

# India's One China Policy in the Backdrop of Sino- Pakistan Emerging Nexus

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India and Pakistan came into being in 1947. China-Pakistan relations were less than cordial in the early years after independence. In fact, after capturing power, military dictator, Field Marshall, Ayub Khan offered India a joint defense agreement against China in October 1958 merely because he perceived China as a common threat to South Asia. But Wilsonian idealist Indian PM, Jawaharlal Nehru rejected the proposal without considering the idea properly. It vindicates the kind of so-called knowledge, Pandit Nehru had in the realm of foreign affairs which he was very proudly claiming for. In Fact, Pandit Nehru was trying to establish exclusive cordial relations with China on many idealistic nomenclatures. He tried his level best through Bandung conference etc. but it didn't work. He believed Chinese leadership is very much committed for the unity of developing and under developing countries. But the bubble gets busted when Chinese army captured Tibet in late 1950's and till date it is under Chinese illegal occupation. Dr. B.R. Ambedkar, towering leader of Indian independence warned him<sup>1</sup>

*"Our Prime Minister is depending on the Panchsheel which has been adopted by Comrade Mao, and the Panchsheel in which one of the clauses is the No-Aggression Treaty on Tibet. I am indeed surprised that our Hon'ble Prime Minister is taking this 'Panchsheel' seriously. Hon'ble Members of the House, you must know that Panchsheel is one of the significant parts of the Buddha Dharma. If Shri Mao had even an iota of faith in Panchsheel, he would have treated the Buddhists in his country in a different manner. Panchsheel has no place in politics. The truth inherent in Panchsheel is that morality is forever changing. There is nothing called morality. You can abide by your promises in accordance with today's morality and by the same propriety, you may violate your own promise simply because tomorrow's morality will have different demands... in my opinion our, Prime Minister will realise the truth in my words when the situation matures further... I don't really know*

*what is going to happen. By letting China take control over Lhasa (Tibetan Capital), the Prime Minister has in a way helped the Chinese to bring their armies on the Indian borders. Any victor who annexes Kashmir can directly reach Pathankot, and I know it for sure that he can reach the Prime Minister's House also."*

Dr. Ambedkar warned Nehru with above statements during the debate of Rajya-Sabha just weeks before the signing of the 1954 treaty with China. But Nehru was so much proud of his command over foreign affairs and he was not willing to heed this Kautilayan realist advise. That was the time when Indian under Nehru was about to recognize one china policy. China was very weak at that point of time if Nehru could had recognized Tibet as an independent country thing could have been different because then India-China actual land border could have more than 1000 KM away to each other. This Himalayan blunder still give jitters to India in the strategic domain with China.

China-Pakistan relations have become cordial after 1962 India-China war. Just after independence, Pakistan joined into American orbit and had apprehensions about China. Tibet issue was raised first by Pakistan in the United Nations. After 1962 war, China understood the fact that due to its geo-strategic location, Pakistan could be an asset for its containment of India policy particularly in South Asia. In 1963, Pakistan ceded huge territory to China and after that it has sustained its claim over Askai Chin. During Afghan war (1979) China took unique turn in foreign policy and extended its support to American led block to contain invading red army. Pakistan became base of that American led block war against the invading red army. Through this turn, the Chinese have vindicated the Kautilayan concept of realism in foreign policy. Kautilya opined that convergences of ideology and other such synergies cannot remain determiner of foreign policy. It is extraordinary important to highlight that it was the peak of the cold war and both China and USSR were from the common ideology of communism.

The mandate of this paper is to dwell upon relevance of one china policy in the prevailing global security architecture particularly in the backdrop of Pakistan-china- India triangle relationship. In 1999, Pakistani propelled terror occupation of Kargil triggered new tension between India and Pakistan but despite Chinese pledges of support to Pakistan, it remain stable with the suggestion that it is bilateral issue and must be resolved bilaterally. In August 2019, twenty years down the line, tension grew at utmost level on Kashmir, but same pattern of Chinese tall pledges still given to Pakistan.

In post-cold war, Sino-Pakistan relations have been cordial and have been termed as 'all weathered friendship'. Former Pakistani PM, Yusuf Raza Gillani had termed once that 'Sino-Pakistan relations are deeper than sea, bigger than Himalayas and sweeter than honey.' It could be also understood the fact that since 2006 till date every Chinese PM or President has visited Pakistan compulsorily while visiting India. The maiden visit of every Pakistani ruler and foreign minister is also compulsorily Beijing. Only during PPP rule (2008-2013, PPP rule) foreign minister, Hina Rabbani Khar broken that tradition and came New Delhi first.

This trend is candid message to India that, Pakistan is special friend o China. Since the nuclear deal with the United States in 2008, Chinese have in fact changed its traditional policy and sustaining their exclusive relations with Pakistan but manages their delicate relations despite barrage of divergences also to ensure practical balance of power within this trilateral relation with India. In the meanwhile, Chinese imprint is very much expanding in South Asia. Hambantota in Sri-Lanka, Male in Maldives, Chittagong in Bangladesh and Sittwe in Myanmar Chinese have established their naval presence. It could be safely assumed that the prevailing hate and occasional love syndrome of relationship within this trilateral ambit is all set to sustainable in the foreseeable future.

China has adopted 'offensive realism' to deal with its neighbours. In the case of South China and East China Sea, it is vindicated. China is willing to transcend its new earn economic might into the strategic domain therefore defiance of international law is and will be sustainable features of Chinese foreign policy in coming decades. China has finally abandoned Deng Xiaoping's mantra of "hide your strength, bide your time" in order to adopt a more proactive role in global affairs.<sup>2</sup>

According to Jim Mattis, former defense secretary of the United States, Pakistan is most unreliable country of the globe . Terming Pakistan as the "most dangerous" country due to its nuclear capabilities and radicalisation he commented that the tragedy for the Pakistani people is that they do not have leaders who care about their future. Mr Mattis, who led the US forces into Afghanistan in the aftermath of the 9/11 attacks, has a decade of experience of interacting with the military leadership in Pakistan.

"Pakistan was a country born with no affection for itself, and there was an active self-destructive streak in its political culture," he said. "Of all the countries I've dealt with, I consider Pakistan to be the most dangerous, because of the radicalisation of its society and the availability of nuclear weapons".<sup>3</sup>

Pakistan is following terror as an instrument of its foreign policy since 1979 when Soviet Red Army entered into Afghanistan. In her book '*The Wrong Enemy; America in Afghanistan 2001-2004*', senior American journalist Carlotta Gall who has spent ten years in Afghanistan has concluded that "The embassy bombing was an operation by rouge ISI agents acting on their own. It was sanctioned and monitored by the most senior officials in Pakistani intelligence." The evidence was so damning that the Bush administration dispatched the deputy chief of the CIA, Stephen Kappes, to Islamabad to remonstrate with Pakistanis. The bomber struck before Kappes reached Islamabad. Gall writes "Investigators found the bomber's cell phone in the wreckage of his exploded car. They tracked down his collaborators in Kabul, the man who had provided the logistics for the attack. The facilitator, an Afghan, had been in direct contact with Pakistan by telephone."<sup>4</sup> According to Gall, as the Afghan government investigated the attack, they became convinced that "the ISI was working with al Qaeda, the Taliban, the Haqqanis, and Pakistani groups such as Lashkar-e-Taiba. Gall concludes "At the core of Pakistan's thinking was an obsessive desire to dominate Afghanistan in order to protect its own rear flank from India. In that way of thinking, the Taliban were guarantors of Pakistan's national strategic interests."<sup>5</sup>

More than 2,400 US service members have been killed in nearly 18 years of fighting in Afghanistan, and some observers are asking why the latest death would derail the US-Taliban negotiations on the apparent brink of a deal. The Taliban have said the attacks strengthen their negotiating position.

"A difficulty created by announcing that the US-Taliban deal was completed in advance of actually announcing the terms of the deal or being ready to sign is that space has been created for those unhappy with it — in Kabul or Washington — to try to modify or disrupt it," Says Laurel Miller, Asia director for the International Crisis Group, shortly before Trump's announcement.<sup>6</sup>

China has supported Pakistan at least at the level of perception in the backdrop of abrogation of article 370 from Kashmir. The editorial comment of the prestigious Pakistani daily 'Dawn' comments vindicated Pakistan's isolation on this issue.

*"The crisis in India-held Kashmir could trigger global consequences, yet the world has not responded to Pakistan's urgent exhortations with the level of robustness as situation warrants. Instead of full-throated condemnation, there is a language of equivocation. Indeed, some*

Sudhir Singh

*countries, most notably US and UAE, have even gone along with India's brazenly false assertion that stripping Kashmir, an internationally recognized disputed territory, of its special status is an "internal matter". Saudi Arabia's bland reaction thus far avoids expressing any opinion whatsoever."*<sup>7</sup>

According to eminent Pakistani strategic thinker Pervez Hood-boy, Pakistan status at the global stage has reduced a lot

*"Third, patrons have their own interests. To call a friendship higher than the Himalayas, deeper than the oceans, and stronger than steel may be good poetry. But patrons act after a cold calculation of losses and gains. China's silence on Kashmir and its climb-down in May at the United Nations on Masood Azhar's blacklisting shows just how carefully it weighs things. Saudi Arabia, on which Pakistan pins its hopes, went along with India."*<sup>8</sup>

Through Balakot, India has used right of hot pursuit as a strategic option to fight terror maiden time on large scale, calling Pakistan's bluff through its repeated nuclear blackmail. Here it is important to mention that many powerful countries have already used it, even India used it in Myanmar. When Indian army executed 'Hot Pursuit' in July 2018 after Naga insurgents killed 18 soldiers of the Indian army and in this operation 38 terrorists were eliminated, Pakistan gave a statement that Pakistan is not Myanmar. Balakot strike by air force on terror training facility proved the determination of political and military establishment leadership and proved vulnerability of Pakistan. This strikes across the border established India's right of response to terror attacks. Through this attack, India has proved that it will be using same options to retaliate future terror attacks and bring India in the line of the US and Israel who have zero tolerance policy against terrorists. Due to proactive foreign policy of Modi government, India has achieved a major diplomatic success in isolating Pakistan. Iran, Afghanistan and Bangladesh and many other important countries including Russia have strongly supported India in targeting Pakistan based terror training center and that it has established the fact that Pakistan is the major source of international terrorism. Pakistan all weather friend China also kept stony silence initially and only gave sagacious advice to resolve the problem peacefully.

Despite open hostility, Pakistan could not use the threat of use its nuclear devices and through this episode, India has successfully exposed Pakistani physiological edge that its nukes are big deterrent. While killing over 250 terrorists through the Balakot strike, India has also

sent a candid message to Pakistan that now the perpetrators will not be left unhurt. Through this India has adopted Israeli and American module which believes that we will eliminate our enemies wherever we will find them. It has been endorsed by retired General Ehsan Ul Haq, former chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff Committee<sup>9</sup>

Gen Haq said India has been a beneficiary of the West's double and triple standards of disarmament and non-proliferation. On the back of this support, India continuously challenges the credibility of Pakistan's nuclear deterrence. Pakistan on its part will not move away from its policy of peaceful coexistence, while ensuring the defence of its sovereignty and vital interests. In recent past emboldened by its economic growth and "egged on by patronage of the Indo-US nexus", India's strategic ambitions against Pakistan have magnified.

The discord in the Sino-Indian relationship is most evident in the unresolved territorial disputes along the 4,000 km border in Aksai Chin and Arunachal Pradesh.<sup>10</sup> Tibetan spiritual guru, Dalai Lama had visited Arunachal Pradesh in March 2017. This announcement was condemned by the Chinese on the basis that it is a disputed territory therefore Dalai Lama should not visit the state. In October 2016, American Ambassador to India, Richard Verma visited the state and it was also condemned by the Chinese on the same grounds. Chinese army had a standoff with the Indian army in the Ladakh sector from May 2020 to February 2021 and finally disengaged in February 2021. Special representative s' framework since 2003 and 21 years of joint working group meetings, there has been hardly any progress in resolving the turbulent territorial dispute.

Meanwhile, the dispute has mutated due to both a change in strategic significance and the expanded instruments available to both countries. India abrogated article 370 status to Kashmir and bifurcated the state and made Ladakh separate union territory, which was opposed by China. India asserted that it is internal matter of India and others have no business to intervene. In a veiled threat India also stressed that if others will comment on our internal matter then we will also reciprocate.

PM Modi and Chinese President Xi Jinping met 13 times since last 7 years and had two informal summits. In the backdrop of Dhokla crisis between India and China which lasted for 70 days. PM Modi visited China in April 2018 for the summit level talk with Chinese President, Xi Jinping. Both leaders had six rounds of exclusive summit level talk. President Xi Jinping sought to open a "new chapter" in relations between China and India as he hosted Prime Minister Narendra Modi in the last

week of April 2018 for a summit aimed at mending ties strained by a border dispute.

Modi thanked Xi for meeting him twice outside Beijing, telling the Chinese leader: "This in itself shows love and affection towards India." With 40 percent of the world's population, India and China have a responsibility to fix the world's many problems", Modi said, adding that the meeting was a "great opportunity" to do so.

Invoking Xi's political slogan and his own, Modi said: "Together your 'new era' dream and our 'new India' effort will be the right step for the benefit of the world." But neither leader directly mentioned the border row or other sources of tension in their remarks.<sup>11</sup>

India's relationship with ASEAN countries has huge imprint of our overall foreign policy. Modi government has upgraded 'Look East Policy' into 'Act East Policy' and extended it to East Asia and even up to Australia as well.

China is concerned of India's look east policy and calls it as being borne out of a misguided "fear of China," reflecting "a lack of understanding of the PLA's (Peoples Liberation Army's) strategic ambitions."<sup>12</sup> Compliance of the norms of international law has remained the core concern of ASEAN & East Asian countries in South & East China Sea. China has declared both Sea's as their backyard lakes and unwilling to obey the norms of the UNCLOS (1982). Despite high profile trade relations with China, ASEAN & East Asian countries are concerned for the compliance of international laws in these disputes. The Philippines is also a disputed country against China over South China Sea.

Philippines President Benigno S. Aquino III called for Nations around the world to do more to support the Philippines in resisting China's assertive claims to the seas near his country, drawing a comparison to the West's failure to support Czechoslovakia against Hitler's demands for Czech land in 1938. Like Czechoslovakia, the Philippines face demands to surrender territory piecemeal to a much stronger foreign power and needs more robust foreign support for the rule of international law if it is to resist.

He comments, "At what point do you say, 'Enough is enough'? Well, the world has to say it — remember that the Sudetenland was given to appease Hitler to prevent World War II.<sup>4</sup> Tokyo and Manila are even more expressive about their willingness to uphold territorial claims, no matter what the cost is . On many occasions, former Japanese PM Sinzo Abe has vowed publicly that he will 'never make concessions' over the

sovereignty of the Diaoyus/ Sankakus and will defend 'Japanese territory at all costs.'<sup>13</sup>

China has adopted Sun Tzu's philosophy in the diplomacy to divide the unity within ASEAN over South China Sea issue, which insist that a king must win the war without waging the war. Beijing is aware that all members of the ASEAN grouping are not always on the same page on all the issues and wish to operate by consensus. This means that a single member can exercise veto over the group's decisions and declarations. Since China has friends in Laos and Cambodia and others are reluctant to defy, China always enjoys an edge in imposing its will on others in the region.

Given the non-cooperation by some ASEAN member nations, Vietnam must operate outside the conventional ASEAN framework by forming a de facto maritime bloc with Indonesia and the Philippines.

The growing bonhomie between United States and India has created a situation akin of 'Prisoner's Dilemma' for China. It was vindicated with the Chinese changing attitudes. China is willing to keep India neutral and does not wish her to go in to close embrace of the United States. In the backdrop of abrogation of article 370 from Kashmir, despite all round request by Pakistan, China played safe and advised it to resolve the issue with India on bilateral level. According to Munir Akram, eminent strategic thinker and Pakistan's UN Ambassador,

*"Pakistan is near if not in the eye of the brewing Sino-US storm. Neutrality is not an option for Pakistan. The US has already chosen India as its strategic partner to counter China across the 'Indo-Pacific' and South Asia. The announced US South Asia policy is based on Indian domination of the subcontinent. Notwithstanding India's trade squabbles with Donald Trump, the US establishment is committed to building up India militarily to counter China. On the other hand, strategic partnership with China is the bedrock of Pakistan's security and foreign policy. The Indo-US alliance will compel further intensification of the Pakistan-China partnership. Pakistan is the biggest impediment to Indian hegemony over South Asia and the success of the Indo-US grand strategy. Ergo, they will try to remove or neutralise this 'impediment'."*<sup>14</sup>

The United States has challenged the writ of the Chinese in South China Sea and has executed many joint naval exercises with like-minded countries in this disputed water including with India. The US, unlike China, has long had military bases in countries bordering the South China Sea, including the Philippines and Thailand. Moreover, the US



has recently significantly increased its naval and air operations in and over the South China Sea, including its freedom of navigation exercises. The warships and planes the US sends on such operations challenge China's territorial and judicial claims. China sees the US' freedom of navigation patrols as "gunboat diplomacy" or even bullying. As a senior US naval officer has put it, a freedom of navigation exercise is "an 'in your face', 'rub your nose in it' operation, that lets people know who is the boss".<sup>15</sup>

For the last few years India and US participated in joint naval exercises in Indian Ocean. The Malabar naval exercise in which India and US participated was not well received in China. 20,000 troops and 25 ships exhibited their fire power right at the doorstep of China. China thinks South China Sea, an adjacent area to Indian Ocean, as its core national interest and Yellow Sea as its military operation zone. How could it bear such a naval extravaganza in its own den? Sino-Indian relation is also influenced by two different set of thinking by US and China. US is thinking about a uni-polar world and multi-polar Asia where both China and India share equitable military strength. Also, it thinks to be the sole security anchor in Asia covering from Vietnam to Pakistan. Now that India is engaged through 123 Agreement US wants to influence China by being closer to India. QUAD has emerged as a new club of democracies namely the United States, Australia, India and Japan. China thought that QUAD momentum will derail once Donald Trump administration will be out from the White House. The arrival of Biden administration in January 2021 witnessed the momentum of QUAD in its accelerated format and despite the prevailing pandemic they had a virtual summit in march 2021. It has irked China so much.

According to the Chinese mouth piece, Global Times

*"Democracy is just an excuse for these four countries when they are in conflict with each other. The Quad only has common geopolitical aims against China, not common democracy. Of course, in order to damage China's image, they will portray India's democracy as perfect. This is complete opportunism."*<sup>16</sup>

China preciously withdrawn from Ladakh due to unchanged policy of Biden administration regarding India. Trump administration gave 2+2 status to India, which means that US secretary of state and secretary of defense will have a summit level talk to their Indian counterparts back in 2018 and the Biden administration has vowed to sustain the process. In March 2021, US secretary of defence visited India. It was maiden physical visit by any top officer of the new Biden administration. Defence

secretary Austin reiterated the US government's continued commitment towards strengthening the bilateral defence relations between the two countries. He expressed America's strong desire to further enhance the strategic partnership for peace, stability and prosperity in the Indo-Pacific region and beyond," the statement read.<sup>17</sup>

Southeast Asia remains extremely important for new security architecture of power in Asia. In post corona, Asia is churning for the new system. United States is aware about it and knows that its global dominance depends on who rules Asia. United States has encouraged India's bonhomie with Japan, Australia and South Korea and ASEAN also. Despite the prevalence of the pandemic, QUAD countries have done joint maritime exercises around China. India has had very cordial relations with Southeast and East Asia since ages. Christopher Jafferlot has argued, convincingly, that India's post-cold war Look East Policy could be traced back to the Asianist ideals of the Indian national movement.<sup>18</sup> Lord Curzon had also dreamt India as an engine of Asian growth during British rule over India.

Asian situation is quite anarchic and quite close to Hobbes Leviathan's point of view. According to the neorealist thinker, Kenneth Waltz 'Because the future is uncertain, states are more concerned about relative gains and how gains will be divided. For this reason, cooperation is hard to achieve in international relations. The basic nature of the international relations is therefore essentially conflict.'<sup>19</sup>

Total volume of trade between China and ASEAN countries hit a record high of 587.87 billion U.S. dollars in FY 2018, up 14.1 percent year on year, as per the Chinese Ministry of Commerce.<sup>20</sup> India-China bilateral trade also stood for \$ 87 billion dollar in FY 2018. Despite this high voltage trade, trust deficit prevails between China and ASEAN, China and Japan, China and the United States and between India and China. They are in the state of prisoner's dilemma. This prevailing trust deficit has been vindicated on the issues of South China Sea, terrorism, water sharing etc. India and China are largest economies of the contemporary globe beside the United States. Since their freedom struggle, they had been committed for the larger unity among the developing countries. Today time has come to ensure it, and both are capable to do that but due to power game they are confronting with the status of prisoner's dilemma and trust deficit. Together they stand to gain and ensure justice based international order in Indo-Pacific, but they are indirectly supporting the prevailing hegemony of the United States while sustaining their trust deficit. South China Sea has emerged as a bitter global flashpoint between China and the disputant countries of ASEAN.

It has emerged as potential global battleground. The Nation of Bangkok warns in an editorial that:

*"If the current tension continues in South China Sea, especially between the Philippines and China, it could lead to an all-out war. This is not an alarmist's warning but a real concern. With poisonous rhetoric and growing tension, there is a possibility that conflicting parties would cross the line. This could be a result of miscalculation."*<sup>21</sup>

### **CPEC; New Landmark of Sino-Pakistan Relations**

President Xi has been declared 'core leader' and now he will be ruling China till death, it is contrasted to established Chinese pattern of 10 years. He became 4<sup>th</sup> Chinese leader to attain this prestigious title. It simply means extraordinary powerful. After coming into power in March 2012, he has declared his ambitious plan to expand infrastructure. It is popularly known as 'One Belt, One Road' (OBOR). Within the ambit of this plan, he has declared China-Pakistan Economic Corridor (CPEC). It is intended to connect western Chinese town of Kashgar of turbulent Xingjinag province to Gwador, which is situated into the turbulent Pakistani province of Baluchistan. It will provide strategic naval post to China in the western Indian Ocean and in the Gulf. The work is already started on this project. This corridor has strategic implications for India also particularly for our maritime interests in the Indian Ocean Region. China had pledged to spend over \$ 65 billion over the project.

CPEC will however reduce Chinese 'Malacca Dilemma' and ensure free and early flow of energy supply to the Chinese. Chinese are 2<sup>nd</sup> largest Global energy consumer. It will also propel Chinese engagement in Africa. Chinese have shown their open inclination towards Pakistan. During September 2016 Indian surgical strike in Pakistan, the Chinese have tacitly supported Pakistan. During Kargil incursion (1999) the Chinese had openly advised Pakistan to resolve the matter amicably through dialogue despite the fact that both PM and then COAS, Nawaz Sharif and General Pervez Musharraf had visited Beijing during the Kargil crisis to garner Chinese support. According to Economic Times;

*"China's COSCO Shipping Lines recently terminated its container liner services between Karachi and Gwadar due to slow construction of Gwadar Free Trade Zone leading to insufficient pick up in export and import volume at the port terminal. Insufficient functioning of Gwadar customs, high inland shipping cost and non-acceptance of transit items by the Karachi Port have further contributed to the decision by COSCO, ET has learnt. COSCO has alleged that inadequate policies*

*and measures in Pakistan had seriously impacted market development and yield of COSCO's Gwadar service, according to persons familiar with situation at Gwadar port. Port operator Gwadar International Terminal Limited, the subsidiary of China Overseas Port Holdings Corporation (COPHC), had also expressed disappointment to the Pak federal authorities over the recent developments, ET has reliably learnt."*<sup>22</sup>

The desired results are not coming out of Gwadar port due to many prevailing factors. One of the important factors is fierce opposition by the Baluch groups who have perceived this project as new initiative of Chinese colonialism which is intended to make them minority within their own homeland. They are opposing the project by best of their strength and killed many Chinese engineers and other workers in Baluchistan since last few years. In September 2019, Pakistan raised the issue of human rights violation in Kashmir in International Human Rights Commission at Geneva which was fiercely opposed by the Baluch groups.

As Pakistan continues to unsuccessfully corner India on Kashmir, Baloch leader Mehran Marri slammed Islamabad for committing "genocide and human rights violation in Balochistan".

The Baloch leader said that Pakistan continues to commit "genocide and human rights violations in Balochistan", yet they go to the international community with a "facade of caring about human rights in Kashmir". Mehran Marri made the remark after Pakistan Foreign Minister Shah Mehmood Qureshi's invitation to world media and the international community to Pakistan-occupied Kashmir (PoK) to see how "happy" people are.

"The man has no shame, they are committing genocide and human rights violations in Balochistan, yet they come to international community with a facade of caring about human rights in Kashmir or anywhere else in the world," Mehran Marri said. The Baloch leader also accused Pakistan of ignoring human rights abuses committed by its "partner in crime" China in Xinjiang province against Uighur Muslims.

*"Pakistan has given the rights to itself the position of international policeman for safeguarding the rights of Muslims around the world. Is it too blind to see what's happening to the Muslims in China because China is a partner in crime for carrying out crime in Balochistan? They can't see millions of Muslims living in China in destitute."*<sup>23</sup>

OBOR has been considered as the signature project of Chinese President

Xi Jinping. A new report suggested the backlash to China's political and trade policies could shave as much as \$800 billion off investment in President Xi signature OBOR.<sup>24</sup> It is due to prevailing tide of growing nationalism in many countries where it has to be implemented resulted into opposition of OBOR in countries like Malaysia, Sri-Lanka and in many countries of Africa. President Xi has launched 'Maritime Silk Road' since 2015. It is intended to upgrade Chinese navy (PLAN) and obviously Indian Ocean is their immediate target. This signature project is also intended to 'Encircle India' with South Asia.

In August 2019, Indian government abrogated article 370 from Kashmir which prompted Pakistan to open all round diplomatic offensive against India. China although has supported Pakistan verbally and on international platforms also but with caution and less energy. Chinese FM visited Islamabad in September 2019 and met top Pakistani leadership and held meetings with President Dr Arif Alvi, Foreign Minister Shah Mehmood Qureshi and Army Chief Gen Qamar Bajwa. During the meetings bilateral, regional and international issues were discussed and both sides agreed to jointly promote regional peace, stability and prosperity.

"The prime minister hoped that as the CPEC's benefits expanded, more Chinese companies would invest in Pakistan and help support Pakistan's process of industrialisation and its policies of greater agricultural productivity and innovation.

Wang Yi said that Pakistan-China relationship was based on mutual respect, trust and strong bonds of friendship. He appreciated Pakistan's efforts to achieve goals of national development under Prime Minister Khan's leadership, and extended China's utmost support in this regard. Wang Yi emphasised that the CPEC, which was being jointly implemented by Pakistan and China, was a demonstration project of high quality Belt and Road Initiative (BRI) projects. The Chinese side responded that it was paying close attention to the current situation in Jammu and Kashmir and reiterated that the Kashmir issue was a dispute left from history, and should be properly and peacefully resolved based on the UN Charter, relevant UN Security Council resolutions and bilateral agreements. China opposes any unilateral actions that complicate the situation."<sup>25</sup>

According to eminent Pakistani columnist Pervez Hoodbhoy the myth of Muslim Ummah has been broken into pieces in the backdrop of August 2019 Indian move on Kashmir due to many prevailing reality, which Pakistan has conveniently avoided.

“India's growing economic clout, the sophistication of its workforce, and KSA-India cooperation in counterterrorism and military matters resulted in Pakistan's de-hyphenation from India more than a decade ago. In 2016, the Saudi king personally conferred upon Narendra Modi the King Abdulaziz Sash (KSA's highest civilian award). Earlier recipients include Shinzo Abe, David Cameron, Barack Obama, Vladimir Putin, and Abdel Fattah el-Sisi. The list does not have any Pakistani leader. Most recently, just after India-held Kashmir went into lockdown, Crown Prince MBS vowed to invest \$100bn in India by 2021. Earlier this year he had promised to invest \$20bn in Pakistan. The differential recognises the different sizes of the two economies. The latest available figures show Pak-Saudi trade in 2017-2018 at \$7.5bn while India-Saudi trade in the same year was \$27.5bn. Remittances from Pakistani workers in 2018 from KSA were \$4.9bn; that from Indian workers were \$12.2bn.”

It's not just because of India; here's why it is unlikely that KSA and UAE would ever support Pakistan on Kashmir. KSA is a monarchy run by the House of Saud while UAE is an autocracy run by sheikhs from different Emirati tribes. One becomes a ruler in KSA/UAE because of rank at birth, not by election or competence or any other virtue. Therefore, people cannot be allowed to express their will, advocating democracy is a punishable crime, and dissent is quashed well before it can reach the streets.

Can you imagine the consequences if KSA and UAE were to advocate the democratic rights of Kashmiris? The very next question would be: what about elections and democracy at home? KSA's foreign minister was therefore as likely to demand democracy or plebiscite in Kashmir as he was to reveal the whereabouts of Jamal Khashoggi's remnants. Lest we be unjustly harsh on countries hesitating to denounce India's actions, let us admit that Pakistan too compromises frequently on essential principles. Look at the facts: to preserve CPEC it cannot speak about the forced dispatch of Uighur Muslims to re-education camps; for fear of angering Saudis and Emiratis dare not speak of the death and destruction taking place in Yemen; and out of greed for military and civil aid it has served America's interests for many decades.

Will more energetic diplomacy bring dividends to Pakistan? So far nothing supports this. Of course, things could change if violence explodes in Kashmir after the withdrawal of extra Indian troops, or if war seems to be around the corner. Even then, no one expects much from Muslim countries. “The bubble of an Islamic ummah has burst,” said former Senate chairman Raza Rabbani during a discussion on

Kashmir in the Senate. "True enough, but why did it take Pakistan so long to figure that out?"<sup>26</sup>

In NSG China has openly declared that it will sustain its opposition to Indian entry into this elite global group. Although China is aware that Pakistan based terror groups are behind Xinjinag turbulence but due to their increasing urge to contain India within South Asia, they are supporting Pakistan. This Chinese attitude is also going to be sustainable due to changing contours of security architecture of the Indo-Pacific. This all-round Chinese support to Pakistan is bound to sustain because India's rise has remains sustainable and has put additional strategic pressure on China.

China-Pakistan nexus has emerged stronger in recent years. It is all set to further emboldened in foreseeable future given the sustainability of India's growth saga and imprint on global platforms of governance. In case of Kashmir just after abrogation of article 370, China took a belligerent line against India and overtly jumped into the support of Pakistan. On terrorism and India's entry into the elite global clubs including the United Nations, China have always been hostile after Kargil. Deepening Indo-US relations has further accelerated the process. India's military leadership has already spoken about the twin strategic threat from China and Pakistan together. Ladakh standoff has vindicated two years after Doklam (2017) that Chinese designs against India have been detrimental and to cope up this situation, India must discard one china policy. India has gamut of challenges which arises through this nexus. Through its proactive foreign policy in Indo-Pacific, India could meet these emerging challenges and ensure our national interests.

### **Sino-Pak Nuclear Cooperation & Its Proliferation**

Since General Zia-UI-Haq years, Pakistan has used terror as an instrument of its foreign policy. It has left no country to exploit in this way either it is India, United States, Afghanistan and even its all-weather friend, China. Osama Bin Laden was eliminated from Pakistani soil after Pakistan's hundred times denial of his presence. At any point of time theirs is a possibility of take over the nuclear weapons by the terror networks. Despite many tellers made excuses and assurance to the FATF the fact remains that Pakistan still remains biggest breeding ground of global terrorism. The Soviet invasion of Afghanistan in 1979 also has been positive implications on Sino-Pak military collaboration. According to an analyst, "the preservation of Pakistan's security was the major feature of China's Afghan policy as manifest from the fact

that the securities of two countries are mutually interlinked and indivisible.<sup>2727</sup>

The nuclear cooperation between the two countries became more strengthened and intensified after the conclusion of Indo-US Civilian Nuclear Deal of 2008. The Indo- US deal is a clear manifestation of the US' ultimate desire is to recognize India as the leading power in the region, despite of the fact, that Pakistan is a close partner of US in the war against global terrorism, and major non-NATO ally. India emerged as major beneficiary of the deal. The deal accomplished India's geopolitical and geo-strategic objectives, it's nuclear and missile predominance, and its ambitious in the region. The deal turns out to be unfair and discriminatory in the sense that it has bestowed India with all the benefits of a nuclear weapons state without any international obligations. The qualitative and quantitative improvement of India's nuclear arsenal placed Pakistan in severe awkward position in the region. As a result, Pakistan explores several options that would preserve and safeguard its security interests in the region. The first option of Pakistan is to acquire the same nuclear and missile capability in order to counter-force India and to save itself from utter humiliation and defeat in the face of major conflict. The main concern for Pakistan is the Indian intention to convert its civilian nuclear program into clandestine nuclear arms, which will have serious security implications for Pakistan. Moreover, the deal will compel Pakistan to pursue a qualitative approach to increase its deterrence stability. Since 9/11, US changed its policy towards China from friendship to competition. The ultimate objective of President Bush was to make India a major regional power of South Asia to contain China. Pakistan and China took it seriously and working together to contain Indian might.

It is candid clear that Pakistani nuclear program is an extension of the Chinese nuclear technology. Although through Balakot (2019) attack, India has diminished nuclear blackmail of Pakistan but it has not been erased entirely. India has to face China and Pakistan together in future conflicts. Pakistan is no more a potent power to contain India but it has nuisance value. Chinese are clever enough to use it for their strategical benefit. In this prevailing strategic architecture, India must rethink over its one china policy.

## **Conclusion**

It is high time for India to discard one china policy. India has witnessed all round Chinese support to Pakistan and the prevailing trend has



been on the increasing mode. From Arunachal Pradesh to Kashmir, China has candidly extended its support to Pakistan. It seems logical to conclude that the India factor might have played a role in strengthening Sino–Pakistan relations, though growing Indo-US relations were also of immense importance in bringing the two countries closer. Chinese support to Pakistan is a constant factor in as much as the core Pakistani and Chinese interests are concerned. Through CPEC China has vindicated its mindset.

Right now, convergences of interests between China and Pakistan are visible and this is precisely to contain India. It is bound to be sustainable in foreseeable future as well given the growth trajectory India has achieved. India has also marked its presence at the global table of governance. The deepening Pakistani and Chinese nexus is not only detrimental for Indian interests in South Asia but at the global level as well. It is one of the serious challenges for India.

Modi government has adopted proactive foreign policy. China has many weak points. Discarding one china policy could be a game changer but it requires opportune time and resolve in the leadership. India must support all separatist's movement going on in China. India must declare Tibet is a disputed territory. It is bound to give strategic divided to India in longer strategic terms and also help to implement rule based international order in Asia.

We could score points to contain china within its backyard through deepening ties with Southeast and East Asian countries. South China and East China Sea's dispute has evoked gamut of dissent among these countries against China. India has taken a principled stand to adherence with relevant international laws in these disputes by all concerned parties and it will serve Indian interest and in addition will ensure justice based international order.

Although China is aware that Pakistan based terror groups are behind Xinjiang turbulence but due to their increasing urge to contain India within South Asia, they are supporting Pakistan. This Chinese attitude is also going to be sustainable due to prevailing contours of security architecture of the Indo-Pacific region. This all-round Chinese support to Pakistan is bound to sustain because India's rise has remained sustainable. India has gamut of challenges arising through this nexus. Through its proactive foreign policy in Indo-Pacific, India could meet these emerging challenges and ensure national interests.

China-Pakistan nexus is all set to be sustainable but due to resurgent

India, China is compelled to moderate it through periodical change in her stance. Asian order is unstable and despite all tall claims will remain unstable due to divergences of interests among major stake holders of Asian security architecture. It has vindicated with the Chinese disengagement at the Ladakh sector in February 2021 despite rhetoric. The basic premises of India-China-Pakistan triangle relationship has been turbulent and all set to remain the same in foreseeable future. It will be facilitating instability in the Asian order. India may discard one china policy and contain China in consonance with the strategic philosophy of Sun Tzu.

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Sudhir Singh

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