(A) China’s Relations with South Asian Countries

The Indian subcontinent had historically enjoyed a revered image amongst the Chinese. At least for the last 2000 years, this view has since been affirmed by a series of archaeological discoveries as also by written records that trace Sino-Indian interactions to 221 BC. Even though these interactions were sporadic and confined to culture and commerce, they constituted great influence on their evolution over the ages with Buddhism providing the strongest link between the two societies. This positive image was to receive its first serious blow with the consolidation of the British Empire in the Indian subcontinent. Expansionist policies of the British collided with the Chinese 'Middle Kingdom' pride which resulted in the Opium Wars (1840) and later in Youndhusband’s military expedition into Tibet (1905). It was these historical legacies of disputed border claims, overlapping communities, insurgencies, wars and consequent mutual suspicions that were to largely determine Beijing’s interests vis-à-vis South Asia. This connection was further reinforced by the Cold War bipolarism which was partly responsible for the Sino-Indian war of 1962. This war, followed by the emergence of a Sino-Pak nexus has since dominated the security debates amongst south Asian countries. This chapter intends to examine and highlight the China connection to the South Asian security scenario during last fifty years.

183 Dr. Singh, Swaran: Sino South Asian Ties: Problems and Prospects, Strategic Analysis, April 2000, pp.31.
South Asia is primarily dominated by the communist China which both by national pride and tradition has been ambitious. China shares 2500 miles of borders with the subcontinent. Its militarily predominant position in Asia and Beijing's recognition by Washington has conferred on her a special role in South Asia. Smaller nations of the region continue to suffer from security syndrome due to China's overwhelming military, industrial and nuclear power. Realistically enough, China poses both conventional and non-conventional threats to the entire sub-continent, though contested by Pakistan. By virtue of geography, China enjoys a special advantage. Due to its topography, India is not in a comfortable position to launch successfully conventional attack on China. Besides this, China has a clear cut edge over South Asian nations, including India, in terms of its naval and nuclear capabilities.

China's conventional wisdom tells that boundary disputes have been the root cause of inter-state threat perceptions. Of the seven South Asian States, China shares common borders with four which makes China very integral to South Asia. What makes these boundaries critical is that all of these have been disputed and have populations that overlap into each other's claimed territories. China has since resolved most of its land borders with other countries yet, its unresolved boundary with India makes these smaller South Asian states very critical buffers between China and India. Even Bangladesh, that was not on the scene until 1971, and does not directly share a border with China remains important for China as, at one stage,

China had toyed with the idea of using it for finding an outlet to the Indian ocean.\(^{185}\)

China’s connection and interests in south Asia have been an outcome, not of the mythological connection of culture, religion and history so fondly extolled by Mr.Nehru, but as an outcome of its past imperial heritage. China had always looked upon Himalayan and sub-Himalayan region as being in its area of influence if not direct control. Both the British and later even India acknowledged that Tibet was a part of the Chinese Imperial dispensation. India’s Ambassador to Peking Mr.Pannikar when asked in 1951 to comment on the entry of Chinese army in to Tibet, said that he did not think that “there was anything wrong in the troops of Red China army moving about in their own territory.”\(^{186}\)

After 1949 China gained prominent place in the region. Her attitude towards its neighbours, however, defined by many scholars a amalgam of many perceptions, approaches, norms of behaviours in interaction, strategies and tactics, political and diplomatic and otherwise. China’s approach towards the sub-continent was based on many factors or approaches which were taking place in this region. Many happenings in this region like its division and bloody aftermath and Pakistan’s abortive efforts to seize Kashmir and more significantly, India’s pre-occupation with the integration of Indian status have logically constituted in to China’s approach in this region.\(^{187}\)

\(^{185}\) Dr.Singh, Swaran: OP.Cit. No.183, pp.32.
\(^{186}\) Bubka, I.M. and Lawrence Zising, Pakistan Foreign Policy, Oxford University Press, pp 107
\(^{187}\) Ramchandaran, K.N.: China and South Asia, New Delhi, 1992, pp.16.
Tibet was part of China as a consequence of Chinese imperialism, however, ancient that may has been, was never voiced by India. Yet India was on the warpath against imperialism in all forms, ancient or modern in performance to fight against communism. The naivety of the Indian outlook on China can be gauged not only from K.M. Pannikar's remarks but disappointed disbelief with which Mr. Nehru lamented Chinese entry into Tibet, once India and China had fallen out. Admitting that the Chinese state has grown to its present size by imperialism he sadly admitted that "State grew in that way and came to Tibet".  

China's strategies grant a special place to India in these processes of developments. But there are some grey areas, which still produce obstacles in this process. From economical point of view both the economies are competitive rather than complementary. Trade and cultural ties are providing very slow inputs in normalizing the relationships. Still between the two countries exists somewhat non-dissoluble conflicts, which raises its head time and again and create great hindrance in process of normalization. Despite these facts and situations, China is looking in the region for some winter base and wants to develop its ties with other south Asian countries inspite of its ties with India. Sino-Indian relations and problems are very specific and fundamental like the territorial conflicts and China's relations with India's South Asian neighbours.  

Beijing believes that as sovereign independent nation, China and its South Asian neighbours have the legitimate right to establish such relations, which are

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beneficial to both. China wants to develop cordial relations with these South Asian countries, according to its own adjustment and on the basis of the five principles of peaceful co-existence\textsuperscript{190}.

But, New Delhi views these developments from different angle. India, keeping in view its security concerns, wants to keep away the hostile extra regional powers from areas adjacent to its borders. So India does not want to allow such type of relationship with its immediate neighbours, because of security concern. China, no doubt is a major power and acts as one. For its interest, it is capable of influencing events in the region. It held its national interest and does not hesitate to buy weapon technology from other countries. For India’s planner’s the prospective from China is that of an aggressive nation, conscious of its power, ready to take any body who interferes with its perceptions of exercise of powers thus, the broadening of threat perception. Singly from China or in collision with Pakistan or promoting an alliance between Pak and Bangladesh. Also it will continue to destabilize north-east India by promoting insurgency directly or through neighbouring countries like Bangladesh or Burma till Sino-Indian relations become normal and beneficial to its interest. But Beijing’s intemperate response to India’s nuclear test raises several questions with a bearing on Sino-Indian relations\textsuperscript{191}.

Sino-Sri Lankan Relations

China's motivations in building ties with Sri Lanka have often been cited as extremely critical to China's encirclement of India. As regards Colombo's motives, these have been overcast by its attempt to come out of the overshadowing Indian pre-eminence in South Asia and this has goaded Sri Lanka to encourage external powers' involvement in South Asia. to quote one Sri Lankan scholar, "From the point of view of small states of South Asia, a stronger presence of China as a countervailing force is a desirable phenomenon in view of the growing and unquestionable supremacy of India in the region"\textsuperscript{192}.

At the first step, Colombo extended diplomatic ties with China on Feb.7, 1957 and this was followed by premium Zhou-En-lai visiting Sri Lanka in 1958 and 1964. Sino-Sri Lanka maritime agreement of July 1963 and accuses the ruling SLFP of handing over Trincomalee base of the Chinese\textsuperscript{193}.

In 1970’s and 1980’s, New Delhi objected to the increasingly close political and diplomatic relations between China and Sri Lanka. Chinese support for Colombo was fairly strong in 1984-85 with this Indo-Lankan relations deteriorated. China continued military as well as moral support to Lanka. In 1985, Beijing provided massive military aid. But after Chinese President visit to Colombo, China decided to discontinue military support from Sri Lanka, but political support remained continue.

\textsuperscript{192} Mahinda, Werake: China and South Asia: Some Historical Perspectives, New Delhi, 1990, pp. 65.
\textsuperscript{193} Dr. Singh, Swaran: OP.Cit No. 183, pp.40.
In July 1987, after Colombo-India agreement and entry of IPKF could not be digested by China but she could not react since the Lankan government had itself agreed to India’s terms.

On the other hand, India government sees it in different context. She does not want to interfere in other countries internal affairs and believes in mutual solution of all problems in Indian-Ocean. India thinks that military support by China to any of its neighbour, has an effective bearing on Indian security and India takes it seriously.\textsuperscript{194}

During Jayawardena’s visit to China in May 1984, China extended full support against the so-called threat to hegimonism and to his endeavours to deal with domestic issues. In 1984, ‘Shanghai’ class petrol boat reached from China and augmented Sri Lankan Navy. The Chinese promised to train Sri Lanka air force. By 1984, about 60% Sri Lanka’s arms and ammunition had already come from China. In July 1984, arrangement of training and supply of military equipments, including sophisticated night surveillance items, by the Chinese were finalised. China entered into six agreements with Sri Lanka on technical co-operations\textsuperscript{195}.

China’s aspirations to blue water capability and a presence in Indian Ocean, China’s current capability are negligible but it indeed demonstrated long term plan. In the scheme Sri Lanka could be one of its staging posts in the long run. The

\textsuperscript{194} Lt.Gen. Madan, Vijay (Retd): OP.Cit. No.188, pp73, 75.
theologies of Colombo being one of the critical link in China's encirclement of India.

Sino-Nepal Relations

Nepal has been another important country that has greatly influenced Sino-South Asian ties soon after the occupation of the Tibet, Chinese leaders began to talk of liberating Nepal and forming "Himalayan Federation" of all Mongal people under Chinese leadership. Sino-Nepal relations can wean Nepal away from India rather than settling it against India. China made beginning by participating in Nepal's economic activities and stepped up economic aid for activating its own strategic goals. A friendly agreement was signed between the two countries on 20 September 1956.

Nepal was part of a wider strategy to isolate India in the region. Nepal is a land locked country in the central Himalayas. On the three sides India surrounds it and its north is Tibet. Nepal is a buffer state, though not so effective geographically because of its narrow size and depth, between India and China. China can cross into Nepal through their developed road system and pose a threat to Indo-Gangetic plains. In 1964 when work on the first modern road linking China and Nepal had just been started Mao Zedong stated to a visiting Nepali delegation that "Once this road is opened, India may be bit respectful towards you". Thus, China causes a security threat to India through Nepal.

196 Dr. Singh, Swaran: China and South Asia, World Focus, Vol 21, October–December, 2000, pp.52.
In March 1988, the North China Industrial Corporation (NORINCO) agreed to sell some $20 million worth of light arms, ammunition, boots and uniforms and 16 anti-aircraft gun to Nepal. China defended this that it was purely commercial motives and from its point of view military relations are part of normal state to state relations. A sovereign independent country such as Nepal has the right to acquire such materials as it deems necessary for its defence. But on the other hand, India has treaty relationships with Nepal where in India has taken on itself to safeguard the security against China. Thus, India is involved, directly or indirectly, in the evolution of national strategy of Nepal including foreign policy. China has accepted very grudgingly the position of India yet it has played the Nepal and so well to keep Indo-Nepalese relations very tense for the past 15 years. China’s arm supply to Nepal and military alliance threatens security interest of India. There are incidents of the Chinese arms reaching Indian terrorists and extremist. China may strengthen her position in the region and isolate India.

Sino-Bangladesh Relations

The emergence of Bangladesh in 1971 ended the genocide being committed by the Pakistan Army in erstwhile East Pakistan. India had earned a right to demand co-ordination by Bangladesh in the evolution of its foreign and security policy. In an endeavour to remove the irritant all out standing problems between India and Bangladesh like the Farrak barrage demarcation of border and Beru-beri were resolved. India gave massive economic support to Bangladesh watching this

198 Garver, W John: OP.Cit. No.190, pp. 76.
policy of Indian government, by 1974, China, in view of its foreign policy goal in south Asia, started befriending Bangladesh. China started bringing about Pak-Bangladesh détente and creating a rift between India and Bangladesh. Deng Xiapong (chinepn) mentioned that the people of Bangladesh are ‘not friends’ but ‘relatives’. Bangladesh figures in China’s calculations of strategic relationship Bangladesh has become susceptible to the Chinese influence and china had succeeded in convincing Bangladesh that it is interested in its protection against India’s expansionist tendencies. Bangladesh developed Indo-Phobia and started playing the China game against India when Arunachal Pradesh was given the status of a state in December 1986. Bangladesh observer wrote “India has once again violated China’s territorial integrity”. In 1991, after a three days official visit of Begum Khalid to China, China agreed to give Bangladesh a soft loan and an agreement on joint research and model studies199.

China supports for the territorial integrity and sovereignty of Bangladesh with modest quantum of aid, assistance and trade to rebuild its economy. Similarly, apart from China’s conventional arms transfers to Bangladesh, which have occasionally raised all kind of doubts and conspiracy theories about encirclement of India.

Beijing’s policy towards Bangladesh in the South Asia context could essentially be seen as one contributing to strengthen the confidence in managing its relation with the immediate neighbour India. This is part of Beijing’s design of fostering independent centres on India’s border. That such a policy of political

199 Madan, Vijay, OP.Cit. No. 188, pp. 204.
support and modest economic assistance and military aid could be utilized for furthering China’s causes vis-à-vis India, as and when found necessary. Sino-Bangladesh discreet cooperation in providing heaven for India’s insurgents in the North-East. China probably has come to the conclusion that Bangladesh could be one of its staging posts in the long run. In sum, China appears to have taken into account, short, medium and long term contingencies in adopting such a course.\textsuperscript{200}

**Sino-Bhutan**

Despite its small size and limited interest in the outside world, Bhutan has played an important role in connecting China to South Asian affairs. Mainly due to Bhutan's geographical location – south of the Great Himalayas – as also due to the long-standing commercial and cultural interactions between the two sides, India has always been the most important external factor in the evolution of Bhutan.

China tried to provoke Bhutan by demonstrating its aggressive attitude on the ground that it had claims over the Bhutanese territory. Though Bhutan has on certain occasions asserted its independent identity by taking a stand contrary to India’s wishes. China did not like the 1949 treaty and reacted by showing some parts of North-Eastern Bhutan on Chinese Bhutan map as belonging to China. In 1950, China described Bhutan as one of the five fingers of its Tibetan palm. The suspicion regarding the involvement of some external powers did emerge at that time. Even though Maldives is not likely to become a security liability for India, it

will have to be counted in the Indian security designs especially in the Indian Ocean\textsuperscript{201}.

In 1950, China seized Bhutanese enclaves in Tibet. The next Chinese encroachment took place in 1967. Again in November 1979 armed Chinese in the guise of Tibetan graziers came deep into Bhutanese territory. China uttered that it does not recognize India’s right to negotiate on behalf of Bhutan and insisted on dealing with Bhutan directly. This shows that China is keener to foster its strategic and military interest in the region. Bhutan strategic position in south Asia is very important. If China interferes the Bhutan’s territory that will have the direct impact on Indian security\textsuperscript{202}.

\textbf{Sino-Pakistan Relations}

Sino-Pak ‘special relationship’ has been most unique where China has managed to have stable ties throughout these last five decades. Their defence cooperation, especially China’s assistance and supplied of nuclear and missile components and technologies are the only example where one nuclear weapons power has virtually created another nuclear power.

South Asian security is greatly influenced by China’s stable relationship with Pakistan. Ideologically, there is no commonality of outlook between them. On the contrary, there are opposing socio-economic and political structures of the two societies as well as widely different value systems" and "national psyches" of two peoples. Infact, mutual geopolitical necessities and strategic compulsions have

\textsuperscript{201} Bhagal, Parminder, S.: India’s Security Environment, Strategic Analysis, October 1989, pp. 773-774.
\textsuperscript{202} Vijay, Madan: OP. Cit. No.188, pp.196-197.
brought them together. Without pretension, China has succeeded in exploiting Pakistani vulnerability and fears vis-à-vis India. Disenchantment with the US policies during the Kennedy Administration in early 1960s and sharply deteriorating relations with India prompted the Pakistan military ruling elites to forge military and strategic ties with China. K. Subrahamanyam, an Indian expert on defence affairs, is of the view that Pakistan is mainly responsible for bringing in 'the subcontinent the influence of the second external power'.

China's inclination toward Pakistan has got further importance in that China gives it a very serious thought and has soft-corner for Pakistan. This is so because, India, according to China, asserted its influence on south-Asian countries. Close associations with Pakistan provides China with literal and metaphorical access to the middle east and the Islamic world. China uses Karachi airport for refueling enroute to Europe, Africa, the Middle East, South Asia and even Americas. At political level China is killing two birds with one stone. One way she is developing good relations with Islamic countries, which are anti-Communists and secondly, she is befriending Pakistan for security reason. For example, in 1980, she developed ties with Iran through Islamabad and she also got help in normalization of relations with Saudi-Arabia through Pakistan. Another factor which bring China and Pakistan close, is political support which is provided by both the countries to each other, like Pakistan support in 1989 after Tinnamon massacre, Pakistan stood by Beijing in this hour of difficulty. Pakistan and China's

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leader visited one another country and showed whole the world that Pakistan lends it hand in the time of need. Chinese premier visited Pakistan and expressed that “Prosperity makes friends and adversity tries them”\textsuperscript{204}.

Mutually beneficial relations in development of modern weapons system is also a area where both country are assisting each other, like two countries are co-operating in the production of F-7P fighter aircraft and in June 1990, NORINCO provided a great help to Pakistan in production of main battle tank. Some thinkers point out that China is using Islamabad for making its reach up to military technology denied by the USA\textsuperscript{205}.

The primary and oldest rationale for China’s co-operation with Pakistan also remains active, using Pakistan as factor to counter India’s power, a strong Pakistan means that along with North India would have to make necessary arrangements for western side also. It will be very difficult for India to counter on both the sides. China and Pakistan could co-operate to increase their leverage against India, the meaningful Sino-Pak interaction began from early 1960s when the two signed the trade agreement in January 1963, border demarcation agreement in March 1963 and an air service agreement in August 1963 and a cultural agreement in March 1965.\textsuperscript{206}

Nuclear rivalry constitutes an important area of discussion on the India-Pakistan-China triangle. Indian Analysts think that due to nuclear power China makes it a world power. Indian think tank analyses that nuclear China can use its

\footnotesize{\textsuperscript{204} Gerver, W.John: OP. Cit. No. 190, pp.79.  
\textsuperscript{205} Ibid pp.80  
\textsuperscript{206} Dr.Singh, Swaran: OP. Cit. No. 183, pp.138.}
power against India. After 1974’s nuclear test, Pakistan adopted two-track response to this development. On one hand, she called for non-nuclear zone in south Asia and on the other hand, it launched a covert nuclear weapons programme. And in this programme, China provided a great help\textsuperscript{207}. This was finally agreed to a Sino-Pak agreement of September 1974 for Technical Co-operation. This was to completely transform the profile of South Asian security complex.

\textbf{Sino-Male Relations}

The island is conscious of its strategic location and maintains a policy of equi-distance from its neighbours while distancing itself from the great powers. Fearful of its vulnerability to be drawn to the vortex of big power rivalry, the leaders of Male believe that they will be able to maintain its identity by maintaining friendly relations with all while remaining aloof from the involvement.

The location of the central ridge of the Indian ocean is attractive to external powers for domination of this maritime region. Any friendly presence in Male could lead to intrusions into the Indian maritime zone\textsuperscript{208}.

Therefore, China connection of the South Asian security environment shows how, China has continued to be a major influence in determining the nature and profile of South Asian security environment.

\textsuperscript{207} Subrahmaniam, K.: China and India Conflicting Strategic Perspectives, Strategic Analysis, June 1988, pp.233, 242.

\textsuperscript{208} Dr. Singh, Swaran: OP. Cit. No. 196, pp. 53.
(B) Sino-Pak Missile Co-operation and India’s Security

Sino-Pak missile co-operation, specially with latter providing expertise to the former in production of nuclear weapons and also providing it with missile. Pakistan’s entire nuclear and missile programme is being assisted by China. China secretly sold “a special industrial furnace and high tech equipment for use in Pakistan’s unsafeguarded nuclear facilities”. It is alleged that the furnace would be used to melt plutonium and uranium to make compact missile warheads.

Pakistan has established the missile factory at Fatehjung, where Chinese experts are working on guidance and control system, solid fuel and M-11 variants. The integration of nuclear and missile capabilities is high on Pakistan’s agenda and she is also making efforts to achieve missile delivered nuclear capability. China is on the other hand also training Pakistan’s personnel on assembly and use of M-11 missiles which are at present stored at a sub-depot near the central ammunition depot at Sargodha (Kirana Hills)\(^{209}\).

Pakistan is also fast developing a nuclear warhead for its medium range missiles with active assistance from China. Pakistan’s nuclear missile programme involves not only the miniaturisation of the nuclear warheads for the missiles but modifications on the ballistic missiles to carry nuclear warheads and indigenous production of short range ballistic missiles.

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\(^{209}\) Kawra, Girja Shankar: Sino-Pak Ties up worries India. The Tribune, July 9, 1998.
According to Indian serves Pakistan’s defence communication terminals for missiles deployment are located at Gujranwala, Okara, Multan, Jhang and Dera Nawab Shah. An alternative satellite communication network for the missiles is also in the pipeline. Communication terminals are used in guiding the trajectory of the missiles to a pre-determined target\textsuperscript{210}.

Pakistan bought the Chinese M-11 missiles after repeated failures in its indigenous missile development programme. It apparently paid US $ 516 million to China for technology transfer and another US $ 185 million for the purchase of 64 missiles\textsuperscript{211}.

China is helping Pakistan to build a new ballistic missile near Rawalpindi. Pakistan has two problems regarding ballistic missiles. First, it has a few short range M-11 missiles given by China, but wants its technology transfer for an indigenous manufacturing capability to match India’s Prithvi for a conventional war. Second, it wants a few long range missiles for matching with nuclear warheads. It is well known that sometime in 1986-87 Pakistan with Chinese assistance has opened up both the uranium and plutonium fissile material routes and is making compact nuclear warheads and seeking technology transfer to make battle field ballistic missiles.

Missile related developments in south-Asia, causing a great deal of concern in the region. While New Delhi remains pursued close to deploying its indigenously developed missile systems. Pakistan, has been furtively trying to

\textsuperscript{210} The Tribune, July 9, 1998
\textsuperscript{211} Ibid.
redress the balance by seeking to deploy Chinese supplied M-11 missiles as a response. This action-reaction syndrome between the two south Asian countries has heightened suspicions about the others intentions.

Missiles development in South Asia has gradually taken root since the mid 1980. Although the routes adopted by these countries to get to this stage have been radically different.

India started its missile programme much earlier than Pakistan. Keeping with these developments of Indian programme, Pakistan started its missile programme with the help of China. According to the reports by Pakistan media Pakistan’s missile programme started in the early 1980’s. It would be seen that Pakistan has systematically and with single-minded devotion gone ahead212.

Unlike the Indian programme, which may have to an extent been derived from the space programme that had international collaboration. Pakistan’s indigenous ballistic missile programme has been based upon bilateral co-operation with China though some French in puts in terms of sounding rockets and technology were available. It is now believed that China have assisted Pakistan in the full range of missile development activity from transfer of sub-systems, technologies for propellant production and inertial guidance system related to Hatf programme to outright supply of missiles213. This was confirmed by CIA reports. The Pakistani ballistic missile programme suddenly comes into limelight on April 25, 1988, when it was announced that the country had tested two missiles named

212 Dixit, Aabha: Missile Race in South Asia: Linear Progression Required to Caprace? Strategic Analysis, September 1997, pp. 41-42.
Hatf-I and Hatf-II with range 80 km and 300 km, respectively. Hatf-II was improved version that has been built with Chinese technology and in the presence of Chinese technicians. Chinese assistance was crucial to make modifications because these missiles were old US Army Honest John System. But according to some Pakistani newsmagazines, the field trials of Haft ended in failure. After a few test flight from the Mekran Coast, the Haft-I and II appear to have been practically given up in favour of developing Haft-III. This missile that is Haft-III has been confused with M-11 supplied by China. The M-11 supplied to Pakistan are perhaps meant to take over difficult times.

In another event in February 1989 A.Q. Khan handed over the first batch of shoulder fired surface to air missile titled ANZA. The ANZA has a range of 50 to 50,000 meters. Pakistan claimed that ANZA had been developed 70 per cent indigenously. But the Jane’s Defence Weekly on the other hand says that ANZA is also the name of an anti missile at the Research and Development stage. Pakistan time has denied foreign help in missile programme. Yet, the data speaks of persistent Chinese assistance. It is also referred that Hatf-II resembles Chinese M-11, whilst the Haft-III is like M-9 of China.\textsuperscript{214}

In 1990, ANZA II portable and shoulder fired ground to air missile, came into map. It was equivalent of the American Stringer and was equipped with an infrared-guiding systems with a range of six kilometers and was considered

\textsuperscript{214} Military Year Book: Agni Triggers in New Era,1989-90, pp. 136-37.
reliable up to 95 per cent. The A.Q. Khan Laboratories in collaboration with Narimcho Defence Industries of China has developed this missile, in China it was known as the mongoose. In April 1991, Dr. A.Q. Khan made another disclosure saying that Pakistan and China were also engaged in developing anti-tank missile system to be known as Green Arrow\textsuperscript{215}.

There have been additional reports that the National Development Centre (NDC) has also been engaged in a still secret project to develop a solid propellant drive-SSM. This project, which is different from the Half III programme, also has Chinese assistance.

The latest test of an advanced medium range and long range missile called Ghauri by Pakistan points to the same source, i.e., China. It can reach 1500 km with payload of 700 kg. Dr. A.Q. Khan hinted at the development of another long range missile in the country. He said: "We have the capability to further increase the range of Gauri missile".

In wake of Gauri and the upcoming Ghazani and Short range missile Tarmuk with a range of 250 km, the US again expressed its concern to China. After exploding nuclear devices, Pakistan has declared that she is ready to test fire Shaheen-I missile capable of carrying nuclear warheads up to 700 km and is working on long range Shaheen-II which can travel 2000 km\textsuperscript{216}. Defence analyst believe that these Shaheen missiles were infact a slightly improved version of China's M-9 missile which Pakistan had actually acquired way back in 1991\textsuperscript{217}.

\textsuperscript{215} Narain, Rajiv: Missiles of China, Pakistan and India, Indian Defence Review, 1996, pp. 75.
\textsuperscript{216} The Hindu, June 2, 1998.
\textsuperscript{217} Main Stream, June 13, 1998.
China always assured the world community that she would not export missile technology to Pakistan. But it never accepted any constraints in political terms. Not only did China supply ‘M’ series missiles to Pakistan, it also helped Pakistan to set up a missile factory to indigenous the production. It is also believed that China was helping Pakistan to build the Rawalpindi plant and this facility could be producing key parts of the Rocket within 2 years218.

After glancing the Pakistani and Chinese co-operation in Pakistan’s missile programme rings the alarm bells in Indian circle. From Indian perspective, missile development and deployment is generally considered to be part of any country’s right to self defence as provided under the UN charter. Therefore, official position seeks to delineate the ballistic missile issue from the larger goals of Arms control and nuclear disarmament. The reports says it is a clear-cut violations of the Missile Technology Control Regime (MTCR).

By viewing the past history where India had fought four wars with Pakistan and one with China. Pakistan’s active missile programme, which is wholly centred on India. Could therefore, create tensions for India. The development of missile programme would make Pakistan bolder in its approach to India and the ISI is likely to increase its activities in India. Particularly in J & K and in north-east and if proxy war does not succeed in settling the Kashmir issue in its favour, Pakistan may consider final solution war with India with its enhanced capabilities due to missiles. China’s interests are steadily becoming wider. It wants to control south

Asia. By giving aid to Pakistan in nuclear and missile fields, it is keeping India under indirect control\textsuperscript{219}.

Therefore, if India refuses to develop its missile system due to foreign pressure and lack of support from country itself, could be disastrous for country’s security.

**BALANCE OF TERROR**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Country</th>
<th>Area (Sq.km)</th>
<th>Nuclear weapons</th>
<th>Delivery Systems</th>
<th>Reach</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>India</td>
<td>3,287,283</td>
<td>12-15*</td>
<td>None</td>
<td>Pakistan but only south western China</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Mirage 2000</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Jaguar and SU30 aircraft</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pakistan</td>
<td>788,000</td>
<td>15-20*</td>
<td>M-11 and M-9 and Ghauri missiles</td>
<td>All of India, except the north-east and Andamans</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>F-16, Mirage V</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>China</td>
<td>9,581,000</td>
<td>400-500</td>
<td>110</td>
<td>All of India from any part of China</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>SU-27, H-6</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Unassembled

The above examination of the missile programmes of the three countries leads one to conclude, that the Chinese are very ahead of India in most respects. Additionally, the old, Pakistan-China axis continues to be active. Some Westener fear that technology transferred to Pakistan may have reached China via the ongoing arms trade. This situation must make India aware of the missile asymmetry in the region, and ensure that it does not see its missile programme or enter into any tract regional or global, which is inequitable.

\textsuperscript{219} The Tribune, April 20, 1998.
## Ballistic Missile Systems under Development or Production

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name of Missile</th>
<th>Range (km)</th>
<th>Warhead Size (kg)</th>
<th>Development Stage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Indian Missiles</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Prithvi-I</td>
<td>150</td>
<td>1000</td>
<td>Deployed</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Prithvi-II</td>
<td>250</td>
<td>500</td>
<td>Developed</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Prithvi-III</td>
<td>350</td>
<td>250?</td>
<td>Under development</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Agni-I</td>
<td>1500?</td>
<td>1000?</td>
<td>Technology demonstrated</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Agni-II</td>
<td>2500</td>
<td>1000?</td>
<td>Technology demonstrated</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sagarika</td>
<td>300?</td>
<td>500</td>
<td>Under development</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Pakistani Missiles</strong></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Hatf-I</td>
<td>80</td>
<td>500</td>
<td>Technology demonstrated</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hatf-II</td>
<td>300</td>
<td>500</td>
<td>Technology demonstrated</td>
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<tr>
<td>Hatf-III</td>
<td>up to 800</td>
<td>500</td>
<td>Technology demonstrated</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>M-11</td>
<td>290</td>
<td>1000?</td>
<td>In storage?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ghauri</td>
<td>1500?</td>
<td>700</td>
<td>Technology demonstrated</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shaheen</td>
<td>700?</td>
<td>1000?</td>
<td>Displayed</td>
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</table>

(C) **China’s Interest in the Region**

In China’s strategic calculation South Asia is a key region for extension of its influence and power to the entire Asia continent. Due to geographical proximity, Beijing asserts in natural claim over the region more strongly. Broadly speaking, in beginning, the fundamental purpose of China’s interest has been the containment of the Soviet Union’s influence and weakening of India’s pre-eminence in the region. But after the breakdown of erstwhile USSR, china’s angle of foreign policy, somewhat took new turn and its vertices focussed somewhere else. In becoming the superpower China perceived that it is necessary to make strong hold in south-Asian region and particularly containment of India’s influence in the region. The main interest of China in south-Asian region seems to contain India and make strong hold in every field with its neighbours. This is evident from China’s entering into series of border agreements with most of the neighbouring States. Afghanistan (1962), Pakistan (1963) and Nepal (1961) to create a string of weak but friendly buffers with a view of neutralizing the influence of India and USSR. China’s approach towards the sub-continent, it appears, is based on a logical appreciation of the correlation of forces obtaining in South-Asia.

Another dimension related to the strategic profile of China is its growing links with the Gulf States whose significance to India's strategic and security interests remains vitally important. If China succeeds in isolating the Gulf nations from India, by exploiting Pakistan's special ties with the Gulf countries' council, the security milieu in the South Asian region may further deteriorate. For
cementing of strategic ties between China and the Gulf State might undercut India’s diplomatic options, especially in dealing with Pakistan. Eventually, it might prompt smaller nations of the region to come closer to China\textsuperscript{220}.

China’s limited leverage amongst South Asian countries, Beijing has continued to modulate its South Asian policy objectives to suit its national objectives. Failing to force these smaller neighbours to become pawns for China, Beijing has repeatedly resorted to emphasising that these smaller states must follow an 'independent' policy, implying thereby that they should not allow India to influence their decision making. China also tries to offer itself as a moral and political counterweight to what it perceives as India’s attempts at bullying these South Asian regimes\textsuperscript{221}.

China’s policy of arms export continues to be one of the greatest interests, Pakistan, Bangladesh, Sri Lanka, are the main importer of Chinese conventional weaponry particularly when it involves the supply of modern weapon system and nuclear weapons technology to Pakistan. In the past, China has supplied the short-range ballistic missiles to Pakistan, as well as assisted its nuclear weapons and missile programmes. With these developments China is killing two birds with one stone, first, giving the signal of major military power in the region and secondly, containing the growth of India in South Asia\textsuperscript{222}.

\textsuperscript{221} Dr. Singh, Swaran: Sino-South Asian Ties: Problems and Prospects, Strategic Analysis, April 2000, pp 33.
\textsuperscript{222} Chaudhary, Rahul Roy: India’s Security Policy, Strategic Analysis, May 1996, pp. 188.
Chinese assistance in the construction of naval and electronic facilities in Mayanmar, essentially relates to the construction of a new naval base on Hiaggyi island at the mouth of the Bassein river, and modernisation of existing naval infrastructure at Akyab, Mergni and Great Coco Island. Coco Island is located at a distance of only 30 nautical miles from the Indian Andaman and Nicobar chain of Islands. With these China here installed new radar and signal intelligence facilities on the island, which could enable them to monitor Indian naval communications in the area and possibly even India’s missile tests off its eastern coast and can influence to great extent in the affairs of Indian Ocean. China is trying to strengthen and consolidate its sphere of influence in all parts of Asia. With the end of the cold war and the Soviet collapse, China once again wielding influence in the region.

China is the only power, which seems, with its military and economic capacities, to counter the America. And keeping this in mind, China wants to control to a great extent the natural resources in the region by increasing its influence in its neighbouring states. Improving relations with south-Asian neighbours like Bangladesh, Nepal, Srilanka, Pakistan, China wants to neutralise the American interest in this region particularly and to some extent securing its borders from outside tensions.

Like Bangladesh occupies a strategic position over the Bay of Bengal and as such, the US has showed interest in Bangladesh. Keeping this in view, China has increased its activities in Bay of Bengal through Mayanmar side so that in case

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of eventuality it can counter the possible damage. The visit of China’s Naval Squadron early this year for the first time to Bangladesh, Sri Lanka and Pakistan indicated China’s aspiration to acquire a blue water capability and a presence in the Indian ocean China’s current capabilities are negligible but it indeed demonstrated long term plans\textsuperscript{224}.

The Sino-Pak nexus which is already strong have a beneficial aspect for China. China has acquired some territory of PoK from Pakistan in exchange of military and nuclear aid. China has developed Karakoram road and has made its access to Arabian Sea. Through this China can maintain its arm supply to Arab world and easily procure military technology from countries like Israel. By making cordial relation with Pakistan, it wants to reduce its ethnic problem in Xinjiang and Tibet.

So after pondering over these aspects of Chinese interest in South-Asia. It can be concluded that China is considering itself a strong partners in the affairs of this region. By making friendly relations with south-Asian countries. It wants to achieve many faceted interest, with making of friendly relations with Himalayan states and Bangladesh it wants to wean away these from India. So reducing the influence of India. By developing the military base in Bay of Bengal and making its presence felt in Arabian Sea, it wants to encircle India, in case of eventuality, it can easily deal with danger. By providing military aid to neighbouring countries, it wants to increase its arms sale and desire to control the major portion of this lucrative trade in the world. Developing of friendly relation with Pakistan and to some extent Afghanistan and Russia which are neighbouring country of South-Asia, she wants to control its ethnic problem and maintain its internal security environment sound.

\textsuperscript{224} Ramchandran, K.N.: China and South Asia, New Delhi, 1992, pp.27.
The emergence of South Asian states from the colonial yoke in 1947 opened up the opportunities for their active interaction with the rest of the world, including with the erstwhile Soviet Union. Following the disintegration of the Soviet Union, the ideological façade has fallen off and Moscow's foreign policy is solely determined by its national interests. The national and geo-strategical interests of Russia as the dominant power Soviet space or Eurasia and those of India, the dominant power in South Asia, tend to broadly coincide, although they may not be necessarily identical.

The end of the Soviet Union has been a matter of such tremendous importance that no country of the world has been able to quarantine itself from its all pervasive impact. Almost all states, friends, enemies and neutral have to readjust their foreign policy, if not their domestic policy as well, in its wake. At the outset it may be argued that the collapse of the Soviet Union has catastrophic implication for the world socialist movement.

Moscow’s policy towards South Asia always accorded and continues to do so to this day, priority to India. Pakistan, the second most important South Asian state, joined the western military alliance system and became the ‘much aligned ally of the west’, which naturally aroused Soviet hostility and ire. However, even when Russian relations with Pakistan were at their lowest, the former did not shut doors on Pakistan. Efforts to wean Pakistan away from the west and subsequently from China also with offers trade and aid continue.
The Russian also tried to enhance its presence in other South Asian countries in order to counter the influence of its global and regional rivals – the USA and China. It is significant that in its relations with other States of the sub-continent like Nepal, Bangladesh, Sri Lanka, etc. The Russian was consistently guided its policy of friendship with India.  

The collapse of the USSR has brought about a profound change in the power structure in Asian politics. It has given China an opportunity to pursue a more vigorous foreign policy likewise it has also opened up a new horizon of realignment of powers. Such realignments though still in the stage of probability, may determine the course of South-Asian politics in the years to come. Though the emergence of China is a serious challenge for the South Asian countries.

One direct impact of these changing dynamics of the world unipolarities has been upon the South-Asian region. And this is the rise of China and India in geopolitical and security terms. In fact now for well over a decade, it is China that has been very successfully challenging the existing unipolar system of international strategic relations. China's rhetoric and bellicosity during the Maoist era has earned it (a place) as a factor in the superpower equation. Given the potential and pace of its military industrial development, it is certain to continue with the on going trend in the world politics. Close on the heels of China, India, the principle South Asian Country has, over the years also observed a very

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significant growth in its industrial and military might\textsuperscript{227}. Growing military and technical co-operation between Russian and China, which has contributed greatly to the upgrading and modernisation of the letter’s military capability, has caused concern in India.

After the end of bipolar confrontation changes in the security environment in South-Asia. Although the tensions, fears and rivalry at the level of great power has disappeared, they have not particularly removed the conflict that had local and regional roots in South Asian region, the end of ideological confrontation has in fact given way to resurfacing of localised conflicts, based on ethnic tensions, resurgent nationalism and religious extremism. They not only threaten the existence of many states but also pose a threat to regional peace and security\textsuperscript{228}. In South Asian countries, there are unsettled borders and, historical misperceptions, which could become potential source of conflict and instability. In this region the most conflictual border has been between India and Pakistan, India and China. Even today Kashmir remains the most explosive issue between India and Pakistan\textsuperscript{229}.

The question of South-Asian security concerns also relates to the future of China and to some extent Russia’s future economic strength. Russia is yet to overcome difficulties both at domestic and international level. Russia’s relations with China are not smooth. Similarly, the evolution of China poses the single

\textsuperscript{227} Bhogal, S. Parminder: India’s Security Environment in the 1990s: The South Asian Factor, Strategic Analysis, 1989, pp. 767.
\textsuperscript{228} Stobdan, P.: Regional Security Issues in Central and South Asia and Potential for Co-operation, Strategic Analysis, January 1999, pp 1564.
\textsuperscript{229} Ibid. pp. 1565.
largest challenge to peace, co-operation and stability in South-Asia. She will emerge as a major power through successful economic reforms. China is trying to strengthen and consolidate its spheres of influence in all parts of South Asia. It also frequently flexes its military muscles against the neighbours.\footnote{Stobdan, P.: OP.Cit. No.228, pp. 1572.}

With the end of the cold war and the Soviet collapse, China like in the past during the Han, T'ang and Chiang dynasties is once again wielding influence upon the steppe one of the Eurasian heartland. China’s landward orientation assumes significance in the face of declining Russian strategic proximity with India. After the disintegration of Soviet Union, China’s arms sale in South-Asia and certain other factors are conditioning and determining its policies towards this region.\footnote{Aharya, Alka: China's Arms sales: The fulcrum of its south Asia Policy, Strategic Analysis, May 1992 pp. 155.}

China’s interest toward south Asia was shaped and developed by two sets of cold wars – the first being the larger, global East-West rivalry and the second, the Sino-Soviet rift. India whom it perceived to be the major power in South Asia. The Sino-Soviet rift has also raised Soviet interest towards India that in turn contributed to a revision in China’s South Asian strategies as well. China could hope to achieve its objectives with Pakistan, were directed against India. The most significant strategic development after the cold war, is probably the sudden growth in China’s economic potential and consequent national power. China has emerged
as a formidable power in conventional as well as nuclear capability. China also
continues to be engaged in augmenting its nuclear arsenal232.

In recent years more than passing a direct military threat, china continues to
pose a challenge to India’s role in south Asia. China has, of course, visibility
refrained from engaging in anti-India rhetoric in terms of its relations with its
neighbours. It has also apparently softened its stand in Kashmir. But it is
strengthening its political relations with all of India’s neighbours. It continues to
sell arms to Bangladesh, Pakistan, Sri Lanka, which tends to harm India in a subtle
way. In particular its strategic collaboration with Pakistan has shown no
appreciable change. China help Pakistan in developing its nuclear weapon
capability and missile development programme233.

Chinese claims on vast chunks of Indian territory totalling 1,21,616 sq.km
and their occupation of Akasi-chin. China supports the insurging in the North-East
of India. Chinese nuclear capability with large percentage of tactical weaponry
and deployment in Tibet, one a major security concerns to India. A 1600 warheads
stockpile of China is a very sizeable arsenal. Chinese naval strength and their
projection of sea power into the India Ocean along with their close support to
Burma cause tension in south Asian region. With its 3.2 million strong Army, a
large arms production base and the fourth largest arms export in the world makes
China a strong destabilizing factor for all its south Asian neighbours234.

1255-56.
Concern, Indian Defence Review, 1993, pp. 42.
After the collapse of Soviet Union a vacuum was created. In south Asian region no one was enough strong to hijack such a situation. At that time China was emerging as a world power to its economical and military status. This situation proved a good opportunity to establish and strengthen its position in global affairs. With this China endeavoured in activities are leads its way to take the place, which become easy after fall of USSR, the place of superpower. China is a powerful entities shaping a regional security environment.