi is expected to be continued. CPEC added another cornerstone towards Pakistan’s economic and commercial ties with China alongside already strong strategic relationship between two neighboring states. Thus bipolarity is expected to be continued in South Asian RSC.

The domestic level, due to defining position in the region, domestic instability in Pakistan has elevated more concerns though mutual rivalry between Pakistan and India is still continued. The whole machinery of state remained stick with the passionate commitment of rivalry between two Asian rivals and the security dilemma. Pakistan had been over burdened with expensive nuclear weapons and enhancing active military expenditures. Moreover, inefficient governance raised questions about stability of the state in the region in the long run. There were speculations that Pakistan had facing semi-political chaos already suffering Afghanistan and such queer situation is prevailing in chaotic Afghanistan in Asia and Somalia in Africa.

At regional level, security politics in the region has strong linkage with domestic insecurities continued with tensions between Islamabad and New Delhi in post-cold war era. Between India and Nepal borders, trade, migrants and water issues remained continued. Between
India and Bangladesh water allocations, migrants and insurgency spillover issues remained unresolved. Between India and Sri Lanka, Tamil politics remained hot issue of the day. Above all security dilemma between Islamabad and New Delhi remained in picture in pre and post-cold war era.

Between Pakistan and India, traditional patterns of animosity was maintained and escalated in the South Asia. Pakistan and India remained concerned on three fronts including border issues particularly on Kashmir imbroglio, communal issues “exacerbated by the rise of BJP and military rivalry escalated by increasing nuclear weapons and missile capability on both sides of the border.” Hence security dilemma remained in vogue. Now two obnoxious evils of terrorism and extremism have been added to already hostile environment between India and Pakistan.

At regional and interregional level continuity in the Asian Supercomplex and security interplay between South Asian RSC and the Middle Eastern RSC is persisted. Continuity in Asian Supercomplex depends upon the patterns of relationship between India and China as well as Pakistan. South Asia remained as minor front for China. China‘s strategy to maintain status quo and to keep it in the same way.

The Chinese strategy based on the realism that if India diverted challenge from Pakistan, it would create troubles for China. Chinese skillful strategic game further enhanced by the demise of Soviet Union, a formidable ally of India. China continued her efforts to back Pakistan’s nuclear and missile advancement in the region. India continued rhetoric of real threat from China than from Pakistan and posing justification of unbridled nuclearisation and missile technology in perspective of civil nuclear technology agreement with the US in 2005. Hence, strategically security dilemma or trilemma\(^{237}\) is continued amongst Pakistan, India and China in Asian Supercomplex.

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4.1.1 Mini Complex of Afghanistan

In spite of all commotion, Afghanistan remains an effective insulator. RSCT mentions Afghanistan a significant insulator. Harpviken discusses Afghanistan through the prism of theory and extends support the Regions and Powers analysis but “with two substantial caveats.” These two important activities generated in Afghanistan. Firstly, Gulf play in Afghanistan (Saudi-Iran rivalry) while central Asian remained constant, the regional dynamics of South Asia are now playing more strongly. Pakistan’s involvement in Afghanistan remained for strategic depth. India remained engage for counter-involvement in Afghanistan in 1990s and 2000s by creating a loose alignment amongst India, Iran and Russia to play against Pakistan-China combination. To the western side, there are numerous significant events but there is no structural change.

Regions and Powers sidelined ethnic and religious transnational elements belonging to neighboring states in Afghanistan, which are noteworthy. The rising extension of India-Pakistan rivalry in Afghanistan is significant where China is also a significant factor. In spite of all developments, Afghanistan’s status as insulator could not be challenged and no observable enhancement shown in linkage between security dynamics of Middle East and South Asia. Afghanistan still absorbing implications from the neighboring states much more as it is linking them across the RSCs.

a) Mini Complex and Role of Pakistan-China

Increased political fragmentation of Kabul continued under impact of its own internal conflicts and interventions by both neighbors and great powers. Islamabad and Beijing have entire resemblance of views in their pivotal role in Afghanistan. Beijing-Islamabad is considering that Kabul has central role in regional stability. Pakistan and China have shown deep interest in security, stability and peaceful endeavors for rehabilitation of Afghanistan. Pakistan is one of the largest exporters to Afghanistan. Pakistan and China has strong collaboration in the arena of minerals and energy spheres in Afghanistan. Both Beijing and Islamabad have shown deep affinity for exploring energy resources from Afghanistan. Pakistan and Afghanistan both

states are beneficiary of Turkmenistan-Afghanistan-Pakistan-India (TAPI) gas pipeline energy project being implemented through Asian Development Bank. Beijing has appreciated all regional development energy projects including TAPI and IPI gas pipeline project considering essential for regional stability. Beijing can take benefits of these projects for themselves in future, if these energy projects are materialized.

China has substantially contributed in Afghanistan’s development since last ten years. China constructed different road networks in Afghanistan. China constructed valuable hospital buildings in Kabul and Kandahar and extended helping hand to Afghanistan in Parwan Province irrigational project. “China is investing in Afghanistan’s infrastructure development, mining, energy, health sector and communication sector by spending millions of dollars.”

Pakistan remained desirous to import electricity from Kyrgyzstan and Tajikistan via Afghanistan. Pakistan considers that Beijing’s involvement in Kabul affairs would promote regional stability and is within the four corners of interests of Pakistan, Afghanistan and China.

Chinese investment in Kabul will bring constructive changes in war-ravaged state. Beijing’s Foreign Direct Investment in Afghanistan is in the benefits of all three countries. Beijing has multifarious interests in development of Afghanistan. China is desirous to make heavy investment in Afghanistan in post-withdrawal scenario of NATO forces. China considers Afghanistan one of the significant neighbors. On the contrary, India is competing in Afghanistan for influence with China as well as Pakistan. India worked on “new Afghan Parliament, building Salama dam for energy purposes and also financing the construction of Zaranj Delaram road in Western Afghanistan.”

The irony of fate is that Afghanistan remained missing link in the region. Peaceful Afghanistan is essential for peaceful region. In the arena Pakistan and China are important partners in stability of Afghanistan. Geopolitically Pakistan is most feasible and prompt route of land and sea for transportation of goods of Afghanistan, China and Central Asian Republics.

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240 Yousaf, “Afghanistan’s reconstruction”, 27
avoiding the overcrowded sea lane in the Strait of Malacca. Hence peaceful Afghanistan is essential for stability in the South Asia region.

Beijing considers that current political instability in Afghanistan is not only detrimental for the region but also dangerous for politically volatile region of Xinjiang. TTP and Al-Qaeda remained as backbone for separatists Uighur belonging to the ETIM. These ETIM guerrillas were trained in Afghanistan by terrorists’ organizations and stormed through China-Afghanistan borders into autonomous region of Xinjiang. Unquestionably, economic development strategy and planning of Xinjiang region by China depends upon stability and security in Afghanistan. After withdrawal of ISAF forces, China can realign precautionary security strategy in Afghanistan and in the South Asia region.

China-Afghanistan economic partnership can be augmented on political reconciliation in Afghanistan. China considers Afghanistan as most significant state for connectivity with Central Asia and South Asia as well as Europe through Silk-Road-Economic-Belt. Silk Road connectivity would enhance Chinese investment in mining sector and minerals. China cooperation with Afghanistan at governmental level and competitive entrepreneurship level can further be improved. China has excitingly been participating in economic developmental projects of Afghanistan showing a deep strategic interest in Afghanistan. Presently China has made investment of millions of dollars in Afghanistan. “China has given “Economic and Technical assistance to Afghanistan from 2003 to 2009 and written of $75 million dollars of debt as its grant for the next five years.”\(^\text{241}\) In future this investment can be enhanced through power projects and mineral resources developmental projects.

Pakistan-Afghanistan economic cooperation has been enhanced. Trade volume between two countries existed at $2.5 billion in 2015.\(^\text{242}\) Trade and economic cooperation between two neighboring counties is expected to be augmented further. In 2010 Islamabad and Kabul signed trade agreement calling it Afghanistan-Pakistan-Transit-Trade-Agreement (APTTA) wherein Afghan trucks allowed to transport goods to Karachi and Gwadar to export to India and China. Negotiations are continued on hydroelectric dam at Kunnar River. Moreover talks remained

\(^{241}\) Yousaf, “Afghanistan’s reconstruction”, 27

continued on Central Asia South Asia Electricity Transmission and Trade Project (CASA-1000), thereby Pakistan-Afghanistan be able to import electricity from two Central Asian states including Kyrgyzstan and Tajikistan. Here main beneficiary is the state of Pakistan. India has been striving hard for its own influence in Afghanistan. “India has spent nearly $2 billion on Afghanistan in sectors like law and order, infrastructure development, economic development, security and governance and participation.”

Negotiations between Pakistan and Afghanistan are continued on implementation of Turkmenistan-Afghanistan-Pakistan-India (TAPI) gas pipeline project. Connecting Pakistan with Afghanistan through Peshawar to Jalalabad as well as Chaman to Spin Boldak through roads network enhancement is under serious talk. Interconnecting 32 countries through Asian Highway Network project with financial assistance of European Union for trade and commerce development. China is interested in railway and motorway connections between Pakistan and Afghanistan and promised for Chinese investment.

China’s Afghanistan policy is based upon security and economic consideration. China being a great power is geographically connected with Afghanistan. Afghanistan in post-withdrawal ISAF forces arena can survive on financial muscles of China. China is one of the largest investor in Afghanistan having deep rooted economic and trade interests.

China has amicable role in negotiations between Afghan government and Taliban. China supports reconciliations endeavors in Afghanistan. China is desirous to make safe its present and future investment in Afghanistan. Prominent Chinese companies have signed contracts with Afghanistan’s government and China wants to make safe investment even in ISAF forces withdrawal scenario.

China’s Metallurgical Corporation and Afghanistan has signed $3.5 billion to explore copper mines at Aynak. China worked for “$3.5 billion Aynak Copper Mine, a 400 Megawatt Coal Power plant and constructing a railway line from Western China via Tajikistan and Afghanistan to Pakistan.” Practical work on the project could not be started owing to prevailing insecurity in Afghanistan. Incontrovertibly peaceful Afghanistan is essential for

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243 Yousaf, “Afghanistan’s reconstruction”, 28
244 Yousaf, “Afghanistan’s reconstruction”, 27
economic, social and trade development of the whole region. Beijing’s relationship with Kabul is mainly based upon geopolitical consideration keeping in view the deep rooted strategic relations of Islamabad with Beijing. China considers Pakistan as balancer against military, economic, political and strategic dominance of India in South Asia. Sino-Afghanistan relationship undoubtedly impacts upon Sino-Pakistan strategic relations.

China is looking at Afghanistan as strategic partner. The peaceful and stabilized Afghanistan is within the interest of Asia. Natural resources iron, copper, marble and other minerals abundant in Afghanistan are required to be explored. Drilling opportunities for oil in Afghanistan are available for China. In 2011 National Petroleum Corporation signed deal with Afghan Government to explore petrochemical resources for 25 years. Oil refinery establishment is expected either in Sari Pul province or Faryab province. Trans-Afghan Natural Gas Pipeline would boost China’s economy started from Turkmenistan and reach to China. China Metallurgical Construction Company and Jiangxi Copper offered biggest FDIs in Afghanistan. A railway line connected Aynak mining project with rest of the country is expected.

Exploration of Central Asia region for untapped energy resources e.g. mineral deposits and oil resources would boost commercial trade of the region. Securitized and peaceful Afghanistan is a key to regional development. “Old Silk Road have a potential to become a new Silk Road.” China considers Afghanistan as most important player in perspective of the Central Asia.

On 16th December, 2017 China hosted the first China-Afghanistan-Pakistan Foreign Ministers Dialogue at Beijing. Chinese Foreign Minister Wang Yi, Afghan Foreign Minister Salauddin Rabbani and Khawaja M. Asif, Pakistan’s Foreign Minister participated. The purpose of this meeting was close security cooperation amongst three neighboring countries as stable and peaceful Afghanistan is in the interests of whole region. China has provided most feasible Belt and Road Initiative (BRI) “than through Chabahar or the costly air service provided by India. This explains the understanding reached in Beijing to advance connectivity under the BRI, which is bound to shock India.”

245 Joseph Catanzaro, Ren Qi, Chen Jia and Bu Han “Silk Road Initiative Connects Countries on Path of Prosperity”, The Telegraph, July 3, 2015 (accessed on January 12, 2018)
Peaceful and stable Afghanistan is vital point for China’s security policy. Internal security of Afghanistan is significant for Beijing. Instability in Afghanistan is conducive to extremists, terrorists and insurgents, involved in drug trafficking to China and providing training facilities to Uighur’s from ETIM terrorists posing threat to China’s internal security. “China’s major interest is to prevent extremist elements in Afghanistan from entering into the Xinjiang province.” First round of trilateral dialogue was held on 10 of February, 2015 in Kabul. Afghanistan definitely significantly matter in Asia. Afghanistan has pivotal role in China’s Silk Route Economic Belt strategy. China has observed economic and trade diplomacy towards Kabul, planning for mineral development since 2001. “China provided assistance worth US$ 250 million to the Afghan government.” The meeting focused on Afghan led peace process for which Beijing and Islamabad provided full cooperation.

Previously, trilateral dialogue started in 2012 when Pakistan Afghanistan and China held meeting in Beijing. In 2012, Beijing interest in Afghanistan was limited to help Islamabad’s influence in Kabul, as Pakistan was competing to Indian rising influence in Afghanistan. Slowly China increases its influence in economic and political arena through strengthening diplomacy. Pakistan China and Afghanistan agreed to enhance cooperation in counter-terrorism and security arena. “China prime interest in Afghanistan is rising terrorism and adversely affecting Xinjiang’s security as well as availing opportunity of investment in mining and minerals.”

China did not want to create a power vacuum to make stronghold to Al-Qaeda or Islamic States (IS) or ETIM. Beijing has already taken stringent steps to beef up security alongside borders of Azad Kashmir and Afghanistan to avoid infiltration of ETIM insurgents. India wants to get maximum influence in Afghanistan and desirous not to create security issues by Indo-Afghan collaboration for Pakistan. Suleman Yousaf has pointed out that “India is involved in Afghanistan to gain influence and bypass Pakistan’s genuine security interests in Afghanistan.”

China kept a low profile policy in Afghanistan despite taking projects of connectivity and hydro dam though it wants to perform a larger role in security stability and infrastructural

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247 Yousaf, “Afghanistan’s reconstruction”, 27
249 Professor Dr. Hassan Askari Rizvi, Expert on Regional Security, personal interview, December 18, 2017
250 Yousaf, “Afghanistan’s reconstruction”, 28
development of war-torn Afghanistan. Bilateral meeting between Kabul and Beijing are continued. Taliban delegation visited Beijing in continuation of efforts of reconciliation.

Pakistan China strategic relationship remained important throughout the history. Post 9/11 era has added new dimension of terrorism in the equation of Pakistan China strategic relationship. The situation of Xinjiang, being Muslim dominated area and adjacent to Pakistan Northern Area has become vital indicator in the time tested relationship of Pakistan and China. From Chinese point of view their major security concern is domestic one, comes from the internal disgruntlement and not from across the borders. China considers Islamic fundamentalism across the borders particularly al-Qaeda and likeminded elements including Non State Actors, being perpetuators and supporters of discontented Uyghur for promoting separatism in her province of Xinjiang. Hence it would be appropriate to deliberate on the regional dynamics of Xinjiang issue.

b) Mini Complex and Role of India

Indian engagement in Afghanistan grows since 9/11. In perspective of War on Terror, the relationship between India and Afghanistan has further been grown stronger. India remained an ally of the western powers in Afghanistan and invested in infrastructure development, institution building and investment projects in war torn state.

Indo-Afghanistan ties have further been strengthened by strategic partnership agreement signed between Kabul and New Delhi in 2011. Kabul has passing through three simultaneous transitions such as political, economic and security since 2015, India made long terms commitments to security and economic development of Afghanistan. Kabul has immense strategic potential for New Delhi. Pakistan considers geo-strategically Indo-Afghan strategic partnership as an endeavor to its encirclement. The US-NATO blamed that Pakistan had been looking for strategic depth in Afghanistan and now Haqqani network has an active connivance of Islamabad.

New Delhi has record of longstanding economic and technical assistance to Kabul in various sectors of the milieu. “Since prior to 1979, Afghanistan was the largest partner in India’s technical and economic cooperation program.”251 New Delhi launched extensive program of

251 A Baruah, “Karazai keen on Indian Expertise”, The Hindu, January 22, 2002
economic assistance to Kabul, immediately on fall of Taliban regime in 2001 and pledged $570 million for reconstruction endeavors mostly unconditional. From the announced commitment “$270 million has utilized and the projects range from humanitarian and infrastructure to health and rural development as well as training of diplomats and bureaucrats.”\textsuperscript{252} New Delhi remained among six top donors to Afghanistan extended package of exceeding $500 million in 2001.

New Delhi undertook high profile infrastructure projects. One of the projects was reconstruction of Zaranj-Delaram Road measuring 220 KM connecting Afghanistan to Iran and providing shortest possible route for Indian goods to Kabul. The security to Indian workers was provided by 300 men of paramilitary force furnished by New Delhi. India was providing trainings to 700 Afghans in profession of judges, doctors, teachers, women entrepreneurs, diplomats, paramedics, public officials and cartographers. New Delhi provided assistance in transportation sector including buses and essential trainings to the staffers. New Delhi committed one million tons wheat to Kabul and operationalized by giving high protein biscuits for school-going children through World Food Program. New Delhi is executing Salma Dam Power Project in Herat, giving commitment of $80 million and “double circuit transmission line from Pul-e-Khumri to Kabul.”\textsuperscript{253}

India has been providing infrastructural facilities to Kabul. Parliament building was built by New Delhi. New Delhi adopted 100 villages for solar electrification and rain water harvesting. The preferential trade agreement signed between Kabul and New Delhi provides duty concession to Afghan dry fruits while entering into India. Kabul provides concessions to tea, sugar and pharmaceuticals. Moreover, low tax regime introduced by Kabul for manufacturing of cement, electricity, gas, oil as well as services of banks, hotels and communications.

Afghanistan has become SAARC full member. South Asia can be connected through Afghanistan to Central and West Asia. Afghanistan has low trade with South Asian states. South-Asian-Free-Trade-Area(SAFTA) agreement would increase trade and commercial activities in

Kabul “$2billion to the region with as much as $606 million accruing to Afghanistan”.

Indian embassy was bombed in 2008 and 2009 in terrorists attacks, which was condemned by Islamabad. Indian isolation at London Conference was noted showing that New Delhi’s role in Kabul was not applauded fully even by the West.

Islamabad-Kabul has formalized an agreement in 2011 allowing Pakistan reconciliation endeavors between “Kabul and Taliban, which was supported by the United States”. The US publically supported the idea of negotiation with Taliban through Pakistan. Pakistan succeeded to convince to have reconciliation endeavors with ‘good Taliban’. Here Indian marginalization was felt by New Delhi. New Delhi eyed reconciliation efforts by Pakistan between Kabul government and Taliban with suspicions. New Delhi also remained critical on idea of the US plans to pull out from Afghanistan. Indian Premier expressed hope that “all those engaged in process of moving towards stability in Afghanistan would stay on course”.

The US has actively “discouraging India from assuming a higher profile in Afghanistan for fear of offending Pakistan.” New Delhi felt having little space to maneuver in Kabul affairs in Barack Obama’s administration. However, New Delhi has been striving hard for larger role in Kabul affairs since last decade. Islamabad allows transits rights to Kabul to export goods to New Delhi but not allowed Indian goods move to Afghanistan through its territory.

Indian Premier Manmohan Singh announced on May 2, 2011 made “a fresh commitment of $500 million for development over and above India’s existing aid assistance of around $1.5 billion.” New Delhi and Kabul have shown agreement on strategic partnership under framework headed by foreign ministers of both states. Both states have been extended collaboration in arena of justice, security, law enforcement, illegal trafficking in narcotics, fight against international terrorism, organized crimes and money laundering etc. Indian Premier addressed the Afghan Parliament, emphasizing on Indo-Afghan collaboration against fighting extremism and terrorism. Consortium of steel companies of India headed by National Mineral Development Corporation(NMDC), largest iron ore mining corporation has been bidding to

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254 G. Srinivasan, “Afghanistan’s entry to SAARC will lead to $2 bn gain for subcontinent”, The Hindu Business Line, March 29, 2007
255 Anita Joshua, “Bid to Placate Pakistan on Afghanistan”, The Hindu, August 4, 2011
257 “US seeks to balance India’s Afghanistan stake”, The Reuters, June 1, 2010
258 “Strategic ties with Kabul…India not like US, say PM”, The Indian Express, May 13, 2011
acquire all or some of Kabul’s 1.8 billion tones Hajigak iron ore mines. It is one of the largest private-public partnerships. New Delhi companies are worried for their investment in Afghanistan owing to looming threat of Taliban.

India signed strategic partnership agreement with Afghanistan in October, 2011 wherein India pledged “training, equipping and capacity building of Afghan security forces”. New Delhi committed for training of Afghan Army and Police Force. New Delhi accepted Kabul request for “150 army officers to receive training at Indian defense and military academies and also agreed to begin hosting training sessions for Afghan police officers.” Karazai offered strategic pact to NATO as well. Karazai hoped that the world would stand-by Kabul when foreign troops would take back from the county. Afghan President Hamid Karazai mentioned that “South Asia faced dangers from terrorism and extremism used as an instrument of policy against innocent civilians”.

Russia’s geopolitical interests in Afghanistan and central Asia include combating religious extremism, smuggling, drug trafficking, terrorism, organized crimes, smuggling of small arms. Under the umbrella of SCO, China, Russia and CARs share intelligence and made joint military exercises as well as coordinating policy for competing interests in the region. Thus, SCO would become more effective after departure of the US and NATO troops as India and Pakistan have also attained membership of the organization.

Intensification of Indo-Pakistan rivalry into Afghanistan has been noted. - Pakistan’s used to oppose New Delhi strategic role in Kabul and consider its own encirclement by New Delhi. Islamabad convinced for Indian active support to TTP and allied terrorist organizations for terrorism activities within territory of Pakistan. Islamabad’s ties with Washington deteriorated since May 2011 when the US Seals killed Osama Bin Laden in Abbottabad. The US suspended a portion of military assistance to Pakistan. Islamabad became more critical upon the US unilateral military action within territory of Pakistan without any prior intimation. Islamabad became forceful underling significance of Beijing for Pakistan. Reacting US move, Pakistan Ambassador

260 Roy Shubhajit, “Delhi, Kabul enter first strategic partnership”, The Indian Express, October 3, 2011
to Beijing Masood Khan mentioned that “China will stand by us in difficult times as it has been doing for the past years.”

South and Central Asian states have expressed that spillover effects as well as terrorism, narcotics corruption and terrorism have severally affected them and emphases need to address through joint endeavors. These states adopted Istanbul Protocol in November 2011 wherein Iran, India, China, Pakistan, Kazakhstan and Russia “to cooperate in counteracting terrorism drug trafficking and insurgency in Afghanistan and in the neighboring areas.”

India considers Afghanistan as gateway to reaching energy rich Central Asia such as Kazakhstan and Turkmenistan through development of Iranian Seaport of Chabahar. India in 2005 already signed 25 years $22 billion agreement with Iran for Liquefied Natural Gas export (LPG) but it has still yielded no result.

The US has been supporting India’s role in Afghanistan. New Delhi feels convergence of interests with Washington in Afghanistan. The US Defence Defense Panetta visited India in June 2012 and has discussed greater role of New Delhi in Kabul. The US refuted statement of Taliban for negative answer and underscored New Delhi pivotal role in “regional security including the transition in Afghanistan.” The US approved New Delhi long term involvement in Kabul affairs. As an integral part of third US-India Strategic Dialogue held in June 2012, New Delhi and Washington announced “regular trilateral consultation with Afghanistan”.

The US remained in search for military victory in Afghanistan but could not attain such success in Afghanistan so far. In Afghanistan, all regional actors have their interests. Iran opposes any long term presence of the US in Afghanistan. Russia is desirous that Afghanistan does not become a source of religious instability transported to its territory of Central Asian States. Beijing is desirous to preserve economic and trade profile in Afghanistan and combating terrorism especially with reference to ETIM. China and Pakistan are making joint efforts for peace and stability in Afghanistan as both the states are facing severe spillover impacts being immediate neighboring states. India wants long term presence of the US-NATO forces in

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261 Ahmad Jamal Nizami, “China to stand by Pakistan in its hour of need: Envoy”, *The Nation*, July 14, 2011
263 “US contradicts Taliban, says India did not say no on Afghanistan”, *The Indian Express*, June 19, 2012
264 Chidanand Rajghatta, “America persuades India to expand Afghan footprint”, *The Times of India*, June 14, 2012
Afghanistan and encirclement of Islamabad through New Delhi-Kabul strategic partnership as well augmenting its role as rising power on behest of sole superpower of US. India’s oppose pro-Pakistan government at Kabul fearing adverse effects upon the imbroglio of Kashmir and even its spree of third great power aspirations in Asia.

4.2 China’s Interests in South Asia and Pakistan’s Role as Strategic Balancer

China is not part of South Asia rather it has political, economic and strategic interests in this region being a rising power. Currently, Beijing has no clear-cut strategic policies towards South Asia rather some ambiguity existed in present international environment. Pakistan has inexorable strong relationship with China but conflict on Kashmir between India and Pakistan may jeopardize the security environment in the region in consideration of Chinese leadership. Thus Beijing considers neutral Kashmir policy as pragmatic.

China being rising power in Asia and neighboring state has vested interests in South Asia where Pakistan has been playing a role of strategic balancer between India and China. China desires for peace and stability in the region, which is essential for its peaceful growth and rise. Pakistan attained strategic parity with India in 1998 on successful nuclear tests in Chaighi. On the contrary, Indo-US civil nuclear deal upset the balance in South Asia and posed serious threat to the peace and stability in the region. Indo-US deal open new vista of opportunity for India to trade nuclear components and technology with the global suppliers without any limitation. To restore the balance in South Asia similar treatment with Pakistan either by the US or China is essential. India remained as non-signatory of NPT but attained a special status after signing Indo-US civil nuclear deal in 2005.

India has not signed NPT and cannot become member of NSG. Yet the US is vying to attain Indian membership of NSG. Indo-US civil nuclear deal has tilted balance of power in favor of India in South Asia, which is quite alarming for Pakistan as Pakistan feels real threat from India for its security and safety. Despite numerous sacrifices of Pakistan in War on Terror and non-NATO alley, “US rewarded India with the title of strategic partner”\textsuperscript{265} The quick fallout of Indo-US civil nuclear deal was US-India partnership. Indo-US civil nuclear deal has created serious implications for Pakistan as well as China.

\textsuperscript{265} Rizwan Naseer and Musarat Amin “Sino-Pakistan Maneuvering to Balance of Power in South Asia”, \textit{Research Journal of South Asian Studies}, 30, no.2, July-December, 2015, 326
India emerges as most powerful player in global politics strategically and politically wherein other states have rushed to sign the civil nuclear deal with India. Up till now almost all major states of NSG have signed civil nuclear deal with India. Hence “under the terms of agreement India can take off nuclear components and related technology with other nuclear supplier/dealers. India would have prompt access to nuclear technology for civilian and defence purposes.” Furthermore, there is authorization for New Delhi for “exchange of nuclear related technologies with other states. New Delhi access to high nuclear technology provides primacy over Islamabad’s civil nuclear technology”. Indian market would become more vibrant for Foreign Direct Investment (FDI) from the US and its allies, “which would give definite edge to Indian boosted economy”.

The significant advantage attained by New Delhi from civil nuclear deal is that “India’s recognition of de-facto nuclear state and conceded flexibility” that depicts that India can retain civil nuclear facilities as well as military nuclear facilities. The US has recognized “India as the regional power in South Asia.” The enhanced strategic strength of New Delhi would boost the spree of Indian endeavors for permanent membership of UNSC. Recent Logistics Exchange Memorandum of Agreement (LEMOA) is permitting India and the US forces to use one another military bases for stationing troops and military hardware to keep an eye on China is also threatening to Pakistan, thus it is a “move to play with the delicate balance of power in the region”. There is augmenting competition of two rising powers i.e. India and China in South Asia, where Pakistan is performing role of strategic balancer.

Karakorum highway has quite significant in connectivity between Kashgar and Gilgit. Beijing has been striving hard for rail, road and air connectivity between Kashgar and Gwadar for easy access to Persian Gulf and Indian Ocean. Beijing has pledged $51.5 billion (originally $46 billion) Chinese investment in power, infrastructural and dams building projects in Pakistan in 2015 through fabulous CPEC. Kashgar-Gwadar route is going for success throughout the winter season. Thus China wants peaceful solution of all issues.

The vital national interest of China in South Asia is peaceful periphery and unstopped economic developmental activities. The objectives of Beijing’s South Asia policy including (a)

Ensuring regional stability through diplomatic channels and balance of power stratagem (b) Maximum avoidance of confrontation by reserving its own territorial disputes and neutral posture on regional disputes (c) Engagement of South Asian states including Pakistan and India through multidimensional cooperation and trade/commercial ties (d) Securing Sea Lane of Communications (SLOC) in Indian Ocean to ensure unhindered energy supply (e) Supporting counterterrorism campaigns and avoidance of spillover menace across its borders (f) Countering US containment or hedging China strategy in South Asia (g) Retaining leverage in South Asia to free access oil & gas rich Middle East, Central Asia and Caspian Sea natural resources.

Sino Indian relationship improved owing to economic and trade factors. However, strategic and security variables including unresolved border disputes; Tibetan government in exile and China’s rising influence in South Asian states are haunting Indo-China ties. US-India civil nuclear deal is aiming at the rising power of China in Asia. Hence augmenting rivalry between the US and China, India plays a role of balancer and counterweight to China.

Sino-Pakistan strategic relationship outweighs any bilateral relations in South Asia. Cooperation from tank to aircraft manufacturing, civil nuclear power plants to space technology cooperation, micro to mega projects including KKH and deep water seaport of Gwadar are a few manifestations of deep rooted strategic relationship. Diplomatically, China remained supporter to Pakistan’s cause of Kashmir. China diplomatically supporting Pakistan and is a stumbling bloc in Indian permanent membership of UNSC and NSG membership. China regarded as stabilizing factor in South Asia. China plays a role of balancer between two rivals of South Asia India and Pakistan. Sino-Pakistan strategic ties challenges include terrorism/extremism; underdevelopment; energy shortage; marginalized regionalism and balance of trade etc.

Keeping in view the polarity, the prospects are quite obvious. Uni-polarity is becoming distinguishable in the South Asia region but it is not yet certain and still depending upon many ifs and buts. India is slowly moving for an Asian regional power by outgrowing her challengers in the South Asia. In East Asia bipolarity still exists, which is durable as all other states are far behind and less to matching rising China and economically strong Japan. In present scenario, the Asian Supercomplex is tri-polar with less chances of possibility of change. In this perspective

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267 Professor Dr. Hassan Askari Rizvi, Expert on Regional Security, personal interview, December 18, 2017
Xinjiang imbroglio has all the more significant for Beijing with necessary ramifications upon the region.

Xinjiang has become a prominent factor in Pakistan-China Strategic relationship owing to her advancement and chronological evolution. Geo-strategically Xinjiang location is very important as it is located on the crossroads of many cultures and histories of China, Russia, Central Asian Republics and even the Sub-Continent. Chinese control remained effective for 425 years out of 2000 years and the “present Chinese rule in the province of Xinjiang is the fifth major period.”Historically Uyghur have a separate ethnic identity. Xinjiang is the motherland of various Turk tribes in the region including; Uyghur, Kyrgyz, Kazak, Uzbeks and Tatars. Uyghur is the largest ethnic group having identical culture and language, living on the silk route, Uyghur people played vital role in cultural exchange of East as well as of the West. “The Uighur developed a unique culture and civilization of their own”. Historically Xinjiang has a peculiar identity.

The difficulty of Pakistan in maintaining bipolarity against her formidable rival India means that possibility of internal transformation in South Asia region cannot be ruled out. Pakistan had never suffered a whole-scale defeat in a horrible war nor collapsed as a state but incremental developments were taking place to undermining its claim to be a sustaining regional pole of the power. Pakistan had never abandoned her path of securitization in the region. India-Pakistan relations remained host of hostile environment prevailing throughout the history between two South Asian rivals. In this scenario, the possibility of bipolarity is passing through scrutiny. Pakistan has been equipped by the great nuclear “equalizer and therefore confirms once again the bipolar power structure in South Asia”.

On the other hand, India claims that there are many factors, which are indicating that Pakistan has been fading away as a balancer of India and sinking down as a formidable challenger in the South Asia. A comparison of both rivals in South Asia indicates that Indian population is “seven times and its area is four times high than Pakistan’s. Indian GNP six times”

greater than Pakistan’s and current growth rate is quite high as compared to Pakistan’s annual growth rate. Indian military expenditures are more than three times greater than Pakistan’s expenditures on Armed Forces. Indian military power is more than twice as compared to Pakistan’s military. In this background, Xinjiang factor at the moment and also in future is most pivotal barometer in unparalleled and long standing Sino-Pakistan strategic relationship. It would be in the fitness of thing to understand the importance of Xinjiang factor which has even now become pivotal in bilateral relationship of Pakistan and China having far-reaching implications for the regional security.

The RSC Theory deliberates that China “variable is quite straight forward and significantly easy to understand. One part is a simple and realist story that how China is increasing her power” depends upon her neighbors and triggers securitizations. The remaining part is also simple and “liberal story about the political character of Beijing and likelihood that her evolution from dictatorship to democracy would shift the perception of her power from malign to benign and triggers de-securitization”. There is general similarity between rise of China and India. Both countries have strong realist perspective about the “regions and the global world. Both countries consider themselves in historical perspective as ancient civilizational centers where people used to come for enlightenment as well as for trade and both civilizations were not militarily expansive designs outside their regions. Both countries have bitter colonial experience and showed high concern with national cohesion as an instrument of power and to prevent recurrence of disunity, which result in allowing foreign penetration”.

Post 9/11 era enhanced the significance of Xinjiang as an important factor in Pakistan China deep rooted strategic relationship having essential impacts upon the whole region. However, the element of terrorism and extremism in the region has further deepened the bilateral ties between two neighboring countries. Chinese interaction enhanced with the Central Asia particularly on the establishment of the Commonwealth of Independent States in Central Asia. The establishment of warmly relationship with the Central Asian Republics was an opportunity and also a dangerous risk of impending security threat to China. The emergence and presence of the CARs reduced the Soviet security threat to China and enhanced Chinese vulnerability of politically volatile region of Xinjiang. After collapse of the USSR, and declaration of independence by CARs, three Central Asian Republics are now sharing their borders with
Xinjiang i.e. Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan and Tajikistan. Lillian Craig Harris has pointed out that “China West Asia focus has shifted from the Middle East to Central Asia after fall of the Soviet Union.”

Three CARs Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan and Tajikistan are sharing not only borders but also common ethnicity and Islamic religion with Xinjiang. Their proximity with Xinjiang can reopen the issue of Chinese sovereignty over the province of Xinjiang. China considers Central Asian countries as the land of opportunities. Having good neighboring policy, China remained successful to settle the thorny bordering issues with Russia, Tajikistan, Kazakhstan and Kyrgyzstan. The successful solution of the bordering issues led towards the foundation-stone of Shanghai Five. With participation of Uzbekistan in June, 2002, it was given new name as Shanghai Cooperation Organization (SCO) with the aim to crackdown on terrorism, separatism & extremism and to maintain regional integrity. In post-9/11 era, Bishkek appeared as new counter terrorism center for the Central Asian Republics. China continued looking towards Pakistan and towards the Central Asia to counter extremists’ threat in Xinjiang. Post 9/11 scenario enhanced Chinese security threat to Xinjiang and here Central Asian States and Pakistan had played far greater role to minimize the adverse effects and formed counter terrorism mechanism.

China is increasing her commercial and economic ties with the Central Asian Republics. Kazakhstan-China bilateral trade registered growth up to $2 billion in 2002 that is ten time more than the second largest trade partner in the Central Asia i.e. Kyrgyzstan. On the other hand Pakistan and China registered a growth of over $5 billion. The Shanghai Cooperation Organization (SCO) has given a viable forum to China to make energy deals and further enhancement in the regional trade with the Central Asian States. It may not be called a security alliance. In a fresh wave of riots in Xinjiang China would likely to provide more attention for further developing security, political and economic relations with Central Asian Republic in order to assure security of her border and further strengthen stability in Xinjiang. US-China Economy and Security, Review Commission provides that “China’s energy investments in Central Asia are large. As Beijing seeks a means of importing oil and gas over land to ensure its

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270 Lillian Craig Harris, “Xinjiang, Central Asia and the Implication for China’s policy in the Islamic World”, The China Quarterly, (March, 1993)
energy security, Chinese investments in the Central Asian energy sector will continue to expand.»271

Pakistan and China have shown iron determination to fight against separatism, terrorism and religious extremism and calling these evils as worst enemies and constant threat to both countries. The unwavering commitment of both the nations came out between the meeting of President Zardari and President Hu Jintao at Beijing. Six cherished agreements were signed in sectors of healthcare, agriculture, justice, media, and technology. China committed grant of 50 million Yuan for implementation. “China and Pakistan are both victims of terrorism”, Mr.Hu stressed that “to strengthen China-Pakistan anti-terrorism cooperation and to strike at terrorism, separatism and religious extremism is in the fundamental interests of the people of both the nations.”272

Pakistan always supported China to overcome and combat the three evil forces and to enhance peace, security and prosperity in the region. President Hu emphasized that Pakistan should take all steps for safety of Chinese Engineers working on various projects in Pakistan. There were over 120 Chinese companies and their over 10,000 Chinese Engineers and technicians working in infrastructure, energy and mining sectors all over the country in 2010. These figures have been multiplied now owing to leaps and bound progression in CPEC up till 2017. China considers Pakistan’s influence in the regional affairs as sine qua non for regional security and desirous to enhance collaboration and coordination within the framework of SCO. Mr. Hu Jintao further added that “China and Pakistan are good neighbors; friends, partners and brothers, and we shall work with you to push forward bilateral strategic partnership.”273 Both the President expressed their adamant pledge to further deepening bilateral relations in communication, energy and infrastructurual development. Thus Chinese leadership vowed to boost the deep-rooted friendship in all the fields including geo-strategic relationship between the two nations.

Sino-Pakistan persistent partnership further extended when both the neighboring nations agreed to build railway line, connecting Khunjerab Pass to Xinjiang towns including Kashgar. In

272 The Dawn (Islamabad), July 8, 2010
273 Ibid
another prominent development PLA held anti-terrorism exercises in collaboration with Pakistan Army from 1 to 11\textsuperscript{th} July, 2010 in the province of Ningxia. All these developments indicate further intensifying the economic and strategic bilateral ties and extending cooperation and collaboration in perspective of Xinjiang as 2009 witnessed one of severe riots in Urumqi. In 2009, President Zardari declared that “Pakistan appreciated the fact that the lives and property of Muslims in China are fully protected and their rights including the right to worship fully safeguarded.”\textsuperscript{274}

China considers Pakistan as a factor of stability and peace in her autonomous region of Xinjiang. Uyghur separatists were trained in Afghanistan and Jahadi culture in 1980s and early 1990s in the region strengthened them. Pakistan remained helpful for China at national as well as regional and even international level in perspective of Xinjiang issue as she never allowed any resolution at the OIC forum. Iran has also shown her interest for railway linkage with China as all countries of the region want to make serious engagements with China and desirous to get their share in ‘Chinese pie’. Even hegemonic India in spite of her security dynamics, promoting economic and trade ties with China. Sino-India trade volume has been targeted at $100 billion by 2018.

China always supported Pakistan on her endeavors to combat extremism and her efforts in war against the terrorism. On killing of al-Qaeda leader Osama Bin Laden by the US forces, Chinese Foreign Ministry spokesperson Jiang Yu emphasized that Pakistan’s national sovereignty and territorial integrity should be respected at all times. He added that “Pakistan is at the forefront of the international counter terrorism effort. The international community should understand and support Pakistan.”\textsuperscript{275} Pakistan considers terrorism is a regional and international phenomenon and global community work together to combat the impending potential security threat from the extremists and terrorists. China provided untiring support to Pakistan in her counter-terrorism efforts.

The Xinjiang issue does not create difference between Pakistan and China as the strategic relationship between two neighboring countries is strongest. Pakistan has very sturdy diplomatic,
political, economic, commercial and military ties with China. Xinjiang is an indissoluble bridge between China and Pakistan. Xinjiang exhibits that Pakistan is a vital factor even in Chinese internal stability. Pakistan always tried to play down the militancy, insurgency and hostility in the Muslim populace of China located in the autonomous region of Xinjiang. Pakistan in the eyes of Chinese is pivotal connection between People’s Republic and the Islamic World. China used to ignore minor irritants such as meddling of unbridled Non State Actors in the province of Xinjiang through Northern Areas unfamiliar passes and always looking for further strengthening the long standing partnership with Pakistan. Moreover, the US presence in north western periphery of China further enhanced strategic importance of Pakistan in the eyes of Chinese leadership and special status in Foreign Policy of China.

Samina Yasmeen has apprised that China would never reduce support to Pakistan “lest the latter is forced to align itself completely with Washington without any reference to Beijing’s views.” Xinjiang has become a significant factor in Chinese Policy of readjustment. Owing to Xinjiang issue China already shifted from her policy of self-determination on Kashmir to neutral policy on the Kashmir dispute. China has developed cordial relations with India in last decades. Xinjiang factor can create conducive environment for further expansion in Sino-Indian economic and political relationship in forthcoming decades.

Finally, Xinjiang scenario can create mammoth scope to expand trade, economic and commercial bilateral ties between China and Pakistan having far reaching impacts upon the whole region. Western Development Project in the province of Xinjiang and transfer of management and operational control of Gwadar Seaport to the state run Chinese Company has opened new vista of opportunity to the sluggish economy of Pakistan for further growth and augmentation. CPEC has become game changer for the whole region. In the scenario, CPEC is real inertia in economic engine of Pakistan wherein Gwadar deep-water seaport is being connected by all means of communications with the autonomous region of Xinjiang having fascinating effects upon whole South Asia.

Looking for prospective Sino-Pakistan relationship, it can be deducted that the Xinjiang factor shall remain a linchpin between two neighboring countries. Pakistan would remain as

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276 Yasmeen, China and Pakistan in a Changing World, in 2000-10, 318
guarantor of peace and prosperity in autonomous province of Xinjiang. China would continue the special deep rooted strategic relationship with Pakistan. Sino-Indian economic and commercial relationship would further go on the positive lines, yet rising Indo-China relationship would not adversely affect the Pakistan China longstanding and tenacious bilateral relations. Pakistan strategy to counterbalancing China against hegemonic India in the South Asia shall remain effectual. In post-9/11 era, China is looking for peace prosperity and dispute resolutions especially border issues through meaningful dialogue and through peaceful manners having tremendous consequences for the whole region.

Owing to the volatile scenario of the South Asian Region, China has been backing Pakistan’s anti-terrorism endeavors. During the visit of the President Mamnoon Hussain, from 18th to 21st February, 2014 in the joint statement, China has reaffirmed her unconditional support to determine friend-Pakistan to fight against terrorism and rampant militancy as well as lauded the most needed “sacrifices rendered by Pakistan in her brave fighting against global scourge of terrorism”. President Xi Jinping, Premier Li Keqiang of China’s State Council and Chairman Zhang Dejuan of Standing Committee of China’s National People’s Congress have appreciated efforts of Pakistan Armed Forces and the Security Agency to defeat the terrorists forces in the region.

On the other hand, Pakistan appreciated the Chinese steady stance behind Pakistan for upholding its independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity. Moreover, Pakistan reiterated ‘One-China’ policy. Pakistan considered ETIM as the dreadful terrorist organization of the region, posing “common threat to peace and stability of China as well as Pakistan”. Pakistan has unflinching support to Chinese overcoming of three evils including “terrorism, extremism and separatism.”

Post September 11 era has enhanced the significance of Xinjiang in the whole region. Thus Chinese ties with the Central Asian Republics and Afghanistan need redefinition in perspective of peace and security in her autonomous region of Xinjiang. The Shanghai Cooperation Organization (SCO) is multilateral viable forum, comprising on most important countries such as Russia China and all important Central Asian States, addressing the common

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277 The News International (Islamabad), February 22, 2014
concerns of the countries including terrorism, extremism, ethnic separatism and fundamentalism throughout the region. SCO is working for secured energy supplies and development of natural resources in the area and vehemently opposed the US interference in the region. In this scenario, Xinjiang factor has become more relevant in Chinese Central Asian Republic Policy and cordial relationship with Pakistan having repercussions for the whole region.

Pakistan and China agreed to further enhance the deep-rooted cooperation in all the sectors of economy and further coordination on regional as well as international issues as per principles of Treaty of Friendship, Cooperation and Good Neighborly Relations between Pakistan and China duly signed in April, 2005. China reiterated that “its friendship with Pakistan remained as a matter of highest priority in her foreign policy”. Beijing would leave no stone unturned to further strengthen this relationship. China appreciated Pakistan unconditional and long term staunch support on China’s issues of her core national interests. China would continue her full support for “Pakistan’s independence, territorial integrity and sovereignty” Beijing supports Pakistan’s endeavors for economic development and social stability. Pakistan reassured that partnership with Beijing is the “cornerstone of her foreign policy” based on national consensus.

Pakistan appreciated Chinese assistance and support for her sovereignty and independence. Pakistan reiterated that she would adhere to her “One China Policy opposing to Taiwan and Tibet’s independence. Pakistan supports China’s efforts in combating the three Evils” of extremism, terrorism and separatism and regards “ETIM as the common threat and stands united in combating this menace”.278

During Chinese President Visit to Pakistan on 20-21 April, 2015, both sides reiterated that “security interests of Pakistan and China are closely interconnected”. Both countries will “advocate the Asian security concept featuring common, comprehensive, cooperative and sustainable security.” Both sides will enhance “cooperation in terrorism, national defence as coordination in regional and international affairs. Combating terrorists organizations like ETIM. China appreciated Pakistan international counter terrorism efforts.”279

279 Joint statement between Pakistan and China (20.4.2015), www.mofa.com (accessed on 21.4.2015)
Xinjiang strong relationship with Central Asians, Afghanistan and Pakistan opened new possibility and opportunity of cordial strategic and economic relations among all countries of the region. Boosting for further commercial and trade relations of Pakistan and China, the significance of Xinjiang has become more tangible and substantial for whole region. “Terrorism is one of the gravest challenges in post-9/11 era, Sino-Pakistan strategic relations having internal and external aspects; internal implications upon CPEC and external impacts upon Xinjiang and Afghanistan.”

In future Pakistan China economic and strategic ties and relentless longstanding partnership shall further be deep rooted and remained effective and beneficial for both the countries of Asia.

China’s Kashmir Policy remained vacillated from China’s neutrality on the issue and her dynamic support to the right of self-determination for Kashmiri masses. In prime days of Chinese Indian cooperation in fifties, China had stance of neutrality and avoided to take side of any country of dispute India or Pakistan and stressed for settlement of Kashmir dispute through direct talks between two South Asian States. In December, 1954, during his visit to Pakistan, Zho Enlai emphasized that like other disputes of the world, the Kashmir dispute would be settled amicably subject to the colonists, who created this issue must left and kept out of this settlement. Zho Enlai articulated similar views during his visit to Sri Lanka in 1957 and “he did not favor taking this issue to the United Nations.” China considered Kashmir issue as legacy of colonist power in the subcontinent.

Mao Zedong categorically mentioned that “China would maintain a neutral position on Kashmir.” Pakistan and China signed boundary agreement in March, 1963 as an interim arrangement. Article 6 of the agreement provides that on settlement of the Kashmir issue the agreement would be reconfirmed or renegotiated with the sovereign authority by China. Joint communiqué after signing the boundary agreement in March, 1963 indicates that Chinese government appreciated the tireless efforts of Pakistan for “amicable settlement of Kashmir dispute.”

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280 Professor Dr. Hassan Askari Rizvi, Expert on Regional Security, personal interview, December 18, 2017
281 Syed, China and Pakistan, 61-62.
282 Rashid A. Khan, China’s Policy towards South Asia: A Comparative Perspective, Regional Studies, 18.
Pakistan understood a little swing in Chinese Kashmir policy of not mentioning right of self-determination for Kashmiri masses publicly, keeping in view the Chinese tireless efforts for developing economic and commercial relationship with India. Pakistan considered it tactical change rather than unconditional support to people of Kashmir in exercise of their right of self-determination. Prime Minister of Pakistan Muhammad Khan Junejo in November, 1985 on his return from China expressed that “there should be no doubt about Chinese support to Pakistan on the Kashmir issue.” It is understood that pendulum of China’s Kashmir policy was neutral in 1950s while 1960s it was close to Pakistan’s Kashmir policy indicating unconditional support for right of self-determination and plebiscite for Kashmiris. The pendulum started moving again towards neutrality on Kashmir by Beijing in 1980s and 1990s. Now question of the questions is that how China’s Kashmir policy converted from pro-Pakistan Kashmir policy of self-determination to neutral Kashmir’s policy. An attempt has been made to look into the factors for Beijing’s neutral Kashmir policy.

Beijing wants to maintain strong strategic partnership with Pakistan. Even during the high tension period, the strategic relationship remained intact and unbroken. China provided required military and economic assistance to Pakistan in 1965 and 1971 as Beijing was desirous to see Pakistan as a strong ally against her formidable foe India. Chinese leadership knows the sensitivity of Kashmir for Pakistan. China’s neutral policy on Kashmir provides an ample chance to Pakistan as well as India to sort out the solution of the long outstanding dispute through meaningful dialogue.

Even Beijing’s neutrality is providing a shadow of favor to Pakistan as China adopted a different staple visa policy in Indian held Kashmir. Indian immigration officials refused traveling of staple visa holders for boarding their flights to China and protested very strongly at diplomatic level with Beijing but in vain.

Some strategist assumed that India considered as status-quo power while Pakistan nurtured revisionist ambitions in South Asia. The pendulum of Kashmir started from neutrality in 1950s. The 1962 Sino-India border clash has provided a real impetus to Islamabad-Beijing partnership. Premier Zhou Enlai visited Pakistan in 1964 and joint communiqué expressed hope

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283 The Muslim (Islamabad), November 24, 1985.
that the Kashmir issue would be solved “in accordance with the wishes of the people of Kashmir as pledged to them by the people of India and Pakistan.” The statement was near to Pakistan’s official stance on Kashmir dispute. In early 1980s voyage of diplomacy between Beijing and New Delhi for normalization of economic and commercial relationship started.

In 1980s Beijing issued balancing statements on Kashmir by mentioning both Simla agreement (India’s preferred stance) and UN Security Council resolutions (Pakistan’s preferred stance). In 1990s, on improvement of further diplomatic and political relationship with New Delhi, Beijing dropped reference of UN Security Council and focused on bilateral peaceful solution.

In the post-cold war era, Beijing preferred neutrality on Kashmir dispute. Beijing’s neutrality on Kargil issue in 1999 was praised by Indians strategists. In 2009 Beijing started Staple visa policy of Indian held Kashmir in retaliation to the New Delhi stance to Tibet and Taiwan. One view of the scholars is that growing Beijing-New Delhi economic relationship has serious repercussions for Beijing-Islamabad entente cordiale. On the other hand, dominant views of the scholars is that growing Sino-Indian relationship can neither overwhelm nor overshadow geostrategic partnership and Pakistan’s role of balancer against India, gateway to Islamic world and formidable alley in the volatile region for Beijing. Introduction of gigantic CPEC in 2015 has enhanced economic and trade relationship somewhat paralleled to the strategic and political relationship between two neighboring countries.

Military cooperation of Beijing with New Delhi has direct implications for Pakistan. India has already much bigger armed forces than Pakistan. Indian economy is boosting as trade relationship between Beijing and New Delhi remained $40 billion in 2010. Now this figure is touching to the new horizons of over $70 billion. Intensifying trade and commercial relationship with New Delhi would increase stakes of Beijing in India.

Since Sino-India rapprochements, Beijing has been appreciating Islamabad to resolve disputed issues including Kashmir in peaceful manner. In spree of economic and trade boost China may convince Pakistan to prioritize socio-economic growth having its traditional stance on Kashmir. No doubt India is big economy and preference for international investors being largest
democracy of the globe. Indian politically, militarily and economically rising has direct bearing and a naked threat to Pakistan security environment as well as its infrastructural development.

In post-cold war era, Chinese leadership reviewed the whole scenario and changed her priorities to economic pre-eminence over military muscles and armaments. China decided to improve her relationship with all countries including India, which has huge market for exportable Chinese goods. On the other hand, demise of the USSR compelled India to reconsider her policy of hegemony and review the global scenario based on economic development and vibrant commercial ties. Historical triangle indicates as China-Pakistan-India a queer relationship as with improvement in relationship with one country might not such improvement with another country in the same triangle. Through Gwadar seaport, Pakistan has reinvented her strategic significance in the eyes of China.

China has become second largest economy and needs enormous oil imports from Africa and Gulf. CPEC has become most formidable economic corridor in relationship of Beijing and Islamabad with $51.5 billion (originally $46 billion) investment in various projects. A weaker Pakistan is not in the national interests of China. A progressive and prosperous Pakistan can control the genie of terrorism and extremism, which is detrimental to Uyghur region of China. Strong Pakistan is in national interest of Beijing and also in her own vital interests in the South Asia region. China is high valued guarantor of security of Pakistan against Indian hegemony in the region. Beijing wants strong Pakistan to keep Indian balance off. The irony of the fate is that in 2010s Pakistan needs China more than China needs Pakistan. Thus in the current scenario interdependence increased and economy is fastly moving.

Beijing concerns increased when both India and Pakistan started to develop nuclear technology and ultimately declared themselves as nuclear states in 1990s. China remained worried over escalation of nuclear conflict being considers as the most hazardous flashpoint of Kashmir in the region. Hence China might consider that neutral policy on Kashmir could decrease the impending consequences of nuclear conflict between two South Asian rival as nuclear exchanges would have horrible effects upon the whole region. From Chinese perception, immediate solution of Kashmir issue remained elusive.
Resolving the impending issue of Kashmir would be most hectic diplomatic endeavors which could not yet be sorted out despite Pakistan’s sheer hard work of several decades owing to sharp divide in thinking on both sides of the borders. Beijing considers that Kashmir’s movement has been generating religious and ethnic conflict, which provides a fertile fundamental breeding ground for cross border terrorism and extremism in neighboring counties in her autonomous region of Xinjiang. Thus Beijing considers to avoiding nuclear showdown in South Asia by her neutral Kashmir as a panacea.

In a nutshell, keeping in view, all factors of stability/un-stability in the region, continuity in amity environment in Beijing-Islamabad strategic ties is predictable. Continuity in enmity in Pakistan-India relationship with some intensification of hostility owing to numerous factors including inherited animosity for each other, continued security dilemma and unresolved imbroglios especially issue of Kashmir is expected. Further, continuity in amity-enmity relationship of Beijing-New Delhi is anticipated at regional level in near future. If honeymoon between New Delhi and Washington is continued and survived through turbulent waters, it would reinforce Indian status within Asian Supercomplex.

This Chapter has debated upon the regional dynamics of Pakistan-China strategic relations since 9/11. Security dilemma in South Asia RSC has been debated where two significant players are vigorously looking for their national interests i.e. Pakistan and India. Pakistan has been playing pivotal role as strategic balancer in scenario of rising competition between China and India in South Asia.

Next chapter will debate on emerging Asian Supercomplex shaping dynamics of Pakistan-China strategic relations in 9/11 period. The emergence of Asian Supercomplex will be discussed in rising contours of the Supercomplex; growing China and the US strategic competition in Asia Pacific and Indian Ocean; Indian Look/Act East Policy having serious implications for Sino-Indian relationship; American factors in China-India relations as well as Pakistan factor in Beijing-New Delhi relationship.

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Chapter 5:

EMERGING ASIAN SUPERCOMPLEX AND DYNAMICS OF PAKISTAN CHINA STRATEGIC RELATIONS

This chapter analyzes Pakistan-China strategic relations in the backdrop of emerging Asian Supercomplex. It argues that growing Sino-US competition in Asian Supercomplex - China’s Malacca Strait dilemma and India’s Look/Act East policy- is pushing China closer to Pakistan. The chapter discusses interregional and global dynamics of Pakistan-China strategic relations. It argues that at interregional level high degree of continuity in South Asia is expected. It deliberates that despite cordial relations of US with China, the former considers the latter as a potential threat for its strategic and economic interests in Asia. In this background, the US and India have joined hands to take on the impending Chinese threat, which is being seen as a potent move on the chessboard of Asia. In a counter move, China has started expanding her influence by promoting/deepening its ties with the significant powers of the South Asia, while India has adopted Look/Act East Policy. The study maps the emerging contours of Asian Supercomplex such as growing Sino-US strategic competition in Asia Pacific; India’s Act East policy and Sino-Indian relations and American factor in China-India relations as well as Pakistan’s factor in China-India relations.

The growing integration of South Asian RSC with East Asian RSC is further influencing dynamics of Pakistan-China Relations. The possibility of internal transformation in South Asia region cannot be ruled out. Asian Supercomplex is strengthened by attaining membership of ARF, IGOs and SCO by India as well as India’s Act East Policy, where New Delhi is striving hard for strengthening cooperation with East Asian states.284 The boundaries between neighboring complex and South Asian complex have not been broken down rather transforming new configuration of amity, enmity and even polarity. Actually, something quite different is happening, where regional boundaries are stable but South Asia regional level has some of its relative significance for rising India as a great power. India is desirous to build its credentials as

284 “Building the basis for India-China Cooperation” East Asia Forum, November 25, 2015
great power at interregional level in the continent of Asia, where contours of Asian Supercomplex have been evolving over a period of time.

The US engagement in Asia explains the underperformance of the process of power balancing in the region. The interplay of US-China relations with the security dynamics of Asian Supercomplex hints at a situation where Asian states seem to have left the job of balancing China to the US for being the sole superpower. The US encourages such underperformance of balancing by several direct or indirect ways—It projects strongly the nonproliferation norms upon Koreas, Taiwan, Japan, Pakistan and India; cultivates Tokyo military dependence and practically opposes multilateral security initiatives in Asia. The US behavior has not only local implications but also explains her global policy as it did little in restraining Israeli nuclear deterrent, and earlier same policy was in vogue in case of Britain and France. On the other hand, Vietnam has tried to balance China and that too at the hostility of Washington to Hanoi.285

China’s global credentials are heavily dependent on its performance in the emerging Asian Supercomplex where the US looks at its emerging role with suspicion and distrust. The underperformance of balancing has already locked the US in Asia. It potentially enhances US-China rivalry by putting superpower in forefront of China. However, the emerging situation is not likely to hasten the suspected Chinese World Order in the near future. Westphalian logical thinking suggests that “if US drew back from her present ring holding position, other Asian states would have to balance by doing the US job at the global level”. The void created by a probable US withdrawal may give “China a regional suzerainty, which would significantly enhance its global” credentials in East Asian RSC and South Asian RSC and even in the emerging contours of Asian Supercomplex.

5.1 Emerging Contours of Asian Supercomplex

As far as the South Asian RSC and East Asian RSC are concerned there are sufficient signs of interaction between the two RSCs chiefly depending on the rise of China. It would be too early to hold that South Asian RSC and East Asian RSC have merged, yet signs of the process are already visible. However, the role of the US in both East Asia and South Asia

remains unchanged. Global security scenario may however translate into a phenomenon where several great powers replace the sole superpower thus leading to a more regionalized security synchronization.

This however also leads to the question as to how rising and strengthening India would fit herself not only in South Asia but also within the emerging Asian Supercomplex and in return how these developments would interplay at global level? It is believed that regional level is likely to increase its significance as compared to the global level and India will have to reposition itself within emerging Asian Supercomplex.

Furthermore, a significant point is that rise of China has been creating a center of gravity which is slowly attracting South Asia into closer security interface with East Asian RSC. It is a fact that changes in South Asian RSC are not sudden and dramatic rather these are gradual and responsive to interaction with East Asian RSC.

Nevertheless, at the regional level, India seems to transcending South Asian region without resolving the outstanding dangerous conflict with archrival Pakistan and constantly looking towards broader horizons of Asia through its Look East/Act East policy. This change in Indian move on the interregional level is mainly dictated and conditioned by its perception of China as a rising regional and global power. The emerging Asian Supercomplex may therefore end up in a tri-polar arrangement where India feels less threatened by its neighbors and more attracted to act east in a bid to challenge China in its backyard through enhanced strategic and economic engagement with east Asian states. There are signs of Japan-India strategic linkage in East Asia. In this perspective, Myanmar though still retains the status of insulator but “looks increasingly likely to succumb to the dynamics of the Asian Supercomplex.”286

The interplay of global actors such as the US, Russia and China with the emerging security Asian Supercomplex, however, displays persistence of perception of mutual enmity and amity despite a paradigm shift from bipolarity to unipolarity in post-cold war arena. On the one hand, India is becoming more integrated in the global economy and the new strategic repositioning in the region. On the other hand all the South Asian states would have to position themselves with relation to emerging rivalry between China and the US in Asia. The general

286 Buzan and Waever, *Regions and Powers*, 486
The pattern in this gamut is avoidance to becoming too tangled with one another and to get reaping individual state advantages by playing with the both giants US and China against each other. “The pattern is increasingly defining external penetration, mainly by US into both the individual RSCs in Asia and the Asian Supercomplex as a whole”. The burning query is whether such evolution has become great enough to institute fundamental structural change?

Politico-strategic and economic integration over the recent time drops some clues to this riddle. The interregional level is connecting South Asian RSC with its western Gulf/Middle Eastern RSC and in the north and east, East Asian RSC. This combination is heading towards emerging Asian Supercomplex. Despite all issues and interference in Afghanistan, the state of Afghanistan remains a significant insulator wherein China from East Asian RSC, Iran and Saudi Arabia from Middle Eastern RSC have actively been participating. With relation to East Asian RSC, a trend existed towards enhancing engagements and emerging Asian Supercomplex centered at rising power of China. Stability in boundaries of South Asian RSC to the west and rising tendency of more engagements and activities across the boundaries towards north and east seem to have been augmented.

There is continuity toward East in trends of greater engagements and activities pointing out strengthening Asian Supercomplex. There are numerous developments. “China has become more active in South Asia including Pakistan, Sri Lanka and Myanmar”. Securitization process between China and India continues. Scott opined that “the lopsidedness of securitization between India and China is ongoing”. A continuity has been marked in environmental issues and water sharing rivers between China and India. An interesting indicator in terms of increasing linkage between South and East Asia can be seen through across RSCs membership of Intergovernmental organizations (IGOs). China, South Korea, Japan, Myanmar and Australia are observers in SAARC, whereas Pakistan and India are both members of ASEAN Regional Forum (ARF), Asia-Europe Meeting (ASEM) and of SCO. India is also member of East Asian Summit (EAS). More remarkably, Myanmar is desirous to become member of SAARC while retaining membership of ASEAN having support from India. RSCs are however not essentially defining or correlating with regional IGOs memberships. Myanmar as member of SAARC and ASEAN

287 Buzan and Waever, Regions and Powers, 180-82
288 David Scott, “Sino-Indian security predicaments for the twenty first century”, Asian Security, 44(3), 244
having designation of insulator between South and Southeast Asia is still valid in spite erosion of 
this status by intensification of Pakistan-India rivalry.

While looking broadly, there is evidence for definite build up, though at the low key, of 
strategic interaction (rival rather than enemies) between rising China and India. This play out 
between China and India is direct as well as indirect- direct in the sense that there still exist hot 
border disputes between the two countries and it is indirect in terms of competing engagements 
of both states in each other Regional Security Complexes. Looking in classical realist’s terms on 
China-India ties, a game of containment, counter containment and security dilemma between 
rising states has already has commenced in Asia. It is similar to mutual containment game 
already played in Asia during cold war era between China and Russia. Realists in China and 
India are worried that both the rising powers are heading for unavoidable rivalry, fed by border 
disputes, naval rivalry, nuclear weapons, economic relationship and race for international status. In this situation, China is trying to lock India in East Asia IGOs, UNSC membership and within 
periphery of South Asia by supporting Pakistan, Nepal, Myanmar and Sri Lka. In a counter 
move, India has embarked upon its Look/Act East policy by forging strategic relationship with 
Japan, Australia and East Asian states.

India seriously suspects China’s string of pearl policy where the latter has been building 
seaport and transportation infrastructure in Pakistan, Sri Lanka and Myanmar, overtly for 
economic and trade development but which can also be used in support of China’s enhanced 
naval presence in Indian Ocean. However, growing China-India trade is considered to be a 
mitigating factor in otherwise potentially violent competition between the two rivals of Asia. In 
this regard, Nayar argues that “growing Sino-Indian trade reduces China’s incentive to foster 
anti-Indian hostility in South Asia.” Like US, India remains conscious of the value of Chinese 
capital in its sensitive industries such as power and communications.

The desire to counter balance rising China, primarily led to fostering of closer 
relationship between India and US in post-9/11 scenario. Through civil nuclear deal between the 
two countries, India has been struggling for recognition of New Delhi’s nuclear status by the sole

289 Iskander Rehman, “Keeping the dragon at bay: India’s counter-containment of China in Asia”, Asian Security, 
5(2), 114
290 T.V. Paul, ed., South Asia’s weak states: Understanding the regional insecurity predicament,(Stanford CA: 
Stanford University Press, 2010), 3
superpower. Pant argues that “one of the fruits of which has been recognition of India’s nuclear
classification.” By playing the US card, India is desirous to avoid entrapment in China-US rivalry. India is ambitious to build armed forces into three carriers blue water navy to show her presence as major local power in Indian Ocean. Since 1990s India has been following ‘Look East’ Policy (now Modi’s Act East policy). Firstly it was economic engagements with the East Asia but now it has evolved into full scale strategic engagements with the East Asia.

Narendra Modi’s Act East policy aims at devising a greater strategic role for India in the Asia-Pacific. India’s perception is truly depicted in Danielle Rajendram’s “India’s new Asia-Pacific strategy: Modi acts East” in which he analyzes that “China’s expanding presence in the Indian Ocean and assertiveness in maritime territorial disputes in East Asia has reinforced the relevance of an enhanced Indian role in East and Southeast Asia for India and its Asia-Pacific partners.”

In pursuit of Act East policy, India is competing for influence with China in Myanmar and cultivating closer and longstanding partnership with Vietnam. Rehman explicitly argues that India’s friendship with Vietnam is “hoping to parallel China influence in Pakistan.” In Southeast Asia, India is cultivating friendly relations with Indonesia and Singapore. Indian Navy is regularly visiting South Asian waters and conducting joint naval exercises with friendly states, which are silently welcoming India’s engagement with South East Asia as helping to counter Chinese influence. India is also becoming a competitor for seabed resources of South China Sea that are being contested as longstanding issue between China and the littoral states of the Sea. All these circumstances indicate that Asian Supercomplex is not only emerging but has also been operationalized on the horizons of Asia.

Since 9/11, India improved its relationship with Japan and signed Security Declaration in 2008. Indo-Japan relationship is mainly political in nature without any military or economic commitment. In this context, Indian Navy extended its reach north from South China Sea to visit Japan and South Korea, both are Asian democracies. India is keen to get access to defence

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292 Danielle Rajendram, “India’s new Asia-Pacific strategy: Modi acts East”, Lowy Institute for International Policy, 2014, 1
293 Rehman Iskander, “Keeping the dragon at by: India’s counter-containment of China in Asia”, Asian Security, 5(2), 2009, p132
technologies. For ballistic missiles defence (BMD) technologies, Japan as ally of US is a possible source for such sophisticated expertise. India and Japan are hedging between China and the US and both states can help each other in IGO membership games at regional and global level in furtherance of their common desire to secure a permanent slot in UNSC. By 2007, there were clear signs of democratic axis in Asia amongst, US, India, Australia and Japan against rising China. Brewster points out that main purpose of democratic Axis was “to irk the Chinese.”

By playing the democracy card by India in greater Asian region, New Delhi can connect herself with US alliance mechanism without accepting the unwarranted binding entanglements.

All indications are sufficiently proving that once emerging now Asian Supercomplex is in operation, though Barry Buzan in Regions and Powers mentions emergence of Asian Supercomplex. India and China are engaged in clear strategic interaction and competition. China is in low profile as an uneven scenario favors rising China in Asian Supercomplex. China is stronger than India and feels less threatened by India while the latter being a weaker side is more apprehensive of former’s economic and military rise. It is also undeniable fact that China has deep rooted and long standing position in South Asia compared to footing enjoyed by India in East Asia.

Nevertheless India has advantage of US being on her side, while China with all its rising strength has no great power/friend on her side. Indian neighbors are welcoming China in South Asia. Similarly Southeast Asian states e.g. South Korea and Japan are satisfied in the process of engagements and softly encouraging India for its active role in China’s home region, definitely with the support of US. Near all Southeast Asian states are hedging against rise of China. The effort is more in the nature of a preemptive move to ensure a level playing field both in case of “abandonment by a weakening US or its entanglement in Cold War with the rising China”. Unquestionably, the development of Asian Supercomplex is linked closely to the development at global level.

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295 Buzan and Waever, *Regions and Powers*, 172
Globally, US though still retain its title as the sole superpower; signs of China as an emerging power competitor are also discernable within the context of Asian Supercomplex. The Chinese narrative of peaceful rise is seen with suspicion by the realists who consider it more of ploy to cover up the period of transition to avoid a probable counterblast before the right time. Their doubts are lent credibility by some of the recent developments where both regional and global state actors have noticed a hardline being towed by China. In economic crisis of 2008, China’s attitude towards her neighboring states was considerably hardened despite continuation of rhetoric of peaceful rise by Beijing. She showed more aggressiveness and assertiveness on “territorial disputes in South China Sea as well as disputes with India and Japan. China has exhibited its rising military capabilities and shown a relatively harsh line internally against perceived challenges regarding the liberal elements of Chinese society or Non-Hans” people belonging to Xinjiang or Tibet regions. She can even take advantage of US’s weakening power globally and peculiarly in Asia.

If US decline is accepted, then Chinese neighboring states would have to face a Hobson’s choice. They would have to face the more powerful China or aligning themselves with declining power of US, though still potent enough to balance off Beijing. The change in Beijing’s behavior can be a temporary posture connecting with China’s domestic politics where the nationalist wing of Chinese society wants China to be more assertive. In any case, completion of peaceful rise by Beijing would not be an easy task. Beijing would need to conduct a pragmatic foreign policy towards its neighboring states. Barry Buzan has emphasized that “China would need to conduct a very careful and self-restrained foreign policy towards it neighbors.”296 Essential “level of care and restraint in foreign policy does not appear to be happening and current pattern could take a momentum of its own choice that would justify the realist forecast regardless of the reasons”. Main theme of the realist forecast is Chinese ability to generate self-fulfilling expectation.

If China’s peaceful rise fails, its failure will adversely affect structure of Asian Supercomplex leading to heightened US-China rivalry. If Asia goes by Westphalian principle/logic, the ensuing “conflict formation or a weak security regime” will confront India also with problematic choices. She will expect support from US and other East Asian states for its role as a balancer against rising power of China. Notwithstanding, India would be still

296 Buzan and Waever, Regions and Powers, 210
vulnerable against the Chinese might and manipulation for several unresolved territorial disputes within South Asia and also owing to China-India border disputes. It would be “harder for fragile India to avoid entanglements in the game of balancing against China with or without US”. How economic interdependence plays a role, a lot will depend upon economic spree.

Global economy and global trade stakes are not completely disappearing. However, in decentered world, possibility cannot be ruled out that their role would be squeezed and lesser as they performed. Then big question mark will arise on the regional level. The European Union and the US are “well placed institutionally to devise regional economic interdependence”. East Asia has already cultivated economic interdependence which is expected to mitigate conflict formation and work towards shared destiny, interests and stability. In South Asia, growing trade between China and India though offers some prospects of economic interdependence, there are still many miles to be covered to reach the stage of shared wellbeing which may overtake the prevailing competitive security environment.

Notwithstanding, there is an inverse correlation between level of economic interdependence and degree of security competitiveness. The slower the pace of economic integration, the more intense is the securitization of a region. In Asia, failure to develop a meaningful economic contact between south and east has lent an acute tangent to emerging Asian Security Supercomplex. The resultant situation has further accentuated the rise of China in the region where, it is seen as an effective counterweight to Indian expansionist designs. However, the situation has its down side too - it sucks in US in the process of rebalancing of the power structure in the region. Present security alignment in south and east Asia is therefore a direct and logical outcome of a history of economic aloofness and security distrust. “China’s role in helping Pakistan as a nuclear state in South Asia is an obvious example” in the region wherein contours of emerging Asian Supercomplex becoming more transparent.

Supposing if South Asia is drawn closely in economic interdependence of East Asia, Beijing would have to put on a more soft face for the South Asian states. If South Asia becomes closer to East Asia, Nayar states that “put a more benign face on China’s role in the region. There is great charm to play how this part of Asian Supercomplex works out, not only bringing
South Asia under the stimulus of liberal economic interdependence” but also endorsing the Beijing’s claim that China is rising peacefully and China is desirous to create most harmonious ties with all the neighboring states.

Beijing’s friendly relations with Pakistan can be used to reduce tension rather enhance tension in India-Pakistan rivalry. Current events such as development through CPEC suggest that “there is constant possibility in combining logic of economic interdependence with the emergent Asian Supercomplex”. This possibility becomes more realistic, if Beijing returns to real commitment for peaceful rise instead of mere rhetorical statements. Beijing has already adopted home grown grand strategy of ‘peaceful rise development’ (PRD). Now time will tell that it would be a cold peaceful rise development or warm peaceful development.

Economic interdependence has its own limitation as China and Japan are economically interdependent but competing for political influence in East Asia. Japanese anxiety is constantly augmenting with rise of China in East Asian RSC despite her political alliance with Washington. Historically little evidence is available that alone economic independence provides any guarantee for perpetual peace and lasting stability. Beijing and New Delhi are using trade to maximize their national power not to mere suppress their territorial conflicts. Thus economic interdependence has certain limitation and stability between Beijing-New Delhi ties is not only owing to trade relations but also due to existence of non-traditional threat and currency of nuclear weapons.

Civil nuclear deal along with consistency of economic growth mean, India is widely talking for potential superpower. For her cherished desire, India is constantly looking beyond South Asia, though India failed to solve issues of South Asia within the region. It suggests that the matter for thinking India as great power or possibly be accepted as “great power at global level is now plausible.” Barry Buzan mentions that by his definition, India within Asia qualifies for great power status at the global level. The prevailing phenomenon suggests that features of emerging Asian Supercomplex are becoming more obvious.

297 Baldev Raj Nayar, Economic globalization and state capacity in South Asia, 2010
298 https://www.adb.org/publications/emerging-asia-decoupling-or-recoupling (accessed on September 28, 2018)
India appears to reassert its claim to be the dominant local power in the Indian Ocean. It would reinforce New Delhi’s claim as a state that had sustained an important political, economic and military influence more than one region. At least, India would be able to sustain robust economic development and to attain trade advantages as China did on expectation about its future prospects. Barry Buzan builds his argument that the world is heading towards multipolarity, where there is no superpower except greater powers and such scenario is called as “decentered globalism.” In this scenario, there would be a global international system or society having several great powers without any superpower.

For the time being US presence in Asia relieves Beijing of the unnecessary engagements and pressures which are required of a great power seized with the role of an equalizer in the security environment of Asia. By the same token, a rather peaceful gesture and keen interest exhibited by China in the economic and geographical connectivity at inter and intraregional levels, allays the concerns of New Delhi which nonetheless remains suspicious of her ultimate motives. The situation, therefore, lead to emergence of Asian Supercomplex, which in its turn influences the security patron and geostrategic relationship between Beijing and Islamabad. The emerging structure of security from contact of South Asian RSC with East Asian RSC is swaying the dynamics of Pakistan-China relations. Particularly, in the post 9/11 era, the China’s policies toward South Asia have been especially focused on: a) consolidation of friendly relations with India and Pakistan, b) relentless endeavors for effective connectivity with South Asia through CPEC as well as connectivity through BCIM-EC, c) settlement of border disputes with neighboring states including India through peaceful means, and d) military to military engagements with South Asian states aiming at regional stability and security.

Upshot of the discussion is that emerging Asian Supercomplex has now become operationalized wherein China, India, Pakistan and ASEAN states have been striving hard for their vital national interests. With this perspective, it would be appropriate to look into the rising China-US competition in Asia Pacific region.

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300 Barry Buzan, International Studies, 2011
5.2 Growing Sino-US Strategic Competition in Asia Pacific

Due to China’s economic and military rise in Asia Pacific region, US has devised its Pivot to Asia and Rebalance strategy primarily to contain the rising power of Beijing, especially in Asia Pacific. Hence, it would be apposite to debate on US Pivot strategy as well as its Rebalancing strategy in Asia Pacific and its impacts on Sino-US strategic competition in the region.

America’s Asia Pivot and Rebalance Strategy

In 2011, US Secretary of State Hillary Clinton declared that “the future of politics will be decided in Asia, not in Afghanistan or Iraq and the United States will be right at the center of the action.”

She observed that 21st century would be “America’s Pacific Century” and Asia Pacific region requires US leadership. Clinton made speech ahead of Asia Pacific Summit to convey China and other states that US is not ceding its conventional role in the region.

Clinton set forth the vision of America’s Pacific Century as well as mapping a strategic turn to the Asia Pacific. One month later President Obama spoke before the Parliament of Australia and mentioned US “efforts to advance security, prosperity and human dignity across the Pacific”.

Over the next years other Administration officials including Secretary of the Defence Leon Panetta as well as Ash Carter Deputy Defence Secretary “put forward more detailed explanations of the rebalance to the Asia Pacific region”.

President Obama made formal announcement of the renewed US focus on the Asia Pacific in November, 2011. Speaking in front of the Australian members of the Parliament he reaffirmed that “the United States is turning attention to the vast potential of the Asia Pacific region”. The speech of the President highlighted “all three components of the rebalancing including efforts to advancing security, prosperity and human dignity”. Senior officials have expressed that these three priorities are important to US regional strategy.

303 Ibid.
Clinton set forth the vision of America’s Pacific Century as well as mapping a strategic turn to the Asia Pacific. In her article in *Foreign Policy* magazine, she has stated that “America stands at a pivot point” and “a strategic turn to the (Asia Pacific) region requires smart execution of a coherent regional strategy.” The main features of the strategy were “(1) strengthening bilateral security alliances (2) deepening working relationships with emerging powers including with China (3) engaging with regional multilateral institutions; (4) expanding trade and investment; (5) forging a broad based military presence and (6) advancing democracy and human rights”. These six points provided Obama’s broader goals for advancing security, prosperity and human dignity.

Hillary Clinton and President Barack Obama provided a structure of thoughts regarding securitization of essential elements of rebalancing. Hillary mentions that US alliances require political consensus as well as capability to upsetting impending provocations. President Obama has observed that the US presence would be “more flexible and more sustainable”. Hillary forwarded similar priority areas such as “geographic distribution and political sustainability.”

Defence Strategic guideline 2012, illustrated that “We will consider necessity of rebalance towards the Asia Pacific region.” It was first public documents to “use word ‘rebalance’ and it did in the context of major strategic shift. The documents focused on two aspects “(a) relationship with Asian allies and key partners and (b) an underlying balance of military capability and presence”.

Second announcement was delivered by Secretary of Defence Leon Panetta at Shangri La Security Dialogue in June, 2012 and explained as the essential aspects of rebalance. He mentioned four principles viz “(1) promoting international rules and order (2) Deepening and broadening bilateral as well as multilateral partnerships (3) enhancing and adapting the US presence and (4) making new investment in capabilities needed to project power and operate in

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304 Hillary Clinton “America’s Pacific Century”.
306 Obama, “Remarks by President Obama to the Australian Parliament.”
307 Hillary Clinton “America Pacific Century
309 Ibid.
Several additional announcements were made regarding “changes in US posture and capabilities that would strengthen US strategic position in Asia Pacific region”. For instance Panetta pointed out that “Navy will posture its forces from today’s roughly 50/50 percent split between the Pacific and the Atlantic to about 60/40 split between those Oceans.”\(^3\) The US investment in aerial refueling tankers, anti-submarine warfare aircraft bombers and maritime patrol aircrafts provided practical illustrations to the tangible endeavors of the US rebalancing.

Another significant statement came from Deputy Secretary of Defense Ash Carter who was speaking before the Asia Society in August, 2012. He explained that “the rebalance is reflected in force structure decisions… new investments… innovative operational plans… posture and presence.”\(^4\) This speech further enhanced the quantity of the arms and ammunition including “a net increase of one aircraft carrier, four destroyers, three Zumwalt destroyers, ten Littoral Combat Ships and two submarines in the Pacific.”\(^5\)

US Secretary of the state Kerry’s statement in January 2013 mentions that “I am not convinced that increased military ramp up is critical yet. I am not convinced of that. That’s something I ‘d want to look at very carefully when and if you folks confirm me and I can get in there and I can get in there and sort of dig into this a little deeper. But we have a lot more bases out there than any other nation in the world, including China today.”\(^6\) Secretary Kerry focused on the Middle East. Thus question arises whether rebalance strategy was still intact?

In November, 2012, National Security Advisor Thomas Donilon mentioned five areas or “distinct lines of effort beyond what he referred as shifting of military resources”.\(^7\) These areas including “strengthening security alliances, forging deeper partnership with emerging powers,

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\(^4\) Ibid.


\(^6\) Ibid.

\(^7\) John Kerry, “Statement of Senator John F. Kerry, Nominee for Secretary of State, Senate Committee on Foreign Relations” (testimony before the Senate Committee on Foreign Relations, January 24, 2013)

\(^7\) Tom Donilon, “President Obama’s Asia Policy & Upcoming Trip to Asia” (Speech delivered at CSIS, Washington, DC, November 15, 2012)
engaging in global and regional institutions, pursuing a stable and constructive relationship with China and advancing the region’s economic architectures”.

In March 2013, Donilon again spoke to Asia Society about the needs to sustain and stable security environment in Asia. He has outlined “five essential areas mentioning them as pillars including a comprehensive, multidimensional strategy, strengthening alliances, deepening partnership with China; empowering regional institutions; and helping to build a regional economic architecture that can sustain shared prosperity”.316 Dolon’s five important points though similar to Hillary Clinton contain three major differences. Firstly, Dolon has downplayed the role of military presence when we compared his statement with Hillary Clinton list of priorities. Secondly, Donilon separated China from other emerging powers, increasing the significance placed on improving the US relationship with China and calling for a “new model of relations” between the US and China. Donilon also made little mention of Hillary’s sixth priority areas including advancing human rights and democracy. Two speeches of Donilon have left only two areas of priority i.e. security and prosperity as pillar of the rebalance.

The following table depicts an overall characterization of the US rebalance objectives, as discussed in the preceding pages:

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<th>“CHARACTERIZING US REBALANCE OBJECTIVES”</th>
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316 Tom Donilon, “Remarks by Tom Donilon, National Security Advisor to the President: ‘The United States and the Asia-Pacific in 2013’” (Speech delivered at the Asia Society, New York, NY, March 11, 2013)
Prosperity  Empower regional institutions
          Expand economics ties
Values            Promote democracy
          Advance human rights


As the US Pivot and Rebalance strategy is aiming at Beijing, it would be apposite to examine Beijing’s response on the US initiatives in Asia Pacific region. China is an important player of Asia Pacific Region. China’s actions have showed “increasing assertiveness in the East and South China Seas. Beijing has publically sought friendly and stable relations with the US as top foreign policy objective. Christopher Johnson suggests that Beijing’s judgement that China is enjoying opportunity extended through 2020 in which a benign external security environment allows it to focus on its internal development as well.” Recent interaction between Chinese leaders and the US foreign counterparts raised a question that how China would behave during the strategic opportunity.

China though feels threatened by the US rebalance and prospects of more capable US military force in Asia, its leadership endorses US’s continued role in Asia Pacific region. President Obama visited Beijing in November, 2009; both the countries issued a joint statement explicitly mentioning that “China welcomes the US as an Asia Pacific nation that contributes to peace, stability and prosperity in the region.” The US has also illustrated desire for a constructive partnership that is “positive, cooperative and comprehensive.” However, at home, Chinese leadership remained critical to rebalance strategy and emphasized the need to defend “fundamental national interests” when those interests are threatened. Chinese officials warned of frequent joint military exercises to be held in South China Seas and to “deliberate

strengthening of military alliances by relevant countries, which would not be conducive to regional peace and stability”.

Senior Chinese defence officials have already aired apprehensions that “rebalance strategy does not target one specific country and focuses upon the imperatives to balance the security concerns of different countries”. Chinese leaders emphasized to improve the bilateral ties through a “new type of great power relations”. Such arrangements should be characterized by “mutual understanding and strategic trust” and respect for each country’s “core interest and major concerns deepened mutually beneficial cooperation and enhanced coordination and cooperation.” Johnson notes that “Beijing want to draw firm lines concerning the limits of the new type of great power relations when it does not align with China’s strategic interests.” For example commenting on pivot in December 2011, Chinese Assistant Foreign Minister Le Yucheng states that “the US has never left the Asia Pacific” being a force for good in the region also mean “respecting China’s major concerns and core interests.”

**Trump’s “Free and Open Indo-Pacific” Strategy**

The US President Donald Trump is consistently using terms “Free and Open Indo-Pacific”(FOIP) which is highlighting the significance of Indian as well as Pacific Ocean for free and open navigation, whereof India is desirous to perform larger role in Indo-Pacific region especially in maintenance of maritime environment, which is attractive to robust economic growth as well as trade development at regional level. However, India remained absent in economic arrangements such as Asia Pacific Economic Cooperation (APEC) as well as the Trans Pacific Partnership (TPP). Though Trump made unilateral withdrawal from Trans-Pacific

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323 Xi Jinping, “Speech by Vice President Xi Jinping at Welcoming Luncheon Hosted by Friendly Organizations in the United States” (speech delivered at a welcome reception in the United States, February 15, 2012).
324 Johnson, Decoding China’s Emerging “Great Power” Strategy in Asia, 21.
325 Le Yucheng, “The Rapid Development of China’s Diplomacy in a Volatile World” (speech delivered at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Beijing, China, December 18, 2011).
326 file:///C:/Users/personal/AppData/Local/Microsoft/Windows/Temporary%20Internet%20Files/Content.IE5/Y1GEDIJZY/Indo-PacificStrategy.PDF (accessed on January 21, 2018)
Partnership (TPP) trade deal but he has provided transparent signal that the US “wishes to continue with its rebalance strategy.”

“Indo-Pacific” can be considered as a code for rebalancing against China. For India, “Indo-Pacific” promotes India’s Act East Policy and to create a strategic deterrence by New Delhi against Beijing. “Indo-Pacific” is prompting India to foster security and economic engagements with East Asian states. Indian External Affairs Ministry announced that defence and security cooperation is amongst significant agendas in 2016-2020 plan of Indo-ASEAN cooperation. New Delhi is playing vital role in Quadrilateral Security Dialogue (QSD) or Quad with other important players including Japan, Australia and the US. Trump emphasized hinting on China that “current trade imbalance is not acceptable and from this day forward, we will compete on a fair and equal basis.”

For Trump’s administration, “Indo-Pacific” construct is strategic arrangements against China forging strong collaboration with the US partners. Rex Tillerson, US Secretary of State has underscored that the US and India are effective keys to “great coordination between the Indian, Japanese and American militaries.” President of Vietnam Ian Bremmer has tweeted that “Trump has the moral compass of Kissinger but without any of the strategic vision.” Trump “American First” policy is coincided with “Indo-Pacific” gains considerations.

Firstly, the US is desirous to revitalize its industrial and economic power through addressing the issues of trade deficit against China. National Security Strategy (NSS), 2017 mentions “economic security is national security” and China and Russia are two rival powers having aim to “challenge American Power, influence, and interests, attempting to erode

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327 Dipanjan Roy Chaudhary, “Donald Trump’s Pivot to Asia” *Economic Times*, October 19, 2017
Tellerson has visited Latin America and revived “Monroe Doctrine” and warned Latin Americans about Beijing’s imperial ambitions in the continent.

Secondly, the US is desirous to maintain its power and influence as preeminent power in the globe. Trump even revived Ronald Reagan’s slogan of cold war arena of “Peace through Strength” stressing that balance of power must remain in favor of Washington and global peace would be maintained at Washington’s terms.

National Defense Strategy (NDS)332, 2018, reinforced the US traditional tool of diplomacy where Defence Department would “provide military options to ensure the President and (US) diplomats to negotiate from a position of strength” because of “interstate strategic competition, not terrorism, is now the primary concern in US national security.” NSS emphasizes that through multinational organizations led by the US, American interests and principles would be protected and “lead in research, technology, invention and innovation” would be maintained. Many states believe that the US has turned to isolationist and renounced leadership at global level. However, diametrically opposed, the US considers that Washington military and strategic presence in Asia Pacific will be intact and US would deeply engage in the region. President Xi Jinping is consolidating his position through 19th National Congress of the Communist Party of China having “stronger bargaining powers viz-a-viz his US counterpart.”333

Washington conducted freedom of navigation operations (FONOPS) in South China Sea and kept military and economic pressure on North Korea. Bilateralism preferences, withdrawal from multilateral environmental commitments by the US, Trump off the cuff tweets have affected the credibility of the US as a Superpower. NSS and NDS have reckoned the significance of “Indo-Pacific” partnership and alliances in preserving competitive edge as well as strategic advantage of the US. Hence Obama administration’s norms establishing and building through “principled security network” and Japanese Premier Abe Shinzo’s “Democratic Security Diamond” or “Democratic Alliances” in form of Quad still remained in place.

333 Cronin, “Trump’s Post-Pivot Strategy”
All states in Quad have several prominent disputes with Beijing, which is making their strategic interests aligned. Washington has differences with Beijing on human rights, trade and cyber security. North Korea and Taiwan have differences with Beijing on South China Sea. New Delhi has differences with Beijing in Doklam region, which became overheated last year. Tokyo has territorial disputes with Beijing in East China Sea over Senkaku/ Diaoyu Islands. Canberra has sensitives with Beijing investment in its strategic industries and concerned with alleged Chinese interference in domestic politics of Australia. All these states are aware that no single state can unilaterally balance Beijing, strategically, economically and militarily. Thus term “Indo-Pacific” is denoting not only integration of regions and regional powers but also convergence of geo-economic and geo-political interests, commitments and priorities of all these players. Trump has focus on “freedom of navigation and overflight, respect for international law and maritime security.”

Trump’s administration adopted “Indo-Pacific” as an instrument and framework of their Asia strategy. Prima facie it is not different from Obama’s 2011 Pivot or Rebalance strategy. Pivot/Rebalance strategy was devised for sustaining the US commitment and leadership in Asia Pacific, wherein security agenda remained as central-fugal gravitational power for checking Beijing’s regional dominance. Trump credited Beijing’s market reforms with “lifting 800 million people out of poverty.” He paid special tribute to three wealthiest Asian democracies “South Korea, Japan and India.”

Notwithstanding as pivot/rebalance strategy, Trump’s Indo-Pacific strategy would have implications for foreign policies of the regional states having collective response for the common threat. Keeping in view the shared interests and commonalities, it is possible that other like-minded states in the region may also join “Indo-Pacific” and Quad initiatives. China considers “Indo-Pacific” as Indo-Pacific alliance against Beijing while quad is denoted as Asian NATO. “Beijing has warned India against developing an anti-China alliance along with Japan and the US.”

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335 Cronin, “Trump’s Post-Pivot Strategy”
336 Chaudhary, “Donald Trump’s Pivot to Asia”
On the contrary, Beijing believes on strategic partnership as well as solution through regional security forums. Beijing considers antipathy to alliances, which seems as cold war containment apparatus, undervaluing rising spree of Beijing with a zero sum mentality. Any regional grouping targeting single state of China, Beijing can reply through intensifying economic diplomacy, accelerating military modernization as well as deployment of strategic assets in South China Sea.

On a more subtle level, President Xi has also been noticed pushing for “Asia for Asians” regional architecture at 2014 Conference on Interaction and Confidence Building Measures in Asia summit Shanghai. Criticism came from Dai Bingguo, who asked Hillary Clinton that “Why don’t you pivot out of here?” Nonetheless, Chinese strategic experts underscore that at least next 10 years Asia will see a US led order and they are not yet convinced that their country is ready to head Asia, at this stage.

Unofficial responses to the Pivot and rebalance strategy remained “quite critical as CSIS polling of strategic elites suggests that the US initiative is destabilizing factor and counterproductive” even for the interests of China and ASEAN states. The US and its allies are desirous to rebalance only China in the region, which is rising and its heat is not only felt by Southeast Asian states but also by the sole superpower of the globe i.e. US. The poll’s results show that such endeavors will bolster “cold war style security alliances and large scale military redeployment in the region”. These measures are to be taken to “contain China’s rise and to maintain the US dominance in the region. These strategists warn of zero sum competition between Washington and Beijing”. Other scholars suggest that rebalance strategy started in an era of geopolitical confrontation has encouraged the Chinese neighboring “states to drive a wedge between American and Chinese leadership”. Chinese leadership showed their willingness to be engaged with the “Washington to establish a prosperous Asia Pacific region suggesting Chinese support for US involvement in the region”.

The US and China made endeavors to improve their ties under new type of great power relations framework/mechanism. Recent gain in the area includes military to military exchanges, but widespread distrust is still visible in Asia Pacific. Chinese suspicions regarding rebalance are likely to persist and the US will have to face challenges in implementation of rebalance strategy in Asia Pacific region.

The preceding analysis of the US Pivot and rebalancing strategy in Asia Pacific reveals that the presence of rising China is inevitable in the globe. The US supports it with an admixture of caution and apprehension. Rests of the states are divided between the choice of siding with an emerging great power of China or supporting a receding superpower of the world. However, the fact remains that in foreseeable future, the US is there to stay in Indo-Pacific. Its growing strategic regrouping with India, Japan and Australia being China centric is too obvious to elude any diplomatic nicety.

Washington has already made civil nuclear deal with New Delhi and declared India as a strategic partner and natural ally for the US’s rebalancing, hedging and containment of China. New Delhi, on her part, has been striving hard for forging economic and strategic relations with Asian Pacific states through India’s Look/Act East Policy.

5.3 India’s Act East Policy and Sino-Indian Relations

Premier Narendra Modi declared in Assam that “Northeast is at the heart of India’s ‘Act East Policy’”339 From New Delhi’s point of view, the Act East Policy is integral aspect of novel developments in Indian foreign policy. In November 2014, National Democratic Alliance (NDA) government being headed by Premier Modi devised the Act East Policy within first year of assuming powers. A significant shift has been noted from India’s Look East Policy to Act East Policy and main focus remained important policy impacts in two regions i.e. Northeast Asia and China. However, some analysts suggest that Act East Policy is continuation of the Look East Policy of India.

Unquestionably, the Look East Policy was the predecessor of the newly devised Act East Policy. Look East Policy was initiated in 1992 when India was striving hard for economic liberalization under prevailing geo-political and geo-economic circumstances. Look East Policy remained a halfhearted magniloquence commitment having monotonous results where policy statements from Indian leadership mostly remained rhetoric. India could not attain cherished results and New Delhi’s influence in Northeast Asia remained restricted. Simultaneously, Beijing’s influence kept on constantly growing and challenging the Indian hegemony even in the South Asian region. Since 2014, New Delhi has not only been Looking East but also Acting East. India has taken substantial measures for establishing closer partnership with Eastern partners/states. Premier Modi’s visits to Singapore, Myanmar, Malaysia, Vietnam, South Korea, Japan, Mongolia as well as China show that New Delhi is actively pursuing India’s Act East Policy. Commonalities of Buddhism, cultural traits and shared history of colonialization are being used to create a sense of togetherness/collectiveness rather doing mere rhetoric to make Act East Policy as successful adventure.

The pursuit of multipronged strategy for engagement of East at bilateral, regional as well as interregional level in Asia Pacific by New Delhi has decades of continuous hard work. In the beginning, New Delhi engaged states in the region through economic diplomacy and afterward deepened the strategic partnership through military dynamics. New Delhi used soft power diplomacy for the purpose of rebuilding civilizational and cultural linkages. Premier Manmohan Singh mentions that New Delhi’s Look East Policy is not merely external economic policy but it is also a “strategic shift in India’s vision of the world and India’s place in the evolving global economy. Most of all, it is about reaching out to our civilizational neighbors in South East Asia and East Asia.”

Look East Policy was originally directed to South East Asian states. However geo-strategic and geo-economic circumstances enforced India to include South Korea, Japan, China as well as Asia Pacific states within the reach of this policy. Strategic concerns of New Delhi remained prioritized. India felt uneasy on Chinese military buildup and China’s encircling India within the periphery of South Asia region through Beijing’s ‘String of Pearls’ strategy. New
Delhi considers Beijing’s move as detrimental for its national interests in terms of blocking its transition towards the great power status. New Delhi therefore seeks to balance off China with the help of the US and Japan in the Asia Pacific.

India’s Act East Policy has serious implications for Sino-India relations. It aims at boosting Indian standing as a regional power by enhancing cooperation in the region and to act as counterweight to rising strategic influence of Beijing in the region. At the same time, it seeks to further deepen friendly relations with Beijing especially in the context its partnership with latter in Asian Infrastructure Investment Bank (AIIB) and New Development Bank (NDB). In spite of all rhetoric, there are numerous irritants between New Delhi and Beijing. Doklam Standoff has attained global attention in recent past. South China Sea continues as a significant issue, which also remains as core issue of Beijing’s foreign policy. ASEAN states remained in a fix on dealing with Beijing regarding imbroglio of South China Sea. It is pertinent to mention that more than 40 percent of Indian trade is passing through the South China Sea. Hence New Delhi genuinely feels uneasy partly for the economic and strategic interests and partly due to unbridled aspiration for great power status in Asia.

With this background, New Delhi has been trying its best to vie with rising Chinese military buildup by emphasizing upon modernization of its defence production industries thereby enhancing its military capability. New Delhi “continues to import of sophisticated arms and defence items from major global defence” suppliers including France, the US, Israel, Russia and other western European states to upgrade military capability alongside “entering into joint production endeavors with these states. India even overtook China in 2011 as the biggest importer of arms in the world and this trend continued until 2013.” According to Stockholm International Peace Research Institute (SIPRI) “India accounted for 9 percent of all weapons imports between 2006 and 2010.”

New Delhi has been continuously enhancing its maritime capability in the Indian Ocean in pursuit of achieving status of great power in Asia. Since last decades, Beijing has been pursuing “Strings of Pearls” policy through building seaports and deepening strategic ties with

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341 “India remains top arms importer while China becomes fifth largest exporter”, Economic Times, March 18, 2013
South Asian states with the view to encircle India. New Delhi has responded with “Necklace of Diamonds” policy where it has extended economic, strategic and military engagements with Southeastern states such as Philippines, Myanmar, Mongolia, Singapore, Vietnam, Taiwan and South Korea, who feel threatened by military ascendency of China in the region.

In South China Sea, India conducted “oil exploration and naval exercises with the help Vietnam in 2011”. Beijing warned New Delhi to refrain from such activities either militarily or economically in “Chinese maritime territory.”\textsuperscript{343} Despite all rhetoric, Indian Navy continued commercial activities in the region with help of Asia Pacific states. Vietnam and Philippines have “questioned the sweeping claims of Beijing over resource rich South China Sea”. However, despite Indian endeavors to balance of power stratagem, Beijing-New Delhi economic engagements have been enhanced in last decades. Beijing-New Delhi trade trajectory has shown upwards trends in last decades. China-India trade was $2.92 billion in 2000, which reached to $51.8 billion in 2008, and stood at $ 66.57 billion in 2012.\textsuperscript{344} Now trade volume between two neighboring states has touched over $70 billion ($71.5 billion in 2017).\textsuperscript{345}

Simultaneously, India is cultivating economic links with the ASEAN countries. Indian state-owned oil company ONGC Videsh Ltd (OVL) has already accepted Vietnamese offer to explore most needed oil and gas in Block 127 as well as 128. Beijing considers such measures from New Delhi as aggressive postures; detrimental to Chinese rising influence in the region. It depicts Indian desire to deepen ties with Vietnam and an aggressive stance against Beijing. It shows that New Delhi’s policy trajectory towards Beijing is fluctuating. New Delhi has initiated “a policy of internal and external balancing in East in an endeavor to protect its core interests” against Beijing’s expanding power in the region. Act East Policy of India appears to be New Delhi’s soft power in pursuits of strategic goals as compared to Look East Policy, which remained mostly rhetoric and focused on economic collaboration. India’s Act East Policy is an attempt to balance Beijing’s power in the same region. India cannot match Beijing military power but has been using soft power to assert its position in Northeast region since 2014.

\textsuperscript{343} Harsh Pant, ed., \textit{Indian Foreign Policy in a Unipolar World}, (New Delhi: Routledge, 2009), 163
A phenomenon of balance of power and counterbalancing alliances can thus be judged from India’s Act East Policy wherein India is passing the buck of balancing to another ASEAN state. Southeast Asian states prefer New Delhi’s proactive posture in countervailing Beijing’s influence in the region owing to proximity of India rather than involvement of far-flung power of the US. Smaller states such as Vietnam and Philippines are looking to India to act as counterweight to rising Chinese influence in the region. Strategically, it is most clever move by East Asian states as India is not officially following policy of containing China. Owing to Act East Policy, India can assert its presence in the region. At the same time, India is strengthening its ties with the ASEAN states.

New Delhi strategic partnership with Washington is important. New Delhi–Washington exceptional convergence of interests and values has been noted. The structural change in post-cold war arena and rising of Chinese power spree provided an opportunity to the US and India to promote their mutual interests and benefits and to tackle the rising power of Beijing in Asia. New Delhi-Washington collaboration in strategic, educational, cultural economic and political arena has become transparent. The significant aspect of the US-India strategic partnership is depicted from Indo-US signing of a 10 Year Defence Framework Agreement as well as Indo-US civil nuclear deal. Strategic Dialogue remained more effective between two states. US-India partnership came out of ideological baggage of the cold war era embedded with geo-strategic and geo-economic consideration and democratic traits existed between two states. The strategic partnership between the US and India is “positively affecting Asia-Pacific regional strategic security dimension.”

New Delhi has also been enhancing its economic and strategic engagements with Australia and Japan. After Tsunami disaster in 2004, India Navy along with the US, Australia and Japanese Navy remained involved in rehabilitation and rescue activities. Thus idea of Quadrilateral Alliance was floated to be known as the “Concert of Democracies.” However, on strong Chinese protests, the Quadrilateral Alliance was placed at the backburner. Nonetheless, it provided an idea that democracies and democratic nations come together on the issue of security in a region. Therefore possibility of a quadrilateral naval alliance in the hours of need

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347 Ashok Sharma, “Evaluating the Quad: US, Japan, Australia and India”, *South Asian Survey*, 17No.2 (2010), 237
especially at any aggressive stance of China in the region cannot be ruled out. Nationalist
government of Premier Shinzo Abe in Japan promoted strategic ties with India. Now Japan-India
has strong bilateral strategic partnership.

Emergence of unipolar globe led by the US, emerging threat from rising China and
Indian own ambitions for great power status in Asia dictate the New Delhi’s foreign policy for
eastward extension. India’s Act East Policy can be contemplated as a way of soft balancing
against the rising power of China in the East. The economic aspect of Act East Policy include
several other initiatives such as ‘skill India’, ‘Make in India’ and ‘Digital India’ creating
infrastructure, energy security and constructing smart cities. Economic developmental spree can
be reflected as strategic plan to create flexibility and political space to contest with the increasing
assertiveness and rising power of China by India in the Northeast region.

Implementation of Act East policy by India, building upon common relations of
Buddhism, cultural traits, tourism, state delegations, effective connectivity and people to people
contacts as well as use of rhetoric of East can be considered as nonviolent strategy. India is
striving hard to strengthening relations with ASEAN states, involving Northeast countries on the
agenda with active support of the US against the rising power of China. In the long run, New
Delhi expects to win confidence and cooperation of China through Act East Policy in achieving
global legitimacy for its economic and strategic outreach and engagement with Northeast Asian
states.

On a broader scale, Act East policy also bears a close nexus with involvement of the US
as power balancer in Asia Pacific. The nexus plays as a catalyst in defining the Sino India
relations and explains the security and strategic realignments within emerging Asia super
complex.

5.4 American Factor in China-India Relations

China views growing India-US partnership in the fields of nuclear technology, defence,
politics and diplomacy as a bid to contain her strategically and economically in the region. The
Chinese Prime Minister’s visit of New Delhi in December, 2010 is considered to judge and

+Mulay%2C+%E2%80%9CIndia%E2%80%99s+Act+East+Policy (accessed on January 22, 2018)
calculate the forthcoming impacts and the real intensity of the India-US partnership against Chinese interests in South Asia. Being superpower of the time, the US’s role as ringleader is quite significant having essential global sways. By keeping in view the aforementioned role of the US, RSCT, elucidates that weak institutions building and their fragility as well as economic uncertainty in the East Asia indicate that if some regional security regime is to be developed successfully, it would only be in the perspective of striking global international environment and not in isolation. Therefore, it is another conditionality explaining the US engagement in the East Asia. Many regional organizations help the US in the East Asia by creating rhetoric of Asia Pacific Super region. It may be noted that many analysts observe that the US is not an “East Asian State rather US has to look after Atlantic and Latin America rather Asia is just one of spheres of her current operations. US have a choice to be engaged in Asia to greater or lesser extent”.

It is a significant factor in the evolution of Sino-Pakistan alliance and now Indo-American partnership in the Asia. Dr. Muhammad Yunus has pointed out historical fact that “Pakistan’s explanations made little headway in Moscow, but these were eventually accepted in Beijing.”

It is believed that the unipolarity of the US is expected to continue and the US would continue to play its effective role in global affairs though the globe is heading towards multipolarity. The US variable is somewhat different to understand. Undoubtedly, it is difficult for the US to withdraw from Asia because her deep economic interest lies with Asia Continent and because it would be a fatal move towards ending the US status of superpower. The US withdrawal might have enormous consequences as the US has gigantic share in Asian security. As a result, the US presence in Asia has made Japan as civilian economic power in Asia as Japan’s external security remained responsibility of the US. Australia has also become part and parcel of East Asian RSC in post-Cold War arena. Hence competition in Asia Pacific region between China and the US is enhancing and shaping Sino-Pakistan strategic relations since 9/11.

However, the Sino-Japanese relationship may jeopardize the scenario, if it is left on both states to handle and provide leadership for firefighting on the burning issues of Korea and

Taiwan. Neither Japan nor India or China has up till now such “standing to take over the challenging role of Asian regional security leader” and no one is in a position to acquire such status in immediate near future. ASEAN is not adequate to provide “regional leadership, though ARF” is comparatively better as compared to the contemporary organizations. How much time needed for Asians to come out of the existed dependence on the US is not easy to gauge. However, China is incessantly rising while Japan-India-Australia alongside other ASEAN states have shown enthusiasm for becoming part of endeavors for containment of enhancing power of China, being led by the sole superpower of the globe where India has adopted the role of linchpin of the US in Asia Pacific.

Nonetheless, in Asia many countries are comfortable with the US and only few countries oppose it absolutely for their own reasons for dependence on the US for most warranted security. One solution to the dependence on the US comes through the “domestic triumph of neo-isolationism in US politics which made it to indifferent to Eurasian security and announced to set aside most of demanding US global security engagements”. Such development is not unimaginable but there is no such immediate move in such direction, and there are “strong powerful military and commercial vested interests likely to oppose such move in domestic politics of US”. Therefore, dependence for security on the US for the time being would be continued particularly of “Asian states such as Japan and South Korea”. Consequently, US-India factor in Asia Pacific Region is stimulating China for forging strong strategic relationship with Pakistan in post-9/11 period.

At regional as well as interregional level, continuity is prevailing in the South Asia despite all upheavals since 1990s. In cold-war era, Soviet Union and India remained as formidable ally in the region. The US supported Pakistan against Soviet Union’s intervention in Afghanistan. Despite differences on many issues, India, Pakistan and Bangladesh supported the US in Gulf war in 1990s. After demise of Soviet Union, India suffered a serious setback as her cheap arms supplies from Soviet Union were halted for the time being. However, Pakistan-US relations swung into negative sense owing to the Presser amendment and India-US relations had silver lining in the South Asia in late 1990s and in 2000s era peculiarly after signing of Civil Nuclear Deal in 2005, whereof New Delhi is striving hard for permanent membership of UNSC

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\[350\] Buzan and Waever, Regions and Powers, 126
and membership of a prestigious nuclear group i.e. NSG on behest of the US. The scenario depicts that emerging Asian Supercomplex is determining Sino-Pakistan strong strategic partnership in post-9/11 period.

As mentioned above, the growing integration of South Asian RSC with East Asian RSC is shaping dynamics of Pakistan-China Relationship. The centrifugal gravity is available with China, which has central role in the security dynamics of emerging Asian Supercomplex. The US is single handedly carrying the burden of superpower with apprehension that “how much or little global level depends upon the regional level in Asia. For China the significant issue is how quickly or slowing her power grows and how much or little her rising power and posture/policies stimulate fear in the neighboring countries”. India’s policy; look or act towards East is creating security dilemma for China in East Asia.

It is also believed that China-India ties are a vivid manifestation of opportunities for collaboration in the face of potential impending conflicts. Promoting the friendly cooperation and avoiding the potential conflicts in the region is a serious challenge for both Chinese and Indian leadership and new test of prudent diplomacy between the two rising powers of Asia. Growing nationalism at home and unwarranted repercussions created by one another actions needs especial attention of the policy makers on both sides of the lines. With the passage of time, solution to long standing issues such as territorial disputes would become more complicated in the perspective of prevailing mistrust and suspicions. In this perspective, in rising competition of China and the US in South Asia and Asia Pacific region, India has become strategic ally of the US after signing civil nuclear deal in 2005, primarily aiming against China and Pakistan. As a result, the Sino-Pakistan strategic ties are further promoted since 9/11.

However, at the same time, new imbroglio and emerging issues needs further immediate attention of the spearhead on both sides of the fence. Multi-polarity and coexistence is the inevitable consequential result but future direction of Sino-India relationship has yet to be determined by their visionary leadership. “Inter-regional challenges include armed conflict in Afghanistan and growing Indo-U.S nexus under Trump’s administration. Opportunities include
expansion of SAARC with the inclusion of Iran and Afghanistan.”\textsuperscript{351} Thus, emerging Asian Supercomplex is defining new dimensions of Sino-Pakistan cooperation.

Historically, China and India remained in conflict over territorial disputes and cooperation in trade and economic spheres. John W. Garver, an American scholar called Beijing-New Delhi relationship as the “protected contest”. Mutual distrust and suspicions leading towards military showdown and intensive competitive relationship between the two rising powers of Asia is the hallmark of modern international affairs history. In between cooperation and conflict, both China and India have been managing the complex relationship, and concentrating on outstanding issues as well as addressing emerging issues between the two major rising powers of Asia. In the spree of competition, US-India partnership is creating security dilemma for China.

Apart from the structural odds, both China and India have to overcome the misconceptions about each other and significant communication gap between two neighboring countries. Transparently, security dilemma exists between vulnerable relationship of Beijing and New Delhi. However, security standoff may not be disastrous for both China and India if all the political and security matters are handled vigilantly by the spearheads of both the neighboring countries lest it may become hostile and antagonistic relationship. However, the US has declared India as linchpin in South Asia and Asia Pacific region, where competition is becoming severe day by day.

It is further added that “at the global level, there is expected high degree of patterns of continuity in overall configuration in outside interference/intervention in South Asia”. It is undeniable fact that “India lost her support from the Soviet Union while Pakistan retained her off and on relationship with the sole superpower US” even in post-9/11 era. Beijing is further deepening her partnership with Islamabad and high degree of amity in patterns of continuity is anticipated. China has prolific environment for enhancing her influence in South Asia. The US

\textsuperscript{351} Dr. Moonis Ahmar, Dean of Faculty of Social Sciences, University of Karachi, personal interview January 1, 2018.
signed civil nuclear deal with India in 2005. To give more impetus to Indo-US partnership, Washington declared India as a strategic partner in 2012.\textsuperscript{352}

In post-9/11 era, Pakistan has become a US non-NATO ally against war on terrorism. In this scenario, the US has been playing a role of “ring holder between India and Pakistan for the long term”. The US commitment to the subcontinent remained undecided both in durability and the direction of its commitment in South Asia. However, the US started pursuing a flexible strategy of rebalancing in Asia Pacific region and upgraded partnership with India by calling it as a strategic partner in Asia Pacific and further aggravated Pakistan-India security dilemma for the purpose of encirclement and rebalancing of rising China.

Nevertheless, at the same time China considers the US as key threat but remained pragmatic enough to be aligned in various matters. Pakistan and China favor multipolar international system, with lesser the US security engagements. Such structure provides for greater autonomy for the regional and interregional level dynamics and “great powers within their localities and regions. These deeply and shared features made China and Pakistan as the Westphalian great power players in emerging Asian Supercomplex”.

Therefore, strategic trilemma continues in Asian Supercomplex where Pakistan, China and India have been playing their role wherein possibility of transformation between South Asian RSC and East Asian RSC cannot be ruled out. In Asia Pacific region, the US as a sole superpower is performing its effective role as well. External transformation of the South Asia and Middle Eastern region as well as East Asian RSC is presently stable but can be affected by the new developments of sever competition between China and US-India in the South Asian RSC. Keeping in view the Pakistan’s prevailing Security dilemma in South Asia, the significance of Afghanistan in regional security and stability cannot be ignored. Peaceful Afghanistan is in the interests of all South Asian players. Nevertheless, the spillover effects of instability in Afghanistan has been haunting to all Asian states especially to the neighboring Pakistan and China.

Barry Buzan and Ole Waever applauded Pakistan, which remained as stable pole in South Asia RSC despite dismemberment of Bangladesh in 1971 and bipolarity remained continued in the region. Hence, Pakistan’s factor in amity-enmity Sino-India affairs has become an integral part and a trilemma is continued in the region, which need further deliberation.

5.5 Pakistan’s Factor in China-India Relations

Pakistan remained a significant factor in Sino-Indian relations. China has made tremendous development and growth and has made its emergence felt both at regional as well as global levels. Nicolas Kristov in his article observes that “China is emerging as the most important country in the world.” Similarly, with sheer size of its economy, demography and geo strategic placement, India has also turned out to be a worthy competitor to regional ascendancy in Asia. Pakistan has been playing a role of balancer between competitive relationship of China and India in South Asia. David Smith has aptly emphasized that significance of Pakistan should not be underestimated on the power chess board of the region. Sino-Pakistan deep rooted strategic relationship has remained an anathema to India.

In the cold war era, China-Pakistan strategic ties remained cordial. Pakistan-China developed security cooperation in the South Asia region to counterweigh the Indian hostility in the South Asia. India has been watching Beijing-Islamabad continued defence and security cooperation in the fields of nuclear energy, missile systems and defence production industries with great concern and suspicion. In emerging Asian Supercomplex Pakistan-China strategic relationship has further been strengthened owing to India’s Look East and Act East Policy especially in the context where the US has declared India a linchpin in curtailment, hedging and balancing the rising power of China in Asia Pacific Region. Yuan J.D. observes Pakistan’s factor as most significant in “check mating India and at a minimum tying India to South Asian continent.”

The two Asian giants- China and India- “adopt a fairly different posture when it comes to the image they projecting abroad. The Chinese go overboard to maintain a low profile, stressing that they are still a developing country and on the contrary”. On the contrary, “Indians tend to get carried away by a global assertiveness which does not necessarily match the reality.”

353 Rabin Sen, Strategic Dimensions, India and China the Next Decade, (New Delhi: Rupa and Co, 2009), 60
354 Smith, The Dragon and the Elephant, 171
These are the fundamental differences even in the power projection by both rising powers of the Asia. Indians have more rhetoric than substance in their conversation at the interregional/global levels.

China considers India as a major rising power and duly acknowledges India’s place at the regional as well as interregional continuum. India scored best amongst BRICS (Brazil, Russia, India, China and South Africa). However, “World Competitiveness Scoreboard put China in 19th place and India in 29th.” This shows some indecisiveness among multi-national firms and analysts about the potential of the two states that fairly reflects the true positions. India has been chasing vigorously China in economic development and even in strategic competition in the region.

While being mindful of all potential challenges from ambitious India, China understands/advocates that potential territorial disputes can be resolved and differences can be overcome by both the neighboring states through process of dialogue and consultation. This positive Chinese overture has however not been commensurately reciprocated by India who nostalgically dismisses and downplays the fact that China is stronger than India. Factually, “Chinese policy in recent years has been increasingly tilted toward hedging against the potential formation of an anti-China encirclement in its periphery.” The security dilemma remains a vital factor and threat perception remains alive between Beijing and New Delhi. The security dilemma is equally affecting the impending solution of most critical issues including territorial disputes.

At home, leadership of both the rising powers is busy with domestic social and economic growth, social stability in their respective countries coping with their internal political challenges and other relevant issues. The domestic challenges of both the rising countries are long term issues that will take several decades to be addressed. George J. Gilboy and Eric Higginbotham

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356 Gilles Boquerat, “Sino Indian Relations in Retrospect”, Strategic Studies, XXVII, (Summer, 2007), 33
357 Smith, The Dragon and the Elephant, 178
pointed out that the successful handling of the domestic challenges “holds out prospects for
constraining the role that either India or China will play in global politics.”

Chinese PLA is emphasizing on net centric war, utilizing advanced systems capabilities
and other Revolution for Military Affairs (RMA) accretions and Rapid Reaction Forces.
V.P.Malik while referring to Yi YiPhang Hu and the utter professionalism of PLA, underlines
five likely limited war scenarios viz., “(1) military conflict with neighboring states in a limited
region (2) military conflict on territorial waters (3) undeclared air attack by enemy countries (4)
territorial defence in limited military cooperation; and (5) the last and of special importance to
India – punitive offensive with a minor incursion into a neighboring country”.

On the other hand, India used the rationale of China for military buildup but de-facto preparation remained
against Pakistan. China and India “have maintained stable diplomatic relationship”. High level
visits continued and both countries have held many rounds of talks on border issues. China’s
recent initiative at regional connectivity and economic integration through establishment of
China-Pakistan Economic Corridor (CPEC) as part of its One Belt One Road project has
however stirred up the suspicions of India as also those of the US regarding her true objectives
which ostensibly appear to be inspired by her desire for an enhanced military / strategic presence
in the region.

China remains concerned with Pakistan’s instability and increase in extremism and
terrorism, which has adverse implications on China’s Muslims minority region of Xinjiang.
Barry Buzan however sees “no major shift in what essentially remains a correct but cool
relationship” between the two countries.

New Delhi’s anxiety for prominent role of third great power status in Asia is now an open
secret. Beijing is considered to be a major contender and impediment in realization of that
objective. Apprehensive of the US’s strategic alliance with New Delhi, China on it part, has
been striving to confine India to the periphery of the South Asian RSC where Pakistan is a key
player, having a pole position as per RSC theory. For Beijing a multi-polar global order is more
harmonious and compatible with its long term foreign policy objectives. Wary of the changing
ero security complexion of Asia, Swaran Singh has therefore suggested the Indian leadership

359 Gilboy and Higginbotham, Chinese and Indian Strategic Behavior, 48
360 V.P. Malik, Strategic Dimensions, India and China the Next Decade, 58
361 Buzan and Waever, Regions and Powers, 110
that “we shall be delaying our progress if we go against the current, in which nation are flowing in a very different fashion, developing an altogether new kind of relationship.”

In the final estimate, the US is likely to remain engaged with East Asian regional security dynamics being outside player in the region. Consequently, China-US rivalry may take a global dimension. Domestic political economies of the US and China will determine the intensity, duration and outcome of this tussle within the landscape of emerging Asian Supercomplex. Islamabad and New Delhi have become two important players in the ensuing imbroglio where India is striving hard for third great power status in Asia and growing integration of two RSCs is shaping novel dimension of Islamabad-Beijing relations in post-9/11 period. Barry Buzan and Ole Waever conclude in *Scenario in Asian Supercomplex* that “China would certainly keep Pakistan as an ally and perhaps Burma”.

Asian Supercomplex therefore appears to have been set in motion. Despite Beijing’s rhetoric of soft rise, the US and India are apprehensive of her real designs in the region. The ensuing situation has set off the process of security and strategic realignment of the entire Asia Pacific region. South and East Asian security complexes no more remain isolated scenario and are merging to form a Supercomplex where the two main regional contenders have been compelled to build their respective strategic and politico-economic strongholds through such initiative as string of pearl and Act East policies. The fact however remains that Asian Supercomplex being an outcome of the interaction of the two Regional Security Complexes i.e. South Asian RSC and East Asian RSC, can only be understood and deciphered in terms of respective perception of enmity and amity of the local state actors. In this context analysis of impending challenges and prospects of Pakistan-China strategic relations in post-9/11 era becomes all the more relevant.

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362 Singh, Strategic Dimensions, India and China, 72
363 Buzan and Waever, Regions and Powers, 175
This chapter discusses challenges and Prospects of Pakistan-China strategic relations. It argues that Pakistan-China strategic relations are set to grow as Pakistan’s strategic value for China has grown in the wake of Sino-US strategic competition and realignment of forces in Asian Supercomplex. Further, while Beijing-New Delhi trade and economic partnership is likely to grow, its political relations are likely to remain overshadowed by their longstanding territorial disputes and rivalry in Asia. Continued conflict in Afghanistan however, may post a security challenge to optimum growth of CPEC. The chapter is divided into four sections; a) China’s grand strategy and challenges to Beijing’s interests in Asian Supercomplex; b) Is India emerging as a counterweight to China in Asian Supercomplex; c) Pakistan’s growing strategic value for China in Asian Supercomplex; and d) Continued conflict in Afghanistan as a challenge to development of CPEC.

The security structure of the emerging Asian Supercomplex is shaping the dynamics of Pak-China strategic relations. The emergence of such an Asian Supercomplex is well explained by RSC theory. The geopolitical scenario is getting more multifaceted with the passage of time with enormous challenges and opportunities. The integrated East Asian Regional Security Complex is centered on China where the US continues to play a significant role. South Asian Regional Security Complex where Pakistan is located has been conflictual in nature where the pattern of enmity between India and Pakistan is shaped by their rivalry and continued distrust. Incontrovertibly, South Asian RSC is less influenced by global overlay.

Against this backdrop, China’s own relationship with India has been largely shaped by their border dispute, distrust and rivalry. Even the end of cold war did not transform the South Asian RSC either externally or internally. The inclusion of Afghanistan into South Asian Security Complex and deployment of US-NATO forces in the wake of 9/11 added further complexity to the region. The Indo-US strategic partnership, the US pivot to Asia strategy and New Delhi’s proactive engagement with East Asia has created an environment where China has
launched Belt and Road Initiative (BRI) in which CPEC is further reinforcing Pak-China’s strategic partnership.

Growing economic relationship and transnational organizations want to ensure the particular role of the US in the East Asian region. If regional organizations have feeble appearance, there is also feebleness in the willingness of states of the region to start talks formally, informally or even “superficially about their regional security relationship. It is unlikely that any such development may go forward without the participation of US”. Surprisingly, for better or for worse, “most of the East Asian states trust the US more than the states trust one another in the same region”. US pivot/rebalance strategy and the leading role to resolve the nuclear crisis in Korea always remained significant.

Despite some objections of the regional states considering it a KEDO deal, it is very hard to believe that “anything can be done within the region to stop escalation, if the US decides not to play any leading role”. It can be argued that such an externally, heavily supportive arrangement may not be a true regional security regime. Factually it may lie between the conflict formation and security regime as the concerned regional states are desirous that “their security be managed by an outside power/player.”

Firstly, Realists indicate traditional and strategic analysis that the “threat emerging from China to her neighbors is simply wrong”. Either China does not emanate serious threat to her neighbors and they are correct to keep their securitization at the lowest level, or it does but “the neighboring countries are somehow blind to the naked fact”. A few incidents include Beijing putting severe military pressure upon New-Delhi by “seizing her territory and by nuclearizing Pakistan, and on ASEAN by occupying and claiming the Parcel and Spratly Islands and on Taiwan by frequent threats and military demonstrations.” Thus it is just unbelievable that the neighboring countries have not noticed these actions or not correctly evaluated the impending threats by rising China.

Secondly, Chinese diplomacy is so effective that it has overwhelmed her neighbors through appeasement. They do not dare to respond publically over the open and naked provocations by Beijing. The mechanism indicates that impending balancing response on threat may result into worsening of bilateral relationship and further escalation of threats. Chinese
diplomacy has been dealing with such issues bilaterally on the basis of separate regions of Asia and more or less on isolation basis. China so far successfully avoided the construction of anti-Chinese coalition stretching from India to ASEAN to Japan. However, Chinese behavior in case of Taiwan can be seen as a special case and its similarity with South Asia and South East Asia gets underplayed, making the whole pattern less visible and less distinguishable.

Thirdly, the possibility exists that “Asian international subsystem has been dressed in the Westphalian clothes but is not performing according to Westphalian script in letter and spirit”. The same line of thinking has been followed by Asia in the past and the tendency will be continued even in future. Chinese world order can be seen as China centric and hierarchical pattern of international relations. The pattern even survived in culture of East Asia in spite of fabricated and superficial remaking of Asian sub-system into Westphalian or Western style of set of sovereign states. Here the principal effects would be the subverting of expected balancing as normal response to power imbalance and threat in western system and propensity amongst the weaker states to replace it.

The result is that traditional behavior of Asia is so deep-rooted and ingrained in Asian culture that it does not make international relations in conformity with the Realists model. The extremely significant “proposition cannot be tested unless the US pulls out from Asia, leaving Asian Supercomplex” on its own fate accompli. Thus prediction does not explain the observed underperformance of balancing, though Indian behavior is hard to put in conformity with it, but political history tells that India never remained part of Chinese World Order.

Fourthly, it can be impact of the US engagements in Asia “explaining the underperformance of balancing. There is a strong interplay between security dynamics of Asian Supercomplex and the global level concerning with China-US relationship on the pattern of 1+4 system”. Here the main argument is that the US’s presence in Asia as a ring-holder allows Asian states to leave the job of balancing China to the superpower of the US. The US encourages such underperformance of balancing by several direct or indirect ways. The US strongly projects the nonproliferation norms upon Koreas, Taiwan, Japan, Pakistan and India. The US cultivates Japan military dependent and practically opposed to multilateral security initiatives in Asia.
The behavior of the US does not have local application but her global policy also did little restraining Israeli nuclear deterrent. Earlier same policy was in vogue in case of Britain and France. On the other hand, Vietnam has tried to balance China and that too at the hostility of Washington against China. Now the US has to worry about China at the global level and China’s global credentials are heavily depended upon her performance in the Asian Supercomplex. Hence the underperformance of balancing has already locked the US in Asia. It potentially enhances the US-China rivalry by putting superpower in forefront of China. Here less possibility exists as unsettling links of the Chinese World Order are unimaginable.

Westphalian logical thinking suggests that if the US drew back from her present ring holding position, other Asian States would have to balance by doing the US’s job at the interregional/global level. Some incentives can be seen for the US to be disengaged from Asia but Chinese explanation of world order indicates the US disengagement as most detrimental and hazardous. If Asian international behavior is moving with threats, then the US disengagement in Asia would give China a regional suzerainty, which would greatly enhance her position in the region and interregional/global credentials. The aforementioned scenario presents the undeniable fact that the security structure of the emerging Asian Supercomplex is shaping the dynamics of Pak-China strategic relations and such emergence of a Supercomplex is explained reasonably by Barry Buzan and Ole Waever in their RSC theory.

In the aforementioned scenario, it would be more appropriate to critically scrutinize China’s grand strategy in the context of Beijing’s interest in Asian Pacific region.

6.1 China’s grand strategy and challenges to Beijing’s interests in Asian Supercomplex

Chinese leaders remained conscious about the Beijing’s grand strategy regarding growing power of China but also had deep understanding of the Chinese weaknesses. They adjusted themselves with the harsh and hard realities of post-cold war era. They faced stiff global challenges bravely in hard pursuit of their central foreign policy goal, which is to facilitate China’s rise as a real power in twenty first century.

Regional Security Complex Theory indicates that threat travels easily within the short regionally based security clusters, which can be called as the security complexes. Keeping in
view the aforementioned scenario, China has made grand strategy where friendly relationship with neighboring countries has a central place.

In his book titled: *Rising to the Challenge: China’s Grand Strategy and International Security*, Avery Goldstein has looked into the Chinese contemporary worldview in the perspective of China’s historical development. He considers the implications and ramifications of China’s military and economic growth and what motivated foreign and diplomatic policy of China especially towards the sole superpower of the US, with in-depth understanding of Chinese unannounced grand strategy. “Unlike the US grand strategy, China’s strategy is not announced with a formal declaration. Rather, it remains implicit and it best discerned through observing China’s practice of international relations.”  

The aforementioned scenario indicates that Beijing has always followed low-profile but mature security and diplomatic policy.

Since 1990s, China has been facing four major constraints, which are being addressed through the vibrant foreign policy and grand strategy. C Fred Bergsten says that “unfortunately, in spite of the unmistakable importance of the China challenge, there is often far more heat than light in the US debate about China”. Most worrying are the pessimism and “alarmism that too often cloud the public’s perspective, and which do not account for the enduring strengths and comparative advantages the United States can bring to bear in successfully meeting the challenge of a rising China.”

An anxiety is being felt by Washington owing to rapid rise of China in the Asian Supercomplex.

Firstly constraint is the deep understanding of unparalleled and unprecedented nature of the US’s hegemonic power. Contrary to their previous assumptions, the hard reality was recognized by the Chinese leaders in 1990s that the world balance of power is not moving towards multi-polarity – at least not in the near future. Rather unipolarity would remain in vogue for several decades and the US would remain the unchallenged world superpower. Chinese leaders have a thoughtful understanding that China would have to operate in the wilderness since the US has ability to frustrate the Chinese desire to become a solid great power.

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Beijing considers that it would not be prudent and advisable to be engaged in arms race with the US like former the USSR; it may lead towards overstretching and result into unwarranted collapse. Jenny Clegg shows that China is in fact taking a multilateral approach, offering real assistance to developing countries and helping to build the institutions required to run a multi-polar world. Without glossing over China’s own internal difficulties, Jenny Clegg argues that “China’s international consensus-building strategy could lead to a more peaceful and equitable world.” Hence Chinese leadership has comprehensive understanding of an all-powerful US as superpower and its own constraints and limitations in the region.

Secondly, China’s risk-reluctant leaders had inculcated that despite marvelous improvements in economic and military capabilities in the post reforms era, China was still a developing country lagged behind in research, technological and economic superiority of global leading capitalistic countries such as the US. American armed forces during the Operation Desert Storm in 1991 and in global war of terror (GWOT) in 2000s convinced Chinese leadership that they would have to strive hard to attain zenith, as their armed forces would have to stand in the same line technically and technologically with those of gigantic forces of the US and her allies especially the NATO members.

Thirdly, Beijing began to emphasize that growing Beijing economic and military capabilities were not a source of constant concern and Washington warned other nations that if the rising power was left unchecked, it would provoke a backlash to her efforts to “contain China”. China’s dramatic rise economically and militarily was creating a sense of resentment amongst the Chinese neighboring countries. Especially in the South East Asia, there were ever growing resentments and trepidation regarding highly assertive posture of China towards territorial and maritime disputes. Association of South East Asian Nations (ASEAN) publicly questioned about the unabated rise of powerful China. Concerns were raised by Japan, South Korea and even India.

In the US there was high level debate about the looming “China threat” and essential remedial measures to keep her within manageable limits. The US revived her alliances of cold war era with Japan and Australia. Beijing was alarmed about Washington’s efforts for expanding

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military cooperation with the South Asian countries especially US-India civil nuclear deal to contain Pakistan on one hand and China on the other hand. Chinese leaders became conscious since the beginning of American-led regional endeavors to form new balancing coalition against Beijing with the ultimate destiny of “containing China”. Thus new security structure of the emerging Asian Supercomplex has been determining various dimensions of Pak-China relations.

Fourthly, Chinese leadership realized that Taiwan issue can further be escalated, pushing China into destructive conflict with the sole superpower, the US. The impending danger was realized in 1995-96 when China deployed air, naval and ground forces for military exercises and conducted missile tests in Taiwan straits as 100 nautical miles separate Taiwan from the mainland posing a threat to the Taiwan’s leaders, who were pursuing the independence. On the other hand, Taiwan independence movement was gaining momentum in 1995 when the US allowed Taiwan’s President Lee Teng-hui to visit Washington. Before this movement visits were banned by Washington in reverence to the reservations of Beijing. During the visit, President Lee publicly became the champion of independence.

Meanwhile, Beijing issued a threat about the risk of nuclear escalation in the region if Washington became directly involved in the cross-strait confrontation. The US responded with deployment of Seventh Fleet battle carriers in the region and emphasized for continuous the US support for Taiwan’s security. It was another example to frustrating China’s rise, as the war at that stage, in Taiwan’s strait was not in the interest of China since Chinese Armed Forces were weak and lacked in military capabilities to challenge the hegemonic superpower.

The Chinese leadership has been engaged diligently and clandestinely to transform the hard realities into their strategic logic through the diplomatic and foreign policy outcome. China is leaving no stone unturned to convince her immediate neighbors as well as the global community about her friendly intentions. China is enhancing the perception that it is a responsible and fortuitous global stakeholder, steadfast for cooperation and peaceful resolution of contentious multilateral and bilateral issues with all the countries. China successfully created the impression that it was never a hegemon and would never allow practice of power politics and would never become a threat to her neighbors or global peace.
Beijing had shown extraordinary restraint during the Asian financial crisis indicating that China had taken her responsibilities and obligations quite seriously. During the financial crisis, China announced that she would not devalue her currency as it would adversely affect and cause to devaluations across Asia especially causing more problems for Thailand and other countries that were severally caught in the financial crisis. Even the US, Japan and IMF had provided aid to Thailand but “Thais remember only China’s gesture.” Thus, it has been a marvelous success of China’s efficacious diplomacy.

The most contentious and uncompromising imbroglio for Beijing remained the souring issue of Taiwan. Anxiety remained high as Chinese's leadership refused to renounce the use of force against Taiwan. In 2005, Chinese legislature, National People’s Congress successfully passed the anti-secession law, codifying Beijing’s real threat that China shall go for war, if Taiwan declares independence. Beijing also emphasized that the best way to prevent de-jure independence of Taiwan is via economic interdependence and peaceful unification, just rejecting the earlier policy of unification of Taiwan through force or coercive diplomacy.

Pakistan always supported “one China” policy, which provide foundation stone for the cordial and deepening strategic partnership between the two neighboring countries. World community is also considering Taiwan as a special case. Global community shared the idea that Taiwan is an integral part of China. Bush and O’Hanlon considered Taiwan as flash point as regaining the island is a brass ring of Chinese Politics and “lose Taiwan can be the kiss of death.” Thus Beijing is not compromising on their one-China policy and Islamabad has always extended unconditional support to Beijing on its core issue of national interests.

China considers that loss of Taiwan would not only be detrimental to Chinese prestige but can also create a treacherous precedent for other challenging secession-prone regions of the mainland including Xinjiang, Tibet and Inner Mongolia. China would not renounce use of force against Taiwan but there are other options including the single share sovereignty of China and Taiwan as well as “One China Principle” to be followed while making negotiations with the Taiwanese leadership. Strategists consider that China shall never go for war until the real

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prospects of permanent Taiwanese separation appeared and approached as miscalculations on either side would further complicate the dilemma. In this background, with changing dynamics of rising China, Pakistan is to make itself more relevant in the Beijing’s national interest to further deepen the partnership and to avoid the suzerainty of hegemonic India. The emerging security structure of the Asian Supercomplex is defining different dynamics of Pak-China strategic relationship.

It is an undeniable fact that Beijing remained vigilant regarding China’s Security Challenges. RSCT provides an extensive study on the relative weightage of the domestic, regional, interregional/global levels, and of securitizing versus de-securitizing phenomenon. Undoubtedly, China has impeccable perception about its security challenges and prospects in her peaceful rise scenario. However, the realists like Mearsheimer underscore an unavoidable collision in international relations between the US and rising China. Mearsheimer has pessimistic worldview. As per political realism, the international system has various defining features. Firstly, the major actors are nation states that operate in an environment of anarchy. Secondly, conflict is an enduring characteristic of international system. Thirdly, great powers have offensive military capacity and capability showing that they can commit violence against each other. Fourthly, no state knows the future intention of the compatible state with certainty.

The most suitable way to survive in the anarchistic system is to become as powerful as possible especially relatively forceful to the potential foe. It would then be unlikely for the rival state to attack or coerce the former state. Mearsheimer theory of offensive realism conceives the assumptions that all great powers “are always searching for opportunities to gain power over their rivals with hegemony as their final goal.”369 Mearsheimer emphasizes that history taught us that a powerful state tries to establish hegemony in her own region while assuring that no rival power may dominate in other region.

The ultimate goal of the state is to dominate the global system, which is impossible in the modern era. Under such conditions the US seem regional hegemon rather than the global one. Mearsheimer predicts that in the forthcoming decades, the US and China are going to engage in intense security competition with substantial potential for war. China’s neighbors may feel heat

369 John Mearsheimer, The Tragedy of Great Power Politics, 19
of aggressive hegemony and countries like Singapore, Russia, India, Japan, South Korea and Vietnam would likely join the US to contain China. Mearsheimer suggests that the US should not work for engagement as it is bound to fail, rather prepare for worst by taking hard line while China is still vulnerable and fragile.

Mearsheimer arguments generated sweltering heated debate in international relations and critics have a number of valid objections. Firstly, Mearsheimer’s claims are mechanistic as how great powers behave is not predetermined. For example if rising powers are dissatisfied with the status quo, it does not mean that China shall behave in similar hostile way. Some rising powers do have radical behavior with larger radical objectives and want to overthrow global rules, institutions and norms. Today China in sharp contrast to Maoist era is hardly a revolutionary power. What Beijing seeks to change in status quo is reintegration of Taiwan with the mainland and territorial disputes can be resolved peacefully. Thus Beijing’s aggressive irredentist claims and growing power ambitions may be limited.

Secondly, analysts do not agree with the assumption that China can easily push the US out of Asia or Japan. It is neither in Chinese interest nor so simplistic gamut. Japan with its resources can develop nuclear deterrent very quickly. Chinese distrust and dislike for Japanese owing to their brutality and hostility in the mainland in wake of Second World War is an unforgettable incident of their history, which can be understood in the right perspective. For Chinese, nationalistic, military powerful and nuclear armed Japan would not be acceptable rather intolerable. Thus Beijing would be ready to accept the US as Asia Pacifier because American disengagement could guide for dangerous rivalry or power balancing in the region.

China has become a real stakeholder in the international system and the US with her allies must allow the larger role and greater voice for the rising powers of the globe especially the BRIC including Brazil, Russia, India and China in governance of international institutions. The West must give bigger role to Beijing in global institutions such as IMF, World Bank and World Trade Organization (WTO). China must have bigger role and strong voice in international arena. The West can make strategic bargain with China for Beijing larger role in regional and interregional/global arrangements and in return Beijing need to accommodate the West’s core strategic interests. Inkberry emphasizes that such deal would strengthen the global order and gradually term China more accommodating or “tame” player.
However Inkberry has missed the important issues of primacy of economics and contentious issues regarding sovereignty and territory such as solution of Taiwan imbroglio. Liberal like Ann Kent in her book titled, *Beyond Compliance: China International Organizations and Global Security*, examined the question whether China is a responsible stakeholder through its participation in UN Conference on Disarmament, IMF, World Bank, UN Environmental Program, International Labor Organization, WTO, UN Committee against Torture and WHO. She pointed out great variations in Beijing’s compliance. Beijing remained least cooperative with the organizations about Human Rights such as ILO, Committee against Torture and more cooperative with the financial assistance institutions such as IMF and WB as well as trade promotion institutions of WTO.

China remained partially cooperative with UN Environmental program but more cooperative on ozone protection. However, Beijing showed remarkable cooperation in participation with security regimes such as Conference on Disarmament and her unflinching support for treaties and agreements dealing with nuclear nonproliferation and verification procedure. Through the empirical data, Kent provides that China is the most constructive player in multilateral diplomacy and continuous engagement with Beijing is essential with further integration and socialization in international system. “China remained tower of strength for Pakistan in international forums such as UNSC and provided most needed diplomatic support to Pakistan at the need of hours.”

No one can surely say about the change of guard, as displacing the US by China, as a great power. China has a long way to catch up the US’s zenith. Every critical aspect of power – economic, technological, military- still Beijing is far behind than the US hegemonic global power. Beijing behavior shall be depended upon the US future strategic calculus especially in the East Asia. If George W. Bush’s policy of preemption and unilateralism seeking unchallenged global supremacy is continued to be implemented by the US Administration, it perceives China’s rise as sheer threat irrespective of Beijing cooperative behavior in global arena. In such circumstances, competition between the US and China would become the order of the day.

In international relations, the most important bilateral relationship in a few next decades would be considered between the US and China. The US though sole superpower is not

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370 Professor Dr. Hassan Askari Rizvi, Expert on Regional Security, personal interview, December 18, 2017
omnipotent and Washington would have to work together with Beijing and other states, if it wants to face the challenges of foreign policy and security realistically and rationally in near future. Despite huge difference in political system and values of the milieu, Beijing and Washington share common interests. To fight against terrorism, proliferation of weapons of mass destruction, working for mutual interest in maintaining global economic growth, stability and combating environmental change and climatic upheavals both the countries would have to work together.

It is in the strategic interests of the US to foster political liberalization in China by integrating Beijing in international economy and embedding China into the complicated web of arrangements of international organizations and institutions. Both the countries would have to work together for security and stability, peace and prosperity, economic and social development and above all in the interest of global peace.

During President Xi Jinping visit to Islamabad in April, 2015, China-Pakistan agreed that evolving situation of Afghanistan has serious repercussions for regional stability and security. Pakistan appreciated constructive role of China on Afghan issues. Both sides agreed for cooperation on Afghanistan “support the Afghan owned and Afghan led peace reconciliation.”

The emerging security structure of regional/interregional players has been describing different dynamics of Pak-China cooperation.

Changing dynamics of Asia Pacific region has become quite interesting. RSC Theory defines Asian security in quite narrow manner of possibility where two variables have pivotal role such as China and the US, on which the future Asian security is deepening. Developments in Korean peninsula have great local impacts but are not likely to determine the whole course of action of the particular region. On the other hand, Japan has the capability to reshape the regional conditions but owing to her structural and historical hardships, it has been struck up in status quo rather than becoming an agent of dynamic change, unless severally pressured by the external course of events. On acquisition of nuclear weapons, it is certain that Japan would “trigger securitization in China, but such gigantic move in Japanese behavior is almost inconceivable unless unprecedented prior change in the US and Chinese attitude occurs”.

371 Joint statement between Pakistan and China (20.4.2015), www.mofa.com (accessed on 21.4.2015)
Japan’s historic tendency remained to “align with the dominant power in the current global system and if this tendency is still true”, it would be an interesting choice for Japan between the US and China. “Even Russia can re-emerge as one of the major players in the East Asia but owing to disarray of her domestic affairs”, it may not be possible in near future. India, single handedly is not in a position to have any major impacts on Asia, thus much potentiality depends upon China and the US. The irony of the thought is unless the US and China do not involve in arch rivalry and former does not recruit India for containment of China, India cannot attain global status recognition even in the region. Thus now India is striving hard to operate as the US ally in “Indo-Pacific” region.

Asia Pacific has surfaced as the most significant strategic pivot in the global politics. Asia pacific region is depended upon Sea Line of Communication (SLOC) as well as the immediacy of unabated rising of China. Shining and rising China elevated her status in the calculus of the US policy. The US is going to shift its focus on Asia Pacific region, after the withdrawal of its forces from Afghanistan. New emerging trends in the US policy for Asia Pacific region regarding reengagement with the Asia Pacific, containment of China and pushing India as a counterweight to China have become transparent. Beginning of another Cold War in the Asia pacific region especially on imbroglios of South China Sea would be a premature opinion, yet geo-political scenario is becoming wither-wheal and complicated having compound pros and cons of most dynamic emerging trends in the region in the near future.

It is high time for Pakistan to be vigilant keeping an eagle eye on various developments with essential adjustment in the diplomatic and foreign policy with reference to outcome and outreach of the emerging developments in the Asia pacific region. Latest book titled, Global Strategic Developments: A Futuristic Vision illustrates that “the shift of the world’s economic center of gravity from the West to Asia (i.e. from Atlantic to Pacific Ocean); the declining position of America (due to the recent economic crisis in particular); the European Union’s failure to develop a common foreign policy and recent dire economic development (as evidenced by the Euro crisis) have all led to an important paradox.”

Asia Pacific region as the novel strategic pivot has become significant in the global geographical and political international landscape. Asia Pacific region has gigantic potential beginning from the subcontinent to the west coast of the US. Two marvelous oceans; Indian and the Pacific with busiest maritime pathway with countless opportunities for the new strategic global center are available.

The Malacca Strait is one of the busiest sea routes of the globe. Almost all the shipping routes/lanes are passing through the Malacca Strait, which have multiplied the significance of the Asia pacific regions in the eyes of regional and interregional/global players. Regional littoral states Malaysia, Indonesia and Singapore are located at the adjacent throttle points have great potential to establish control over a big chunk of global maritime commerce. The importance of Asia Pacific region hoisted further owing the close location of China in addition to reliance upon the Sea Lines of Communication (SLOC). Malacca strait syndrome is determining Pakistan China strategic relations in post-9/11 period.

To retain the integrity of the western front and effective foundation-stone for the southern front, NATO was retained by the US and the western powers. The unwarranted incident of 9/11 and Iraq war provided viable justifications for retention of NATO. The US economy is suffering from recessionary trends and placed with over $ 16 trillion debt. Moreover, unemployment, poverty and foreclosure are promoting the criminal culture. By retaining the cherished status of sole superpower, the great American empire itself has declining trends. The US deep involvement in Afghanistan and Iraq adversely affected the US economic hegemonic status. As per estimated cost of war in Afghanistan and Iraq, the US already spent over $4 trillion and “two conflicts cost the US 75 percent of the budget deficit.”373 Owing to the debt crisis, the US credit rating already downgraded and the Parliament raised the debt ceiling as a pure temporary measure. The legislature enforced a severe cut of $2.1 trillion in government expenditure over next ten years. The breakdown of the southern front hoisted the US to reach to the strategic pivot of the Asia Pacific region.

Reengagement of the US with Asia Pacific Region is a gigantic challenge for Beijing. RSC Theory narrates that Asia has already gone through the internal transformation such as the

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case of Southeast Asia and the external transformation through the merger of two Southeast and Northeast Regional Security Complexes. A new internal transformation can also take place in the South Asia where bipolarity can be converted into uni-polarity. However, no external transformation is expected between Asia and the Middle East or the Russia. Distinguished linkage is taking place at the interregional level of East and South Asia where transforming the Asian Supercomplex into a full-fledged Asian Regional Security Complex (RSC) cannot be altogether ruled out. Hillary Clinton in November, 2011, on the eve of her address to the Asia Pacific Economic Cooperation (APEC) summit, Hawaii underscored that 21st century would be the American Pacific century. She emphasized that after the end of Iraq War and conclusion of essential commitments in Afghanistan, the US would realign her attention towards Asia, a famous region where opportunities are blossoming and flourishing.

Hillary pointed out that during twentieth century, the US developed a trans-Atlantic framework of institutions and cordial relationship as well as played a vital role in developing architecture across the Atlantic. Now the US is going to play the same role in the Pacific region. She emphasized that twenty first century would be the US Pacific century “an age of distinctive outreach and partnership in this vigorous, composite and substantial region.”374 Hillary Clinton identified following mode of action for the US reengagements:

i. “Strengthening bilateral security alliances with Japan, Australia, South Korea, Philippines and Thailand.

ii. Deepening working relationships with emerging powers especially with India and Indonesia.

iii. Engaging with regional multilateral institutions East Asia Summit-EAS, ASEAN and ARF.

iv. Expanding trade & investment bilaterally and through Trans-Pacific Partnership (TPP)

v. Building a wide centered military presence.

vi. Advancing human rights and democracy”.

It may be an effort to compel ASEAN and East Asian States (EAS) to join NATO like security arrangements for encirclement and containment of China or declaration of new

beginning of the World Cold War II. Notwithstanding, China remained cool and calm. Chinese Foreign Ministry spokesman stressed the US’s shifting bulk of naval fleet to the Pacific as untimely and emphasized upon the US to respect China’s vital interests in the region. Chinese scholars consider that the US always followed two tracks policy with China i.e. engagement and containment and they conceive the new US military attitude “as part of a familiar carrot and stick approach.” Thomas J. Christensen remarks that “balance in US policy might prove tricky to find, especially as PLA coercive capacity grows during this decade. Deterring coercion is harder than deterring invasion and requires a much higher level of superiority for US, Japanese and Taiwan forces in combination.”

6.2 Is India a counterweight to China in Asian Supercomplex!

It is interesting to note that India has accepted the role of linchpin to counterweight China in “Indo-Pacific”. RSCT focuses on the historical legacy of the units in the particular regional security complex, as well as ways and means along with essential conditionality of the principal security actors and their agenda. On the same analogy, the East Asian Regional Security Complex and Asian Supercomplex have a conflicting formation. There are enormous territorial issues, border disputes, hatreds, fears as well as status rivalries amongst various states and people. It is next to impossible that there exist two adjacent countries within the particular region having no unresolved issue or they have active securitization processes.

The region is devoid of shared cultured legacy, values and traditions of international collaboration and full of numerous identities having strong nationalisms. The cold war has left legacy of two divided countries including Korea and China, numerous nuclear and near nuclear countries as well as weak and feeble framework of regional organizations and institutions. It is pointed out that the arguments by the West including interdependence, democratic values and institutional supports may not apply in the East Asia. Nuclear weapons may stabilize or weaken the securitized relations is a hotly debate of the day. China national socialistic regime has been passing through the processes of democratization combined with the nationalism can even jeopardize rather than ameliorating relations with the neighboring countries.

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376 Thomas J. Christensen, Windows an War: Trend Analysis and Beijing’s Use of Force, New Directions in the Study of China’s Foreign Policy, (Stanford: University Press, California, 2006), 78
The US considers that containment of China has become essential. Hillary Clinton in her Pacific Century speech highlighted that some people consider China’s economic growth as a constant danger for the US while some people in China conceived the US’s moves in region as aiming to contain China. Implicitly all such notions need to be dismissed as “US was profoundly steadfast to develop a constructive and cooperative relationship with China.” Apart from the Hillary Clinton and other diplomatic statements of the American people at the helms of affairs, actions speak loudly than the words, which give credence that the US might be interested in containment of China.

In the scenario, the most critical position of the US seems in case of South China Sea where the resources-rich Parcel and Spartly Islands are located. These islands are subject to the territorial disputes amongst the regional states including China, Taiwan, Vietnam, Philippines, Malaysia and Brunei. In 1974, these Islands were annexed by China, which are being used for the intelligence gatherings. China hitherto has been enjoying the cordial relationship with the US states and vigorously workout the framework to keep the territorial disputes within the manageable limits. China-ASEAN partnership for economic, trade and development was considered most mutually beneficial, flourishing and prosperous.

On American intervention on the issue of South China Sea at the platform of ASEAN Regional Forum (ARF) at Ministerial Meeting, Phuket in July, 2010, the dynamic of the landscape has altogether became different. Vietnam and Philippines have been encouraged by the US to openly discuss and defy Chinese predominance. Tension between Vietnam and China increased dramatically and remained high in May, 2011. Resultantly, deputation of additional naval forces in the problematic area was made by Beijing. Tension between the Philippines had shown rising trends since April, 2012, when the Philippines openly accused Chinese boats for illegal fishing in Scarborough Shoal area. In tension oriented environment on April 11, 2012, China had given stern warning to Manila to immediately stop illegal activities of her naval forces in the South China Sea.

Beijing emphasized that Manila should withdraw the archeological research vessel and coast guard ships deputed in the South China Sea. On April 25, 2012, China issued another

377 Clinton, “America’s Pacific Century”
warning that the US-Philippines joint military exercises enhanced the menace of armed conflict over the disputed South China Sea. A famous recent research book titled *Global Strategic Developments: A Futuristic Vision* states that “a conflict exists between horizontally and vertically integrated aspects of the international system. This also takes the form of a conflict over market logic, identity, economy and culture.”

Actually, the US wants to establish a control station at U-Tapao Airbase for actively monitoring ASEAN region in the garb of NASA. General Dempsey, the US Chairman Joint Chief of Staff Committee visited Thailand on July 8, 2012 and confirmed that both the sides are seriously examining the idea to utilize U-Tapao airbase in near future. He assured that the US would not establish a permanent airbase and would not use U-Tapao for extra belligerent resolutions. U-Tapao airbase was established in 1960s with American help and was used as the forward base in the Vietnam War. The US withdrew forces in 1976 yet Pentagon never excluded the particular airbase from the particular list to be used for the US forward policy.

After the Malaysian leadership’s cooperative and helpful role in Afghanistan, Obama Administration has decided to get the help of Malaysia for new American doctrine in Asia Pacific region. Considerably, Malaysian leadership is ready to provide bases for surveillance and operational purposes. Chinese Foreign Minister Yang Jiechi visited Malaysia in August, 2012 and discussed thoroughly the South China Sea dispute. He emphatically conveyed the Beijing’s apprehension on Malaysian decision to provide base to the US. Notwithstanding, Malaysian leadership held that the “arrangement was not directed against China.”

The US-China Review Commission observed that “deterring Taiwan from declaring independence is the near term goal of this modernization process. A key component is the necessity to impede other nations-including the United States- from intervening on Taiwan’s behalf.” China has been keeping a vigilant eye on the novel developments in the region. Beijing’s response is deliberate and calculated according to the need of hour. Beijing considers that an assertive approach would bring more negative reactions and can complicate the Chinese goal for “peaceful rise”. On the other hand, Beijing is compelled to take some remedial measures

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378 Global Strategic Developments: A Futuristic Vision, 54
379 The Daily Times (Lahore), August 13, 2012
to safeguard its national interests in the region. Strategists consider that deeper manifestation is taking place in Beijing to counter the forthcoming onslaught. Beijing enhanced economic dynamism has multiplied the importance of SLOC for China.

In emerging Asian Supercomplex Pakistan-China relations have been playing a significant role. Question arises that how the structure of security in emerging Asian Supercomplex is shaping dynamics of Pakistan-China strategic relations in twenty first century? RSCT involves significant concepts of insulator, overplay, buffer, sub-complex and Supercomplex phenomenon and for this purpose it has used combination of materialist and constructivist approaches. Adjacency and physical proximity are important notions where threat travels more quickly in nearest zone as compared to far flung area. The strategic shift from Eurasia to the Asia Pacific is quite significant for Pakistan especially keeping in view the US withdrawal from Afghanistan in near future. Pakistan has geo-strategic importance for commerce and trade between South and Central Asia as well as East and West Asia. Making unprecedented endeavors for peace in Afghanistan, Pakistan can contribute enormously for the new security model in the region. Russia, China, Iran and Pakistan can constitute new power collaboration in the region. Second trio of Iran, Pakistan and Afghanistan in the region is also workable. Third power block could be led by the US with India, Australia, South Korea and Japan to maintain power balance in the Asia Pacific region.

In the wither-wheel geo-strategic scenario, role of the US would be very important as a sole superpower of the globe through strengthening its collaboration with the rising Asia. Latif Ahmed Sherwani predicts that “developments in Asia would, for a long time to come, continue to be influenced by the thinking in New Delhi, Peking, Moscow and Washington and it would be suicidal for Pakistan to ignore this basic reality.”\(^{381}\) It is the reason that Islamabad tried its best to keep tenterhook balance between the US and China.

American main objective is to counter the rising preponderance of China in Asia. Chinese swift development has great potential to challenge the hegemony of the US in the region. the US is desirous of encirclement of China through her formidable allies including Australia, Japan and South Korea. American recent extraordinary development in economic politico-military ties with

\(^{381}\) Sherwani, *Pakistan, China and America*, 233
ASEAN states is another step towards the weakening of Chinese rising ingress in the Southeast Asia region. Recent warmness in US-Indian ties and strategic cooperation is another step to counter China as both the countries consider it a formidable challenger at the global level for the US and at the regional level for India.

The strategic pivot of Asian Supercomplex is the habitat of about half of the population of the globe. It is pivot of the global economy having severe competition in commodities and services with the western bloc. Asia Pacific region has become economic and trade challenge as well as severe competition center for Washington and Beijing. The strategic significance of Asia Pacific can be judged from the most vital straits including Malacca Strait, Sunda Strait and the strait of Lombok, which are integral part and passing through this region.

Strategists and analysts highlighted the significance of the Asia Pacific region indicating that tectonic global upheavals have marked the Asia Pacific region. The global center of gravity already shifted to Pacific and all the major actors of the world are defining their roles by themselves. Transformation is going on about the conception as well as the power. President Obama defines his doctrine of strategic pivot of Asia Pacific region in Defence Strategic Guidance as “US economic and security interests are inextricably linked to developments in the arc extending from the Western Pacific and East Asia into the Indian Ocean region and South Asia, creating a mix of evolving challenges and opportunities.”

Focusing on Asia Pacific by US may lead towards preparation for an Oceanic War, which needs immediate attention of the regional actors.

America always projected itself as a pacific power. US reengagement process with the Asia Pacific region started when President Obama illustrated himself as the first “Pacific President” of US, having his Hawaiian origin and Indonesian childhood. US established strong relationship with Indonesia, promoted her engagement with ASEAN by signing the Treaty of Amity and Cooperation (TAC) and joining hands with EAS. Special endeavors have been made for alliances with the regional players including South Korea, Australia, Japan, Philippines and

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382 The News International (Islamabad), August 3, 2011
Thailand. Simultaneously, US took a high profile position on “liberty of navigation in South China Sea and termed it as a matter of US national interests.”

Chinese official media emphasized that “US aggression in the region would jeopardize peace in the region”. US announcement of “new American defence strategy in January, 2012” was criticized by Chinese official media. On the occasion, Panetta remarked that “China should not be worried about the new US military attention on Asia.” Analysts consider Leon Panetta’s speech one of the hardest speeches and most intimidating even in security phraseology. It was just short of an “ultimatum or declare war”. Strategists consider the speech as a manifestation of frustration, owing impending challenges of West Asia, unending declining US economic power, upheavals in domestic power play and above all China’s rising power.

China’s gigantic economic contribution for ASEAN member countries is a serious cause of worry that can reduce US influence in the region, where economic assistance and developmental aid matter more as compared to the military assistance. China has already developed a soft image in the region and its assistance to the needy countries is without strings and arm twisting. As a result, Asia Pacific region is experiencing a tremendous economic growth and development spree. Thus militarization in Asia Pacific is enhancing as US started shifting of strategic and conventional assets from Atlantic to Pacific. In trump’s arena “Indo-Pacific” region has become all the more significant. New showdown is expected in South China Sea when time comes.

It is quite obvious that hegemonic India would follow the footsteps of US and would play a proactive role in “containment of China”. India conducted joint naval exercises with Japan with the hope to raise her status as a potential global power. India involved in strong partnership with US. The US is desirous to checkmate China’s rise with the help of UK, France, Australia, Japan and even India. The current rivalry between US and rise of China is passing at a relatively slower speed. Verbal skirmishes would continue amongst the claimants of South China Sea with the supporting statement of US. The busiest Malacca Strait is more significant for Pakistan for trade with Japan, Korea and other countries of the region. The possibility of converting into conflict

384 Lodhi, “Shifting Asia Pacific Landscape”
zone of the Malacca Strait cannot be ruled out. Any adventurism in Malacca Strait has serious implications for Japan, Russia India and even for US.

In perspective of dynamically transforming geo-strategic maritime environment, China is bound to seek the safety of Sea Line of Communication (SLOC) and embarks upon to devise a comprehensive program to develop various seaports in the region. The strategically important seaports including Gwadar in Pakistan, Kyankpyu in Myanmar, and Chittagong in Bangladesh and Hambantota in Sri Lanka are quid pro qua in the aforementioned background. Beijing is helping Jakarta for expanding the ports facilities at “Tanjong Priok in Selat Sunda Strait on the north western tip of Java Island. Tanjong Priok can become the shortest possible alternate to the Malacca Strait, which can be used in case Singapore under pressure from US, decides to close the maritime traffic originating or proceeding towards China. American leadership already abundantly increased the visits of littoral states especially Singapore with Nuclear Armed Aircraft Carriers”.

Analysts consider that “US is ready for Asian NATO consisting of Singapore, Australia, Philippines, Taiwan and Japan in addition to India, South Korea and Vietnam. However, ASEAN nations such as Myanmar, Thailand, Laos, Cambodia, Malaysia and Indonesia may not yet join the lineup alliance.” Thomas J. Christensen mentions that “the optimists are correct that peace is still more likely than war, and the problems that exist in cross strait relations can be resolved. But for Washington to play a constructive role in this process and increase the likelihood of peace, US to understand China present and future trends in military affairs, economics, and politics when devising security strategies.”

US Administration is wooing India for a more proactive role in South East Asia to counter China. Hillary Clinton in July, 2011 in her major policy speech titled “India and the US: A Visions for the 21st Century” emphasized on the whole range of common interests between Washington and New Delhi. Hillary Clinton urged “India not to just look east, but to engage east and act east.” Clinton emphasized on significance of India and US working in concert to shape the regional agenda by evolving new architecture in the East Asian Region. She stressed

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385 Christensen, Windows an War: Trend Analysis and Beijing’s Use of Force, 78
that America is desirous to include India and other partners of East South Asia (ESA) into Asia Pacific leading forum for dealing with the essential affairs of security and politics. She added that US wants to use ESA to help US priorities and layout a vision for other regional institutes.

David Smith recalls that in March 2006, George W. Bush visited New Delhi and “signed a controversial deal to provide India with the technology to develop its nuclear power program, at the same time giving it the green light to expand its nuclear weapons technology. India has never signed the NPT.”\(^{387}\) On stressing the growing role of India in South, East and Central Asia Clinton confirmed that it is an ambitious agenda but US can afford to be ambitious as President Obama said about India that “a nation that is not simply emerging, but has emerged, and a nation with whom we share so many bonds, and one that will be a leader globally in shaping the future we will all inherit.”\(^{388}\)

India is willing to act as counterweight against China as US is pursuing in the South East Asia. India feels pride to become an instrument of American grand strategy for the region. New Delhi is cognizant about the high stakes of adversarial relationship with Beijing. New Delhi has been opportunistically allying itself with US broader objectives through some immediate actions and statements, for the sake of tactical advantages in the short run. Indian self-perception of rising power has attained new confidence against the rising China. On November 14, 2011, Foreign Secretary, Raman Mathai in his key foreign policy address to National Defence College highlighted that China and India are two large countries and emergent markets with intersecting areas of interests, surety to work together and to contest concomitantly.

Indian Foreign Secretary emphasized that economic progress and military competencies of China and, the way Beijing exercise its power is being monitored closely not only by India but also by the neighboring countries in East Asia, ASEAN and beyond. He remarked that handling of relationship with China would be the most serious module among the security magnitudes of Indian strategy in the region.

RSCT deliberates on internal transformation and external transformation within Asia. Internal transformation already happened in post-cold war era in Southeast Asia. While external

\(^{387}\) Smith, *The Dragon and the Elephant*, 222
\(^{388}\) Clinton, *A Vision for the 21st Century*
transformation appeared by merger of Northeast Asia and Southeast Asian complexes. Another internal transformation is possible in South Asia, which is heading towards unipolarity from bipolarity where China is progressing as rising power of the region followed by India. ASEAN is economic and geo-political organization of ten most dynamic states including Malaysia, Indonesia, Singapore, Thailand, Brunei, Myanmar, Cambodia, Philippine, Laos and Vietnam. ASEAN has been developed as the most significant association of the globe.

Barry Buzan and Ole Waever in *Regions and Power: The structure of International Security* have pointed out that India has mixed picture of growing communal rift, corruption scandals and unstable governments jumbled with ethnic and religious domestic political violence. The insurgency in Kashmir and other parts of India are more concerned with the Indo-Pakistan mutual rivalry. The communal violence between Hindus and Muslims, particularly extremist Hindus associated with BJP have been on the rise in cold and post-cold War as well as post 9/11era. Even secular Congress is deeply influenced and being dictated by the Hindu nationalist party BJP. The BJP Hindu nationalism suggests that “India is undergoing a shift in its national identity towards a narrower cultural self-identity more alike to that of its neighboring countries” such as Pakistan. However, the positive point of India include robust democracy, adequate growth rate of economy, subordination of military to political authority and also the country is neither amongst the failed state nor lurching towards the political extremism.

Barring extreme attitude by US or China, Asian order is quite stable over the several decades of history. US would not take risk of withdrawing to preserve her status of superpower. US would continue pursuing Japan keeping her bound and containing China militarily and politically through ‘containment’ and even ‘constrainment’. On the same time, US would remain engaged with China economically with the hope that liberalizing the internal developments in medium and longer terms would be in her national interests. China has different incentives to “play the waiting game with the hope that her growing material capabilities will enhance her ability to balance internally against US. China never wants to provoke Japan to ultimately shift from recessed status to deploying nuclear deterrence in Asia. None of the Asian state is interested in becoming an overt rival to China or frontline outpost of US in mark two rivalries in Asian Supercomplex.”
Conclusively, if we put the interregional/global and regional dynamics together in Asian security assessment, powerful scenario comes out that is a quite slow working out of the existing patterns. The eventual outcome depends upon “what happens first; either China becomes more internally liberalized and then less threatening, or it becomes more powerful while still nationalistic and authoritarian. The real threat to this scenario comes out of serious escalation in the Taiwan Strait.” The main issue is that China considers it her internal question while other sees it as an international one.

If China is compelled to deliver on the “rhetoric against Taiwan and proceed against Taiwanese independence by force then huge question of the day” will be put up before US without further waiting and taking an immediate strategic decision. Whether US would prevent Taiwanese takeover by China? If reply is no, then it would break the credibility of US engagements in Asia. Will Japan help US to do so? If reply is in no, it would break US-Japan alliance in Asia. Resultantly, abrupt opening throw of the whole pattern of security dynamics of the Asian Supercomplex with uncertain outcome in the region.

Asia Pacific region is emerging as new pivot both economically and strategically. David Smith observes that “the American military contest with China in the Pacific will define the 21st century. And China will be a more formidable adversary than Russia ever was.”389 Major global powers would struggle to attain maximum benefits out of the region. The multifaceted initiatives including diplomatic, strategic and security by the sole superpower US, point out that most important strategic shift is taking place regionally and globally in the modern era. It would be premature to predict that whether the world is heading towards the beginning of new Cold War in the Asia Pacific region or cold war era has been over after dismantling of the USSR.

Indian role of balancer vis-à-vis China’s rise in the region has a rising trend. New developing tendencies have deeper implications for the regional peace. US-China Review Commission emphasizes that “Beijing’s primary interests in Afghanistan, Pakistan and Central Asia concern isolating Chinese Muslim separatist groups from fundamentalist influences in Central Asia, maintaining stability along China’s border, diversifying its energy supplies, and

389 Smith, The Dragon and the Elephant, 223
increasing economic investment in the region.” Thus Xinjiang factor would be quite significant for Beijing with reference to Pakistan, Afghanistan and the Central Asian Republics.

RSCT provides comprehensive analysis where security structure of a state goes through “anarchy or integration, power distribution, and patterns of amity-enmity”, securitization or de-securitization processes. While China is rising by leaps and bounds, the regional and global players are making endeavors for containment of China. Two possibilities cannot be ruled out as East Asia can become either an example of classical conflict formation or it can become a security regime. Such scenario would “strengthen the linkage between East and South Asian security dynamics.” It has already expanded the “process of external transformation for merger of Northeast and Southeast Asia.” Undoubtedly, East Asia pattern is most significant, which would be the pattern of Asian Supercomplex.

US grand strategy in Asian Supercomplex shows that US has ultimately decided to keep a formidable check on rising influence of Beijing in the particular region. Thus great powers stakes in the region are quite high and militarization in the Asia Pacific is getting further momentum. Though the drums of war are far away yet their voice can be heard from the distance. US already imitated shifting of strategic nuclear assets at the most trumpeted forward basing. Unquestionably, US’s grand strategy is not merely confined to maritime claim rather part and parcel of the grand plan, referring as “containment of China”. As a consequence new showdown is expected in South China Sea though its sound is still far away where all regional, interregional and global players are lining up having an eagle’s eye on their respective national interests. Thus Pakistan has no exception.

6.3 Pakistan’s growing strategic value for China in Asian Supercomplex

Strategic value of Pakistan in Asian Supercomplex is augmenting. The cherished goal of Pakistan’s Vision East Asia Policy is to establish a comprehensive, productive and structural partnership with East Asian States in the arenas of “trade, business, investment, transfer of technology and economic cooperation both at multilateral and bilateral level.” On the other hand, Global Strategic Developments: A Futuristic Vision indicates that “a strategic American-
Indian partnership continues to evolve—particularly in the nuclear field—simultaneously with a developing strategic relationship between China and Pakistan, the archrival of India.”

East Asian conflict formation is not likely to end war amongst the great powers of the region, not only because of fear of the nuclear weapons but also owing to fear of jeopardizing the economic developments. Localized conflict over Taiwan, in Koreas and in South China Sea in any case, cannot be ignored as having distinctive possibility in the East Asia.

RSCT provides a detailed analysis on pattern of amity and enmity. A pattern of amity has continued between Beijing and Islamabad through a deep rooted and unprecedented partnership. However a pattern of enmity remained in vogue between Islamabad and New Delhi owing to inherited distrust and hostility between the two neighboring countries. On the other hand, a pattern of amity and enmity continued between Beijing and New Delhi, where cooperation and competition are going side by side. China improved her relationship with the neighboring countries and now enjoys external and internal peaceful environment which is conducive for foreign investment and economic development.

India and Pakistan remained in a constant hostility as India being a hegemonic country has been trying her best to undermine Pakistan’s interests, since her independence. Even period of peace remained uneasy and in-depth anxiety lingered on the two sides of the borderline. Ashley J. Telis considers the period of peace between the two South Asian giants i.e. Pakistan-India as the “ugly stability”. Despite all efforts of peace and de-escalation, the possibility of all-out war remained high in the South Asia.

Several factors for fragile stability in the region including little intraregional economic interdependence, continuous territorial disputes, weak diplomatic institutionalization and Indian readiness for all-time adventurism are the factors responsible for delicate security arrangements. Telis observes that territorial integrity and interdependence are not impaired but strengthened by mutual understanding and concerted efforts. B.L. Sharma emphasizes that “Indo-Pakistan cooperation could transform the political and economic scene in the subcontinent and usher in a new and glorious era in the lives of its people apart from putting new armor on their sovereignty.

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392 Global Strategic Developments: A Futuristic Vision, 58
393 Ashley J. Tellis, India’s Emerging Nuclear Posture: Between Recessed Deterrent and Ready Arsenal, (Santa Monica, CA: Rand Corporation, 2001)
and independence."\(^{394}\) The irony of the fate is that distrust and rivalry prevailed throughout history between Islamabad and New Delhi.

Separatist organizations in India are increasing day by day especially different Marxist and Maoist inspired groups, having potential to reignite tension between New Delhi and Islamabad. The banned organizations such as Lashar-e-Toiba, Jaish-e-Muhammad, Harkat-ul-Mujahedeen, Taliban and Al-Qaeda International Islamic Front can become a cause of horrifying conflict anytime between the two neighboring countries. These groups became a cause of continuous concern for Pakistan and also a source of defamation for the country at the global level. The “strategic depth” is no more pre-requisite of the state. Militarization and nuclearization of South Asia remained a momentous threat for stability in the subcontinent manifested with misconception, misunderstanding and miscalculations on both sides of the fence.

The strategist analyst Glenn Snyder termed the “stability/instability paradox”, elaborating that there is no possibility of breakthrough between India and Pakistan, yet it would make conventional conflict more imminent. The 1999 Kargil conflict and post September 11, 2001 military standoff could not escalate beyond a limited conventional conflict because threat/fear of a terrible nuclear war between the two neighboring countries always existed. Ganguly remarks on 1999 Kargil conflict, that conformed closely to the expectations of the stability/instability paradox. The proposition holds that nuclear weapons do contribute to stability at one level – for fear of nuclear escalation.

Pakistan Armed Forces, as compared to India are relatively weak in conventional attacks. It would discourage Pakistan and instigate Indian conventional attacks against Pakistan. A full scale Pakistan-India conventional conflict would heighten the risk of nuclear escalation in the South Asia. Such danger can compel India to launch limited attacks upon her neighbors while deterring an all-out Indian conventional attack. Pakistan would be in defensive position. Thus in Kaptur’s opinion, contrary to the cold war era in South Asia nuclear danger can facilitate rather than hampering a conventional conflict.

\(^{394}\) B.L. Sharma, *The Pakistan China Axis*, (Bombay: Asia Publishing House, 1968), 180
Cold war was an ideological struggle between two blocs while India-Pakistan conflict has historical and religion basis and resolution of all the outstanding issues is as hard nut to crack. Comparatively, Pakistan has very effective command and control system of the nuclear arsenal despite all the criticism by foes of the country. More conscious approach is needed as the slightest disequilibrium in the internal politics of the country may cause unproductive results. Both countries have different doctrines for using the nuclear weapons in the South Asia. India has adopted a “no first use” doctrine, having superiority in conventional forces. In January 2000, Defence Ministry of India adopted its “doctrine of limited war” under the essential nuclear umbrella. It shows that future war can be waged in the “strategic space” between “low intensity conflict” and even full scale nuclear war cannot be ruled out.

In February 2000, Pakistan announced her strategy that nuclear weapons were not simply for deterrence purposes but an integral part of the “overall military instruments”. Thus cloud of war has been hanging as the sword of Damocles upon heads of both the South Asian neighbors. Now the globalization forces may change the destiny of the South Asia, which could not be altered through the negotiations and the diplomacy. Intraregional trade and openness by both the neighboring countries can ameliorate the security dilemma prevailing in the whole region. Indian economy has been growing at a higher rate as compared to Pakistan’s economy, which is resulting in promoting economic and growth competition in the region. Now India has improved her economic growth level but it is still relatively slower than the Chinese robust economic development.

Pakistan and India are engaged in sustainable dialogue on all the outstanding contentious issues. In the age of global information, people to people contacts are ever expanding and trade linkages have potential to reduce the old stereotypes of hatred and misunderstanding on the part of the both countries. Thus, economic growth and cooperation can be promoted in the region. Carrie Liu Currier and Manochehr Dorraj believe that it is widely claimed, for instance that “whoever controls the Strait of Malacca effectively grips China’s strategic energy passage, and can threaten China’s energy security at any time. Such views are widely cited to justify pipeline construction.” In this background, CPEC has deep-rooted exceptional significance for both

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Beijing and Islamabad. With such perspective, the security structure of the emerging Asian Supercomplex is shaping the dynamics of Pak-China strategic relations.

Pakistan has valued options in South East Asian Nations. Pakistan has potential to provide connectivity to ASEAN to the western part of China and the Central Asian Republics by land route through Gwadar seaport. Pakistan has already taken a bold decision while handing over the management of Gwadar seaport to China after withdrawal by Singapore Port Authority (SPA) in August, 2012. It is expected that China would spend $10 billion to develop the port and manage its operation only. Initially China developed Gwadar seaport with a cost of $288 million and its operation was handed over to SPA in February 2007 for management, operation, maintenance and essential development. SPA had vast experience for managing sports and it has been managing 22 seaports in 11 countries. But Pakistan’s ambitions could not be fulfilled due to mutual disagreements.

Then only option was winding up by SPA. Gwadar seaport management imbroglio by SPA has worst impacts on mutual understanding of Pakistan and Singapore, which would be mended only by the passage of time. However, handing over Gwadar seaport to Chinese State Corporation would prove to be another feather in the cap of Pakistan and beneficial for its national interests.

The low level competition and supply of US military technology and surveillance equipment would flow in the region especially towards Singapore, Vietnam and Philippine. Pakistan must be vigilant, keeping an eagle eye upon various novel developments. Pakistan needs to remain balanced and prudent in dealing with prosperous ASEAN, rising China as well as adamant US.

Latif Ahmed Sherwani says that “it would, however, be added that the closeness of Pakistan-American relations will be determined by the extent to which Pakistan can develop viable, durable and stable political and economic institutions which command the willing consent of the people.”\textsuperscript{396} Sherwani’s conclusion is applicable to the Pakistan-China strategic partnership as Pakistan would have to develop the vibrant institutions of political and economic growth, which must have popular will of general masses. Weak Pakistan is neither in the interest

\textsuperscript{396} Sherwani, \textit{Pakistan, China and America}, 232
of China nor in the benefits of the South Asia region. In perspective of the aforementioned discussion, it would be appropriate to draw viable recommendations for further deepening of the strong strategic ties between Beijing and Islamabad. Significant recommendations are enumerated including:

a. Indian Look East Policy, military and nuclear nexus with US is a constant source of concern for Pakistan and China. Pakistan and China need to work together to neutralize Indian influence in the region. Pakistan needs broader maritime strategy to safeguard the vital national interests in Malacca Strait. Pakistan must enhance her maritime and naval force in the Arabian Sea and work closely with Gulf and West Asian neighbors to evolve a strategic consensus. Impending threats to the peace and tranquility of the Arabian Sea by naval rivalry in the Indian Ocean by the big players of the region need to be curtailed.

b. It is high time to attain investment commitments to develop Ormara, Pasni and Gwadar Seaports with the help of China. China’s requirements for connectivity and access to the Arabian Sea through trade and energy corridor of the Karakoram Highway as well as Gwadar to be prioritized. Railways linkage via Havelian and Khunjerab pass need to be pursued with greater dynamism and enthusiasm. CPEC opportunities to be benefited through developing dynamic and viable institutional support and attain maximum benefits from pledged $51.5 billion (originally $46 billion) Chinese investment in Pakistan.

c. Pakistan needs to explore the impediments barring from attaining the Full Dialogue Partner (FDP) status with ASEAN. The reasons behind Singapore astringent opposition must be identified and duly addressed. It is high time to examine the overall mode of engagement with ASEAN, projects with Cambodia, Vietnam and Laos.

d. Pakistan need to pursue vigorously diplomatic and foreign policy to establish vibrant relationship with China as well as all member countries of the Asia Pacific region especially with Singapore, Malaysia, Thailand, Indonesia and Philippine. People to people contact needs to be enhanced. Interaction between intellectuals, scholars, experts and think tanks need to be promoted so that national interests of the country to be served
and the problems confronted to Pakistan should be better understood by ASEAN member countries.

President Xi Jinping visited Islamabad and both countries focused on people to people contact on cultural exchanges and both sides were “jointly celebrating the Pakistan-China Year of Friendly Exchanges in 2015” and agreed for exchanges of “think tanks, media, youth, academics and artists and make friendship even more deeply rooted in the hearts of people.” Both sides announced sister cities relations “between Chengdu and Lahore, between Karamay and Gwadar as well as between Zhuhai and Gwadar.”

Overall, RSC theory predicts that regional security complexes are expected to emerge whenever anarchy and diverse geography is combined until overlay offsetting it. RSC theory constructs a restricted set of scenario and then narrows down the zones of predictions. It has been noted that regional component were missing from the general theories of Neorealism and induction of new component of Regional Security Complexes added new dimensions in security. Geo-political and strategic scenario is getting more complex and convoluted by every passing day with both impending challenges and opportunities. Chinese President Xi Jinping stresses that “China is facing increasing threats to national security and warned of the danger of terrorism indicating that Beijing could tougher controls on its ethnic minorities.” Beijing has been facing serious issues in Tibet, Xinjiang and Inner Mongolia. Beijing called Dai Lama a “wolf in sheep’s clothing” who wants to establish an independent Tibet. “Security has been tightened in Xinjiang after a spate of deadly attacks in March, 2014 in which at least 29 people were killed.”

Pakistan would have to closely watch all novel developments and make essential changes in diplomatic and security policy in line with the dynamism of the Asia Pacific region. Pakistan has to keep an eagle eye on changing dynamics of Beijing’s policy with reference to sole superpower and the neighboring countries. Pakistan has to take full advantage of the remarkable CPEC and OBOR as well as BRI where its security has attained splendid boost owing to massive Chinese investment amounting to $51.5 billion (originally $46 billion) in energy, connectivity and infrastructural development.

397 “Joint statement between Pakistan and China (20.4.2015)”, www.mofa.com (accessed on April 24, 2015)
398 “China’s President warns against growing threats to national security”, The News International, April 27, 2014
6.4 China-India Growing Trade Relations and Pak-China strategic Partnership

Booming China-Indian trade ties have become one of the strong pillars of their relationship. Rising commercial ties between two neighboring states has set the pace of political confidence building and has exerted positive impacts on their relations. The border trade between Beijing and New Delhi has brought perceptible transformation in the remote regions. It has contributed in peace and tranquility endeavors and facilitated progression in border conversations. Rising trade between the two states has brought new trends in the South Asian Region. Both states have not only become recipients of Foreign Direct Investment (FDI) but also become noticeable investors in each other’s country. Deficit in energy and competition to capture new markets have become major challenges for booming commercial relations between the two neighbors. As per World Bank Report 2015, China enjoys the position of being the second largest global economy, having a share of US dollar 11 trillion while India enjoys the seventh largest position having a share of US dollar 2 trillion.

Economic ties between the two neighboring states remained almost severed from 1949 to 1978. Trade ties resumed officially when China embarked upon the economic reforms agenda but trade remained insignificant for next two decades. Period from 2000s onwards has seen economic renovation between China and India. Since 1990s both the states have become increasingly outward looking in their commerce and trade spree and looking for deeper economic integration with the globe. Both are presently members of World Trade Organization (WTO) as India was founder member and China joined it in 2001.

Indian Premier Atal Behari Vajpayee visited Beijing in June, 2003 and accelerated the trade and commerce momentum between two states. Both states decided for cultivation of economic and trade ties without being constrained by unresolved territorial bordering disputes. Both states established joint study groups to examine that how both neighboring states could expand trade and commerce cooperation. Reduction in trade barriers has stimulated the economic exchanges. Since 2000s trade between India and China has grown as fast as nearly twice compared to rest of the global states. In 2008, China surpassed USA and became largest trading partner of India. There are two primary drivers for burgeoning economic relations between China and India; one is comparative advantages and second is robust high growth rate in both developing economies.
In recent past, Indo-China trade ties rose to US Dollar 80.44 billion in 2017. Indian exports to China rose to 40 percent totaling to US Dollar 16.34 billion. New Delhi exports to Beijing worth to US Dollar 16.34 billion, whereas China’s export to India stood at US Dollar 68.10 billion. China-Indian trade and commercial ties have tremendously increased in the South Asia. Improvement in trade ties between Beijing and New Delhi has enhanced interdependence between two neighboring states. The new phenomenon of interdependence and rapprochement between New Delhi and Beijing may have certain impacts upon Islamabad. A serious question arises whether Indo-China trade relationship would affect Sino-Pakistan strategic ties?

Hasan Askari Rizvi underscores that “a subtle shift in China’s Kashmir policy took place in the eighties when Chinese leaders avoided pointed references to the right of self-determination and emphasized more than ever the need of a negotiated settlement.” It is obvious that Beijing’s policy was revolving around her own core national interests. Impacts of Chinese policy shift were seriously felt by Pakistan during Pakistan-India crises over Kashmir in 1989-90 whereof China did not make any reference of UN resolutions on Kashmir during that period. Beijing preferred a neutral course of action and used wording of ‘peace’ and ‘calm’ in South Asia region, urging both Pakistan and India to solve their issues through dialogues. President Jiang Zemin made a 45 minutes speech in Senate in 1996 but did not refer the core issue of Pakistan and advised “to put the thorny issues aside and develop cooperative relations with India in less contentious sectors like trade and economic cooperation.” This shift has, however, more to do with China’s overriding emphasis on economic development and Xinjiang situation where Beijing is facing a separatist movement.

On strategic plain, China-Pakistan ties however, continued to be Indo-centric. Pakistan-China developed defence cooperation to counterweigh and counter check the Indian hegemony in the region. India remained doubtful and suspicious regarding Chinese real intentions in view of Beijing-Islamabad’s continued defence and strategic cooperation in arena of nuclear energy and even in missile systems. Pakistan-China strategic relationship has further been strengthened

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400 Hasan Askari Rizvi, Pakistan and the Geostrategic Environment: A Study of Foreign Policy, (New York: St Martin’s Press, 1993), 154

401 Jiang Zemin, “Carrying forward friendly and neighboring relations from generation to generation and working together for a better tomorrow,” Foreign Affairs, Islamabad, XXII No.12, December, 1996
owing to India’s Act East Policy and USA declaration of India as linchpin in Asia Pacific Region in spree of curtailment, hedging and balancing the rising power of China. New Delhi Act East Policy is specifically designed for Beijing and creating a phenomenon of security dilemma in Asia Pacific Region, wherein USA is pushing India, Japan, Australia and East Asian states for encirclement and curtailment of rising Chinese influence. Thus economic interdependence between Beijing and New Delhi has its own limitation. The emerging scenario is enhancing integration of two Regional Security Complexes i.e. South Asian RSC with East Asian RSC and has been supporting the dynamics of Pakistan-China strategic relations. Simultaneously, Asia has become central playground of five major world powers including China, Japan, Russia, India and the United State. This implies that China and India are presently focusing on the economic development and enhancing their economic and commercial ties for mutual benefit but conflict and rivalry in the region is still continuing.

Multi-polarity and coexistence is inevitable result but future direction of Sino-India relationship has yet to be determined by their political leadership. Moonis Ahmar accentuates that “Inter-regional challenges include armed conflict in Afghanistan and growing Indo-U.S nexus under Trump’s administration. Opportunities include expansion of SAARC with the inclusion of Iran and Afghanistan.” It is clear that the growing integration of South Asia Regional Security Complex with East Asia Regional Security Complex is shaping dynamics of Pakistan-China Relationship. Strategic trilemma is continuing in Asian Supercomplex where Pakistan, China and India are striving hard by playing their effective role wherein internal transformation between South Asia RSC and East Asia RSC is expected. External transformation of the South Asia and Middle Eastern regions as well as East Asia region is presently stable but can be affected by the new developments of severe competition between China and USA-India in the South Asia RSC. The launching of CPEC has given Pak-China relations a whole new eco-strategic tangent, particularly in the context of regional security complex of South Asia. Undoubtedly, US-India civil nuclear deal has further strengthened friendship between Beijing and Islamabad in post-9/11 period where economic interdependence between China and India has limited impacts.

402 Dr. Moonis Ahmar, Dean of Faculty of Social Sciences, University of Karachi, personal interview January 1, 2018
The detailed discussion concludes that politico-strategic considerations including enduring rivalries between two neighboring states have attained more significance as compared to rising trade/commercial ties as well as economic interdependence between China and India.

6.5 **Continued conflict in Afghanistan as a challenge to development of CPEC**

Continuous Afghan conflict has been resulting into terrorism, extremism, constant instability in Afghanistan and formidable challenges to China-Pakistan Economic Corridor (CPEC). South Asia RSC is facing challenges of demography, geography, environmental degradation and economy in the region. Nuclear powers such as China, India and Russia are further exacerbating the challenges in South Asia. In the context of Islamabad, stable and peaceful Afghanistan is within the national interest of Pakistan. In post-9/11 era, War on Terror not only created troubles for Kabul but also for Islamabad, whereof spell over effects have continuously been affecting KPK, Baluchistan and in particular gigantic economic project of CPEC. There has been escalating militancy and terrorism in Pakistan, in form of non-state actors such as TTP, Al-Qaeda and myriad terrorists groups. Islamabad supports Afghan lead and Afghan owned remedies.

CPEC is a vision of President Xi having two integrated initiatives; Silk Road Economic Belt in north and twenty first century Maritime Silk Road in the South. Together these Silk Roads will connect Beijing via land and sea with Central and West Asia as well as South Asia and onwards to Europe. CPEC serves strategic interests of both Beijing and Islamabad. “The irritants created are petty and tactical in nature. Pakistan will ensure the security of the CPEC. The project would accrue benefits not only for Pakistan but also for India and other regional countries.”

The challenges of terrorism, extremism, geographical constraints, domestic politics, people’s concerns, financial aspects, international conspiracies and regional security should be given due consideration. Worsening law and order situation has adversely affected commerce and trade progression. CPEC has reinvigorating potential for robust economic growth in the region.

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403 Muhammad Khan, “Domestic and External Dimension of the China-Pakistan Economic Corridor” In *China-Pakistan Economic Corridor A Game Changer*, edited by Khan, Malik et al., 86-108, Islamabad: Institute of Strategic Studies, Islamabad (ISSI), 2017
Islamabad and Kabul are entangled having relationship of neighborhood with longest bordering area of Durand Line, same Muslim ideology and Pashtun ethnicity. Islamabad has envious history of support and cooperation with Afghan freedom fighters, who had exonerated Kabul from the ruthless clutches of Moscow after a prolonged struggle in 1980s. Kabul is so integrated with Islamabad that stability in Pakistan cannot be succeeded in case of insecurity within Afghanistan. Hence peace and security in Kabul is vital for Pakistan’s national interests. Islamabad is depended upon Kabul for channeling most needed access to CARs as well as cordial strategic and economic relationship with Beijing for effective connectivity through Gwadar deep-water seaport. Bilateralism between Islamabad and Kabul can take an important turn by mutual collaboration through Durand Line, Gwadar port and Pashtun issues. Kabul must consider apprehension and reservations of Islamabad against New Delhi by keeping balance of power notion in their minds. “Friendly and stable Afghanistan provides depth to Pakistan against India.”

In accordance with One Belt One Road initiative, a new silk road is being constructed around CPEC. With the historical perspective, “the idea of OBOR, proposed by President Xi Jinping, injects new blood to the very ancient idea by bringing a number of Eurasian peoples under the phenomenon of development for a shared destiny.” Islamabad’s stability is connected with Kabul as the ongoing catastrophe and turmoil in Afghanistan infected terrorism and insurgency within Pakistan particular in FATA and Baluchistan. Chief reason for militancy and terrorism in Pakistan is infiltration of extremists/terrorists through Durand Line. Islamabad’s longest border with Kabul is ill-managed and mostly people entered without visa across the Durand Line. Terrorist after Swat Operation were flee into Afghanistan and TTP has been attacking installations and high value targets within Pakistan across Durand Line.

Cooperation in investment, trade, commerce and economic under CPEC would not only solidify Beijing-Islamabad strategic cooperation but also enhancing people-to-people contacts between two neighboring states. For this purpose both governments are “paying special attention

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404 Saima Perveen, Jehanzeb Khalil, Manzoor Ahmad and Jehangir Khalil “Post 2014 Spillover Effects of Afghanistan’s Crisis on Pakistan’s Foreign Policy”, FWU Journal of Social Sciences, Special Issue, Summer 2015, Vol.1, No.1
405 Xiguang Li, “Building a New Civilization along the One Belt One Road Initiative” In China-Pakistan Economic Corridor A Game Changer, edited by Khan, Malik et al.,1-13, Islamabad: Institute of Strategic Studies, Islamabad (ISSI), 2017
towards setting up institutional mechanisms for the promotion of people-to-people contacts between Pakistan and China.”

Islamabad has been looking for cordial relations with Kabul. Afghan Taliban’s infiltration into Pakistan territory is damaging an environment of trust and stable bilateral relations between two neighboring states. Kabul has doubted effective role of Pakistan in War on Terror. The US and Afghan government has been accusing Islamabad for allegedly backing Afghan’s Taliban particularly harboring Haqani’s Network. Islamabad-Kabul relations remained murky owing to different causes including Pashtunistan issue.

Through the prism of Afghan side, Pashtunistan nationalism has basis of assertion that Pakistan’s Pashtun are an integral part of Kabul and Baluchistan being an outlet for Kabul to Indian Ocean. Afghanistan has not accepted validity of 1947 referendum and her foreign policy had been revolving around Pashtunistan till 1980s. Islamabad remained adamant to Afghan claim and misconceptions regarding Pashtunistan rhetoric. Islamabad and Kabul have common culture, religion, traditions and customs but superpowers and regional powers remained involved in Kabul and Islamabad. Unquestionably, Islamabad considers that non-state actors with their foreign patrons have shaken national security with exorbitant sectarianism, fundamentalism and extremism having negative impacts upon CPEC, which are direct impacts of fall out of Kabul’s turmoil.

It is undeniable fact that Afghanistan’s spillover effects are adversely affecting the whole region especially Pakistan and CPEC has no exception. Both China and Pakistan coexisted peacefully since thousands of year history. The tallest mountain ranges of the globe are separating both states and both countries are connected through KKH. President Xi expressed significance of Beijing-Islamabad strategic partnership and described “Pakistan and China are Iron Brothers.”

New Delhi envisages Kabul’s significant role at the demise of bipolar globe in 1990s. India heavily invested in Afghanistan in order to establish nexus with Kabul leading towards becoming a powerful stakeholder in post NATO withdrawal scenario. India was fifth

406 Khan, Rashid Ahmad, “Impacts of the China-Pakistan Economic Corridor on the people-to-people contacts” In *China-Pakistan Economic Corridor A Game Changer*, edited by Khan, Malik et al.,14-33, Islamabad: Institute of Strategic Studies, Islamabad (ISSI), 2017

407 Chinese President Xi Jinping’s state visit to Pakistan, http://www.thenews.com.pk/print/12125-Pakistan-is-iron-brother-president-xi
largest donor venturing “so many infrastructure related construction projects.”\textsuperscript{408} New Delhi remained engaged with developmental projects, imparting training to Afghan armed forces and Indian companies heavily invested in different segments of Afghan’s economy.

US is desirous to prevent Beijing’s influence through ‘Pivot to Asia’ aiming at countering Beijing’s military and economic expansion in Asia Pacific. “Enhancing complexity of Asia Pacific “demands US attention, and the United States remains well-positioned to play a pivotal role in the region through the 21\textsuperscript{st} century.”\textsuperscript{409} New Delhi remained averse to Taliban governance and sided with Iran, Russia and Tajikistan by considering Taliban regime near to Islamabad. Throughout history Afghanistan and India remained boisterous to Pakistan. Majority of population of Pashtun dominating area remained pro-Pakistan. Presence of numerous consulates on Pakistan-Afghanistan border is showing liberty given by Kabul to New Delhi. India remained engaged with pro-New Delhi and averse to Islamabad lobbies in Kabul and partially succeeded in its endeavors.

It is a fact that Research and Analysis Wing (RAW) and Tehreek Taliban Pakistan (TTP) as well as some Afghan government officials have developed a nexus. Hence RAW had developed sanctuaries and training camps on Afghan soil. RAW is desirous to hamper progress on CPEC through act of terrorism and creation of an ambience of despondency of general masses. Entire political leadership “establishment, economists, intellectuals, media and critics of the government are unanimous in their opinion about the CPEC as a game changer.”\textsuperscript{410} New Delhi is interested to access the Central Asia energy market through effective route for transportation, trade and commercial activities. Washington is interested to curtail Beijing influence in Afghanistan and even in the region through collaboration with New Delhi. Further New Delhi hegemonic designs are enhancing Pakistan’s uneasiness on the western as well as at the eastern sides. New Delhi reopened its embassy after fall of Taliban regime and incessantly working against peace and stability in Pakistan. In this spree four consulates in main Afghan cities including Jalalabad, Herat, Qandahar and Mazar-e-Sharif have been opened, wherefrom

\textsuperscript{408} Ibid
\textsuperscript{410} Ashraf, Malik Muhammad , “China-Pakistan Economic Corridor: Analyzing Indian Factor” In China-Pakistan Economic Corridor A Game Changer, edited by Khan, Malik et al.,73-85, Islamabad: Institute of Strategic Studies, Islamabad (ISSI), 2017
security apparatus of RAW are working against the security of Pakistan especially focusing in CPEC.

Peaceful and stable Afghanistan is within interest of whole region. CPEC existed where Belt and Road meet and plays an irreplaceable role in building of OBOR initiative. “By becoming a strategic pillar of OBOR initiative, a leading model of interregional connectivity, and presenting itself as a persuasive goal, the CPEC is destined to forward the OBOR initiative.” Corridor is leading towards promotion of strategic position, co-construction and devising Gwadar port as strategic pivot of maritime silk road. Islamabad identifies that New Delhi is providing funding to Baluch dissidents and increasing pressure upon Pakistan. New Delhi is using Consulate at Jalalabad and Kandahar to instigate anti-Pakistan feelings in FATA and Baluchistan. Indian constant interference in Baluchistan is posing formidable threat to CPEC.

Islamabad has golden opportunity to overcome economic woes and making permanence to bilateral strategic relations having strong cornerstone of envious historical defence cooperation between two neighboring states. There is nonexistence of a territorial dispute or any irritant between China and Pakistan. “This element is indeed advantageous for both the countries and can go a long way in realizing the objectives of CPEC, provided they are able to subdue the inimical factors like terrorism and security issues facing the region that have direct bearing on it.” CIA-MOSSAD-RAW combined center at Mazar-e-Sharif is quite active in Baluchistan where significant CPEC has been progressing on fast track and this collaboration remained active in Swat as well. This alliance remained active in North and South Wazaristan. Weapons recovered in Swat Operation having labeled as “Made in Banaras”. Islamabad is desirous to reduce the Indian influence on Kabul and to neutralize the Pro-Indian Kabul regime. New Delhi active presence in Kabul is creating insecurity for Islamabad. If New Delhi is hostile in Kashmir with Islamabad then how India can be friendly in Afghanistan with Pakistan!

Stable Afghanistan is beneficial for CPEC and other developmental projects. CPEC is going to provide access to Persian Gulf, Middle Eastern region and Africa through the Arabian

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411 Youkang, Du, “Analysis of the Interplay between the China Pakistan Economic Corridor and One Belt One Road” In *China-Pakistan Economic Corridor A Game Changer*, edited by Khan, Malik et al., 62-72, Islamabad: Institute of Strategic Studies, Islamabad (ISSI), 2017
412 Ashraf, Malik Muhammad, *China-Pakistan Economic Corridor: Analyzing Indian Factor*, 85
Sea. Having a strategic linkage, CPEC would provide reaping benefits to both Pakistan and China but also helpful to the other regional states. CPEC will provide “an alternative overland route for the transportation of its energy needs to China from the Middle East by evading the Malacca’s vulnerability.” In this perspective, China has become great stakeholder in Afghanistan. Washington is satisfied from Beijing’s contribution in investment, infrastructural development and supporting network for NATO led ISAF. China’s engagement with Kabul is within the national interest of Pakistan. Islamabad has been striving hard to make its western border secured to avoid infiltration of terrorists and insurgents within the periphery of Pakistan from Afghanistan.

CPEC has become quite significant where China is rising as great power in Asia. New great game not to be fought in hinterlands of Central Asia rather in Indian Ocean where Gwadar deep-water seaport is located and connecting China with Gulf as well as energy rich West Asia. “The United States lost the opportunity to develop Gwadar Port offered by Pakistan in the early 1970s, which China capitalized much later at the dawn of the 21st century as a development partner and as a commercial manager.” Xinjiang province has proximity with Afghanistan and Afghan spillover effects are unavoidable for China as well as CARs. Terrorism, extremism and separatism threat is detrimental not only to Beijing’s internal security but also to Islamabad including developmental infrastructural economic projects such as CPEC.

CPEC is a historical opportunity for geo-strategic linkage having domestic and external challenges. Desire of the domestic factors that CPEC may pass through their area, is the domestic front of Pakistan, which need effective handling. “In terms of regional and global factors, Pakistan can make use of seasoned diplomacy and political engagements securing its best national interest in prudence.” China is looking for secured energy resources by avoiding Malacca Syndrome. Beijing is working on transit route from Xinjiang to Gwadar deep-water seaport. Beijing and Islamabad have been cooperating to curb Uighur’s terrorism and extremism in FATA. China has stricken security forces at Wakhan passage to keep an eagle’s eye on security and stability in the region. Beijing remained uncomfortable over enhancing New Delhi’s

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413 Muhammad Khan, *Domestic and External Dimension of the China-Pakistan Economic Corridor*, 86
414 Ahmad Rashid Malik, “Impacts of Gwadar Port on the Economy of Pakistan under the China-Pakistan Economic Corridor” In *China-Pakistan Economic Corridor A Game Changer*, edited by Khan, Malik et al., 110-129, Islamabad: Institute of Strategic Studies, Islamabad (ISSI), 2017
415 Muhammad Khan, *Domestic and External Dimension of the China-Pakistan Economic Corridor*, 86
influence with the help of Washington upon Kabul. In post-withdrawal scenario, China would definitely play more effective role in the region along with other regional players.

Spillover effects upon CPEC can be detrimental for both China and Pakistan. CPEC covers Eurasian land bridges, China-Central Asia – West Asia Economic Corridor, China-Mongolia-Russia Economic Corridor and Bangladesh-China-India-Myanmar Economic Corridor. Amongst them CPEC is distinguishable having an irreplaceable posture in South Asia. President Mamnoon Hussain predicted that “CPEC will be a monument of the century benefitting billion of people in the region.” 416 China has made heavy investment in Afghanistan to get benefits from natural resources of Afghanistan. As per Jane’s intelligence review report, Beijing has significant interests in economical natural resources of the neighboring states including Afghanistan. Beijing has already made lion share investment over $3.5 billion in the project of Aynak in sphere of copper, located in the province of Logar (Afghanistan).

OBOR would be a unique civilizational system across multifarious cultures. It needs more inclusive as well as ideology favoring the multi-polarity of politics as well as culture, deep respect for history as well as traditions. OBOR civilization does not advocate for a single ideology which always triggers conflicts and violence.” 417 China remained low profile having its own regional and global preferences. China favors multipolar globe instead of uni-polarity as the unipolar world is within the national interest of US. Hence, SCO has become an important regional organization by avoiding US ascendancy. Chinese economy has become robust while Washington’s economy has been passing through recessionary trends. Similarly, CARs are trying to be connected with China’s Belt Road Initiatives (BRI) and CPEC.

Gwadar seaport is built for trade and commercial purposes to be used by Xinjiang an autonomous landlocked region of western China, also benefiting to Central Asia, Afghanistan, Russia and Mongolia. The Gwadar Seaport provides an alternative energy route to China in case of its blockade at Malacca Strait or elsewhere by any power and it adding novel dimension in Pakistan’s maritime security. Gwadar will provide geographical connectivity of Pakistan with China, Afghanistan and Central Asia for merchandised trade. Gwadar port is a developmental

416 Youkang, Du, Analysis of the Interplay between the China Pakistan Economic Corridor and One Belt One Road, 72
417 Xiguang Li, Building a New Civilization along the One Belt One Road Initiative 13
project of whole region. “The port has immense potential to convert the economy of Pakistan into a robust and true Asian tiger economy in the 21st century.”\textsuperscript{418} There are regional competitors such as Iran, Turkey and India trying to surpass one another to reach to CARs for natural and energy resources. Pakistan has no railways link connecting with CARs. Besides, souring Afghanistan is a real obstacle in connectivity with the Central Asia.

CPEC will expand commercial and economic relationship of Pakistan with Afghanistan. It would further create job opportunities to youth, revenue generation potentials and to help development of Baluchistan. Expanded trade relations would usher regional peace and elevate quality of life in South Asia. It would address energy crisis in Pakistan and help Beijing in meeting Chinese growing demands of fossil fuel. To get optimal benefits from CPEC, peace in neighboring Afghanistan is pre-requisite and Islamabad “will have to address the political differences, create stability and address the law and order situation besides gearing up its bureaucratic process to match the pace of Chinese development goals.”\textsuperscript{419}

Restoration of peace and security in Afghanistan is within the benefits of whole South Asia region. Loya Jirga, a constitution forum can become an important instrument for peace and stability in Afghanistan. Pakistan favored peace talks and reconciliation endeavors between Afghan government and Taliban to restore peace in Afghanistan. Islamabad favors “Afghan led”, “Afghan owned” and “Afghan controlled” negotiations for peace and security of the region.

New generation of Chinese has grown up knowing little about Pakistan. In the same way, Pakistani masses’ knowledge about Chinese is limited. People to people contact would enhance knowledgeability having cultural and civilizational impacts. “With implementation of the CPEC, these efforts will gain new momentum.”\textsuperscript{420} There is an urgent need of negotiation at three stages. Firstly, negotiations are required amongst Afghans to bring Hazara, Tajiks, Uzbeks and anti-Taliban moderate Pakhtuns at the same page. Secondly talks need to be initiated with the Taliban for reconciliation and restoration of stability/security. Thirdly, regional stakeholders including Iran, China, Pakistan and Russia need to struck a peace deal to avoid adverse repercussions upon

\textsuperscript{418} Malik, Ahmad Rashid, \textit{Impacts of Gwadar Port on the Economy of Pakistan under the China-Pakistan Economic Corridor}, 129
\textsuperscript{419} Hali, S.M. “Regional and Global Scenario of the China-Pakistan Economic Corridor” In \textit{China-Pakistan Economic Corridor A Game Changer}, edited by Khan, Malik et al.,34-61, Islamabad: Institute of Strategic Studies, Islamabad (ISSI), 2017
\textsuperscript{420} Khan, Rashid Ahmad, \textit{Impacts of the China-Pakistan Economic Corridor on the people-to-people contacts}, 33
neighboring states. It is undeniable fact that over a decade long fighting and military engagements, Taliban insurgency could not be subdued by NATO/ISAF forces.

The benefits of CPEC would materialize gradually and require iron determination both from Beijing and Islamabad to attain the cherished goal despite all impending internal and external challenges in the way. All institutions are playing their effective role to implement CPEC in both states. Thus “CPEC is a prized opportunity for Pakistan to realize its true strategic and economic potential and is regarded as a game changer for Pakistan and the region.” Stable and peaceful Afghanistan is within the national interests of Pakistan. Islamabad remained part of solution and not part of problem. US interests in the region cannot be secured without the active support of Pakistan. In post-withdrawal scenario, advent of China as major player in the region and to counterweight US-India influence in Afghanistan. Geo-strategic location of Pakistan has already convinced the global community that path of peace to Kabul passes through Islamabad. Gwadar Deepwater Seaport is going to become regional hub for economic and commercial activities and providing an effective outlet to Afghanistan, China and even to CARs.

This chapter has deliberated upon China’s grand strategy and challenges to Beijing’s interests in Asian Supercomplex. The question that is India emerging as a counterweight to China in Asian Supercomplex has been discussed in details. Further, Pakistan’s growing strategic value for China in Asian Supercomplex has been debated. Moreover, continuous conflict in Afghanistan as a challenge to development of CPEC covering security, terrorism and all relevant challenges has been focused. Finally, a logical conclusion is required to be concentrated in the forthcoming chapter.

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421 Qazi Hussain “China-Pakistan Economic Corridor: Infrastructure Development” In China-Pakistan Economic Corridor A Game Changer, edited by Khan, Malik et al.,130-156, Islamabad: Institute of Strategic Studies, Islamabad (ISSI), 2017
CONCLUSION

The study is based on the premise that “the changing structures of security in Asian Supercomplex are increasingly reinforcing the dynamics of Pakistan-China strategic relations in the 21st century.”

Apart from the main hypothesis, the following questions have also been tackled in the research:

- How growing integration of South Asian Regional Security Complex with East Asian Regional Security Complex is reinforcing dynamics of Pakistan-China Relations?

- How Regional Security Complex is shaping bilateral dynamics of Pakistan-China Strategic partnership?

- How pattern of amity between Pakistan and China and pattern of enmity between China and India are influencing the regional dynamics of Pakistan-China Strategic partnership?

- How emerging Asian Supercomplex is defining the dynamics of Pakistan-China Strategic partnership?

Through a conceptual framework based on the Regional Security Complex Theory, the study aims at understanding the strategic dimensions of Pakistan-China relationship. It shows that the relationship of the states in South Asian region is a mix of cooperation and confrontation. The politico-security patterns of the South Asian Regional Security Complex is led by the two main players - Pakistan and India, while the smaller states follow the suit in keeping with their respective geo-strategic and economic interests. It is within this context that the present study has explored Pakistan-China strategic relationship in the post 9/11 arena.

The inquiry shows that in terms of South Asian RSC there have been numerous developments but no structural change has taken place. As far as South Asia’s position in global system is concerned, New Delhi is striving hard with its claim for great power status. The emerging scenario is becoming more fluid leading to a key question that as to what type of balance, New Delhi is desirous to establish through its continuous engagements within its own region simultaneously, seeking a role in East Asian RSC through Act East Policy as well as desiring acknowledgment at the global level.
The analysis reveals that South Asian RSC has no change in the patterns of amity and enmity. The region continues to be conflictive in nature where patterns of enmity between Pakistan and India are shaped by their enduring rivalry and continued distrust. On the contrary, the patterns of amity between Pakistan and China can be seen growing in the longstanding strategic relationship and deep-rooted cooperation. China’s own interaction with the region has been largely shaped by the distrust and strategic enmity with India, which is orchestrated by a combination of cooperation and competition. In such circumstances, a pattern of amity between Beijing and Islamabad and that of tension if not wholesale enmity between Beijing and New Delhi can be seen in the security cum strategic complexion of the region.

The analysis establishes that mutual threat perception is more acute on short distances as compared to far flung territory. Long term unresolved bilateral territorial disputes determine the patterns of animosity amongst the states such as the pattern of Sino-Indian ties. Pakistan-China strategic relationship reflects the geo-strategic and security concerns of the two states within the context of South Asian RSC where India has been continuously competing for a major role in the region. For Pakistan, India is an arduous opponent and poses a persistent challenge to her security. With a narrow geographical depth and precarious western border, Islamabad has found a logical ally in the shape of China. On the other hand, wary of increasing Indo-US strategic collaboration in East and South Asia, Beijing considers Pakistan as a vital corridor providing credible geo-strategic and economic alternatives compared to contentious and security wise precarious route running through the Malacca Strait. More precisely strategic relationship of the two states exhibits the following significant features:

a) That Pakistan is providing new outlet for China through establishing most needed connectivity between Xinjiang and the Arabian Sea through deep-water seaport of Gwadar;

b) That China considers presence of existential threat in South China Sea even more aggravated in Asia Pacific region i.e. one of the most prioritized area of US foreign policy; and

c) That China apprehends that its encirclement and containment has been intensified and in this scenario Pakistan can provide it a safe and prompt outlet.
The research reveals that China is conscious about the strategic significance of Pakistan and its capability for peace building process in Afghanistan especially after departure of NATO forces from Afghanistan. In this spectrum, growing integration of South Asian Regional Security Complex with East Asian Regional Security Complex is underlining the dynamics of Pakistan-China strategic relations. The research indicates that Pakistan-China strategic interdependence has become further deep rooted in post-9/11 arena.

The study confirms that India remains a significant factor in Pakistan-China strategic relationship but New Delhi is not the only factor for the cordial partnership. Other factors especially CPEC has contributed a lot in promoting strategic convergences in post-9/11 era. At the same time South Asian RSC exhibits increasing geo-political influence of the United States in South Asia by way of its growing strategic partnership with India. Consequently, the existential threat perception has further been pushing Islamabad and Beijing for even deeper strategic ties. Besides, traditional and non-traditional threat perception of these states further accentuates the security complexion of South Asia. Particularly, the adverse effects of Global War on Terrorism, spillover effects of war-raged Afghanistan, growing US-India strategic relationship and politico-security realignment in Asia Pacific region have deeply impacted Pakistan-China strategic relationship. Even otherwise, owing to its increasing trade and commercial relations with the South Asian states leading toward economic interdependence, China has already become a key stakeholder in South Asia.

The inquiry shows that despite substantial developments as well as events in and around the South Asia, basic characteristics and dynamics of South Asian RSC have shown little transformation. The pattern of continuity is generally more visible at domestic and regional levels, wherein basic pattern remained unchanged. However, as predicted by Buzan and Ole Waver, at interregional and global levels, significant strategic changes can be seen in the East Asian and South Asian RSCs.

The investigation discovers that on bilateral level, several new factors in the post-9/11 era have molded Pakistan-China Strategic relations, which have intricate linkages with the regional and global security complexion in keeping with the assumptions of RSC theory. These factors include a) India-US strategic cooperation to curtail China’s influence in Asia; b) China’s role in Asia as rising power of the globe; c) Xinjiang imbroglio resulting in both for Chinese Western
Province Development Policy and policy of counter-terrorism against ETIM religious extremism; d) Pakistan-India military standoff in 2002; e) Nuclearisation of South Asia and China’s factor as source of strategic stability in South Asia; f) Geo-strategic significance of Pakistan as economic and energy corridor for Central Asia and South Asia; g) Pakistan’s role as stability factor in peace endeavors for war terror in Afghanistan especially in the perspective of US forces withdrawal in near future; and h) increasing role of Pakistan and China in regional such organizations as SCO, ASEAN and SAARC. These factors indicate that the regional dynamics of Pakistan-China Strategic partnership have further strengthened.

The CPEC is the latest expression which ever deepening strategic partnership between Beijing and Islamabad. Study shows that CPEC has not only given boost to the economy of Pakistan but the new level of partnership is also expected to place Pakistan in the position of a balancer in the region. As a result, there is no sign of weakening of bipolarity in the South Asian region or emergence of unipolarity that was predicted by Buzan and Ole Waever. It is clear that they did not account for the implications of CPEC in the South Asia. Chinese investment in CPEC would enhance economic and developmental activities in Xinjiang region, which remains comparatively underdeveloped. The economic disparity in Eastern Provinces and Western Province is considered to have led to ETIM separatist/religious movement in the region. For Pakistan, its location provide an opportunity to become a hub of trade and economic connectivity for the region and more so for China. Transportation of goods through Gwadar deep-water seaport can open up new vista of economic and geostrategic connectivity for China as well as entire Central Asian Region with Middle East and beyond.

CPEC is also strengthening the contours of Asian Supercomplex and resultant change in the complexion of South Asian and East Asian Regional Security Complexes, where China is gradually assuming the role of a major regional player vis-a-vis India. This research reveals that while there has been no major change in the regional security dynamics of South Asia, it does not mean that the situation will persist in the long run. Undoubtedly, there is constant confrontation between Islamabad and New Delhi but it is also fact that significance of South Asian RSC is decreasing for India and New Delhi’s importance is constantly increasing within Asian Supercomplex. On the other hand, South Asian RSC has become more significant in the eyes of Beijing after initiation of the Belt Road Initiative (BRI) and CPEC as an alternative to
avoid prevailing Malacca Strait Syndrome. In such circumstances, enhanced integration of South Asian RSC with East Asian RSC is likely to impact the dynamics of Pakistan-China Relations also.

The assessment reveals that India considers itself as a big fish in small pond of South Asia. Unfortunately, India is not willing to settle down its issues within its own region i.e. South Asian RSC either by force or by its legitimate leadership. Instead, India is desirous to swim in larger pool of East Asian RSC where China enjoys a dominating position. Many East Asian states welcome Indian presence as a counterbalancing factor in that part of the region. Consequently, New Delhi has embarked upon Act East policy. Its membership of ASEAN Regional Forum (ARF) has further enhanced its role in East Asian RSC. This scenario affirms the hypothesis that the changing structures of security in Asian Supercomplex are increasingly reinforcing the dynamics of Pakistan-China strategic relations in the twenty first century.

The scrutiny shows that Beijing has cultivated deep-rooted and long term strategic stakes through hefty investment in infrastructural and developmental projects through economic corridors. These corridors such as China-Pakistan Economic Corridor (CPEC) and Bangladesh-China-India-Myanmar Economic Corridor (BCIM-EC) have already augmented significance of economic interdependence and geo-strategy on the chess board of the Asia. India on its part is apprehensive about increasing involvement of China in the South Asian RSC and views it as a major impediment in realization of its goal to become a great power. Although, Beijing has consistently been portraying its rise as peaceful and economically beneficial to all its neighbors, New Delhi is not willing to buy that argument. Despite its increasing trade and commercial ties with Beijing, there is a marked tilt in New Delhi’s geo-strategic cooperation towards the United States. Even for Washington it is marriage of convenience which has made available a credible partner for itself to challenge the dominance of Beijing for her own unbridle desire to be considered as great power of South Asia.

The Study discloses that the US has been enhancing its role through strategic partnership with India with the objective to contain rising power of China in the region. The US’s Asia Pivot and Rebalancing Strategy heavily rely on strategic cooperation of India. On the other hand, in order to counter Indo-US strategic partnership, Beijing has been consistently trying to strengthen
its relationship with the Asian States through such initiatives as BRI, CPEC as well as BCIM-EC.

On the global level, China remains a major hurdle in the US backed desire of India to attain permanent membership of UNSC and NSG. It also explains support of Pakistan’s stance against such a move in the international fora. Pakistan expects that China would never take an arbitrary action for supporting India except with the approval of Islamabad. Keeping in view the heavy Chinese investment in CPEC and deep-water seaport of Gwadar as well as Pakistan-China strong relationship, China cannot afford helping hegemonic India for membership of UNSC and NSG. Similarly, India has already clubbed itself with Japan, Vietnam and Australia. On its part, Beijing asserts that it will never support India concerning membership of NSG until India signs NPT and CTBT.

The analysis demonstrates that there is a strong interplay between security dynamics of Asian Supercomplex at the global level concerning China, India and US relationship. The US presence in Asia as a ring-holder allows Asian states to leave the job of balancing China to Washington. The US encourages such underperformance of rebalancing by several direct or indirect ways. The US projects and imposes strong nonproliferation norms upon Koreas, Taiwan, Japan and Pakistan. The US encourages Tokyo’s military dependence and practically opposes multilateral security initiatives in Asia. It has tried to woo Vietnam to balance China. The US is worried about China’s growing stature at the global level. For China its global credentials are heavily dependent upon her performance in the Asian Supercomplex. The rebalancing strategy has already locked the US in Asia. It potentially enhances US-China rivalry but China has been treading the path of its rise very carefully as its ultimate objective is to become successor to the sole super of the world.

The search underlines that for the time being US presence in Asia relieves Beijing of the unnecessary engagements and pressures which are required of a great power seized with the role of an equalizer in the security environment of Asia. By the same token, a rather peaceful gesture and keen interest exhibited by China in the economic and geographical connectivity at inter and intraregional levels, allays the concerns of New Delhi which nonetheless remains suspicious of Beijing’s ultimate motives. The situation, therefore, leads to emergence of Asian Supercomplex, which in its turn influences the security patterns and geostrategic relationship between Beijing
and Islamabad. The emerging structures of security reflected in greater interaction of South Asian RSC with East Asian RSC are swaying the dynamics of Pakistan-China relations.

The enquiry reveals that strategic relationship between Pakistan and China in the post-9/11 era is inextricably linked to the security complexion of South Asia at regional and interregional levels, where Indian factor works as a catalyst in alignment of smaller state actors in keeping with their respective vulnerabilities and perception of mutual amity and enmity. The emerging scenario contributes to interplay of two major contenders of powers *viz-a-viz* China and India on a wider interregional level. India’s Act East Policy and China’s BRI as well as connectivity through CPEC and BCIM-EC are the outcome of this interplay. One can see growing linkages of South Asian Regional Security Complex with that of East Asian Regional Security Complex. The Study further establishes that the regional security complex cannot be understood in isolation. These impacts get impacted by the overall global security environment.

The research shows that interconnection of East Asia with South Asia is failing to create any economic interdependence to counterbalance political and strategic upheavals and tensions prevailing in the region. Low level of trade amongst South Asian states is still insignificant having unutilized potential gains in the region. Intra-regional trade in South Asia is one of the lowest in the globe. There are administrative, logistic and political barriers that impede economic interdependence amongst the South Asian states.

The analysis shows that the biggest economy of South Asia-India is only interested in expanding trade relations with East and West Asia rather than the neighboring South Asian states especially Pakistan. Though South Asia shares cultural, social, spiritual and linguistic commonalities, yet it has been experiencing continuous fragmentation. It had once remained economically integrated. It is interesting to note that intra-regional trade in South Asia broadly channelizing from Kabul to Chittagong was as high as 19% in 1948, soon after these states attained independence from the British rule. The trade however declined amongst South Asian states from 19 % (1948) to just 2 % by 1967. South Asia is the least integrated region in the world. Intra-regional trade as a share of the region total trade comes to 4% only. Trade amongst South Asia is even lags behind the sub-Saharan Africa, the Middle East and the North Africa.
India’s trade with its neighboring states is abysmally low that is only “under 3% of its total trade.”

The investigation disagrees with Buzan and Waver’s opinion indicating that South Asian RSC bipolarity is moving towards unipolarity. Both the writers could not predict initiation of CPEC in 2013, which has enhanced Chinese stakes in Pakistan and impacted the balance of power in South Asia. As a result bipolarity remains intact due to the presence of nuclear weapons as well as due to CPEC, linking South Asia to East Asia as well as the West Asia.

The search also shows that South Asian unipolarity is easy to be discussed in material and conventional military terms but difficult to understood in political terms. India is lacking in leadership/dominance owing to the reason that South Asia is neither economically interdependent nor dependent upon India. However, Indian pursuit of economic growth and development provides an element of coherence in its foreign policy. Indian political leadership is desirous of drawing India out of South Asia without solving its regional and domestic problems within the region. India is seeking status outside South Asian RSC instead within the South Asian region. Stewart-Ingersoll and Frazier confirm the finding that “India seeks status more outside South Asia than within it.” Few South Asian states consider Indian democracy as model for them but none of the South Asian state is ready to neither submit before India nor agreeing upon setting up of Indian security.

The enquiry underlines that India is neither in a position to set agenda nor lead the regional intergovernmental organizations (IGOs). India has been striving hard to keep external players out of the region without any success. China has further deepened its strategic partnership with Pakistan since 9/11. China has cordial relations with Sri Lanka and Myanmar in South Asia. Besides, Saudi Arabia and Pakistan are playing their pivotal role in Afghanistan for lasting peace. The US plays both with Pakistan and India. India entered into civil nuclear deal with US in 2006 and has been hailing the US presence in the region. India applauded US endeavors to balance China in South Asia. Washington has been extending assistance in strengthening India against the rising Pakistan-China strategic ties in South Asia.

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422 Razeen Sally, “Regional economic integration in Asia: The track record and projects”, Ecipe Occasional Paper No.2, 2010
423 Stewart-Ingersoll, Robert, & Frazier, Derrick, India as a regional power, p. 57-59
The investigation retains that trends of bipolarity within South Asian RSC remained very much alive. Unipolarity without hegemony with rising disengagement within the region or outside the region is a peculiar turn of events. It is incontrovertible fact that contemporary great power status is dependent upon the states being able to resolve their issues within RSC or contain their challenges within their peculiar Regional Security Complex especially it is true in “Russia, India and Brazil being cases in the point.”

India is an interesting case of such proposition. There is an interesting comparison between India and China being rising powers of Asia, striving hard for great power status in the region.

The analysis shows that China is striving hard peacefully for the status of great power with all its flaws, which cannot be said in case of India having strained relations with all its neighboring states. If India cannot resolve her issues within the region, it will merely stay as regional power. Indian South Asian neighbors cannot become irrelevant to India. The study observes that India would remain hindered by unsettled issues of its home region i.e. South Asian RSC. India’s vulnerability to external intervention by outside players would remain persistent for New Delhi as a haunting factor. The emerging scenario would further weaken Indian potential to pursue wider activities and ambitions at regional, interregional and global levels.

The scrutiny highlights that at South Asian interregional level, there are several significant developments but there is little structural change. Afghanistan is a significant insulator. However, two important developments are: One, Saudi-Iran rivalry is now extended to Afghanistan where they are playing their own games. Two, the regional dynamics of South Asia are now more strongly and actively being played in Afghanistan. In the past, Pakistan’s involvement in Afghanistan remained for strategic depth. India remained engaged in Afghanistan in 1990s and 2000s by creating an alignment amongst India, Iran and Russia to play its own game in Kabul against China-Pakistan strategic partnership.

The study reveals that China is gradually increasing its influence in economic and political arena in Afghanistan. Pakistan, China and Afghanistan have agreed to enhance

cooperation in counterterrorism and security arena. China’s prime concern in Afghanistan is deepening terrorism which may threaten Xinjiang’s security. China is interested in availing opportunity of investment in Afghanistan in mining and minerals sectors.

The research upholds that Pakistan-China strategic relationship within the Regional Security Complexes is greatly influenced by the Indo-US partnership. Washington’s strategic and security alliance with India in the South Asia and Japan and South Korea in the East Asia is directly influencing policies, priorities and plans of Beijing in the region. The ever growing economic and security cooperation between Pakistan and China can only be understood and explained in the context of the global linkages of the Asian Supercomplex. The present Study, therefore, convincingly affirms the hypothesis that the structures of security in Asian Supercomplex are increasingly reinforcing the dynamics of Pakistan-China strategic relations in the twenty first century. Similarly, Asian Supercomplex is a result of the economic political and strategic interplay of the state actors of South Asian RSC and East Asian RSC having linkages with overall global security environment.

The research shows that a thin but significant Asian Supercomplex is in operation. Asian Supercomplex is linked closely to power transition at the global level where China-US strategic competition has been intensified at regional and interregional levels. China is trying to use trade and commercial relationship with India to keep it away from the US grand strategy of China’s containment. Keeping in view the emerging Asian Supercomplex and India’s role as linchpin in the US grand pivot to Asia strategy in containment of China the study concludes that deep rooted Pakistan-China strategic cooperation is essential to counter the negative implications of Asia Pivot Strategy of the sole superpower in the region.

The investigation underscores that Pakistan and China are desirous to enhance strategic partnership at bilateral, regional and interregional levels. The cornerstone of this strategic cooperation is socio-economic development of masses of two states resulting into robust growth for the whole region. Extermination of extremism and terrorism in the region, regional security and stability, peacemaking endeavors for warring Afghanistan through trilateral dialogue and better relationship with all neighboring states are common objectives of both Pakistan and China. Growing integration of South Asian RSC with East Asian RSC is certainly influencing the dynamics of Pakistan-China strategic relations in post-9/11 period.
The table hereunder shows how strategic developments have impacted the dynamics of Pakistan-China strategic relations.

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<th>S. No</th>
<th>Strategic Developments</th>
<th>Key Features</th>
<th>Playouts</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>i.</td>
<td>Emerging Asian Supercomplex</td>
<td>As a result of rising power of China, there is emergence of Asian Supercomplex.</td>
<td>Asian Supercomplex has become operational, which is closely linked to the great power competition at the global level.</td>
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<td></td>
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<td>Great powers competition shaping interregional security environment.</td>
<td>Washington-Beijing strategic competition in Asian Supercomplex has deepened. However, USA overlay is dwindling in the region, while Beijing’s assertiveness is increasing in the region.</td>
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<td>Emerging Asian Supercomplex is deepening conflict formation and security regimes in Asia.</td>
<td>Hedging and containment endeavors against China are intensifying in the Asian Supercomplex.</td>
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<td>Linkage between South Asian RSC and East Asian RSC is enhancing.</td>
<td>New Delhi’s Act East Policy is enhancing Indian political, strategic and commercial involvement in East Asian RSC. The US is supporting India to play role of a balancer in the Asian Supercomplex.</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Regional Security Complex of South Asia</td>
<td>South Asian RSC continues to be centered on a great power.</td>
<td>China becoming more assertive and active in South Asia. Whereas India started looking into East Asian RSC without solving political issues within its own region.</td>
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<td>Bipolarity prevails in the region. At the domestic level, the South Asian RSC remains unchanged.</td>
<td>Material supremacy of India is growing but India lacks in legitimacy as its hegemonic ambitions continue to dominate the region.</td>
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<td>Continuity in patterns of amity between China and Pakistan and enmity between Pakistan and India is observed.</td>
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<td>Interstate cooperative norms remained fragile.</td>
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<td>Trends regarding polarity within South Asian RSC remained mostly unchanged.</td>
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<td>ii.</td>
<td>Afghanistan as Mini Complex</td>
<td>Kabul sustained its position of insulator in spite of all volatilities and disorders generated by foreign interventions.</td>
<td>US looking for military victory in Kabul.</td>
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<td>New Delhi engagements in Kabul increased in post-9/11 arena.</td>
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<td>iv.</td>
<td>Global War on Terrorism</td>
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<td><strong>Increased political fragmentation owing to internal turmoil and intervention by great powers as well as neighboring states.</strong></td>
<td><strong>Enduring rivalry continued between Islamabad and New Delhi. Indo-Pakistan competition in Afghanistan heightened.</strong></td>
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<td><strong>Washington’s support to New Delhi’s key role in Afghanistan increased.</strong></td>
<td><strong>Terrorism emerged as a shared threat to Pakistan and China.</strong></td>
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<tr>
<th>v.</th>
<th>Sino-Pakistan Security Cooperation in post- 9/11 era</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Defence cooperation between China and Pakistan reinforced through multirole combat aircraft, JF17 thunder, naval frigates and submarines. Pakistan produced Al-Khalid Tank, cruise missiles and ballistic missiles with the help of Chinese technology. Sino-Pakistan civil nuclear cooperation enhanced. China launched Pakistan’s satellite; Paksat-1R, from Xichang Satellite Launch Center (XSLC) in Sichuan Province of China.</td>
<td>Pak-China strategic interdependence increased. Pakistan felt more secure <em>vîz-a-vîz</em> India and stronger in warding off US pressures. Pak-China cooperation on peace in Afghanistan increased. Indio-US civil nuclear deal and strategic partnership strengthened Sino-Pakistan partnership.</td>
</tr>
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<th>vi.</th>
<th>US Asia Pivot/Rebalance Policy</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>US remained interested to counter rising power of China, challenging US power in Asia Pacific region. The US initiated Asia Pivot Strategy later modified as Rebalancing strategy in 2011-12. The US fortified alliances with Japan, Philippines, Australia and India to contain rising power of China.</td>
<td>US declared India as a linchpin in Indo-Pacific region. US-India partnership enhanced. New Delhi using US supports to enhance its status as great power and role in Asia pacific region. Pakistan-China strategic ties further became deep rooted. China extended support to Pakistan at regional as well as at the global forums. China launches One Belt One Road (OBOR) initiative to counter US Pivot and Rebalancing strategy.</td>
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<td>vi.</td>
<td>India’s Act East Policy</td>
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<tr>
<td>vii.</td>
<td>China-Pakistan Economic Corridor (CPEC)</td>
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<tr>
<td>ix.</td>
<td>Indo-US strategic partnership</td>
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<tr>
<td>x.</td>
<td>Rising trade between China and India</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The scrutiny shows that the hypothesis has been affirmed as emerging security structures in Asian Supercomplex are increasingly reinforcing the existing dynamics of Pakistan-China strategic relations in the 21st century. The analysis shows that Sino-Pakistan strategic partnership has been strengthened by initiation of CPEC. Both Pakistan and China have become interdependent especially in terms of strategic interests; defence cooperation, diversified economic association, civil nuclear collaboration and cooperation is witnessed in almost all sectors. The pattern of high degree of continuity is expected between Pakistan and China strategic partnership, which is based on mutual strategic interests for shorter, medium and even longer terms.

In this perspective, the salient findings of thesis at bilateral, regional and interregional levels are as follow:

**Bilateral Level**

- Border sharing, rising economy of Western China and common geo-regional, economic and strategic global vision, have led to convergence of Beijing and Islamabad’s interests and have ensured permanency and maturity in bilateral relations of both the states since 9/11.

- CPEC has now become major driving force behind Pakistan-China strategic partnership. Since 9/11, despite growing Sino-Indian trade and economic relationship, Sino-Pakistan strategic partnership has become even deeper and has not shown any sign of anxiety; rather geo-political developments in Asia-Pacific and Indian Ocean have further strengthened this relationship.

- Security challenges to CPEC include foreign funded/sponsored terrorists to create hurdles in implementation of projects in Baluchistan. Rising terrorism in Xinjiang Province by ETIM is another formidable challenge.
Regional Level

- Owing to deepening partnership of India and US in the Indo-Pacific, China would like to enhance its strategic partnership with Pakistan. CPEC is a manifestation of growing strategic importance of Pakistan for China in its energy / security pursuits as well as an attempt to consolidate Pakistan’s economic and strategic position in South Asia.

- China has deep interest in preventing growing Indian domination in the South Asian region and would like to support Pakistan so as to maintain balance of power in the region. Hence, at regional level between China and India, Pakistan is an effective balancer.

- Peaceful Afghanistan is within the national interests of all states of the region including Pakistan and China. Continuous militancy in Afghanistan, rampant terrorism, proliferating extremism and growing separatism in the region are existential threats.

- In the wake of Indo-US strategic partnership, Pakistan’s prevailing security dilemma has further been aggravated leading to further deepening of Pakistan-China strategic relations in post-9/11 period. Challenges include; Indian opposition to CPEC, rising instability in Afghanistan and long outstanding Kashmir imbroglio.

Interregional/Global Level

- At the interregional level the emergence of Asian Supercomplex and US pivot/rebalance strategy is compelling China to forge closer partnership with Pakistan.

- India’s growing foot print in Asia pacific region, closer partnership with Japan and South East Asian states is driving China to enhance strategic relationship with Pakistan. Pakistan’s growing conventional military imbalance with India, a weak economy and uncertain diplomatic relations with US are pushing Islamabad to rely more on Chinese economic and strategic support.

- The shifting structures of security in Asian Supercomplex are increasingly reinforcing the dynamics of Pakistan-China strategic relations in the twenty first century.
Finally, the study establishes that the growing integration of South Asian Regional Security Complex with East Asian Regional Security Complex is increasingly reinforcing the dynamics of Pakistan-China strategic relations in 21st century. New Delhi-Washington’s strategic partnership is becoming stronger where India has adopted a role of linchpin of the USA’s Asian rebalancing policy for containment of rising China in the Indo-Asia Pacific region. The situation has led to a growing interdependence between China and Pakistan in the post-9/11 scenario which is exhibited by ever deepening geo-strategic partnership, defence and civil nuclear collaboration. CPEC has further solidified the strategic relationship. In the ultimate analysis it can be safely concluded that in the post-9/11 era Pakistan-China relations are not only inextricably correlated to South Asian RSC but are also fully responsive and reactive to the East Asian RSC as well as Asian Supercomplex. These reactions and responses are more quick and visible at sub-regional level within the context of South Asian Regional Security Complex. At regional and intra-regional levels, these are more subtle and diplomatic. The existing pattern of Regional Security Complexes does not indicate any major shift in the level and scope of Pakistan-China strategic relationship in the foreseeable future as geo-strategic placement and interests of the major state actors are also unlikely to be changed.

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15. Mr. Ye Hailin, Deputy Chief of Political and Social Studies, China Academy of Social Sciences, Beijing.
16. Mr. Zaibang, Wang, Vice President, China Institute of Contemporary International Relations (CICIR), Beijing.
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<tr>
<th>#</th>
<th>Project Name</th>
<th>Progress Update</th>
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| 1  | 2×660MW Coal-fired Power Plants at Port Qasim Karachi                        | • Financial Closed (FC) achieved.  
  • Civil works on site started in May 2015.  
  • Jetty completed.  
  • Plant 2 months ahead of schedule.  
  • Energization in October 2017.  
  • Expected Commercial Operation Date (COD) June 2018. |
| 2  | Suki Kinari Hydropower Station, Naran, Khyber Pukhtunkhwa                    | • Financial Close achieved.  
  • Land acquisition award announced on 17th Nov, 2016.  
  • EPC Contractor mobilized to initiate Construction activities.  
  • Commercial Operation Date (COD) 2021/2022. |
| 3  | Sahiwal 2x660MW Coal-fired Power Plant, Punjab                                | • Financial Closed (FC) achieved.  
  • Inauguration of first unit (1x660 MW) by the Prime Minister of Pakistan on 25th May 2017.  
  • Second unit synchronized with system and complex is successfully contributing more than 1000 MW Continuously.  
  • Commercial Operation Date (COD) Achieved.  
  • Project Completed.  
  • Project has been connected to National grid.  
  • Current Status: Operational |
| 4  | Engro Thar Block II 2×330MW Coal fired Power Plant  
  TEL 1×330MW Mine Mouth Lignite Fired Power Project at Thar Block-II, Sindh, Pakistan  
  ThalNova 1×330MW Mine Mouth Lignite Fired Power Project at Thar Block-II, Sindh, Pakistan | • Financial Closed (FC) achieved in April, 2016.  
  • Team mobilized at site.  
  • Construction work in progress.  
  • Construction of Transmission line-contract awarded. Contractor mobilized  
  • Commercial Operation Date (COD) June, 2019 |
|    | Surface mine in block II of Thar Coal field, 3.8 million tons/year           | • Financial Closed (FC) achieved.  
  • IA/EA signed.  
  • 3.8 metric tons per annum (MTPA)  
  • 8.1 MMT overburden removed and depth of 72/185 meters achieved. |
<table>
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<tr>
<th>#</th>
<th>Project Name</th>
<th>Progress Update</th>
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</thead>
</table>
| 5 | Hydro China Dawood 50MW Wind Farm(Gharo, Thatta)                             | • COD expected 2018/2019  
• Financial Closed (FC) achieved on March 27, 2015.  
• Commercial Operation Date (COD) Attained 5th April, 2017.  
• Project Completed  
• Current Status: Operational (5th April 2017) |
| 6 | 300MW Imported Coal Based Power Project at Gwadar, Pakistan                  | • PPIB issued LOI  
• Site finalized by CCCC  
• Section IV for land acquisition reprocessed by Deputy Commissioner for 200 acres  
• Environment report prepared by EMC consultant and submitted to EPA and GDA. GDA submitted comments on report to EPA. Need approval of Baluchistan EPA. |
| 7 | Quaid-e-Azam 1000MW Solar Park (Bahawalpur) Quaid-e-Azam                     | • COD of 3 x 100 MW attained in August 2016.                                                                                                               |
| 8 | UEP 100MW Wind Farm (Jhimpir, Thatta)                                       | • Financial Closed (FC) achieved on March 30, 2015.  
• Commercial Operation Date (COD) attained 16th June, 2017.  
• Current Status: Operational.                                                                     |
| 9 | Sachal 50MW Wind Farm (Jhimpir, Thatta)                                      | • Financial Closed (FC) achieved on December 18, 2015.  
• Commercial Operation Date (COD) attained 11 April, 2017.  
• Project Completed  
• Current Status: Operational (11 April 2017)                                                      |
| 10| SSRL Thar Coal Block-I 6.8 mtpa&SEC Mine Mouth Power Plant(2×660MW)         | • Mine Commercial production is expected by 2019  
• Plant Expected Commercial Operation Date (COD) 2020                                                                                                     |
| 11| Karot Hydropower Station                                                     | • Land acquisition award done.  
• Financial Close achieved on 22nd February 2017.                                                                                                         |
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>• Construction of access road/bridge, concrete batching plant, diversion tunnel and spillway, etc. are in process.</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>• Work initiated through equity – 25% civil works completed.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>• Commercial Operation Date (COD) 2020/2021.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12</td>
<td>Three Gorges Second Wind Power Project Three Gorges Third Wind Power Project</td>
<td>• LOS issued in August 2016.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>• EPA initialed on 30th Nov, 2016.</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>• Construction activity already started from equity.</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>• Financial Close March 2017.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>• COD September, 2018.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13</td>
<td>CPHGC 1,320MW Coal-fired Power Plant, Hub,Balochistan</td>
<td>• IA/ Power Purchase Agreement Signed on 25th January 2017</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>• LOS issued on 12th April 2016; 1st extension to LOS issued on 24th January 2017.</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>• Ground breaking ceremony held on 21 March 2017.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14</td>
<td>Matiari to Lahore ±660kV HVDC Transmission Line Project</td>
<td>• Feasibility study completed.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>• Tariff determined by NEPRA.</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>• TSA/IA initialed in December 2016.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>• Land acquisition for converter stations at Lahore and Matiari completed.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>• China Electric Power Equipment and Technology Company (CET) / State Grid nominated by Chinese side.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>• COD expected in 2018 / 2019.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Matiari (Port Qasim) —Faisalabad Transmission Line Project</td>
<td>• Feasibility study completed.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>• Decision on tariff review petition announced by NEPRA.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>• COD expected in 2018 / 2019.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>• TSA/IA initialed during 6th JCC</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>• China Electric Power Equipment and Technology Company (CET) / State Grid nominated by Chinese side.</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Technology Company(CET) / State Grid nominated by Chinese side</td>
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</tbody>
</table>
| 15| Thar Mine Mouth Oracle Power Plant (1320MW) & surface mine                    | - Feasibility stage tariff obtained for coal  
- Shareholding agreement on new equity partners in process  
- Upfront Tariff on Thar Coal has ceased to exist on 19th January 2017                                                                         |

### CPEC-Energy Actively Promoted Projects

<table>
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<tr>
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</table>
| 16| Kohala Hydel Project, AJK                                                     | - Feasibility Study (stage-1) Tariff Announced by NEPRA.  
- Land Acquisition process started.  
- Environmental Impact Assessment study being updated.  
- EPC Contractor has been selected.  
- Financial close planned in Dec 2017.  
- Transmission/interconnection study has been approved by NTDC.  
- Expected Commercial Operation Date (COD) 2023. |
| 17| Rahimyar khan imported fuel Power Plant 1320 MW                              | - Feasibility in process                                                                                                                        |
| 18| Cacho 50MW Wind Power Project                                                 |                                                                                                                                                |
| 19| Western Energy (Pvt.) Ltd. 50MW Wind Power Project                           |                                                                                                                                                |

### CPEC-Potential Energy Projects

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>#</th>
<th>Project Name</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>20</td>
<td>Phandar Hydropower Station</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>21</td>
<td>Gilgit KIU Hydropower</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Sources: Ministry of Planning and Development, Islamabad http://www.cpec.gov.pk/progress-up