

University of Reading



Pakistan's Alliance Making with People's Republic of China From
1990-2010: Challenges and Counter-Measures

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Abstract

This empirical research sets out to explore the complex domestic dynamics that shape Pakistan's contemporary alliance making with China. The study examines the actual and potential domestic political challenges to the endurance of Pakistan-China alliance. The research also aims to assess Pakistani security elites' efforts and strategies to overcome those challenges.

The leading approaches in international politics that seek to explain the logic of external alliances – Realism, Liberalism, and Constructivism – do not elucidate Pakistan-China alliance in depth. While there is an inordinate amount of literature concerning the Pakistan-China relations, the literature on maintenance of this alliance is relatively scarce. Besides, scholars have neglected the way in which Pakistan has promoted its alliance with China domestically.

This work aims to fill this gap in the literature. Interpreting from the perspective of *Security Elite Domestic Propaganda and International Alliance* (SEPIA), this study will show that while the alliance with China is essential for Pakistan to contain the military threat posed by India, such an alliance meets with overt challenges from the Pakistani society. Specifically, the Pakistani popular support for Uighur separatism and terrorist attacks against Chinese targets confront the Pakistani security elites with the need to promote the alliance on the domestic level through a robust propaganda campaign. This study, therefore, evaluates the propaganda strategies of the security elites to cultivate the Chinese alliance within the national society. While exposing Pakistani state propaganda, the research focuses to highlight the apprehension of the Pakistani elite towards their public.

This work relies on qualitative methods including documentary analysis and elites interviews. The sources used include Pakistani cultural textbooks, security elites' newspaper articles and lawmakers' speeches to investigate the key propaganda themes aiming to legitimising the alliance. The autobiographies and other sources held at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs are also utilised.

Table of contents

Abstract ...	i
Table of contents.....	iii
List of figures	vi
List of tables	ix
Abbreviations	x
Acknowledgements.....	xii
Authorship of original contributions.....	xiv
Chapter 1. Introduction	1
Thesis objectives	4
Research questions	4
Research argument	5
Contributions of the research	6
Significance of the research	7
Alliance, Awkward alliance and Propaganda	9
A critique of previous literature and theoretical conceptualisation	15
Alliance literature and Realism	18
Realist approach.....	19
Classical Realism.....	20
Social Constructivism	38
Assumptions of Liberalism	43
Realist paradigm vs Constructivism	47
Bridging the divide: SEPIA - A Realist perspective	48
Pertinent literature on Pakistan-China relations	48
Pakistan-China alliance in the Pakistani textbooks.....	56
Significance of textbooks to study Sino-Pakistan relations	59
Research methods, sources and barriers.....	60
Limitations of the research	62
Content analysis	63

Organisation of the thesis	64
Chapter 2. Need for an Alliance	67
BoT theory.....	67
BoT and Pakistan’s Drive for Security	69
Elements Upsetting Islamabad’s Threat Level	72
Pakistan’s Afghanistan conundrum	85
Implication of Walt’s theory for Pakistan need for Alliances	91
Pakistan-China Alliance	92
Chapter 3. Threats to the Alliance and Fears of Pakistan’s Security Elites.....	97
Evolution of extremism, terrorism and fundamentalism in Pakistani society	101
Talibanisation and Uighur Separatism	109
China’s Dissent with Pakistan	120
Pakistan’s fears and worries	123
Terrorist attacks on the Chinese in Pakistan.....	127
Anti-Communism views in Pakistan.....	135
Chapter 4. Textbooks and Propaganda	141
Pakistan-China: An awkward alliance	143
Textbooks as an instrument of state supremacy.....	144
Process of textbook approval in Pakistan	150
Process of textbooks development and approval	153
Propaganda themes: The contents and messages	158
Chapter 5. Newspaper Articles and Propaganda.....	218
Sampling of newspaper articles	218
Security.....	223
Sino-Indian rapprochement and the Pak-China alliance	241
Significant events and public propaganda	258

55 th anniversary of diplomatic relations and Hu Jintao visit	268
Pakistan and world power China	279
Compatibility between Islam and Communism.....	286
Chapter 6. Content analysis of the National Assembly and Senate debates ..	291
Introduction	291
A note on the Majlis-e-Shoora [parliament] and its sessions.....	292
Parliamentary Years and Sessions.....	294
Content analysis of the parliamentary debates.....	294
Security threats to the Chinese Citizens and Uighurs separatism	299
Incredible alliance	309
Chinese support: A must for Pakistan’s unity, progress, and bright future	317
Reliable China and the unreliable US.....	320
China-Pakistan-India triangle: China peaceful, India intruder	326
Conclusion	333
Empirical findings	334
An appraisal.....	344
Theoretical Implications of SEPIA	346
Future research	351
Policy implication	353
Final thoughts.....	354
Bibliography	355
Appendix – A: List of Interviewees	399

List of figures

Figure 2.1: India-Pakistan Military Capabilities, Source: NDTV & The Economist	74
Figure 2.2: States with Total Numbers of Nuclear Weapons in 2017, BBC.....	75
Figure 2.3: India-Pakistan Location. Source: The Economist	77
Figure 2.4: Share of Top Five Countries in world Weapons Imports. Source: SIPRI	82
Figure 2.5: Durand Line as it stands of today demarcated in 1893.	88
Figure 2.6: How Pakistan will look after the dissolution of Durand Line.	89
Figure 3.1: Geography of Xinjinag region. Sources: Deutsche Welle (DW)	112
Figure 4.1: Process of textbooks development and approval in Pakistan.	153
Figure 4.2: Propaganda Percentage	162
Figure 4.3: Textbooks & Education Level	163
Figure 4.4: Glorious Chinese theme percentage in the textbooks	165
Figure 4.5: Glorious China and various Educational Levels.....	165
Figure 4.6: Historic Relationship Percentage within the Textbooks	175
Figure 4.7: Theme of historical relationships across four academic levels.....	176
Figure 4.8: Security Narrative weightage within Textbooks.	184
Figure 4.9: Security Narratives & Four Education Levels	184
Figure 4.10: Pakistani view of India Source: Pew Research Centre	186
Figure 4.11: Reliable Theme percentage within the Textbooks	198
Figure 4.12: Reliability Theme and Education levels	198
Figure 4.13: Poetic Relationship	212
Figure 4.14: Poetic Relationship and four Levels of education.....	213

Figure 5.1: Representation of Articles in three Newspapers	219
Figure 5.2: Numbers of articles appearing under each Governments.....	220
Figure 5.3: Article ratio between civilian and military regimes	221
Figure 5.4: Frequency of five main themes.....	222
Figure 5.5: Security theme representation between civilian and military regimes.....	223
Figure 5.6: The position of Security theme across five governments.....	224
Figure 5.7: Rapprochement theme and various leaders.....	241
Figure 5.8: The frequency of Rapprochement in selected papers	242
Figure 5.9 Public propaganda theme division between civilian and military regimes	259
Figure 5.10: “Long live Pak-China Friendship” slogan on show in Islamabad.....	260
Figure 5.11: “Together we build a community of shared destiny” displayed Islamabad	261
Figure 5.12: Postal stamp celebrating Pak-China friendship. Source: Pakistan.....	262
Figure 5.13: Commemorative coin marking Pakistan-China friendship Year 2011.	262
Figure 5.14: School girls taking part to celebrate China’s national day 2011.....	263
Figure 5.15: President Xi Jinping waves to school children upon his arrival in 2015.....	265
Figure 5.16: A road named after the Chinese Premier in Islamabad.....	265
Figure 5.17: Girls Holding Sino-Pak flags while greeting President Hu in 2006.....	269
Figure 5.18: Propaganda in the air: Chinese Premier Plane escorted by JF-17 fighter jets.....	273
Figure 5.19: World power China articles produced during five Governments	279
Figure 5.20: Rate and space allocated to Emerging China theme in three papers.....	280
Figure 5.21: The position of articles during various Governments.....	286
Figure 6.1: Total parliamentary years and sessions between 1990 and 2010	294

Figure 6.2: Total number of discussion dedicated to five themes in 32 documents	295
Figure 6.3: Total numbers of MPs taking part in a discussion on Sino-Pakistan Relations.....	296
Figure 6.4: Ratio of discussion based on officials' designation.....	297
Figure 6.5: Nine documents discusses security threats to the Chinese theme	299
Figure 6.6: Eight Documents discuss An Incredible Alliance theme.....	309
Figure 6.7: China's support necessary for Pakistan's progress and development	317
Figure 6.8: China Reliable, US unreliable theme.....	320
Figure 6.9: China-Pakistan-India triangle	327

List of tables

Table 1: Timeline: Terror incidents in Xinjiang between 1990 and 2013. Source: Xinhua 118

Abbreviations

BOP	Balance of Power
BOT	Balance of Threat
BJP	The Bharatiya Janata Party
BRICS	Brazil, Russia, India, China and South Africa
CCP	Communist Party of China
CDA	Critical Discourse Analysis
CNN	Cable News Network
CPEC	China-Pakistan Economic Corridor
ETIM	East Turkestan Islamic Movement
FATA	Federally Administrative Tribal Areas
FTA	Free Trade Agreement
FBR	Federal Bureau of Revenue
FDI	Foreign Direct Investment
G-77	Group of 77
GDP	Gross Domestic Production
HIT	Heavy Industries Taxila
IAEA	International Atomic Energy Agency
IMF	International Monetary Fund
ISAF	International Security Assistance Force
IPRI	Islamabad policy research institute
ISSI	Institute of Strategic Studies Islamabad
Ji	Jamaat-i-Islami
JUI	Jamiat Ulema-e-Islam
KKH	Karakorum Highway

KPK	Khyber Pakhtunkhwa
MoECW	Ministry of Education Curriculum Wing
MOI	Ministry of Information
MOU	Memorandum of Understanding
NAM	Non-Aligned Movement
NATO	North Atlantic Treaty Organisation
NSG	Nuclear Supplier Group
NUML	National University of Modern Languages
NWFP	north western frontier province
OBOR	One Belt, One Road
OUP	Oxford University Press
OWI	Office of War Information
PAC	Pakistan Aeronautical Complex
POF	Pakistan Ordnance Factory
PRC	People's Republic of China
PTV	Pakistan Television
SADF	South Asian Development Forum
SEATO	South East Asian Treaty Organisation
SEPIA	Security Elite Domestic Propaganda and International alliances
SIPRI	Stockholm International Peace Research Institute
TIP	Turkestan Islamic Movement
UAE	United Arab Emirates
UNHCR	United Nations High Commission for Refugees
UNSC	United Nation Security Council
XUAR	Xinjiang Uighur Autonomous region

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Authorship of original contributions

I confirm that this is my own work and the use of all material from other sources has been properly and fully acknowledged.

Chapter 1. Introduction

The importance of external alliances in international politics cannot be denied. Alliances are fundamental arrangements that have happened throughout time. Emphasising their significance, George Liska maintains that “it is impossible to speak of international relations without referring to alliances; the two often merge in all but name.”¹ States seeking alliances attempt to combine members’ capabilities in a way that promotes their respective national security interests. The states assume that they cannot realise national policy goals, defend national interests or prevent threatening states attacking them using their own resources, and so they rely on power politics. Hans Morgenthau observes “the historically most important manifestation of the balance of power... is to be found ...in the relations between one nation or alliance and another alliance.”²

The need for alliances is so vital that it is not unusual for nation states to share national strategies with a seemingly awkward ally to deal with more pressing security threats. Washington’s alliance with Moscow during World War II is a remarkable case of such an alliance, mainly because it was an alliance between a Liberal democracy and a socialist dictatorship. The two great world powers had little in common other than a mutual threat.

These controversial foreign policy decisions, (such as the US-USSR alliance) inevitably provoke significant domestic challenges, forcing decision-makers to adopt grand strategies to counter any objections. Amongst other techniques, decision-makers often use domestic propaganda, for example the US administration initiated a widespread domestic campaign of publicity to cultivate positive images of Russia where Joseph

¹ George Liska, *Nations in Alliance, The Limit of Interdependence*, (Baltimore: John Hopkins University, 1962). p.3

² Hans Morgenthau, *Politics Among Nations*, 4th edn (New York: Knop Alfred, 1959). p.169

Stalin - once known as “mass murderer” or a “blood thirsty tyrant” - was portrayed as benign “Uncle Joe” to garner support for the war time alliance.³

However, it is worth mentioning that states do not resort to internal propaganda to promote all their potential allies but tend to be selective based on their national interests. For instance, the US does not appear to make much effort to promote the image of one of its long-term allies, Saudi Arabia. Likewise, the US would usually associate with former Indian leaders unreservedly, but in the case of the ultra-Hindu nationalist Narendra Modi, who had been an international pariah for a long time following his role in the Gujarat massacre predominantly of Muslims, Washington (and the west generally) needed to undertake some publicity campaigns before he was accepted as a trusted partner.⁴

The alliance between the Islamic Republic of Pakistan and the People’s Republic of China (hereafter China or the PRC) can be considered a strange alliance in modern times. Over the past 60 years, the two countries have remained in an awkward duet, making it a case of intense curiosity for the scholars of international politics due to striking differences in terms of culture, economy and political ideology. David Pilling states that “China is communist and religion is tightly controlled. Pakistan is Islamic and religious fervour is often out of control.”⁵ John Blake maintains, “The two nations have virtually no shared culture, history, or economic ties.”⁶ China has leap-frogged from being a poor,

³ For US government efforts See M. Todd Bennett, *One World, Big Screen: Hollywood, the Allies, and World War II*, (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2012, pp.170-190).; John Gaddis, *The United States and Origin of Cold War, 1941-47*, (Columbia University Press, 2001).pp.32-60

⁴ Narendra Modi has been denied entry into many capitals of the world due to his involvement in the Gujrat massacres. His electoral victory in 2014 has become a notable reversal for an international pariah. Quickly he became a favoured partner, courted by world leaders led by US President Barack Obama, who congratulated him and vowed to work closely. During his UK tour, David Cameron welcomed him on the red carpet, the monarch invited him for a lunch. Modi became the first Indian premier to address the British parliamentarian. For detail see, Jay Newton-Small, 'White House, U.S. Senate Congratulate Narendra Modi on His Win in India', *Time*, (2014).; Esther Addley, 'Rock Star Reception Lined up for Visit of Indian Prime Minister Narendra Modi ', *The Guardian* (2015).; Nicholas watt, 'David Cameron: India and Uk Are No Longer Imprisoned by the Past', *The Guardian* (2015).

⁵ David Pilling, 'China and Pakistan Make an Oddball but Enduring Couple', *Financial Times* (2015).

⁶ Jonah Blank, 'Thank You for Being a Friend, Pakistan and China's Almost Alliance', *Foreign Affairs* (October 2015).

under-developed country into a prosperous industrial giant while Pakistan has been driven by political and economic instability.

Despite numerous dissimilarities - also visible in their official names - China is Pakistan's closest ally and probably the only reliable friend. Arguably, it is perceived threat from India which binds them together, though there are other aspects too which cannot be ignored. The two nations have sustained a fairly long history of security and defence cooperation, including sensitive nuclear technology. The overemphasis on security cooperation has long prevented close economic and trade relations, but this is changing with, for example, the launching of large scale projects like the Gwadar deep sea port and the multi-billion-dollar China-Pakistan Economic Corridor (CPEC), which have strategic implications. High level visits have also been a hallmark of the alliance for quite some time and most Pakistani leaders have made China their first official destination after assuming office.

The Pakistan-China alliance, however, has not been without internal threats. China is very concerned about the rise in extremism and militancy in Pakistan. It has been alarmed by the number of terrorist attacks, kidnapping and killings of its citizens working in Pakistan, but above all by the close ties between the Pakistani religious elements and the Uighur separatists in the Xinjiang region of China. In addition, the so-called separatists in the Balochistan province have threatened the safety of Chinese nationals. They have attacked the Chinese either to embarrass Pakistani states, or to prevent the Chinese carrying out development works, owing to their feeling of marginalisation at the hands of the Pakistani state.

While the state is acting pragmatically by solidifying cooperation, the people are obsessed with values and virtues, and hampering the Islamabad elite's struggles to take advantage of its strategic, geopolitical and diplomatic gains accrued by forming alliance with China. The values and virtues referred to are mainly the public tendency to adopt the extremist, fundamentalist and intolerant mentality.

China is deeply disturbed by the troubles it faces in Muslim Xinjiang and terrorist attacks within Pakistan. It applies several pressures on Pakistan to control these terrorist risks

from its land. Pakistan, which is heavily dependent on China's support, cannot ignore Chinese demands. Pakistani elites go to some lengths to promote this seemingly awkward alliance with China in a society which oppose their strategy of seeking alliance. It is because of these internal fears of facing opposition from their own population that the Pakistan's security elites use various strategies - mainly positive domestic propaganda - to make the awkward alliance popular domestically.

Thesis objectives

Given the situation above, this empirical research sets out to systematically explore the complex domestic dynamics that shape contemporary Pakistan's alliance making with China. It aims to explain the political problems of being an overtly religious state that is trying to practice balance of power politics with an atheist ally China. More specifically, the research examines the internal challenges in Pakistan-China alliance and the strategies of Pakistani security elites to counter those challenges. It essentially means the study examines the real and potential challenges to the endurance of Pakistan-China alliance.

After highlighting domestic challenges to the alliance, the research aims to examine Pakistani security elite efforts and strategies to overcome those challenges. It basically means that the study evaluates the propaganda strategies of the security elites to cultivate the Chinese alliance at the national level. While exposing Pakistani state propaganda, the research focuses to highlight the apprehension of the Pakistani elite towards their public.

Research questions

Interpreting from a Realist perspective, *Security Elite Domestic Propaganda and International Alliance* (SEPIA), this theoretically informed investigation has following research questions:

- What the real and potential challenges to the endurance of the Pakistan - China alliance are?
- How the security elites in Pakistan promote the alliance with China domestically to counter those threats and challenges? And

- What their propaganda tells us about how they view their own society?

Research argument

Considering these fundamental yet important questions, this study introduces realist-inspired theoretical model namely SEPIA which is based upon the premise that the Pakistani security elites choose to have an alliance with China mainly to enhance their country's national security, but also that because the strongly religious Pakistani society may oppose their strategy of seeking alliance with China, as a precautionary measure strategy of internal propaganda to endorse the alliance is implemented domestically. SEPIA further elucidates that this propaganda exposes the security elite's assumptions and apprehensions about their own population.

The security elites promote the alliance with China as essential. Their propaganda strategies range between presenting the Chinese as glorious (China are presented as civilised, friend of Pakistan and possessing values which resembles those of Islam) to utilising the rivalry with India (Indo-Pak wars are narrated with favourable views of China) to legitimise the alliance to the sceptical society. Promotional strategies suggest that there is no discrimination in China on the basis of religion or ethnicity, and that the Chinese system is based on equality and social justice, and they treat their own people - including the Uighur Muslims- well.

Propaganda strategies reveal great welcomes are arranged when Chinese leaders visit Pakistan. The cities are decorated; images of Chinese leaders are displayed around the cities. Children and ordinary people are lined up to welcome them. While the rhetoric and propaganda regarding the alliance is usually disguised with patriotic and/or hyperbolic rhetoric. In their efforts to present Chinese as well-wishers, the American are presented as unreliable, the Chinese are depicted as reliable. Pakistani governments praise Chinese aid and support and play down US aid and support, even when the latter by far exceeds the former.

India is believed to be an intruder and hegemonic, China is considered a great benevolent power. China is perceived as an emerging power that wants an industrialised and

developed Pakistan. In their efforts to promote alliance, the security elite relate Pakistan's progress and development with the sustainability of the China alliance. The security elite's promotional strategies present the vast contribution by China to Pakistan's security, defence and economy to demonstrate it is a valuable alliance.

Another example of the shape the Islamabad security elite's propaganda approaches takes is the naming of buildings, roads and hospital like "China Junction", "China Road", "China-Pakistan Friendship Hospital" respectively to imprint an indelible mark on the memory of people. China-specific "friendship" songs are developed and run unremittingly on state television to promote and reinforce the alliance.

The data sources used for this empirical inquiry are cultural textbooks of the Pakistani school, colleges and universities, along with newspaper articles and discussions of the Pakistani lawmakers in the parliament. It covers the period from 1990-2010 and is presented from the perspective of Pakistan.

Contributions of the research

This empirical examination claims to make following contributions to the existing knowledge on the current area of interest.

1. This thesis supplements the existing theoretical literature on the maintenance of the alliance. Though not overlooking the significance of external-structural limitations, this research argues that the earlier theories ignore the role of propaganda in cultivating awkward alliances domestically. Earlier studies ignore internal threats to the alliance.
2. Furthermore, this thesis provides a new empirical study of the political prejudices of Pakistani textbooks on the Pakistan-China alliance. To date, a considerable body of research has sought to understand textbooks propaganda in Pakistan, however specifically, there is not a single published research that has studied the Pakistan-China alliance using cultural textbooks of the Pakistani schools, colleges, and universities.

- Equally, the present work is designed to be the first to consider the use of the Pakistani parliamentary debates to study security elites domestic propaganda to promote the Sino-Pakistan alliance. As far as the author is aware, there is an absence of study that examined the debates in the National Assembly and the Senate of Pakistan to study previously the Pakistan-China alliance.

Significance of the research

The search for international alliances has been the cornerstone of Pakistan's foreign policy since its independence in 1947. Pakistan depends a lot on the security and defense alliance. It has embraced external alliances due to the threat from India and Afghanistan. It has formed many partners over the years, but China is considered closed. It is imperative to evaluate this alliance since the earlier literature is not a great help to understand it.

There is an inordinate amount of literature concerning the Pakistan-China relations in general, the literature on maintenance of this alliance, however, is relatively scarce. It is hard to find literature about how Pakistan has managed to promote the alliance with China domestically. The available academic discourse on Pakistan's foreign relations mainly focuses on why a weak country like Pakistan needs to have an alliance⁷, but what is

⁷Anwar Syed, *Pakistan-China Alliance: Diplomacy of Entente Cordial* (University of Massachusetts Press 1974).; S.M.Burke, *Pakistan' Foreign Policy: An Historical Analysis* (Oxford University Press, 1974).; R.B. Rais, *China and Pakistan: A Political Analysis of Mutual Relations*, (Progressive Publishers Lahore, 1977).; L.A. Sherwani, *Pakistan, China and America*, (Council for Pakistan Studies Karachi, 1980).; Mehrunissa Ali, in *Reading in Pakistan's Foreign Policy 1947-1988* ed. by Mehrunissa Ali (Oxford University Press, 2001).; John Garver, 'The Future of Pakistan-China Entente Cordiale', in *South Asia in 2020: Future Strategic Balances and Alliances*, ed. by Michal R Chambers (Strategic Studies Institutes, U.S Army War College, 2002).; John Garver, 'China South Asia Interests and Policies', *Sam Nunn School of International Affairs Georgia Institute of Technology*, (2005).; Swarn Singh, 'Introduction', in *China-Pakistan Strategic Cooperation Indian Perspectives*, ed. by Swarn Singh (Manohar, New Delhi 2007).; Shahid M. Amin, *Pakistan's Foreign Policy: A Reappraisal*, Second edn (Oxford University Press, 2010).; Aparna Pande, *Explaining Pakistan's Foreign Policy: Escaping India*,

missing in these studies is the strategy Islamabad adopts to sell the alliance to its overtly religious society in the wake of domestic threats. This is an important aspect that has been disregarded in previous studies but realised and covered by this research. Particularly, this research demonstrates that the Pakistani rulers believe their population is so pathologically obsessed with “values” and “religious virtue” that the China alliance must be morally legitimised - a kind of pragmatic alliance dressed up as “moralpolitik.”

While the literature on cultural textbooks has a complete view of the propaganda of the Pakistani textbooks, from one angle or the other, and despite their recognition, at various levels, of the political biases present in the textbooks, no one has dedicated a treatment to highlight the propaganda on the Pakistan-China alliance.⁸

Furthermore, the major theories of alliance formation mainly address why states need to have the alliances, when states form alliances and with whom states like to form alliances but often neglect the question of how states promote and sustain an alliance which is necessary for the national security but has been threatened domestically. This research is

(Routledge, 2011).; Khurshid Mahmud Kasuri, *Neither a Hawk nor a Dove: An Insider's Account of Pakistan's Foreign Relations*, (Oxford University Press 2015).; Ghulam Ali, *China-Pakistan Relations: A Historical Analysis* (Oxford University Press, 2017).

⁸ Pervaiz Hoodbhoy and A. H. Nayye, 'Rewriting the History of Pakistan: Hate Promoting Textbooks', in *Islam, Politics and the State: The Pakistan Experience* ed. by Mohammad Asghar Khan (Zed Books, London, 1985). ; K.K. Aziz, *Murder of History, A Critique of History Textbooks Used in Pakistan* (Lahore: Renaissance, 1998).; K. K. Aziz, *Historians of Pakistan*, (Lahore: Vanguard Books, 1993).; Rubina Saigol, *Education: Critical Perspectives the Boundaries of Consciousness: Interface between the Curriculum, Gender and Nationalism*, (Lahore Progressive, 1993); Mubarak Ali, *In the Shadow of History*, (Lahore Fiction House 1998).; Naureen Durrani, 'Schooling the 'Other': The Representation of Gender and National Identities in Pakistani Curriculum Texts', *Comparative and International Education*, 38 (2008); Peter Jacob, 'Education Vs Fanatic Literacy', (Lahore National Commission for Justice and Peace March 2013).; Hazir Ullah & Christine Skelton, 'Gender Representation in the Public Sector Schools Textbooks of Pakistan', *Educational Studies*, 39 (2013).; Anjum James Paul, 'Biased Pakistani Textbooks', (Pakistan Minorities Teachers' Association, October, 2014).; Madiha Afzal, 'Education and Attitudes in Pakistan Understanding Perceptions of Terrorism', in *Special Report* (Washington: United States Institute of Peace 2015).; Haleema Masud, 'Curriculum, Textbooks and Gender Stereotypes: The Case of Pakistan', *Worlds of Education* (2017).

maintaining that the multiple, costly, internal security threats to the alliance often force security elites to rely on domestic permeation techniques to sustain the notion of the alliance to facilitate state efforts to balance the most threatening state. This study aims to bridge this gap by focusing on governments propaganda directed to sustain the notion of the alliance.

The contribution of this research could point towards a wider contribution to international relations theory on the nature of alliances and a challenge to the Liberalist, Constructivist, and to some extent theories of Balance of Power.⁹ Hence this research provides not only policy relevant but also conceptual stimuli.

Alliance, Awkward alliance and Propaganda

Before the study proceeds to review the pertinent literature on the alliance, along with literature on Sino-Pakistan alliance, it is useful to succinctly define terms alliance, awkward alliance and propaganda.

As Liska has pointed towards the lack of a single coherent theory of alliances¹⁰, there has also been controversy surrounding the definition of the alliance.¹¹ Disagreement exists over the nature of the alliance; whether an alliance should be written or unwritten. In the older literature, alliances are rigorously formal agreements between sovereign states,

⁹ For a complete review of the theories of Realism, Constructivism and Liberalism of international politics, consult the review section of the literature in the proceeding pages under the signpost “A critique of previous literature and theoretical conceptualisation.”

¹⁰ Liska maintains that “it has always been difficult to say much that is peculiar to alliances on the plane of general analysis”, Liska maintains that “it has always been difficult to say much that is peculiar to alliances on the plane of general analysis”, Liska. *Nations in Alliance* p.3

¹¹ Stefan Bergsmann, 'The Concept of Military Alliance', in *Small States and Alliances*, ed. by Heinz Gärtner Erich Reiter (Heidelberg, Berlin: Springer-Verlag 2001), pp.25-39

intended to counterbalance the power of an opponent.¹² However, some significant scholarship on alliances do not feel need for such formality, and define alliances as a formal or informal bond between two or more sovereign nations.¹³

Pakistan has an interesting case for illustration. Pakistan's alliance with the US was formally written,¹⁴ but in contrast there is no written agreements with China, with the exception of the "Treaty of Friendship, Cooperation and Good Neighbourly Relations", wherein both parties agreed not to "join any alliance or bloc which infringes upon the sovereignty, security and territorial integrity of the other contracting party, nor shall it take any action of this nature, including the conclusion of treaties of this nature with a third country."¹⁵ However, this treaty does not specify a common threat or enemy, it is a general understating between them. Islamabad agreed to sign this treaty to dispel Chinese concerns that Pakistan was becoming too close to the US.

While Pakistan's formal alliance with the US has been subject to tensions and disruptions, the informal alliance with China has been consistent. Andrew Small maintains Pakistan-China has never been a treaty alliance, but the alliance has been close in world politics.¹⁶ As a formal alliance brings binding commitment and may be costly to break or violate,¹⁷

¹² Morgenthau. *Politics among Nations*; Glenn Snyder, *Alliance Politics*, (Connell: University Press, Ithaca, 1997).p.8

¹³ Stephen Walt, *The Origin of Alliances* p.12; Robert Osgood, *Alliances and American Foreign Policy*, (Baltimore: John Hopkins University, 1968).

¹⁴ Pakistan signed the American sponsored SEATO, CENTO in 1950s and separately signed a mutual defence agreement with the US in 1954.

¹⁵ Muhammad Ali Siddiqi, 'New Level of Friendship with China', *The Dawn* 2005.

¹⁶ Andrew Small, 'The Sino-Pakistani Axis: Asia's 'Little Understood' Relationship', *Interview* by Gabriel Domínguez (Germany Deutsche Welle, 2015) p.1.

¹⁷ Breaking formal alliances are costly and they may project a state as being unreliable, and of suspect credibility and competence. Alastair Smith, 'Alliance Formation and War', *International Studies Quarterly*, 39 (1995).pp. 405-425; Alastair Smith, 'Extended Deterrence and Alliance Formation',

for the security elites in Pakistan an assurance of verbal commitment may be more important than a written agreement. Pervaiz Iqbal Cheema emphasises, “Since Pakistan-China relations demonstrate enviable cordiality and remarkable consistency; the need for formal alliance was never felt by either side.”¹⁸

Furthermore, if Pakistan desires to solemnise its alliance with China, two factors could be very important: a written alliance would have to stipulate the common threats or common interests to be achieved, and India would perhaps view it negatively and seek counter-alliances. Pakistan’s alliance with the US during the 1950s gave birth to the India-Russia alliance, therefore the informal alliance with China could be a tactical move. Besides, the Chinese have been very pragmatic and not made any formal commitment: they cooperate but don’t make any agreements in written form, which allows them to maintain strategic autonomy. The desire to maintain strategic autonomy often leads states not to make an official position on alliances; John Miglietta explains that some states are loath to “enter into a formalized alliances as a result of the possibility of changes from external as well as internal opponents that they are compromising their sovereignty.”¹⁹ On the basis of these observations, this research defines alliance with much more flexibility, and considers an alliance to be as an oral or verbal arrangement between two or more sovereign states to achieve some shared objectives.

In sharp contrast to the concept of “alliance”, the “awkward alliance” has not received much attention in the theories of international politics. Though the expression “awkward”

International Interactions, 24 (1998).pp.315-343; James D. Fearon, 'Signalling Foreign Policy Interests: Tying Hands Versus Sinking Costs', *Conflict Resolution*, 41 (1997).pp.68-90

¹⁸ Pervaiz Iqbal Cheema, 'Significance of Pakistan-China Border Agreement', *Pakistan Horizon*, 39 (1968).

¹⁹ John P. Miglietta, *American Alliance Policy in the Middle East, 1945-1992* (Maryland: Lexington 2002).p.2

is not new and has been used modestly in previous discussions, the term is not well defined and seems to have only vague meanings. David Ignatius of Washington Post has described the US-Russia security cooperation in the Syrian civil war as “awkward” alliance.²⁰ Emily Boulter has also defined US-Algerian security cooperation as an “awkward” association, mainly citing historic mistrust reason for the awkwardness.²¹ Similarly, Sushil Seth has used an analogous term, “awkward bedfellow”, to define the Australian dilemma in the event that any US-China confrontation takes an ugly turn. Seth believes Canberra would find itself in an awkward situation in having to choose between a close alliance partners (Washington) and a close trading partner (Beijing). Even Seth fails to define the meaning of the expression “awkward.”²²

The most relevant work to explain the term, however, is the work of Raffaello Pantucci and David Pilling at The Royal United Services Institute (RUSI). While Pantucci uses this term only in the topic, “*China in Pakistan: An Awkward Relationship*”, otherwise there is no explanation of the phenomena in the body text, although we can perhaps see what awkwardness means when he explains that “the relationship between the two is imbalanced, with China the big brother and Pakistan the supplicant.”²³ Pilling uses the term “odd couple”, and explains the awkwardness emerging on the basis of cultural and ideological differences between two states.²⁴ Though we also define an awkward alliance along cultural differences, perhaps Pilling still falls short of defining it systematically.

²⁰ David Ignatius, 'Our Awkward Alliance with Russia', *Real Clear Politics* (2016).

²¹ Emily Boulter, 'An Awkward Alliance: Us-Algeria Security Cooperation', *Global Risk Insights*, (2015).

²² Sushil Seth, 'Australia's Awkward Bedfellows', *Taipei Times*, 2015.; Ray identifies Russia-India alliance as awkward due to ideological differences: one is socialist country other is democracy.; Jayanta Kumar Ray, *Aspects of India's International Relations, 1700 to 2000: South Asia and the World*, (Pearson Education India, 2007).p.107

²³ Raffaello Pantucci, 'China in Pakistan: An Awkward Relationship Beneath the Surface', *RUSI News Brief*, (2014).

²⁴ David Pilling. “China-Pakistan Make an Odd but enduring Couple”

The related terms which have been used in the earlier literature like “strange bedfellows”²⁵ or “odd couples”²⁶, lack definition too.

What is common in existing literature is that non-existence of a systematic definition. They have used it metaphorically, and fallen short of stipulating its proper meaning and definition. This research uses it systematically and explains it on the basis of empirical investigation. This study assumes that an ‘awkward alliance’ is formed between two or more sovereign states that are ideologically, politically and socially antagonistic and that their relations in the recent or distant past have been characterised by a geopolitical rivalry.

Propaganda has been around for a long time, going back to ancient Greece. Ancient Greek commander Themistocles used propaganda in the war with Xerxes in 480 BC. Even Alexander the Great put his portrait on the coins as a propaganda tool. While the Roman empire under Julius Caesar became a master in the use of propaganda, in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries Pope Urban II used propaganda to serve religion. Many leaders, for example, Martin Luther King, Benjamin Franklin used propaganda to spread their message. In modern times during the war propaganda seemed to have become a great tool for nations to fight wars. From the Napoleonic wars to the civil war in the United States, propaganda was used extensively and effectively.²⁷

Nevertheless, it was not until the beginning of 20th century major wars that the propaganda was used widely. All the major powers including the US, the UK, France and Germany used it to turn public opinion in their support. British propaganda has led America to enter the World War I. After World War I, the British had disbanded its

²⁵ Thomas J. Christensen, *Useful Adversaries: Grand Strategy, Domestic Mobilization, and Sino-American Conflict 1947-1958*, (New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1996).; Ole R. Holsti, 'The Study of International Politics Makes Strange Bedfellows: Theories of the Radical Right and the Radical Left', *The American Political Science Review*, 68 (1974). pp.217-242

²⁶ Michal Thim & Misato Matsuoka, 'The Odd Couple: Japan & Taiwan's Unlikely Friendship', *The Diplomat*, (2014).

²⁷ “Propaganda through ages” see Jowet, *Propaganda and Persuasion* pp.49-93

propaganda agency, but revived it again in World War II. During the World War II, propaganda expanded further. Almost all the fighting nations used it to gather the support of their public for their policies.

The frequent use of propaganda worldwide highlights its significance; repeatedly, state elites have shown faith in its utility and effectiveness, despite uncertainty of its worth. In Germany, the story that they were defeated in World War I not because they fought less valiantly, but because they could not match the propaganda produced by the British, became widely accepted. As Adolph Hitler admitted the Germans had failed to use propaganda effectively:

...it was not until the War that it became evident what immense results could be obtained by a correct application of propaganda. Here again, unfortunately, all our studying had to be done on the enemy side, for the activity on our side was modest, to say the least... For what we failed to do, the enemy did, with amazing skill and really brilliant calculation. I, myself, learned enormously from this enemy war propaganda.²⁸

For the sake of this research, we borrow Garth Jowett-Victoria O'Donnell and Bruce Smith definitions. Jowett and O' Donnell maintain that "propaganda is deliberate [wilful, intentional, and premediated], systematic [precise, methodical, carrying out something with organised regularity] attempt to shape perceptions, manipulate cognition and direct behaviour to achieve a response that furthers the desired intent of the propagandist."²⁹

²⁸ Adolph Hitler, "Mein Kampf, a Reckoning, Chapter VI: War Propaganda"
http://www.hitler.org/writings/Mein_Kampf/mkv1ch06.html [Accessed 12 February 2016].

²⁹ Jowett, Propaganda and Persuasion, p.7

Similarly, Smith defines “Propaganda is the more or less systematic effort to manipulate other people’s beliefs, attitudes, or actions by means of symbols (words, gestures, banners, monuments, music, clothing, insignia, hairstyles, designs on coins and postage stamps, and so forth).”³⁰ Both the authors agree that propaganda is a systematic effort to manipulate the behaviours to achieve the desired outcome which we fully agree. In the remaining part of the thesis, we will use the term propaganda in similar context.

A critique of previous literature and theoretical conceptualisation

International relations (IR) can be a complicated arena. Those interested in international politics (IP) face different competing theoretical frameworks aimed at highlighting the phenomena of power, security, and international alliances. Caroline Rose argues that in the theoretical division of IR, various theories, then division within those theories almost make a daunting task to choose between them and prefer one over the other.³¹

The following section is an attempt to highlight usefulness along with fallacies, internal contradiction, and flaws of the prevailing rival approaches in IR. A close consideration is paid to highlight their inability to accommodate internal threats to the alliances and leaders’ propaganda to sustain threatened alliances. In the due course, an attempt is made to evaluate, and question their explanations mainly to offer a robust, modest but Realist focused theoretical framework called SEPIA to analytically assess propaganda role in nations’ efforts to sustain odd alliances in global politics.

³⁰ Bruce Lannes Smith, 'Propaganda', (Encyclopædia Britannica).
<http://www.britannica.com/topic/propaganda> [Accessed 19 February 2016].

³¹ Caroline Rose, *Interpreting Sino-Japanese Relations: A Case Study in Political Decision-Making* (London & New York: Routledge 1998).p.29

In the existing literature, there is an effervescent discussion between mainstream theories (Realism and Liberalism)³² and between mainstream theories and alternative theories like Social Constructivism (or simply Constructivist).³³ The rival theories offer different interpretations to similar phenomena's like state-to-state relations, the concept of power, and international alliances. Though the theoretical boundaries of these theories are fuzzy, they indeed extend the scope and effectiveness of the field of IR.

These competing IP theories can be divided according to their focus on the level of analysis and the chosen variables to explain the state's behavior and its results in world politics. In this long list of opposing concepts, the *aussenpolitik* or macro-level theories prefer external factors or system-level variables to explain the interaction between states, while *innenpolitik* theories honour the domestic variables to examine the behavior of the state.³⁴ And yet in this strict theoretical divide, looser version of Realism, Neoclassical Realism (NCR) tends to combine structural and domestic level intervening variables to explain the foreign policy choices of states.³⁵

³² For a discussion about Mainstream theories see David A. Baldwin, *Neorealism and Neoliberalism: The Contemporary Debate* (Columbia University Press, 1993).; Charles Kegley ed., *Controversies in International Relations Theory: Realism and the Neoliberal Challenge* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1995).

³³ See Friedrich Kratochwil and Yosef Lapid ed., *The Return of Culture and Identity in IR Theory* (Boulder: Lynne Rienner, 1996).; Stephen M. Walt, 'International Relations: One World, Many Theories', *Foreign Policy*, 110 (Spring, 1998)

³⁴ Use of the word *innenpolitik* and *aussenpolitik* taken from Fareed Zakaria, 'Realism and Domestic Politics: A Review Essay', *International Security*, 17 (1992).

³⁵ M.W Wohlforth, *The Elusive Balance: Power and Perceptions During the Cold War* (New York: Cornell University Press, 1993).; Fareed Zakaria, *From Wealth to Power. The Unusual Origins of America's World Role*. (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1998).; Gideon Rose, 'Review: Neoclassical Realism and Theories of Foreign Policy', *World Politics*, 51 (1998).; Randall Schweller, *Deadly Imbalances: Tripolarity and Hitler's Strategy of World Conquest*, (Columbia University Press, 1998).; Randall Schweller, 'Unanswered Threats: A Neoclassical Realist Theory of Underbalancing', *International Security*, 29 (2004).; Randall Schweller, 'Opposite but Compatible Nationalisms: A

On an analytical basis, some theories favour structural and material variables, while others emphasize cultural and ideational factors. To put in a different way, Neorealism explains that the structural variable (states relative capabilities) is an important factor in the study of inter-state relations³⁶, just as the Liberals believe that the material factor (economic interdependence, co-operation, and institutions) are important. Liberalists like Robert Keohane believes that collaboration can be achieved globally through the creation and backing of multilateral institutions constructed on liberal principles.³⁷ Meanwhile, the Social Constructivist, who disregards material and structural explanations, argues that ideational and cultural factors better explain the functioning of states and the international system.³⁸ Finally, Radical theories (generally called Marxist theories) suggest a complete transformation of the international system.³⁹ Out of the fashion have been Marxist theories though.

While the Realist depicts a confrontational nature of the international system in which the states are constantly seeking security, the Idealists believe that there are ways and means to escape the global interstate conflict. For them, the international system offers

Neoclassical Realist Approach to the Future of Us–China Relations', *The Chinese Journal of International Politics*, 11 (March 2018).

³⁶ Kenneth Waltz, *The Theories of International Politics*, (Addison-Wesley, 1979); John Mearsheimer, *The Tragedy of Great Power Politics*, (New York: Norton, 2001).; John Mearsheimer, 'Structural Realism', in *International Relations Theories: Discipline and Diversity*, ed. by Milja Kurki Tim Dunne, Steve Smith (Oxford University Press, 2013)pp.77-94

³⁷ Robert Keohane and Joseph S. Nye, *Power and Interdependence: World Politics in Transition* (Longman, 2012).; Robert O. Keohane, 'Twenty Years of Institutional Liberalism', *International Relations* 26 (2012).; Bruce Russett, 'Liberalism', in *International Relations Theories: Discipline and Diversity*, ed. by Milja Kurki Tim Dunne, Steve Smith (Oxford University Press, 2013). pp. 94-114

³⁸ Alexander Wendt, 'Anarchy Is What States Make of It: The Social Construction of Power Politics', *International Organization*, 46 (1992).;Martha Finnemore, *National Interests in International Society*, (Ithaca & London: Cornell University Press, 1996).;Peter J. Katzenstein, *Cultural Norms and National Security: Police and Military in Postwar Japan*, (Cornell University Press, 1996).; Alexander Wendt, *Social Theory of International Politics* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999); Alexander Wendt, 'On the Via Media: A Response to the Critics', 26 (2000).; K.M Fierke, 'Constructivism', in *International Relations Theories: Discipline and Diversity*, ed. by Milja Kurki Tim Dunne, Steve Smith (Oxford University Press, 2013).pp. 187-205

³⁹ Shlomo Avineri, *The Social and Political Thought of Karl Marx* (London: Cambridge University Press 1968).; Andrew Linklater, 'Marxism ', in *Theories of International Relations*, ed. by Scott Burchill (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1996).; See part three “Socialism” of Michael Doyle, *Ways of War and Peace*, (New York: Norton 1997).

states opportunity to converge on similar interests. Similarly, Constructivist maintains there is nothing given or prior setup which defines the working of interstate relations; rather it is a result of intersubjectivity.

In short, the boundaries of IR theories are fuzzy, but they define the discipline of IR. Of course, they show obvious absurdities, and are therefore not free from criticism and inadequacies. There is always the possibility of highlighting their inability to explain certain phenomena.

In the next section, we will evaluate Realism and its various variants, then Constructivism and finally Liberalism.

Alliance literature and Realism

Although there is no small amount of literature on the concept of alliance in international politics, it largely does not address the problems identified in this study. The extensive literature is dominated by the Realist perspective and covers many aspects of alliance practices. For instance, much work is focused on the costs and effects of alliance on interstate conflicts including wars.⁴⁰ In addition, the literature covers the issues within alliances for example “burden-sharing” and “abandonment-entrapment.”⁴¹ The sub-areas

⁴⁰ Jack Levy, 'Alliance Formation and War Behaviour: An Analysis of the Great Powers, 1495-1975', *Journal of Conflict Resolution*, 25 (1981).; David Singer and Melvin Small, 'Alliance Aggregation and the Onset of War, 1815-1945', in *Quantitative International Politics*, ed. by David J. Singer (New York: Free Press 1968). pp. 247-286; Brett Leeds, 'Do Alliances Deter Aggression? The Influence of Military Alliances on the Initiation of Militarized Interstate Disputes', *American Journal of Political Science*, 47 (2003).; Volker Krause, 'Hazardous Weapon? Effects of Arms Transfers and Defence Pact on Militarized Disputes, 1950-1995', *International Interactions*, 30 (2004).; Clifton Morgan and Glenn Palmer, 'To Protect and to Serve: Alliances and Foreign Policy Portfolios', *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 47 (2003).; Smith.; Paul D. Senese & John A. Vasquez, *The Steps to War: An Empirical Study*, (Princeton University Press 2008).

⁴¹ Mancur Olson and Richard Zeckhauser, 'An Economic Theory of Alliances,' *Review of Economics and Statistics*, 48 (1966).; Jack Snyder, 'The Security Dilemma in Alliance Politics', *World Politics*, 36

like alliances between minor and major powers and their consequences are also extensively covered.⁴² Nevertheless, there are still a number of sub-fields in the alliance literature which remain understudied, the study of awkward alliances in international politics and the need for the propaganda to sell these awkward alliances is just one of them.

Realist approach

In international relations, Realism is the dominant theory. It is simple, parsimonious and provides less complicated answers to many important questions about the functions of the international system and about the state's behavior. Realism emphasis primacy of power and security. In a Realist world, states are fighting for power and position in the international system.⁴³

Despite the predominance of Realism in IR, it is not a unified theory. Edwin Fedder has rightly summed up this dilemma when he says, “the concept of the alliance in the literature of international relations is ambiguous and amorphous.”⁴⁴ Mainly, it can be divided into three main variations: Classical Realism, Neorealism/Structural Realism,

(1984).; Christensen and Snyder, 'Chain Gangs and Passed Bucks: Predicting Alliance Patterns in Multipolarity', *International Organization*, 44 (1990).

⁴² Robert Rothstein, *Alliances and Small Power*, (New York: Columbia University Press, 1968).; Michael Altfeld, 'The Decision to Ally: A Theory and a Test', *Western Political Quarterly*, (1984).; Heinz Gärtner Volker Krause and David Singer in Erich Reiter, *Small States and Alliances*, (Physica-Verlag, 2001).

⁴³ Following list is helpful in explaining Realist thoughts. Morgenthau. *Politics Among Nation*; Walt. *One World, Many Theories* ;Waltz. *Theory of International Politics*; Sean Lynn-Jones Michael Brown, and Steven Miller eds, *The Perils of Anarchy: Contemporaray Realism and International Security* (Cambrdige: MIT Press 1995).; Ken Booth and Chris Brown, 'Structural Realism, Classical Realism and Human Nature', *International Relations*, 23 (2009); Ednah M Peter, *Classical Realism and International Relations*, (GRIN Publishing 2015).

⁴⁴ E.H.Fedder, 'The Concept of Alliance', *International Studies Quarterly*, 12 (1968).p.70

and Neoclassical Realism. However, despite division within it, following prepositions are common in all variants;

- States are central and rational actors in the international system,
- The international system is characterized by an anarchy,
- States pursue their own interests without granting privileges to norms and values,
- And states aim to maximize their power to ensure their self-preservation and survival.⁴⁵

While highlighting various variants of Realism an attention is paid to evaluate why Realist emphasis the conflicting nature of international politics, and why states seek competition. More specifically, we aim to examine why Realist traditionally focuses on the state-to-state level of analysis, and at the end, we argue why this focus is insufficient for our analysis of the Pakistan-China alliance.

Classical Realism

The roots of classical Realism are centuries old. Thucydides, Thomas Hobbes, Niccolò Machiavelli, Jean-Jacques Rousseau are the intellectual ancestors and founders of classic realistic thoughts. Although Hans Morgenthau laid the foundations of modern Realism. One of the main assumptions of classical Realism is that state-to-state relations take place fundamentally in an anarchic context because of the absence of a world government capable of enforcing peace and order in the international system. Anarchy is considered the absence of central or a universal power.

The Greek philosopher Thucydides masterwork “*The History of Peloponnesian War*” written in 431 BC, maintains that the prime objective of every state is to secure its national interests. In reaching these interests, states disregard norms and values only in

⁴⁵ Mearsheimer. *The Tragedy of Great Power Politics*, p. 373; Sean M. Lynn-Jones and Steven E. Miller, *Global Dangers: Changing Dimensions of International Security*, (The MIT Press, 1995). p.ix

the event their welfares are in the balance. Thucydides proposes that international system is defined by anarchy where states survive under a constant fear of domination and intimidation of powerful states and thus face security dilemma. Thucydides believes that there is no supreme authority to deal with the interests of the state. Therefore, states practice a balance of power politics strategy. The balance of power means that powerful states govern weak states.⁴⁶

The 17th century English philosopher Hobbes' "*Leviathan*" aptly explains the state of nature concept. Hobbes maintains that there is a war of every individual against every individual. Life in a state of nature is "solitary, poor, nasty, brutish, and short."⁴⁷ Everyone can take fellow individual life and property without penalty. Hobbes state of nature represents Neorealist core concept of anarchy which means lack of a central power at the inter-state level. Like Thucydides, Hobbes considers states less concerned about the norms and values in the conduct of state affairs than about power politics and self-interest.

Rousseau "*Social Contract*" presents a milder version of Hobbes Realism. Rousseau believes that although there is an existence of general will at the societal level, it is absent at international level. While in Hobbes's state of nature conflict occurs naturally due to the human nature, for Rousseau, it depends on the dynamic forces existing in the international system.⁴⁸ Rousseau assumptions are much like Waltz's Neorealism.

⁴⁶ Translated By Richard Crawley Thucydides, 'The History of the Peloponnesian War', (Project Gutenberg's EBook #7142, 2009).

⁴⁷ Tranalted by Edward White and David Widger Thomas Hobbes, 'Leviathan 1651', in *The Project Gutenberg EBooks*, (2013).

⁴⁸ Jean-Jacques Rousseau, *The Social Contract* (Create Space Independent Publishing Platform 2014).

The Italian diplomat, historian, and philosopher Machiavelli give a new development to the classic Realist thoughts in his book “*The Prince*” written in 1513. Machiavelli urges leaders to conquer the world to ensure self-defence. To him, universal dominance is a necessary condition for prudent leaders to reduce threats to national security. Machiavelli's philosophy is similar to John Mearsheimer’s offensive Realism.⁴⁹

Hans Morgenthau and Realism

Father of modern Realism, Hans Morgenthau arranged Realist thoughts in his essential and persuasive book “*Politics Among Nation’s*” published in 1948. Morgenthau focuses on competitive and conflicting nature of the international system. Morgenthau argues that states are unitary actors primarily motivated to dominate other states, such as human nature, which tend to dominate others. For him, the main purpose of each state is to accumulate power, as it guarantees its security in an anarchic system and one without the highest authority. Ultimately states’ struggle for power leads to inter-state conflicts. Morgenthau explicates gaining material power is a currency to survive in the international system. Morgenthau Realism makes international system flawed and dangerous world where states feel insecure.⁵⁰ In sum, Classical Realist like Morgenthau thinks “international politics like all politics is a struggle for power.”⁵¹ The states are struggling for power because they are led by selfish individuals who are directed by their desire for power. Naturally, as human beings are power maximizing, so as they want their states to be powerful. In such a case, the states are looking for international alliances to balance strong states. Alliances for Morgenthau are one of the behaviours of preserving the balance of the international system. Alliances are viewed as an important shield to survive internationally.

⁴⁹ Translated by: W. K. Marriott Nicolo Machiavelli, 'The Prince', (The Project Gutenberg [EBook #1232] 2006).

⁵⁰ Morgenthau. *Politics Among Nations*

⁵¹ *ibid*, p.13

Neorealism

Neorealism is the central theory of international relations that systematically explains state-to-state relationships. Kenneth Waltz and John Mearsheimer are the main advocates of this theory. While Waltz talks about it in his very famous book *“Theory of International Politics”* published in 1979 and Mearsheimer, talks about it in the *“Tragedy of the Great Political Power”* published in 2001. Although both Waltz and Mearsheimer agree that the international system is the main reason for states behavior and actions at international level but differing from how much power a state needs to survive in the international system. It is mainly a question of how much power a state needs to survive in the international system. Mearsheimer believes that the state should seek power as much as possible to eventually seek hegemony in the international system, while Waltz believes that a power that gives security to the state is sufficient.

Theoretically Neorealism departs from Hans Morgenthau Realism. For classical thinker’s power is an end itself while for Neorealist power is a means to achieve security. Waltz argues “Morgenthau took power to be an end in itself, in contrast, I built structural realism theory on the assumption that survival is the goal of states and that power is one of the means to that end.”⁵²

In sharp contrast to Morgenthau Realism, Neorealist believe that human nature has nothing to do with the states’ efforts to seek power, but it is the structure of the international system that explains the states’ efforts to seek power and international alliances. Waltz international system has two main structural components. Waltz maintains, “a system is composed of a structure and of interacting units.”⁵³ It means, there

⁵² Kenneth Waltz, 'Evaluating Theories', *The American Political Science Review*, 91 (1997),p. 913

⁵³ Waltz, *Theory of International Politics*, p.80

is the main structure called the international system, and secondly, there are sovereign “interacting units” known as states.⁵⁴ Waltz reduces the international system to a sum of its parts. The interacting units are not always equal in power, “distribution of capabilities” is an important aspect of the international system.

Waltz assumes “international system is decentralised and anarchic.”⁵⁵ Anarchy is not denoted by the presence of chaos and disorder, rather the absence of supernatural authority that regulates interstate relationships and preserves global peace. There is no world government that can coerce the entities (states) to act dutifully and peacefully. In case states need emergency assistance, they have nothing in the international system where they could seek help and file a complaint against the aggressor.

To clarify the concept of anarchy, Waltz differentiates international system with the domestic system of the states. In the domestic context, Waltz argues, “some are entitled to command; others are required to obey.”⁵⁶ Moreover, “domestic politics is centralized and hierarchic.”⁵⁷ It means law provides states necessary power to punish irresponsible and law-breaking individuals. Individuals with criminal leaning and wicked intentions are punished by the government. The states assure that no one can take the lives and property of other individuals.

However, the international system lacks such hierarchy of authority. In the international system, all states are sovereign units without universal command. Waltz suggests, “None

⁵⁴ *ibid*, p.79

⁵⁵ *ibid*, p. 88

⁵⁶ *ibid*

⁵⁷ *ibid*

is entitled to command; none is required to obey.”⁵⁸ The states possess equal weight and pursue an identical interest. The lack of deterrence at the international level worry states about their survival and security. International politics is a zero-sum game, where the gain of one state is a sometimes loss of other states.

The anarchy in the international system makes states to adopt the balance of power strategies. The absence of “night watchman” put states in a helpless and perilous security situation. In such an uncertainty, states look for a self-help system to survive. Waltz believes “survival is based on a state’s material capabilities and its alliances with other states.”⁵⁹ States either balance internally or externally. Internally states increase security and defence by building armed forces, economy, and a strong government. Externally states look for a potential partner to form international alliances.⁶⁰

Thus, specifically, with regard to the Balance of Power politics (international alliances), Waltz suggests that the relative capabilities or power of a state is an important variable which makes states adopt balancing strategies. He predicts that equilibrium can be achieved in the international system when the power is distributed evenly, where no state is allowed to dominate. Waltz predicts once an equilibrium has been established through the external balancing, the system becomes more stable, secure and prevent aggression.

John Mearsheimer comprehension of anarchy is much same as Waltz. For Mearsheimer, International anarchy is for the most part Hobbesian. In Hobbesian anarchy, the security situation is very poor, and states try to achieve security by increasing their relative

⁵⁸ *ibid*

⁵⁹ *ibid*, pp. 103-04

⁶⁰ *ibid*, pp. 108-118

preference.⁶¹ Like Waltz, Mearsheimer believes unlike domestic political system where states have developed a framework in view of laws and statues to run states, there is no such system at the worldwide level, therefore, states take a stab at helping themselves.⁶² Mearsheimer believes though there exist international institutions, national security cannot be subsidized to them as they make false promises about national security.⁶³

Mearsheimer self-help system seeks hegemony in the international system. In Mearsheimer words, “Hegemony means dominance of the system, which is usually interpreted to mean the entire world.”⁶⁴ In an anarchic context, states try to enhance their power greatly and, in the process, start behaving offensively. Mearsheimer argues, “States begin with a defensive motive but are forced to think and sometimes act offensively because of the structure of the international system.”⁶⁵ Mearsheimer argues states distinctively are not aggressive but survival make them offensive. Mearsheimer states, “Great powers behave aggressively not because they want to or because they possess some inner drive to dominate, but because they must seek more power if they want to maximize their odds of survival.”⁶⁶ Specifically, about the alliances, Mearsheimer posits that to ensure their survival states enhance their own capability by building internal strength and indirectly through seeking international alliances.

⁶¹ John Mearsheimer, 'Back to the Future: Instability in Europe after the Cold War', *International Security*, Vol. 15 No. 1 (Summer, 1990). pp 12-14

⁶² Mearsheimer, 'Structural Realism', in *International Relations Theories*. pp.72-77

⁶³ John Mearsheimer, 'The False Promise of International Institutions', *International Security*, 19 (Winter, 1994-1995), pp.5-49.

⁶⁴ Mearsheimer., *The Tragedy of Great Power Politics*

⁶⁵ Mearsheimer, 'The False Promise of International Institutions', p.11

⁶⁶ Mearsheimer., *The Tragedy of Great Power Politics*, p.21

Balance of Threat Theory

The seminal work of Stephen Walt offers one of the most detailed and extensive developments of the BoP theories of alliance formation in his famous Balance of Threat (BoT) theory. Walt's raises the question "how do states choose their friends" in his well-known book "*The Origin of the Alliances*" published in 1987. Walt believes security is a problem for all states, and most countries are usually driven by fears and largely defensive motives, even when they are using military force or behaving assertively. Walt argues Realism "is essentially rationalist in orientation: it is about the constraints that states face in a world of anarchy and the incentives this situation creates for the conduct of foreign policy."⁶⁷

Walt focus is also competitive nature of the international system in which states aim to defend themselves through external alliances. Walt believes that the states are most important units in the international system that seek external alliances to protect themselves in an anarchic world. Walt maintains "In anarchy, states form alliances to protect themselves, their conduct is determined by the threat they perceive, and the power of others is merely one element in their calculations."⁶⁸ Walt accepts Waltz assumptions are sound, but he argues the states balance threats rather than power alone. He believes that the greatest threat to the states does not necessarily come from only stronger power

⁶⁷ Stephen Walt, 'Interview-Stephen Walt', by Alexandros Koutsoukis (E-International Relations, 14 November 2017) <http://www.e-ir.info/2017/11/08/now-recruiting-political-economyeconomics-editors/> [accessed 24 January, 2017].; For a complete list of Walt work see following list. Stephen Walt, "Alliance Formation and the Balance of World Power" *International Security*, 9 (Spring 1985); Stephen Walt, *The Origin of Alliances*, (Cornell University Press 1987); Walt, "Testing Theories of Alliance Formation: The Case of Southwest Asia" *International Organization*, 43 (Spring 1988); Walt, "The Case for Finite Containment: Analysing U.S. Grand Strategy" *International Security*, 14 (Summer 1989) ; Walt, "Alliance Formation in Southwest Asia: Balancing and Bandwagoning in Cold War Competition" in Jervis and Snyder, *Dominoes and Bandwagons*; Walt, "Alliances, Threats, and U.S. Grand Strategy: A Reply to Kaufman and Labs" *Security Studies*, 1 (Spring 1992).

⁶⁸ Stephen Walt, *The Origin of Alliances*, p. x

since Waltz assumes that the distribution of capabilities is an important variable, but the level of threat increases due to other factors. Walt suggests, “states ally to balance against external threats rather than power alone. Although the distribution of power is an extremely important factor, the level of threat is also affected by geographic proximity, offensive capabilities, and perceived intentions.”⁶⁹

Walt assumes that states either balance or bandwagon when confronted external threat. Walt claims balancing threat is not the only way states behave; some states, under certain circumstances, can also decide to bandwagon with the existing threat.⁷⁰ Walt remarks “Balancing is allying with others against the prevailing threats; Bandwagon refers to alignment with the source of the threat.”⁷¹ So for instance, if Pakistan wants to balance India, it means that it will form an external alliance with a third party (China, USA) against India, but if it decides to the bandwagon, it will be attracted to India (the source of threat). For Walt, “balancing is far more common than bandwagoning.”⁷² In addition, Walt also recommends some other hypothesis of alliance formation, for example, the role of foreign aid, ideology, and political penetration. He contends that these are important considerations but are not “powerful cause of alignment.”⁷³

Patricia Weitsman’s overambitious theory of alliances updates BoT theory by adding two new concepts along with balancing and bandwagoning: ‘hedging and tethering’. Weitsman argues that different levels of threats promote different alliance behaviour. If a threat to a state is deadly, it will bandwagon, if the threat is high it will balance but if

⁶⁹ *ibid.*, p.5; For similar discussion Stephen Walt, 'Alliance Formation and Balance of World Power', *International Security*, 9 (1985). pp.3-43

⁷⁰ Walt. *The Origins of Alliances*, pp.17-20

⁷¹ *ibid.* p.17

⁷² *ibid.* p.5

⁷³ *ibid.*

the state is feeling medium or low-level threat, the security elites will ‘tether and hedge’ respectively.⁷⁴

Focus of Realist on state-to-state level of analysis

In the following paragraph, I intend to focus on the reason why Realist focus on state to state level and analysis and the reasons it is misleading for Pakistan China Relation. Realist focus on interstate relations is due to the following factors. The Realist reduces the importance of anything but states. The states are principal and rational actors in the international system. Therefore, Realist focuses on states mainly because the competition is between states in the international system. Moreover, states function in an anarchic international system. The states have failed to set up international institutions which can pledge their security. Anarchy increases state vulnerability and put pressures on interstate relations. While domestically states have a government, which expresses the will of the states, thus, states lack such mechanism internationally. Therefore, Realist focus is on state-to-state relations.

Finally, Realist accepts that states have fixed interest. States look for survival in the international system. States interests do not change because anarchy is a constant construct. Equally, states perception of other’s states intention does not change. Therefore, states rely on self-help system. Self-help system makes states to search for international alliances with compatible states. There is uncertainty, fear of the domination of other states and competition for the power that forces states to look for alliances.

Although traditional alliance theories give privileges to international structure variables for the formation of external alliances which is clearly misleading for our analysis of the Pakistan-China alliances. It is misleading because it does not give importance to states

⁷⁴ Patricia Weitsman, *Dangerous Alliances: Proponents of Peace, Weapons of War* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2004).

propaganda. Furthermore, it is misleading because it does not focus on the internal attributes of the state. It marginalises internal dynamics of the state.

We agree mainly BoT theory that states leaders balance internal and external threats, but we argue this is half-truth and incomplete story. Some states must also sell the alliance because of the internal threats to the persistence of the alliance. BoT can explain Pakistan's need for the alliance, why Pakistan needs international alliances, but BoT cannot explain how Pakistan secures its alliance with China domestically. By incorporating SEPIA, a solution is presented in this research. SEPIA provides a better explanation of alliance maintenance than does BoP and BoT. The task of examining Sino-Pakistan is made easier.

BoP theories downplay the role of state-society relations in shaping the state's security policies. The BoP alliance models do not explain much about a changing society that becomes more religious and perceives the alliance against their beliefs or the sense of marginalization of the state. Thus, the BoP theory limitations create space for further development of the alliance theory. This research indicates that if two states have formed an alliance, they are likely to require some effort, above all, to ensure that the critical alliance is not faced with threats internally. By offering SEPIA, this study corrects these BoP theories manifest absurdities and flaws. The assessment of this section on alliance dynamics has achieved two major goals. It has identified the lacuna that exists in the literature, and but more significantly, made a meek attempt to highlight the need to include propaganda as an important casual path between internal threats and external alliances.

Looser version of Realism: Neo-classical Realism (NCR)

In the recent times, an increasing number of scholars have added a new version of Realism called NCR. It posits a new approach to studying state's foreign policy behaviour. It suggests a domestic politics role in the foreign policy analysis of the states which have been neglected by neorealist. NCR focuses on the interaction between the global system and the internal dynamics of states. It seems to clarify the foreign policies of the individual states rather than to explain recurrent patterns of world outcomes. Unlike

Neorealist, which is generally a theory of international politics, NCR is mainly a theory of foreign policy behaviour. Randall Schweller explains:

Waltzian neorealism is strictly a theory of international politics, which accordingly makes no claim to explain foreign policy or specific historical events. Recognizing such limitations, a new breed of Realist scholars has embraced the richer formulations of traditional, pre-Waltzian realists, who focused more on foreign policy than systemic level phenomena.⁷⁵

Gideon Rose first coined the term NCR in his 1998 review article “*Neoclassical Realism and Theory of Foreign Policy.*” Its main supporters are William Wohlforth, Thomas Christensen, Fareed Zakaria, Randall Schweller, and Jeffrey Taliaferro. They all maintain what Schweller considers states; “peculiar domestic and political situations” subtly regulate its behaviour and response to its peripheral setting.⁷⁶ NCR is much appropriate than traditional Realist theories as it is hospitable to the internal dynamics of the states, despite this being its strength, it falls sort of elucidating Pakistan-China alliance as explained in the proceeding paragraphs.

NCR borrows some aspects both from Classical Realism and from Neorealism and formulates a new version with an emphasis on domestic factors. Gideon Rose explains:

It explicitly incorporates both external and internal variables, updating and systematizing certain insights drawn from classical Realist thought. Its adherents

⁷⁵ Randall Schweller, 'The Progressiveness of Neoclassical Realism', in *Progress in International Relations Theory: Appraising the Field*, ed. by Colin Elman and Miriam Fendius Elman (Belfer Center Studies in International Security: The MIT Press, 2003) pp.316-17

⁷⁶ Randall L. Schweller, *Unanswered Threats: Political Constraints on the Balance of Power* (New Jersey: Princeton university Press 2006). p. 6; For a review of NCR also see Kevin Narizny, 'On Systemic Paradigms and Domestic Politics: A Critique of the Newest Realism', *International Security*, 42 (2017).

argue that the scope and ambition of a country's foreign policy are driven primarily by its place in the international system and specifically by its relative material power capabilities. This is why they are Realist. They argue further, however, that the impact of such power capabilities on foreign policy is indirect and complex because systemic pressures must be translated through intervening variables at the unit level. This is why they are neoclassical.⁷⁷

Also called "Modified Realism"⁷⁸ NCR does not discredit neorealism main assumptions but connect state and society relationship in examining state foreign policy behaviour. According to Lobell et al., "Neoclassical Realism builds upon the complex relationship between the state and society found in classical Realism without sacrificing the central insight of Neorealism about the constraints of the international system."⁷⁹ Schweller adds to the debates by not ignoring the Waltzian concept of international system, but believes it is inadequate:

While not abandoning Waltz's insights about international structure and its consequences, neoclassical realists have added first and second level variables (e.g. domestic politics, internal extraction capability and processes, state power and intentions and leaders perceptions of the relative distribution of capabilities and of the offense-defence balance) to explain foreign policy decision making and intrinsically important historical puzzles.⁸⁰

⁷⁷ Gideon Rose, 'Review: Neoclassical Realism and Theories of Foreign Policy', *World Politics*, 51 (1998) p.146

⁷⁸ Brian C. Schmidt, 'Competing Realist Conceptions of Power', *Millennium* 33 (2005).

⁷⁹ Norrin Ripsman, Jeffrey Taliaferro and Steven E. Lobell, *Neoclassical Realism, the State, and Foreign Policy* (Cambridge University Press, 2009) p.13

⁸⁰ Schweller, 'The Progressiveness of Neoclassical Realism'.p.317

NCR essentially addresses an important aspect of state behaviour that Neorealist thinking has yet to explain satisfactorily. One of the key question that challenges Neorealism at its core is why states perform contrarily when faced similar constraints in the global system. NCR adherents believe the answer can be found by combining both domestic and systemic variables. Fareed Zakaria argues, “a good account of a nation’s foreign policy should include systemic, domestic, and other influences, specifying what aspects of the policy can be explained by what factors.”⁸¹

Unlike Walt, which takes a distribution of capabilities and systemic pressures as only variables, NCR advocate “state motivations”, “state capacity” and “attributes of national power” an important consideration in analysing states’ foreign policy. NCR supporters are sceptical that there exists any strong and automatic “transmission belt” which assist to translate systemic pressures into foreign policy outcomes.⁸² They argue that the opportunities and competitions presented by the global system cannot be demarcated and understood through the complex domestic process that serves “to channel, mediate, and (re)direct policy output.”⁸³ They further believe the challenges of the international system are “murky and difficult to interpret”⁸⁴ and must be “filtered through the fuzzy prism” of the state elites involved in decision making before translating into political decisions.⁸⁵ NCR adherents believe that the perception of individuals responsible for the foreign

⁸¹Fareed Zakaria, 'Realism and Domestic Politics: A Review Essay', *International Security*, 17 (Summer 1992). p.198

⁸² See following. Schweller, 'Unanswered Threats', p.164; Jeffrey W. Taliaferro, 'State Building for Future Wars: Neoclassical Realism and the Resource Extractive State', *Security Studies*, 15(3) (July-September 2006). p. 485; Rose, 'Review: Neoclassical Realism and Theories of Foreign Policy' pp.146-47

⁸³ Schweller, 'Unanswered Threats' p.164

⁸⁴ Rose, 'Review: Neoclassical Realism and Theories of Foreign Policy', p.152

⁸⁵ Jennifer Sterling-Folker, 'Realist Environment, Liberal Process, and Domestic-Level Variables', *International Studies Quarterly*, 41 (1997).

policy making of states is significant with regard to the advantages and disadvantages provided by the international system.⁸⁶

It essentially means that the parameters of state foreign policy are conditioned by systemic pressures i.e. relative capabilities of states, but the impact of such imperatives are not direct rather they must be first translated through the intervening variables like states elites at the unit level and then analysed for its impact on the states behaviours. Specifically, although it matters states are facing external threats and pressures from the international system, they can respond or ignore it, keeping in view their own standing in the international system, their own calculations about their power and thinking. Taliaferro maintains that state elite will make decision keeping in view the advantages and disadvantages provided by the international system.⁸⁷

Another important intervening variable promoted by the NCR adherents is state domestic power which helps or suppress elite's perceptions about their conduct in the international system. Zakaria maintains, "foreign policy is made not by the nation as a whole but by its government. State power is that portion of national power the government can extract for its purposes and reflects the ease with which central decisionmakers can achieve their ends."⁸⁸ To illustrate his case study of the US government, Zakaria discusses during the late 19th century the US administration wanted to enhance its influence globally, but the weak central government and powerful states barred federal government efforts to expand universally. But the industrial era provided such opportunity to the US government to expand. Zakaria maintains,

The decades after the Civil War saw the beginning of a long period of growth in America's material resources. But this national power lay dormant beneath a weak

⁸⁶ Taliaferro 'State Building for Future Wars' pp.485-486

⁸⁷ Taliaferro 'State Building for Future Wars, pp. 485-86

⁸⁸Fareed Zakaria, *From Wealth to Power: The Unusual Origins of America's World Role* (Princeton University Press, 1998). p.9

state, one that was decentralized, diffuse, and divided. The presidents and their secretaries of state tried repeatedly to convert the nations rising power into influence abroad, but they presided over a federal state structure and a tiny central bureaucracy that could not get men or money from the state governments or from society at large...The 1880s and 1890s mark the beginnings of the modern American state, which emerged primarily to cope with the domestic pressures generated by industrialization...This transformation of state structure complemented the continuing growth of national power, and by the mid-1890s the executive branch was able to bypass Congress or coerce it into expanding American interests abroad. America's resounding victory in the Spanish-American War crystallized the perception of increasing American power [and] America expanded dramatically in the years that followed.⁸⁹

NCR other unit-level variables are “cohesion,” “consensus within the government,” the “role of bureaucracy,” and the “role of political culture.” The domestic structure prevents states to adopt certain actions externally, even if the state leaders correctly assess conditions of the system. Lobell believes there may be an occasion when states accurately perceive the incentive, opportunities, and constraints provided by the states external environment, but states may appear handicapped to tailor their foreign policy accordingly mainly due to the domestic politics constraints.⁹⁰ Lobell further argues, “elite perception and calculations of international pressures and a lack of consensus within the top leadership and national security bureaucracies often slow the process of net assessment.”⁹¹

⁸⁹ *ibid*, pp.10-11

⁹⁰ Lobell et al, *Neoclassical Realism, the State, and Foreign Policy*, p.32

⁹¹ *ibid*

Furthermore, Schweller describes four important variables which aid or constrains states to come to a certain foreign policy decision. The four variables are “elite consensus”, “elite cohesion” and “elite polarization”, “social cohesion” and “regime vulnerability.”⁹² Regarding alliances, Schweller’s Balance of Interest (BoI) concept explains that the decision on any alliance is based on state motivation or interest rather than power, whether states choose to have an alliance or not. Schweller believes that the response to threats is dependent on a state’s nature, whether it is a revisionist state or keen to maintain the status quo.⁹³ While Taliaferro believes “state institutions”, “state-sponsored nationalism” and “anti-static ideology” must be deemed important for their role as a mediator between states international environment and states reactions to it.⁹⁴

NCR is also cognizant of giving space to the cultural factors in understanding domestic dynamics that influences states foreign policy behaviours. Colin Dueck argues, “culture shapes strategic choices in several ways. First, culture influences the way international events, pressures, and conditions are perceived. Second, it provides a set of causal beliefs regarding the efficient pursuit of national interests. Third, it helps determine the actual definitions of these interests, by providing foreign policy goals.”⁹⁵ Culture in certain case help nation to respond aggressively coherently to external challenges. Schweller argues fascism nationalism helped Germany to mobilize resources.⁹⁶

⁹² Schweller, *Unanswered Threats*, pp.11-51

⁹³ Schweller Under-Balancing concept says that in history states have failed to form alliances or build arms in the face of hegemonic states due to either states leaders were weak, or leaders were divided over how to react the threat. Moreover, states societies were fragmented and divided; it also hampered states efforts to mobilise their societies to react strongly to the threats. Schweller, *Unanswered Threats*.

⁹⁴ Taliaferro, 'State Building for Future Wars' p. 468

⁹⁵ Colin Dueck, *Reluctant Crusaders: Power, Culture, and Change in American Grand Strategy* (Princeton University Press, 2006). p.15

⁹⁶ Schweller, *Unanswered Threats*, p.105; For related discussion also see Randall Schweller, 'Opposite but Compatible Nationalisms: A Neoclassical Realist Approach to the Future of US–China Relations', *The Chinese Journal of International Politics*, Vol. 11 No. 1 (March 2018).

NCR in Pakistan-China context

Indeed, NCR utility, and strength is found in its acceptance of domestic intervening variables which have been ignored by Neorealism and complained by SEPIA theoretical model. If a theory which is associated more closely with SEPIA, then it is NCR. SEPIA like NCR gives preference to the internal dynamics of the states, but there are significant differences the way both concepts approach it. NCR explains foreign policy behavior, SEPIA explain strategies of domestic propaganda to sustain alliance domestically.

Precisely, if we apply NCR model on China-Pakistan alliance, it means that external variables are important but domestic propaganda as an intervening variable determine Pakistani security elite behaviour towards China, but this is not the central argument of this research. Andrew Dafty maintains that it is extremely hard to gauge the impact of propaganda on the formation of the alliances.⁹⁷ More precisely, applying NCR model means the perception of the Pakistani elites about their own standing in the international system and their strength vis-à-vis their own social work as an intervening variable to determine their foreign policy behaviour. Yet again this is not the main assumption of SEPIA theoretical approach.

SEPIA theoretical model is about securing external alliance from domestic threats. Indeed, SEPIA urge to consider the internal dynamics of the states, but not for the purpose of determining external behaviour but to evaluates domestic society challenges to the state efforts to maintain alliance and state efforts to secure popular support for the alliance.

Although SEPIA goes beyond systemic analysis, and try to explore states internally, it studies states internal attributes. However, it does not use internal attributes to determine Pakistan's behaviours towards China. SEPIA does not mean that Pakistani officials making efforts to win over the Chinese citizens but its own society, whose religious

⁹⁷ Andrew Dafty, *Britain, American Anti-Communist Propaganda*, (London Routledge, 2004).

tendencies are exposing Pakistani elite's fears towards their own society. In sum, this research is about constructing alliance within the domestic milieu. SEPIA explains that the Sino-Pakistan alliance exists, it is mainly its survival, which is at stake, SEPIA aims to explain how to secure its survival in the wake of challenges from Pakistani society. Therefore, this is a different argument than NCR explanation. This is the main deficiency and fallacy of this theory, which makes it unsuitable for the current research.

Next section explores Social Constructivism, which largely pays attention to the domestic variables, whether it is helpful to the phenomena of Pakistan-China alliance.

Social Constructivism

Social Constructivism (or simply Constructivism) is an international political theory that rejects the prerequisites of Structural Realism. Constructivism, which emerged as an alternative theory in post-cold war era, deals key concepts and questions that conventional theories of IR have failed to sufficiently elucidate and understand. Constructivism premises and variables are completely different from mainstems theories. It provides privileges to norms and identities, the ideas that traditional theories consider trivial and secondary.⁹⁸ The cultural-ideational variables (nationalism, culture, and identity) that are subject to devaluation in the mainstream theories are fundamental for

⁹⁸ For a detailed study see Wendt. *'Anarchy Is What States Make of It'*; Wendt. 'Social Theory of International Politics'; Wendt. *'On the Via Media: A Response to the Critics'*; Katzenstein. *'Cultural Norms and National Security'*; Alexander Wendt, 'Constructing International Politics', *International Security*, 20 (1995).; Thomas Berger, 'Norms, Identity, and National Security in Germany and Japan', in *The Culture of National Security: Norms and Identity in World Politics*, ed. by Peter J. Katzenstein (New York: Columbia University Press, 1996).; Ted Hopf, 'The Promise of Constructivism in International Relations Theory', *International Security*, 23 (1998).; Thomas Berger, 'Power and Purpose in Pacific East Asia: A Constructivist Interpretation', in *International Relations Theory and the Asia Pacific*, ed. by John G. Ikenberry and Michael Mastanduno (New York: Columbia University Press, 2003).; K.M Fierke, *'Constructivism'*, in *International Relations Theories: Discipline and Diversity*, ed. by Milja Kurki Tim Dunne, Steve Smith (Oxford University Press, 2013).pp. 187-205

constructivist. Unlike Neorealist, Constructivists posit concepts like power, anarchy, and sovereignty are socially created. It considers material factor unimportant as opposed to cognitive factors.

Though Nicholas Onuf devised the term, Alexander Wendt popularised it. Onuf famously argues that states like individuals are living in a “world of our own making.”⁹⁹ Constructivism world is a social world, it is a world of intersubjectivity. It is made of the interactions of the individuals and their common beliefs and consciousness about different phenomena.¹⁰⁰ John Searle argues Constructivism give importance to individual’s perception and thinking not the material factors or “brute facts.”¹⁰¹

Constructivism assumes that the world’s knowledge and many aspects are not real, but that people only relate their meanings to them through negotiations and social contacts. States will play differently with their friends and enemies who make their social experiences. To illustrate this point, Constructivist argue North Korea may not be a threat to China, but it is a threat to the United States. Even in the Neorealist world, Korea should threaten both the United States and China with its dangerous nuclear weapons. Likewise, 500 British nuclear weapons cannot be a threat to the United States, but 5 nuclear weapons in North Korea represent a major threat to the United States.¹⁰² So, for Constructivists, it is not the structure of the international system, but the social interaction of the state that counts.

⁹⁹ Nicholas G. Onuf, *World of Our Own Making* (Columbia: University of South California Press, 1998).

¹⁰⁰ Christian Reus-Smit, *Constructivism*. ed. by Scott Burchill and Andrew Linklater, *Theories of International Relations* (Basingstoke, Hampshire: Palgrave Macmillan 2005). pp 188-211

¹⁰¹ John Searle, *The Construction of Social Reality*, (London: Allen Lane, 1995).p.2

¹⁰² Wendt. “Constructing International Politics” p.73

Likewise, if the people of the United Kingdom get up early in the morning and say that the United Kingdom no longer exists, it means that it does not exist. Similar if the nations of India and Pakistan come to an agreement that their rivalry is over it means it's over.

Constructivist discards Neorealist distribution of capabilities explanation as “biased elucidation” and argues that “the most important aspect of the international system is social, not material.”¹⁰³ They affirm that international system is not a natural phenomenon occurring without the interfering of the individuals but a human creation. The international system is not a system like a solar system with a physical presence rather it is a cognitive creation. In a Constructivist world, the international system does not exist by itself, but in the mutual consciousness between the states. This is intellectual and ideational creation, “It is a set of ideas, a body of thoughts, a system of norms, which has been arranged by certain people at a particular time and place.”¹⁰⁴

For the Constructivist, the international system is not rigid as suggested by the Neorealist. It changes with the change of ideas and values. Essentially it is defined by the interaction of the states and the meaning attributed to it. In addition, for Realists, anarchy is a natural phenomenon occurring without state intervention that leads to the self-help system. but the Constructivist does not accept this narrow interpretation. For Constructivist anarchy is not given, it is socially constructed. Wendt argues, “Anarchy is what states make of it.”¹⁰⁵ In short, Constructivist believe that there is no such thing anarchy, and as a result, there is no materialistic explanation. It is not a permanent phenomenon that causes constant interstate struggle.

In a Constructivist world, the identities and interests of states can change as they are socially constructed. The Neorealist propose the identities and interests of the states are

¹⁰³ Robert Jackson and Georg Sorensen, *Introduction to International Relations: Theories and Approaches*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006). p.162

¹⁰⁴ *ibid.*

¹⁰⁵ Wendt. “Anarchy is What States Make of It”

given and fixed. States understand what they are doing. However, in a Constructivist paradigm, the interests of the state are not fixed but changing. In a Realistic world, states have an assumption about other states, in a Constructivist world, there is no presupposition, but everything depends on interactions with other states.

Wendt argues that the identities and interests of states are basically found when states interact with other states. So, interests are not constant and rigid, rather they are changing and redefining.¹⁰⁶ Thomas Risse-Kappan, argues that the existence of the NATO is due to the member's states shared identity which had been non-existent before its formation.¹⁰⁷ Hence, Constructivist international alliances are formed not due to inherent forces existing at the international level, but identity is formed by states and individual itself.¹⁰⁸

Criticism on Constructivism

Constructivism is a good indication of the growing concepts of international politics. It provides a convincing explanation about the construction and reconstruction of the international system and the concept of anarchy. Despite the sophistication and originality of Constructivism, it presents some flaws that cannot be ignored without difficulty. Serious defects have been identified in this concept. The main challenge to Constructivist has emerged from the ranks of Realism.

¹⁰⁶ *ibid.*; Hopf. The Promise of Constructivism; Berger. 'Power and Purpose'

¹⁰⁷ Thomas Risse-Kappan, 'Collective Identity in a Democratic Community: The Case of Nato', in *The Culture of National Security: Norms and Identity in World Politics*, ed. by Peter. J. Katzenstein (New York: Columbia University Press, 1996).

¹⁰⁸ Jeffrey T. Checkel, 'Norms, Institutions, and National Identity in Contemporary Europe', *International Studies Quarterly*, 43 (1999).; Christopher Hemmer and Peter J. Katzenstein, 'Why Is There No Nato in Asia? Collective Identity, Regionalism, and the Origins of Multilateralism', *International Organization*, 56 (2002).

In the first case, Constructivists often exaggerate their importance, while clearly; they cannot sufficiently admit the effects of the external environment and the structural material variables on the behavior of states. Constructivism is a normative theory that emphasizes the role of ideas, norms, and values in explaining the phenomena of world politics; Neorealist are extremely cynical about norms and identities. The Neorealist believes that norms have generally been neglected by powerful states. Stephen Krasner states “Powerful states have violated the autonomy and the integrity of weak ones.”¹⁰⁹

Likewise, Neorealist, are not willing to accept that states become friends or enemies based on social interaction. They contemplate, it might be good for a thought, but it does not work in a real world. The anarchic international structure makes difficult for the states to trust each other. Mearsheimer argues that it is an international system that determines the behavior of states, not social interactions.¹¹⁰ In spite of everything, a state whose security is susceptible will possibly attempt to enhance its relative power. It can either increase the defense budget, look for alliances but barely think that the interaction of some vague ideas will help to reduce tension. Neorealists believe that states’ intentions towards other states are not benevolent and inter-state interaction is not based on genuine intentions. Copeland believes states deceive “to serve their own narrow interests” and cannot be trusted.¹¹¹

A serious flaw is founded in Constructivists failure to explain the formation of norms and values. According to Robert Jarvis Constructivists have failed to explain “how norms are formed, how identities are shaped, and how interests are defined.”¹¹²

¹⁰⁹ Stephen D. Krasner, 'International Political Economy: Abiding Discord', *Review of International Political Economy*, 1 (Spring, 1994). pp.16–17

¹¹⁰ John Mearsheimer, 'A Realist Reply', *International Security*, 19 (Winter 1993-94).

¹¹¹ Dale C. Copeland, 'The Constructivist Challenge to Structural Realism: A Review Essay', *International Security*, 25 (Autumn, 2000). p. 202

¹¹² Quoted in Georg Sørensen and Robert H. Jackson, *Introduction to International Relations: Theories and Approaches* (Oxford University Press, 2006). p. 174

In short, Constructivism is inappropriate from the perspective of this work that deals with domestic politics without ignoring external political factors. Unfortunately, Constructivism pays excessive attention to the domestic factor while ignoring structural factors. They are solely based on the ideas, norms and do not take into account external factors. SEPIA being a Realist inspired framework mainly agrees with Realist's basic assumption that external factors cannot be ignored. In Pakistani case, the threats come from its external environment, it is India and Afghanistan which pose a threat to its security, Constructivist does not bother to argue about external factors.

Assumptions of Liberalism

Although Liberalism is an important IR theory, the understanding of the Liberals of world politics is very different from that of the Realists and the Constructivists. Liberals not only recognise the states but also identify other actors in the international system. For example, a nongovernmental organisation (NGOs), intergovernmental organisations (IGOs) and multinational corporations (MNCs) are as important as governments. The Realists explain the conflicting nature of the international system; the Liberalists suggest how to avoid conflict in the international system.¹¹³ Liberals are the other side of the coin, which assumes that international conflict can be avoided through inter-state cooperation, promotions of democracy and establishment of international institutions.

While Realists believe that state-to-state cooperation is difficult to achieve as states strengthen the power and look at each other with suspicion, Idealists tend to disagree and

¹¹³ For a detailed study see Michael W. Doyle, 'Liberalism and World Politics', *The American Political Science Review*, 80 (December 1986).; Alexander Clackson, 'Conflict and Cooperation in International Relations', *E-International Relations* (1 February 2011) <http://www.e-ir.info/2011/01/31/the-balance-of-power-a-cause-of-war-a-condition-of-peace-or-both/> [Accessed 11 March 2017].

believe that states are benevolent and believe in cooperation. The Liberals attacking Realist's core assumptions argue that the international system is in peace and that it depends on the states and other actors of the international system to benefit from it. They believe that the world is not essentially a relative power, but a positive sum game.¹¹⁴

The Liberal world is not a world of despair and uncertainty as suggested by the Realists. Idealists believe that there is a conflict, but there are other things that go beyond that i.e. their search for cooperation and global welfare. Liberals offer to develop global economic and political co-operation.¹¹⁵ The liberal main objective is to provide economic prosperity and stability. In the Liberal world, states do not challenge each other for security gains; they try to commit everyone well.¹¹⁶ Collective security and cooperation is the norm of the Liberal paradigm. States believe that by cooperation they are better off. State-to-state relations based on interdependence make the conflict too expensive and unprofitable as states consider mutual benefits in cooperation more attractive than conflicting behavior towards each other.¹¹⁷

Basing their argument on Immanuel Kant and Paine, Idealist like president Woodrow Wilson argue that spread of democracy and democratic states and/or similar regime

¹¹⁴ Also see Andrew Moravcsik, 'Taking Preferences Seriously: A Liberal Theory of International Politics', *International Organization*, 51 (Autumn, 1997).; Robert O Keohane and Joseph S. Nye Jr, 'Redefining Accountability for Global Governance', in *Governance in a Global Economy: Political Authority in Transition*, ed. by Miles Kahler and David Lake (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2003).

¹¹⁵ For detail see Moravcsik Andrew, 'Liberal Theories of International Relations: A Primer', (2010).

¹¹⁶ *ibid*

¹¹⁷ For detail see Robert Keohane and Joseph S. Nye *Power and Interdependence: World Politics in Transition* (Longman, 2012).

spread peace and cooperation.¹¹⁸ The spread of democracy will make the world peaceful as democratic states are intrinsically more non-violent than authoritarian states.¹¹⁹

While Intuitionist, largely part of Liberalists thoughts, argues that international conflict can be avoided through cooperation and international institutions can help facilitate this cooperation. Institutions create incentives for good behaviour and making it costlier for states to violate international commitments.¹²⁰ States observing to the institution pledge to the rules and regulations set up by the institution. In summary, the Liberal vision of the international system is not bleak and competitive but is characterised by opportunities and cooperation among states. Moreover, Liberalism believes that a relationship based on states interdependence leads to cooperation in international politics.

Manifest absurdities of Liberalism

There are serious problems with this mainstream theory of IR. Liberalism undoubtedly provides a different perspective on the state of international politics, but its strong dependence on material factors (economy, trade, cooperation, and Institutions) makes it relatively unexciting for current research. Only economic interdependence is not enough to prevent conflicts at the global level. We also know international institution have miserably failed to prevent conflict in international politics. Institution rules and regulation have been smashed by powerful nations. Therefore, Liberalists have a hard

¹¹⁸ For reference see Sean M. Lynn-Jones Michael E. Brown, and Steven E. Miller *Debating the Democratic Peace* (The MIT Press 1996).; Peter Wilson, 'Idealism in International Relations', in *Encyclopedia of Power*. ed. by Keith Dowding (Thousand Oaks, California: SAGE, 2011).

¹¹⁹ See for detail Francis Fukuyama and Michael McFaul, 'Should Democracy Be Promoted or Demoted?', (Iowa, USA The Stanley Foundation, June 2007).
<http://www.stanleyfoundation.org/publications/other/FukuyMcFaul07.pdf> [accessed on 11 January 2017]

¹²⁰ For detail see Robert O. Keohane and Lisa L. Martin, 'The Promise of Institutional Theory', *International Security*, 20 (Summer, 1995). Also see Robert Keohane and Joseph S. Nye *Power and Interdependence: World Politics in Transition* (Longman, 2012).

time in elucidating the conflicts, which occur in the international system frequently despite cooperation and institutions. Liberal institutions have lost the trust of many nations all over the world.

Liberalism is challenged by many developments around the world. Roger Cohen of the New York Times says that the international organization, such as NATO and the EU, is struggling to survive, and that “the forces of disintegrating are on March.”¹²¹ The World Economic Forum proposes that the Liberal world order is being challenged by powerful authoritarian regimes.¹²² The expert of Democracy Larry Diamond painted a gloomy picture of the democratic configuration in the world, suggesting that “democracy is falling apart” and between 2000 and 2015, democracy fell in 27 countries.¹²³ Stephen Walt argues that efforts to build a democratic setup in Afghanistan, Iraq and many other parts of the world have failed miserably in recent decades.¹²⁴

The Arab Spring has divided Arab countries into sectarian lines. One wonders if the Arab world is happier after the revolution. The expert has difficulty answering these questions with certainty.¹²⁵ The Liberal world order that united Europe after the World War II has come under attack from within: the people of the UK has voted to leave the EU; Turkey,

¹²¹ Roger Cohen, 'Europe and the Unthinkable', *The New York Times* 10 June (2016). <https://www.nytimes.com/2016/06/11/opinion/europe-and-the-unthinkable.html?smid=fb-nytopinion&smtyp=cur> [accessed 25 June 2017]

¹²² 'Strengthening the Liberal World Order', in *Global Agenda Council on the United States* (Switzerland: World Economic Forum). http://www3.weforum.org/docs/WEF_US_GAC_Strengthening_Liberal_World_Order_White_Paper_US.pdf [accessed 5 May 2017]

¹²³ Larry Diamond, 'Democracy in Decline', *The Foreign Affairs* (July-August 2016). Available at <https://www.foreignaffairs.com/articles/world/2016-06-13/democracy-decline> [accessed 26 November, 2016]

¹²⁴ Stephen M. Walt, 'The Collapse of the Liberal World Order', *Foreign Policy* (26 June 2016). <http://foreignpolicy.com/2016/06/26/the-collapse-of-the-liberal-world-order-european-union-brexit-donald-trump/> [accessed 23 August 2017]

¹²⁵ 'The Arab Spring Has It Failed?', *The Economist* 13 July, (2013). <https://www.economist.com/news/leaders/21581734-despite-chaos-blood-and-democratic-setbacks-long-process-do-not-give-up> [accessed 12 January 2017]; Hicham Alaoui, 'Is the Arab World Better Off, Five Years after the Arab Spring?', *Yale MacMillan Center for International and Area Studies* 12 April 2016. <https://macmillan.yale.edu/news/arab-world-better-five-years-after-arab-spring> [accessed 22 June 2016]

Poland, and Hungary are moving towards a non-Liberal direction. In the United States, the White House is now occupied by President Trump who abuse the nature of African states. Thus, the central features of Liberalism are questioned, and Liberalism has difficulty explaining these new phenomena. In such a situation, this paradigm is not useful in this research.

Realist paradigm vs Constructivism

Finally, it is important to state why the Realist paradigm will be the main focus rather than alternative theories which routinely pay more attention to domestic variables, like Constructivism. Partly, the answer lies in the Constructivist as well as Liberalist fallacies. In the previous section, we highlighted their fallacies. Partly, the answer lies in the fact that SEPIA is essentially Realist focused theoretical framework. It argues that external threats make states to look for alliances as advocated by Walt's BoT. So, SEPIA does believe the competitive nature of international politics, but it believes BoT tells the half story. Realist theories fail to explain how to secure the threatened alliances.

SEPIA does believe states are very important actors and operate in a self-help system. The international system lacks mechanism which can give an assurance to the states that in the event of crisis they will be helped and rescued. In sum, SEPIA does not reject Realist assumption about states security, power, and anarchy, it is making to modify them to have a better explanation of Sino-Pakistan alliance.

Moreover, Pakistan alliance making with China clearly support Realist case as Pakistani Muslim elite ignore major differences of ideological values with China, extols virtues of friendship with atheist China. It is thus a major confirmation of the Realism claim that ideology and domestic politics do not matter. Walt says that ideology is an important

consideration, but it is not strong factor to make alliances.¹²⁶ So, it is the main reason we choose to write in Realist paradigm.

As far as the foreign policy behaviour of the states is concerned, Realist theories explain with much sophistication and detailed than any other paradigm, this is another important reason for writing in Realist paradigm, it is the Realist thinking that states want to secure its alliance from domestic threats and make propaganda efforts, this is itself rational behaviour than Idealist or normative.

Bridging the divide: SEPIA - A Realist perspective

In view of the highlighted limitations, this study advocates SEPIA theoretical framework which is hospitable to the phenomena of domestic propaganda to maintain awkward alliances. All above theories one or the other way suffer from flaws and absurdities. They are unable to explain the phenomena of awkward alliances in international politics which face resistance from domestic societies. These theories collectively fail to answer how to sustain awkward alliances domestically if a domestic society poses threats to its survival. SEPIA is helpful in this regard.

In the next section, we intend to examine the relevant literature on Pakistan-China relations. We try to highlight the fallacies and shortcoming of prior studies and finally the need for the sort of research this thesis is carrying and possible contributions of the research.

Pertinent literature on Pakistan-China relations

The alliance between Pakistan and China is one of the closest in the world; it is also one of the least understood. Given the fact that seeking security through external alliance has been the cornerstone of Pakistan's foreign policy, it would be expected that there would

¹²⁶ Walt, *The Origin of Alliances*. p. 5

be much literature on Pakistan-China alliance, but this extraordinary relationship has not received much attention. Though the relationship has by no means ignored, scholars have instead overwhelmingly interpreted its establishment and significance for Pakistan almost exclusively through the lens of prolonged Pakistan-India rivalry. As such these studies have failed to position the Pakistan-China relationship within the larger context of Pakistan's internal cleavages vis-à-vis China's alliance.

In excessively filtering this bilateral relationship through the lens of India, scholars both from India and Pakistan (even American and European) have obscured the degree to which Pakistani internal society pay threats to the alliance, including Pakistani elite's efforts to thwarts those threats to the alliance. Undeniably India was the salient factor bringing Pakistan and China closer, but India alone can't sufficiently explain this extraordinary relationship. There is much beyond Indian factor, there is much trouble beneath which doesn't appear openly. This research makes effort to not ignore what have been ignored in previous efforts. It is therefore critical to consider those issues threats and Pakistani elites efforts to overcome those threats to the alliance.

Indeed the Pakistan-China relationship receives some dedicated coverage in the earlier literature. It is not limited to these authors, but Anwar Syed, Rasul Bux Rais, Latif Sherwani, Samina Yasmeen, Yaacov Vertzberger, are single author monographs written during the cold war, which provide good analysis of the history of how two states of varying size and ideology found a common ground: a shared understanding entrenched in their mutual hostility towards India. Elaborating on it, the authors believe that the Sino-Indian war and Pakistan's experiences with its western alliance made a Pakistan-China alliance possible. While Pakistan had begun to resent its US alliance, cordial India-China relations had fizzled out due to differences over Tibet issue. India appeared to be an enemy which made them to seek closer cooperation in the field of security and defence

affairs.¹²⁷ Though these studies offer a more thorough investigation than some of the studies which refuses to look beyond the contextual vacuum of the Indian factor, they nevertheless ignore alternative explanations or internal threats to the alliance.¹²⁸

Likewise, some Indian authors have published book-length studies on Pakistan-China alliance, however, they contain propagandist material with no academic intent.¹²⁹ A more balanced work, however, can be found in the book edited by the former Indian foreign minister, Swarn Singh, entitled: *China-Pakistan Strategic Cooperation: Indian Perspectives*. The volume is contributed to by eighteen authors who challenge the myths which exist in Indian traditional policy thinking about Pakistan-China strategic cooperation, mainly around sensitive nuclear technology. The Indians generally view it as an anti-Indian alliance but Swarn Singh and others argue that though it is a challenge for Indian policy makers, it is not entirely Indo-centric. They believe that although India did play a central role in bringing two countries closer, other factors have cemented their alliance, like Pakistan's geography which is significant to China, and Pakistan's need for Chinese military and economic aid.¹³⁰ Swarn Singh edited volume does offer an academic value as it goes beyond the obsessive nature of Indian authors looking Sino-Pakistan alliance as India centric only.

Evidently, the earlier literature revolves around one factor: India as the enemy. Though analysis shows that some of this work is still valid, much has changed. China has been transformed from a developing country to a colossal industrial and military power, we have seen the demise of Soviet Union, changing dynamics of Sino-Indian relations and

¹²⁷ Anwar Syed, *China & Pakistan: Diplomacy of an Entente Cordiale*, (University of Massachusetts Press, 1974).; Rasul Rais. *China and Pakistan: A Political Analysis of Mutual Relations*; Latif Sherwani. *Pakistan, China and India*; Yaacov Vertzberger, *The Enduring Entente: Sino-Pakistani Relations, 1960–1980*, (New York: Praeger, 1983).; Zulfiqar Khalid, *Pakistan-China Security Relations*, (Progressive 1987).

¹²⁸J.P Jain, *China, Pakistan and Bangladesh*, (New Delhi: Radiant 1974).; Sailand Chaudhri, *Beijing-Washington-Islamabad Entente: Genesis and New Development* (New Delhi: Sterling 1982).

¹²⁹ Birendra Nath Goswami, *Pakistan and China: A Study of Their Relations*, (Allied Publishers, 1971).; P. L. Bholra, *Pakistan-China Relations: Search for Politico-Strategic Relationship*, (R.B.S.A., 1986).

¹³⁰ Swaran Singh, *China-Pakistan Strategic Cooperation: Indian Perspectives*, (Manohar 2007).

Pakistan's internal stability, all of which is affecting Pakistan-China relations. This research is likely to fill some of the gaps as it is looking at Pakistan's propaganda as evidence of how its security elite views, and specifically fears, about its own population.

The review of the literature shows that very little has been published in recent years on Pakistan-China, and particular no book length study had appeared on the Sino-Pakistan alliance since the 1980s. Although many recent compilations of writings by different authors address different aspects of China-Pakistan relations, even the most recent single-author publication, Ijaz Butt's *Focus on China's Relations with Pakistan*, came out nine years ago, and does not express any novel ideas: the same Indian factor, Sino-Pakistan defence and security cooperation are repeated and emphasized.¹³¹

This literary drought, which existed for almost thirty years, was fulfilled by Andrew Small's '*The China-Pakistan Axis: Asia's New Geopolitics*' (2015), and Ghulam Ali.¹³² Small's work is an extensive, covering both old and new ideas, and has been well received. India obviously is a central factor in this work, and Small traces the evolution of the relationship historically and covers the various developments which have assured the continuity and stability of the relationship. Small believes that Pakistan-China relations are thriving on new emerging strategic challenges in the form of the Indo-US strategic partnership, but more importantly, Pakistan is becoming an anchor of China's 'One Road, One Belt' strategic initiative of Chinese President Xi Jinping. He believes that China may have very different needs now, but that it has no other friends that it has been able to count on as consistently as Pakistan.¹³³

Ali more recent work give a historical analysis of Pakistan-China relations between 1950s until April 2015. Ali adopts a historical methodology to study the beginning and

¹³¹ Muhammad Ijaz, *Focus on China : Relations with Pakistan, Domestic Concerns*, (Advance 2007).

¹³² Ghulam Ali. *Pakistan-China Relations*

¹³³ Andrew Small, *The China-Pakistan Axis: Asia's New Geopolitics*, (C Hurst & Co Publishers 2015).

expansion of the alliance keeping in view domestic, regional and systemic factors but is conscious of giving space to emerging economic and trade relations.

Similarly, there are few international relations studies within the foreign policy volumes that pay specific attention to the logic of the alliance. These discussions generally examines Islamabad's early security predicament with New Delhi China's reactions to Pakistan's joining of US supported security pacts in 1954; the meeting of the Pakistani and Chinese premiers at the Afro-Asian conference; and the deterioration of New Delhi's relations with Beijing and finally the establishment of Pakistan-China alliance and dissolution of the Pakistan alliance with the US.¹³⁴ The chapter length works in the field are all but a few examples of a myriad of literature that address one of the key bilateral relationships in South Asia. Indeed, some studies on the international politics of South Asia pay specific attention to Pakistan relations with China vis-à-vis India.¹³⁵

Since the end of the cold war, a few studies have begun to emerge analysing bilateral ties, drawing on the transformations and shifting power dynamics of the post-cold war era. John Garver's comprehensive studies is particularly significant. Garver suggests in his series of writings that post-Cold War developments such as the Sino-Indian

¹³⁴ S.M.Burke. *Pakistan's foreign policy*; Mujtaba Rizvi, *The Frontiers of Pakistan*, (Karachi: National Publishing House, 1971).; M. A. Chaudhri, *Pakistan and the Great Powers, a Study of Pakistan's Foreign Policy 1954-1970*, (Karachi: Royal Book, 1970).; Sanghat Sing, *Pakistan Foreign Policy: An Appraisal*, (Lahore: Farhan Publishers, 1977).; K.B. Sayeed, 'Southeast Asia in Pakistan's Foreign Policy', in *Readings in Pakistan's Foreign Policy*, ed. by H. A.K Rai (Lahore: Aziz publishers, 1981).; Gurnam Singh, 'Pakistan's China Policy: Causal Considerations 1960s', in *Pakistan's Foreign Policy: Indian Perspectives*, ed. by K.Arif (Lahore: Vanguard Books, 1984).; Shahid Amin. *Pakistan's Foreign policy 2010*

¹³⁵ K.B. Sayeed, 'Pakistan and China: The Scope and Limits of Convergent Policies', in *Policies Towards China: Views from Six Continents*, ed. by A.M. Halpen (New York: Mcgraw-Hill, 1965).; Wayne Wilcox, *India, Pakistan, and Rise of China*, (Walker: New York, 1964).; B. S. Gupta, *The Fulcrum of Asia*, (New York: Pegasus, 1970).; William J Barnds, *India, Pakistan and Great Powers*, (New York: Praeger, 1972).

rapprochement have modified the Pakistan-China alliance, albeit mildly, but that the alliance has not been threatened or deteriorated.

Garver argues China's significance for Pakistan has not waned rather it has enlarged. Garver believes that the geostrategic interest in containing India remains stable between the two countries - although Beijing has adopted a neutral stance on the sensitive Kashmir issue - but the underlying strategic rationale of the Sino-Pakistan entente cordiale remains unchanged: India is still considered to be the common enemy.¹³⁶ Garver logic of Sino-Pakistan alliance is consistent with that offered by Ghulam Ali¹³⁷ but disputes that of Devin Hagerty and Willem Kemenade who note that since the end of the cold war, the levelling of relations between China and India has reduced China's interest in retaining close cooperation with Pakistan. Beijing has not only improved relations with Moscow but emerging Sino-Indian economic relations have reduced tension at their borders significantly thus affecting Sino-Pakistan alliance significantly.¹³⁸

In line with studies already described, Swarn Singh makes a similar point in suggesting that China's neutral position on Kashmir implies that economic interests have dampened historical rivalries and it has started taking strict neutral positions on Indo-Pakistan bilateral disputes. Beijing does not support a United Nations plebiscite on Kashmir; which amounts to an implicit endorsement of India's position that the conflict should be

¹³⁶ John Garver, 'Sino-Indian Rapprochement and Pakistan-China Entente', *Political Science Quarterly*, 3 (1996).; John W Garver, 'China's Influence in Central Asia and South Asia, Is It Increasing?', in *Power Shift China and Asia New Dynamics*, ed. by David Shambaugh (California: University of California Press, 2005).; Garver, 'China Kashmir Policies', *Indian Review London*, 3 (2004).; Garver. 'The Future of Pakistan-China Entente Cordiale'; Garver. 'China South Asia Interests and Policies'

¹³⁷ Ghulam Ali, 'Sino-Pakistan Relations: The Indian Factor', *IPRI III* (Summer, 2003).; Ghulam Ali, 'Fifty-Fifth Anniversary of Sino-Pakistan Relations: An Appraisal', (2009).

¹³⁸ Devin Hagerty, 'China and Pakistan: Strains in the Relationship', *Current History*, 101 (2002). Willem Van Kemenade, 'Détente between China and India, the Delicate Balance of Geopolitics in Asia', *Netherlands Institute of IR*, (2008).

resolved bilaterally. He goes to prove his point by stating that during the Kargil War in 1999, the Chinese leaders remained neutral and rejected repeated Islamabad requests for support.¹³⁹ Essentially, these studies are suggesting ruptures in the story of the “all weather ally” - as does this study by examining the difficult or problematic nature of this alliance. These studies are significantly in providing the background to the simmering tension, however, these studies fail to suggest what strategies Pakistan may adopt to overcome these challenges.

There is some literature which pays attention to the question of the serious emerging strains in the Pakistan-China alliance namely those by Ziad Haider and Issac Kardon, Shahzad Akhtar, Ahmad Faruqi, Jayshree Bajoria, and Preeti Bhattacharji. This is different category of the literature mainly because it discusses challenges within the relationship, earlier literature talks about cooperation, and this list is by no means exhaustive. These studies maintain that the unprecedented emerging strains may deeply affect the Sino-Pakistan alliance. Beijing is much more concerned about its security: it has warned Islamabad to take action against religious militants involved in training and supporting the Xinjiang Uighur separatist movement, and to improve the security of the Chinese nationals working on various projects in Pakistan.

Although this set of studies observes that the alliance is likely to remain intact due to the emerging Indo-US strategy partnership, it warns that Pakistan has no reason to rejoice since China will react strongly if it fails to address militant activities directed at it.¹⁴⁰ A

¹³⁹ Swarn Singh, 'The Kargil Conflict: Why and How of China Neutrality', *Strategic Analysis*, 23 (1999).

¹⁴⁰ Ahmad Faruqi, 'The Complex Dynamics of Pakistan's Relationship with China', *IPRI*, (2001).; Ahmad Faruqi, 'The Sino-Pakistan Relationship: From Harmony to Disquiet', *OI-OIA*, (2001) <<http://nautilus.org/napsnet/napsnet-policy-forum/nautilus-institute-policy-forum-online-the-sino-pakistani-relationship-from-harmony-to-disquiet/?view=pdf>>.; Ziad Haider, 'Sino-Pakistan Relations and Xinjinag Uighurs', *Asian Survey*, XLV (2005).; Ziad Haider, 'The China Factor in Pakistan ', *Far Eastern Economic Review*, (2009).; S. Akhtar, 'Pakistan-China Relations: An Assessment', *The Institute of Strategic Studies Islamabad*, xxix (2009).; Jayshree Bajori, 'Pakistan's All Weather Allay', *Council on*

similar point has also been made by the veteran observer of Pakistan's politics Stephen Cohen, who maintains that China role in Pakistan is growing immensely. However, though the Chinese consider Pakistan to be an important partner in South Asia, they are wary of the Pakistani internal security crisis, as they fear for their huge investments in both Afghanistan and Pakistan, but despite this, they are not likely to abandon their military ties with Pakistan, mainly to balance India.¹⁴¹

The question that arises is whether this increased friction is leading to the Pakistani rulers' reinforcement of their propaganda efforts to praise China. These studies do not address this question, but it does seem to be very much case, as Pakistan cannot afford to lose an ally which is so central to her security needs, but the fact that members of Pakistan's population have constantly posed a threat to the lives and security of China is inviting Chinese ire and putting pressure on Pakistan, requiring Pakistan's security to adopt counter measures, this is the central point in this research.

While the literature discussed above has dealt comprehensively with Pakistan-China relations regarding India and, to varying degrees, the emerging strains, some studies suggest that the alliance has its limitations. The literature suggests that the alliance has been overstated by the Pakistani security elites and the actual substance and productivity of the alliance is not as considerable as predicted by Islamabad. For instance, Lisa Curtis and Derek Scissors describe how US policy makers worry that, if pushed hard, Pakistan will seek Chinese protection, however the authors warn that China is equally concerned about Pakistan's stability and its support for the militant groups. This convergence of interests creates room for China and the US to concentrate and combine their interests in

Foreign Relations, Analysis Brief, (2008).; Preeti Bhattacharji, 'Uighurand China's Xinxiang Region', *Council on Foreign Relations* (2009).; Raffaello Pantucci, 'Break up Time for Pakistan, China?', *The Diplomat* (2012).

¹⁴¹ Stephen P. Cohen, 'The Future of Pakistan', *The Brookings Institution*, (2011). pp.38-45

Pakistan and change Pakistan's behaviour.¹⁴² Curtis and Scissors provide new insight in the debate, but opposite may be true.

Andrew Small's *China Cautious on Pakistan-Afghanistan* also sees a commonality of interest between China and the US to correct Pakistan's behaviour but Small sees reluctance on the part of China to work closely with the US, China is suspect of American intentions.¹⁴³ In the same way, Michael Beckley, maintains that there are two assumptions with regard to Pakistan in the current US foreign policy debate: firstly, that the US policy makers believe that if US pushes Pakistan hard it will seek Chinese protection to withstand US pressures, and secondly that Pakistan has an enduring alliance with China which also neutralised US pressure on Pakistan as Pakistan can seek help from China. Beckley believes both these assumptions are wrong, as China and Pakistan do not actually share a robust alliance and that they only cooperate on some issues like energy, India and terrorism which are diminishing with the passage of time, and therefore Washington can take punitive measures to correct Pakistan.¹⁴⁴ Nevertheless, recently, strains in Pakistan-US relationship has suggested that a public bashing of Pakistan and firm US push may bring Pakistan into the Chinese orbit. Even if US doesn't push hard Pakistan, emerging Sino-Pakistan economic ties may do so.

Pakistan-China alliance in the Pakistani textbooks

From the above literature, it is obvious that the use of propaganda explaining Pakistan and China has been a missing link. This current study deals with how the propaganda about China reflects the fears of Pakistan's rulers. This research argues that the

¹⁴² Derek Scissors, Lisa Curtis, 'The Limits of Pakistan-China Alliance', *The Heritage Foundation* 2641 (2012).; Michael Beckley, 'China and Pakistan: Fair-Weather Friends', *Yale Journal of International Affairs* (2012).; Kabraji, 'The China-Pakistan Alliance: Rhetoric and Limitations', *Asia Programme Paper, Chatham House*, (2012).

¹⁴³ Andrew Small, 'China Cautious on Afghanistan-Pakistan', *The Washington Quarterly*, 33 (2010).

propaganda is an important causal part of sustaining alliances: the internal, pedagogical/propagandist process of alliance maintenance is a crucial part of the exercise that previous studies neglect, i.e. it would be much harder or impossible for Pakistan to sustain the alliance with China without the narrative that its elites deliver locally.

So far as the cultural textbooks are concerned, certainly, some studies have made efforts to incorporate textbook propaganda to address the obvious anomalies contained in Pakistani textbooks. For example, K.K Aziz "*Murder of History*", emphasizes distortions of facts, prejudices, xenophobic thoughts and hatred material in cultural textbooks. Aziz's ground-breaking study reviews over 65 textbooks and suggests that the text's objective is to indoctrinate young minds with the promotion of knowledge that represents half-truth and predominantly lies. Aziz elaborates that the state distorts facts about the Pakistani movement, spreads lies about the Jinnah nation's father, legitimises the military rule and war with India.¹⁴⁵

Aziz study is by no means the first to highlight these problems. In his well-researched and stimulating work, Mubarak Ali also emphasizes distortions, inaccuracies and prejudices in the Pakistani textbooks.¹⁴⁶ Rubina Saigol conducted an analysis of the content of textbooks on social studies to reveal hateful and xenophobic and aggressive material in textbooks.¹⁴⁷ Madiha Afzal says that textbooks promote Pakistani Islamic ideology and India as an enemy. Afzal believes texts describe the United States as

¹⁴⁵ Aziz. *Murder of History*; Aziz. *Historians of Pakistan*

¹⁴⁶ Mubarak Ali, *In the Shadow of History*, (Lahore: Fiction House 1998).

¹⁴⁷ Saigol. Education: *Critical Perspectives, the Boundaries of Consciousness*

betraying Pakistan on several occasions.¹⁴⁸ In fact, the gender benefits have received major representations in previous writings.¹⁴⁹

On a similar note the Pakistani printing press has consistently addressed the textbook controversy. Numerous writers relate degeneration in the Pakistani society with the substance of the course readings. They argue textbooks glaringly disregard non-Muslims religious belief as they are forced to take lessons which are unrelated to their religious beliefs.¹⁵⁰ Still others have labelled Pakistani textbook promoting the Islamic ideology and marginalizing others religious minority. India is portrayed as eternal enemy.¹⁵¹ Ishtiaq Ahmed illuminates that the distortion of the textbooks is not just a Pakistani issue, however, India as well. He believes both nations have distorted their history for patriotic purposes that have flourished religious prejudice in their communities.¹⁵²

Clearly, these studies have identified political propaganda in textbooks, they have ignored the textbook propaganda to promote Pakistan's alliance with China. Previous studies have focused mainly on the promotion of hatred against India, the Islamization of Pakistani society, the promotion of Islamic ideology and prejudice against women and non-Muslims, but most have not acquired adequate treatment of the Pakistan-China alliance. This marginalisation is the result of these studies and their obsession with India, which leads them to underestimate China, and therefore proposes their limited scope. As a result, they tend to suffer from similar failures and the criticisms made in the above studies (literature on the relations between Pakistan and China), namely an excessive emphasis on India, but fail to adequately address the efforts of the Pakistani elite to

¹⁴⁸ Madiha Afzal. *Education and Attitudes in Pakistan*

¹⁴⁹ Sanam Zeb, 'Textbooks Replete with Biases', *The Dawn* (2015).; Masud. *Curriculum, Textbooks and Gender Stereotypes*; Durrani. *Schooling the 'Other'*; Skelton. *Gender Representation in the Public Sector Schools Textbooks of Pakistan*.

¹⁵⁰ Jacob. *Fanatic Literacy or Education*; Paul. *Biased Pakistani Textbooks*

¹⁵¹ Nayye. and Hoodbhoy, *Rewriting the history of Pakistan*

¹⁵² Ishtiaq Ahmed, *The Punjab Bloodied, Partitioned and Cleansed: Unravelling the 1947 Tragedy through Secret British Reports and First-Person Accounts* (Oxford University Press, 2012).

cultivate a favourable image of China. So, these studies are guilty of relegating China in favour of India. In sum, these studies tend to take China less seriously.

In a nutshell, this thesis aims to make following significant contributions. Firstly, there is an absence of empirical research on cultural institution's textbook representations of China-Pakistan alliance, therefore, this dissertation is comparatively an original undertaking. This is essentially, the first study of its kind and breaks away from the conventional aspects of the Pakistan-China alliance; rather, it dips into overlooked dimensions, it fulfils the serious lacuna, which exists in Sino-Pakistan alliance that how Pakistan is maintaining its alliance with a country with such conflicting political, economic and cultural value systems.

Significance of textbooks to study Sino-Pakistan relations

The preceding section on literature maintains that the principle reason to employ textbooks to investigate Pakistan-China relations is under-representation of this data in previous studies. As demonstrated above, and to the best of author knowledge, nobody has conducted research on this topic using cultural textbooks and lawmakers discussion on Sino-Pakistan relations. This is the prime reason we are using textbooks to evaluate Pakistan-China alliance.

Moreover, textbooks are itself very significant for research investigation. Textbooks are fundamentally political and partisan, but they are central in any educational system. They are a universal means of education and dissemination of knowledge. This modern era of information technology, where knowledge is available in a single click, has not reduced

its importance.¹⁵³ Textbooks are filled with prejudices and transfer specific knowledge from leadership to the younger generation.¹⁵⁴ Expert believes textbooks are an important way of communicating certain ideological and cultural message to the masses. Texts in a way perform the function of teaching states hegemonic ideologies.¹⁵⁵ It increases the importance of the textbook to explore. Earlier studies have drawn some interesting findings as discussed in the literature section, in this study an attempt to study Pakistan-China alliance is likely to disclose some noteworthy findings.

Research methods, sources and barriers

This qualitative study employs documentary analysis, supplemented by elite interviewing as the main research methods. Current academic textbooks used in public institutions (social studies, history and Urdu literature produced for schools, colleges and universities) serve as important empirical evidence to answer research questions. Furthermore, the security elite's contribution to the leading newspapers (in the form of articles), and the parliamentary debates of Pakistani lawmakers are used to examine the propaganda strategies.

Primary sources are derived from the official documents available to the public from the various ministries (Ministry of Planning) and embassies (for example, official publications and annual reports from Pakistan's embassy in Beijing); and (ii) relevant information in various published forms (Official statements and press statements and media commentaries via newspapers, magazines, and news monitoring services).

¹⁵³ Philip G. Altbach, "The Oldest Technology: Textbooks in comparative context" *Compare* Vol. 17, No. 2 (1987).p.93

¹⁵⁴ For a detailed discussion and importance of textbooks see chapter four titled Textbooks and Propaganda

¹⁵⁵ Michael W. Apple, *Education and Power*, 2 ed. (Routledge, 1995). ; Michael W. Apple, *Ideology and Curriculum* (New York Routledge, 2004).; Michael W. Apple, *Cultural Politics and Education* (New York Teachers College Press, 1996).; Michael W. Apple, *Teachers and Texts: A Political Economy of Class and Gender in Education* (Boston Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1986).

Furthermore, the autobiographies of the Pakistani politicians, diplomats and politician are used to provide the necessary information for the research problem. Meanwhile, secondary sources of the related literature provided basic information, supporting theoretical approaches, substantive arguments and critical perspectives that have contributed to deepen knowledge and the understanding necessary to address the research problem.

We have used officials' archives held at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs (MOFA) Islamabad. Officials, archives mainly contain speeches, statements and press releases of the Pakistani politicians about China. Archives were not available until recently, but MOFA is making efforts to organise them and allowing the researcher to benefit from them. However, some documents remain in a disorganized form. We wrote to seek permission to use them and offered to organise the documents as long as MOFA provide uninterrupted access to the documents, but without success. In addition, due to administrative red-tapism, there is little help for researchers. The process of accessing archives is a very complicated process and the researcher must have a lot of patience to deal with it. To overcome this problem, this research has used important data sources: elite interviews.

The expert interviews with the decision-makers (semi-structured and open-ended formats) are used to overcome problems concerning restricted access to the official records. Five Pakistani administrations served between 1990 and 2010, so an effort is made to interview key personnel (For example Ambassadors to China, foreign minister/foreign secretaries, and chief of army staff) who served during those governments or who had first-hand information of Pakistan-China alliance. Many of the interviewees were part of Pakistan-China dealings and meetings.

We have also conducted interviews with the textbook authors and officials from the Ministry of Education, Islamabad to get first-hand information who have been involved in the decision-making of textbook production. This will help to give a variety of perspectives on the formation of the alliance, and it will help improve the authenticity of information.

The research is further complemented by employing the memoirs of the eyewitnesses (Presidents, Army General, Foreign Minister and Ambassadors.) to substitute for gap in other categories of archives as well as newspaper articles. The role and importance of the newspaper in defining the political agenda cannot be denied. Therefore, this study also focuses on English newspapers in Pakistan. Selecting English newspapers would ensure that we obtain data that specifically targets the educated and elite class in Pakistan.

Limitations of the research

This inquiry covers the period from 1990- 2010 and is presented from the perspective of Pakistan. This study is not an exhaustive and comprehensive history of Pakistan-China relations. It may not be a detailed version of the history of the alliance and unlikely to tell chronological growths of the alliance. On these subjects there are many dedicated volumes, discussed in the literature review, which provide sequential developments of events in Sino-Pakistan alliance. This study evaluates the dangers to the alliance and promotional strategies of the Pakistani officials to market the alliance between the period 1990 and 2010.

The study relies on the empirical data. It tries to identify themes within the dataset to analyse how the alliance is cultivated. Nevertheless, the research does strive to make bigger picture clear. It discusses various facets of the Pakistan-China alliance: issues, challenges, mutual aid in multiple field like economy, security and defence and political relations. It does discuss the fundamentals of Sino-Pakistan alliance, its substance, and origin to make the argument clear. However, doing so, they may be overlapping and repetition of the events due to the nature of the topic.

It should be made clear that this study concerns itself with the production and formulation of the state propaganda, rather than the reception of it or reactions of the people to it. It is not in the purview of this research to demonstrate that how the propaganda has been received, as it is very difficult to measure the impact of propaganda. For instance, Andrew Defty remarks, “It is notoriously difficult to assess the impact of propaganda, particularly if it is directed at a foreign audience. One may identify propaganda policies, and assess

the output of the propaganda agencies, but it is very difficult to gauge how the propaganda is received.”¹⁵⁶

Finally, there are limitations related to the Chinese language. However, as this study is from the perspective of Pakistan it may not affect the outcome of the study.

Content analysis

The content analysis (CA) offered the methodological foundation to this investigation. A close textual analysis of these primary sources will be employed to measure their promotion of the alliance with China. Their depiction of China and close analysis of these sources in itself will help to answer the research questions.

CA is a popular research technique which helps to analyse written, verbal and pictorial messages.¹⁵⁷ It has been defined in many contested ways. Krippendorff positions that “content analysis is a research technique for making replicable and valid inference from data to their context.”¹⁵⁸ Neuendorf asserts that content analysis “has as its goal a numerically based summary of a chosen message set” and that it is an exclusively quantitative process.¹⁵⁹

Keeping in view the objectives of this study, we count on Holsti’s definition. He maintains that CA must be “objective, systematic and generalizable.”¹⁶⁰ While operating

¹⁵⁶ Dafty. *Britain, American Anti-Communist Propaganda*

¹⁵⁷ Frank L. Cole, 'Content Analysis: Process and Application', *Clinical Nurse Specialist* (1988).

¹⁵⁸ Klaus Krippendorff, *Content Analysis: An Introduction to Its Methodology* (Sage Publication 2004). p.18

¹⁵⁹ Kimberly A. Neuendorf, *The Content Analysis Guidebook* (SAGE Publications, 2002). p.14

¹⁶⁰ Ole R. Holsti, *Content Analysis for the Social Sciences and Humanities* (Addison-Wesley 1969). p.3

CA, it is critical to choose the unit of analysis. Unit of analysis refers to the elementary component of text being classified. We usually use individual themes as the unit of analysis. The individual themes are epitomised by word, sentences and even some cases whole paragraphs.¹⁶¹ Likewise, in this kind of methodology researchers need to decide utilisation of latent and manifest content analysis. In this connection, we applied both latent and manifest content to develop codes and categories.¹⁶²

Content analysis must be valid and reliable. In CA, the main problem of reliability is the validity of the content. Holsti believes validity concern is generally secured by the informed judgment of the scholar. The formula he recommends, operated in this investigation, to test the validity of the content is:

$$PA = \frac{2A}{n_A + n_B}$$

While PA represents a percentage agreement, A implies quantities of common understandings between two coders, n_A is the number of units coded by coder A, and n_B is the number of units coded by coder B. If $PA=0.00$ it means no understanding between coder and if $PA = 1.00$ it means complete agreement. In the first attempt, we achieved 82% reliability, but after a conversation and a discussion, the inter-coder reliability reached 100%.

Organisation of the thesis

This research is divided into seven chapters. Each chapter focuses on specific dimensions of the Pakistan-China alliance. Although some events overlap partially across the chapters, they address separate issues in the making of the bilateral relationship. The introductory chapter deals with the introduction and theoretical framework of the thesis.

¹⁶¹ Yan Zhang and Barbara M. Wildermuth, 'Qualitative Analysis of Content Analysis', (2005).

¹⁶² Satu Elo & Helvi Kyngas, 'The Qualitative Content Analysis Process', *Journal of Advanced Nursing*, 62 (2008).

It is followed by Chapter Two which discusses the need for the alliance. It mainly answers the question of Why Pakistan needs to have an alliance with China. It uses Stephen Walt's BoT theory to elucidate Pakistan's threat perception and need for the alliance. This chapter will help understand the rationale behind the alliance.

Chapter Three evaluates threats to the alliance and resultant concerns and fears of the security elite of Pakistan regarding its society as a potential and real threat to the endurance of its alliance with China. It argues that Pakistani extremist support of the Uighur separatist movement, terrorist attacks on the Chinese, negative images of communist China, and Islamabad's dubious role in the war against terrorism have enhanced the Pakistani security elites concerns about their alliance with China.

Chapter Four is the textual analysis of the Pakistani textbooks which build the benevolent images of China and counteract negative views of the Pakistan-China alliance held by the general population. This chapter conduct both design and content analysis of the textbook. Specifically, in this chapter we explain the process by which government decision is translated into the writing, editing, and publishing of the textbooks. This chapter also explains importance of textbooks as an instrument of the state policy; and the structure and mechanism of the Pakistani state propaganda system, particularly highlighting the role of the Ministry of Education Curriculum wing (MoECW) in producing propaganda. Finally, this chapter evaluates the propaganda strategies found within the selected textbooks.

Chapter Five is the textual analysis of media content to gauge propaganda. Three English-language newspapers published in Pakistan will be employed for this purpose: The Dawn, the News, and the Nation. Specially, this chapter has two main sections. In the first section, we explain the sampling of newspaper articles followed by a general overview of quantitative content analysis. The second section explains the analysis of the qualitative content of the selected newspaper articles.

Chapter Six is the textual analysis of parliamentary debates. We evaluate the strategies of propaganda found in the National Assembly and Senate of Pakistan. This chapter section one explains briefly about the Pakistani parliament, its sessions and data

collection, while section two, presents content analysis of parliamentary debates both qualitatively and quantitatively.

Chapter Seven is a summary of the findings, and recommendations for future research into Pakistan-Chinese diplomacy. Precisely, in this chapter we endeavour to present a summary of the findings of the research keeping in view the research questions and objectives, followed by the theoretical implication of SEPIA and suggestions for future research on the Pakistan-China alliance. The final section of this chapter outlines the implications of this study for future international relations related investigations of Sino-Pakistan and, in general, interstate relations that are clouded by nationally conceived problems such as internal threats to the alliance. Perhaps, more intensely, it highlights the development of international relations Realism by means of SEPIA in covering its gap of awkward alliances, to provide a healthier explanation of state-to-state relations in international politics.

Chapter 2. Need for an Alliance

The introductory chapter is informed by the mainstream and alternative theories to reflect on role of states in forming and maintaining alliances in the pretext of perceived external threat. In case of Pakistan, the dominant motive of its foreign policy has been to rectify any imbalances of threat which may exist between Islamabad and its neighbours (mainly India, but also Afghanistan to a lesser extent). This chapter attempt to investigate threats to Pakistan's security and the strategies it adopts to counter-balance these threats by using Walt's BoT theory. This theory is particularly useful for examining the behavior of states regarding the formation of the alliance. BoT's strength lies in its power to explain the origin of the alliance.

This chapter attempts to establish what factors lead to the alliance formation. Taking case study of Pakistan, it examines why Pakistan requires to build and strengthen an external alliance and what is significant of building an alliance with China. Answering these questions will help develop deep understanding to unravel Pakistan's motivations to seek and preserve external alliances. I argue that the BoT rightly explains the determining factors that trigger Pakistan's drive to form alliances. However, BoT is silent on the promotion and maintenance of any alliance. This is further explained in the following section.

BoT theory

Traditional approaches in IR maintain that states operate as unitary actor in an international system and the international system is generally characterised by anarchy. In the absence of such a mechanism, states devise strategies of self-help to enhance military capability to prevent other states conquering or dominating them. States do this either by building up internal capability, or they import power of other states referred as external balancing. This logic has mainly given rise to the plethora of realist theories.

The balancing strategies are manifested in the framework of Balance of Power theories, chiefly found in Kenneth Waltz's *Theory of International Politics* (1979) and Stephen

Walt's *Origin of Alliance* (1987). Both scholars have some common as well as divergent points. As an illustration, both agree that states seek security through alliance to maintain their independent status without being dominated by other states, but their explanation of alliance formation is dissimilar. On the alliance formations, Waltz articulates that states will consider "distribution of capabilities" most important factor. He argues that states pursue balancing strategies primarily for two reasons: Firstly, they try aligning against the strongest states to prevent the overall control of the system by any single state or a coalition of states, in order to maintain an equilibrium, and secondly, by joining a weaker or more vulnerable side, nation-states maximise their relative influence.¹⁶³ For Waltz, balancing, which is a self-protective means of survival, can be pursued both internally and externally, although internal balancing is more secure and reliable.¹⁶⁴ During the cold war the superpowers sought alliances, however they also accumulated a stockpile of nuclear weapons to balance internally.

Stephen Walt appreciates Waltz's contributions but considers it insufficient. While acknowledging Waltz's systematic variable of alliance formation (where the distribution of capabilities is a crucial factor), Stephen Walt expands the concept of BoP by including systematic, material and cognitive factors into the perception of threat and formation of alliances. Similar like Waltz, Stephen Walt, uses alliances as dependent variables, however, he differs at the point which elucidates behaviour rather than outcome. He maintains that balancing is far more common than "bandwagoning" as it is more secure: "balancing is allying with other against the prevailing threat, bandwagon refers to alignment with the source of danger."¹⁶⁵ He argues that the "distribution of power" is an

¹⁶³ Waltz. *Theory of International Politics* p.127

¹⁶⁴ Ibid.p.166

¹⁶⁵ Walt, *The Origin of Alliances*.p.17; Walt, "Alliance Formation and Balance of World Power."

extremely important factor as the level of threat is enhanced by geographic proximity, offensive capabilities and perceived intentions. Walt maintains that BoP may balance the imbalance of power, and BoT is to balance the imbalance of threat.¹⁶⁶ Walt notes that balancing is far more common than bandwagoning. For Walt, balancing is allying against the threat and bandwagoning is allying with the threat.

Considering the case of Pakistan within the theoretical backdrop of Stephen Walt's theory, Pakistan appears to adopt balancing strategies rather than bandwagoning. Bandwagoning means that Pakistan conciliate and reconcile India and seeks its protection. In this scenario, Pakistan should have accepted Indian suzerainty in South Asia and follow it. However, this is not the case, as Pakistan does not follow India rather challenges it and attempts to balance against it. As a result, balancing has been dominant factor in Pakistan's alliance making with China.

Within this context of balancing of power by Pakistan, which is a mid-power state and is mainly concerned about regional imbalance of threat, Walt's BoT theory is an appropriate model for studying Pakistan's need for the alliance.

BoT and Pakistan's Drive for Security

Nation-states perform numerous functions, but defence and national security are the most important and no state can ignore these factors. With no exception to this, Pakistan's security has been challenged since her independence. Carved out of British India in 1947, it has been on a continuous search for security. Pakistan faces both external and internal threats. Externally, it receives a blend of tacit and real threats from all its neighbours particularly India and Afghanistan. Though the catalogue of issues and gravity of threats

¹⁶⁶ Stephen Walt, *The Origin of Alliances* (1987).;Walt, "Alliance Formation and Balance of World Power.";Kenneth Waltz. *Theory of International Politics*; Edward Gulick, *Europe's Classical Balance of Power: A Case History of the Theory and Practice of One of the Great Concepts of European Statecraft* (W.W. Norton & Company 1967).; Morgenthau. *Politics Among Nations*.

vary between the neighbours, it considers India to be a permanent and dangerous adversary.

Pakistan and India have been free nations for many years now. At the time of independence, the founding father of India and Pakistan had imagined a friendly relationship between the two countries. Muhammad Ali Jinnah imagined an Indo-Pakistani relationship modelled on US-Canadian relations. Two sovereigns but independent nations advancing together. However, relationships, have evolved on a different trajectory. Both Pakistan and India conflict each other on a wide range of issues - ideological to territorial to water. Both sides have committed to perpetual strategic and political competition.

The disputes between the two states are chronic, complex and do not appear to be resolved any time soon. Both states have adopted a hard stance on respective issues. For instance, on the issue of Kashmir, India believes that Kashmir is an integral part of India, and cannot be renegotiated. On the other hand, Pakistan also believes that Kashmir is the core issue between Pakistan and Indian and is mother of all troubles between the two countries. With the exception of few interactions, their history is full of fighting, allegations, twist and turns. Pakistan-India border is one of the world's most guarded borders. Both have fought on land, sea and air. Besides, they possess deadly nuclear weapons enough to raze each other from the face of the earth. The intense rivalry endures with intense poverty in both countries.¹⁶⁷

Pakistan's western border is volatile too due to the presence of unruly Afghanistan. Pakistan intermittently receives both implied and direct threats from Afghanistan. The conflicting views about the demarcation of the international boundary (commonly known

¹⁶⁷ Editorial, "Poverty in Nuclear South Asia," *The Dawn* 11 September 2015.

as the Durand Line) and Afghanistan propaganda about the Pashtunistan issues are the two main enduring issues in their bilateral relationship. Pashtunistan is a concept that is based on the assumption that a “greater Pashtunistan” nation should be created, based on the Pashtuns living in Afghanistan and Pakistan. It was mainly driven by some Pashtun nationalists from Afghanistan.¹⁶⁸

In addition, the alleged involvement of Pakistan in the domestic affairs of Afghanistan has also been a bone of contention. As a result, Afghanistan, individually and from time to time in league with India, sporadically generates both tacit and naked threats to Pakistan’s national security. Though, Pakistan feels confident in deterring Afghanistan as the latter is a weaker state, it is mainly Indian tactical support and presence in Afghanistan which is main source of concern for Pakistan.¹⁶⁹ Resultantly, both the nations are trapped in a security dilemma. India does not have border with Afghanistan but Indian gains in Afghanistan are entire loss for Pakistan. Essentially, by associating with Afghanistan, India does not increase any strategic benefits except to counter Pakistan. Consequently, for historical and political reasons, defence against India is of the utmost priority to Pakistan.

¹⁶⁸ See Ron Synovitz, 'Afghanistan: 'Pashtunistan' Issues Linger Behind Afghan-Pakistani Row', *Radio Free Europe/Radio Liberty* 24 March 2006 <https://pressroom.rferl.org/p/6091.html> [accessed 12 March, 2017]; For detail also see section “*Pakistan’s Afghanistan Conundrum*” in this chapter.

¹⁶⁹ Nicholas Howenstein and Sumit Ganguly, 'India-Pakistan Rivalry in Afghanistan', *Columbia Journal of International Affairs* (25 March 2010). <https://jia.sipa.columbia.edu/india-pakistan-rivalry-afghanistan> [accessed on 13 April 2017]

Elements Upsetting Islamabad's Threat Level

Aggregate Power

The leading scholars of IR largely define power in measurable terms. Waltz believes that the fundamentals of power are “size of population and territory, resource endowment, economic capability, military strength, political stability and competence.”¹⁷⁰ Morgenthau provides a long list of elements of power including geography, natural resources, strength of industry, military capabilities, the distribution of population, demographic trends, national character, morale and finally the quality of diplomacy and government.¹⁷¹ While Mearsheimer sees power in military capabilities,¹⁷² Similarly Walt maintains “the greater a state's total resources (e.g. population, industrial and military capability, and technical prowess), the greater a potential threat it can pose to others.”¹⁷³

In that scenario, military strength and economic capability appear to be the most common and dominant factors in making states powerful or weak. States endowed with great military capability, and advanced military technology can dominate other states. Similarly, a strong economy can build up a powerful military state. Considering these factors as the most important indicators, Pakistan is clearly a weaker state when compared with India. There exists a huge disparity in power, size, resources and population between India and Pakistan. Where Pakistan has an area of 803,943 square kilometres, India has

¹⁷⁰ Waltz. *Theory of International Politics* p.131

¹⁷¹ Morgenthau. *Politics Among Nations* pp.124-164

¹⁷² John J. Mearsheimer, *The Tragedy of Great Power Politics* (New York Norton, 2001), pp.56-61

¹⁷³ Walt, *The Origin of Alliances*. p.22

3,166,829 square kilometres.¹⁷⁴ India is progressive and technologically developed, whereas Pakistan is weak and often depend on foreign aids. The World Bank reports that Indian GDP (Gross Domestic Product) in 2014 was \$2 trillion, while Pakistan has only \$243 billion.¹⁷⁵ This gap between Pakistan and India is widening and unlikely to be balanced in near foreseeable future. The BBC defence correspondent Jonathan Marcus suggests that “In straight numerical terms of population, economic might, military manpower and equipment it is almost meaningless to speak about an India-Pakistan balance.”¹⁷⁶

From past till present, these gaps have been widening. Although, the current Pakistan has focused more on its military capabilities compared to its economy. However, it is worth noting that despite Pakistan’s strong investment towards its military capabilities, Indian military has far superior capabilities. In terms of its size, the Indian army is twice the size of Pakistan’s army. Moreover, it is also equipped well both qualitatively and quantitatively (See Figure 2.1).

¹⁷⁴ Also, India’s population is six times larger than Pakistan’s, which allows India to field a much larger army to dominate Pakistan.

¹⁷⁵ *World Development Indicators Database* (World Bank 2015).

¹⁷⁶ Quoted in Muhammad Aslam Khan Niazi, "India Toying with Dangerous Cold Start War Doctrine – Analysis," *Eurasia Review* (2011).

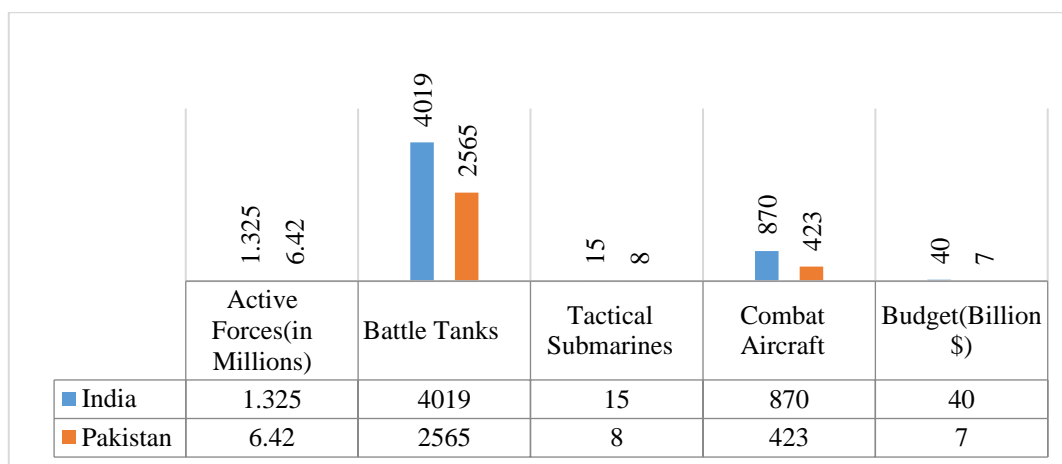


Figure 2.1: India-Pakistan Military Capabilities, Source: NDTV & The Economist ¹⁷⁷

Due to the size of its economy, Indian armed forces have sufficient budget to improve defence. Every year there is an incremental growth in the budget. Pakistan, of course, cannot match Indian defence spending. Compared to India's budget of more than \$40 billion on defence, Pakistan dedicates a paltry \$7 billion on defence.¹⁷⁸ It is this enhanced defence spending of India which enlarges Pakistan's fears and disturbance of conventional balance between the two states.

Lastly, both India and Pakistan possess nuclear weapons. Pakistan considers its nuclear weapons a deterrent against India. Arguably, Pakistan has trivial advantage over India in terms of nuclear warheads (See Figure 2.1).¹⁷⁹ But the same is counterbalanced by Indian

¹⁷⁷ Pooja Tyagi, 2014 "Comparison between Indian and Pakistani Armed Forces", NDTV, <http://www.indiatvnews.com/news/india/comparison-between-indian-and-pakistani-armed-forces-19955.html?page=3>; Also see "Know Your Own Strength," *The Economist* 30 March, 2013

¹⁷⁸ For comparisons see "Know Your Own Strength."

¹⁷⁹ SIPRI reports Pakistan's nuclear warheads ranges between 110-130, while India between 110-120. Hans M. Kristensen, 'Global Nuclear Weapons: Downsizing but Modernizing', (Denmark: Stockholm International Peace Research Institute 13 June 2016). <https://www.sipri.org/media/press-release/2016/global-nuclear-weapons-downsizing-modernizing> [accessed 12 July 2017]; Also see George

conventional military strength which prevents Pakistan's gains in nuclear weapons. These factors indicate the unbalance of power between Pakistan and India. It is, therefore, not surprising when Pakistan's National Security Adviser Lieutenant General (retired) Nasir Khan Janjua considers Indian conventional military advantage a threat to Pakistan.¹⁸⁰

Nuclear weapons by country, 2017

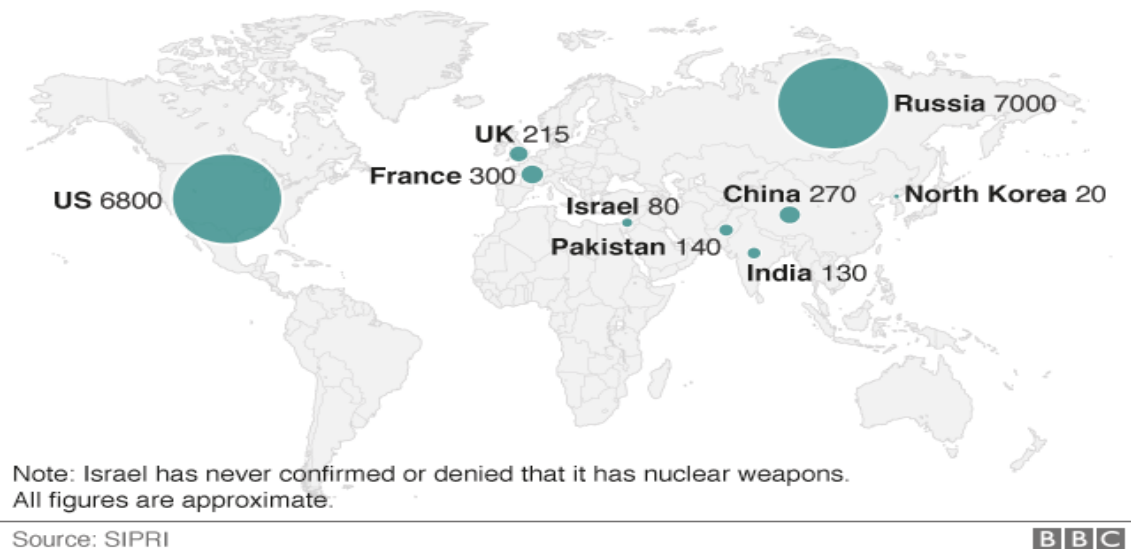


Figure 2.2: States with Total Numbers of Nuclear Weapons in 2017, BBC

Geographic Proximity

Topography and geography condition the political setting of a nation-state. Both Nicholas Spykman and Martin Sicker maintain that geography plays a vital role in shaping any

D. Koblenz, *Strategic Stability in the Second Nuclear Age* (Council on Foreign Relations 2014), 71. However, the Pakistani officials dispute nuclear enhancement report. Mansoor Ahmed suggests that Pakistan can only assemble 40 to 50 nuclear warheads over the next several years, "Pakistan's Nuclear Arsenal Could Become World's Third-Biggest: Report," *The Express Tribune* August 27 2015

¹⁸⁰ Mateen Haider, 'India's Growing Military Spending Threatens Pakistan, Says Nasir Janjua', *The Dawn* 5 April 2016

nation's foreign policy.¹⁸¹ It offers both opportunities and challenges to the nation-state. On one hand, states utilize geographical location and accrue immense strategic advantages. On the other hand, some states face serious security challenge from other regional states which harbour hegemonic design. The regional hegemonic designs become major geostrategic challenge in the field of security and defence.¹⁸²

States having a grand design to dominate regional environment are likely to interfere in adjacent weak states to fulfil their foreign policy goals. Walt states that "... the ability to protect power declines with distance, states that are nearby pose a greater threat than those that are far away."¹⁸³ However, the weak states determined to protect their dominion and independence find hard either to bandwagon or allow powerful states to dominate. In such a situation a development of an adverse relationship between weak and regional hegemon is most likely to occur. If a weak state fails to accept regional power dictation, weak states are likely to face isolation. In this connection, geographical proximity necessitates that if a relationship cannot be perfect between neighbouring states, it should at least be cordial. As states can enjoy the luxury of choosing their friends, seldom are they able to choose their neighbours. Retired Brigadier Naeem Salik, contends that Pakistan would have played an entirely different and much more active role in world affairs had it been located in any region other than South Asia.¹⁸⁴

¹⁸¹Martin Sicker, *Geography and Politics among Nations: An Introduction to Geopolitics* (iUniverse, 2010). pp.75-80; Nicholas J. Spykman, *The Geography of Peace* (Harcourt, Brace and Company 1944).pp.22-25

¹⁸² For a discussion about hegemonic design of states see India-an aspiring hegemon, Javid Husain 19 February 2013, <http://nation.com.pk/19-Feb-2013/india-an-aspiring-hegemon> ,also see India as Regional Hegemon: External Opportunities and Internal Constraints , Mohammed Ayoob, International Journal, Vol. 46, No. 3, Regional Powers (Summer, 1991)

¹⁸³ Walt, *The Origin of Alliances*. p.23

¹⁸⁴ Naeem Ahmad Salik, "Regional Dynamics and Deterrence: South Asia 1" in *Deterrence and the New Global Security Environment* ed. John Simpson Ian R. Kenyon (Routledge, 2003).pp.169-99

Essentially, if India was situated far away from Pakistan, Pakistan's perception of threat would have been entirely different as it would not have to face Indian attempts to dominate the region. Pakistani establishment keep reiterating that Pakistan wants bilateral interaction based on sovereign equality.¹⁸⁵ It, however, denies Indian supremacy in South Asia which has triggered an adversarial relationship between the two states.



Figure 2.3: India-Pakistan Location. Source: The Economist

India's vast geography provides it with ample tactical deepness from a military point of view as Indian territory stretches all the way down to the Indian oceans, and expands eastward up to Myanmar (See Figure 2.3). In contrast, Pakistan's landscape is tapered in width with a rough length of 500 km. For the Pakistani officials, it is a serious deficit in the territory and a significant disadvantage against an attacking Indian army which can easily cut across the strip and halt communications systems that exist between the south and north parts of the country.¹⁸⁶

¹⁸⁵ Web Desk, 'Pakistan Wants Cordial Ties with India without Compromising: Army Chief', *Express Tribune* 1 October 2015.

¹⁸⁶ Hasan Rizvi, *Pakistan and the Geostrategic Environment* (St.Martin's Press 1993). pp.1-17; Marvi Memon, "Reorientataion of Pakistan's Foreign Policy after the Cold War" *Pakistan Horizon* 47, No. 2 (1994).pp. 45-61

Additionally, if Islamabad retreats border post, India would be able to conquer Pakistan as it lacks depth in territory to escape, regroup and re-launch an attack. India suffers no such disadvantage which allows it to evacuate, manoeuvre, recuperate and then re-launch attacks. The lack of strategic depth in Pakistan's territory has made Islamabad security establishment to develop erroneous concept of interfering in Afghanistan to establish a friendly regime. The strategic shortfall in the territory has affected Pakistan's nuclear policy. Pakistan refuses to sign "no first" use of nuclear weapons fearing India can annihilate Pakistan quickly due to lack of depth in territory. The expert of Pakistan's nuclear program Bhumitra Chakma notes that both Pakistan-India should sign no first use of nuclear weapons, Pakistan declines to sign partly due to lack of depth in the territory.¹⁸⁷

Additionally, Pakistan's core defence lines in Sindh and Punjab are areas of strategic vulnerability as Pakistan lacks the military technology to cope with such a land during wars with India.¹⁸⁸ Pakistan permanent representative to the UN, Maleeha Lodhi argues that, "the tyranny of geography has imposed heavy burdens on Pakistan. It has influenced its security thinking and calculus as well as posed enduring security dilemmas."¹⁸⁹ Thus, a region pregnant with tension due to the policies of regional states who aspire to positions of power, the survival of neighbouring, weaker states is endangered.

Indian control over water resources

Another disadvantage that Pakistan faces due to India's physical location is the control of Pakistan's water resources by Indian. A huge majority of Pakistanis (Approx. 70%) are associated with the agriculture sector. The rivers which irrigate Pakistan's barren lands originate in Indian-held Kashmir (See Figure 2.3). Agriculture being main drivers

¹⁸⁷ Bhumitra Chakma, *Pakistan's Nuclear Weapons* (Routledge 2009). pp.50-55

¹⁸⁸ All commercial hubs, major cities and strategic roads, and rail links are miles away and run parallel to the Indian Territory. Pakistan major military cantonments lay near the border.

¹⁸⁹ Maleeha Lodhi, "Burdened by Geography, Pakistan Feels Encircled," *The Sunday Guardian*; Maleeha Lodhi, "Burden of Geography," *The News* 4 November, 2014

of Pakistan's economy depends on uninterrupted supply of water. Therefore, water is a matter of life and death for the people of Pakistan.

From Pakistani perspective, India has been determined to violate the World Bank-mediated Indus Waters Treaty of 1960. In violation of treaty, India has constructed dams on the Chenab and Jhelum rivers to aggravate the economic security of water-starved Pakistan. Pakistan's former Indus Waters Commissioner Jamaat Ali Shah stated that "we are already a water-stressed country" and that Indian attempts to construct dams are "aggravating the stresses."¹⁹⁰ Critics warn a water war is highly likely between the two nations. Muhammad Waqas believes that a water war is highly possible between India and Pakistan and it may descend their relations.¹⁹¹ Former foreign Minister Shah Mahmood Qureshi maintains that "water I see emerging as a very serious source of tension between Pakistan and India."¹⁹² In recent times, the position of Indus water treaty has come under serious doubts. By threatening to repeal Indus water treaty, Indian prime minister Modi has warned that "water that belongs to India cannot be allowed to go to Pakistan."¹⁹³ Sartaj Aziz, responding to Indian threat, stated in the parliament that "Pakistan will not accept Indian aggression in any form and any Indian step for disrupting water flow as upper riparian will pertain to considerable risk of war and hostilities."¹⁹⁴

¹⁹⁰ Quoted in Amol Sharma And Tom Wright, "India and Pakistan Feud over Indus Waters," *The Wall Street* (2010).

¹⁹¹ Muhammad Waqas, "Water Wars May Sink India-Pakistan Ties," *Arab News* 12 January, 2014; "South Asia's Water, Unquenchable Thirst," *The Economist* 19 November, 2011.

¹⁹² Quoted in Wright, "India and Pakistan Feud over Indus Waters."

¹⁹³ Muhammad Daim Fazil, 'Why India Must Refrain from a Water War with Pakistan', *The Diplomat* 8 March 2017.

¹⁹⁴ Hasnat Malik, 'Aziz Tears into Modi's Water War Threat', *Express Tribune* 28 September 2016.

Nonetheless, India is trying to exert its power to make Pakistan dependent on it, and during critical times it may be likely to invoke the water option to intimidate Pakistan.

Offensive Power

Walt maintains that “All else being equal, states with large offensive capabilities are more likely to provoke an alliance than are those that are incapable of attacking because of geography, military posture, or something else.”¹⁹⁵ Offensive capability is associated primarily with aggregate power, but it is actually quite different: an aggregate power can be converted into an offensive power through building up an enormous mobile military capability.¹⁹⁶ While aggregate power can partly be due to natural differences (for example size, population or natural resources) offensive capability arguably is a measured attempt to make a threatening stance towards other states. Pakistan officials do not obscure their feeling calling India an offensive power bent to destroy Pakistan.¹⁹⁷

India poses a great threat to the sovereignty and territorial integrity of Pakistan with its large offensive capability. India represents a tangible threat on the ground by maintaining a huge number of forces (about 70 per cent) on Pakistani border constantly keeping Pakistan under pressure. The presence of such a force in bulk increases security anxieties of Pakistan. For Pakistani officials it is an act of Indian belligerence towards Pakistan.¹⁹⁸ Historically, and on more than one occasion, India has mobilised troops on the border to intimidate Pakistan. In 1950-51, India deployed armed forces alongside Pakistan’s border

¹⁹⁵ Walt, *The Origin of Alliances*.p.24

¹⁹⁶ *ibid.*

¹⁹⁷ Munir Akram, "War in the Shadows," *The Dawn* 4 January 2015; Munir Akram, "India’s Pakistan Strategy," *The Dawn* 3 April, 2016

¹⁹⁸ Maleeha Lodhi, "Pakistan’s Security Challenges" *The News* 9 December 2014; Munir Akram, "After Iran, Pakistan?" *The Dawn* April 12 2015

when there was little military cause for doing so; in 1987-88, India carried out the largest military exercises, code-named “Brass Tacks”, near the Pakistani border for four months, triggering a crisis as Pakistan retaliated with its own total mobilisation. South Asia crisis expert P.R Chari stresses that the Indian mobilisation set the countries on a collision course, as full-fledged war was a very distinct possibility.¹⁹⁹ Seymour Hersh even reported Pakistan had put the nuclear option on the table to defuse the crisis.²⁰⁰ Not long after that incident, India again assembled troops on Pakistani border in the wake of uprising in Indian-held Kashmir in 1990. Yet again Pakistan responded with a counter-accumulation of its troops on the Indian border.²⁰¹ These contingencies not only created unsolicited worries in Islamabad but put extra strain on the national exchequer.

India’s aggressive posture also appears in its drive to acquire modern weapons. In its 2010 edition Stockholm International Peace Research Institute (SIPRI) reported between 2010 and 2015 India imported more weapons than any other country in the world (See Figure 2.4). In addition, New Delhi is investing \$100 billion to acquire new conventional force capabilities in the next decades, and which, according to Pakistani military and analysts, includes the type of weapons that could be used against Pakistan,²⁰² and in some cases, conceivably against both China and Pakistan.²⁰³ Thus the items on the Indian list for weapons import in the coming decades presents a bleak picture for Pakistan’s defence.

¹⁹⁹ P.R. Chari, "Nuclear Crisis, Escalation Control, and Deterrence in South Asia", *Stimson Center* August (2003). <https://www.stimson.org/sites/default/files/file-attachments/escalation-control-nuclear-option-south-asia.pdf>

²⁰⁰ Seymour M. Hersh, "On the Nuclear Edge," *The New Yorker* 29 March 1993. <http://www.newyorker.com/magazine/1993/03/29/on-the-nuclear-edge> [accessed 12 March 2014]

²⁰¹ Stephen P. Cohen, "India and America: An Emerging Relationship," in *The Nation-State System and Transnational Forces in South Asia* (Kyoto, Japan: 2000).

²⁰²"India is the only External Threat, Says Military," *The Dawn* 28 August, 2015; Munir Akram. India’s Pakistan Strategy; Lodhi, "Pakistan’s Security Challenges".

²⁰³ "India in Talks to Buy US Predator Drones, Has Eye on Pakistan, China," *The Dawn* 8 April, 2016

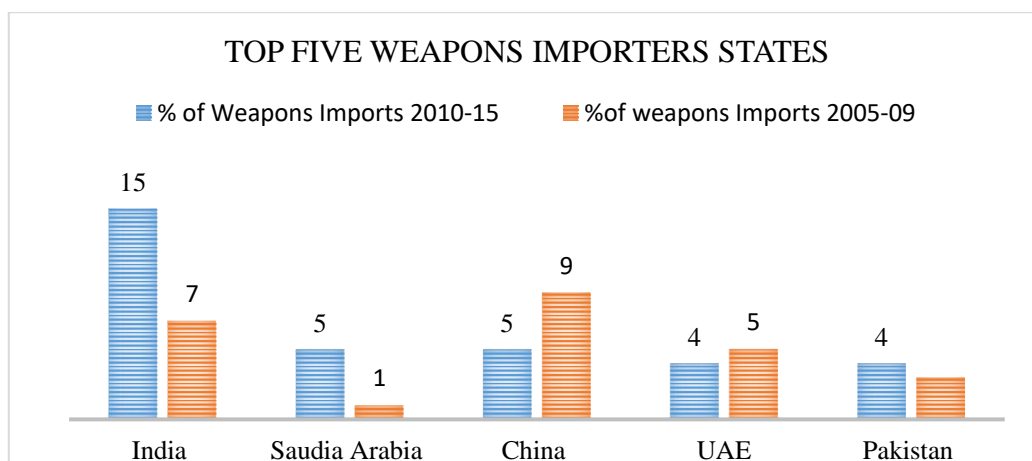


Figure 2.4: Share of Top Five Countries in world Weapons Imports. Source: SIPRI

As a result, India's drive to strengthen its tremendous war machine is upsetting the conventional deterrents in South Asia, as this arms development is providing India with a huge conventional military advantage over Pakistan. As Pakistan can't compete with India in conventional weaponry,²⁰⁴ the military imbalance is being redressed with the development of tactical weapons. Many critics believe Islamabad's inability to keep pace with India is inspiring it to embrace low yield tactical nuclear weapons that can be used in the battlefield to overcome Indian conventional superiority.²⁰⁵ Indian's military might combined with its drive to acquire weapons has increased the perceived threat to Pakistan level, and provoked a new response.

²⁰⁴ Retired Air Marshall Shahzad Chaudhry thinks so, quoted in Rachel Oswald, "Pakistan-India Arms Race Destabilizing Strategic Balance, Experts Say," *Global Security Newswire* 20 July, 2011.

²⁰⁵ Feroz Hassan Khan, "Minimum Deterrence, Pakistan's Dilemma," *The RUSI* 156, No. 5 (2011).; Malik Qasim Mustafa, "Pakistan's Military Security and Conventional Balance of Power," *Institute of Strategic Studies, Islamabad* Vol. XXIX No.1 (Spring 2009); Paul Bracken, "The Problem from Hell: South Asia's Arms Race" *The Diplomat* 29 November 2012.; Zachary Keck, "India, "Cold Start" and Pakistani Tactical Nukes" *The Diplomat* 8 May, 2013.

Most significant of all the offensive strategies is the Indian military ‘cold start strategic doctrine’. Theoretically, the doctrine aims to rapidly move the Indian armed forces to punish Pakistan before the international community intervenes and pushes for a ceasefire. The central point of the doctrine is the agility and rapid movement of Indian land forces, not only to carry out attacks, but to penetrate deep into the Pakistani territory with aviation that provides firepower and air cover.²⁰⁶

Previously, Indian armed forces, stationed in central India, took almost a month to mobilise forces on the border, but the doctrine is intended to reduce this time to less than 48 hours. The doctrine, which is believed based on the German General Guderian’s concept of “Blitzkrieg”, is considered by Pakistan to seriously undermine its security.²⁰⁷ In a nutshell, India, with a huge offensive capability, is seen as serious threat to the political independence of Pakistan, which forces Pakistan to seek some balancing strategies.

Aggressive Intentions

Walt maintains it is intentions, not power, which matters.²⁰⁸ India is powerful, but the Indian intentions to undo Pakistan are the primary concern of its policy makers. India has not reconciled to the existence of Pakistan. It was the perception of Indian Muslims that they would have a better life in post-colonial India, if freed from Indian dominance; they were afraid that living with Hindus in a united India would deprive them of their socio-economic, political and religious set up. The independence did not improve Indian Muslims sense of security as India would not accept the birth of Pakistan. To the Indian

²⁰⁶ Zafar Nawaz Jaspal, 'India's Cold Start Doctrine', *Pakistan Observer* 12 January 2017.

²⁰⁷ Khalid Masood Khan, "Cold Start Doctrine-an Analytical Study," *The Nation* 19 September, 2015

²⁰⁸ Walt, *The Origin of Alliances*.p.26

elite, the establishment of Pakistan represents a tragedy, the dissection of the body of “mother” India. After the partition, statements made by Indian leaders cast doubts over the viability of the state of Pakistan, with some extreme views expressed about restoring “Akhand Bharat” (greater India) by undoing the partition.²⁰⁹

Commenting on the partition, Nehru said, “It may be that in this way, we shall reach that united India sooner than otherwise.”²¹⁰ The All India Congress Committee announced that “The picture of India we have learnt to cherish will remain in our minds and our hearts.”²¹¹ Another prominent Indian leader, Sardar Patel once remarked “That the new state of Pakistan was not viable and could not last, and that the acceptance of Pakistan would teach Muslim League a lesson, Pakistan would collapse in a short time.”²¹² While another occasion, Patel claimed that “sooner than later we shall again be united in common allegiance to our country.”²¹³ Both Nehru and Krishna Menon conceded that Congress had accepted partition to get rid of the British.²¹⁴ Acharya Kriplani, the then president of the Congress, expressed, with great anti-Muslim bias, “Neither congress nor the nation has given up its claim of a united India.”²¹⁵ Likewise, Nehru and Patel yet again stated that “Pakistan would prove insolvent after it was born and, in the not-too-

²⁰⁹ See Christophe Jaffrelot, "This Land, This Nation," *Indian Express* 12 January, 2016

²¹⁰ Stanley Walport, *Shameful Flight, the Last Year of British Empire in India* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2006). p.153

²¹¹ Abdul Sattar, *Pakistan's Foreign Policy 1947- 2005: A Concise History* (Oxford University Press, 2005). p.15

²¹² *ibid.*

²¹³ Tan Tai Yong and Gyanesh Kudaisya, *The Aftermath of Partition in South Asia* (London: Routledge 2000). p.75

²¹⁴ S.M. Burke. *Pakistan Foreign Policy*, p.9

²¹⁵ Ayub Khan, *Friends Not Masters: A Political Autobiography* (Oxford University Press 1967). p.115

distant future, Jinnah and Liaquat would beg forgiveness and ask for permission to re-join India's union."²¹⁶

Pakistan's mistrust of India's intentions ended in 1971 when India actively contributed in the dismemberment of Pakistan. Narendra Modi, on a visit to Dhaka, proudly said "The establishment of Bangladesh was a desire of every Indian citizen and that was why Indian forces fought along with the Mukti Bahani, thus creating a new country."²¹⁷ This deep reluctance on the part of Hindu leaders to accept the separate existence of Pakistan has been a major factor in the growth of Pakistani security concerns.

Part of India's attempt to undo Pakistan was a forceful annexation of three princely states at the time of partition; Junagadh, Hyderabad and more importantly Kashmir, which were to be part of Pakistan, were forcibly annexed by India, only increasing the concern in Pakistan that India could repeat similar actions there. Thus as Walt argues "States that are viewed as aggressive are likely to provoke others to balance against them"²¹⁸, Pakistan has been provoked by Indian leadership since beginning which has made Pakistan to seek alliance against India rather than join it.

Pakistan's Afghanistan conundrum

Regardless of Pakistan's physical proximity to Afghanistan, the two have not generally enjoyed cordial relations because of contrasts over the Durand Line and Pashtunistan issue. Kabul is a relatively weak state when compared with Pakistan. Afghanistan's military posturing and aggregate power have rarely threatened Pakistan. It is the external support mainly from New Delhi and, to a certain extent Moscow (particularly during the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan), that has threatened Pakistan's security. Moreover, it is the

²¹⁶ Walport. *Shameful Flight*, p.153

²¹⁷ ANS, "Pakistan urges UN to take note of Modi's remark on 1971 War," *The New Indian Express* 10 June, 2015

²¹⁸ Walt, *The Origin of Alliances*.p.25

post 9/11, 2001 Indian influence in Afghanistan which have a profound effect on Pakistan's national security.

Pakistani-Afghan relations can be divided into two main phases: before the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan and post-Soviet invasion of Afghanistan. In both periods, Pakistan had a relatively similar set of interests in that country. Before the invasion, it wanted friendly if not subservient regime in Kabul. A regime which didn't allow India strategic advantage to the detriment of Pakistan security, and a regime which accepted the Durand line as an international border between Pakistan and Afghanistan. In the period following the Soviet withdrawal, Pakistan had retained many of the objectives it already had, but the prospect of access to the rich hydro-carbon resources of central Asia renewed Pakistan's interest in Afghanistan.

Between 1947 and 1980, the issue of the Durand line and Pashtunistan fed an enduring rivalry. During this period, Afghanistan made irredentist claims on Pakistan territory. It refused to recognise Pakistan's UN membership. It is pertinent to mention that it was the only Muslim country to vote against Pakistan's UN membership.²¹⁹ Unlike the undecided India-Pakistan border, Pakistan-Afghanistan inherited an already demarcated border. Named after British-India representative Sir Mortimer Durand, this border was established in 1893 by Durand, and the Afghan King Abdur Rahman himself who considered it "a strong wall of protection."²²⁰ Despite its delineation, approval and

²¹⁹ Kabul permeant representative Hosayn Aziz maintained that Kabul was not going to acknowledged NWFP (Renamed as Khyber Pakhtunkhwa-KPK) as part of Pakistan until there was a free and fair referendum to dispose of the future of the territory. S.M.Burke. *Pakistan's Foreign Policy* p.73

²²⁰ King Abdur Rahman describes in his autobiography the events leading to the signing of the treaty. He said he agreed the border with Russian, then turned his attention to the border with British India to consolidate his power and to unite Afghanistan which was divided into tribes, local fiefdoms, and along ethnic lines. Abdur Rahman maintained that the treaty was signed on his request because he signed the treaty for the safety of his kingdom. See Mir Munshi, *The Life of Abdur Rahman, Amir of Afghanistan*, 2 Vols. (Adamant Media Corporation 2001).pp.150-170. The autobiography was originally published in

ratification by successive Afghan regimes,²²¹ Kabul contested its validity and argued for renegotiation. It claimed that the treaty was signed under duress, had no legal standing and had expired with the dissolution of British Empire.²²² Pakistan repudiated the Afghan claims, stating that treaty was valid and could not be renegotiated. As Pakistan inherited British power in India, its claim was based on international law of inheritance of territory.²²³ The US, the Commonwealth, and the British all endorsed the treaty as legal.²²⁴

1900, but was republished in 2001.; Brad L. Brasseur, *Recognizing the Durand Line* (New York: The East-West Institute 2011).

²²¹ Abdur Rehman himself, his son King Amanullah, and King Nadir all ratified the treaty as valid and legal, Olaf Caroe, *The Pathans 550 Bc- Ad 1957* (London: Macmillan, 1964).pp. 460-70

²²² In 1949, Afghan Loya Jirga (National Assembly) adopted a resolution repudiating all the agreements/treaties/convention signed with the British as invalid and refused to accept the Durand line as its international border with Pakistan. Durand issues have prevented smooth development of relations between the two countries.

²²³ For instance, International law rule, “*restraint cum sue onere*”, and the principle of “*Dur ra’ la ba*” states that treaties of extinct states concerning boundaries remain valid. Pakistan was inheritor to the British throne, so the treaty was valid too. Moreover, Pakistan had further legally stated that “internal law principle “*uti Possidetis juris*” enshrined in the Vienna Convention states plainly that newly formed states should have same borders that they had as colonial states. For detail see Brasseur. *Recognizing the Durand Line* p.7; S.M. Burke. *Pakistan’s Foreign Policy*, p.87

²²⁴ Tariq Mahmood, “The Durand Line: South Asia’s Next Trouble Spot” (Naval Postgraduate School, 2005).



Figure 2.5: Durand Line as it stands of today demarcated in 1893.

Source: <http://www.lrb.co.uk/v36/n18/owen-bennett-jones/across-the-durand-line>

Pashtunistan, a much more complicated and contentious issue but still consistent with Durand line, was based on the notion that the Pashtuns living on both sides of the Durand line should form a separate state under the flag of Pashtunistan, which meant dissolution of line. Though the claim varied over time,²²⁵ it was offensive to Pakistan as it would allegedly deprive Islamabad half of its territory and a substantial share of the population (See Figure 2.6). In sum Pakistan failed to achieve its pre-Soviet invasion aims as Afghanistan not once accepted Durand line as a *de facto* border and released intense propaganda against the idea of Pashtunistan.

²²⁵ Sometimes Kabul demanded territories all of Baluchistan including Karachi.



Figure 2.6: How Pakistan will look after the dissolution of Durand Line.

Source: <http://www.afghanland.com/history/durrand.html>

Though Afghanistan appeared to be a controllable threat as it was a landlocked state and was a militarily weak compared with Pakistan, the Indian backing (and later that of the Soviet Union) to the Afghan claim perturbed Pakistan. Despite being an irritant of a neighbour, Kabul lacked the strength to forcibly establish Pashtunistan, or to invalidate the Durand treaty. Kabul largely remained a political dilemma. Marvin Weinbaum maintains until 1979 “Afghanistan had appeared largely as a political irritant for Pakistan, a petulant and resentful neighbour.”²²⁶ Due to those two issues, there were periodical breakdowns in the relationship, and Pakistan occasionally adopted punitive measures by applying trade embargos to correct Afghanistan, but Kabul didn’t blink under the barrage of blockades of its territory.

²²⁶ Marvin Weinbaum, "Pakistan and Afghanistan: The Strategic Relationship," *Asian Survey* Vol. 31, No.6 (June 1991). p.496; Marvin Weinbaum, *Pakistan and Afghanistan Resistance and Reconstruction* (Colorado: West View Press 1994).

Soviet invasion of Afghanistan

When on the Christmas Eve of 1979 Soviet tanks rolled into Kabul for the first time, Islamabad faced a two pronged threat: it was sandwiched between India and Afghanistan. The presence of Russian troops in Afghanistan for almost a decade forced the concentration of Islamabad's attention on its western border. The invasion dramatically transformed Pakistan's geostrategic situation: Moscow's troops were virtually on Pakistan's border, and the buffer between Pakistan and Russia had disappeared.

Pakistan managed to avert threat with American alliance. American money, Mujahedeen blood and ISI training forced Moscow to retreat in 1989. Russians installed President Najibullah government with a promise of military and economic assistance before they left Afghanistan. Islamabad's protracted objectives of having a cordial government in Kabul remained an elusive dream. The fighting raged on amongst the varying factions, (which gave rise to the emergence of Taliban in 1994), and Najibullah brief period of governance lacked central authority, characterised by fighting between different ethnic groups, tribalism, and Islamic fundamentalism, all of which was used by Pakistan to its advantage.

Pakistan trained the Taliban and provided them with weapons and financial support.²²⁷ In 1996, one of Islamabad's ambitions was fulfilled, when it achieved what came to be known as "strategic depth", and the Taliban gained control of the majority of Afghanistan. The Taliban government received recognition from the Arab monarchies of Saudi Arabia and United Arab Emirates (UAE). However, the Taliban could not mitigate Pakistan's security worries, and it was soon clear that the Taliban was nobody's stooge: they did not provide Islamabad with the strategic depth it desired and only became a strategic nightmare for it. Taliban were Pakistan's trained but they did not follow its direction. They gave refuge to Osama bin Laden, which brought the global war against

²²⁷ See Ahmad Rashid, *Taliban: Militant Islam, Oil and Fundamentalism in Central Asia* (New Haven: Yale University 2000).

terrorism right to Pakistan's door step. When Pakistan suggested that the Taliban should recognise the Durand line, they refused by stating Muslims have no borders.

However, it was after the 9/11, 2001 that Afghanistan emerged as a serious security concern for Pakistan. The presence of al-Qaeda in Pak-Afghan border regions introduced an international dimension to the security issues of Pakistan.²²⁸ Kabul has allowed an Indian presence, to the detriment of Pakistan's security interest. The strategic space provided to India by Afghan security forces runs counter to Pakistan's interests, as India is using Afghan territory to destabilise Pakistan, through its support of the Baluch insurgency movement and the Tehreek Taliban Pakistan (TTP), a terrorist group, which has been operating from Afghanistan under the tutelage of Afghan and Indian intelligence agencies.

Implication of Walt's theory for Pakistan need for Alliances

Using Walt's BoT theory, we can clearly see that the factor which creates the need for an alliance is the security threat from India. To elaborate, the Indian aggregate power, geographical proximity, aggressive intentions and offensive capability pose a real threat to Pakistan's security. India, being superior in all fields, outclasses Pakistan regionally and internationally, and so Pakistan seeks extraterritorial help to balance the Indian threat. Any slight adjustment in Walt's four factors will basically change Pakistan's threat perception, for instance, if Indian leaders had not harboured aggressive intentions and issued anti-Pakistani statements, it was unlikely that Pakistan would pursue balancing strategies. Likewise, If India had not forcibly annexed the princely states of Jammu and Kashmir, Pakistan had not felt the threat of its survival and whether India had not played a central role in the dismemberment of Pakistan, it had not felt the need for an alliance.

²²⁸ Farooq Hasnat, "Global Security Watch" *PRAEGER, California*, (2011). pp.1-20

Furthermore, if India had not continued arms purchases and had not mobilized its troops on the Pakistani border on many occasions, and especially had not developed military doctrine to hit Pakistan, Pakistan would need less for an alliance to balance the Indian threat. Last but not least, had India not considered South Asia its spheres of influence, Pakistan would have been reluctant to invite extra-territorial powers into South Asia to balance India.

BoT theory predicts that Pakistan would import the capabilities of a major power to balance the threat posed by India. To answer the question, why does Pakistan need an alliance, it has been shown that Pakistan needs alliance mainly in order to balance the threat from India and Afghanistan. Pakistan looks for alliance to correct the imbalance of threat in South Asia and to address Pakistan's unremitting distress in security and defence field. Pakistan response however has not solely been external balancing. Pakistan possesses nuclear weapons, cultivates both internal and external balancing (internally by securing nuclear weapons and externally, by promoting alliances. In short, the issues that drive Pakistan's need for the alliance are not only India's preponderant power in South Asia, but also its geography, offensive power and aggressive intentions.

Pakistan-China Alliance

India has been a driving factor in the Sino-Pakistan alliance. Although the strength of India as an enemy has varied over time, the Indian factor has been constant. Historically, Pakistan-China relations were mainly strained during the 1950s due to Pakistan's pro-west leaning. During this period, Pakistan's security needs, leadership orientation, and internal turmoil had made security elites less enthusiastic towards China, and generally, until about 1960 Pakistan had a discreet relationship with China. The international developments in the early part of the 1960s brought into clear focus the commonality of the state interests of China and Pakistan, pre-empting potential tension and conflict between them such as that had occurred between China and India in 1959 as result of their border dispute.

Warned by this Indo-China rivalry, and Pakistan's disappointing experience with the West, President Ayub took the initiative in 1960 and proposed to China the delimitation and demarcation of the border between China's province of Xinjiang and the northern areas of Pakistan Kashmir. China, who had already developed differences with India over the Tibet issue, and later fought a brief war with India, made a positive response to President Khan's overtures. China had also been feeling isolated with both Super Powers opposed to it with the advent of Sino-Soviet rift in 1959. India manipulated Chinese isolation by approaching both major powers.

India had proximity, an offensive power, and had expressed aggressive intentions towards both China and Pakistan, and so an alliance between Pakistan and China was required to balance India. Both Pakistan-China sorted out their boundary differences in 1963 by signing an agreement, largely in as a means to balance the threat from Indian. As a result of these developments, China's sympathy lay with Pakistan during its conflict and wars with India. The Chinese weapons began to arrive in Pakistan but more significantly the Chinese gave support to Pakistan over the Kashmir dispute. In 1964 when the Chinese President visited Pakistan, he openly called for the people of Kashmir to have the right of self-determination.

Beijing also proved to be very helpful for Pakistan's security and defence requirements. China supplied weapons to Pakistan's military, and helped it to build its own defence infrastructure by establishing ordnance factories in East and West Pakistan. To the advantage of China, Pakistan adopted the "One China Policy" and refused to recognise Taiwan as the lawful government of China. The expert of Chinese grand strategy, Thomas Kane, quotes a Pakistani ambassador that "Pakistan has always extended unconditional, consistent and strong support for China on the issue of Taiwan, Tibet, human rights and the WTO (world trade organization) and that "in return, Pakistan has received invaluable

principled support from China on various issues at the international level.”²²⁹ Nonetheless, mutual support created a room for close a closer alliance.

The 1970s and 1980s were marked by the steady development of the bilateral relationship and enhanced cooperation in several areas, including science and technology. Pakistan championed Beijing’s entry into the United Nations, as well as acting as a genuine broker in the Sino-US rapprochement. The close China-Pakistan relationship was exploited by President Nixon to affect a US rapprochement with China using Pakistan as an intermediary. The Soviet invasion of Afghanistan at the end of 1979 elicited prompt condemnation from China and the withdrawal of the Soviet Union from that country remained an important pre-condition for the normalisation of Sino-Soviet relations. Until the end of 1980s, Pakistan and China maintained particularly strong relations and in the words of Ahmed relations were “smooth as silk.”²³⁰

Nonetheless, strategic transformation and structural changes in the post-Cold War international relations have made Pakistan-China relations tense. The appearance of the Taliban as the rulers of Afghanistan, Taliban support to the Uighurs separatists in Xinjinag and terrorist attacks on Chinese in Pakistan interrupted the delicate Pakistan-China alliance. Despite what appears to be good relations, their overall security ties remained, at best, tepid. Indeed, bilateral relations between them reached an unprecedented nadir in May 1999, in the wake of the outbreak of a small-scale war on the hills of Kargil between Pakistan and India. The Kargil war unexpectedly elicited China’s neutrality towards Pakistan-India disputes. Although both governments endeavoured to give the impression that their fragile relationship was still strong, tested

²²⁹ Thomas M. Kane, *Chinese Grand Strategy and Maritime Power* (London FRANK CASS 2002). p.127

²³⁰ Ahmed Faruqi, *Rethinking the National Security of Pakistan: The Price of Strategic Myopia* (Ashgate 2003). p.79

by adversity, as the Pakistani and Chinese like to say, it was far from the reality. As discussed above, bilateral issues (the terrorist attacks on Chinese and Uighurs separatism)²³¹ have not prevented their security and defence cooperation, it still continues to exist, but it has also induced Chinese pressure on Pakistan and ultimately stimulated the Pakistani security elite's worries.

This chapter has appraised Pakistan's security challenges and the need for the alliance using Walt's BoT theory framework. We have noted that the security threats are severe, and mainly emanate from Islamabad regional environment, which is charged with ill will and tension. Pakistan was born one of the most insecure states in the world, and it has lived in a constant fear of India dominance. Therefore, the main objective of Islamabad's foreign policy is to seek national security through external alliances.

Although the idea of an alliance is relatively basic, seeking external alliance is of prime importance to the national security of any state. Despite the need of the alliance, Pakistan's alliance with China is coming across serious internal threats. Any internal threat, in the form of attacks on the Chinese that might endanger the Pakistan-China alliance, is expected to have some response from Pakistan as the need for alliance is extraordinary and utmost. In the wake of threats to the alliance with China, Pakistan has adopted promotional strategy of propaganda to teach the Pakistani population that the alliance is necessary, crucial and meeting security requirements.

In the next chapter we aim to discuss the real and potential threats to the alliance and fears of the security elite which have been the main reasons for conducting propaganda within Pakistan, in order to nurture the alliance domestically. It also demonstrates and explains how Pakistan's inability to control the flow of extremism into China's Xinjiang province affected its close alliance with China.

²³¹ For level of threats see next chapter.

Chapter 3. Threats to the Alliance and Fears of Pakistan's Security Elites

The previous chapter examined the threats to Pakistan's security using the framework of Walt's BoT theory. It remarked that India as a neighbouring state, having offensive capabilities and harbouring unpleasant intentions, poses a serious security threat to Pakistan's national sovereignty. To counter the Indian threat, Pakistan seeks alliances with major powers, in particular China. It noted that although the Pakistan-China alliance is characterised by close security and military relations, the alliance faces both real and potential threats. Subsequently, this present chapter elaborates those internal threats to broaden our understanding of the challenges to the Pakistan-China alliance.

The theoretical underpinning, SEPIA introduced in the introductory chapter as an alternative to the mainstream and alternative theories of IR, in support of this study emphasises that in international politics, it is not surprising for the states to synchronise their security policies with the uncertain allies in an attempt to promote their national interest. However, such an alliance invites some unsolicited consequences. Certain internal groups (religious, nationalist) who shelter an entirely different outlook resorts to violence and target the alliance partner. To overcome these grave threats to alliance security, security elites feel the need to do some propaganda work at the domestic front to protect the alliance from domestic hostile groups.

Specifically, with regard to this study, the main preoccupation of the Pakistani elite has been to neutralise some tangible and probable threats to the survivability of the alliance with China. The strategies to promote the alliance are discussed in three ensuing empirical chapters (four, five and six), in this chapter we deal with threats and challenges to the alliance. Essentially, this chapter deals with one of the main research question: what are the real and potential challenges to the existence of Pakistan-China alliance?

The security challenges China faces from Pakistani soil are complex and multifaceted. This chapter finds three areas of conflict which pose problems for the ideology of a natural alliance with China. While the issue of terrorism, perpetrated by Pakistani

religious elements and Baloch sub-nationalists, presents a real danger, the anti-communism views prevalent in the Pakistani society pose a potential threat to the alliance. The presence of three evils of extremism, terrorism, and fundamentalism within Pakistani society, and Baloch sub-nationalism, feature in Islamabad's economic, political and strategic engagement with world community. These three evils restrict Pakistan's drive to accomplish economic, political and strategic objectives.

Firstly, the activities of its Islamic militants, both in and outside of the country, created and nurtured by Jamiat Ulema-e-Islam (JUI) and Jamiat-i-Islami (JI) Deobandi *deeni madrasah* (religious seminaries) based on Saudi Arabia's *Sallafi* (puritanical) tradition of Islam, have both destabilised Pakistan domestically, and undeniably affected Pakistan's relations with important neighbours, and especially with China. To put another way, the Islamists try to export fundamentalist beliefs to China's Uighur Muslims in its Xinjiang province. Uighur have established an organisation known as the East Turkestan Islamic Movement (ETIM) which seek independence from China. China has designated ETIM an al-Qaeda affiliated terrorist organisation. Pakistan ungoverned tribal belt provides shelter to the ETIM terrorists to train and launch attack on Chinese security forces in Xinjiang in league with the Pakistani militants.

The terrorist attacks on the Chinese pose another's serious challenge to the maintenance and sustenance of the alliance. Traditionally, separatist tendencies in Balochistan province have run high. More recently since the launching of Chinese funded projects in Pakistan, the ethnic Baloch have demanded more say in the development projects. Sensing the dissident elements in Balochistan challenge the writ of the state, General Pervez Musharraf installed many military cantonments across the province. It had promoted a feeling of antagonism towards state. Therefore, they have rejected military cantonments. Due to their feeling of marginalisation at the hands of Pakistani state, Baloch rebels express their grievances targeting the Chinese citizens. Baloch nationalist actions embarrass the Pakistani state and prevent the Chinese undertaking development projects.

Finally, traditional anti-communism views act as a potential threat to the alliance. Generally, anti-communist views which have sustained mutely since Pakistan's independence in 1947, arguably, they can prove potentially disruptive to the efficacy of the Pakistan-China alliance. Pakistani society perceive communism anti-Islamic, and unlike their own Islamic culture.

Prominent scholars endorse these views that Pakistan-China alliance faces real threats that can derail alliance stability. For example, Huma Yusuf warns:

Pakistan can also expect increasing pressure from China to tackle the Uighur militancy. Our country is ground zero for militants from across the region to train, network and plan financing...China has already warned Pakistan about this issue on several occasions, and further militant attacks in China could lead to bilateral tensions.²³²

Likewise, Andrew Small maintains:

The ETIM issue has been the biggest source of tension between China and Pakistan in recent years, and behind closed doors the pressure from Beijing at a number of different junctures has been pretty strong.²³³

²³² Huma is one of the *Foreign Policy's* top hundred women, former scholars at Woodrow Wilson Centre in Washington, D.C and regular contributor to *International New York Times* and *The Dawn*, Huma Yusuf, "The Chinese Cure" *The Dawn*, 10 November 2014.

²³³ Andrew Small, "Q and A: Andrew Small on the China-Pakistan Relationship," interview by Jane Perlez (The New York Times 2015).

Similarly, President Donald Trump advisor on South Asia, Lisa Curtis highlights that “Tension has also surfaced between Islamabad and Beijing in recent years over attacks by Islamist extremists on Chinese workers, which number about 10,000 in Pakistan.”²³⁴

The Pakistani security elites openly express nervousness about the potential of those factors to disrupt Pakistan’s crucial alliance with China. General Pervez Musharraf maintains that the alliance with China is essential, and that Pakistan must act to stop the support of the Uighur Muslims within Pakistan.²³⁵ Kamal Matinuddin, an ex-military General of the Pakistan army, states plainly that the religious extremism in Pakistan can potentially have a “damping effect on our relations with Beijing.”²³⁶

While killings of Chinese have evoked similar concerns from Pakistani officials. Retired ambassador Ghayoor Ahmad maintains that the violence against the Chinese in Pakistan “would be detrimental to Pakistan’s long-term strategic interest if Chinese support waned because of these mishaps”,²³⁷ while the leading Pakistani newspaper the Dawn showing alarm, observe, for example, “The fanatics must not be allowed to sabotage a relationship that has weathered many a storm and holds even greater promise for the future.”²³⁸

In essence, the preceding chapter has summarised the perceptions of threat of the Pakistani state, which in turn helps us to understand its rationale in pursuing a strategy of alliance, the current chapter seeks to examine the concerns and fears of the security elite regarding its society as a potential and real threat to the endurance of the alliance. Both chapters differ in the sense that the preceding chapter discussed why Pakistan needs the

²³⁴ Lisa Curtis, "The Limits of Pakistan-China Alliance".

²³⁵ See Editorial "Routine Promises in Beijing," *Daily Times*, 22 February 2006.

²³⁶ Kamal Matinuddin, "President Musharraf Visit to China" *The News*, 3 March 2006.

²³⁷ Ghayoor Ahmad, " Reinforcing Ties with China" *The Dawn*, 20 February 2006

²³⁸ Editorial "Threat to Chinese Nationals," *The Dawn*, 10 July 2007.

alliance, this chapter finds what are the internal threats and challenges to the alliance itself.

In the remainder of the chapter, an attempt is made to trace the evolution of the three negative forces of extremism, terrorism, and fundamentalism within the Pakistani society, and the regional and international implications of these forces, in particular the way they have endangered alliance and enhanced the Pakistani security elite's worries about its own society.

Evolution of extremism, terrorism and fundamentalism in Pakistani society

Pakistan is an overtly religious society, and the presence of three evils (radicalism, terrorism, and fundamentalism), denoted as the "Talibanisation of Pakistan"²³⁹ or "Taliban syndrome"²⁴⁰, intensifies this. General Musharraf's concept of "enlightened moderation" was aimed to fight extremism, terrorism and fundamentalism of the Muslim society in general, and Pakistani society in particular. General Musharraf criticised those who perverted Islamic faith. He urged Muslims to shun these three evils and adopt moderation in their behaviour and thoughts. Equally, he urged the west to play its role to resolve lingering disputes involving the Muslim world, for example in Indian held Kashmir, and Palestine.²⁴¹

This does not mean that traditional Pakistani society has always embraced these negative values. For most of its history, the Pakistani public has been relatively peaceful. There has been an absence of violence in the social order. The dynamics of society altered during the 1980s or more specifically under the Zia-ul-Haq regime. He used Islam as a

²³⁹ Lian Wang, "Talibanization of Tribal Areas of Pakistan," *Journal of Eastern Islamic Studies* Vol.4, No.1 (2010).pp.74-100

²⁴⁰ M. Ehsan Ahrari, "China, Pakistan, and the "Taliban Syndrome" *Asian Survey* Vol. 40, No. 4 (2000). pp. 658-671

²⁴¹ Pervez Musharraf, "A Plea for Enlightened Moderation," *Washington Post*, 1 June 2004

political cover to achieve strategic and political objectives. He introduced many Islamic laws to conquest Islamic parties support, which made the Pakistani society fundamentalist and extremist.

The creation of Pakistan on 14 August 1947 was a remarkable tribute to the supreme leadership of Muhammad Ali Jinnah, the father of the nation. The Pakistani nation rewarded him with the title of Quaid-i-Azam (Great Leader) for his ceaseless contribution to the freedom movement of sub-continent Muslims. Jinnah effectively united them under the platform of the All India Muslim League and achieved unanticipated Pakistan. Stanley Walport wrote in his biography of Jinnah:

Few individuals significantly alter the course of history, fewer still modify the map of the world, hardly anyone can be credited with creating a nation-state. Muhammad Ali Jinnah did all three...Jinnah virtually conjured that country into statehood by the force of his indomitable will.²⁴²

Jinnah envisioned a moderate, democratic and secular Pakistan. Talking to the members of the constitutional assembly in 1947, entrusted with the task of framing nation's first constitution, he observed emphatically:

You are free, you are free to go to your temples, [and] you are free to go to your mosques or any other place of worship in this State of Pakistan. You may belong to any religion or cast or creed-that has nothing to do with the business of the

²⁴² Stanley Walport, *Jinnah of Pakistan* (New York Oxford University Press, 1984). p.vii; Stephen Cohen maintains Jinnah was "Tom Paine and George Washington of Pakistan." Stephen P.Cohen, *Idea of Pakistan* (Brookings Institution Press, 2006). p.28; Jinnah and Muslim League, argues Bruce Riedel, "spearheaded Pakistan's independence, Jinnah changed the map of the South Asia, without him there would have been no Pakistan." Bruce Riedel, *Deadly Embrace, Pakistan, America, and the Future of the Global Jihad* (Brookings Institution Press, 2012),p.4

State. Now I think we should keep that in front of us as our ideal and you will find that in course of time Hindus would cease to be Hindus and Muslims would cease to be Muslims, not in the religious sense, because that is the personal faith of each individual, but in the political sense as citizens of the State.²⁴³

In sharp contrast to the current bigotry in the Pakistani society, Jinnah had clearly separated politics from religion. In an interview with Reuter's correspondent in New Delhi (1946), Doon Campbell, Jinnah clearly asserted that Pakistan would be a democracy not theocracy, "the new state [of Pakistan] would be a modern democratic state with sovereignty resting in the people and the members of the new nation, having equal rights of citizenship regardless of their religion, caste and creed."²⁴⁴

Appropriately, during his short spell as Pakistan's first governor general, he rejected Islamist groups' agenda of imposing their dogmatic views on the state and society. Such as, when a group of Islamists approached him for the declaration of *sharia* law in the country, he not only snubbed them, but labelled them as misguided *ulema* (scholars) and informed them that the people of Pakistan were not going to follow their assertive views.²⁴⁵

With Jinnah's death a year after Pakistan's birth, his ideals vanished quickly. A bitter struggle broke out between the secularists and Islamists over the status of Islam in the

²⁴³ Quoted in Shazia Hasan, "Quaid's Aug 11 Speech to Be Included in School Curriculum," *The Dawn*, 24 March 2015.

²⁴⁴ Quoted in Muhammad Shoaib Pervez, *Security Community in South Asia: India-Pakistan* (Oxon: Routledge 2013). p.60

²⁴⁵ For detail see Afzal Iqbal, *Islamisation of Pakistan* (Idarah-i Adabiyat-i Delli, 1984), pp 1-30

future constitution.²⁴⁶ This wrangling negated the essence of Pakistan, delayed constitution making, endangered national integration, and halted socio-economic development.²⁴⁷ A fragmented political leadership created room for the army to intrude. Consequently, four military interventions derailed the democratic process and weakened the national institutions, and established military control over the matters of the country.²⁴⁸

The Islamist agenda of seeking a role for Islam in state affairs notwithstanding, these interventions were relatively calm. They did not resort to violence to achieve political and religious objectives. Farooq Hasnat and Rasul Bux Rais argue that the traditional Pakistani society has been tolerant and avoided violence to achieve religious and political objectives.²⁴⁹ The mass movements of 1968 (to topple General Ayub Khan) and 1977 (against rigged elections) were largely non-violent. In reality, these efforts were meant for supremacy of the rule of law: the former to topple a dictator, the latter to correct the corrupt system. In 1977 General Zia-ul-Haq deposed the civilian government and imposed martial law in the country, the whole setups of the society started to change.

²⁴⁶ G. W. Choudhury, "Constitution-Making Dilemmas in Pakistan," *The Western Political Quarterly* Vol. 8, No. 4 (1955). pp. 589-600

²⁴⁷ A timely constitution assigns rights and duties of rulers and ruled. Almond et al maintain that a constitution is "a set of decision rules – the basic rules governing how decisions are made, setting up agencies and offices with special powers, assigning them territorial and functional jurisdiction", Gabriel Almond et al, *Comparative Politics Today* (Pearson 2004). p.101

²⁴⁸ For a detailed role of army in Pakistan see Hasan Askari Rizvi, *The Military & Politics in Pakistan 1947-1997* (Sang-e-Meel, 2009).; Ayesha Siddiq, *Military Inc.: Inside Pakistan's Military Economy* (Pluto Press, 2007).; Stephen Cohen, 'Pakistan: Army, Society, and Security', *Asian Affairs* 10 (Summer 1983).

²⁴⁹ Hasnat, "Global Security Watch".pp.49-79; Rasul Bux Rais, "Religious Extremism and Terrorism in Pakistan, Challenges for National Security" in *South Asia: Beyond the Global Financial Crises* ed. Amitendu Palit(Singapore World Science 2011). pp.117-130

Military coup d'etat, the Afghan war and the transformation of Pakistani society

The Soviet Union invasion of Afghanistan occurred two years after General Zia-ul-Haq overthrew the civilian government. Zia's military junta faced challenges both at domestic and foreign fronts. Internally, Zia needed legitimacy (for his deceitful rule), and externally Pakistan faced threats from the Soviet Union invasion of Afghanistan. General Zia used Islamic parties to meet both internal and external challenges. Internally, a mass movement against deposed Prime Minister Z.A. Bhutto's alleged rigged election had stimulated society politically. General Zia needed legitimacy in the eyes of the newly-stirred public. Zia used Islam and Islamic parties (Jamiat Ulema-e-Islam and Jamiat-e Islami) to prolong his *de jure* rule.

The Islamic parties supported Zia but secured some concessions from him. On the Islamic party's insistence, Zia introduced many Islamic laws, criminalised alcohol, and some aspect of sexuality and introduced infamous blasphemy laws. It was a win-win situation for both: Zia prolonged his rule, and the Islamic parties' influence penetrated deep down through society. Hassan Askari Rizvi argues, Zia "used the state apparatus and patronage to implement Islam on fundamentalist and orthodox lines. This helped Zia-ul-Haq to win over the support of a large section of the political far-right and religious circles to undercut opposition to his rule by the mainstream political parties."²⁵⁰ The Islamic laws have serious consequences for the society. Hassan Abbas maintains "For Zia, these measures worked as a bulwark against the democratic process and freedom of the common man; and for religious groups it was a clean sweep against all liberal groups and thoughts, be those democratic or socialist."²⁵¹

²⁵⁰ Hassan Askari Rizvi, "Jinnah, Islam and the Political System," *The Dawn*, 25 December 2014

²⁵¹ Sohail Abbas, *Probing the Jihadi Mind-Set* (Islamabad: National Book Foundation 2007). pp.15-20

Externally, to counter the combined Soviet-Afghan threat, General Zia backed the Islamic parties' recruitment of mujahedeen from the Pakistani society for the "international jihad", a term coined by American intelligence agencies. "International jihad" attracted over 35,000 Muslims from the Middle East, Europe, and central Asia, including Chinese Uighur Muslims.²⁵² With financial support from the US and Arab states, training from Pakistan's ISI, indoctrination in Fazal-ur-Rehman JUI and JI madrasah, the military junta raised fanatics mujahedeen to fight "atheist/infidel" Soviets. Former CIA director Frank Anderson said in an interview (2001) with Cable News Network (CNN) "it is entirely true that this is a war that was fought with our gold, but with their blood."²⁵³

The conclusion of the Afghan war could not stop Pakistan's interference in Afghan affairs. Successive Pakistani regimes failed to reduce their influence in Afghanistan which strengthened the forces of religious extremism.²⁵⁴ Under state patronage, religious parties expanded their influence and changed the face of Pakistani society. Thousands of new rival madrasahs thrived in the country with support from Iran and Saudi Arabia. A culture of militancy, bomb blasts and suicide bombings thrived in Pakistan. Hasnat suggests that the Afghan war introduced a very distressing culture of "militancy, bigotry" within the Pakistani society which "played havoc with the social fabric of the country, badly disturbing its equilibrium."²⁵⁵ The disruption in the society had global reach. An editorial of Daily Times (2007) maintains "under General Zia ul Haq, China first began to feel the heat from our religious parties engaged in plans of reconquering Muslim areas under Communism."²⁵⁶

²⁵²More than 40 Muslim countries contributed jihads. Ahmad Rashid, *Taliban: Militant Islam, Oil and Fundamentalism in Central Asia*.

²⁵³ Frank Anderson, "Soldiers of God" in *National Security Archives*, interview by Branagh (CNN 2001).

²⁵⁴ Sohail Abbas. *Probing the Jihadi Mind-Set* pp.15-20

²⁵⁵ Hasnat, "Global Security Watch".p.vii

²⁵⁶ Editorial, "Lal Masjid's Damage to Pak-China Relations," *Daily Times*, 29 June 2007.

The fundamentalist intruders, almost medieval in their thinking, are very influential now. They can comfortably draw huge crowds at short notice, mainly from their controlled seminaries. Their power base is in the existence of more than 40,000 registered and unregistered madrasahs located throughout the country but most prominently in the suburbs of Quetta and Peshawar. The madrasah is their hiding complex, their indoctrinating chamber: they are terrorists' nurseries.

The religious extremists have become a state within a state, Pakistani society's traditional fabric has been blemished and it has become immensely tough for the state to eradicate them without adopting a holistic approach. Extremism has become a strategic dilemma for Pakistan. Jinnah's Pakistan has changed considerably. Describing Pakistani militants influence in Pakistani polity, Stephen Cohen maintains "Militants-whether you call them anti-American, anti-liberal, or anti-secular-seem to have a veto over politics in Pakistan, but they can't govern the state. The parties control the elections but they can prevent others from governing, and they may prevent the military from governing as well."²⁵⁷

Talibanisation, Islamic brotherhood and export of fundamentalist ideology

The Taliban are strict in their disposition and ideology because of the influence of the JUI and JI madrasahs. Ambreen Javid suggests that almost all Taliban leadership have attended JUI and JI madrasah.²⁵⁸ These madrasahs are known for their promotion of fundamental Islam based on the Saudi Arabia *Sallafī* tradition of Islam, where the teaching is not allowed to deviate according to the changing circumstances. Ehsan Ahrari (2000) maintains, "Since the chief thrust of this education [madrasah education] is on

²⁵⁷ Stephen P. Cohen, "Pakistan's Road to Disintegration," interview by Bernard Gwertzman (2011).

²⁵⁸ Umbreen Javaid, "Genesis and Effects of Religious Extremism in Pakistan" *International Journal of Business and Social Science* Vol. 2, No.7 (2011).pp.282-87

Islam and the need for *jihad* (holy war) to establish an Islamic government, the Taliban members become firm believers and fervent practitioners of this training.”²⁵⁹

For these extremists states’ borders are imaginary, ethnicities and nationalities obscure. Mufti Abu Zar al-Burmi, a renowned anti-Chinese fighter declared in South Waziristan “We should all be aware of the fact that there is no border between Pakistan and China...the border that is along the Gilgit-Baltistan region is actually a border with East Turkestan.”²⁶⁰ Their obscurantist ideology is not restricted to the Pakistan-Afghanistan region, their agenda is transnational. For them, if Muslims around world are in need or trouble, they should be helped, as they consider all Muslims as brother and sisters. So if it is central Asian states, Indian-held Kashmir and Chinese Uighur Muslims struggling to maintain their distinct Muslim identity, the Taliban is likely to support them passionately.

For them, if the Uighur Muslims helped them in ousting Russian from Afghanistan, it is their religious duty to help them in establishing their state.²⁶¹ Mainly they share combat experience, which they have gained in Afghanistan, and keenly provide arms and ammunitions, but they also inject much needed financial support to the fellow Muslims uniquely on the basis of “Islamic Ummah” (brotherhood). Whatever they possess, the Taliban believe, it is their religious duty to share with all Muslims including Xinjiang Uighurs. Since the 1990s, the Taliban have been sharing their combat experience, and providing training and sanctuary to the Uighur Muslims.

²⁵⁹ Ahrari, "China, Pakistan, and the "Taliban Syndrome."" p.658; For detail Ahmad Rashid, "Taliban Exporting Extremism" *Foreign Affairs*, (November/December 1999).; Wang, "Talibanization of Tribal Areas of Pakistan."

²⁶⁰ Jacob Zenn, "Beijing, Kunming, Urumqi and Guangzhou: The Changing Landscape of Anti-Chinese Jihadist," *China Brief* Vol 14 No. 10 (2014).

²⁶¹ For detail see Ahrari, "China, Pakistan, and the "Taliban Syndrome" pp. 658-671

Talibanisation and Uighur Separatism

Talibanisation globally has tarnished Pakistan's image. Talibanisation of the Pakistani society and its implication for China's Uighur Muslim community notwithstanding, it has created a fissure in the alliance and can possibly have extended bearing on the alliance feasibility. Pakistani state inability to check the flow of extremism into China poses direct threat to her security and national integrity. Jeffrey Reeves maintains that "Islamabad's inability to control its society directly translates into insecurity for its neighbouring states, including China, as it is unable to manage the flow of people across its borders."²⁶² Beijing has not hesitated to register its displeasure with Pakistan. The gist of their contention is that the separatist elements-the Uighur Muslims-in China's Xinjiang province have close ties with Pakistan's extremist groups, who provide them with support, training and arms for subversive activities inside Xinjiang. The international community consider Pakistan a land inhabited by terrorists, extremists and fundamentalists, and even Pakistan's closest partner China share this troubling view. Chinese apprehensions are striking blow to the Pakistan-China alliance. Since Pakistan ties with Washington have tainted, Pakistan has turned to China for serious civilian and military aid.

Beijing counterterrorism anxieties are driven primarily by its concerns over its Uighur Muslims community activities. China believes that the ETIM and its splinter group, the Turkistan Islamic Movement (TIP), are terrorist organisations and responsible for the forces of terrorism, extremism and fundamentalism in China. Chinese officials suggest that Uighur militants are part of a network of international jihad who want to establish an

²⁶² Jeffrey Reeves, *Chinese Foreign Relations with Weak Peripheral States* (Oxon Routledge 2016). p.8

Islamic state under sharia law.²⁶³ Brian Spegele sustains that ETIM militants receive training and financial support from Pakistan-Afghan border areas which are the stronghold of Islamic militants allied with globally oriented al-Qaeda.²⁶⁴

Al-Qaeda international jihad is also an inspiration for Uighur. Siegfried Wolf emphasises that the Uighur conflict needs to be looked “in the context of Islamic jihad and fundamentalism.”²⁶⁵ In this connection, al-Qaeda has facilitated the spread of Islamic ideology into the Xinjiang and movement of Uighur militants. For instance, the most wanted Chinese terrorist and former ETIM commander, Hasan Mahsuma, killed by the Pakistani security forces in 2003, is believed to have met Osama Bin Laden in Afghanistan and a member of the al-Qaeda Shura council.²⁶⁶

In Pakistan-Afghanistan border areas, the Islamic militants treat the Muslim Uighur as guests of honour. A senior Taliban commander categorically announced that “the Uighur live with us, but are always concerned about their mission in China. They are nice, good Muslims and the best fighters.”²⁶⁷ In 2013 the Pakistani intelligence agencies reported that there are between 300 and 400 ETIM militates living in Pakistan’s tribal areas.²⁶⁸ Mufti Abu Zar al-Burmi in a video message urged all Taliban faction to target China. Burmi

²⁶³ For detail see Wang, "Talibanization of Tribal Areas of Pakistan" p.97; Chien-Peng Chung, "China War on Terror, September 11 and Uighur Separatism," *Foreign Affairs*, (July/August 2002). p.8

²⁶⁴ Brian Spegele, "China Points Finger at Pakistan Again" *Asia Wall Street Journal* (2012).

²⁶⁵ Wolf is a Research Director at the Brussels-based South Asia Democratic Forum (SADF), and a researcher at the University of Heidelberg’s South Asia Institute. Siegfried Wolf, "Why China's Uighur Are Joining Jihadists in Afghanistan," ed. Shamil Shams (Berlin: Deutsche Welle 2015).

²⁶⁶ Haider, "Sino-Pakistan Relations and Xinjinag Uighurs" p.536

²⁶⁷ Quoted in Saud Mehsud and Maria Golovnina, "From His Pakistan Hideout, Uighur Leader Vows Revenge on China," *Reuters*, 14 March 2014.

²⁶⁸ Amir Mir, "Chinese Rebels Operating Camps in Waziristan II" *The News*, 28 April 2013

said “The pull-out of U.S. forces from Afghanistan is a victory for the Taliban movement in the region, and our next target will be China.” In the similar message he also supported carrying terrorist attacks on “Chinese embassies and companies and kidnap or kill Chinese nationals.”²⁶⁹

ETIM, which the US consider a threat to US homeland security,²⁷⁰ operates through the Karakorum Highway (KKH) to launch terrorist attacks in Xinjiang province, and when pushed back by the Chinese security forces it finds sanctuary in the lawless and rugged mountain Pak-Afghan border areas. The Pakistani state discourages the Uighurs’ presence in Pakistan, and in fact captures them and hands over to the Chinese government. But being the godfather of the Taliban, Pakistani religious parties are more likely to favour of Taliban than being considerate of Pakistan’s closet partner’s national security.

The rise of Islamic fundamentalism in the Pakistan-Afghan borders areas has clearly worried Islamabad that domestic elements might dent Pakistan-China alliance. President Asif Ali Zardari expressed serious concern that militants can “draw a wedge” between Pakistan and China.²⁷¹ Hu Shisheng, a South Asian expert at the China Institute of International Relations in Beijing, finds “The Pakistan and Afghanistan Taliban are sympathetic towards the Uighurs. So we absolutely have to pay attention to this, in a way that perhaps we did not before.”²⁷²

²⁶⁹ Quoted in Zenn, "Beijing, Kunming, Urumqi and Guangzhou: The Changing Landscape of Anti-Chinese Jihadist."

²⁷⁰ See Daniel Markey, "Hotbed of Terror," *Council On Foreign Relations*, (August 2008).

²⁷¹ Asif Ali Zardari, "Sino-Pakistan Relations Higher Than Himalayas," *China Daily*, 17 August 2009

²⁷² Quoted in Katharine Houreld and Ben Blanchard, "Anxious China Emerges as Diplomatic Player in Afghanistan," *Reuters*, 14 April 2014.

We will return to these fears, as it is pertinent to first evaluate what ails the Xinjiang region.

The situation in Xinjiang

In the Chinese autonomous region of Xinjiang, the Uighur are particularly vulnerable to separatist aspirations; indicators of unrest have been visible there for some time. Conor Gaffey (2015) reports that there may be as many as 23 million Muslims in China, approximately 1.8% of China's total population.²⁷³ Uighur are Muslim and ethnically of Turkic origin. They can be found throughout the country but are particularly concentrated in the sensitive border regions. They find in religion both leadership and focus for long held grievances. In 1949, the Uighur population was more than 90% of the region, however today they make up between 45 and 50% of the total. According to an analyst familiar with the region, Uighur reduced population has happened due to Beijing's deliberate policy of placing hundreds of Han Chinese in the Xinjiang region.²⁷⁴ Its current name, Xinjiang Uighur autonomous Region, (XUAR) was specified in 1955.

Essentially, not all Islamic Uighur resort to violence and want to establish a separate state. Those who avoid violence demand fundamental rights and access to greater economic opportunities. Also they want to prevent Chinese security forces killings of innocent Uighur. The critics often blame Chinese government repressive policies have restricted Uighur freedom and liberty. John Gitting (1999) reports that the Uighur have limited access to their worship places, and in some case their religious places (mosques and Quranic Schools) have been closed and burnt down.²⁷⁵

Figure 3.1: Geography of Xinjinag region. Sources: Deutsche Welle (DW)

²⁷³ Muslims population will grow 30 million by the end of 2030. Conor Gaffey, "Islam Most Popular Religion with Young Chinese," *Newsweek* 7 August 2015

²⁷⁴ Michael Clarke, "China's 'War on Terror' in Xinjiang: Human Security and the Causes of Violent Uighur Separatism," *Regional Outlook* (2007)

²⁷⁵ John Gitting, "Chinese Brutality Used to Crush Ethnic Dissent," *The Guardian*, 21 April 1999

It is notable that the Xinjiang region is indispensable for Beijing due to its abundant hydrocarbon resources and strategic location at the convergence of central Asia, South Asia and Europe. It embraces one sixth of China's total land mass and is teeming with natural wealth. When compared with the Chinese eastern coast, it is very much underdeveloped. Physically, it is China's gateway to Chinese President Xi Jinping's "One Road, One Belt" (renamed as BRI-the Belt and Road initiative) strategy, which is a reminder how important this region is for China. CPEC connects Gwadar with Xinjiang. Yet, Beijing efforts to untapped Xinjiang natural resources and aggressive development have been interrupted and plagued due to Uighur violent activities an extension of Talibanisation of the Pakistani society. Despite its geopolitical importance and potential to become China's gateway to prosperity, the peace and security has been a scarce commodity due to its proximity with one of the most troubled regions of the world: Afghanistan, the Central Asian Republics and Pakistan's northern areas.

Traditionally, separatist tendencies have run high in the Uighur community. Since the collapse of the Qing dynasty in 1912, Xinjiang has remained in and out of the Chinese suzerainty. Twice in history, Uighur had bid to establish separate state. In 1933, they declared the establishment of East Turkistan Republic but the following year the Chinese government reabsorbed it. Then in 1944, the Uighur, capitalising on Japanese imperialism and the fighting between nationalists and communists, announced East-Turkistan Republic but met a similar fate. Once the communist party established its control over government affairs, it quickly crushed Uighur aspiration for separate homeland.

Uighur Islamic identity, cultural and ethnic Han migration into Xinjiang are believed to be major reasons for a separate Turkistan. The Chinese state has tried to reshape the Uighur Islamic character upsetting Uighur. Nicholas Bequelin maintains Chinese policies to "refashion their [Uighur] culture and religious identity" have made Uighur to resent

Chinese policies in Xinjiang.²⁷⁶ Whereas Chinese philosophy of changing Xinjiang demography to the advantage of state has created Uighur resentment. Anthony Howell and Cindy Fan (2011) report that Han population have climbed from meagre 6.7 percent in 1949 to 40 percent in 2008,²⁷⁷ making it a serious reason for Uighur resentment towards Beijing authorities. Uighur resent the migration of the Han Chinese into Xinjiang will ruin their identity.²⁷⁸ The Han are more educated than the Uighur. They have acquired control over major jobs, businesses and trade. Increasing population have put strains on sharing of resources like water, health and school thereby distancing Uighur. The Han consider the Uighur ignorant and illiterate, while the Uighur consider the Han as rude and arrogant.

The communist victory in 1949 brought the confiscation of religious properties, the closure of many mosques and restriction on religious practices. Active opposition was suppressed but continued to smoulder. Uighur Muslims observed fasting during the holy month of Ramadan and their children learned the Quran in evening classes with an imam (Quranic teacher).²⁷⁹ Uighur Muslims planned attacks on local authorities during the Cultural Revolution and rose in a revolt that took nearly 1700 lives in Yunnan 1974. Ahrari suggests that the Chinese security forces “used not only guns but also air bombings” to overpower a cumulative surge of Islam, which only enhanced the Uighur’ alienation.²⁸⁰ Chinese state brutality could not continue as it failed to make visible change. Soon government would introduce liberal policies mainly regarding religion.

²⁷⁶ Quoted in Bhattacharji, "Uighur and China's Xinxiang Region"

²⁷⁷ Anthony Howell and Cindy Fan, "Migration and Inequality in Xinjiang: A Survey of Han and Uyghur Migrants in Urumqi," *Eurasian Geography and Economics* Vol. 52, No. 1 (2011). pp.119-139

²⁷⁸ The Congressional-Executive Commission on China maintains that Beijing has announced “incentives for migration to the region from elsewhere in China, in the name of recruiting talent and promoting stability” Bhattacharji, "Uighur and China's Xinxiang Region"

²⁷⁹ Ahrari, "China, Pakistan, and the "Taliban Syndrome."” p.661

²⁸⁰ *ibid.*

The post-Mao government brought drastic changes in Chinese policies towards Uighur as brutal force, rather than inhibiting Uighur resistance, fed it. Faced with such an apparently indigestible minority group, pragmatic Deng Xiaoping regretted excessive use of force in Xinjiang. The repentance of the new government was translated into policies favourable to the Uighur. Beijing attempted to draft Muslims into national service. It tried to use its Muslim citizens to promote political, strategic and business ties with Arab and other Islamic states to develop its credentials in the third world.

Beijing permitted resumption of the hajj pilgrimage to Mecca in an effort to reassure its Islamic community about their welfare. To perform the hajj pilgrimage, Uighur were allowed to travel to Pakistan, and from Pakistan to Mecca. The people of Pakistan welcomed them and made their journey painless by providing Uighur guarantee form to the Pakistani state. Justin Rudelson confirms, "The Uighur travel firstly by Karakorum road to Pakistan and then travel to Mecca by boat or plane. Many Pakistani people provide affidavit form for the Uighur which the Government of Pakistan requires for them as a guarantee."²⁸¹ After completing pilgrimage to Mecca, not all Uighur returned to Xinjiang, rather several settled in Pakistan's borders areas.

However, the significant aspect of Deng's policy of opening up borders for the Uighur was the encouragement of Muslim-to-Muslim relationship. Many Uighur landed in the camps and madrasahs in Pakistan and fought together with the mujahedeen against the Soviets in Afghanistan. The Chinese authorities now wished they had been more cautious with Afghan jihad. Until that point, the Uighur had no interaction with the religious parties in the Afghanistan-Pakistan region, but once they met and fought alongside these religious groups, they learned guerrilla fighting tactics, and often became strict followers of militant Islam. Those links appear to be permanent as they still exist today, and many

²⁸¹ Justin Rudelson, *Oasis Identities: Uyghur Nationalism along China's Silk Road* (Columbia University Press, 1998). p.49

Uighur fight alongside the Taliban against the international security forces in Afghanistan.

Xinjiang uprising

The end of the Afghan War in 1989 must have been lamented by the Chinese, not because the Russians were defeated but because combatant Uighur returned to Xinjiang, exacerbating Chinese worries. Confident with their recent combat experience in Afghanistan and victory against a much stronger army, many Uighur returned to Xinjiang, picked up arms and joined the separatist movement to establish East Turkistan, free from Chinese domination and control. Chieng pen Chung believes that the Soviet defeat fascinated Uighur separatists and they tried to emulate those strategies in Xinjiang.²⁸² Since then, violence has rocked Xinjiang. While Uighur blame Chinese security forces for torture, the Chinese believe that the Uighur are seeking inspiration from the Pakistani militants.

Uighur violent activities were soon identified by the Chinese as outside inspired. Veteran journalist and award winning author of *“Taliban: Militant Islam, Oil and Fundamentalism in Central Asia”* (Yale University, 2010) Ahmad Rashid emphasises that the minute the Uighur joined the international jihad during the 1980s, an element of worry was added to Pakistan-China relations.²⁸³ Hasan Rizvi likewise states that the Chinese started complaining to Pakistan before the Soviet Union terminated its combat mission in Afghanistan,²⁸⁴ but because the Chinese were more concerned about the Russian presence in Afghanistan than the Uighurs’ participation, they did not raise the

²⁸² Quoted in Wang, "Talibanization of Tribal Areas of Pakistan." pp.74-100

²⁸³ Rashid, "Taliban Exporting Extremism".

²⁸⁴ Author interview with Hassan Askari Rizvi, Lahore (2011).

Uighur threat officially with the Pakistani establishment. In addition, John Cooley establishes that Beijing trained the mujahedeen along with the Pakistani intelligence officials.²⁸⁵

Not all Uighur returned to their homeland in the post Afghan war. Haider (2005) suggests that some Uighur wanted to stay in Pakistan, with different objectives. While a few of them preferred to complete their Quranic education at the Fazal-ul-Rehman Deobandi madrasah, others settled in Federally Administered Tribal Areas (FATA) where they married local women and acquired Pakistani citizenship.²⁸⁶

The Uighur combat experience in the Afghan war notwithstanding, two parallel developments reinvigorated their aspirations: the emergence of five independent central Asian states, and the Taliban victory in Afghanistan, which provided an added impetus to move. The Soviet departure should have provided peace and tranquillity in Afghanistan, but this was not the case. A devastating civil war, ethnic cleansing, tribalism, and fundamentalism ascended in Afghanistan. With Pakistan's support, the Taliban emerged victorious in 1996. As China's Xinjiang region was near Afghanistan, it became more vulnerable to destabilising forces of Afghanistan. Ahmad Rashid (2010) argues that the Taliban's rise to power led them to aspire "to install an Islamic government across the region."²⁸⁷

Stimulated by events in central Asia and the increased contact with Islamists in the Afghanistan-Pakistan region, Uighur Muslims showed signs of escalating agitation under communist rule. Reports suggest that between 1990 and 2013, more than 500 people have been killed in the region, and similar numbers injured. (See Table 1)

²⁸⁵ John Cooley, *Unholy Wars: Afghanistan, America, and International Terrorism* (Pluto Press, 2002). p.66

²⁸⁶ Haider, "Sino-Pakistan Relations and Xinjinag Uighurs." pp.522-545

²⁸⁷ Rashid, "Taliban Exporting Extremism".

Table 1: Timeline: Terror incidents in Xinjiang between 1990 and 2013. Source: Xinhua

Year	Places of incident	Killed	Injured
1990	Baren	6	0
1991	Kuqa	1	13
1992	Urumqi	3	23
1993	Yecheng, South Xinjiang	2	30
1995	Hotan	0	0
1996	Jangilas,Xinhe, Qunas	10	3
1997	Urumqi, Baicheng	22	268
1998	Kashgar	3	12
1999	Zepu	4	2
2000	Wushi, Xinhe	11	4
2001	Shufu	1	0
2002	Bishkek	2	0
2003	China-Kyrgyzstan	21	0
2006	Urumqi	0	2
2007	Pamir	19	1
2008	Kashgar, Urumqi	30	0
2009	Urumqi	0	100
2010	Aksu	7	14
2011	Kashgar, Hotan	37	50
2012	Yecheng	20	0
2013	Kashgar, Tiananmen	115	61

A small town, Baren near Kashgar, witnessed the first event of terrorism in which six people were killed, and soon the violence spread across the entire region. In 1994, the publication of an anti-Islam book rocked the region again. The book written by Salman Rushdie had inflammatory content mocking prophet Muhammad. Figure indicates, the worst violence erupted in the year of 1997 when Uighur carried out mass bombings in the Xinjiang capital Urumqi, killing 22 people and injuring 260.

The increasing incidents of violence have prepared Chinese government to confront terrorists in Xinjiang; where according to them security situation is far more serious than Tibet and a matter of “life and death.”²⁸⁸ China retaliated by initiating a “strike hard” strategy to combat “imported” terrorism.²⁸⁹ Under the disguise of strike hard strategy, Chinese security forces carried out some of the worst human rights violations including torture, unlawful detention, and execution, disbanding religious practices, and forced abortion.²⁹⁰

As the Chinese authorities are eager to exploit the natural resources of the region and develop it at par with other parts of the country, they have combatted to alleviate the region and control the spread of violence and extremism mainly effected by the Pakistani elements. Arguably, the difficulties of sustaining an alliance in the face of Islamist disruption on the Chinese border indicates that the Pakistani-China alliance cannot avoid the contradictions of Pakistan’s own foreign polices, whereby it both feeds and fights the Islamist beast.

²⁸⁸ Gitting, “Chinese Brutality used to Crush Ethnic Dissent”

²⁸⁹ Jacob Zenn, "Xinjiang Insurgents and China-Pakistan Relations" *Jamestown Foundation*, (2012).

²⁹⁰ Aditya Bhagat, "China Tries to Quell the Xinjinag Uprising," *The Pioneer*, 27 February 1997; *China: Human Rights Concerns in Xinjiang* (New York 2001).

China's Dissent with Pakistan

The rising tide of terrorism, extremism and fundamentalism in Xinjiang is not a small concern for China. Home grown extremism is extremely hard paradox of Pakistan's policy. Pakistan has allegedly looked both ways. In particular, it has conducted contradictory policies after 9/11, both feeding and fighting the extreme Islam. Essentially, Pakistan's dual role in fight against terrorism has become a major episode in posing problem to the alliance, as the war on terror has had significant impact on both countries in different ways, and increased the pressure on the alliance. It is increasingly becoming far more difficult for China to tolerate such happenings and it does not auger well for the sustainability of the alliance.

Essentially, Beijing has regularly displayed discontent with Pakistan. In 1992 China first showed its unhappiness to president Ghulam Ishfaq Khan in a low-key manner, but in 1997 the Chinese lodged a strong protest with Pakistan. Javid Hussain, a former diplomat part of the meeting between Pakistani and Chinese officials in Islamabad, recalls that "the Chinese made a strong protest with us, they were dissatisfied with our Afghan policy, as the Taliban were supporting and training Islamic Uighurs separatists", Hussain further elaborates that "the situation was very complicated because the Chinese have gathered all information and knew the Uighur whereabouts in Afghanistan and Pakistan. They also knew that the Uighur were getting an Islamic education in Pakistani madrasahs."²⁹¹ Undoubtedly, it would be too much distressing for Pakistani officials to have such development appear in the Pakistan-China alliance.

A most troubling incident occurred during 1999, when the Chinese authorities captured 22 Uighur in Xinjiang. Haider (2005) maintains that during interrogation, the captured militants revealed that they were trained in Pakistan-Afghanistan tribal regions.²⁹² China

²⁹¹ Author interview with Javid Hussain, Lahore (2011).

²⁹² Haider, "Sino-Pakistan Relations and Xinjinag Uighurs." p.532

accused and again landed hard on Pakistan. Beijing accusation would suggest it was doomed with Pakistan. It wanted to show that the problem lies in Pakistan not China. More recently, in 2009 violence in the ethnically divided city of Urumqi killed almost 200 people, mostly Han Chinese, and again the Chinese state authorities vociferously blamed Pakistan-based militants. To alleviate Chinese concerns a perturbed President Zardari told Urumqi's Communist Party leader, Zhu Hailun, "Pakistan will have even greater cooperation with China at fighting terrorism and together we will strike against terrorist forces."²⁹³

Increasing the pressure is not the only way Chinese have displayed animosity towards Pakistan, their severe dissatisfaction has also been expressed in the form of tangible Chinese actions. In the past, Beijing has threatened to close the Karakorum Highway, landing a severe blow to the Pakistan-China alliance. Ahmad Faruqi argues that the Chinese wanted to send a strong signal to Islamabad that Beijing would not hesitate to freeze the all-weather alliance if Islamabad failed to stop backing Islamic militants in Afghanistan.²⁹⁴ In addition, Beijing appeared to be reluctant to implement a renewed agreement of upgrades to the KKH in 1995. Ahmad Rashid believes that the Chinese feared that it would further facilitate Taliban movement in the Xinjiang region.²⁹⁵

Given the Chinese resentments and pressures on Pakistan, and emerging portentous political clouds within the alliance have appeared visible. At one point Beijing raised the idea of fencing the border with Pakistan to stop the flow of Talibanisation into Xinjiang, another major blow to the all-weather alliance. It is common for neighbouring states with

²⁹³ Quoted in "China Says Attacks Thwarted As Pakistan President Visits Xinjiang" *The Dawn*, 31 August 2011

²⁹⁴ Faruqi Ahmad, "China Card Could yet Trump Musharraf," *Asia Time Online*, 25 May 2002

²⁹⁵ Quoted in Haider, "Sino-Pakistan Relations and Xinjinag Uighurs." p.532

tense relations to fence borders, for example the India-Pakistan border is partially fenced in the disputed Kashmir region, fencing border with what is called “all-weather partner” is hardly a good premonition.

In another example of difficulty in the alliance, 1963 border agreement which was due for renewal in 2000, but China dragged its heels throughout the process and eventually signed the agreement reluctantly in 2005. Pakistan’s most read English Newspaper the Dawn (2003) speculated that “China’s lack of interest in the agreement is related to the intrusion of our religious elements in the affairs of Xinjiang.”²⁹⁶ More recently, Beijing has applied visa curbs on Pakistani travellers. Riffat Husain maintains “Ten years ago - it was easy for the Pakistani national to get Chinese visit visa, but the Chinese have imposed a very strict visa rule, and they monitor traffic very closely.”²⁹⁷

Nevertheless, Chinese pressures have created a major intra-alliance dilemma. Persistent violence in Xinjiang and consequent Chinese actions must have found Pakistani security elites reeling as China applied varying degree of pressures to show its animosity towards Pakistan. Pakistan in particular has behaved contradictorily, both feeding and fighting the Islamist militant. Pakistan created the Taliban to seek strategic depth in Afghanistan, but the Taliban also tried to nurture the Uighur Muslims’ Islamic movement and attacked the Chinese inside Pakistan. The Taliban rebellion has placed Pakistan in an awkward situation. During the 1999 Kargil war, China distanced itself from Pakistan mainly due to the fact that the militants fighting India were also posing a security challenge to China in Xinjiang.

²⁹⁶ Sultan Ahamd, " Pakistan Missing Vast Opportunities in Xinxiang," *The Dawn*, 3 March 2003

²⁹⁷ Author interview with Riffat Hussain, Islamabad (2011).

Pakistan's fears and worries

China's actions were a new, unfamiliar thing in the Pakistan-China alliance. When Pakistan and China inaugurated the KKH in 1982, Chinese leaders stated, "it will allow us [China] to give military aid to Pakistan."²⁹⁸ KKH closure exposed the unity of the alliance that they were ready to risk their military ties with Pakistan. Other Chinese actions had similar implications, for instance, the visa curbs on Pakistani travellers. In Islamabad's eyes, this was an all-weather partnership but lamentably, its citizens were not allowed to travel China individually on a tourist visa, and they were only allowed to travel as part of a group.²⁹⁹

Chinese actions added to Pakistani fears and worries towards its own society that had the potential to rupture the time-tested alliance that Islamabad had enjoyed with Beijing. There is no ambiguity in Pakistan that religious fundamentalism can affect Islamabad's strategic relations with Beijing. For instance, retired Lt. General Talat Masood states that the growing militancy in Pakistan and how it affects the security of regional and major powers including the foremost ally, China, is a deepening concern for Pakistan.³⁰⁰ Former envoy Ashraf Jahangir Qazi, stresses "Pakistani militant support to Islamic Uighur is a very disturbing development. It a serious concern to us as the Chinese are not happy whatsoever. If our extremists continue to support Uighur Muslims, we fear damages of an important alliance partner who supports us economically, militarily and politically."³⁰¹

²⁹⁸ Quoted in Haider, "Sino-Pakistan Relations and Xinjinag Uighurs." p.522

²⁹⁹ Syed Kamal Mustafa, "The Irony of Having an 'Iron Brother'-My Failed Quest for a Chinese Visa," *The Dawn*, 9 February 2016

³⁰⁰ Talat Masood, "Facing up to the Menace of Militancy" *The Dawn* 6 February 2001

³⁰¹ Author interview with Ashraf Jahangir Qazi Islamabad (2011).; Also Ambassador (ret'd) Khalid Mahmood said "China is our reliable partner, it supports us immensely, and but the Islamic elements

Ambassador Qazi further maintain that “they [the Chinese] want to help us, they want us to progress”, but “we [Pakistan] must curb militants activities failing to do so will badly affect our alliance with them.”³⁰²

There is a tangible nervousness in Islamabad about the potential of those factors to disrupt Pakistan’s crucial alliance with China. General Musharraf maintains that the alliance with China is essential, and that Pakistan must act to stop the support for the Uighur Muslims within Pakistan.³⁰³ General Matinuddin (2006) states plainly that the religious extremism in Pakistan can potentially have a “damping effect on our relations with Beijing.”³⁰⁴ These statements are an indication of the fears of Pakistani elites towards their society.

Killings of Chinese in Pakistan have evoked similar concerns from other officials. Retired ambassador Ghayoor Ahmad maintains that the violence against the Chinese “would be detrimental to Pakistan’s long-term strategic interest if Chinese support waned because of these mishaps”,³⁰⁵ while the Dawn (2007) showed alarm, observing, for example, “The fanatics must not be allowed to sabotage a relationship that has weathered many a storm and holds even greater promise for the future.”³⁰⁶

Aside from Pakistan’s expressions of concern, the best way to judge Pakistani security worries is to look at several steps it has taken to moderate the Chinese concerns. They

within our borders have supported Uighur Muslims and it is a serious worry for Islamabad”, Author interview with Khalid Mahmood, Islamabad (2011).

³⁰² Author interview with Ashraf Jahangir Qazi Islamabad (2011).

³⁰³ See Editorial "Routine Promises in Beijing." *Daily Times*, 22 February 2006

³⁰⁴ Matinuddin. “President Musharraf visit to China”

³⁰⁵ Ahmad, Ghayoor, “Reinforcing ties with China”, *The Dawn* 20 February 2006

³⁰⁶ Editorial "Threat to Chinese Nationals." *The Dawn*, 10 July 2007

include carrying military operations against the Uighurs, to the conduct of propaganda (this is the subject discussed in proceeding chapters). In a noteworthy move, on occasion Islamabad has assisted direct talks between the Taliban leadership and China. For instance it has been extensively reported that Islamabad had arranged a meeting between Chinese officials and Taliban extant leader Mullah Omar in Afghanistan in 1997, and again in 2000 in which the Chinese requested that the Taliban stop backing the Uighur movement.³⁰⁷

Though Talibanisation is a cause of instability in Xinjiang, the Pakistani state has contributed significantly to Chinese security. Since this issue has entered the Pakistan-China bilateral equation, Pakistan has never espoused the Uighur cause or expressed any desire to meet Uighur leaders. Rather, the Pakistani leaders have been visiting Beijing to assure them that Pakistan will not allow Uighur to settle in Pakistan. Musharraf assured his Chinese counterpart Hu Jintao that “[his] country will never allow anybody, including the terrorist force of “East Turkestan”, to use the territory of Pakistan to carry out any form of anti-China activities.”³⁰⁸ Pakistan is as committed to Chinese security as it is to its own, and appreciates the gravity of the issues. Former Prime Minister Nawaz Sharif told President Xi, “China’s security is as important to us as Pakistan’s security.”³⁰⁹

To eliminate Uighur terrorism, the Pakistani state has never hesitated to go to the extent of launching military actions against the Uighur. Two examples demonstrate this is unprecedented insofar as China is concerned. Firstly, the US has long urged Pakistan to eliminate the Haqqani network –a major destabilising factor in Afghanistan; Pakistan’s failure to catch Haqqani terrorists has ruptured US-Pakistani relations. Secondly, other

³⁰⁷ Author Interview with Javid Hussain.; Small, *The China-Pakistan Axis: Asia's New Geopolitics*. pp.127-143

³⁰⁸ See "China, Pakistan Highlight Cooperation in Beijing," *Xinhua News Agency*, 4 November 2003

³⁰⁹ Quoted in Abdul Manan, "Nawaz Sharief Chinese Security as Pakistan Security," *Express Tribune*, 20 April 2015

than the rivalry between the two countries, the biggest issue which has brought India and Pakistan to the brink of the war has been Islamic militants targeting India.

Keeping these two cases in mind, Islamabad has unprecedentedly fulfilled Chinese demands. In sharp contrast to these two cases, in a special military operation, Pakistani security forces killed some of the most-wanted Chinese terrorists, and ETIM commander Hasan Masuma in North Waziristan on Chinese instigation in 2003. In the same year Pakistan agreed to sign an extradition treaty with China. It permitted Islamabad to hand over the fierce ETIM fighter Ismael Kardar, and Ismail Samed, one of the founders and main perpetrators of 1990 Baren uprising, to the Chinese security forces.

In another occurrence, the Chinese authorities urged Pakistan to deliver twenty ETIM militants hiding in tribal areas of Pakistan.³¹⁰ Upon their extradition to China, they were executed by Chinese security forces outside the due process of law. In 2010, Interior Minister told Beijing that “We treat ETIM not only as an enemy of China, but also as an enemy of Pakistan”, and claimed to have killed ETIM commander Abdul Haq (alias Memetiming Memeti).³¹¹ It indeed suggests security elites’ urgency for China’s alliance, above all threats to the alliance which Pakistani state want to avoid at all cost.

Pakistan has arranged direct meeting between the Chinese and Pakistani religious parties) to patch up their differences. In the Communist Party of China (CCP) and the Taliban’s “godfather” JI met in Beijing. The two sides signed a memorandum of understanding that the Taliban would not interfere in Chinese internal affairs.³¹² A similar campaign has been reported in Pakistan in which Islamabad urged its Islamic parties, such as JUI and JI, not to accept the Uighur in their madrasahs, albeit with less effect.

³¹⁰ Syed Irfan Raza, "China Wants 22 Rebels Handed Over," *The Dawn* 21 June 2007.

³¹¹ Rahman Malik-Interior Minister, see *The Dawn*, 7 May 2010

³¹² "Pact with Pakistan to Protect Chinese," *China Daily*, 8 August 2007

In another significant step, Islamabad has responded to Chinese pressures by helping and aiding its counterterrorism efforts in Xinjiang by closing Uighur centres in Pakistan. For example, Islamabad closed two Uighur centres-Hatotanabad and Kashgarabad-in Rawalpindi in December 2000. The Centres had existed since the late 1980s, following the Chinese state policy of allowing the Uighur to perform hajj using Pakistani routes.

Finally, Pakistani officials have conducted public diplomacy both in Pakistan and China to assuage Chinese concerns. Pakistani security worries have led them to travel Xinjiang quite frequently, to assuage Uighur feeling towards the Beijing authorities. The arguments the Pakistani leaders used to attempt to moderate the Uighur' views towards the Chinese authorities are worth noting. In 2001, General Musharraf visited Xinjiang's capital Urumqi to meet the imam of the grand mosque. He urged the Uighur to shun violence as Islam forbade violence, be patriotic, and to work for their country,³¹³ while President Farooq Leghari said in 1996, "you are first Chinese, and then Muslims."³¹⁴

Terrorist attacks on the Chinese in Pakistan

Another serious threat to the alliance has unprecedented incidents of terrorist attacks on the Chinese citizens working and living in Pakistan. There are about 300 Chinese companies (employing 10,000 Chinese citizens) in Pakistan involved in excess of 250 development projects including noteworthy projects like Gwadar deep sea port, dams, and more recently, CPEC. Chinese workers are scattered across the country, and providing security to such a widespread group of people is a real concern for Pakistan. Chinese work in tough conditions and become a soft target for the extremists.

Although the Uighur separatism problematic, the Islamic separatist militants are directly involved attacking Chinese in Pakistan. There is no point in claiming that these attacks

³¹³ Editorial, "Uighur Terrorism in Pakistan," *Daily Times* 27 June 2006.

³¹⁴ *ibid*

are carried out by Uighur militants; the terrorist attacks are partially because of Talibanisation, and partially ethno-nationalist elements from Balochistan. Religious fanatics target China due to the deprivation of what they call their Muslim brethren in Xinjiang. In an attack on a Chinese woman in Peshawar, Mohammad Afridi, Taliban spokesperson for Darra Adam Khel area had confirmed that Tehreek Taliban Pakistan had carried the terrorist attack to kill the Chinese women to “revenge for the Chinese government killing our Muslim brothers in their Xinjiang province.”³¹⁵

Clearly, there is a degree of sympathy for the plight of Uighur Muslims in Pakistan. A Pakistani newspaper also claimed that religious militants’ attacks on Chinese nationals in Pakistan are part of their revenge for the killing of Uighur Muslim in China.³¹⁶ It has also been confirmed by the militants. An IMU leader, al-Burmi, in a Friday sermon in the Pakistani tribal region, made it mandatory for fellow Muslims “to abduct and kill Chinese people.”³¹⁷ Similarly, al-Qaeda has issued a fatwa to target Chinese nationals abroad in revenge attacks for their killing of Uighurs.³¹⁸

Baloch separatists represent a political rather than religious challenge. They attack the Chinese to embarrass the state. Historically, Balochistan has had an antagonistic relationship with federal movement at Islamabad, who have been accused of conducting numerous military operations to suppress Baloch separatism with force. While the Political solutions to resolve the situation have largely been ignored, the Baloch separatists carry

³¹⁵ Quoted in Saud Mehsud, "Pakistani Militants Say Chinese Woman Killed for Reven," *World, Reuters* 1 March 2012.

³¹⁶ "China Executing Extremists Extradited by Pakistan" *The News*, 23 July 2007

³¹⁷ See Zenn, "Beijing, Kunming, Urumqi and Guangzhou: The Changing Landscape of Anti-Chinese Jihadist."

³¹⁸ *China Daily*, 15 July 2009.

attacks on Chinese support for Islamabad. Chinese support for Islamabad have given rise to anti-Chinese sentiments at societal level. Reeves suggests, “China’s state support for Islamabad puts Chinese workers in Pakistan at risk as domestic terrorist groups attack them as proxies of China’s foreign policy. This has affected China’s economic security and fosters anti-Chinese sentiment at a social level.”³¹⁹

Islamabad worries that if the terrorist attacks on Chinese citizens persist, Beijing may terminate its interests and withdraw its workers, ultimately endangering billions of dollars of Chinese investment in Pakistan. Many Chinese funded projects are aimed at improving Pakistan’s energy situation. Pakistani fears are not unfounded, for instance in September 2009, after attacks on Chinese citizens, a private Chinese company abandoned a hefty \$19 billion project in Sindh province without stating a date for resuming work on the project.³²⁰ Former ambassador to China Riaz Khan laments “The Chinese would have invested 10 times more in Pakistan over the last few decades, if the security situation had been better.”³²¹

For the Pakistani security elite, attacks on Chinese are a serious fear, bigger even than Uighur separatism. The China-Pakistan Director at the Institute of Strategic Studies, Islamabad, Fazal-ul-Rehman, articulates that “the terrorist attacks on Chinese have not only huge symbolic value, but left a huge scar on the Pakistan-China alliance.”³²² Moreover, a serving general of the Pakistan army told this author on the condition of anonymity that the terrorist attacks on the Chinese, having both a religious and sub-

³¹⁹ Reeves, “Chinese Foreign Relations with Weak Peripheral States”

³²⁰ Evan Feigenbaum, "China's Pakistan Conundrum, the End of the All-Weather Friendship" *Foreign Affairs*, (December 2011).

³²¹ “CPEC a Game Changer only If Pakistan Tackles Security Issues” *Express Tribune* 9 March 2016.

³²² Fazal-ul-Rehman, "Targeted Attack on Chinese: Myth and Reality" *Pakistani Defence Forum*, (2008).

nationalism dimension, are “a serious worry, even bigger than Uighur separatism.” General_Matinuddin maintains that Islamabad cannot “afford killings of our friends. No country would like to invest, not even our friends from across the Himalayas, in a country where its workers and its property is not safe. The militants who carried out these dastardly acts must be traced and given maximum punishment.”³²³

Although an isolated terrorist attack took place in 1998 when a Chinese national, Geo Yiming, was injured and his wife killed in Islamabad, no further Chinese came under attack until May 2004 when the banned Baloch Liberation Army detonated a remote-controlled bomb in Gwadar which killed three Chinese engineers, and injured eleven other people, including nine Chinese and two Pakistani. The terrorist attack shocked the Pakistani leadership, and condemnation poured in. President Musharraf and Prime Minister Zafrullah Jamali spoke to the Chinese leadership, and assured exemplary punishment for the culprits.³²⁴ Pakistan immediately promoted Chinese national security, and a few days later Pakistan announced a breakthrough related to arrest of the Gwadar attackers.

The Pakistani leaders’ response shows the gravity of their concerns and the importance of the alliance with China; for the Pakistani state, the developmental projects, like Gwadar deep sea port are immensely important. Gwadar is a deep-sea port situated in the Balochistan province of Pakistan. Gwadar construction started in 2002 with an initial amount of \$248 million paid by the Chinese government. Gwadar could change Pakistani fortune, and strategically, it improves Pakistan’s security. It provides its navy an additional port far from the range of India, enabling Pakistan to avoid Indian blockades. Economically, it has the potential to become the regional hub for trade. Many regional states, including the land-locked central Asian states, Afghanistan, and India could

³²³ Kamal Matinuddin, “Musharraf Visit to China”

³²⁴ See Mariana Baabar, "Probe Ordered into Gwadar Killings," *The News*, 5 May 2004

benefit from it. Pakistan can earn huge revenues through transit taxes if these countries decide to trade through the Gwadar port.

It can strengthen the Pakistan-China strategic alliance. Indrani Bagchi provides that Pakistan and China can transform it into a strategic naval port and subsequently display their presence in the Indian oceans. India's strategic position would be relatively vulnerable if such a scenario emerged.³²⁵ To offset this, India finances and trains Baloch separatist with the agenda of destabilising Balochistan and disrupting its development. China's financial contribution to the Gwadar port construction emphasises these trends: while China has funded around 80% of the development costs, Pakistan has contributed just 20%. The Gwadar port development also challenges Iran's Chabahar port, which is being constructed with Indian help. Reports have frequently emerged in Pakistan that Iran is involved in subversive activities to deter the Chinese from carrying development works in Pakistan.³²⁶

China has huge stake in Gwadar becoming both functional and peaceful. The emerging Chinese economy needs an uninterrupted supply of oil to maintain its growth,³²⁷ However, China is challenged by the Malacca Strait dilemma. China conducts much of its trade this way, and imports oil from the gulf region using the South China Sea, which is surrounded by states which are hostile to China. Hamzah argues that this dilemma enhances the significance of the Gwadar port to China, as it would reduce the need to use

³²⁵ Indrani Bagchi, "India Irked as China Gets Pakistan's Strategic Gwadar Port," *The Times of India* 2 February 2013

³²⁶ Malcolm Davis, "China's 'Malacca Dilemma' and the Future of the Pla", Nottingham University <http://blogs.nottingham.ac.uk/chinapolicyinstitute/2014/11/21/chinas-malacca-dilemma-and-the-future-of-the-pla/> (accessed December, 20 2015).

³²⁷ Beijing's demand for oil is increasing. It is estimated that by 2020 imported oil will make up 66% of China's total demand, increasing to 74% in 2040. *ibid.*

the risky Strait of Malacca.³²⁸ China will be able to use Gwadar to import oil and gas, transporting it to its western region using Pakistan's network of rail and road routes which it is constructing with a \$48 billion investment called China Pakistan Economic Corridor.³²⁹

China Pakistan Economic Corridor is a leading scheme of President Xi Jinping's one Belt and Road strategy, is believed to revive ancient silk linking more than billion community, major regions and focuses on building infrastructure: roads, railways, energy routes, and economic zones. Significantly, The Gwadar port development will reduce the distance that Chinese imports have to travel from 15,000 km to a mere 5000km; at present it takes two to three months to ship oil from the gulf to Shanghai port, but using Gwadar as a port and then CPEC as an overland route, Beijing will be able to reduce the time to around few days. Gwadar is not only option for China to overcome the Malacca dilemma. China is constructing ports in Sri Lanka, Myanmar and Bangladesh, described as the "string of pearls" strategy, mainly to contain the Indian navy. So viewed in the context of Gwadar strategic importance, the speed of the Pakistani security elites response suggests the importance of the alliance.

Even before the Gwadar port incidents, in an ambush with Baloch separatist, three Chinese were killed in the Hub town of Balochistan.³³⁰ Balochistan senior politician Mairaj Khan expressed "deep concern and dismay" over the killing, termed it "shameful" and called upon government "to immediately stop military operation in Balochistan and make a peaceful settlement."³³¹ Though the audacious attack on Chinese took place in 2007, it was preceded by an incident in 2004, when two Chinese engineers, Wang Ende and Wang Peng, working on Gomal Zam dams in the South Waziristan agency of FATA.

³²⁸ B. A. Hamzah, 'Alleviating China's Malacca Dilemma', *Institute for Security & Development Policy* (March 2017). <http://isdip.eu/alleviating-chinas-malacca-dilemma/> [accessed 16 July 2017]

³²⁹ China is constructing Gwadar Airport, Oil refinery, and a big Industrial Park at Gwadar.

³³⁰ Saleem Shahid, "3 Chinese Engineers Killed in Ambush," *The Dawn*, 16 February 2006.

³³¹ Quoted in "Chinese Engineers' Killing Termed Shameful," *The News*, 18 February 2006.

It was carried out by former Guantanamo Bay detainee and al-Qaeda linked Abdullah Mahsud. Security forces launched an operation in an attempt to secure the kidnapped Chinese engineers, but in the process one engineer was killed and the other freed. After the attack, the Chinese company suspended work on the project.

In 2007, al-Qaeda affiliated *Lal* (red) mosque militants abducted Chinese acupuncture clinic workers in broad day light in Islamabad, which invoked a strong reaction from the Pakistani state. Determined to impose *Sharia* in the country, the kidnapers suggested that the Chinese were involved in immoral activities.³³² General Musharraf called it the “most embarrassing and shameful”³³³ event in the Sino-Pakistan alliance, as was the Chinese embassy in Islamabad: “We are shocked and surprised on such an unlawful incident.”³³⁴ To avoid further embarrassment, security forces launched a brutal application of force to crush the seminary students. Although the kidnapping of the Chinese was condemnable, it did not justify such a powerful military response, given the fact that the captives were released eventually on the same day; the Pakistani state’s strong response suggests its doubts about its own society. The entire world saw the drama unfolding in the capital, which remained besieged under military operations representing a war-like situation.

After the Lal masjid incident, terrorist attacks on Chinese surged. In a revenge attack, three Chinese were gunned down in Peshawar, just days after Islamabad kidnapping. Rashid Khan contends it was a reaction to the Lal masjid assault as the killers were

³³² "Hostages Had Legal Business in Pakistan: China" *The News*, 27 June 2007.

³³³ Quoted in Rashid Ahmad Khan, "The Killing of Chinese and Sino-Pak Ties," *The Nation*, 19 July 2007

³³⁴ Quoted in Atif Khan, "Chinese Ambassador 'Shocked and Surprised,'" *The Nation* 28 June 2007

chanting Islamic slogans whilst attacking the Chinese.³³⁵ What worried Pakistan most was that Chinese workers started leaving Pakistan, placing several development projects' fate in jeopardy.³³⁶

Similarly, the Chinese embassy in Islamabad cautioned Chinese workers against unnecessary movement in Pakistan, thereby delaying the much needed energy projects.³³⁷ Pakistan's Foreign office spokesperson, Tasnim Aslam, reacting to the incident, said, "It is a vital relation for Pakistan but it appears that somebody wants to damage it,"³³⁸ Retired ambassador Khalid Mehmood maintains it was a "regretful event" and that the Chinese were "helping us, making Pakistan prosperous", but they were being targeted by extremists. Pakistan "needs to beef up Chinese national security to create a safe environment" for them.³³⁹

The audacious attacks required extraordinary measures which both Pakistan and China vowed to take in 2007 when they jointly established a task force to provide "fool proof security" to the Chinese citizens.³⁴⁰ However, it could not stop militants targeting Chinese. A Chinese telecoms engineer was kidnapped just days before President Asif Ali Zardari visited China in 2008. China threatened to withdraw its personnel from Pakistan. Pakistan's inability to protect Chinese nationals had worn down Chinese patience.

³³⁵ Rashid Ahmad Khan."The Killings of Chinese"

³³⁶ 300 Chinese citizens left Pakistan in the post Peshawar killing citing hostile environment for work. "300 Chinese Workers Return Home," *The Dawn*, 21 July 2007

³³⁷ Editorial "Peshawar Killing Evokes Fear among Foreigners," *The Dawn*, 10 July 2007

³³⁸ See Editorial " Attacks on Chinese Seen a Bid to Damage Sino-Pak Ties," *The News*, 20 July 2007

³³⁹ Author Interview with Khalid Mehmood Islamabad (2011)

³⁴⁰ Syed Irfan Raza, "Invisible Security' for Chinese Strengthened," *The Dawn* 7 August 2007

According to military officials, pressure from the Chinese was “of a kind there has not been before.”³⁴¹

Anti-Communism views in Pakistan

Anti-communist views in Pakistan have been less obviously putting the alliance in danger, but nevertheless, they are a potential threat. The people of Pakistan have undoubtedly always regarded India as the greatest and most imminent source of danger to their country, and the problem of defence against India has been uppermost in their mind. Communism has also been considered as running counter to Islamic thoughts; according to the strongly religious elements of society, Islam and communism are fundamentally incompatible and cannot be reconciled.³⁴²

Pakistan’s national poet Muhammad Iqbal, regarded as influential a figure as Jinnah, is considered to have strong anti-communist prejudice. He expressed his anti-communist feeling in his Poetry, where he painted a very dismal view of a nation which does not believe in God:

Denied celestial grace a nation goes
No further than electricity or stream;
Death to the heart, machines stand sovereign,
Engines that crush al sense of human kindness.³⁴³

³⁴¹ Quoted in Small, "China Cautious on Afghanistan-Pakistan". p.91

³⁴² For detail see Sadia Toor, *The State of Islam: Culture and Cold War Politics in Pakistan*, (New York: Pluto Press, 2011).

³⁴³ Satyabrat Sinha, "China in Pakistan’s Security Perceptions," in *China-Pakistan Strategic Cooperation Indian Perspective*, ed. Swarn Singh(New Delhi: Manohar 2007). p.79

Furthermore, he was known to have said that “to hold a Bolshevist view, in my opinion, is to place oneself outside the pale of Islam.”³⁴⁴

As noted above, Iqbal, like Jinnah, occupies a central position in the Pakistani ethos and thoughts, mainly because both had played significant roles in spearheading the Pakistani movement. It is believed that Iqbal envisioned Pakistan, and Jinnah fulfilled his visualisation. In this context, Iqbal’s comments are significant, and although it is unknown just how much Pakistani society is influenced by his views, he is followed, loved and read by millions of Pakistanis. Taloo Islam, an influential Islamic think-tank based in Pakistan, maintains that “Iqbal was a strict Muslim, never upheld communism in any form, for him, communism is a disease that a Muslim should avoid.”³⁴⁵

Taloo Islam also presents a very dim view of communism. It believes that communism is inconsistent and incompatible with Islam: “To be a communist, you need to be atheist and atheism is contrary to Islam”, and continues, “A Muslim can never believe in communism and a communist cannot be included into the fold of Islam and that it denies human freedom and fundamental rights. It has miserably failed in the world.”³⁴⁶ Indeed, these views penetrate deep down the society. As Taloo Islam represents Islamic literature, and has clear links with religious political parties,³⁴⁷ it is clearly influential on Islamic parties’ thoughts.

Maulana Maududi, founder of the explicitly and avowedly anti-communist organisation Jamaat-i- Islami and a well-known scholar of Islamic jurisprudence, categorically

³⁴⁴ *ibid.*

³⁴⁵ " Iqbal and Communism," *Taloo Islam* Gulberg Lahore (1980),p.42

³⁴⁶ *ibid.* p.44

³⁴⁷ Rahul Bhonsle, *India- Security Scope 2006: The New Great Game* (Kalpaz 2006).p.132

condemned socialism's concentration of all means of production in the hands of the government, stating that it was un-Islamic. Maududi had firm beliefs that communism deprives individual freedom and basic rights, while Islam guarantees freedom to all individuals and allow personal ownership to everyone.³⁴⁸ It can be assumed that JI's support of Uighur Muslims is to be influenced by the Maududi Islamic thought which sees communism as against individual freedom. Another Islamic cleric, Maulana Hamid Bhashani, a well-known freedom activist, said "I cannot accept a godless system", because the struggle for Pakistan was to set up an Islamic state according to the dictates of Islam.³⁴⁹ Such extreme opinions are likely to have increased the Pakistani decision maker's fears of their own society, which has developed a prejudice against communism based on religion, and will affect state efforts to sustain the alliance with China.

It is not without significance that the ban placed on the Communist Party of Pakistan in July 1954 has not been lifted until now. This is not because there is less freedom when compared with other similar countries, but because the lifting of the ban would have brought great uproar within Pakistan, mainly from the Islamic parties who do not want a "godless system" to flourish in Pakistan. It is worth noting that during the early days of Pakistan's independence, the liberal and secular agenda of the communist party were denounced by the Islamic parties as *kafir* (infidels).

Not only has society in general held such extreme beliefs, the Pakistani leadership has also expressed strong anti-communist feelings. President Iskandar Mirza told British Prime Minister that he would never allow a communist system to flourish in Pakistan.³⁵⁰

³⁴⁸ Toor. *The State of Islam: Culture and Cold War Politics in Pakistan*, pp.102-105

³⁴⁹ Quoted in S.M.Burke. *Pakistan's Foreign Policy*

³⁵⁰ British National Archives, *Prime Minister Commonwealth Visit 1958*. CAB/129/93, C. (58) 120.p.91

Former Prime Minister Liaquat Ali Khan suggested to British Foreign Secretary Sir William Strange that there should be an anti-communist bloc from Turkey to Pakistan.³⁵¹ He likewise recommended that the US support both India and Pakistan to fight the potential threat of communism. It is quite interesting to note that even General Ayub Khan, who established the links with Beijing, was not admiring of communism. He notably stated that “the Chinese have their ideology, and we have our ideology, they have no faith in our ideology and we have no faith in their ideology.”³⁵² Though these could be categorised as politically motivated statements rather than an actual bias against communism, the fact is they exist.

Furthermore, a member of Pakistan’s National Assembly stated that Islam is against communism and Pakistan cannot allow communism to capture one county after another.³⁵³ Prime Minister Suharwardy said in the parliament that the “cold war was due to the communist’s attempt to impose their ideology on rest of the world and Pakistan will not allow this extreme ideology to flourish.”³⁵⁴ Muhammad Ali Bogra, former Prime Minister and ambassador to the US had a firm belief that “atheistic doctrine of communism was raising its head like a hydra-headed monster and Islam, Judaism and Christianity who have belief in God were faced with a challenge.”³⁵⁵ In later years when Ayub Khan’s Foreign Minister, Zulfikar Ali Bhutto became Prime Minister, he espoused a new ideology based on the amalgamation of communist-Islamic ideology called “Islamic Socialism” based on secular traditions. The conservative Islamic parties were

³⁵¹ British National Archives, *Sir William Strang's Tour in South-East Asia and the Far East 1949* CAB/129/33, C.P.(49) 67 , p.203

³⁵² Ahmad.Faruqi *Rethinking the National Security of Pakistan*, p.88

³⁵³ Sinha.“China in Pakistan’s Security Perceptions” p.80

³⁵⁴ *ibid.*

³⁵⁵ *ibid.*

strongly opposed to Bhutto's Islamic-socialism. They charged that Islamic socialism was nothing short of "fraud perpetrated on Islam, a superficial and dishonest attempt to spiritualize socialism."³⁵⁶

In this chapter we have highlighted threats to the alliance and Pakistani security elite fears emerging from those threats. Evidence of Islamic Uighur receiving training and sanctuaries in Pakistan border region is serious. Chinese officials have expressed alarm at the apparent links between Pakistan jihadi militates and Uighur Muslim in China. China believes their safe heavens are Pakistan's rugged mountain tribal areas. We have noted that the threats to the alliance and Pakistani security fears are not without evidence and largely originate from three major factors. Firstly, it is mainly due to the Pakistani militant support (training and sanctuary) to Uighur Muslim in China's Xinjiang province since the early 1990s. It also highlights Pakistan's dubious role in the war against terrorism, Pakistan both pump and fight the Taliban. Secondly, it relates to the several terrorist incidents in which Pakistani Taliban, separatist militants are accused of attacking the Chinese citizens working on various development projects in Pakistan. The overtly conservative and vicious "Tehreek Taliban Pakistan" has issued *fatwas* (an Islamic ruling) to conduct *jihad* (holy war) against the Chinese to revenge Islamic Uighur suppressions and killings. Finally, the anti-communist views held by the Pakistani public along with some of the leaders, that communism has no place in Islam and a Muslim can never hold communist ideology in high esteem, has added to their fears.

The preceding discussion suggest that the issue of militancy and intolerance in Pakistani society is a real phenomenon. Pakistan's Islamic and conservative society sometimes rise to a more prominent level in bilateral relationship with China and present a wide array of serious problems for the Pakistani decision-makers. Unprecedentedly, such issues have become an irritant in Sino-Pakistan alliance. There are threats and challenges to the sustainability of the alliance, as well as there is a need for the alliance. These threats have

³⁵⁶ Toor. *The State of Islam: Culture and Cold War Politics in Pakistan* p.103

partially been countered through a military operation against the terrorists, however, domestic public diplomacy and propaganda strategies have been a key strategy to market and promote the alliance to the overtly religious society. This is the subject discussed in following chapters: Textbooks and Propaganda, newspapers and propaganda and the National Assembly debates.

Chapter 4. Textbooks and Propaganda

Having highlighted the threats to the alliance and concerns of the Pakistani security elite about the attitudes of their overtly religious population towards the alliance with China in the previous chapter, this chapter investigates the propaganda strategies produced by the Pakistani government to counter these threats to the alliance. Essentially, both chapters deal with questions: How the security elites in Pakistan promote the alliance with China domestically to counter those challenges. This chapter also examine associated question, what their propaganda tells us about how they view their own society. The answer to the second question will be ascertained by analysing the propaganda strategies of the security elites.

This chapter argues that the Pakistani officials are alarmed about the sustainability of the alliance with China, and as a corollary, are employing multi-pronged strategies to promote it. In principle, security elites use both soft and hard strategies. Since this research is restricted to the evaluation of soft strategies, the present chapter aims at demonstrating how Pakistan is using the instrument of textbooks to make Chinese acceptable as enduring allies to the public. In their efforts to market the alliance, multiple propaganda approaches, representing various themes, project China as magnificent country that loves Pakistan and its people, practice values which resembles with Islam. Textbooks propaganda educates that the Islamic Uighur are leading prodigious lives along with the majority Han Chinese.

The promotional strategies emphasis Pakistan-China alliance grounded on common enmity with India. While US is portrayed as having betrayed Pakistan on several occasions, China is assumed to be steadfast. Finally, Pakistani state issued textbooks promote alliance by employing catchy slogans. The Pakistani officials' propaganda exposes their assumptions and apprehensions about their own public.

This empirical chapter is based on the content analysis of social studies textbooks used in cultural institutions to identify propaganda for the domestic audience. The results of the analysis are presented both in quantitative and qualitative findings. While the

examination and interpretation of the propaganda is informed by a knowledge of the general techniques of propaganda, in particular the appeal to the emotions of hope, love, hatred, fear, and beliefs.³⁵⁷ Moreover, identification of the specific techniques of propaganda such as name-calling, substitution of names, transfer, selection, repetition, testimonials, card stacking and bandwagons is carried out, in order to interpret the data.³⁵⁸ These terms are explained in more detail, and with examples, in the section on propaganda messages, as a brief preliminary example, consider the propaganda technique “repetition” whereby the propagandist frequently repeats similar statements, slogans or key words with the aim of getting these accepted by his audience.³⁵⁹

The results of the chapter are presented both qualitatively and quantitatively. The methodology is one of the main challenges that researchers face by studying textbook analysis. In this regard, Falk Pingel states that quantitative and qualitative content techniques are complementary in conducting content analysis. He argues that the two techniques should be consolidated with the aim that the investigation will reach an adequate breadth and depth.³⁶⁰ Quantitative techniques are focused on subjects, for example the recurrence of topics and the space dedicated to the distinctive points of the content. Qualitative analysis strives to understand the meaning of content through a more top to bottom logical investigation.

The chapter has following sections:

1. Section one explains factors that make Pakistan and China awkward partners,

³⁵⁷ James A. C. Brown, *Technique of Persuasion, from Propaganda to Brainwashing* (Penguin 1963). p.23

³⁵⁸ *ibid.* pp. 11-27; Briant Lee Alfred Lee, *The Fine Art of Propaganda* (New York: Harcourt Bruce, 1939).

³⁵⁹ James Brown, *Technique of Persuasion*, p.27

³⁶⁰ Falk Pingel, *UNESCO Guidebook on Textbook Research and Textbook Revision* (France: Georg Eckert Institute for International Textbook Research, 1999).

2. Section two explains the process by which government decision is translated into the writing, editing, and publishing of the textbooks.
3. This section also explains importance of textbooks as an instrument of the state policy; and the structure and mechanism of the Pakistani state propaganda system, particularly highlighting the role of the Ministry of Education (MoE) in producing propaganda; and
4. And finally, section three, evaluates the propaganda strategies found within the selected textbooks.

Pakistan-China: An awkward alliance

In the introductory chapter we have defined that an awkward alliance is one which is formed between states that are ideologically, politically, economically and even culturally diverse or geopolitically antagonistic. The Pakistan-China alliance is uncomfortable due to the glaring differences in ideology, political system and culture. Pakistan shares little with China except the one major factor of having India as a common threat. While Pakistan is a devoted Islamic state, China is communist. Heritage Foundation visiting scholar Huma Sattar maintains “Much to the befuddlement of the rest of the world - and as ironic as it is - Communist China and Islamic Pakistan are fast friends.”³⁶¹

In addition, despite the two countries claiming to be the all-round friends, many people do not know much about China’s geography and language. A student at a prestigious Pakistani university replied to a question that “Japan was the largest island in China.” This misunderstanding of Pakistan’s closest ally is so prevalent that other students of

³⁶¹ Huma Sattar, "China and Pakistan's All-Weather Friendship" *The Diplomat* 12 March 2015

same university believed that “Japanese and Chinese were same languages.”³⁶² Andrew Small maintains that despite Pakistan-China share a deep security bond “both do not share any cultural references and points or values.”³⁶³

The English language is as much in use in the Pakistani political circle as it could be in a country where it is not the language of the people. Given the close alliance, one might expect more use of the Chinese language, English is actually the most widely used and studied foreign language. The majority of the students select Western subjects and providers for modern knowledge acquisition and intellectual guidance. Pakistan’s army conduct, culture and training style are more closely aligned with those of the British than the Chinese. The differences between the two nations are highlighted by the fact that Beijing has leapfrogged from being a poor underdeveloped country into a prosperous industrial giant, while Pakistan has faced a serious economic and political crisis since her independence. Finally, the issue of Uighur separatism has been a source of contention between these allies.

Textbooks as an instrument of state supremacy

In following section, we elaborate propaganda institution in Pakistan, importance of textbooks as a disseminator of propaganda and textbooks as an instrument of state authority.

³⁶² Zhang Haiwei, "Confucius Institute in Islamabad and Pakistan-China Friendship Cultural Diplomacy Perspective "in *Pakistan-China Relations 2011: Year of Friendship* ed. Ghani Jafar (Islamabad: Institute of Strategic Studies Islamabad, 2011). pp.98-99

³⁶³ Andrew Small, "The Sino-Pakistani Axis: Asia's 'Little Understood' Relationship" interview by Gabriel Domínguez (2015), <http://www.dw.com/en/the-sino-pakistani-axis-asias-little-understood-relationship/a-18194448> [accessed 12 December 2015]

In every form of propaganda, there must be an organization, an individual or department responsible for its existence, so which office is responsible for conducting propaganda in Pakistan? Propaganda does not happen in a vacuum; behind all propaganda, there are certain objectives and values which need to be achieved, and those objectives and values are represented or are associated with some individual. Traditional propaganda in the west has been conducted through the creation of specific propaganda departments. For instance, Nicholas Cull discusses during the World War II Britain's "Ministry of Information" (MOI) moved America from an isolationist position to war intervention. The MOI was also at the forefront of selling the idea of a people's war to the home nation in order to gain support for the war.³⁶⁴ Equally, Bennet Todd discusses American efforts to disseminate propaganda through its "Office of War Information" (OWI) to improve the image of the Soviet Union and Britain within the US to facilitate the supply of military aid to those countries during the World War II.³⁶⁵

In certain cases, an institution created for some other purposes was also responsible for propaganda. For instance, apart from its role as sole ruling political party, the Communist Party of China plays a significant role in disseminating propaganda domestically.³⁶⁶ However, not all states want to, or are able to, create a propaganda department, bearing in mind the resource constraints and finances involved in establishing such a huge bureaucratic structure. In some cases, the education system appears to be an established platform for propaganda, for example in Pakistan, textbooks are used as an instrument of state, to educate children about the alliance with China.

³⁶⁴ Nicholas Cull, *Selling War: The British Propaganda Campaign against American Neutrality in World War II*, (Oxford University Press, 1995).; Susan A. Brewer, *To Win the Peace: British Propaganda in the US During WWII* (Cornell University Press, 1997).

³⁶⁵ M. Todd Bennett, *One World, Big Screen: Hollywood, the Allies, and World War II*. (Chapel Hill, University of North Carolina Press, 2012).

³⁶⁶ David Shambaugh, "China's Propaganda System: Institutions, Processes and Efficacy" *The China Journal* 57, (January, 2007).

Before examining Pakistani textbooks and the role of the Ministry of Education in producing these textbooks, we must first look at the wider picture of educational materials as an instrument of state policy.

Textbooks are fundamental in any education system. They are a universal means of education and dissemination of knowledge. This modern age of information technology, where the knowledge is readily available in just one click, has not reduced its significance. Philip Altbach maintains “in the age of computers and satellite communications, the most powerful and pervasive educational technology is the textbook.”³⁶⁷ Despite the availability of knowledge from the internet, textbooks will remain an important source of knowledge as they are accessible to all and do not require any specialist equipment or communications technology.

Textbooks occupy a significant space within the classroom setting. Almost all activities revolve around it. Most importantly, texts represent the curriculum. Sleether and Grant believe that textbooks are most important “conveyor” of the curriculum within the classroom.³⁶⁸ Teachers’ lesson plans are based around them, and children carry and read them both in the classroom and at home. It is generally agreed that textbooks consume between 70 and 95% of student’s time while they are in the classroom.³⁶⁹ Jack Zevin even suggests textbooks are in more use than a teacher in the classroom.³⁷⁰ Textbooks bring scattered knowledge into one place. Textbooks may be solitary, but they can be a

³⁶⁷ Philip Altbach, "The Oldest Technology: Textbooks in Comparative Context" *Compare* 17 N0. 2 (1987). p.93

³⁶⁸ Christian E. Sleether and Carl A. Grant, "Race, Class, Gender, and Disability in Current Textbooks" in *The Curriculum Studies Reader* ed. David J. Flinders and Stephen J. Thornton(New York: Routledge 1997). p.281

³⁶⁹ Patrick Shannon, "Some Subjective Reasons for Teachers' Reliance on Commercial Reading Materials" *The Reading Teacher* 35 No. 8 (1982). ; Douglas Superka Irving Morrissett, Sharryl Hawke "Project Span: Analysis and Proposals for Teh 1980s," *Social Education* 44 No.7 (1980).; Dolores Durkin, "Is There a Match between What Elementary Teachers Do and What Basal Reader Manuals Recommend?"*The Reading Teacher* 37 No. 8 (1984).

³⁷⁰ Jack Zevin, *Social Studies of the 21st Century: Methods and Material for Teaching in Middle and Secondary School* (New York: Longman 1992).pp.39-58

significant source of knowledge for the students, for example in cases where the teachers are untrained, inexperienced or incompetent.

Textbooks and state hegemony

Not only are textbooks the oldest technology used in cultural institutions, they are distinctive in another way: they are imbued with authority. Textbooks matter as an instrument of the state, as its way of getting into the minds of the young, and against competing or overlapping sources of authority, such as the family or the Mosque. Textbooks are not just commodities sold in the market for commercial purposes, states regulate them for achieving their objectives. Fitzgerald maintains that the function of the state curriculum is telling its “children what their elders want them to know.”³⁷¹ Curriculum expert, Michael Apple, suggests that textbooks are “conceived, designed, and authored by real people with real interests.”³⁷² De Castell emphasises that textbooks are embodiments of cultural messages and functionally, are not that different to government policy documents.³⁷³ Textbooks are biased, produce detailed factual knowledge, match government policy documents and transfer specific knowledge from leadership to the younger generations.

The textbooks develop and reflect a wider political struggle about power and identity. The textbooks considered to be the best source of knowledge are produced to serve powerful groups within states. Apple, in his pivotal scholarships, considers the links

³⁷¹ Frances Fitzgerald, *America Revised: History Schoolbooks in the Twentieth Century* (Vintage Books, 1979).p.47

³⁷² Michael Apple, *Official Knowledge: Democratic Education in a Conservative Age* (London: Routledge, 1993).p.46

³⁷³ Suzanne de Castell, "Teaching the Textbook: Teacher/Text Authority and the Problem of Interpretation," *Linguistics and Education* 2 No.1 (1990),pp.75-90

between education and prevalent political, cultural and economic discrimination within societies. He urges education and the development of curriculum to be perceived as a social phenomenon, and not psychological, as it embodies class, race, and gender dynamics that establish society. Apple believes Texts are partial sets of values which represent conflict and comprise over power and control. He continues to reason that the hegemony within the texts have been enacted through explicit and implicit curriculum of cultural institutions.³⁷⁴

Likewise, Jean Anyon states that despite textbooks claim neutrality, they actually perform an ideological function. They appear to be an instrument in the hands of the ruling group to dominate a subordinate group. Anyon believes textbooks are a social construct which throughout the manufacturing process excludes and includes various groups' competing interests and expectations.³⁷⁵ Textbooks are social phenomena which introduce young children to specific historical, cultural and politico-strategic order to achieve the goals of a regime. Through the medium of education, the powerful group seeks to dominate the society. Curriculum offers dominant group an opportunity to control the sub-ordinate groups. There is a link between political, economic and cultural factors and textbook adoption policies.

Selective tradition in Textbooks

Textbooks transmit more than informal knowledge and content. Textbooks reproduce selective knowledge carefully chosen from a larger collection. Raymond Williams

³⁷⁴ Michael W. Apple, *Education and Power*, (Routledge, 1995). ; Michael W. Apple, *Ideology and Curriculum* (New York: Routledge, 2004).; Michael W. Apple, *Cultural Politics and Education* (New York: Teachers College Press, 1996).; Michael W. Apple, *Teachers and Texts: A Political Economy of Class and Gender in Education* (Boston: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1986).

³⁷⁵ Jean Anyon, "Elementary Social Studies Textbooks and Legitimizing Knowledge," *Theory and Research in Social Education* 6 No. 3 (1978).

considers it a “cultural hegemony” since the contents are carefully selected from a wide range of knowledge and only the contents that promote the interests of the powerful group are allowed.³⁷⁶ Furthermore, textbook knowledge is an “*official’ knowledge*”: despite knowledge promoting controversial ideologies, once approved by the state it acquires the status of “*official knowledge*”,³⁷⁷ and as such, it is less likely to be challenged. It implies what appears in the textbook is accurate and true. In nutshell, the textbooks are the product of a “conscious choice” to maintain the legitimacy of certain controversial ideologies and the promotion of historical factors as true and accurate. As textbooks are state’s prerogative, textbook pedagogy is legitimate as compared to another source of knowledge.

Profit-hungry publishers

Once the texts are approved by a government board, they enter into another crucial stage of publication where states continue to maintain control. The production of textbooks is a remarkably complex process. From publishers to the classroom, the process is highly partisan. Critics believe that “indeed, from publisher to the student, textbooks move through a political world.”³⁷⁸ The process is made complex due to the competing interests between a state’s regulatory directives and the publisher’s pursuit of profit. Textbooks are as a commodity within the market, and while the Government strives to maintain

³⁷⁶ Clifton B. Parker, "Culture Factors into Why We Like or Dislike People", Stanford University <http://news.stanford.edu/2015/11/24/culture-value-people-112415/> [accessed 4 January 2016].p.1; Annis Shaver Eugene Provenzo , Manuel Bello "Introdcution" in *The Textbooks as Discourse Sociocultural Dimesnion of American School Books* ed. Annis Shaver Eugene Provenzo, Manuel Bello (New York: Routledge 2011).p.7

³⁷⁷ Michael W. Apple, *Official Knowledge* (New York Routledge, 2000).; Michael W. Apple, *The State and the Politics of Knowledge* (New York: Routledge, 2003).

³⁷⁸ Kenneth K.Wong and Tom Loveless, "The Politics of the Textbook Policy: Proposing a Framework" in *Textbooks in American Society Politics, Policy, and Pedagogy* ed. Gail P.Kelly Philip G.Altbach, Hugh G.Petrie, Lois Weis (State University of New York, 1991).p.27

hegemony over the textbooks contents, publishers are looking for profit and new business.

Billions of dollars are spent annually on textbook production around the world. The profit-hungry publishers, who aim for profit, not the promotion of knowledge, look for their stake in a highly lucrative and competitive market.³⁷⁹ Publisher's hunger for the business is entirely exploited by the text endorsing committees. Committees concerned with text publication, regularly introduce guidance for publishers to follow, and failure to do so results in the cancellation of contracts. As the publishers are logically concerned with bottom line, they adhere to the government policies to ensure profit in an increasingly difficult marketplace.³⁸⁰ Thus, the whole textbooks production process allows states to wield immense influence over the adoption as well as publication of the textbooks. The publishers are not in an ideal position to defy state directives as doing so would deprive them a huge chunk of money. Government committee involvement at each stage of the publication of the textbooks ensures that texts are published without any change, deletion or amendments.

Process of textbook approval in Pakistan

The ultimate control of the contents of textbooks in Pakistan can be established by its official origin. It is the responsibility of Ministry of Education Curriculum Wing (MoECW) in Islamabad to plan, prepare and publish entire textbooks for grades 1-12 (ages 4-18). According to the rules established by the Constitution, provinces do not have the authority to control or direct education policy, they only implement and distribute textbooks once they have been approved by the MoECW. The provincial textbook boards, following MoECW instructions, get written textbooks through registered

³⁷⁹ Philip G. Altbach, "Introduction" in *Textbooks in American Society Politics, Policy, and Pedagogy* ed. Gail P.Kelly Philip G.Altbach, Hugh G.Petrie, Lois Weis(Albany State University of New York Press 1991).p.2

³⁸⁰ *ibid*.p.1

government teachers. Once the textbooks are written, the boards send them back to the ministry for scrutiny and final approval. MoECW approves textbooks only if the authors have followed ministry instructions. Once approved, the curriculum is officially standardised throughout the country. The curriculum for universities is designed by the university syndicate in association with the Higher Education Commission of Pakistan, which is headed by a chairman appointed by the government.

Structurally, the Education Ministry is headed by a minister who is a political appointee. The second ranking officer is the education secretary, who is a civil servant. Likewise, the provincial education departments, which mainly implement national education policy, are headed by an education minister and senior provincial executive civil servants. The propaganda agent in Pakistan is the Education Ministry which is facilitating messages directly to the people through the textbooks it produces, in a covert way using its constitutional powers. This close association with the pillars of the states (bureaucracy and political rulers) is inevitable when the texts are premeditated by the government officials, written and edited by teachers who are government employees, approved by a committee in the federal Ministry of Education, and issued by a board which is an official institution.

Examining the use of textbooks highlights the target of the propaganda: the audience. The importance of textbooks is much enhanced in developing countries. For instance, this study deals with a developing country, Pakistan, where a significant number (almost 70%) of the people live in remote areas. Jowett suggests an audience located in a remote region without access to major media will have to be reached in appropriate ways.³⁸¹ Communications were not strong and widespread during the 1990s and early 2000s; the mushrooming of TV channels did not come until the mid-2000s (during the reign of

³⁸¹ Victoria O'Donnell Garth S. Jowett, *Propaganda and Persuasion* (Sage 2012).p.278

General Musharraf), so before then textbooks were the most suitable resource to reach the maximum number of people to disseminate messages.

Process of textbooks development and approval

Khalid Mahmood has explained the process³⁸² of textbooks development and approval in Pakistan. (See Figure 4.1)

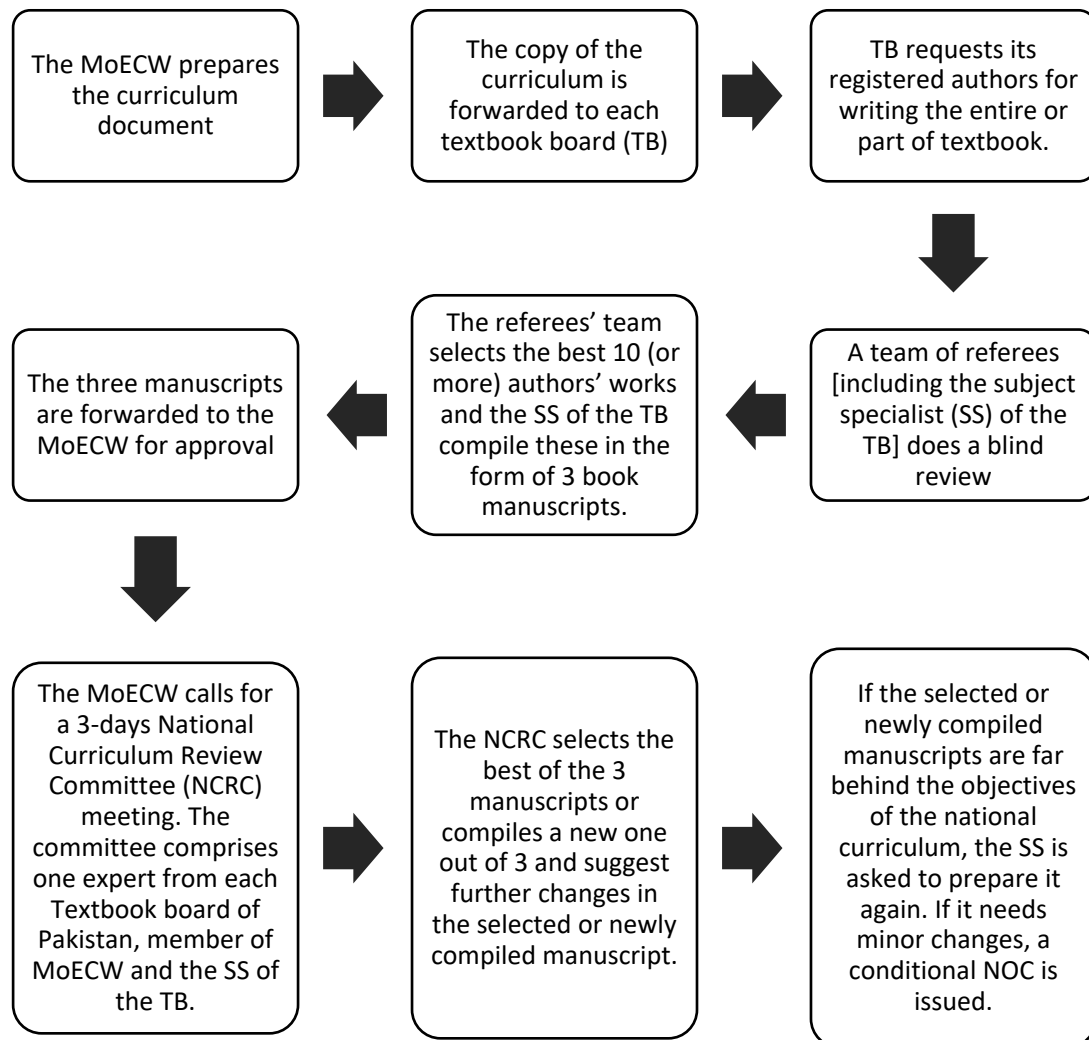


Figure 4.1: Process of textbooks development and approval in Pakistan.

³⁸² Khalid Mahmood, 'The Process of Textbook Approval: A Critical Analysis', *Bulletin of Education & Research*, 28 (June 2006). p.9

The third phase of textbook development explains how the Pakistani state maintains its hegemony over the contents of the textbooks. Textbook authors receive some instructions that they must follow while writing the textbooks. The instructions to the authors reveal the actual process by which the government's decision is translated into writing, editing and publication of textbooks. We interviewed some textbooks' authors and officials from Ministry of Education. The interviewee gave us interesting information about the entire process of the textbooks production with the condition that their names are not mentioned while they are cited, except for one author.

The making of the textbook in Pakistan can effectively be linked with the government in power under which textbooks are created and distributed. Pakistani state maintains its hegemony over the contents of the textbooks. MoECW tries to control the contents of textbooks to achieve foreign policy goals. Textbooks author Hassan Askari based in Lahore stated that textbooks are written by a college, and university teachers and, as such, are under the control of the government and are not free to write against the official line.³⁸³ While another author lamented that ideology dictates the writing of textbooks. He argued If a private author produces an independent book that neglects prescribed instructions, school or college will be reluctant to allow students to use in the classroom unless there is a stamp from the provincial textbook board.³⁸⁴

In certain cases, failure to comply with MoECW rules often leads to termination of authorship and contracts. For instance, Oxford University Press (OUP-Pakistan)'s failure to comply with Education Ministry directives led to the cancellation of its contract.³⁸⁵ Each text contains the author's name and the imprint of MoECW and official notice that

³⁸³ Personal Communication in Lahore (2017)

³⁸⁴ Personal Communication in Islamabad (2017)

³⁸⁵ Madiha Afzal, "A Failed Curriculum Reform" *The Express Tribune* 15 January 2014

it is the only prescribed textbook. In some cases, a warning is issued by the chairman of the textbook board that the students must not buy or use any textbooks other than those officially approved.

Specifically, with regard to the Sino-Pakistani relations, we posed these questions to the textbook authors and the officials of the Education Ministry. One of the senior ministry officials said that MoECW indeed instructs the textbook's author to produce pro-China contents. While an author (secondary school level) based in Lahore admitted that "The ministry directs us to portray China as a great friend of Pakistan."³⁸⁶ Another author recognised "we are mainly asked to discuss the Chinese contribution to Pakistan's defence and security. He added "though it is true China contributes massively in our country, the instructions from the government are relatively inexplicable."³⁸⁷ Clearly, there is an ideology at work which portrays China as a great friend of Pakistan.

Regarding the cultural differences between China and Pakistan and their absence within the textbooks, an author based in Islamabad stated that the government requires authors to avoid highlighting cultural differences between the two nations.³⁸⁸ Clearly, Pakistani cultural textbooks are based on selective knowledge. In essence, it suggests that security elites are aware of the tension that exists between Pakistani society and China. It can be deduced that there are some fears in their mind that if the Pakistanis are taught the cultural differences between China and Pakistan, they could create more problems for the sustainability of the alliance. Otherwise, there is no plausible description for explaining the decision of security elites to eclipse cultural differences within textbooks. Even one

³⁸⁶ Personal Communication in Lahore (2017)

³⁸⁷ Personal Communication in Multan (2017)

³⁸⁸ Personal Communication in Islamabad (2017)

author accepted that teaching Pakistan and China cultural differences can increase anti-Chinese sentiment.³⁸⁹

Likewise, we put questions to the text's authors about the violation of Uighur Muslims rights. One author replied, "we are directed to highlight the Chinese government development policies in Xinjiang. We are also responsible for writing that Uighur enjoy equal rights together with the Han Chinese."³⁹⁰ It clearly indicates that a well-considered policy is implemented and recommended by the government. Once again it can be argued that discussing the policies of the Chinese security forces against the Uighur will create more problems for the alliance.

Exceptionally some interviewees have their own perception of China. For example, two authors, one based in Islamabad and one in Multan, said it is entirely justified to teach Chinese contributions because China helps Pakistan against rival India. One of teacher added, "We know Chinese face life threats in Pakistan, however, teaching the contributions of the Chinese is not wrong and unjustified."³⁹¹ An official stationed at MoECW made similar comments. Referring to the Indo-Pakistan crisis of 1965 he maintains that "in the darkest hour of our history, it was China's resolute support that provided a source of strength to the government and people of Pakistan."³⁹²

³⁸⁹ Personal Communication in Lahore (2017)

³⁹⁰ One official of the MoECW replied in similar fashion.

³⁹¹ Personal Communication Multan and Islamabad (2017)

³⁹² Personal Communication Islamabad (2017)

We also asked a question about which the best partner for Pakistan was [we asked mainly the United States and China]. Interestingly both the Ministry official and texts authors made some profound comments. An author based in Lahore stated:

I wrote a textbook in which I tried to give a critical analysis of Pakistan's foreign relations. I wanted to write that China remained neutral during the Indo-Pakistani war of 1971. I wanted to say that Chinese contributions were exaggerated and those of Americans were underestimated. I was removed from the list of authors.³⁹³

An official from MoECW stated in obvious terms, “Students are brainwashed to accept certain ideologies about Pakistan's foreign relations in which the United States is demonized while China is praised.”³⁹⁴ One of the authors maintained “We were asked to highlight the betrayal of the United States following Pakistan’s wars with India and the sanctions US imposed on Pakistan. Likewise, Chinese support during and after the wars was directed to be fully highlighted with positive contents.”³⁹⁵

It is obvious to say that the Pakistani state tries to maintain its hegemony over the content of textbooks. It tries to educate the public that fulfils its strategic goals: the promotion of the alliance with China. It also suggests that security elites are aware of the cultural differences between Pakistan and China. To overcome these differences, the government maintains its hegemony over the writings of textbooks so that it can pass on its official and selective knowledge to the public.

³⁹³ Personal Communication Lahore (2017)

³⁹⁴ Personal Communication Islamabad Parliament Lodge (2017)

³⁹⁵ Personal Communication Lahore (2017)

Propaganda themes: The contents and messages

In the next section, we discuss how the textbooks are designed and what propaganda approaches are employed to propagate alliance domestically.

In the following discussion we will apply “design analysis” to examine how textbooks are designed and organised, and how its different parts relate to each other. All pupils attending school are required to have social studies textbooks for the compulsory subjects: Pakistan History, Pakistan studies, Social Studies, Urdu, English and Civics as compulsory subjects. These textbooks focus on government, and its institutions, ideology and two nation theory, laws, educational system, welfare associations, the army, and poetry but these textbooks are a category into which anything can be placed if it fails to fit into other disciplines. Texts start with three important messages: the Father of the Nation, and the serving President and Prime Minister. The messages urge the students to follow the textbook’s contents with love and care. In addition, each textbook clearly carries the official seal of the ministry to reinforce its official status.

Each of the textbooks has a chapter on Pakistan’s foreign relations. This chapter does not exclusively discuss Pakistan-China relations, Pakistan’s relations with other countries are also discussed. The government has clearly “*Chinese*” the “*official knowledge.*” Within this framework, China is treated exclusively and assigned a large amount of curriculum space. The chapter spans an average of ten pages, with the alliance with China covering at least five of these pages, and the remaining pages given to a range of international relations (India, the US, Iran and Afghanistan and others). This of course means that the children leaving the classrooms will have spent a lot of their time reading about the alliance with China.

There are some textbooks that have no relevance to international politics, they still have a chapter on China. Urdu and English literature texts, for example, are an entirely different genre and teach poetry, prose and fiction, and employing what is known as the

“selective tradition”, the Sino-Pakistan alliance has been made part of it.³⁹⁶ Though the discussion in those texts occupy on average six or seven pages, which seems trivial when compared with the overall structure, the inclusion of China in texts that deal largely with poetry, rhymes and prose makes them an interesting source of propaganda.

When introducing foreign policy chapters, texts “position” the alliance with Beijing in a strategic way, making alliance look enormously dominant. The arrangement, or order of the chapters – that is, whether the Sino-Pakistan alliance appears before or after India-Pakistan relation - has been widely discussed. In either case, whether students learn about the alliance before or after the troubled relations between India and Pakistan, the importance of the alliance is enhanced by linking it with India. The Pakistan-China alliance follows Pakistan-India relations ten times (62.5% of occurrences studied),³⁹⁷ while the alliance appears before Pakistan-India relations in six (25%) textbooks.³⁹⁸

This systematic structure is likely to push children to believe that China is friendly, while India is the enemy. The order emphasises that China is imperative for overcoming security threats emanating from India policies in the region. Even when the Sino-Pakistan

³⁹⁶ Ibn Insha, "Fifteen Days in China" in *Urdu for Class VII*, ed. Syed Waqar Azeem and Muhammad Ishaq Jalapuri (Government Textbook Board, Federal Ministry of Education, Islamabad 1990-2002).; Ibn Insha, "Go to China If You Want To" in *Urdu for Class IX-X*, ed. Musharraf Ansari and Sajjad Rizvi (Government Textbook Board, Federal Ministry of Education (Curriculum Wing), Islamabad 1990-2002).; Muhammad Sadiq and S.M.Sulheri, *China's Way to Progress, English Curriculum for Class XI-XII* (Government Textbook Board, Federal Ministry of Education, Islamabad, 1990-2002).

³⁹⁷ Farooq Malik and Ghazala Bashir, *External Relations of Pakistan, Civics for Class XI-XII*, vol. I (Government Textbook Board, Education Ministry, Islamabad 1990-2005); Ahmad Hussain and Javid Sheikh, *Pakistan and People's Republic of China, Civics for Class IX-X* vol. I (Government Textbook Board, Ministry of Education, Islamabad 1990-1996); Muhammad Hussain Sheikh, *Pakistan and World, Civics for Class IX-X*, vol. II (Government Textbook Board, Federal Education Ministry, Islamabad 1997-2004).; Sheikh Rafiq and Nisar Ahmad, *Pakistan-China Relations, History of Pakistan for Class XI*, vol. II (Government Textbook Board, Ministry of Education, Islamabad 2006-2010)

³⁹⁸ Muhammad Hussain Ch and Rai Faiz Kharal, *Foreign Policy of Islamic Republic of Pakistan, Pakistan Study for Class XII*, vol. I (Government Textbook Board, Federal Education Ministry, Islamabad 1990-2005).; Aftab Dar and Zubair Siddiq, *Pakistan's Relations with Neighbours, Pakistan Study for Class X* vol. II (2006-2010); Farooq Malik and Sultan Khan, *Pakistan and World Community, Pakistan Study for XI-II*, vol. II (Government Textbook Board, Ministry of Education, Islamabad 2006-2010).; Haleema Naz Afridi Sultan Khan, *Pakistan and Its Neighbours* vol. III (Ministry of Education, Islamabad 2005-2010).

alliance appears before Indo-Pak relations, students would have already read about “outstanding” China and having that understanding in mind, they would read about “enemy” India. Running through this structure is the logic that in both cases a world of differences is created upon which a particular identity (China alliance) is constructed. The selective tradition allows state to exercise hegemony over the curriculum development to construct alliance with China. The young minds may ignore (or be unaware of) the awkwardness of the alliance, and be likely to believe that a communist country is helping them.

In some textbooks, China is described in a way which makes it appear central. A text for grade five, entitled “*Pakistan and Its Neighbours*”, introduces Pakistan’s foreign policy in following fashion:

Geo-strategically, Pakistan links South Asia with West and Central Asia. In the West lies brother Muslim nations Iran, and Afghanistan, and in the East lies traditional enemy India. In the North lies Pakistan’s traditional and deep-rooted friend China, we share a long border of 600 km with her which helps us during difficult times.³⁹⁹

Though the above statement ignores the issues between Pakistan and Afghanistan, China clearly emerges as the most overwhelmingly positive of all Pakistan’s neighbours. Examples of this emphasis of the strength of the alliance are common; in a history text entitled “*Pakistan’s relations with China and India*” we can read that:

³⁹⁹ Fazal Hussain and Sajjad Hussain, *Islamic Republic of Pakistan* (Government Textbook Board, Ministry of Education, Islamabad 2005-2010),p.5

China and India are our neighbours. In the following pages, we discuss Pakistan's relation with both countries. Since Pakistan's independence, our relations with India have been hostile, but China is our great neighbour. In the beginning China was friendly with India, but when it came to know of India's ambitions to become a major power of South Asia, it extended her friendship to Pakistan.⁴⁰⁰

The authoritative proposition is justified by itself and there is no room for argument. Even before children reach the main part of the discussion, an affirmative statement is made in China's favour to prepare the reader to accept the propaganda that makes up the rest of the chapter. The children will read the remaining text with strong "enemy" and "friend" images already planted in their minds.

Finally, it is pertinent to mention that in 2006, the curriculum was reviewed. Attempts at change failed as the evaluation was conducted without introducing many amendments.⁴⁰¹

The majority of texts retained the positive content on China, with it only being removed from two Urdu texts. Textbooks are reprinted yearly, and even then changes are not often made, often only the order of the chapters is changed to make it appear to be a completely new edition: we have seen examples where textbooks have been described as the 1st, 2nd or 3rd editions but there is little change in the substance between each edition.⁴⁰² Salman Ali maintains "Our present generation is learning the same knowledge that the previous two have learnt."⁴⁰³

⁴⁰⁰ Sheikh Muhammad Rafiq and Asim Farooq Sheikh, *Relations with Great Nighbour China, Pakistan Study for BS(Hons)* (Standrad Book Center, Urdu Bazar Lahore, Recommneded by Higher education Commision of Pakistan, Islamabad 1990-2010).p.368; Also see Sheikh Rafiq and Nisar Ahmad, *Pakistan-China Relations, History of Pakistan for Class XI1*, pp.232-239

⁴⁰¹ Madiha Afzal, "A Failed Curriculum Reform"

⁴⁰² This study has examined all editions and refereed where appropriate. Textual analysis shows that some authors who have authored texts aimed at different levels of education do not adjust their writing to suit the audience and the text is just copied from book to another.

⁴⁰³ Salman Ali, 'Biased Pakistani Textbooks', *Daily Times*, 26 September 2017

Propaganda frequency across the Education Levels

The statistical results from examining the texts show interesting patterns of propaganda. It fluctuates across the four levels of education. For instance, the great majority of propaganda is taking place at Secondary and Higher Secondary level of education, as shown in Figure 4.2 and Figure 4.3. At this level it stands at slightly over 70% (13 texts), but there is a difference between these levels and others: it stands 11% [2 texts] both at lower secondary and higher education level, and at just one text (5.6% of the total) at primary level.

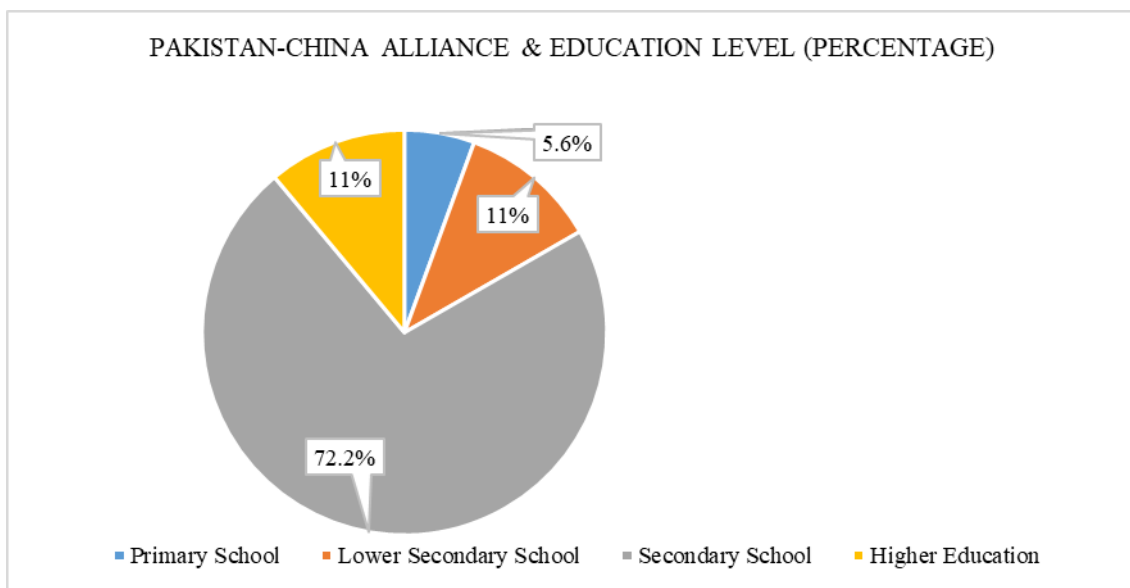


Figure 4.2: Propaganda Percentage

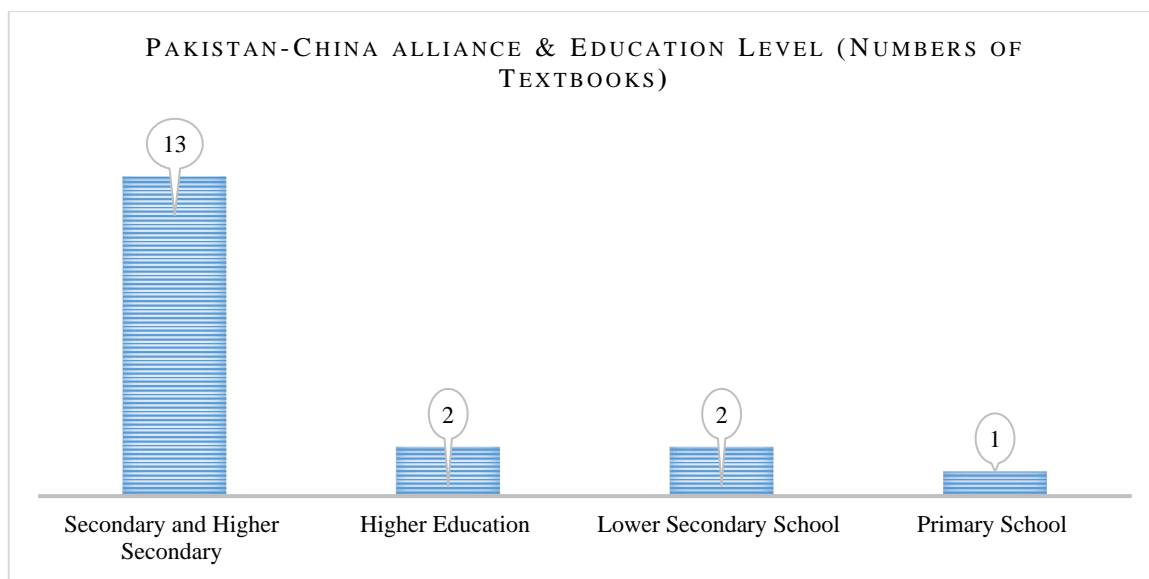


Figure 4.3: Textbooks & Education Level

We can see that propaganda is mainly concentrated at the Secondary and Higher Secondary level of education. The security elite have concentrated their efforts at this level due to the complexity of topic. Politics being is a complex phenomenon, and needs to have an audience which can grasp the ideas behind the messages. Moreover, Secondary and Higher Secondary are the most critical levels, where students are exposed to maximum level of education in order to develop their critical thinking.⁴⁰⁴ This is not unique to Pakistan, this level of education (or age range) is often targeted for shaping opinions around the world.⁴⁰⁵ However, civic education is also taught both at Primary School and Lower Secondary level. Logically, a nine year old will not be able to enter into a conversation on the same level of sophistication as a fifteen year old, so the education system has to adapt to the age of the children.

In Pakistani textbooks, eight and nine year olds are being taught political factors but in very simple fashion, for instance, it is taught at grade five that both China and India are

⁴⁰⁴ Abdul Kareem Igharia, "A Content Analysis of the Wh-Questions in the Efl Textbook of Horizons" *International Education Studies* 6, No. 7 (2013).

⁴⁰⁵ Eugene Provenzo, *The Textbooks as Discourse*, p.vii

Pakistan's neighbour but India is an enemy. However, when it comes to the Secondary and Higher Secondary, the style is different as the discussion involves a much wider debate about the threat to national security and need for the alliance. The theme is the same but the level of detail has changed. In higher education, where the youngsters are more mature, the propaganda is still present, in order to maintain the continuity of the message until education is completed.

Content analysis (major themes within textbooks)

The content analysis of the selected textbooks revealed following five major propaganda themes: the glorious Chinese (Chinese culture, Islam and Uighur separatism), the historical relationship, security narratives, reliable China & unreliable US, and poetic or hyperbolic phrases. We will consider each of these themes in turn.

The glorious Chinese (Chinese culture, Islam and Uighur separatism)

The glorious Chinese propaganda scheme included three main themes: the Chinese having values which resemble Islam; that the Chinese love Pakistan and its people; and finally that the Uighur Muslims enjoy equal rights, similar to the Han Chinese.

In quantitative terms, Figure 4.4 and Figure 4.5 show that six (33.33%) of the textbooks convey this theme. The results indicate there is less emphasis on this compared to other themes, however presenting communist China as glorious and having certain qualities equal to Islam rings loudly. Statistically, all levels of education discuss this theme, except primary school. Graphs show similar amounts at both at Higher Education and Lower Secondary, while again much higher at secondary and higher school level.

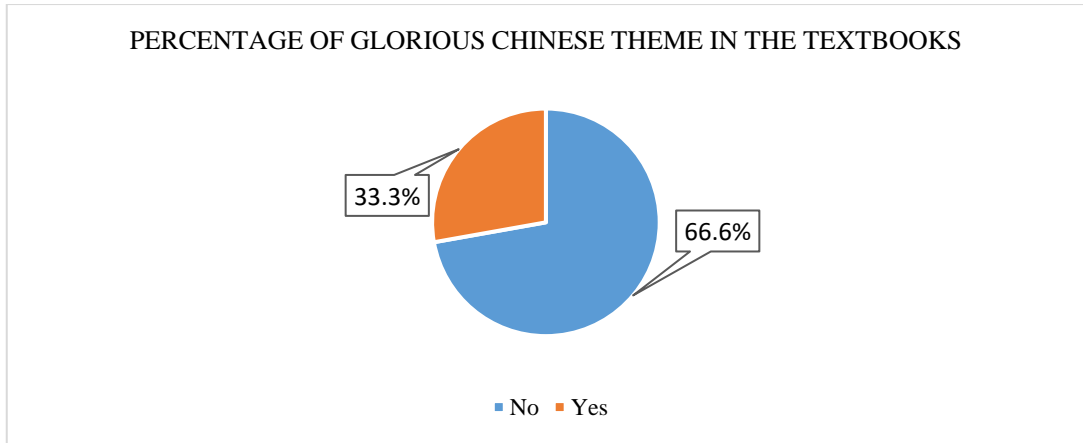


Figure 4.4: Glorious Chinese theme percentage in the textbooks

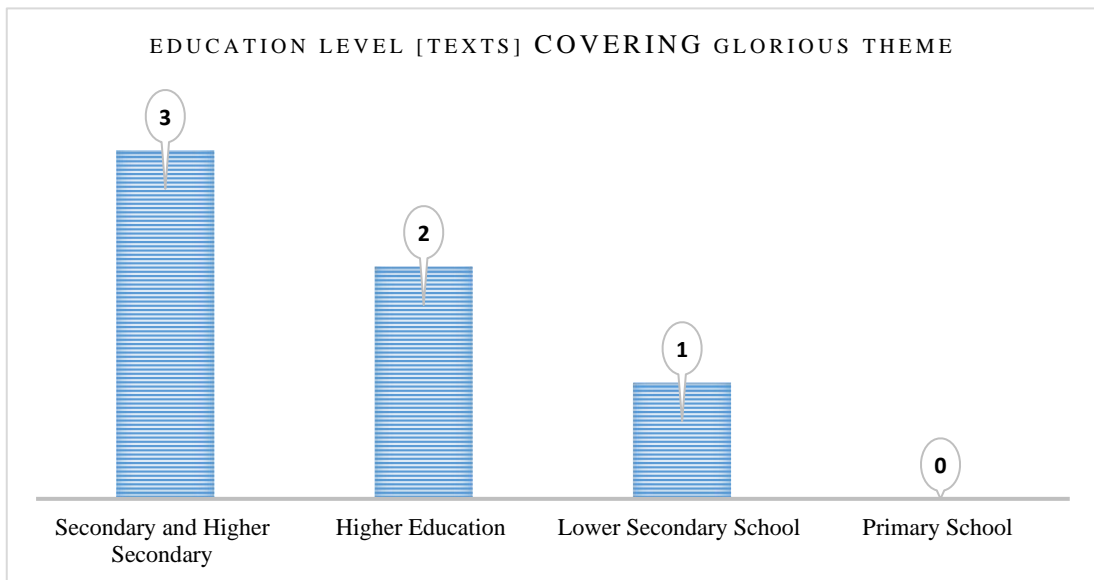


Figure 4.5: Glorious China and various Educational Levels

Qualitatively, an array of interesting strategies are utilised to push the “glorious” Chinese identity. The propaganda technique of “*transfer*”⁴⁰⁶ is used within texts to associate the Chinese with values, characteristics and beliefs which are not only emphasised by Pakistani state laws, but approved of by the overtly religious society, for instance those surrounding the consumption of alcohol. A textbook for grade 12 emphasises that the Chinese social system has a unique approach, that it is a creation of a new world and a new man, and is free of three main evils: money, sex and alcohol. Chinese people are succeeding without consuming alcohol, and sex is not part of art and culture in China.⁴⁰⁷ In Pakistan, certain sharia laws ban the consumption of alcohol and pre-marital sex is not permitted and is stringently punished, this propaganda approach resonates with Pakistani practices.

Invoking these laws, another text attempts to manufacture an illusion which portrays the Chinese in a way which is similar to the religious practices of the majority of the Pakistanis. A Lower Secondary level Urdu textbook suggests that the Chinese women eschew femininity, and do not like beauty products and ornaments, and that the Chinese are free of alcohol. They do not like to have alcohol as enunciated by our religion of Islam, that their perspective on life is simple, and that they lead a very active and hard life.⁴⁰⁸ The textbook rhetoric and efforts to equate the Chinese with the Pakistani population and its commonly held beliefs is likely to echo with this religious society.

⁴⁰⁶ Severin states that it is a process that works by “linking an idea, product or cause with something that people admire.” Lee defines: “transfer carries the authority, sanction, and prestige of something respected and revered over to something else in order to make the latter more acceptable.” See James W. Tankard Werner J. Severin, *Communication Theories: Origins, Methods, and Uses in the Mass Media* (Longman 2000). p.116; Alfred Lee, *The fine Art of Propaganda*, p.69.

⁴⁰⁷ S.M. Sulheri, *China’s Way to Progress*, p.45

⁴⁰⁸ Ibn Insha, “Fifteen Days in China”.p.47

Not only do the textbooks equate the two countries culturally and socially, the lessons are heavily loaded with opinions that urge the students to accept all those values unquestioningly because they also occur in their own beloved religion, Islam.⁴⁰⁹ The young minds may feel a sense of connection with China as they can realistically see these characteristics within their own society.

Although the Chinese complain that Pakistan International Airlines (PIA) does not serve alcohol, so that's why they prefer not to travel by it,⁴¹⁰ Pakistani government-issued textbooks continue to make a deliberate effort to target the audience with the implication that these beliefs and mores appear to be not only upheld but strictly followed widely in both countries to make it look like a natural alliance. Essentially, equating two unlike countries cultural values expose Pakistani elite's worries about their own society, equally, by equating Pakistani society's firmly held beliefs with those of the Chinese, the security elites are trying to sustain support for the awkward alliance by a presenting a positive ideological construction of Beijing.

The Propaganda strategies also wilfully attempt to equate the Chinese social values with those of the Pakistani Islamic culture using the "testimonial" propaganda technique⁴¹¹, though there can be no comparison. To illustrate this, a chapter has been included in a Secondary and Higher Secondary Level Urdu textbook which describes the famous poet Ibn Insha's travels in China, under the title "Go To China If You Really Want To."

⁴⁰⁹ *ibid.*p.51

⁴¹⁰ Personal Communication with Riffat Hussain Islamabad (2011).

⁴¹¹ In testimonial the propagandist use famous person or personality to highlight the content or message of the propaganda, see Brown. *Techniques of Persuasions*, p.28

Narrating Ibn Insha's journey, the lesson describes the feeling which the poet developed while visiting various famous places in China including the Great Wall. The text states:

When we visited the famous places, astonishingly, we had developed a different feeling, as if we started to remember the great Muslim work of art and culture. The visit to the famous Chinese sites very much reminded us of the 'Saddi Temple' [a Muslim Sufi saint] and remarkably, we never had such great feeling before.⁴¹²

Depicting Ibn Insha's feelings, the same textbook continues to compare the visit to the Great Wall of China to famous Muslims religious places. Text adds:

When we visited the Great Wall, it left a very strange feeling on us, similar to the one we experienced when we visited Abi Waqas's temple [a companion of Prophet Muhammad].⁴¹³

Comparing the famous places of China with the Islamic Sufi saints, the ethos and heritage, is an astonishing, divulges Pakistani elite's festering worries about their own society, and significant example of ingratiating the Chinese into Pakistani society. Essentially, given the Pakistani society deference to the Sufi saints and companions of the prophet Muhammad, nothing would justify an awkward alliance more than the inclusion of such technique in the propaganda strategy. The majority of the population of Pakistan follows the Sufi saints and their teachings devoutly.

In addition, the Sufi saints hold a significant place in Pakistan's independence movement, so comparing Chinese traditional buildings with those of the Sufi saints is likely to enhance the message vigorously. Though there is actually no comparison between China's famous places and buildings relating to the Sufi saints, when the textbook

⁴¹² Ibn Insha, "Go to China If You Want To".p.163

⁴¹³ ibid.p.124

suggests that a famous personality had such experiences and was reminded of our great religious leaders who served Islam, it is obvious that it is using cultural (and religious) aspects to enhance the credibility of the alliance domestically. While the title of the textbook chapter “*Go to China if you really want to*” is itself attempting to unite China and Pakistan mainly because it is urging the students to go China. The students are expected to arrive at the conclusion that China is the only country with which to seek alliance because it is followed by the famous people.

A very significant aspect emerged during the text analysis regarding the use of modern drinks like Pepsi-Cola and Coca-Cola. Ibn Insha’s book also highlights that the people of China do not know much about modern drinks, and that they are progressing without consuming those drinks.⁴¹⁴ Again, the attempt is being made to suggest that their alliance partner does not like to have those drinks, which are rejected and hated by the Islamist extremists. In his book Patrick Porter quotes an Afghan Taliban fighter, “American love Pepsi Cola, but we love death.”⁴¹⁵ So by developing an argument around facts which are opposed by the overtly religious elements, the textbooks are suggesting that Pakistan has formed an alliance with a country which behaves like us.

In the selected textbooks there is discussion about the cultural aspects of the societies, their norms and values, how they behave with their elders, and how they associate each other. An Urdu text proclaims that the Chinese make sacrifices for fellow human beings and are good with their family; they give respect to their elderly and are free from external displays of showing off. They do not like having all the luxuries of life and their view of life is simple.⁴¹⁶ As Islam urges its believers to lead a simple life, to never attach importance to external appearances, to give preference to others’ welfare over your own, and treat the elderly with kindness, the fact that the Chinese also appear to have these

⁴¹⁴ *ibid*.p.165

⁴¹⁵ Patrick Porter, *Military Orientalism, Eastern War through Western Eye* (Columbia University, New York, 2009),p.1

⁴¹⁶ Ibn Insha, "Fifteen Days in China".pp.48-50

characteristics creates a common feeling and bond between two states that are culturally and socially poles apart. Even though the countries differ in many ways, the textbook implies that a close affinity exists between the two societies. Though the notion of simplicity, generosity, care for elders and children are universal beliefs and not confined to Islam or the Chinese, the texts only compare China and Pakistan which again give us a hint that the Pakistani officials fear their own society. And, more importantly, the texts approved by the MoECW essentially seek to promote the alliance on the basis of similar traits.

The strategies of the propaganda have also been devised around “*family*” and “*kinship*” metaphors: they are creating an environment in which the alliance between the two countries feels just like family in order to create an emotional allegiance and familiarity between the two states. With regard to this theme, the texts assume a vital role in promoting the rhetoric and the image of a strong “*familial alliance*.” Through a famous personality, texts are creating the impression that the alliance between the two countries is just like an alliance between family members. The most vocal exponent of this view is the Urdu textbook for class seven. Narrating Ibn Insha’s visit to China, it maintains:

When we [Ibn Insha and his accompanying friend] landed at the Shanghai airport, the Chinese hosts smiled and were happy to see us. Likewise, we were pleased to meet them. What has delighted us most was their welcoming behavior. They greeted us with a big smile, offered a bouquet and took us to a café for a ceremonial tea. The meeting with them was no less than a family gathering. In fact, the Chinese love Pakistan and the Pakistani people.⁴¹⁷

This long quote portrays the Chinese as civilised and hospitable, and most of all, Pakistani-loving. There is a talk about the local customs and traditions resembling a family relationship. The family roots are strong in the Pakistani culture, and the propagandist is aiming to leave an impression upon the reader that the Chinese treat

⁴¹⁷ *ibid.*, p.47

Pakistanis like family members, and the happiness that such relationships can bring. Though there can be differences within the family, the fundamental bond remains strong.

Family relations are blood relations, and the propaganda essentially suggests that the two nations are like blood brothers, which seems extraordinary. Symbolically, it means that although Pakistan and China can differ, their alliance is unbreakable and full of happiness. It is not only texts which depict the two countries as family members, the security elite's statements describes them as "iron brothers" too.⁴¹⁸ An interviewee reiterated the textbooks theoretical view; for example a former diplomat told this author: "If you visit China and meet people and tell them you come from Pakistan, they would greet you with great love and pleasure."⁴¹⁹ Through the familial example, it is likely to make the children to feel that China is a country of glorious people who love the people and nation of Pakistan.

Also, if we analyse the propaganda strategies of the security elite, the strategies clearly show us how the security elites are looking at their society. It can be argued that they consider their society as a threat and a challenge to maintain the alliance. Otherwise, the propaganda strategy may not have been conceived around the factors that are important in Pakistani society. The Chinese are portrayed with traits that resemble them with Islam. The Chinese are told to have characteristics of Muslims, such as antipathy to alcohol, free sexual society, aversion to modern drinks, etc. This clearly answers our second question, that is, what propaganda tells us about how security elites' view their own society.

⁴¹⁸ "Pakistani President Describes Pakistan-China as 'Iron Brothers'" *Gandhra* 2 September (2015), <http://gandhara.rferl.org/a/pakistan-president-says-china-iron-brother/27222413.html>[accessed 1 January 2015]

⁴¹⁹ Personal Communication with Khalid Mahmood Islamabad (2011)

Uighur Muslims, propaganda and China

Another aspect of creating the glorious Chinese identity is the issue of the Uighur Muslim rights. Part of the discussion in this study are the key issues that worry the security elite, including China's mixed record as an ally, the disadvantages and maltreatment of Muslims in China, and Chinese atheism and the resultant terrorist attacks on them by the jihadi elements. The textbooks are methodically produced partly to counter increasing Pakistani concern about the sustainability of the alliance. There is a discussion about the presence of the Muslims in China and their political, economic and cultural rights guaranteed and protected by the Chinese system.

For example, a higher education level textbook states that Islam came to China by land and sea, starting soon after the time of Prophet Muhammad and that there are a substantial number of Muslims in China, notably in the western part of China living comfortably.⁴²⁰ Providing a conflicting view, a text underlines Uighur Muslims are treated well, and that the religious groups who attack the Chinese claiming the Uighur are being maltreated by Chinese security forces does not sit well with reality as the Uighur are one of over 55 nationalities living in China enjoying rights equal with the majority Han Chinese.⁴²¹

Another text draws attention to the Uighurs' religious liberty by suggesting that profound changes have taken place in China. The government have developed a friendly relationship with them and have made efforts to facilitate their freedom to express their religion, specifically with regard to Pakistan, and the text adds that the Uighur Muslims

⁴²⁰ Maqbool Ahmad Bhatti, *Pakistan's Political, Economics and Diplomatic Dynamics* ed. Javid Ahmad Sheikh, Pakistan-China in 21st Century, (Government College University Board, Lahore 1997-10),p.203

⁴²¹ *ibid*.pp.203-214

often visit Pakistan uninterrupted.⁴²² These statements lead the reader to believe that the Uighur are not suffering under the Chinese rule, when, by most accounts they are living and working under incredible duress. Independent reports suggest that the Chinese security forces are flagrantly torturing, killing and putting them behind the bars for just growing a beard, wearing a veil, and fasting during the holy month of Ramadan.⁴²³ However, memoranda in the texts are attempting to convince those sceptical religious groups who like to carry attacks, or support Uighur separatism on the plea that their Muslims members are being maltreated by the Chinese security forces.

Having established that the Uighur are treated extraordinarily, texts pay tribute to the Chinese security forces for encouraging Uighur' participation in the development of their own region and raising their standards of living. In this regard, a text tries to dispel the notion of the Han Chinese taking over Xinjiang resources and dominating the region. It emphasises the Chinese government have encouraged Uighur' to not only take part in the development of the region but ownership of their resources too.⁴²⁴ Equally, there is no strength in this argument as the Han migration into Xinjiang is one of the factors fuelling separatism and counter attacks on the security forces. Uighur allege that the Han Chinese have taken over white-collar jobs resulting in rising Uighur unemployment and an

⁴²² Hasan Askari Rizvi and Javid Iqbal, *Pakistan and World Affairs, Pakistan Study for Class IX-X*, (Government Textbooks Board, Federal Ministry of Education, Islamabad, 1990-2005). p.136

⁴²³ Rafia Zakaria, "Breaking up with China?," *The Dawn* 4 July 2014; Tom Phillips, "China Bans Burqa in Capital of Muslim Region of Xinjiang" *The Telegraph*, 13 January 2015.; Charlotte Middlehurst, "Beijing Bans Muslim Officials from Fasting in Ramadan in Parts of Xinjiang," *The Telegraph* 18 June 2015

⁴²⁴ Muhammad Ikram Rabbani, *Pakistan Affairs* (Lahore: The Caravan Book House 2006-2010).p 323

increase in the number of Uighur forced to take on manual work,⁴²⁵ Pakistani officials deliberately and systematically not teaching this information in the cultural institutions.

Another text gives credit to the Chinese security forces and maintains that the establishment of the basic rights of the Uighur is a tribute to the supreme statesmanship of the Chinese leadership. They claim to have united discordant elements in Xinjiang under the banner of the communist system and to have achieved a united Xinjiang.⁴²⁶ It would appear to the reader that the Chinese are performing an arduous task with extraordinary skill and ensuring the survival of the Uighurs. Arguably, the textbooks are sympathetic to the rights of the Uighur Muslim, and insist that the Chinese do treat them as equals. Indeed propaganda is hitting the core of the issue mainly because it is creating an opposite narrative to what the militants believe and attack Chinese.

In this section, we have observed that the texts are making efforts to portray the Chinese as glorious utilising numerous promotional strategies, and target those religious elements who attack Chinese or support Uighur separatism. Entire strategies, whether they claim that the Chinese love Pakistan, or that Chinese society closely resembles that of Pakistan, or that they are good to the Uighurs, lead us to believe that the state is making efforts to discourage those elements which adopt violent ways to place the alliance in danger. Likewise, this propaganda is basically highlighting that Pakistani society is overtly religious, and believes strongly in the fundamentals of Islam.

In the end, it is important to conclude that the discussion of textbooks about the rights of Uighur Muslims tells us about security elites thinking about their own society and answer the second question raised in this chapter. The best way to infer that thought is to judge security elites' propaganda strategies. For example, they try to tell people that Uighur enjoy greater rights and that the Chinese treat Uighur well in Xinjiang. Why they feel

⁴²⁵ James Palmer, "The Uighurs, China's Embattled Muslim Minority, Are Still Seeking an Identity," *The Atlantic* (2013).; Bhattacharji, "Uighur and China's Xinxiang Region"

⁴²⁶ Ikram Rabbani, *Pakistan Affairs* p.260-61

the need to explain this to their own society, no doubt to sell the alliance, but to eliminate the suspicion of society vis-à-vis China. Essentially, it shows elites' feeling towards their own society. They know that people should be explained about Chinese policies in Xinjiang so that people's antagonism towards China can be reduced.

The historical relationship

Another propaganda strategy to conduct propaganda is related to the creation of a narrative which portray the alliance in historical context. Statistically, the pie chart in Figure 4.6 indicates that 66.7% (12 Text books shown in Figure 4.7) textbooks talk about historical relationships. Noticeably, Secondary and Higher Secondary level is the main target where 9 textbooks deliberate this theme, while primary school texts have been excluded, and only a little propaganda is retained at Lower Secondary and Higher Education level. Though there is inconsistency across the four levels, the qualitative analysis suggests that this category is quite significant in propagating the alliance.

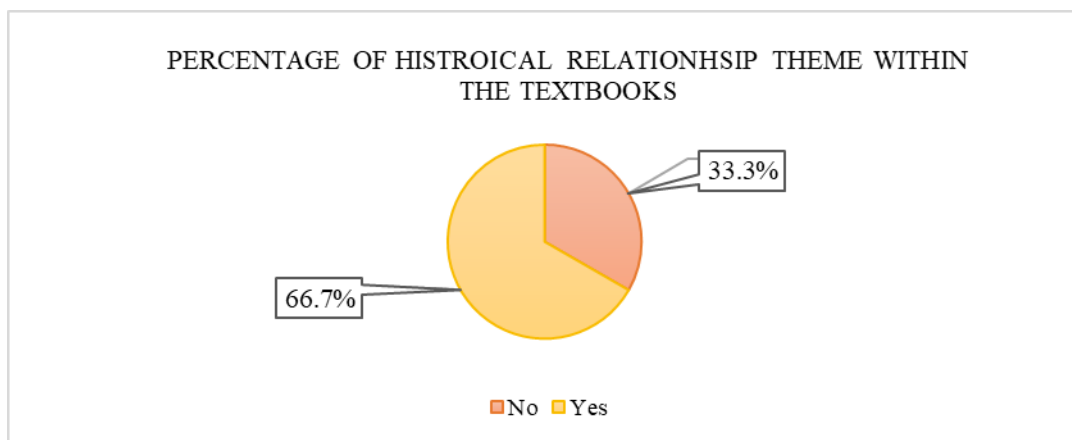


Figure 4.6: Historic Relationship Percentage within the Textbooks

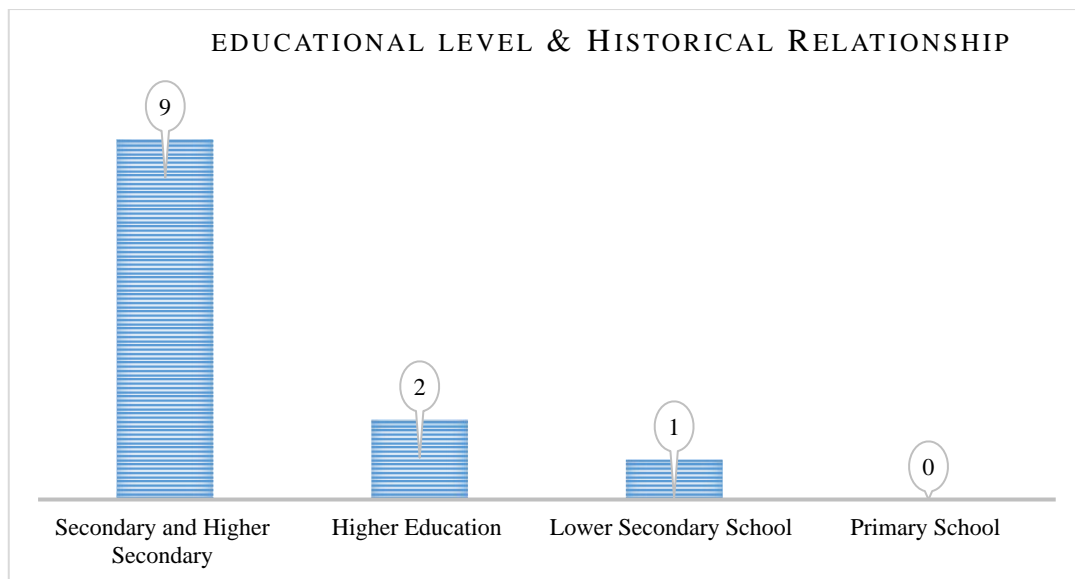


Figure 4.7: Theme of historical relationships across four academic levels

Qualitative investigation suggests that the historical relationship theme is the most troubled within the textbooks. Although consistent in presenting the alliance as normal, it uses the propaganda technique “card stacking” to display an exasperating degree of confusion as to when and where to begin cataloguing the alliance.⁴²⁷

Textbooks construct the discourse of the historic relationship from two major perspectives: firstly it is taught that Pakistan and China share ancient links, and secondly once they established their diplomatic relations in 1949 their relations developed smoothly. Among the two concepts the ancient links view presents a real dilemma, as it traces links between the two countries since ancient times even though Pakistan did not exist then. The idea of Pakistan was born only in the All-India Muslim League’s Lahore Resolution of 1940. Disregarding this fact, one undergraduate textbook states that

⁴²⁷ In this technique, the propagandist only provides positive information to make it appear that there is only one conclusion, see Alfred Lee, *The Fine Art of Propaganda* p.95

Pakistan and China are great neighbours and have been linked together since historic times. Texts claim that culturally and ethnically, Pakistan's northern areas and China's Xinjiang province links go deep into history, and that the two areas have had friendly relations for over 2000 years, when their forefathers initiated the silk route and ancient Chinese traders would visit the land of the Indus river (currently in Pakistan) for commercial purposes.⁴²⁸

Another text conveys that there have been state-to-state contacts through the exchange of emissaries dating back to the 2nd century BC, but that the most meaningful interaction took place from the 5th century AD when Buddhism arrived in China from South Asia. Some of the leading centres of Buddhist culture are in what is now Pakistan.⁴²⁹ Finally, a textbook maintains that the traditional friendship stands on ancient trade and cultural relations. The history of peace between the two states has been an asset which is helping both states in modern times to establish close links.⁴³⁰ Prime minister Yusuf Raza Gillani maintains:

Since times immemorial the people of our two countries have interacted and developed special and unique bonds of friendship. Both Pakistan and China treasure their great civilizational heritage and the mutually enriching interaction that has shaped our vision of peace and prosperity and has so beautifully blended our respective cultures and traditions in perpetual harmony. Most importantly it

⁴²⁸ Maqbool Bhatti. *Pakistan-China in 21st Century*, p.203

⁴²⁹ *ibid.*; Ikram Rabbani, *Pakistan Affairs* pp.259-263

⁴³⁰ Muhammad Jahangir, *South Asia, Social Study for Class VI* (Islamabad Government Textbook Board, Federal Ministry of Education, 1990-2006).p.4 ; Farooq Malik and Sultan Khan, *Pakistan and World Community*, p.214

has created sincere sentiments of everlasting friendship and brotherhood between the peoples of Pakistan and China.⁴³¹

By alleging a causal relationship between past and present, however, children's attention is turned away from the known animosity between the leaders of two countries. In fact, the leadership of the two countries had no political links nor did they know each other's ideology. For instance, when Chiang Kai-Shek, paid a visit to the Indian subcontinent in 1942, he openly supported the Indian nationalist movement, and disregarded the Muslim League's demand for a separate homeland. This partisan attitude prompted an immediate response from Jinnah, who criticised and urged Kai-Shek to respect Muslim demands for a separate homeland.⁴³² Yet by giving the relationship a historical strength intentionally, the children would take pride in it and would think to protect this relationship established by their forefathers. By suggesting that Pakistan and China have historical ties, children will think that it is not a new alliance, but a historical and long-standing.

The other view of a smooth initial beginning is less extreme, but an equally exaggerated claim, using the "*card stacking*" technique by providing unrepresentative information. It stresses that Pakistan-China relations began smoothly in 1949. In reality, Islamabad was inward-looking and not paying much attention to events and happenings in China; it was instead pre-occupied with the legacy of partition, disputes with India, and internal reconstruction. Textbook asserts that Pakistan did not make any hostile statements on the emergence of revolutionary China. It states when Pakistan recognised China in January 1950, it was the first Muslim country to recognise China, the second non-Communist and

⁴³¹ 'Message by the Prime Minister of Pakistan His Excellency Syed Yusuf Raza Gilani to the Premier of China ', in *Latest Press Releases/Speeches* (Islamabad Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Government of Pakistan, 31 December 2010). p.1

⁴³² Mohammad Ayub, "India as a Factor in Sino-Pakistan Relations," in *Reading in Pakistan Foreign Policy* ed. Hameed A.K.Rai (Lahore Aziz 1981).

the third Commonwealth country to do so. The Pakistani gesture, it is said, laid the foundation of an enduring friendship which has successfully withstood the challenges of changing geostrategic scenarios.⁴³³

Indeed Pakistan recognised China early, however experts who follow the alliance closely, draw varying conclusions from textbooks. Riffat Hussain maintains that the initial days of Pakistan-China relations were not marked by any significant development. Indeed, Pakistan did recognise China, but it did not really emerge as a key factor in Islamabad's strategic calculations until 1963. Pakistan was preoccupied with the problem of internal stability of its own. Therefore, attention was more focused on India, from where Pakistan's main threat was perceived to come.⁴³⁴ Even Pakistan's decision to recognise China was influenced by the Indian decision to establish diplomatic links with China. India had already recognised China, Pakistan realised that if it failed to recognise China, it may go against Pakistan's interests.⁴³⁵

Likewise, Pakistan had a policy of ambivalence toward China. The best way to judge Islamabad's policy is on the question of China's UN membership at the time. When the question of Chinese representation in the UN was raised at the session of the General Assembly held in 1949, with India moving a draft resolution that China should be allowed to be represented in the UN, Pakistan voted in favour of this resolution. But in 1953, Pakistan voted for the postponement of this question's consideration, even though the instructions were for abstention, maintained Tayyub Siddiqui.⁴³⁶ In 1954, Pakistan joined South East Asian Treaty Organisation (SEATO) and from then onward its attitude on the

⁴³³ Hassan Askari and Javid Iqbal, *Pakistan and World Affairs* p.135

⁴³⁴ Personal Communication with Riffat Hussain Islamabad (2011)

⁴³⁵ S.M. Burke, *Pakistan Foreign Policy: An Historical Analysis* (Oxford University Press, 1974).p.102

⁴³⁶ Author interview with Tayyub Siddiqui, Islamabad (2011).

question of China's representation showed scant regard for the real position in China, and it never voted until 1961 when the things begun to change and Pakistan adopted a more independent foreign policy towards China. So the idea that the Pakistan-China relationship had a smooth start has the purpose of projecting the alliance in a positive way.

On the question of the Korean War (1950-53), two textbooks teach children that Pakistan's sympathy rested with China.⁴³⁷ Although Pakistan remained neutral, her sympathy remained with the west. In 1951, Prime Minister Liaquat Ali Khan happened to be in the US for a medical check-up when the question of Korea came up for discussion in the UN; from hospital, he talked endlessly about the Korean conflict and even showed readiness to send armed forces to Korea. A former foreign secretary maintains that an army battalion was ready to fly Korea, but a last minute thought avoided the diplomatic gaffe, which China would have considered an extremely unfriendly gesture.⁴³⁸ This analysis clearly illustrates that Pakistan had neither smooth beginnings nor ancient links with China. As propaganda is a considered attempt, teaching otherwise may disclose the discomfort in the alliance which has been a fodder for extremists to perpetuate their ideology, and given Pakistani elite uncertainties towards their own society, they want to avoid it escalating.

Pakistan spoiled her relations with China when it joined the SEATO pact in 1954. Pakistan joining of the SEATO caused considerable discomfort and questioning in China, textbooks play down Beijing's reactions. A textbook for Higher Education students maintains that the Chinese, which logically should have considered Pakistan's act as

⁴³⁷ Sheikh Rafiq and Nisar Ahmad. *Pakistan-China Relations* p.234 ; Asim Farooq Sheikh and Sheikh Rafiq, *Relations with Great Neighbour China* pp.368-369

⁴³⁸ Author interview with Tanveer Ahmad Khan, Islamabad (2011).

hostile, displayed “remarkable” patience and “forbearance” towards Pakistan. It did not subject Pakistan to criticism, rather understood logic behind joining the alliance.⁴³⁹ In fact, China considered Pakistan’s participation in the American war machine a catastrophe for its security and sovereignty. The Chinese newspaper People’s Daily or Renmin Ribao considered Pakistan’s choice a “dangerous decision”, and claimed that Pakistan’s decision would threaten Beijing’s security.⁴⁴⁰ Also Haibin Niu, a Chinese scholar at Shanghai Institute, believes that Pakistan-China relations could not be developed for the better because Pakistan had joined the western security alliance and had close relations with the US.⁴⁴¹

These factors cannot be ignored, and it is dishonest of the textbooks to dismiss the contradictions in which Pakistan-China relations were established. So, propaganda is also a distortion of history. Why the propagandist needs to distort history, it is to sell something that is not popular. It also tells propagandist mind about society, the propagandist fears that society can oppose its unpopular foreign policy, so society must be educated about it. During the World War II, the American government efforts to teach public the formation of the alliance with Russia was motivated to avoid American public obstruction to the alliance.⁴⁴²

In the textbooks, the meeting between the Pakistani and Chinese premiers in Bandung (Indonesia, 1955) is considered to be a milestone in the smooth initial beginning. Highlighting the significance of the summit in removing suspicion between the two states about each other’s intentions, these texts maintain that Pakistani premier Muhammad Ali

⁴³⁹ Maqbool Bhatti, *Pakistan China in 21st century*, p.204

⁴⁴⁰ Article covered in K. Arif, *China-Pakistan Relations 1947-1980*, (Lahore: Vanguard, 1984).p.10

⁴⁴¹ Author interview with Haibin Niu (Email, 2011).

⁴⁴² For detail see Gaddis, *The United States and Origin of Cold War*.pp.32-60

Bogra assured his Chinese counterpart Chou En-lai that Pakistan had joined SEATO not because it was hostile to China but to balance India.⁴⁴³ Though the texts are not incorrect, the Bandung summit cleared some air between the two states.⁴⁴⁴ Nonetheless, the enthusiasm emerging from the Bogra-Chou meeting appeared to be short-lived and fragile. The developments that followed vanquished Bandung's spirit and failed to make any headway towards improvement. While Prime Minister H.S. Suharwardy had strongly criticised communist China in 1957, Prime Minister Feroz Khan Noon said in the national assembly that the world was insecure due to communism.⁴⁴⁵

The decline in Sino-Pakistan relations, a feature of the Suharwardy and Noon governments, continued through the first two years or so of Ayub Khan's presidency. With his inauguration in 1959, Pakistan's strategic perception took a strange and as yet unexplained somersault. Alarmed by the Chinese incursion into Tibet, President Khan made an astonishing but equally ludicrous offer of a joint defence with India citing a "communist push from north."⁴⁴⁶ Nehru rejected Ayub's offer, asking "defence against whom?"⁴⁴⁷, and Pakistan-China relations slipped further downwards. The Chinese government protested about Khan's offer and questioned it with almost the same words as used by Nehru against whom the common defence was needed.⁴⁴⁸ Nevertheless,

⁴⁴³ Farooq Malik and Ghazala Bashir, *External Relations of Pakistan*, p. 188 ; Sheikh Rafiq and Nisar Ahmad, *Pakistan-China Relations*, p.235; Ahmad Hussain and Javid Sheikh. *Pakistan and People's Republic of China*, p.156 ; Haleema Naz and Sultan Khan, *Pakistan and Its Neighbours*, p.112

⁴⁴⁴ For detail see Hasnat, "Global Security Watch". p.33; Umbreen Javaid "Pakistan-China Strategic Relationship: A Glorious Journey of 55 Years".pp.157-183; Garver, "The Future of the Sino-Pakistani Entente Cordiale"

⁴⁴⁵ Syed, *China & Pakistan: Diplomacy of an Entente Cordiale*.pp.73-74

⁴⁴⁶ Ayub Khan said in five years the subcontinent will be vulnerable attack from north. Ayub Khan. *Friends Not Masters*

⁴⁴⁷ Rajmohan Gandhi, *Revenge and Reconciliation* (New Delhi Penguin 1999). p.30

⁴⁴⁸ Personal Communication with Tanveer Ahmad Khan, Islamabad (2011)

children attending schools do not get a proper understanding of the complexities of the relationship, mainly the narrative of the notion of a smooth alliance in the textbooks is developed with a lot of *selectivity* exclusions of *official knowledge*.

It was in 1960s when the things begin to change and Pakistan adopted a more independent foreign policy towards China. During the Sino-Indian border war of 1962, Pakistan was disappointed by its experience with the west, and internal turmoil created an atmosphere suitable for normal relations to resume between the two states. In the wake of those developments, Pakistan began to look at Chinese UN membership favourably, textbook mention this factor with great emphasis.⁴⁴⁹ Leading to these developments was the signing of a landmark agreement which demarcated Pakistan-China's disputed border. School texts correctly suggest that border demarcation was a breakthrough in forging closer ties between them.⁴⁵⁰ The border agreement was followed by an air and trade agreement, which created much trepidation in the US. Andrew Small correctly summarises Pakistan-China relation during the early years: Pakistan-China's "path to the all-weather friendship had been a tortuous one", and even though Pakistan had the distinction of being first Muslim country to recognise to China, it was not until the early 1960s when the relationship between two countries began in earnest.⁴⁵¹ This narrative is missing from the texts in order to present the alliance as having a smooth start and with no problems sustaining it.

Construction of Security Narratives: Militant Hindu India and China

The theme of the security narrative which has the largest representation within textbooks appears to be emphatic promotional propaganda stratagem. Pakistan's relations with

⁴⁴⁹ Haleema Naz and Sultan Khan, *Pakistan and Its Neighbours*, p.113

⁴⁵⁰ Ahmad Hussain and Javid Sheikh. *Pakistan and People's Republic of China* p.156 ; Muhammad Hussain Sheikh. *Pakistan and People's Republic of China*, p.146; Haleema Naz and Sultan Khan. *Pakistan and Its Neighbours*, p.112

⁴⁵¹ Andrew Small, *The China-Pakistan Axis: Asia's New Geopolitics*. p.7

China have developed largely in response to its security needs, which is clearly evident from analysis of the texts. In measurable terms, as

Figure 4.8 and Figure 4.9 show, the discourse of security has appeared in fourteen textbooks (72.2%) out of a total of eighteen.

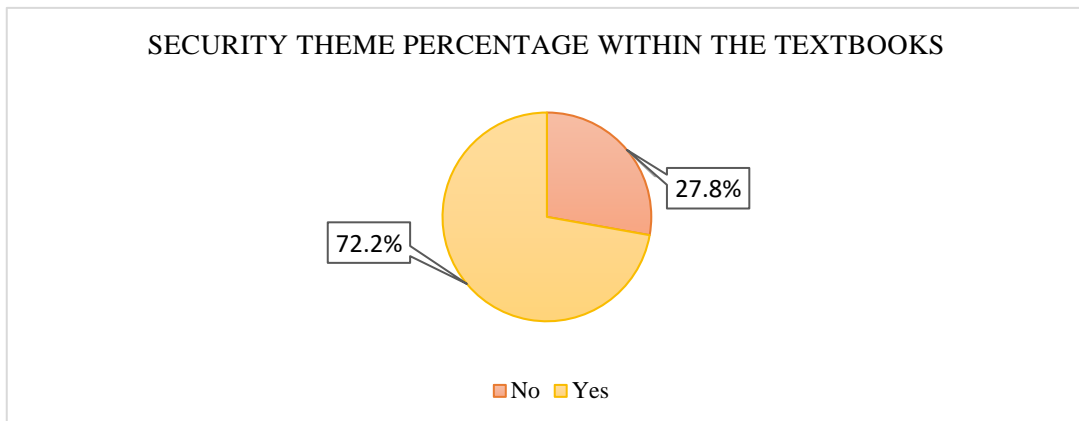


Figure 4.8: Security Narrative weightage within Textbooks.

It is mostly represented at Secondary and Higher Secondary level of education with 11 texts dealing with it, with the second most common age for teaching security is Higher education. The topic is missing at lower secondary level, but present in one text aimed at primary schools.

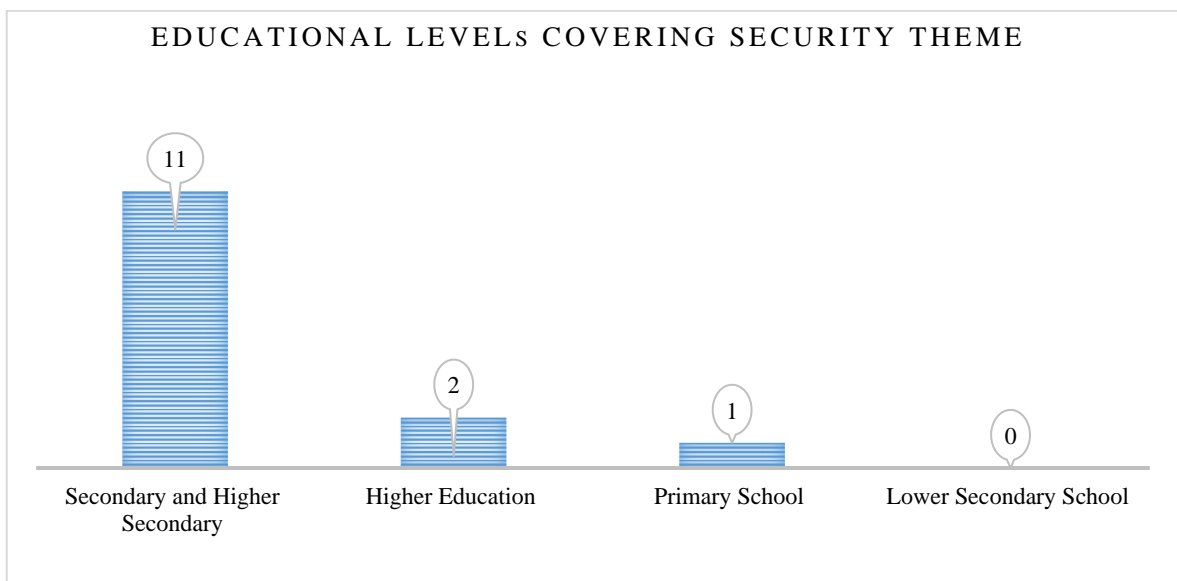


Figure 4.9: Security Narratives & Four Education Levels

The security narrative theme is very precise and systematic propaganda effort to trade the alliance natively. This category has fairly two main parts: the fear of India and China as a balancer. It is based entirely on emphasising the Chinese contribution to Pakistan's security, and mainly on Beijing's contribution, real or imaginary, during the Indo-Pakistan crisis. There are references to imperialist and secular Hindu India trying to dominate Islamic Pakistan and sponsoring terrorism in various areas of Pakistan. The strategy utilised to demonise India and value China is based on propaganda technique "*pinpointing the enemy*."⁴⁵² The propaganda techniques such as *love, hate, fear, and hope* have also been employed. The propaganda is wrapped in nice, delicate words involving a little religion. The articulation of the theme has been designed along the ideas of differing right from wrong, just from unjust and good from bad.

Making China an integral part of the security narrative is not a great challenge for the security elites as they utilise the existing negative images of India. For instance, a June 2012 Pew survey indicates (See Figure 4.10) a large majority of Pakistani (72%) think India is a staunch enemy and biggest threat, much ahead of the Taliban (23%). Similarly, the supporters of the party currently in government, the Pakistan Muslim League (PML-N) and the main opposition party Pakistan Tehreek-e-Insaf (PTI) see India as being the biggest danger (71% and 61%, respectively).

⁴⁵² Brown, *Technique of Persuasion*, p.28

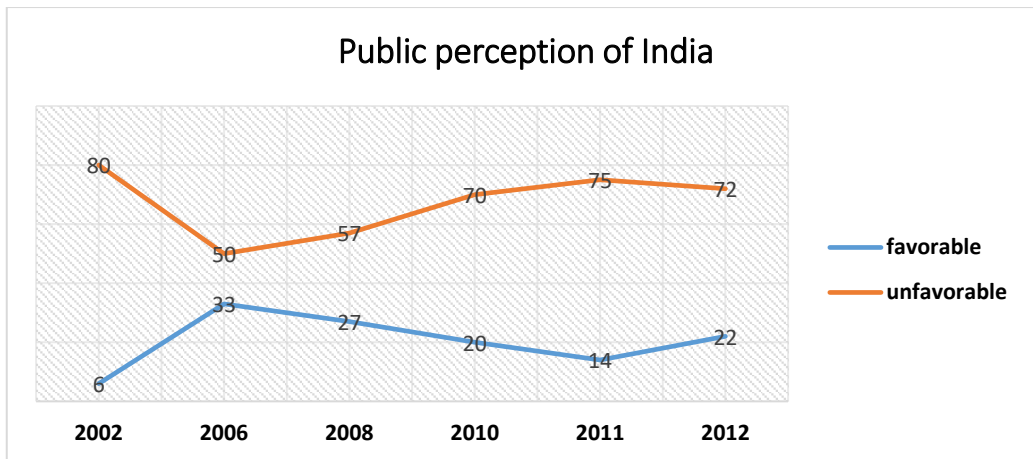


Figure 4.10: Pakistani view of India Source: Pew Research Centre

Thus, because the Pakistani have already hold firm beliefs that the Indians are enemies, and the root cause of the security problems, the Pakistan elites are able to effortlessly use the rivalry with India in the security narratives. This category has following themes: the Indian threat and China alliance, Indian hegemonic tendencies, and Indo-Pakistan wars and China’s role.

External threats and China alliance

The textbooks teach the evolution of Pakistan-China alliance on the basis of an external threat, particularly from India. India is believed to have an ongoing mission to crumple Pakistan through applying pressure tactics. The psychological rhetoric propagated by the texts is presented in such a fashion to make the population aware of the gravity of the genuine threats posed to the nation, and thereby increasing the importance of China. For instance, a civics textbook clearly sets the rationale for the alliance by stating:

Bharat [India] has never accepted Pakistan’s existence wholeheartedly. In the post-partition period, the Hindu leaders thought Pakistan would not last very long. They applied numerous pressure tactics to weaken Pakistan in her infancy. Their designs to erode Pakistan’s sovereignty and territorial integrity have not subsided even today. Consequently, perceiving India’s nefarious design, the ultimate

objective of seeking alliance with China has been to look for security and defence against India.⁴⁵³

India is the foremost threat to the Pakistani survival, though true to a larger extent, it would appear that the text is justified alliance on the strategy of “fear India” by stating that India has not reconciled to the existence of Pakistan, therefore, China is needed to overcome that threat. Pakistan’s former ambassador to the US Hussain Haqqani maintains that “China is a high-value guarantor of security against India.”⁴⁵⁴ Arguably, the presentation of India may be deemed factually right, but the placement of India along with China, and a compassion between India and China suggest propagandist intentions.

Further examples from the texts introduce religious elements for the justification of the alliance; the texts discuss all the religious differences which existed between Hindus and Muslims before the partition. The neighbouring country is referred to as “Hindu India” bent on destroying “Islamic Pakistan.” One textbook states that Hindus attitude towards the Indian subcontinent Muslims was the main reason for seeking a separate homeland. Since independence, “Islamic Pakistan’s” survival has been under threat from intolerant “Hindu polity”, all of which necessitates balancing strategies to protect the distinct Islamic identity. Pakistan’s relations with China are a reflection of those threats and protection against India.⁴⁵⁵ The use of word “Hindu” has significance and historical connotations as it reminds people of Pakistan their forefathers’ historic struggle and

⁴⁵³ Farooq Malik and Ghazala Bashir, *External Relations of Pakistan*, p.182

⁴⁵⁴ Jamal Afridi, and Jayshree Bajoria., *China-Pakistan Relations*. (New York: Council on Foreign Relations, 2010).

⁴⁵⁵ Ghazala Bashir, *External Relations of Pakistan* p.183 ; Also Ikram Ali Malik, *Hisotry of Pakistan, for Class IX-X* (Government Texbook Board, Education Minsitry, Islamabad, 1990-2010). pp.297-300

immense sacrifices both in terms of men and material in seeking a Pakistan independent from the Hindus.

Therefore, to persuade the Pakistani public to think about China's alliance in terms of balancing India, security elites will link China to historically defined Pakistan enemy such as India. This propaganda tactic is based on the Social Proof Theory, promoted by psychologist Robert Cialdini in which people seek justifications to quickly form their beliefs.⁴⁵⁶ Therefore, linking to a country that Pakistan already has enmity quickly allows one to associate with it.

Explaining the alliance on this historical basis is likely to have a greater impact on the reader; one scholar suggests that “messages have greater impact when they are in line with existing opinions, beliefs and disposition”, and further maintains that “messages appear to be resonant, for they seem to be coming from within the audience rather than from without.”⁴⁵⁷ Propaganda based on the current view of Indian image, is potentially effective and likely to penetrate deeply among the consciousness of the people because it will assimilate with their existing philosophies. Though the alliance is being promoted on the basis of traditional theories of alliance like external threats, essentially, it is their appearance in the cultural institutions and official knowledge which highlights propaganda efforts and the overt devoutness of the society.

⁴⁵⁶ Psychology Notes HQ, 'What Is the Social Proof Theory?', What is the Social Proof Theory? (31 August 2015) <https://www.psychologynoteshq.com/social-proof/> [Accessed 6 January 2018].

⁴⁵⁷ Garth S. Jowett, *Propaganda and Persuasion* p.279

India's hegemonic power

The conflation of India with Hinduism, making it the enemy of Islamic Pakistan appears frequently in the narratives, but the textbooks also passionately discuss India as an imperialist country which tries to dominate Pakistan. Indian attempts to acquire greater power is considered in sharp contrast with the foreign policy goals of Pakistan. One textbook underlines that India's ambition to become a major power is in line with its forefathers' dream of achieving higher status in world affairs and making South Asian states subservient, which runs counter to Pakistan and its all-weather ally China's policy of opposing hegemony.⁴⁵⁸ There is an element of truth as India does aspire to a more powerful role in South Asia. Hassan Rizvi dubbing it a "Nehruvian model of foreign policy", believes that Jawaharlal Nehru had envisaged a major role for India in world affairs. Nehru and his successors have been convinced that India must have sufficient military power to assert its leadership role in the region. To fulfil that role, India has striven to acquire military muscles and try to dominate weaker states.⁴⁵⁹ This notion is also found in John Graver's assertion that the Chinese believe that India wants the smaller states of South Asia to coordinate their foreign policy with what New Delhi "defines as its security interest in that [South Asia] region."⁴⁶⁰

Almost all smaller states of South Asia, with the exception of Afghanistan, fear Indian dominance,⁴⁶¹ but Pakistan is at the forefront in opposing it. Islamabad maintains that all

⁴⁵⁸ Maqbool Bhatti, *Pakistan-China Relations in 21st century*, p.215

⁴⁵⁹ Rizvi, *Pakistan Geostrategic environment* pp.20-22.; Hasan-Askari Rizvi, "Pakistan's Strategic Culture" in *South Asia in 2020: Future Strategic Balances and Alliances*, ed. Michael R. Chamber (Strategic Studies Institute, U.S. Army War College, 2002). pp.308-313

⁴⁶⁰ John W. Garver, "Future of Sino-Pakistan Entente Cordiale" in *South Asia in 2020: Future Strategic Balances and Alliances*, ed. Michael R. Chamber (Strategic Studies Institute, U.S. Army War College, 2002),p. 390

⁴⁶¹ B. Mohanan, *The Politics of Regionalism in South Asia* (New Delhi: Atlantic, 1992). pp.62-70

states are sovereign entities and that relationships should be based on mutual respect. This argument is found in texts too. For instance, an undergraduate textbook suggests that the Indian model of security is unattractive, and that it does not guarantee Pakistan's security and welfare. India is stubborn in its attitude, adopts delaying tactics in negotiations and tries to dominate Pakistan.⁴⁶²

Another text suggests that the Indian approach is "hegemonic approach", and that it amounts to intervention in neighbouring states' internal affairs.⁴⁶³ Consequently, a textbook skilfully justifies Islamabad's policy of seeking security beyond the region with China to balance the imbalance and to resolve the perennial problem plaguing South Asian peace and security.⁴⁶⁴ While there is a strong abhorrence for the Indian system, based on fears and dominance, an additional textbook recommends that the Chinese system guarantees not only peace in South Asia but a bulwark against the threats and hegemons.⁴⁶⁵ As the Pakistani state has struggled to challenge Indian dominance, texts justify balancing strategies on the basis of that threat, and messages are given authority as they are disseminated through educational institutions.

India as an imperialist state does have unpleasant intentions towards Pakistan. India is using Afghanistan as its launching pad to perpetrate the acts of terrorism in Pakistan. It stimulates terrorist activities in Baluchistan, Karachi and tribal areas. Above claim is not without evidence. A BBC in its report has alleged that Indian espionage agency Research

⁴⁶² Ikram Rabbani, *Pakistan Affairs* p.321

⁴⁶³ Ghazala Bashir, *External Relations of Pakistan* p .187; Also see Abdullah Malik, *Relations with India and China, Hisotry of Pakistan for Class XII* vol. I (Government Textbook Board, Federal Education Ministry, Islamabad 1990-2005). p.270

⁴⁶⁴Asim Farooq Sheikh. *Relations with Great Nighbour China* p.371

⁴⁶⁵ Maqbool Bhatti, *Pakistan-China Relations in 21st century* p.215

and Analysis Wing (RAW) is involved in supporting certain political groups to conduct terrorism in Pakistan,⁴⁶⁶ which has been confirmed with the arrest of Indian spy in Balochistan.⁴⁶⁷ Pakistani policy makers, who have long been appealing India to avoid further aggravating relations, have recently been forthcoming in blaming India. Nawaz Sharif on his visit to Washington exposed Indian terrorist activities in Pakistan.⁴⁶⁸ The most forceful and strong statement has come from former US defence secretary Chuck Hagel's speech at the Brookings Institution, in which Hagel stresses that "India finances troubles in Pakistan."⁴⁶⁹ In this connection, one text highlights the involvement of RAW in terrorist activities in Pakistan.⁴⁷⁰

An emerging modern India, which claims to be a secularist, seems to be a threat to Pakistan. Pakistan is challenging its dominance through a policy of seeking alliance with China. Pakistani officials teach this development to their children. However, as Pakistan has certain elements within its border, which challenge its balance of power strategy Pakistan respond it with alliance promotion strategies.

Indo-Pakistani wars and China

This balancing strategy is justified against India, a neighbour which has frustrated the people of Pakistan on multiple occasions. This theme deals Indo-Pakistan wars and explains the role of the Chinese during the wars; the alliance has been made meaningful by teaching its depth and utility using the narratives of the wars and diplomacy. The

⁴⁶⁶ Owen Bennett-Jones, "Pakistan's Muthada Qaumi Movement (MQM) Received Indian Funding," *BBC* 24 June 2015

⁴⁶⁷ "Indian 'Spy' Arrested in Balochistan" *Daily Times* 25 March 2016

⁴⁶⁸ "In US, Nawaz Will Expose India's Terror Sponsorship" *The Express Tribune* 15 October 2015.

⁴⁶⁹ "India Finances Trouble in Pakistan: Hagel," *The Dawn*, 27 February 2013

⁴⁷⁰ Ghazala Bashir, *External Relations of Pakistan*, p.187

alliance is justified by presenting the Chinese role in the wars as being highly positive; in the discussions, India appears to be the villain, while China is the hero. The following passage on the events of 1965 appears in a history textbook:

Beijing's role during Pakistan war with India should not only be appreciated with the highest regard, but it is a testimony that China will never let Pakistan down in its conflicts with arch rival India. China condemned Indian aggression and threatened to attack India. Once the hostility come a halt, Beijing supplied tanks, fighter jets and essential military weapon to enhance defence to meet the future Indian threat. It was historic moment, which could never be forgotten as China's bold decision won the hearts and minds of the people of Pakistan.⁴⁷¹

States trying to practice balance of power politics need to make extra efforts to sustain the alliance, especially if they have certain concerns about the viability of the alliance. In this study, this has appeared one of the core elements in justifying the alliance. According to two other textbooks, China is considered to be “unwavering” in helping out Pakistan during the wars with India. China is considered a best friend who has helped during adversity.⁴⁷² The textbooks are not alone in this view: former foreign secretary Tanveer Khan told this author in an interview, “China spoke loudly in favour of Pakistan amongst all its friends.”⁴⁷³ Rizvi added “Chinese support had a lot of psychological impact”,⁴⁷⁴

⁴⁷¹ Abdullah Malik, *Relations with India and China*, p.275; Fazal Hussain, *Pakistan's Neighbours, Social Studies for Five* (Government Textbook Board, Education Ministry, Islamabad 2007-2010). pp.1-4

⁴⁷² Javid Sheikh. *Pakistan and People's Republic of China* p.157; Also Sultan Khan and Haleema Naz, *Pakistan and Its Neighbours* vol. III (Government Textbook Board, Ministry of Education, Islamabad, 2006-2010).p.113

⁴⁷³ Author interview with Tanveer Ahmad Khan Islamabad (2011)

⁴⁷⁴ Author interview with Hassan Askari Rizvi Lahore (2011)

and still another member of foreign office maintains “China’s help was significant in the war which prevented India to inflict heavy damages.”⁴⁷⁵

China’s tangible move in Pakistan’s favour during the 1965 war was the September 16, ultimatum to India which is a subject of discussion in three additional textbooks; although accurate in their analysis, the texts celebrate the significance of the Chinese ultimatum to India. For instance, one of those three texts states that the ultimatum warned India to dismantle its aggressive military works on the Chinese side of the China-Sikkim boundary within three days, otherwise it bears full responsibility for all the grave consequences arising therefrom.⁴⁷⁶ It is believed that the ultimatum had influenced the Indian decision not to launch an attack on East-Pakistan or prolong the war.⁴⁷⁷

However, despite the ultimatum, the textbooks overlook the lack of coordination between the two allies over the tactics of the war. The hallmark of an alliance is that the states coordinate their strategies, and tactics to encounter common threats. Patrick Quirk maintains when an alliance partner agrees on common tactics, strategies, it creates not only a cohesive and effective alliance, but it helps them to meet common threats more emphatically.⁴⁷⁸ Andrew Small explains during the 1965 war, China directed Pakistan to adopt guerrilla tactics which Pakistan flatly refused to do as.⁴⁷⁹ Disregarding that,

⁴⁷⁵ Author interview with Khalid Mahmood Islamabad (2011)

⁴⁷⁶ Javid Iqbal. *Pakistan and World Affairs* p.135 ; Zubair Siddiq. *Pakistan's Relations with Neighbours* p.35; Aftab Rahmanullah Ch and Aftab Dar, *Islamic Republic of Pakistan and the World, Civics for Class XII* vol. II (Government Textbook Borad, Ministry of Education, Islamabad 2006-2010).p.104 ; Sultan Khan, *Pakistan and Its Neighbours* p.140

⁴⁷⁷ Safdar Hussain, "Pakistan and Alliances: From Cold War to Contemporary Strategic Partnerships" *The Diplomatic Insight* 81, No. 9 (2015).

⁴⁷⁸ Patrick W. Quirk, “Internal Threat Alliances: Great Powers, Fragmented Allies, and Alliance Making in the Post-Cold War Era ” (Johns Hopkins April, 2014). p.7

⁴⁷⁹ China Advised let India to take some territory, once India enters the Pakistani territory, attack them behind. Andrew Small, *The China-Pakistan Axis: Asia's New Geopolitics*. pp. 9-25

textbooks give a half account of cooperation mainly because nothing can better justify an awkward alliance more than associating it with hard times.

The discussion about the 1971 war is no different. The Chinese support during the war remained subdued as compared to that in 1965. There are several ways to describe and explain the East Pakistan crisis, but textbooks offer their own interpretations. Undeniably, India had played a central role in the crisis, but Pakistan's own policies were also to blame. Though India had aided and trained the Mukti Bahini movement, Pakistan had worsened the situation by applying force to suppress the separation movement and denying the Bengalis' political, economic and cultural rights.⁴⁸⁰ Another view is with regard to the Indo-Russian treaty of August 1971 which inhibited Beijing choices⁴⁸¹: Beijing advocated that Islamabad show restraint, seek a diplomatic resolution, and appease the estranged Bengalis. Tayyub Siddiqui maintains that Beijing thought Pakistan was "fighting a wrong war, at a wrong time, for a wrong cause with a wrong enemy."⁴⁸²

Ignoring a variety of possible explanations and China's restrained role, two textbooks present a strikingly narrow view of China's role in the war. To give credence to this argument, one text suggests that during Indian covert and overt military operations against East Pakistan and the subsequent Indian attacks, China provided diplomatic and material support to Pakistan as she had always done before.⁴⁸³ Another text suggests that

⁴⁸⁰ Ali Usman Qasmi, "1971 War: Witness to History" *The Dawn* 16 December 2015 ; Yaqoob Khan Bangash, "Remembering East Pakistan" *Express Tribune*, 1 August 2011.

⁴⁸¹ Mehrunissa Ali, "China's Role in 1971 War" in *Reading's in Pakistan Foreign Policy 1971-1998* ed. Mehrunissa Ali (Karachi: Oxford University Press 2001).pp.35-45

⁴⁸² Personal Communication with Tayyub Siddiqui, Islamabad (2011)

⁴⁸³ Abdullah Malik. *Relations with India and China* p.278; Rahmanullah Malik and Aftab Dar, *Islamic Republic of Pakistan and the World* p.104

the Chinese came in a “big way” to help Pakistan against India’s naked aggression.⁴⁸⁴ These statements give the (inaccurate) impression that China supported Pakistan, when in reality there was no “big way” support: obviously Beijing condemned India verbally by making aggressive statements,⁴⁸⁵ but it never backed Pakistan through any action.

Texts may have chosen these particular arguments to secure support for the alliance domestically, even though many experts describe what really happened. Michael Beckley states that “Chinese leaders watched as India literally tore Pakistan apart, lopping off East Pakistan and turning it into the Independent state of Bangladesh.”⁴⁸⁶ P.R. Chari contends, “Despite Islamabad’s fervent hope, however, that it [China] would open a new front to relieve Pakistan’s beleaguered troops in East Pakistan”, China was not involved militarily.⁴⁸⁷ Two of the textbooks examined go even further, stating that China supported Pakistan’s recovery in the aftermath of the war. While the texts inflate the Chinese role during the war, their description of Beijing’s role after the war is factually correct. China supported Pakistan’s recovery, supplying weapons and help to secure 90,000 Pakistani POWs from the India-Bangladesh custody. Both India and Bangladesh have threatened to put POWs on trial for war crimes.⁴⁸⁸ At Islamabad’s request, Beijing cast its first ever veto to withhold Bangladesh’s UN membership until all prisoners of wars were released.

⁴⁸⁴ Ahmad Hussain and Javid Sheikh, *Pakistan and People's Republic of China* p.157

⁴⁸⁵ Chou En-lai said, using Pakistan internal problems, as a pretext and relying on the support of social imperialism, India has grossly interfered in Pakistan internal affairs and have carried armed aggression. K Arif. Document 120, p.133

⁴⁸⁶ Beckley, "China and Pakistan: Fair-Weather Friends" p.11

⁴⁸⁷ Vyjayanti Raghavan and P. R. Chari, *Sino-Indian and Sino-South Korean Relations: Comparisons and Contrasts* (India Routledge, 2015). p.134

⁴⁸⁸ Sheikh Rafiq, and Farooq Sheikh. *Relations with Great Neighbour China* p.371; also see Ghazala Bashir, *External Relations of Pakistan*, p.189

Significantly, the textbooks skip the grave crisis in the subcontinent in May 1999 (the Kargil war), with the exception of only one example. This solitary text claims that China supported Pakistan's policy of defusing tension. It "fully supported" Pakistan's sovereignty and territorial integrity with earnest.⁴⁸⁹ Security elite opinions are also consistent with the textbooks. For example, Sartaj Aziz, the Foreign Minister during the Kargil crisis and who currently holds an advisory role on security and foreign affairs to the government told this author: "China assured deep abiding support for the sovereignty and territorial integrity of Pakistan, both sides agreed for de-escalation of tension in the region." In reality, during the crisis Pakistan found itself relatively isolated globally, as international pressure had mounted on her, and Islamabad found even Beijing on the Indian side. Swarn Singh, Indian's former foreign Minister, endorsed this view:

China's continued posture of neutrality provided and the most decisive input in convincing the Pakistani leadership of the futility of continuing to back up its losing armed forces [and] also of seeking to internationalise the Kashmir issue in the face of Pakistan's growing global diplomatic isolation.⁴⁹⁰

However, everything within the texts has been described as a success and everything is said to be going in Pakistan's favour. Any admission of failure or lack of support would perhaps damage the alliance's reputation domestically. The elite do not want their children to know that China was neutral and betrayed them during the crisis. When the Pakistani security elite says that China supported Pakistan over the Kargil crisis, it essentially suggests their feeling of insecurity about the alliance. It clearly suggests that the lack of Chinese support or neutrality during the crisis is leading Pakistan's rulers to reinforce their propaganda efforts to praise China.

Hence, the ideologically-driven propaganda strategy has both internal and external dimensions. Externally, that Islamabad has Beijing's support as a deterrent towards India,

⁴⁸⁹ Maqbool Bhatti, *Pakistan-China in 21st Century*, p.208

⁴⁹⁰ Swarn Singh, "The Kargil Conflict: Why and How of China Neutrality"

and just as importantly, a justification for the alliance internally to influence those sceptical Pakistanis who may view the alliance as culturally and socially unbalanced. The internal dimension of the propaganda strategies gives credence to the argument that the Pakistani security elites have concerns about fundamentalist elements. This aspect of propaganda gives us answer to the security elites' perception of the Pakistani society.

Nevertheless, this appears to be realistic approach as far as the Pakistani security elites are concerned because putting "Hindu India" as a threat and China as saviour is likely to be accepted within Pakistan without being subject to criticism. It may dissuade those elements which attack the Chinese mainly because they are being taught that Chinese are helping against India which is traditional enemy. If Pakistanis agree on one point it is that India is the enemy, and anybody, even China so different to Pakistan, portrayed helping Pakistan against arch rival India is likely to be viewed positively.

Reliable China and the unreliable US

The debate about reliability and unreliability is another significant propaganda strategy adopted by the Pakistani officials issued textbooks. The cultural institutions actively promote a narrative which paints the US as unreliable, and China as reliable. Within the textbooks, the idea of American unreliability and Chinese reliability comes to the fore in the way the two countries' policies towards Pakistan are described. Textbooks use the propaganda technique of "*name calling*" to portray Pakistan as a victim of unfulfilled US promises, while China is considered to be extraordinarily cordial.⁴⁹¹

There are three key elements that make up this theme: Washington's preference for non-aligned India and neglect of aligned Pakistan, American neutrality during the Indo-Pakistan wars, and finally Pakistan's role in the war against terror; the policies are developed on the propositions that Beijing appreciates Islamabad's tremendous and great

⁴⁹¹ In this technique the communicator associates positive language to the policy/country which it approves and negative language to which it disapproves of. Alfred Lee. *The fine Art of Propaganda* p.26

sacrifices in war against terrorism, while Washington insufficiently appreciates Islamabad’s efforts. Essentially, security elites are arousing positive feeling with regard to their alliance with China by portraying the US negatively. Nevertheless, Islamabad believes China is reliable and US is not, arguably, Islamabad’s needs to be acquainted with the fact China support has certain parameters mainly during its crisis with India.

In statistical terms, Figure 4.11 and Figure 4.12 show that this theme is second only to the security narratives in terms of number of appearances in textbooks. Thirteen textbooks out of total of eighteen (or 72.7%) elaborate on Pakistan’s flirtation both with China and USA. It essentially means that children in Pakistan spend lot of time reading about the disloyalty of the US and loyalty of China.

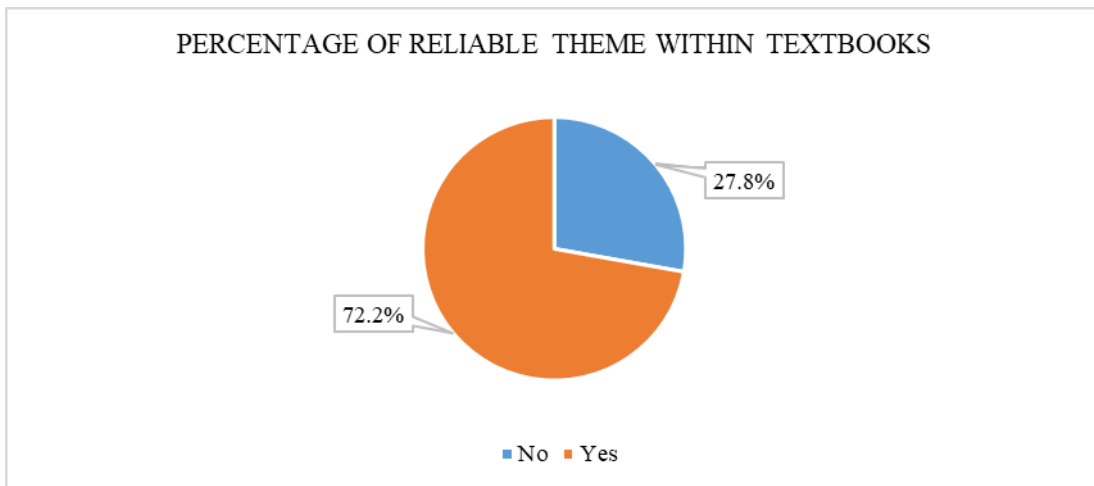


Figure 4.11: Reliable Theme percentage within the Textbooks

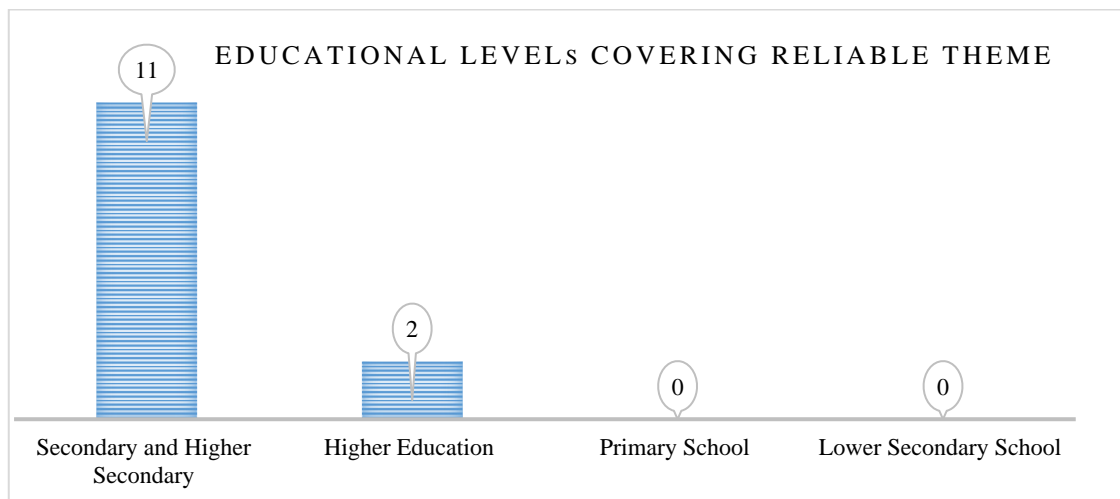


Figure 4.12: Reliability Theme and Education levels

As with the security theme, this theme is also heavily concentrated at Secondary & Higher Secondary level of education, is absent at two levels, and only lightly represented at in higher education.

Washington, non-aligned India and Pakistan

Although the US and Pakistan have stayed on favourable terms, the alliance has been a challenge at times. It is a complex relationship, the two countries diverge on several policies, leading to some tempestuousness. Indisputably, alliances have existed to meet common threats like in the wake of Soviet invasion of Afghanistan and to fight war against terrorism, even if the alliance lack stability. Equally, Pakistan has never been the US's first choice in South Asia due to the presence of India as a major and powerful state, both during and after the cold war. During the cold war, Washington wanted New Delhi to be part of its containment strategy, but India's first Prime Minister and the father of India's non-alignment strategy, Jawaharlal Nehru, had refused to be part of American George Kennan's containment strategy.⁴⁹² Although Nehru's refusal did not write him off completely in Washington's strategic thoughts, the US turned to security-starved Pakistan to fill the gaps, which devotedly accepted an American alliance in 1954. In post-cold war era, Indo-US strategic partnership endorse the notion that India is preferred over Pakistan.

Though the circumstances had established a Pakistani-American alliance during the mid-1950s, Washington never ignored New Delhi's strategic significance. The opportunity to rope India in came when John F. Kennedy became president. As a senator, he believed that India occupied a position of pivotal importance in the American strategy of

⁴⁹² N. Jayapalan, *Foreign Policy of India* (New Delhi: Atlantic Publishers and Distributor, 2001), p.154

containment of communism in Asia.⁴⁹³ Once he acquired presidency, he began implementing his plans, and negotiations were undertaken to augment Indian security and defence. The US, along with Great Britain, offered a whole lot of military and economic assistance to New Delhi.⁴⁹⁴

The Sino-Indian war of 1962 firmed the process of weapons delivery to India. As India became a recipient of a large amount of American assistance, Pakistan became disillusioned. What irked Pakistan was the continuity in the supply of security and military aid to India once the war was over. Ayub Khan maintained that once the Sino-India conflict was over, China did not seem to prolong the conflict with India and so the military and economic aid given to India by the US could not be justified as it would be detrimental to Pakistan's security.⁴⁹⁵ Following these developments, Pakistan-American relations came under greater strain.

This is considered to be the first betrayal in the Pakistan-American alliance, and it came about because, despite Pakistan's protests, America seemed to prefer non-aligned India over faithful Pakistan. The criticism of the US policy within the Pakistani textbooks is found resolutely, as they teach this sense of betrayal to the children. For instance, a text designed for Secondary and Higher Secondary school suggests that President Kennedy had favoured India; he was the instigator of renewed American interest in India, and once he became president, he adopted policies to the disadvantage of Pakistan. He armed India immensely, shifting the balance of power in favour of India.⁴⁹⁶ An additional textbook

⁴⁹³Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto, *Myth of Independence* (Oxford University Press, 1969). p.51

⁴⁹⁴ *Foreign Relations of United States* 1961-63. Vol. XIX. p.132.

⁴⁹⁵ Ayub Khan, *Friends Not Masters*, pp.151-53

⁴⁹⁶ Abdullah Malik, *Relations with India and China* p.276

emphasises that Pakistan had an alliance with the US, but the US offered a lot of assistance to India, showing America's choice of India over Pakistan.⁴⁹⁷

One textbook states that American military aid to India had endangered Pakistan's security as India was more likely to use it against Pakistan than against China in the 1965 war; the text states that this was the first explicit betrayal in the Pakistan-US alliance.⁴⁹⁸ Pakistan's feelings of disillusionment towards the US were not without reason though. The American military aid hardened the Indian attitude towards Pakistan and a peaceful solution of the Kashmir issue became almost impossible. Nehru said that any change in the status of Kashmir would have "disastrous consequences."⁴⁹⁹ The gulf between Pakistan and the US widened which developed a feeling of abandonment among the Pakistani.⁵⁰⁰

Indo-Pakistani Wars

The Pakistani-US alliance had been jolted by Washington's arms aid to New Delhi, and then on September 6, 1965 India crossed international borders and attacked Pakistan in a failed attempt to regain its pride, which had been dented in the 1962 war with China. This war further damaged the Pakistan-American alliance. The US, instead of coming to the aid of its ally, adopted an attitude of neutrality, and cut off military aid to Pakistan. In contrast, China had chosen to condemn India. Therefore, the discussions about the wars are reduced to almost exclusively describing China's significant role, while the US

⁴⁹⁷ Ibid.

⁴⁹⁸ Farooq Malik and Ghazala Bashir, *External Relations of Pakistan*, p.190

⁴⁹⁹ Sherwani, *Pakistan, China and America*, p.119

⁵⁰⁰ Following evidence is helpful in understanding feeling of abandonment. Rizvi. *Pakistan and Geostrategic*, p.85; M. Raziullah Azmi, "Pakistan-US Relations: An Appraisal" in *Readings in Pakistan Foreign Policy 1971-1998*, ed. Mehrunissa Ali (Karachi: Oxford University Press 2001), pp.228-231; Personal communication with security elites at Islamabad (2011).

adopted a neutral stance. The US is believed to have betrayed Pakistan during the war, whilst China is considered to have spoken loudly in Pakistan's favour. Two texts, written by the same author for different education level, maintain that

The seventeen-day Indo-Pakistan war of 1965 exposed friends and foes. Pakistan had signed defence pacts with the US, and it was against the spirit of those pacts that the US remained neutral, it should have come to the assistance of Pakistan. In contrast, China delivered an ultimatum to India with military consequences, which resulted in a ceasefire between the two countries.⁵⁰¹

Though the US has assisted Pakistan's economic development and military capabilities on a much larger scale than China had, the Pakistani logic of obligation to the Chinese is much greater. The language of two other Pakistani textbooks is not ambiguous in portraying the US as unreliable and China as largely innocent.⁵⁰² The textbooks appear to be exploiting the feelings of an American betrayal to teach its future generations the rationale for seeking an alliance with China.

Criticism within the textbooks also springs from the way both China and the US treated Pakistan after the war, which reinforces the texts' perception of American unreliability and Chinese reliability. Basically, the war with India had exhausted Pakistan's stockpile of weapons and if the war had not come to an end Pakistan would have been in a precarious situation. The American decision to cut off Islamabad's military assistance for going to war had only enhanced its security elite worries. Pakistan desperately needed an uninterrupted supply of weapons to repair and restore damages it had endured during the conflict. Though the US had punished the belligerent states of India-Pakistan equally by

⁵⁰¹ Sheikh Rafiq and Nisar Ahmad, *Pakista's relatios with China* p.236 ; Sheikh Rafiq and Farooq Sheikh, *Relations with great Neighbour China* p.370

⁵⁰² Two other textbooks suggest that during the 1965 war, America adopted the policy of neutrality and stopped economic and military assistance to Pakistan, and that China provided military and economic assistance. Muhammad Hussain Sheikh. *Pakistan and People's Republic of China* p.146 ; Farooq Malik and Ghazala Bashir *External Relations of Pakistan*, p.190

imposing an arms embargo, the textbooks are very critical of US actions as the embargo appeared to be a severe blow for Pakistan, which was solely dependent on the US military supplies, while New Delhi could still make purchases from the USSR.

With the backdrop of Pakistan's weapons loss and America's arms restriction, China offered to supply weapons to Pakistan. One textbook complains that the Americans disqualified Pakistan for purchasing arms, and instead China unequivocally agreed to supply weapons. While India continued to purchase weapons from the Soviet Union, Pakistan's only source of acquiring weapon had ceased to exist. The text further adds that the Chinese decision to furnish Pakistan with the latest weapons had won the hearts of the Pakistani and to a certain extent offset the impact of American ban.⁵⁰³ China exploited Pakistan's disenchantment with its former ally by furnishing military assistance, which, although insufficient, actually had great impact. Security elite necessarily make part of it their official's propaganda to augment Chinese worth in the eyes of the future generations. Moreover, two other texts suggest that the Chinese military backing was timely, direct and robust enough to bolster Pakistan's defence and sovereignty and essentially, foiled the Indian threat.⁵⁰⁴

China's overtly pro-Pakistan and anti-Indian stance during the war earned great praise from the Pakistani textbooks. China's support had made an impact on Pakistani analysts' reasoning too. In evaluating the Chinese role, Anwar Syed has articulated the view that "the Chinese have fostered among the great powers a sense of urgency about terminating the Indo-Pakistan war" and "inhibited some of the great powers, especially the Soviet

⁵⁰³ Sheikh Rafiq and Farooq Sheikh, *Relations with Great Neighbour China* p.370

⁵⁰⁴ Abdullah Malik, *Relations with India and China* p.277; Muhammad Hussain Sheikh, *Pakistan and People's Republic of China* p.146

Union from siding openly with India.”⁵⁰⁵ Raziullah Azmi believes that during the crucial time, the US attitude was disappointing. It treated both India and Pakistan on same footing by suspending arms supplies, a step which hurt Pakistan much more than India.⁵⁰⁶

The texts are important vehicles for airing grievances about Washington’s unreliability and China reliability vis-à-vis 1971 war. When discussing the 1971 war, the textbooks may perhaps provide a balanced review of America’s role, but the perspective is offered is very narrow. The textbooks ignore President Nixon’s bias in Pakistan’s favour and the US’s role in preventing India from attacking West Pakistan. Prime Minister Gandhi had an active plan to attack West Pakistan, but the US (and also the Chinese) made such an attack impossible for India.⁵⁰⁷ Texts also state that there was an alliance between Pakistan and the US, morally and politically Washington should have helped Islamabad, but it was China who supported Pakistan, condemned Indian aggression and backed Pakistan’s sovereignty and territorial integrity.⁵⁰⁸

In reality, the US had supported the integrity of Pakistan, as had China; in fact the Chinese response was tepid and not so very different from that of the US. Despite China’s much more subdued role in 1971 as compared with 1965, the textbooks consider it a further example of US untrustworthiness and China’s steadfastness only to portray China as a better ally than the US to augment Chinese images within Pakistan. Beijing’s tepid response is also established by the Pakistani analyst. Mehrunissa Ali is of the view that

⁵⁰⁵ Latif Sherwani, *Pakistan, China and America*, p.153

⁵⁰⁶ Raziullah Azmi, *Pakistan-US Relations* pp.225-39

⁵⁰⁷ Tanveer Khan maintain that Indira Gandhi had active plan to destroy what she called, “evil machinery of West Pakistan”, but the US and Chinese pressurised Indira not to do so. They could not do it directly, they put pressure through USSR. Washington told Moscow if you did not stop New Delhi attacking West Pakistan our relations will be very different. Personal communication with Tanveer Ahmad Khan, Islamabad (2011)

⁵⁰⁸ Abdullah Malik, *Relations with India and China* pp. 270-275

Beijing could not do anything extraordinary as it did not want to risk a conflict with the Soviets, and it actually had advised Pakistan to hold talks with the disgruntled Bengalis to resolve the crisis.⁵⁰⁹

Alliance theory suggests that when the risks of military commitments are too high, the chances of honouring the alliance are low,⁵¹⁰ but the textbooks defy this logic. States avoid participating in a conflict to assist a partner if it would invite its adversary's intervention into the conflict. China preferred to stay away from the conflict, even though it condemned India, and it advised Pakistan to resolve the dispute amicably; China could not manoeuvre the situation in Pakistan's favour in any form because it wanted to avoid confrontation with the Soviet Union which had mobilised her troops on the Chinese border.⁵¹¹ Nevertheless, despite the Chinese fell short of helping Islamabad when it needed most-Pakistan's dismemberment was imminent, the texts present a propaganda campaign to improve Beijing's image domestically.

US sanctions and Chinese military supplies

Washington's unreliability and Beijing's steadfastness have also been associated with the post-Cold War era. In the wake of the Soviet forces' withdrawal from Afghanistan, Islamabad's strategic importance to Washington had diminished. Washington no longer needed Islamabad to counteract Soviet offensive forces stationed in Kabul. In 1990 President Bush refused to issue an annual certificate to the Congress (a practice he had fulfilled diligently every year since 1985) that Islamabad was not developing nuclear

⁵⁰⁹ Mehrunissa Ali, *Reading in Pakistan's foreign policy*, pp.35-45

⁵¹⁰ Andrew G. Long and Sara McLaughlin Mitchell Brett Ashley Leeds, "Reevaluating Alliance Reliability: Specific Threats, Specific Promises," *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 44, No. 5 (2000).

⁵¹¹ For detail see Ali, 'China's Role in 1971 War', in *Reading's in Pakistan Foreign Policy 1971-1998* pp. 35-45.

weapons.⁵¹² Deplorably, it abandoned its ally and imposed many layers of sanctions under the Pakistan-specific Pressler non-proliferation amendment due to its nuclear programme.⁵¹³ Under the sanctions, the US refused delivery of F-16 fighter jets, and stopped military and economic aid thereby endangering Pakistan's military modernisation drive.

Pakistan found herself struggling to meet its security and defence needs in the wake of American sanctions. Sandy Gordon maintains that Pakistan's security went from bad to worse, partly due to halting of US supply of weapons.⁵¹⁴ China agreed to supply weapons to fill the void left by the US sanctions. Pakistani children are taught insistently that it was the second worst US betrayal. One textbook without elaborating further the nature of China-Pakistan cooperation maintains:

Following the Soviet Union's withdrawal from Afghanistan, Pakistani support was no longer required by the US. Disappointedly, Islamabad came under US sanctions yet again, though this time for secretly developing nuclear weapons; an issue to which the US had turned a blind eye for a decade during the Afghan war. Nevertheless, in the wake of this development [American sanctions], Beijing emerged as Islamabad primary supplier of military weapons and hardware.⁵¹⁵

⁵¹² For detail see 'Pakistan's Sanction Waivers: A Summary', (Washington: Carnegie Endowment for International Peace 29 October, 2001) <https://carnegieendowment.org/2001/10/29/pakistan-s-sanction-waivers-summary-pub-10778> [accessed 24 March, 2017] ; 'Context of 'October 1990: US Imposes Sanctions on Pakistan'', History Commons (<http://www.historycommons.org/context.jsp?item=a1090sanctions>) [Accessed 24 March 2017].

⁵¹³ C. Christine Fair, 'The U.S.-Pakistan F-16 Fiasco', *The South Asia Channel* (3 February 2011). <http://foreignpolicy.com/2011/02/03/the-u-s-pakistan-f-16-fiasco/> [accessed 22 June 2017]

⁵¹⁴ Sandy Gordon, "South Asia after the Cold War Winners and Losers" *Asian Survey* 35, No. 10 (1995).

⁵¹⁵ Ikram Rabbani, *Pakistan Affairs* pp.320-24

US abandonment and imposition of sanction are covered in many of the texts: one more text portrays the US sanctions in a fashion which serves to only highlight the Chinese helps to Pakistani defence. It states that in the wake of Pressler amendment, China's relations with Pakistan had continued to flourish at the military level. With the cessation of US economic and military assistance, Pakistan's dependence on China's political and military support have increased immensely. It argues that China on the other hand never disappointed Pakistan. Without stating the particulars of China's help, text further maintains that China fulfilled Pakistani defence requirements which enhanced the significance of Pakistan-China alliance.⁵¹⁶ Though the US later partially relaxed the sanctions courtesy of the Brown amendment, and allowed Islamabad to make a few military purchases, it did very little to redeem the perception of the US as being unreliable. The Pakistanis cite this as a clear proof of American perfidy to emphasize the fact that Washington is not a reliable ally.

The US decision was excessive which has been regretted by US official. In a Congress hearing, former secretary of state, Hillary Clinton maintains "The problems we face now to some extent we have to take responsibility for, having contributed to it. We also have a history of kind of moving in and out of Pakistan," she added, "Let's remember here... the people we are fighting today we funded them twenty years ago... and we did it because we were locked in a struggle with the Soviet Union."⁵¹⁷ Naturally, the Chinese who helped during adversity appeared to be reliable. Pakistani officials have not been shy of conveying American behaviour to its younger generations to achieve their strategic objective.

The war against terrorism

The war against terrorism is another sub-theme which the textbooks make use of to compare Pakistan's alliance with the US and China. Since 9/11, 2001, Pakistan has been

⁵¹⁶ Maqbool Bhatti, Pakistan-China in 21st century, p.206

⁵¹⁷ 'US Created Taliban and Abandoned Pakistan, Says Hillary', *The Dawn* 25 April 2009.

in the front line of the US war against terrorism, the alliance has never been short of challenges in the alliance. Though China has not been directly involved in the fight against terrorism, it has heaped praises on the Pakistani role acknowledging its sacrifices which has stood in sharp contrast to the American criticism of Islamabad role sometimes praising it but mostly alleging Islamabad complicit with the Taliban.

Although no Pakistanis were involved in the terrorist attacks on the US soil, the event has significant implication for Islamabad's foreign policy due to the latter's support to the Taliban government. America threatened "to bomb Pakistan to the stone age" if it refused to help the US in dismantling the terror infrastructure in Afghanistan.⁵¹⁸ Musharraf made a massive U-turn on Afghan policy, condemned the "carnage" in New York and assured the US that Pakistan would provide "unstinted cooperation in the fight against terrorism."

519

Overnight, personally the decision made Musharraf an international pariah to an appreciated partner in the global war against terrorism. By and large, Washington waived decade's old sanctions, promised military and economic assistance worth billions of dollars to Islamabad. It also conferred Pakistan a non-NATO ally status.⁵²⁰ With Islamabad's logistic support, the Kabul regime fell to the International Security Assistance Force (ISAF) in a matter of weeks.

Though Pakistan has been fighting at the front of the US-led war against terrorism since then, lamentably, the prospects of developing better relations between the two states have appeared dim. The hallmark of the alliance has been periodical breakdowns, and marked by deadlocks. The pendulum has swung from one extreme to the other, between

⁵¹⁸Pervaiz Musharraf, *In the Line of Fire, a Memoir* (London Simon and Schuster).p.201;General Pervaiz Musharraf, "Bush Threatened to Bomb Pakistan " in CBS ed. Suzanne Goldenberg (The Guardian 2006).

⁵¹⁹ "Pakistan Vows to Help U.S. 'Punish' Attackers" *CNN 13* September 2001

⁵²⁰ 'Non-Nato Status for Pakistan Approved', *The Dawn* 3 June 2004.

friendships and distancing. Washington contends that Pakistan has conducted contradictory policies, both feeding and fighting the Taliban, Pakistan laments US oblivion to Pakistani security needs.

Islamabad regrets Washington's unjustified demand of "do more" despite Pakistan great sacrifices. The events like US Navy Seals raid on the Bin Laden compound in Abbottabad, NATO attack on the Salala check post (killing 24 Pakistani troops), and CIA contactor Raymond Davis' criminal act of killing two Pakistani in a broad day light in Lahore, has taken the relationship to the lowest point.

With regard to the discussion within the textbook, there is no meticulous discussion on the war against terrorism. The texts merely present a brief description of the international war against terrorism, albeit providing a Pakistani perspective. The texts accept the audacity of the terrorist attacks, and pertinently approve the Pakistani decision to fight the war without any precondition.⁵²¹ The texts value the non-NATO ally status given to Islamabad.⁵²²

Interestingly, though China is not directly involved in the war, the texts discuss its role with reference to the appreciation of Pakistan's sacrifices. One text suggests quite explicitly that

Undoubtedly, Pakistan has been fighting with the US in war against terrorism, but the relationship has never been reliable. America does not recognise Islamabad's sacrifices, and rather repeats the mantra of '*do more*'. In contrast, the Chinese

⁵²¹ Farooq Malik Muhammad Hussain Ch, *Pakistan and World Community, Pakistan Study for XI-11* vol. I (Ministry of Education, Islamabad 1990-2006). p.143

⁵²² Ikram Rabbani. *Pakistan Affairs* p.329

government appreciates Pakistan's sacrifices and it urges the world community to do the same.⁵²³

One other text suggests that:

Every time Pakistan came under pressure to *do more*, an explicit reference to the US, China reprimanded and reminded the US Pakistan's untiring and sincere efforts, which shows what a strong bond exists between Pakistan and China; Pakistan and China are true, reliable, and strategic partners.⁵²⁴

As far as losses and sacrifices are concerned, textbook analysis is accurate: Pakistan's losses, both in terms of men and materials, have no precedent. In 2018 the Pakistani government reported that terrorism has killed over 74,000 people over the past 14 years and cost \$ 123 billion in economic losses.⁵²⁵ These statistics are much larger than any other nation fighting in the war.

The textual analysis, however, shows complete disregard of the American contribution to Pakistan's economy and security, which stands at \$23 billion.⁵²⁶ The only times the texts acknowledge US contribution is just a single example albeit very narrow and short. One textbook says that US has provided little military and economic help.⁵²⁷ While the textbooks protest about American behaviour, and disregard American aid, Pakistan does have to share some responsibility. It is equally important for Islamabad to remove

⁵²³ Sheikh Rafiq and Asim Farooq Sheikh, *Relations with great Neighbour China* p.372

⁵²⁴ *ibid.* ; Also see Ikram Rabbani, *Pakistan Affairs* p.325

⁵²⁵ Anwar Iqbal, 'Pakistan's Losses in War on Terror Fail to Impact US Discourse', *The Dawn* 9 January 2018

⁵²⁶ Husain Haqqani, "Breaking up is not Hard to Do" *Foreign Affairs* (March/April 2013).

⁵²⁷ Ikram Rabbani, *Pakistan Affairs* pp.334-335

Washington's suspicions regarding Islamabad dual role in fighting terrorism war; Islamabad has been accused of taking a half-hearted approach, taking up the fight against the bad Taliban, but sparing the good Taliban.⁵²⁸

While war against terrorism, and despite the Uighur separatists allegedly finding sanctuary in Pakistan, unlike the US, Beijing does not push it hard on the issue of terrorism. Though Beijing worry Uighur presence in Pakistan's tribal belt, and presses Islamabad to fight Uighur and flush them out, Beijing has passed praised Pakistan's sacrifices.⁵²⁹ It also urges the world community to acknowledge Islamabad's actions. Ministry of Foreign Affairs press release states, "The Chinese side held the view that Pakistan has made great efforts and endured great sacrifices in fighting terrorism, and reiterated that it respects the counter-terrorism strategy constituted and implemented by Pakistan in light of its own national conditions."⁵³⁰ The Chinese appreciation of the Pakistani sacrifices and fight against terrorism have essentially enhanced China's steadfastness in the eyes of the Pakistani leaders, and they flatter China through their propaganda in order to prevent the possibility of developing perception of an awkward alliance to teach younger generation.

Poetic phrases

Poetic phrases serve significant part of the propaganda strategy utilised by the Pakistani officials to market alliance to overcome their fears towards their own society. Islamabad's alliance with Beijing gets very extravagant support and coverage within the textbooks in

⁵²⁸ "Haqqani Network is a "Veritable Arm" of ISI: Mullen" *The Dawn* 22 September, 2011.

⁵²⁹ "Top Chinese General Lauds Pakistan's Role in Fighting Terrorism" *The Dawn*, 12 November 2015.

⁵³⁰ 'Joint Statement between the People's Republic of China and the Islamic Republic of Pakistan', in *Latest Press Releases/Speeches* (Islamabad Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Government of Pakistan, 19 December 2010),p.1

the form of magniloquence. The alliance is celebrated within the textbooks with appropriately poetic and hyperbolic terms. The rhetoric of an ‘all-weather alliance’ is built and emphasised while appearing thoroughly and too frequently within the textbook. Using the propaganda techniques of “*assertion*” and “*repetition*”, there is a pervasiveness of positive terms, phrases and adjectives which proudly create the notion of a time-tested alliance.⁵³¹ The textbooks’ habit of shoring up with adjectives and overstated words make this a truly remarkable programme of propaganda. The overwhelming positivity about China’s alliance within the texts is unprecedented, and criticism of the alliance within the textbooks is a rare commodity.

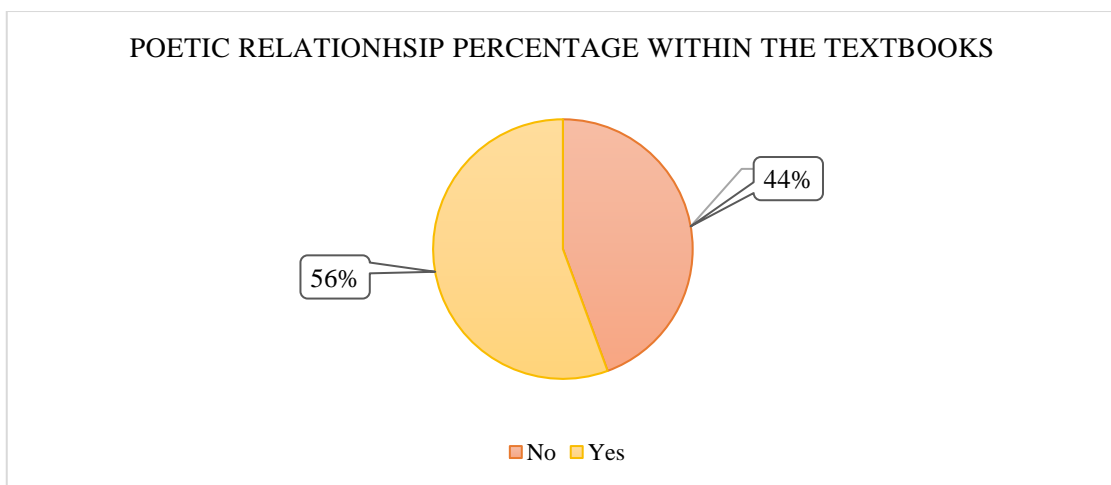


Figure 4.13: Poetic Relationship

Figure 4.13 and Figure 4.14 show that ten texts out of a total eighteen employ hyperbolic statements to market the alliance. This technique is represented at all levels except LS level of education.

⁵³¹ In assertion, the propagandist makes bold claims in favour of the phenomena. In repetition, a phrase/word/ sentence is repeated to get the message through. See Brown, *Technique of Persuasion*, pp.27-28

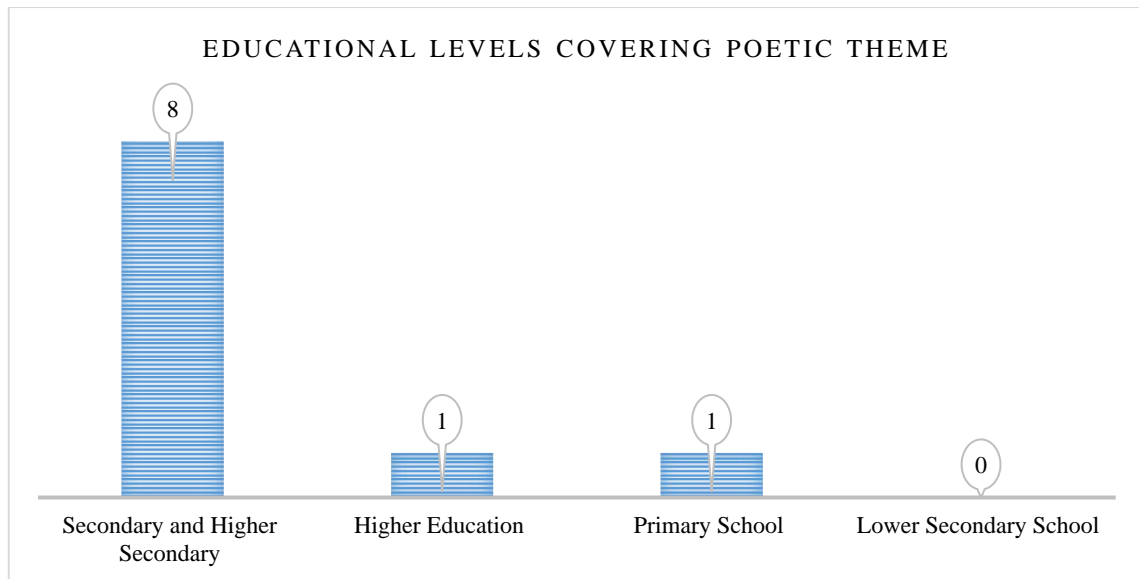


Figure 4.14: Poetic Relationship and four Levels of education

With regard to the first theme, terms or phrases are employed to link the alliance with natural things which exist but have abstract meaning, like “*green tree*”, “*mighty rivers*”, “*mountains*” and “*seas*.” For instance, a text designed for grade five children, who are unlikely to grasp the notion behind such statements, likens the Pakistan-China friendship to a “lush green tree”, and a “shinier success.”⁵³² Then there is rhetoric comparing the alliance with a “mighty river which cannot be stopped by any hurdle.”⁵³³ Another text continues this theme, reflecting that the alliance is “higher than Himalayas, deeper than sea and sweeter than honey.”⁵³⁴ The use of poetic words might be unclear for young children (i.e. “all-weather”, “time-tested”, or “honey”) and no explanations provided.⁵³⁵

⁵³² Fazal Hussain, *Islamic Republic of Pakistan* p.4

⁵³³ Rahmanullah Ch. and Aftab Dar, *Islamic Republic of Pakistan and the World* p.104

⁵³⁴ Ibid.

⁵³⁵ These statements are not just for the younger generation, these are also found in the MOFA press releases. The president Zardari told the president of China in 2010 “Our friendship is all weather and time tested” and that “The people of our two countries are united in their determination to take our friendship and partnership to new heights.” See Message by the President of Pakistan His Excellency Asif Ali Zardari to the President of China His Excellency Hu Jintao’, in *Latest Press Releases/Speeches* (Islamabad Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Government of Pakistan, 31 December 2010). p.1

Nevertheless, associating the alliance with natural things occurring without human interference would suggest that alliance is also flourishes naturally. Though the terms are nothing more than eye-catching slogans, and hardly represent the diplomacy and international politics involved, the florid language and natural connotations are likely to permeate children's minds.

It is worth noting that the children not only read these lyrical statements in the texts, they routinely hear them from their leaders. These statements have become entrenched in the Pakistani discourse that the leadership habitually describe the alliance in these exuberant terms. In the words of currently serving army general Raheel Sharif, the alliance is an "all-weather friendship...sweeter than honey, higher than the Himalayas and deeper than oceans."⁵³⁶ Former President Asif Zardari maintains "China has proved to be our unwavering and reliable friend, partner and neighbour...Our relationship is a role model for countries all over the world."⁵³⁷ The current Pakistani Ambassador to China, Masood Khalid, asserts "The rock-solid cooperation between China and Pakistan reflects the two countries' all-weather and multifaceted strategic partnership."⁵³⁸

Yet another textbook, defying international politics, suggests "Pakistan-China friendship is everlasting."⁵³⁹ This statement can hardly be justified as alliances cannot exist forever, and considering it everlasting is unsustainable. Every student of politics learns that international politics is inherently impermanent, and not everlasting. But that a state's national interests are. Essentially, "everlasting", "all-weather" and "time-tested" are

⁵³⁶ "Attempt to Obstruct CPEC Will Be Thwarted, Gen Raheel Tells China," *The Dawn* 1 August 2015

⁵³⁷ *President Zardari Greets President Hu on 60th Anniversary of Pak-China Diplomatic Ties* (Islamabad Embassy of China in Pakistan 2011).

⁵³⁸ Pu Zhendong, "Pakistani Ambassador Urges Much More Trade" *China Daily* 25 March 2013.

⁵³⁹ Farooq Malik and Ghazala Bashir, *External Relations of Pakistan*, p.188

poetic flourishes and relations between states just cannot be evaluated by that measure. Asia experts Andrew Small and Michael Beckley have criticised the use of “florid language” to describe the alliance.⁵⁴⁰ However, the security elite’s urge to defend the peculiar alliance from being scuttled by the overtly religious elements have prompted them to continue to represent the alliance with natural, abstract descriptions.

The textbooks complement each other, adopting a highly expressive approach, repeating these sentiments to highlight the vitality of the alliance. A new textbook expresses uniquely by suggesting that Pakistan and China celebrate joyous moments together, share the distress of time together and will stand together for safety of the future generations.⁵⁴¹ Readers would feel that the friendship has been entrenched and fortified by past generations, and it will go on into the future. If Pakistani students hear these flamboyant statements consistently and repeatedly, it is highly likely they will be absorbed, irrespective of social and cultural differences, and children find will themselves believing that China is their nations “time-tested” friend.

Finally, the notion that the Pakistan-China friendship is a model to follow because both adhere to the principle of non-interference in each other’s internal affairs is also exaggerated, and an interesting illustration of contradiction. For instance, a text emphasises that the hallmark of the Pakistan-China alliance has been firm adherence to the principles of non-interference, upholding sanctity of sovereignty and territorial integrity.⁵⁴² The rhetoric emerging in this and two other texts⁵⁴³ puts the alliance in an extraordinary context. The words attract the reader, sound good to the ear and suggest no

⁵⁴⁰ Andrew Small, "China-Pakistan: A Strategic Relationship in the Shadows," *Yale Global* (2015).; Beckley, "China and Pakistan: Fair-Weather Friends."

⁵⁴¹ Abdullah Malik. *Relations with India and China* p.274

⁵⁴² Hassan Askari and Javid Iqbal. *Pakistan and World Affairs* p.135

⁵⁴³ While one text considers it a model alliance, others see unity in diversity by stating that it is a model alliance between two countries who are neighbours and friends, despite having different sizes and ideology. Aftab Dar and Zubair Siddiq, *Pakistan's Relations with Neighbours* p.36 ; Bhatti, *Pakistan-China in 21st Century* p.212

sourness in the relationship, yet in reality, these statements are nothing more than shallow slogans. The effort to associate the alliance with concepts like “non-interference” or “model alliance”, suggest how they view their own society. It suggests their fears of the Pakistani security elite and effort to naturalise what is in fact a most awkward and culturally odd alliance.

In this chapter, a modest attempt has been made to evaluate propaganda strategies utilised by the Pakistani officials. It has tried answering three main question raised in this research. The chapter has scrutinised cultural textbooks in use in the schools and colleges of Pakistan by students of classes 5 to 14 to seek answer to these questions. It has discussed their contents at length, and explored the dimensions, implications and ramifications of Islamabad’s alliance with China. Pakistan’s rulers have systematically controlled the messages published in the texts used in their cultural institutions in order to enhance and perpetuate the strength of the alliance with China. We see the turning and twisting of historical facts, and the errors and exaggerations, and the guiding philosophies behind the promotion of the alliance. The honest and effective answers are lacking within the texts. For instance, China’s dubious role during various crisis have ignored or exaggerated. In essence, the textbooks are a collection of subjective, prejudiced, and partial narratives which actually give us a sense that providing objective analysis within text may enhanced further security elites anxieties and concerns towards their own society.

The education system in Pakistan is used an instrument of state policy to achieve political and strategic objectives. In Islamabad’s official education system, political factors are noticeable. The state acts as a hegemonic entity and produces *selective* knowledge to market the Chinese alliance. The government has systematically distorted social studies texts to create a place for their claims and the perpetuation of the alliance with China. There is a conscious process of the manipulation of historical facts and events as well as the guiding philosophies behind them. The Pakistani state creates an identity for China, exclusively portraying China as glorious and reliable. The picture of India as an enemy is very much emphasised, and the other major power - the US - is portrayed as having betrayed Pakistan at key points in their history. Students are exposed to extensive

information and are taught what to think, what to do, how to feel and how to behave about and towards the alliance. Hyperbolic language is used to propagate young minds to make them open to and accept the alliance with loyal China.

The texts currently used only project carefully selected facts to support the dominant propagandist's line, and there is a lack of objective and dispassionate reporting and correct interpretation of the facts about the Pakistan-China alliance. Although school texts are usually expected to impart knowledge, here political propaganda and education are not separate, and the textbooks concentrate on indoctrination of the pro-China view among Pakistani students. The dynamic subjects like history and social studies, which are important subjects for creating a strong civic sense, are actually full of contents which are promoting the state's strategic and political interests. Unless there is some change in the contents of the textbooks used in the schools across Pakistan, it could feasibly be expected that the younger generation will not become literate. The presence of propaganda in the texts authenticate this thesis argument that Pakistani officials have certain fears towards their own public which are being countered through a use of selective and official propaganda.

In the next chapter we continue to present a content analysis of Pakistani elite's newspaper articles to identify themes aim to legitimise the alliance domestically.

Chapter 5. Newspaper Articles and Propaganda

In this dissertation we are using three sets of data - textbooks from cultural institutions the security elite's newspaper articles and parliamentary debates- to examine Pakistani domestic propaganda. The previous chapter examined texts, and in this chapter, we offer an investigation of the most persistent themes within the newspapers to demonstrate that Pakistani officials use propaganda to promote alliance with China domestically. Despite using different data sets, both chapters investigate the same research questions: how the security elites in Pakistan promote the alliance domestically, and what their propaganda tells us about how they view their own society.

Using the theoretical framework SEPIA, this chapter argues that officials concerned about the sustainability of the alliance with China use various strategies to perpetuate it domestically. While some of the themes seen in the textbooks are repeated (for example the Uighur issue, the role of India, conforming Islam and Communism), some additional strategies emerged during the analysis of the content of articles, such as propaganda on notable events (for example diplomatic anniversaries) to legitimise the alliance, and the linking of Pakistan's future with an emerging China. The elites propagate the relationship as vital and wonderful at home, exaggerating it in rhetoric and propaganda which is systematically spread to the larger Pakistani public through newspaper articles. When the Chinese leaders and officials' come on a state visit to Pakistan grand welcome are staged to promote the alliance internally.

This chapter has two main sections. In the first section, we explain the sampling of newspaper articles followed by a general overview of quantitative content analysis. The second section explains the analysis of the qualitative content of the selected newspaper articles.

Sampling of newspaper articles

Using the purposive sampling technique, this chapter examines a sample of 82 articles published in three main English dailies (The Dawn, The News, and The Nation) written

by serving and retired Pakistani officials. Some articles have also been written by the Pakistani lawmakers. For any article to qualify for the research, I set following criteria:

- The article must be published between 1990 and 2010.
- The article should explicitly discuss at least one aspect of the Pakistan-China relationship.
- The author should be one of the following: retired or serving armed personnel, diplomat, parliamentarian, foreign secretary and or an educator.

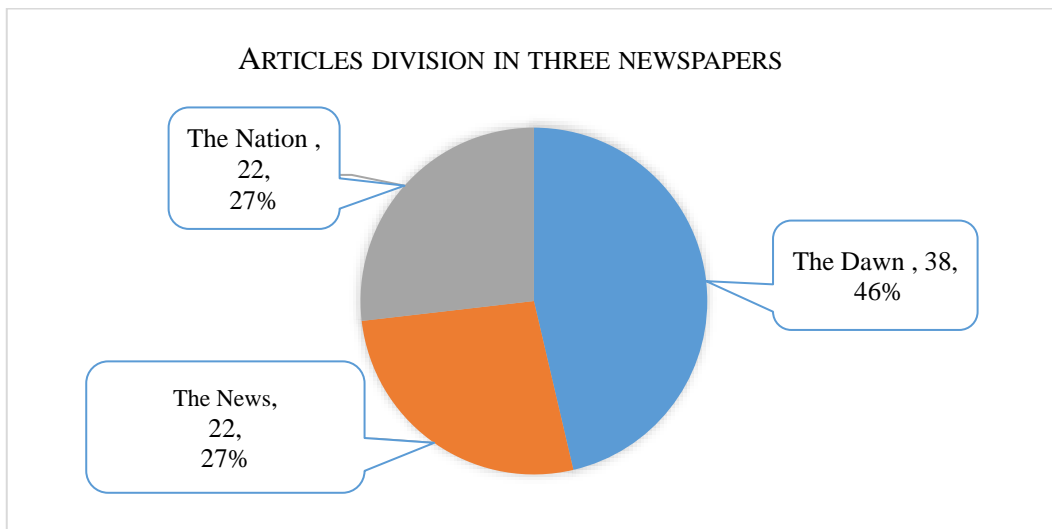


Figure 5.1: Representation of Articles in three Newspapers

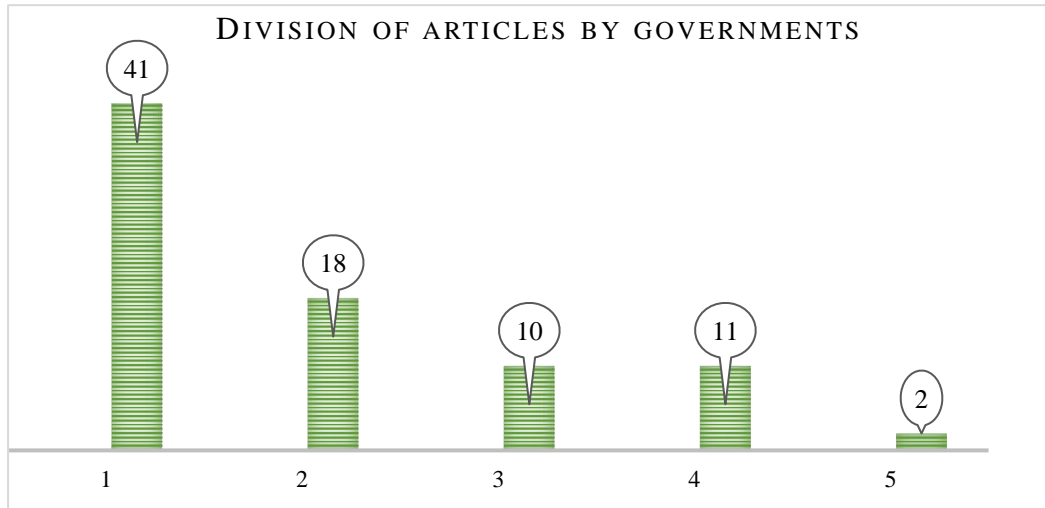


Figure 5.2: Numbers of articles appearing under each Governments

Figure 5.1 shows the breakdown of article by newspaper. The majority of articles (38, 46%) were printed in The Dawn, whereas an equal number of articles (22 or 27%) were printed in The Nation and The News. The appearance of maximum articles in the Dawn was just because of the way sampling worked.

Figure 5.2 shows that more articles were published during General Pervaiz Musharraf’s tenure. The plausible explanations for frequent use of propaganda during Musharraf rule could be the impact of enhanced threats to the alliance. The terrorist attacks on the Chinese had soared, so to quell threats the security elite increased efforts to promote the alliance. Musharraf also provided a boost to economic and trade ties with China. Musharraf had been of the view that “...one thing which needs to be further enhanced to really cement the bond between the two countries is economic collaboration, which, to a

degree, is still wanting.”⁵⁴⁴ He allowed Chinese investment to develop the Gwadar port, and agreed to sign the Free Trade Agreement (FTA) with Beijing, leading to increasing work to popularise these achievements.

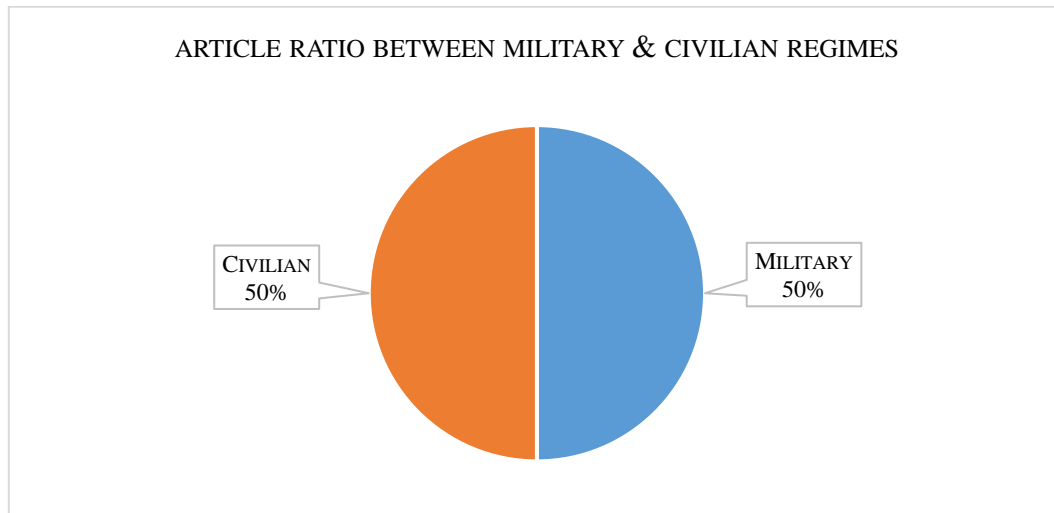


Figure 5.3: Article ratio between civilian and military regimes

Figure 5.3 shows that equal numbers of articles were published under military and civilian regimes, which suggests that Pakistani officials concerns about the alliance and society were constant.

After selecting the newspaper articles, the next phase was to identify the major themes appearing. In order to do this, I read selected articles and identified several small categories using both manifest and latent content analysis techniques.⁵⁴⁵ While I used inductive reasoning as an approach to divulge main categories⁵⁴⁶, there were mostly unequivocal comments by the authors. After accumulating multiple sub-categories, I grouped them into broader categories, which resulted in five major themes:

⁵⁴⁴ "Musharraf for Strong Trade Ties with China" *The Dawn* 24 December 2001

⁵⁴⁵ Neuendorf, *The Content Analysis Guidebook* pp 23-25

⁵⁴⁶ Philipp Mayring, "Qualitative Content Analysis," *Qualitative Social Research* 1, No. 2 (2000).

- Pakistan-China mutual Security
- Sino-Indian rapprochement and its implication for Pakistan-China alliance
- Chinese officials' state visits and public propaganda
- Evolving China and Pakistan
- Compatibility of Islam and Communism.

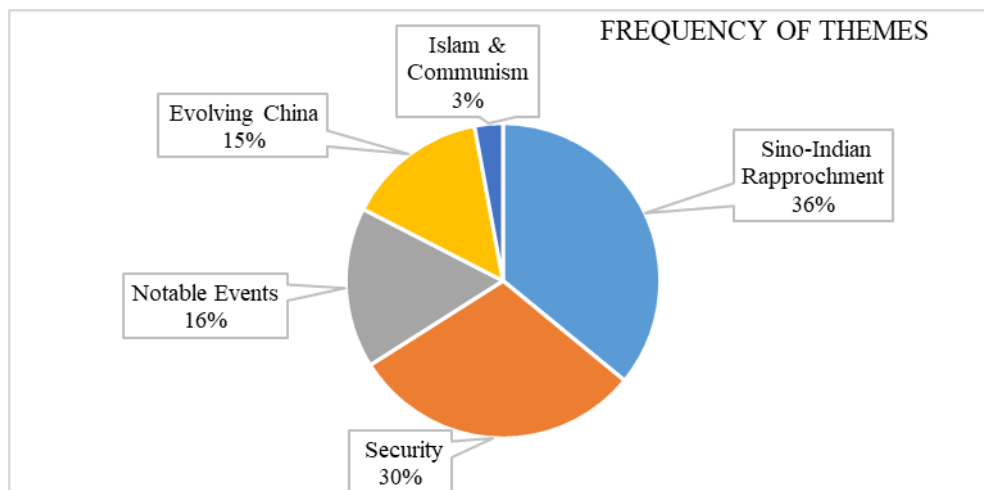


Figure 5.4: Frequency of five main themes

Figure 5.4 shows how frequently each theme has appeared in the newspapers. It is evident that the *Sino-Indian rapprochement* and *Security* themes appear largely. This thesis argues that the Uighur issue and terrorist attacks on Chinese worries the elites, so an emphasis on security theme (which involves discussion on these issues and the resulting damage to the socio-economic development of Pakistan) indicates that articles are produced to counter what sounds like increasing anxiety about the sustainability of the alliance. Similarly, the Indian factor is emphasised to promote the alliance to a society which views India as its number one enemy. The efforts to show commonality between Islam and communism appear slight but are significant.

In the next section, I will present textual analysis of the five themes in both qualitative and quantitative terms.

Security

Propaganda is a means of communication used to manipulate or influence the opinion of groups in support of a given cause or belief. Propaganda is also the result of security needs and continues to be an effective tool, particularly now in this advanced world of media and information flow. With the changing world, the understanding of the terms security and propaganda has also changed. Security in this modern setting refers not only to the conventional security of borders, but also involves economic and social issues. In this section, I will use the term security to refer to both traditional and more modern uses of it.

It is important to understand what is meant by the *Security* theme. It includes the following sub-themes:

- Pakistan-China common security
- Role of religious parties
- Pakistan's socio-economic development
- Conspiracy concepts
- Discourse of security and military ties

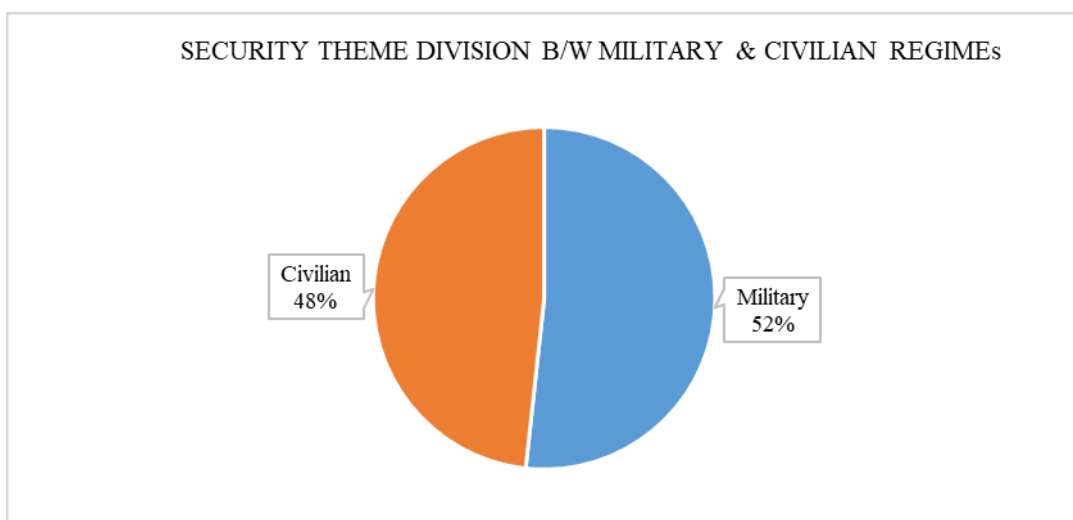


Figure 5.5: Security theme representation between civilian and military regimes

Figure 5.5 illustrates that security officials made consistent efforts to present the security theme, with only very slightly more appearances during periods of military government than civilian. We also found that officials wrote mainly for *The Nation* and more frequently during the Musharraf administration (15 articles) than any other government.

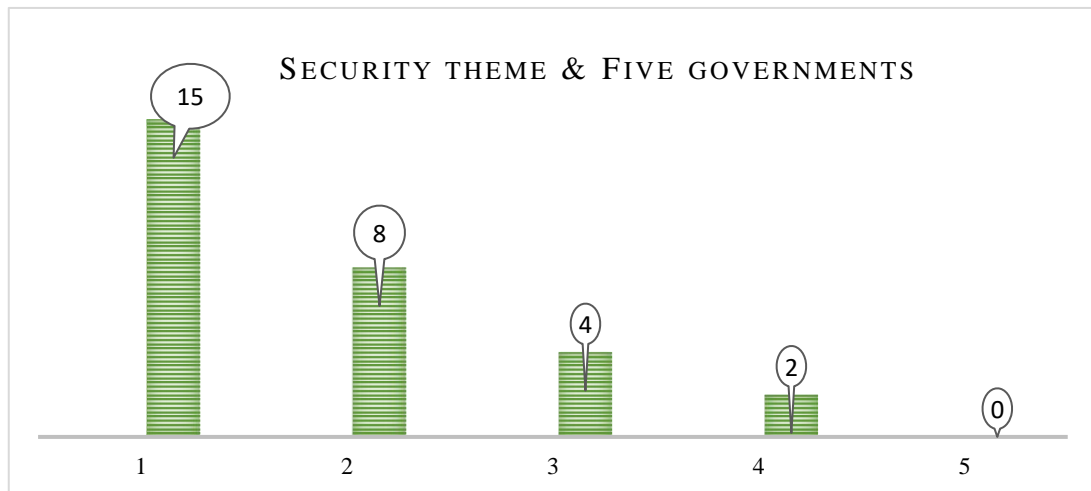


Figure 5.6: The position of Security theme across five governments

Common Security

As discussed in chapter three, the Uighur separatists' links with Pakistani militants is a real challenge to Islamabad's ability to sustain the alliance with Beijing. To counter this challenge, officials try to convince the public that the two nations have a common approach to security issues. The security elite in their writings suggests reciprocation in augmenting Chinese national security the way China has contributed to Pakistan's security. They imply that China's security is Pakistan's security, China's enemies are Pakistan's enemies, and that if Chinese security is threatened then ultimately so is that of Pakistan.

Air Marshall Asghar Khan states that Chinese support for Pakistan's security was "a living reality" which needed to be "appreciated and reciprocated." It has been a "critical factor for the preservation of peace and security in South Asia", therefore, "Chinese

needed to be supported on Uighur separatism.”⁵⁴⁷ Academic Hassan Rizvi elaborates: “China has consistently supported Pakistan...of late, China is perturbed by the efforts of the militants Islamic groups based in Pakistan to penetrate the troubled Xinjiang region. The government of Pakistan and its people has a role to play to assure Chinese national security.”⁵⁴⁸ Clearly, they argue for returning Chinese security. They fail to suggest how to respond but imply they want their public to cease in the support for Uighur separatists. Use of rhetoric such as “living reality”, “critical factors” and “China’s consistent support” indicates that China is trustworthy, and a real partner. From their arguments, it appears that they are making a real effort to create a feeling of obligation and commitment among the public to repay Chinese security. Similarly, showing that China is already fulfilling some of Pakistan’s security needs, Pakistan needs to act.

Others underline what China has sacrificed for Pakistan’s national security, and how China’s enemies should be recognised as Pakistan’s enemies. Air Marshall Ayaz Khan (retd) states “The great people of China are great friends of Pakistan. They have sacrificed for Pakistan’s security. Anybody harming their national security [by supporting the Uighur] is the enemy of both countries...Chinese security is Pakistan’s security.”⁵⁴⁹ In international politics, countries rarely forfeit national interest for linked states, a custom which China follows stringently, and although the Air Marshall fails to identify Chinese sacrifices specifically the implication may increase the value of the alliance.

⁵⁴⁷ Asghar Khan, "Pakistan's Security- the China Option" *The News* 12 August 2001

⁵⁴⁸ Hassan Askari Rizvi, "Foreign Policy and Proximity Factor" *The Nation* 7 September 1997; For related discussion see Hassan Askari Rizvi, "China Factor in South Asia" *The Dawn* 27 July 1994; Rizvi also argue “The spill over of Islamic fundamentalism into China”, which is destabilising Chinese national security can be contained with the cooperation of Pakistani society, Hasan Askari Rizvi, "Sino-Pakistan Security Relations" *The News* 8 October 1992.

⁵⁴⁹ Ayaz Ahmad Khan, "Terrorism against Foreign Nationals" *The News* 1 October 1999

Likewise, former IPRI (Islamabad Policy Research Institute) head Maqsudul Nuri claims “Pakistan-China have similar aspirations, common goals and common challenges ...in fact, Chinese security is Pakistan’s security... The national security of the two countries is combined.”⁵⁵⁰ Essentially, it is not unusual to see Pakistan’s security associated with that of China, which highlights the importance of the alliance but also reveals officials’ concerns towards their own public.

Historically, states have combined national security with others in an attempt to repel any attack from a third party; whilst NATO is the most famous example of this type of arrangement, states have also made arrangements to combine security, defence, and economy, under confederations.⁵⁵¹ Nevertheless, when Pakistani officials combine Sino-Pakistan security, it implies there are two different countries but they are interconnected. People would likely to reason that it is inevitable to think of Pakistan-China disjointedly.

Pakistani officials do not distinguish between Pakistani and Chinese counter-terrorism goals. Many in Pakistan believe that the “war against terrorism” is not Pakistan’s war⁵⁵², but Chinese terrorism concerns are owned by the officials. Former IPRI head P.I. Cheema argues that

The Chinese are concerned with the activities of separatists groups in the Chinese province of Xinjiang. To deny sanctuaries to these groups, Pakistan’s cooperation is deemed necessary...Pakistan cooperation would prove to be an effective

⁵⁵⁰ Maqsudul Hasan Nuri, "Pak-China Entering New Millennium" *The Nation* 1 February 2000.; Also, Abdul Sattar maintains that both countries share common struggle against threats to their security. Pakistan considers China security as her own, and “China strength is Pakistan’s strength.”; Abdul Sattar, "Pakistan Hold China in High Esteem" *The Nation* 22 December 1998

⁵⁵¹ Between 1776 and 1789, thirteen US colonies had a confederation.

⁵⁵² Saeed Shah, "Pakistanis to Clinton: War on Terror is Not Our War" *McClatchy Newspapers*, 30 October 2009

deterrent to those elements of the society that were indulging in undesired and unlawful activities [fomenting unrest in Xinjiang] and using the border areas as their hideouts.⁵⁵³

Rashid Khan also implies “Pakistan-China have common threats, common security, common aspirations, and common destinations. Both face the challenge of extremism, and terrorism. Chinese terrorism concerns are Pakistani concerns.”⁵⁵⁴ This ownership of Chinese terrorism concerns is significant: the US, despite billions of dollars of aid, has unable to receive such treatment from Pakistan. These firmly embedded arguments once again reinforce the strength of the alliance, and show the officials’ fears about their own public.

The analysis of the articles showed no discrepancy among Pakistani officials on this point. Speaking on the occasion of the Chinese army’s 88th anniversary, Pakistan’s Army Chief General Raheel Sharif said: “Your enemy is our enemy. Eliminating the East Turkistan Independence Movement (ETIM) is its manifestation.”⁵⁵⁵ Following talks with President Xi in 2015, Nawaz Sharif stressed “I have assured Xi, China’s security is as important to us as Pakistan’s security.” During his tenure as an army chief, Ishfaq Pervaiz Kayani stated “Honestly, Chinese security is very dear to Pakistan.”⁵⁵⁶

⁵⁵³ P.I.Cheema, "Further Strengthening of Ties with China" *The News* 9 November 2003

⁵⁵⁴ Rashid Ahmad Khan, "Pak-China Relations" *The Nation* 17 December 2004

⁵⁵⁵ "Attempt to Obstruct CPEC Will Be Thwarted, Gen Raheel Tells China"

⁵⁵⁶ Urdu VOA, 2011. "Pakistan China Military Ties", Youtube <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=F8Dp8UsoHvA> [Accessed 29 December, 2015].

Plea to Islamic parties

In chapter three, we argued that the Talibanisation of Pakistani society, fostered in JUI and JI madrasah, indirectly encourages Uighur separatism.⁵⁵⁷ Former JI Chief, the late Qazi Ahmad, openly said “we should not ignore them [Muslims in China]”, as “There is ideological vacuum in China and we must fill this vacuum” by accelerating efforts to encourage promotion of Islam.⁵⁵⁸

In response these challenges, security elites made a strong plea to Islamic parties not to undertake indoctrination, promote the Uighur cause, or provide jihad training. The retired Ambassador Afzal Mahmood argues that nothing is more important for the religious parties than the stability of the alliance:

The Chinese are very sensitive about the intrusion of Islamic fundamentalist into Xinjiang. The religious leadership, irrespective of their party affiliation, should keep national interest supreme than any other consideration [jihad in Xinjiang].⁵⁵⁹

Ambassador Abdul Waheed implies that the success of the alliance hinge on the involvement of the religious parties. Waheed writes “Pakistan has many friends, but China is pre-eminent, nothing can be more consoling for the Pakistani nation... Islamic parties should eradicate Chinese nervousness by discouraging Uighur presence in their madrasahs.”⁵⁶⁰ Essentially, the Islamic parties are urged to feel calm and comfortable to have China as Pakistan’s trusted partner, and to decline refuge to Uighur in the

⁵⁵⁷ In 2001, up to 10,000 Uighur arrived in Pakistan to receive religious education and military training in those madrasah. Huma Yusuf, "Effects of Uighur Unrest" *The Dawn* 13 July 2009

⁵⁵⁸ "Pakistan's Jamaat-I-Islami to Preach Islam in China" *The Dawn*, 4 April 2009

⁵⁵⁹ Afzaal Mahmood, "Chill in Sino-Indian Ties" *The Dawn* 3 January 1999.

⁵⁶⁰ Mian Abdul Waheed, "Need to Revitalize Pak-China Ties" *The Nation* 4 November 1995.

madrasahs. Lt. General Kamal Matinuddin (ret'd) argues strongly that the religious parties should ensure that the Uighur are not accepted in their madrasah, just in case they come to join madrasahs they "should not be converted into religious fanatics."⁵⁶¹ Matinuddin's argument clearly identifies the elites' concerns about the militants' efforts to convert Uighur into religious fanatics as the root cause of the problem. Ambassador Maqbool Bhatti (ret'd) proclaims that the religious parties' interference in China internal affairs, like support to Uighur separatism, is against the spirit of Pakistan-China alliance.⁵⁶²

By appealing directly to religious parties' elites aim to generate the value of the alliance as Islamic parties allegedly control religious fanatics who support Uighur separatist through madrasah teachings. The most significant point to gain from these pieces is that this discussion about religious parties highlights the elite's fears and concerns about their public, and presents a counter argument promoting the alliance.

In the previous section, we witness that security elites appeal to the public not to attack the Chinese, we also see efforts to equate Pakistan's security with Chinese security, these efforts make us understand how Pakistani officials see their own society. In fact, a counterargument that China's national security is Pakistani security is promoting the alliance but tells us elites perception about their own society.

Terrorist attacks on Chinese and socio-economic development of Pakistan

Efforts to market the alliance to the Islamic population using only the message of joint security arrangements were not enough, so the elite also included socio-economic components in their propaganda strategies. Given the amount of threat and Pakistani security worries towards their own society, therefore, security elites make extra efforts to

⁵⁶¹ Matinuddin, "Musharraf Visit to China"; Also see Rashid Khan, "Pak-China Relations"

⁵⁶² Maqbool Ahmad Bhatti, "China Emerging World Role" *The Dawn* (1999); In another article Ambassador Bhatti argues "All political parties [Islamic] in Pakistan realize the need to follow the principle of non-interference in internal affairs, notably those of China [not to fuel agitation in Muslim majority areas], which has consistently honoured this principle." Maqbool Ahmad Bhatti, "Stable Ties with China" *The Dawn* 23 June 2004.

highlight the alliance. As the significant part of their propaganda highlight China's contribution to Pakistan's infrastructure development (development projects, funded and completed with Beijing's financial and technical support, such as the Gwadar deep sea port) to present a positive image of the alliance publicly. In doing so, they warn that terrorist attacks on the Chinese will place the fate of development projects, necessary for Pakistan's socio-economic security, in jeopardy. Cheema states:

China is an extremely useful partner of Pakistan as it is involved in many major developmental projects such as Gwadar, Chashma II nuclear power plant, Saindak and Thar coal projects etc. In addition, new areas of cooperation are being explored... it is imperative that security measures particularly for all those foreigners working in Pakistan on various projects need to be enhanced...An insecure expert is unlikely to give his best because of haunts of the insecurity. As a matter of fact, even the people of Pakistan must ensure that such an incident [terrorist attack on Chinese] does not reoccur...Therefore, it is our collective responsibility to ensure the safety of guest experts and workers.⁵⁶³

Cheema's use of phrases like "useful partner" and "new areas of cooperation", shows optimism, but his warning tone suggests that this positivity hinges on a secure environment. Cheema emphasises that the public need to be vigilant to secure Chinese national security. The use of word "collective reasonability" implicate it is a national duty or responsibility to protect Chinese so that the alliance can be secured and promoted.

Apart from polices of persuasion, the Pakistani officials warns the dangers of putting Chinese under threats. Lt. General Matinuddin praises Chinese contributions in the socio-

⁵⁶³ P.I.Cheema, "An Unfortunate Incident" *The News* 24 October 2004

economic development of Pakistan, but laments the swelling terrorist attacks damaging Pakistan's economic security. To overcome it, Matinuddin suggests;

Improve the overall security situation in Pakistan and specially ensure that the Chinese workers in our country remain safe. We cannot afford any more killings of our friends. No country would like to invest, not even our friends from across the Himalayas, in a country where its workers and its property is not safe...It is prime duty of the people of Pakistan to help improve Chinese workers' security.⁵⁶⁴

Matinuddin's argument is formulated to stimulate public awareness of the fact that the terrorist attacks can impede Chinese investment. Rather it will discourage Chinese to invest in Pakistan that means it will be a great setback. This argument is likely to get the public thinking about why a country crucial for economic development is subject to terrorist attacks. It is likely to ease a pressure being put on the Chinese in form of terrorist attacks. Matinuddin then urge people of Pakistan to take the security of the Chinese a prime duty.

Parliamentarian Marvi Memon argues "On the security front, an immediate end to Chinese nationals' kidnappings, providing extra security to all Chinese in Pakistan and treating them as very special guests is time critical...and condemnation of any Uyghur hideouts in FATA needs to be continued, not shied away from."⁵⁶⁵ For Memon Chinese are special guests, and needs extra security. It is itself significant. While Memon is considering immediate end to the violence against Chinese she called upon Pakistani to discourage Uighur militants presence in Pakistan.

⁵⁶⁴ Kamal Matinuddin. "President Musharraf's Visit to China"

⁵⁶⁵ Marvi Memon, "Why China? " *The News*, 1 October 2008.

Lt. General Talat Masood (ret'd) reiterates this argument:

Chinese assistance in infrastructural projects has been of immense value. The two most significant projects are the Karakoram Highway and the Gwadar Deepwater port...There is no doubt that China has been deeply concerned about the growing radicalism in Pakistan. The abduction and killing of some of its nationals has further exacerbated its fears...Pakistan must ensure the safety of Chinese nationals and fully cooperate in areas of anti-terrorism and intelligence-sharing.⁵⁶⁶

These officials really link the security of Chinese citizens with Pakistan's progress. It can be inferred that terrorist attacks on Chinese would mean no investment, and ultimately the stalling of socio-economic progress of Pakistan. Yet again the appeal is to persuade assailants (militants and separatists) to relinquish terrorist activities to ensure the consistency of the alliance and therefore Pakistan's strength.

In another article, Gen Matinuddin warns:

Chinese investments into Pakistan will only happen if there is no serious law and order problem in the country...Pakistan must ensure that overzealous and extremist elements amongst us do not encourage this tendency in any way whatsoever. We should not allow them to harm our time-tested friendship with China.⁵⁶⁷

⁵⁶⁶ Talat Masood, "Relations with China," *The News* 25 February 2009

⁵⁶⁷ Kamal Matinuddin, "Pak-China Friendship Forum," *The News*, 15 November 2003.; also, Rashid Khan emphasises that "it will be naïve to expect that if such incidents [terrorist attacks on Chinese] continue to take place, the traditional friendship between the two countries will remain unaffected." Rashid Khan, "The Killing of Chinese and Sino-Pak Ties."

Some writers even attempt to make the public understand that Chinese aided projects will benefit the public welfare. Ahmad Malik opines:

The People of Balochistan will be the chief and direct beneficiaries of this [Gwadar] project...The Sardar who oppose Chinese presence or development of the province wanted to keep people of Balochistan under their subjugation...The successful completion of Gwadar Port will play a key role in promoting social and economic progress in the region and provide new opportunities.⁵⁶⁸

Necessarily, it connotes Nawab's are against Balochistan progress, while Pakistan with the help of China trying to develop Balochistan. The argument that the developments projects will benefit people make sense too. People will feel integrated and will own the projects. The officials' discussion creates and reinforces the link between Chinese nationals' security and Pakistan's development. The reader will get impression that attacks are damaging the alliance. Thus, on the one hand Pakistani officials are sustaining the alliance domestically and on the other hand it suggests Pakistani officials' concerns about their own public.

The Chinese political system and Uighur Muslims

As we have seen in the previous chapter, one of the security elites' key priorities is to make the public understand that it does not make sense to support Uighurs' separatism when they are not actually being maltreated. The officials describe the Chinese authorities as protecting Uighur rights by taking all actions possible to improve their security and welfare, and that China has embarked on an "aggressive development" in Xinjiang to improve the Uighurs' economic and social welfare. In the newspaper, like in the

⁵⁶⁸ Ahmad Rashid Malik, "Sino-Pak Economic Ties," *The Nation*, 7 April 2005.

textbooks, the security elite emphasise that Beijing's policies do not discriminate against Uighur, that they value and encourage their participation in Xinjiang's expansion.⁵⁶⁹ Officials represent China is working for the betterment of Uighur and that it genuinely cares for the Uighurs' quality of life. It implies Beijing's straight nature, and its responsibility to confront issues which bring melancholies in Uighur lives.

In the newspapers, the security officials assert that "Uighur have been protected by the Chinese constitution" and have been "allocated a separate province and are considered a proud national of China" and that the "Chinese government does not interfere in their faith" and "strictly prevents imposition of Han culture" on them.⁵⁷⁰ China is referred to as a propagator of harmony and freedom, who wishes to spread peace and encouragement by applying the law and the constitution. It is suggested that China's policies have made Xinjiang a better place to live. Other officials write that China is "not going to come hard on the Uighur Muslims which might embarrass their relations with Muslims world."⁵⁷¹ Using these arguments, the officials are trying to convince society that China would avoid any issues with the Uighur lest it unsettle its relations with the Muslim world, to unite the public behind the alliance. Moreover, projecting Chinese working for the betterment of the Uighur Muslim will reduce the anger and resentment of the Pakistani militants who believe that Chinese authorities discriminate Uighur Muslim religiously, politically and socially.

Conspiracy theory

Another sub-theme, based on conspiracy theory, gives a new outlook to the propaganda. It makes it difficult for the reader to understand what is the Xinjiang problem. Pakistani have already struggled to survive with continued conspiracy notions throughout their

⁵⁶⁹ Sardar Lodi, "50 Years of Pak-China Friendship" *The News* 28 September 1999.;Maqbool Ahmad Bhatti, "The China Factor" *The Dawn* 7 December 1994 ; Maqbool Ahmad Bhatti, "Pakistan-China: An Enduirng Bond" *The Dawn* 1 October 1999.

⁵⁷⁰ Abdul Waheed, "Need to Revitalise"

⁵⁷¹ Maqbool Ahmad Bhatti, "The China Factor"

political history, and then some officials believe that foreign terrorists carry out attacks on Chinese to stimulate hostility in the Sino-Pak alliance. Cheema's statements reflect this:

Nobody in Pakistan likes such incidents [terrorist attacks], especially if a Chinese is involved. It would not be too farfetched if I write that the entire Pakistani nation joins the Chinese to share their grief. Among the foreign nationals the Chinese are held in very high esteem.

Cheema goes on to say that "it is somewhat unthinkable that any Pakistani would pick up a Chinese for vengeance".⁵⁷² Cheema's surprise reaches new heights as he maintains "As a matter of fact, when one hears such an incident [terrorist attack on Chinese] disgust set in as no one expects that a Pakistani could undertake such a despicable act." In reality, Chinese are "engaged in building dams, which would eventually be beneficial for the people of the region", it is implausible to believe Pakistani are involved as "The Chinese are state guest and friends, admired and loved by the government and people of Pakistan."⁵⁷³ Though it looks convincing that why would its public attack a country which is helping Pakistan, but militants have acknowledged the attacks. China also blame Pakistani militants and most importantly, Pakistani state kill and capture the Uighur militants which shows that the problem is home grown not foreign funded.

Retired Ambassador Wajid Hassan continues this theme when he remarks that

It is being observed that some internal and external forces have been at pains to put a spanner in the envious Sino-Pakistan relations that have grown from strength

⁵⁷² P.I. Cheema, "An Unfortunate Incident."

⁵⁷³ Ibid

to strength over the years...The beneficiary of such untoward incidents is not Pakistan but those who want China ...out of Pakistan... Is it a conspiracy to shoo China away from Pakistan or to pressurize it to abandon Gwadar...⁵⁷⁴

While these writers cleverly do not blame any foreign nation, Ahmad Malik implicates India. He suggests that the executions of Chinese nationals are “extremely shocking for both the Pakistani government and the citizens since they [Pakistan] consider Chinese as their closet and time-tested friends”, and that it appears “to be a “third factor” conspiracy, an act of subversion, sabotage, and terrorism...to create a wedge ...and damage the friendly and ever-growing relations between the two countries”, however, a “possible ‘third factor’ could be India...”⁵⁷⁵

Yet, if India is involved, it has done so quite successfully. Chinese companies have left Pakistan due to security threats, but counter evidence suggests that China has never hesitated to register its frustration with Pakistan over the export of Islamic fundamentalism into its territory. China has also not blamed India, which is a significant factor to consider as Chinese are the chief target of terrorist activities.⁵⁷⁶ Evidently, the Uighur have admitted their training and support in the Afghanistan-Pakistan borders region. It virtually would be very embarrassing for officials to admit that the ostensible warriors of Islam have been supporting Uighur separatism.

The discourse of security and military ties

Finally, another part of the broader security theme, is the discussion about Sino-Pakistan security and military ties. Indeed, China has enhanced Pakistan’s defence and military capability significantly. Pakistan has been a major recipient of Chinese weapons and

⁵⁷⁴ Wajid Shamsul Hassan, "Bid to Sour Sino-Pakistan Friendship" *The Nation* 1 November 2004

⁵⁷⁵ Ahmad Rashid Malik, "Sino-Pak Ties in Changing Context" *The Nation* 7 August 2007

⁵⁷⁶ "China Warns Pakistan against Raw’s Attempts to Sabotage CPEC" *Pakistan Today* 22 May, 2015

military technology including armoured vehicles, fighter jets, and submarines. This is the area where Pakistan-China relations have run deeply and closely.

Officials state emphatically that Pakistan has benefitted immensely from Chinese provision of weapons and technology. They highlight China's traditional contributions to Pakistan's defence industries to produce strategic weapons indigenously in such a way to stimulate a positive public response. Ambassador Afzaal Khan (ret'd) underlines how China had facilitated the construction of Pakistan Aeronautical Complex (PAC) at Kamra, Heavy Industries at Taxila (HIT) and Pakistan Ordnance Factories (POF) at Wah, providing both financial and technical assistance which were a "landmark contribution" to Pakistan's defence.⁵⁷⁷ Cheema submits "by helping Pakistan to construct this huge factory [HIT], the Chinese assisted Pakistan to move closer to self-reliance as Pakistan's army main battle tank Al-Khalid has been produced by Heavy Industries Taxila."⁵⁷⁸ It implies China is not unaware of Islamabad's military and security needs as it has provided technology which makes Pakistan self-sufficient in domestic defence production. This discussion about military collaboration creates a positive image of China for the public.

Remarkably, officials in their efforts to market the alliance publicly acknowledge the transfer of sensitive Chinese missile technology to Pakistan. Rizvi highlights how China has been "actively assisting Pakistan's missile programme"⁵⁷⁹, Ambassador Mahmood explains how "supply of M-11 surface-to-surface missiles to Pakistan" strengthened

⁵⁷⁷ Afzaal Mahmood, "Ties with China in Perspective" *The Dawn* 29 June 1999. ; Also see Afzaal Mahmood, "Ties with China in Perspective," *The Dawn*, 3 October 1999.

⁵⁷⁸ P.I.Cheema, "Further Strengthening of Ties with China"

⁵⁷⁹ Hassan Askari Rizvi. "Sino-Pakistan security relations"

Islamabad's security, a "testimony to the depth of Sino-Pakistan relations."⁵⁸⁰ Equally, Ambassador Bhatti believes "supply of missiles were vital for the Pakistani drive to manufacture missiles indigenously."⁵⁸¹ Certainly, the missile transfer was a significant step as the M-11 missiles helped Pakistan to develop the Shaheen missile/Hatf III as tested in 1998.⁵⁸² Kane argues that China has militarily helped Pakistan, particularly the transfer of missile technology.⁵⁸³

To convey the message effectually, they pronounce that the missiles transfer happened to US opposition. Former Foreign Minister Abdul Sattar stresses that "No other country would sell missiles, China provided defying American pressure and incurring costly sanctions for Pakistan sake."⁵⁸⁴ While Afzaal Khan suggests that "The deal upset the American and they tried to pursue the Chinese not to supply the missiles to Pakistan, but China proceeded ahead."⁵⁸⁵ Yet again, the security elites highlight Chinese sacrifices for Pakistan's security and the complications in its relations with the US.

Likewise, promotional strategies enormously publicise the jointly developed multirole fighter jet JF-17. While some believe it a "tangible output,"⁵⁸⁶ a "shining example"⁵⁸⁷ and

⁵⁸⁰ Afzaal Mahmood, "Ties with China in Perspective" ; Also see Hassan Askari Rizvi. "Sino-Pakistan Security relations"

⁵⁸¹ Maqbool Ahmad Bhatti, "Growing Friendship with China" *The Dawn* 25 February 1999.

⁵⁸² Shirley A. Kann, *China and Proliferation of Weapons of Mass Destruction and Missiles: Policy* (Create Space Independent Publishing Platform 2012). pp.7-9

⁵⁸³ Kane believes that the Chauri missile, which has a range of 1500 km, is assisted by China. Kane, *Chinese Grand Strategy and Maritime Power*, p.127

⁵⁸⁴ Abdul Sattar Khan, "A Future Worthy of Past" *The Dawn* 1996.

⁵⁸⁵ Mahmood, "Ties with China in Perspective".

⁵⁸⁶ Ayaz Ahmed Khan, "A Symbol of Friendship with China" *The Nation*, 9 May 2007.

⁵⁸⁷ Farooq Hameed Khan, "Towards an Everlasting Partnership" *The Nation*, 29 December 2010

“a powerful symbol” of the Pakistan-China friendship,⁵⁸⁸ others exaggerate the jets’ effectiveness, for example comparing it with F-16s. Air commodore S.M Hali (retd) implies “the JF-17 Thunder... performance is matched only by F-16s”⁵⁸⁹ while General Matinuddin proclaims “It [the JF-17] is a commercial loss to the United States as the F-16s are no longer the hot topic” in Pakistan’s security establishment.⁵⁹⁰ Explaining the JF-17’s qualities is one thing, but comparing it with the F-16 can only be seen as an effort to market the alliance. It is true that the JF-17 is economically viable jet than F-16 which costs around \$85-90 million per unit.⁵⁹¹ The security officials highlight that the “Pakistani nation should be rightly proud of this great achievement.”⁵⁹² General Talat Masood considers Chinese military technology to be “not cutting-edge” and “generally one or two generations behind US and western sources”, but he considers the multi-role JF-17 as the air force’s “main line of defence.”⁵⁹³

Another blistering campaign of propaganda to market the alliance is the discussion about the construction of four F-22P sword class anti-ship submarines for the Pakistani navy. Yet again the elite consider it a “shining example”⁵⁹⁴ and “an important component” to enhance the navy’s defence capability.⁵⁹⁵ They maintain from a “defence point of view...the F-22P Frigates projects are a major step forward in the quest for indigenization

⁵⁸⁸ Ayaz Ahmed Khan, "A Symbol of Friendship with China"

⁵⁸⁹ S.M.Hali, "Joint Fighter Production" *The Nation*, 13 April 2005.

⁵⁹⁰ Kamal Matinuddin, "President Musharraf Visit to China".

⁵⁹¹ "Warplanes: Cheap Competition for the F-16", Strategy Page: TheNews as History <https://www.strategypage.com/htm/htairfo/20111125.aspx> [Accessed 12 January, 2016].

⁵⁹² Ayaz Ahmed Khan, "A Symbol of Friendship with China"

⁵⁹³ Talat Masood, "Relations with China"

⁵⁹⁴ Farooq Hamid Khan, "Towards an Everlasting Partnership"

⁵⁹⁵ Mazahar Qayyum Khan, "A Landmark Visit" *The Nation* 12 April 2005

and modernization of our armed forces.”⁵⁹⁶ They believe that “the F-22P frigates will be equipped with organic helicopters, especially designed for use in anti-submarines warfare, surface-to-surface and surface-to-air missiles and numerous associated with self-defence systems.”⁵⁹⁷

Although there is rationale behind Pakistan’s seeking of military help from China, it would not be Pakistan’s first choice. One Lt. General told this author, on condition of anonymity, that “although Chinese weapons fulfil our needs, they are not cutting edge technology, American weapons are more advanced and much better.”⁵⁹⁸ In fact, Pakistan procures Chinese weapons “out of poverty or necessity, not as a matter of first choice.” If Pakistan had money it would shop for “F-16s from the US, Agosta submarines from France, and “tanks from the Ukraine.”⁵⁹⁹

Nonetheless, this is not suggesting that Pakistan-China defence ties will be weakened. Defence ties with China are likely to grow, partly because of the traditional ties between the two militaries, and partly because of Chinese terrorism concerns about the Pakistan-Afghan region. China’s latest military supplies are meant to increase Pakistan’s counter-insurgency capacities to meet the Taliban’s threat.⁶⁰⁰ However, apart from weapons, China is strict. Unlike America, China does not provide bail-out packages; China has never fired a shot for Pakistan in its crisis with India, and is highly unlikely to do so in the future. Despite this, discussions about the military and security ties are likely to propagate the alliance to a public sceptical about China. Once again, this repeated discussion reinforces the concerns the security elite have about their public.

⁵⁹⁶ S.M.Hali. “Joint Fighter Jets”

⁵⁹⁷ Mazhar Qayyum Khan, “A Landmark Visit”

⁵⁹⁸ Standing Committee on Defence has questioned quality of Chinese Submarines. Muhammad Bilal, "Govt Endorses Summary to Get 8 Submarines from China, Defence Committee Told," *The Dawn* 31 March 2015

⁵⁹⁹ Ayaz Amir, "Canker in an Ideal Relationship" *The Dawn* 18 May 2001

⁶⁰⁰ Baqir Sajjad Syed, "China Praises Pak Strategy against Terror" *The Dawn* 24 May 2013 ; Gareth Price, "China Pakistan Relations" *Background Brief Number 1* (15 February 2011) pp.5-6

Sino-Indian rapprochement and the Pak-China alliance

In the newspapers, the security elites examine the possible implications of a Sino-Indian rapprochement on the Pakistan-China alliance, and in particular they examine whether the changes in the global security environment since the end of the Cold War have diluted the strategic partnership between Pakistan and China. This is very interesting theme as it divides the security elite's responses. A few see the rapprochement as having modified Beijing-Islamabad alliance, whilst others take a different position, stating that reconciliation has not affected relations at all.

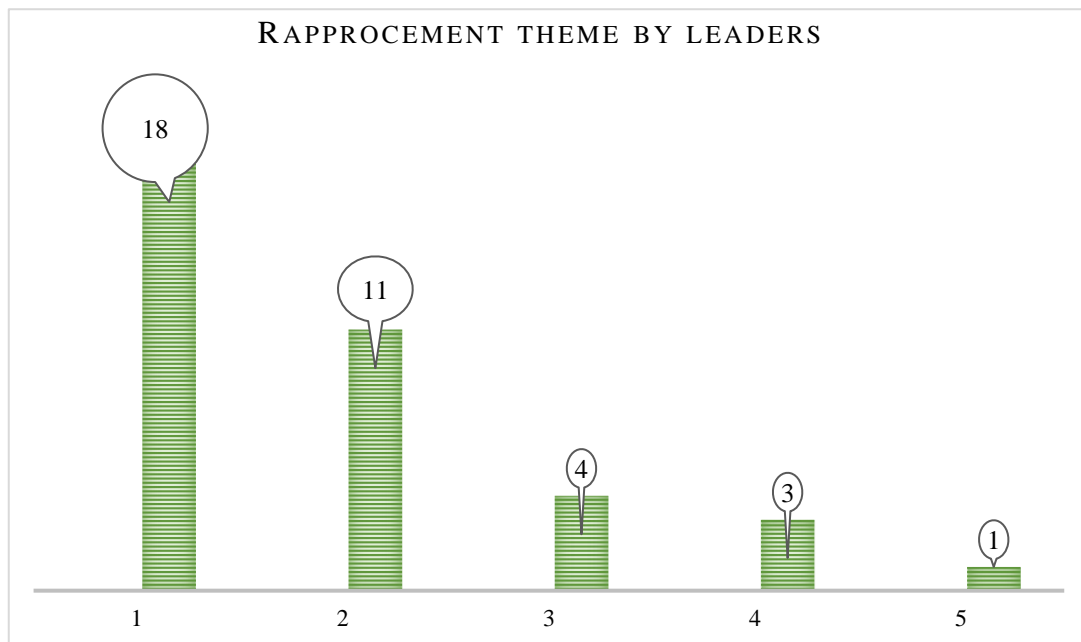


Figure 5.7: Rapprochement theme and various leaders

Figure 5.7 shows 37 of the 82 articles studied discussed the theme of the rapprochement, predominantly appearing in the Dawn. (Figure 5.8)

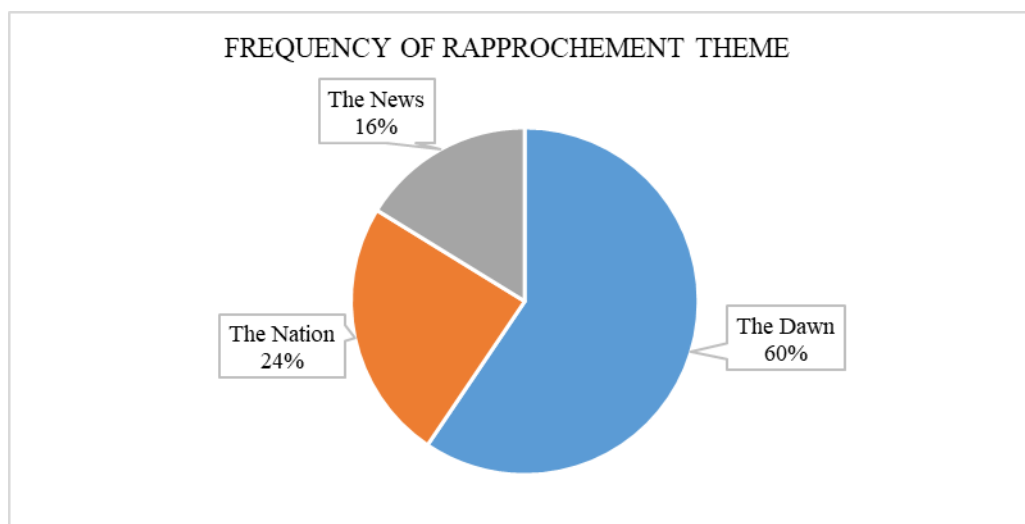


Figure 5.8: The frequency of Rapprochement in selected papers

Before we move on to a qualitative analysis, a brief discussion of the Sino-Indian rapprochement is required.

Sino-Indian rapprochement

India and China, two of the regional powers of the Asian landscape, have not always been hostile to each other. Once their relations were described as “*Hindi-Chini Bhai Bhai*” (Indians and Chinese are brothers).⁶⁰¹ However, the outbreak of Tibet’s rebellion in 1959 soured their relations. Following the rebellion, the Dalai Lama fled and sought refuge in India, which aroused Chinese suspicion that the rebellion was being instigated from Indian soil. It led to open confrontation between them, and a brief but bloody war was fought in 1962.⁶⁰² John Garver maintains “The 1962 Sino-Indian border conflict was a

⁶⁰¹ Sergey Radchenko, "The Rise and Fall of Hindi Chini Bhai Bhai," *Foreign Policy* (2014).

⁶⁰² Ibid.

watershed moment for the region.”⁶⁰³ Between 1962 and 1988, Sino-Indian exchanges remained incredibly truncated, and this hostility advanced Sino-Pakistan entente.

Ding Xiaoping’s rise to power in 1978 ended a revolutionary era in Beijing’s foreign policy. Xiaoping launched a programme of modernisation, increased international trade and market reforms.⁶⁰⁴ Beijing adopted a strategy of active and deeper engagement in the global system, obviously driven by the phenomenal success of its export led growth strategy. Because of the growing influence of these new elements on Chinese thinking, coupled with Beijing’s desire to be perceived as a reasonable power, China displayed greater concern towards the question of order and stability in South Asia. China’s adopted an approach in international politics which was based on engaging economically with regional states.

This policy of activism not only imparted a status quo impulse to Beijing’s overall strategic behaviour but also motivated it to pursue policies of cautious pragmatism in its dealing with immediate neighbours including India. China stressed the need for adopting confidence building measures as important means to maintain peace and stability regionally. The major thrusts of China towards India, argues Isaac Kardon, were influenced by Beijing’s foreign policy goals of peaceful neighbourhood and pursuing of economic development.⁶⁰⁵

⁶⁰³ Afridi, and Bajoria, *China-Pakistan Relations*. Council on Foreign Relations.

⁶⁰⁴ Quansheng Zhao, "Chinese Foreign Policy in the Post-Cold War Era" *World Affairs* 159, No. 3 (Winter, 1997).pp.114-129

⁶⁰⁵Issac B. Kardon, "China Pakistan: Emerging Strains in the Entente Cordiale" *The Project 2049 Institute*(2011) pp.6-7

In contrast, New Delhi's patron, the Soviet Union, as a whole had begun to show signs of crumbling, it prepared India to ease tension with China too.⁶⁰⁶ Reciprocating in pacifying China, Indian premier Rajiv Gandhi visited Beijing in 1988 – the first visit by an Indian premier in three decades. Gandhi captivated his host by asserting that “It is now time to look to the future, I have come to renew an old friendship.”⁶⁰⁷ Xiaoping maintained “if there should be an Asian age in the next century, then it could only be realized after both India-China becomes developed economies”⁶⁰⁸ while agreeing that the two countries “should forget the unpleasant past and set their eyes on future.”⁶⁰⁹

Gandhi's visit transformed their relations, and the rapprochement provided an opportunity to set aside historical differences and cultivate a productive relationship. The leaders have interacted more frequently, signed multiple agreements and created a mechanism to sort out border differences.⁶¹⁰ The most important manifestation of this rapprochement is visible in their greater but expanding economic ties.

Though this is not end to their border problem-border maps still do not match⁶¹¹ -this political rapprochement has certain implications for Pakistan. For example, China has

⁶⁰⁶ Surjit Mansingh, "India-China Relations in the Post Cold War Era" *Asian Survey* 34, No. 3 (1994), pp.285-300

⁶⁰⁷ Keshav Mishra, *Rapprochement across the Himalayas: Emerging India-China Relations Post-Cold War Period (1947-2003)* (Delhi: Kalpaz 2004).p.66

⁶⁰⁸ Kemenade, "Détente between China and India, the Delicate Balance of Geopolitics in Asia".p.6

⁶⁰⁹ Keshav Mishra, “*Rapprochement Across The Himalayas*”, p.66

⁶¹⁰ Ahmad Faruqui, *Rethinking the National Security of Pakistan: The Price of Strategic Myopia* (Ashgate December 2002), pp.90-100 ; Surjit Mansingh, "India-China Relations in the Context of Vajpayee's 2003 Visit," *The Sigur Center for Asian Studies* 2005 pp.3-6; Eric Hyer, *The Pragmatic Dragon: China's Grand Strategy and Boundary Settlements* (Vancouver UBC 2015). p.63

⁶¹¹ The main issue remains sovereignty over British Designated North-East Frontier Agency (NEFA-renamed as Arunachal Pradesh) which is controlled by India but claimed by China. Similarly, Aksai Chin in Kashmir is controlled by China, but is claimed by India. Sikkim and Tibet have been a source of contention but seems to have been settled now. However, ‘Zangnan or South Tibet’ in China is considered by India as part of Arunachal Pradesh. "India-China Border Dispute: Li and Modi Seek

become neutral on Indo-Pakistan disputes, such as that over Kashmir. Beijing has rebuffed Islamabad's requests for support during the Kargil crisis. Garver contends "With the onset of Sino-Indian rapprochement, Beijing also began expressing private disapproval and public non-endorsement of some of Islamabad's more assertive [Kashmir insurgency, Kargil war] efforts to challenge India."⁶¹²

It is pertinent to mention that China has shown some flexibility in its position on Indo-Pak disputes. For instance, when the Hindu nationalist Bharatiya Janata Party (BJP) of India cited the Chinese threat as a reason for nuclear tests in 1998⁶¹³, Beijing revived its pro-Pakistan position on Kashmir. Indian media had criticised Chinese which had baffled them, causing Beijing to revive its old position on Kashmir, though not necessarily as a show of solidarity with Pakistan. Nonetheless, this is not a customary Chinese strategy in South Asia. In the wake of the Mumbai crisis of 2008, China took a very low key role towards diffusing Indo-Pak tension.⁶¹⁴ This Sino-Indian rapprochement, perhaps logically, led the many of the Pakistani elites to conclude that Pakistan can no longer count on Sino-Indian resentment.

China's neutrality on Indo-Pakistan disputes

The real concern of this thesis is not just that Pakistan idealises China, but that few alliances could live up to such an ideal, and that the pressure to deliver must then heighten the anxiety of the alliance makers. There appears a sense that some of the Pakistani elites

Resolution," *BBC*, May, 15 2015. <http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/world-asia-china-32747667> [accessed 15 January 2016]; "India-China Border Dispute", Global Security Watch http://www.globalsecurity.org/military/world/war/india-china_conflicts.htm [accessed 16 May 2016].

⁶¹² Garver, "The Future of the Sino-Pakistani Entente Cordiale" p.399

⁶¹³ Jon Wolfsthal Joseph Cirincione, and Miriam Rajkumar, *Deadly Arsenals: Nuclear, Biological, and Chemical Threat* (Washington: Carnegie endowment for International Peace, 2005). p.22

⁶¹⁴ Discussion with security elite at Islamabad (2011)

are themselves questioning the alliance. This section explains how the Pakistani officials behave when they come up against inconvenient or contrary information, and, to be exact, what happens when China behaves in a challenging or unexpected way. Indeed a few elites acknowledge noticeable changes in Sino-Pak alliance due to Sino-Indian reconciliation. Fundamentally, it validates their feelings of anxiety about the existence of the alliance. Former ambassador and foreign secretary Tanveer Khan elucidates that after the cold war “Beijing’s priority has been ensuring a peaceful neighbourhood while India-Pakistan rivalry presents a challenge for her foreign and security policies...China has diluted its position on Kashmir to cultivate normal relations with India.”⁶¹⁵

Maqsudul Nuri explains that China considers Kashmir to be an issue left over by history and the best way to settle it is peaceful negotiations and mutual consultations between the parties to the dispute.⁶¹⁶ Though both Khan and Nuri remain subtle in expressing their resolve in not condemning Chinese neutrality, just expressing it, clearly they describe a major shift in China’s Kashmir policies. Chinese support on the Kashmir issue has been an important factor during the Cold War. It is a realistic analysis, but elites put it in a way which shows their concerns about the viability of the alliance.

Air Chief Marshall Zulfiqar Khan (retd) maintains that due to the rapprochement with India, China has declined to indulge in the Kashmir dispute and getting it resolved in Pakistan’s favour; Islamabad cannot expect China to help on Indo-Pakistan disputes in general, and Kashmir in particular.⁶¹⁷ Lt. General Ghulam Sarwar (retd) maintains that a visible shift in Beijing’s foreign policy is “likely to have a direct bearing on the entire gamut of Pakistan foreign relations” and that Islamabad “will not be able to play China’s card against India in future.”⁶¹⁸ Yet again, while analysing Pakistan’s expectations of

⁶¹⁵ Tanveer Ahmad Khan, "Understanding China is Vital" *The Dawn* 6 July 1999.

⁶¹⁶ Maqsudul Hasan Nuri, "A Futuristic View" *The News* 2000.; Nuri. "Pak-China Entering New Millennium"

⁶¹⁷ Zulfiqar Ali Khan, "China New Emerging Reality" *The Dawn*

⁶¹⁸ Ghulam Sarwar, "Pak-China Ties" *The News* 22 November 2003

China as an ally, officials appear to be worried about the changes in Chinese foreign policy. Clearly there is a sense of apprehension developing among the Pakistani officials that Islamabad is unlikely to get Chinese help on Indo-Pakistan disputes.

Former Institute of Strategic Studies Islamabad (ISSI) head Shirin Mazari offers an excellent account of changing dynamics of South Asia. She envisages that with “new Chinese proactive diplomacy” in South Asia, Beijing is engaging with Pakistan, but increasing its interaction with India, both in economic and politico-diplomatic relations, and that “Pakistan can no longer rely on the historic legacy of its relationship with China, or on the old Sino-Indian antagonisms” and that the historic “lay of the land has altered for Pakistan vis-à-vis China.”⁶¹⁹ Similarly, Ambassador Tayyub Siddiqui (retd) reflects that Beijing “will not permit any contentious issue [Kashmir] to be an obstacle in this [Sino-Indian rapprochement] path.”⁶²⁰ The ultimate test for the reliability of the alliance would be China’s position on Kashmir, and obviously the security elite are doubtful for the future. Given the centrality of Kashmir in Indo-Pakistan rivalry, and the strength of Kashmir in the ethos and psyche of the Pakistani nation⁶²¹, Chinese neutrality would surely increase the Pakistan elites’ anxieties.

However, there are others who take a different position, speculating that improving Sino-Indian relations have not affected Sino-Pak relations, even marginally. For them, the underlying strategic rationale and components of the Pakistan-China entente cordiale have remained strong despite the rapprochement. Unconvincingly, they suggest that China’s support on Kashmir is complete and educate public the Sino-Indian border differences, and suggest that the existence of the Indo-US strategic partnership and the

⁶¹⁹ Shireen Mazari, "China's New Diplomacy" *The News* 13 April 2005

⁶²⁰ Tayyab Siddiqui, "Chinese Diplomacy in South Asia" *The Dawn* 28 November 2006

⁶²¹ "Kashmir is Considered Jugular Vein of Pakistan, President" *Times of India* 23 March 2016

fact that the two nations wish to acquire major power status are limitations likely to seriously hinder their rapprochement to the benefit of the Pakistan-China alliance. They suggest “neither duplicity nor expediency has ever been the trademark of China’s foreign policy...Rise and fall of regime, reshuffling of leadership or shift in policies has had no bearing on the continuing process of mutual trust and cooperation.”⁶²²

Support on Kashmir

In a few of the articles, officials clearly overstate China’s stated position on Kashmir. They believe that China considers “Kashmir a core dispute”⁶²³ and highlight its “disputed nature”⁶²⁴ and does not concede that “Kashmir belongs to India.”⁶²⁵ They believe China wanted a just solution in accordance with the genuine wishes of the people of Kashmir and in light of the UN resolution.⁶²⁶ Retired Ambassador Ghayoor Ahmad maintains “Beijing has always publicly endorsed Pakistan’s position on Kashmir... being a permanent member of the UN Security Council from Asia, China is expected to contribute to facilitating the resolution of the long-standing Kashmir dispute which has the potential of endangering world peace.”⁶²⁷ However, as described, China urges India and Pakistan to resolve the dispute bilaterally which favours the stance of India; Pakistan would prefer third party mediation while India wants bilateral resolution. This would seem to suggest that on Kashmir issue, China supports India.

During the 1999 Kargil crisis, the 2002 terrorist attack on the Indian parliament, and the Mumbai terrorist attacks 2008, India placed pressure on Pakistan and mobilised its troops,

⁶²² Khalid Mahmood, "Sino-Pak Ties: Indian Factor" *The Dawn*, 14 April 2001

⁶²³ Sattar Khan, "A Future Worthy of Past"

⁶²⁴ Ibid.

⁶²⁵ Sardar Lodi, "50 Years of Pak-China Friendship" *The Nation* 28 September 1999.

⁶²⁶ Ibid. ;also see Mushahid Hussain Syed, "New China in 21st Century" *The Dawn* 1 October 1999.; Hassan Askari Rizvi, "China and Kashmir Problem" *The Nation* 2 March (1994) ; Altaf Gauhar, "China an Ally and a Friend Indeed" *The Nation* 20 October 1995; Lt-Gen Syed Refaqt, "Pak-China Relations-a Unique Experience" *The Dawn* 1996

⁶²⁷ Ghayoor Ahmad, "Strengthening Ties with China" *The Dawn* 31 August 2006

but China exhibited utmost neutrality. The luxury of Pakistani elites' evaluation is based on wilful exaggeration, expectations and utmost failure to understand Chinese policies and priorities, however by repeating the message of Chinese support on Kashmir, they are both showing their apprehension and trying to market the alliance domestically.

Sino-Indian border differences

Maqbool Bhatti has produced a series of articles to demonstrate that the undefined Sino-Indian border is favourable to the Sino-Pakistan alliance. He argues "though the Sino-Indian boundary dispute [has been] put on backburner, it is not likely to be resolved without a major shift in India's rigid stance. India's stance on Tibet continues to be ambivalent" and that the Dalai Lama "continues to enjoy Indian sanctuary to destabilise China", while the "Sino-Pakistan friendship has acquired deep roots, and is time-tested...any impression that China has downgraded its relations with Pakistan due to rapprochement is totally unjustified."⁶²⁸

Bhatti, in another article, symbolises that "China's relations with India have not developed in a manner that could threaten the time-tested Sino-Pakistan friendship...The improvement in Sino-Indian relations has enabled cooperation in the economic and cultural fields, the political and strategic relations are not tension-free."⁶²⁹ Likewise, ambassador Afzaal Mahmood (ret'd) considers the undecided border to be a "basic limitation that will continue to affect their bilateral ties and retard any progress in

⁶²⁸ Bhatti. "China's emerging world role" ; He repeats this in Bhatti "An Unlikely Triangle" ; Bhatti, "Growing Friendship with China" ; Bhatti, "Sino-Pakistan Equation"

⁶²⁹ Maqbool Ahmad Bhatti, "No Let-up in the Friendship with China" *The Dawn* 19 December 2005.

rapprochement.”⁶³⁰ These examples show that Pakistani officials are expecting a lot from the Indo-China border differences.

Though the India-China border remains unresolved, experts believe it will continue to haunt their relations⁶³¹, however it does not mean it will work in Pakistan’s favour. The border issue is not a precondition or an impediment in their bilateral cooperation. The Chinese state emphatically that with India they have attained a “new period of comprehensive cooperation.”⁶³² As mentioned before, both nations have established teams and process to determine the boundaries comprised of diplomats, military and senior officials mainly to deal with eventualities, conduct negotiations, endorse their government’s possible solution, and work as a bulwark to avoid flare ups on the border.⁶³³ Essentially, China’s intent is clear, but Pakistani officials sustain the improbable assumption that Beijing’s support is available in the case of a crisis with India. It is clear that while China may disagree with India, it will not do so in support of or for Pakistan, yet again giving a real sense of insecurity about the alliance.

Officials also draw an analogy between Sino-Indian border differences and those of Pakistan and India. Former Foreign Minister Abdul Sattar, for example, claims that India has been as belligerent as it has been towards Pakistan. Sattar maintains that the “Sino-Indian lingering boundary dispute [Tibet and Sikkim] are favourable to the Pakistan-

⁶³⁰ Afzaal Mahmood, "New Thaw in Sino-Indian Ties" *The Dawn* 15 March 1999.; Yet again ambassador Mahmood suggests that the Sino-Pakistan alliance has not been debilitated by Sino-Indian border disputes and that border differences will continue to bedevil their bilateral ties to the benefit of the Pakistan-China alliance. Afzaal Mahmood, "Chill in Sino-Indian Ties"

⁶³¹ Mumin Chen, "Taiwan-India Relations under the Shadow of a Rising China" in *India and China in the Emerging Dynamics of East Asia*, ed. Mumin Chen G. V. C. Naidu, Raviprasad Narayanan(New Delhi Springer 2015).pp.43-59

⁶³² Noor ul Haq, "Ties with China" *The Dawn* 7 April 2005

⁶³³ Lan Jianxue, "Sino-Indian Relations- New Way of Thinking and "Rebalancing" *China International Studies*, 2013.

China alliance... Indo-Pakistan boundary dispute indicates that India does not want to resolve the boundary dispute amicably. India has been belligerent and openly claiming Chinese territory as its own. China cannot afford such an outright threat to her sovereignty.”⁶³⁴ Using terms such as “belligerent” and “not amicable”, (presumably towards both countries) suggests that Pakistan and China have a similar problem with India, and therefore that the alliance will survive to confront India. Former foreign secretary Shamshad Khan remarks that

Pakistan and China’s exemplary relationship, underpinned by commonality of interest, has over the years grown in its dimension and scope. It is not based on expediencies or transient interests [Sino-Indian rapprochement] ... It is a long-term partnership for peace, stability and prosperity at the bilateral, regional and international levels.⁶³⁵

Interestingly, while the security elites describe Sino-Indian differences, they avoid discussing India-China trade relations: India is China’s largest trading partner in South Asia. During his visit to India in 2010, Wen Jiabao spoke highly of India-China relations: “We are friends, not rivals...We will always be friends and will never be rivals. This should be the firm conviction of every Chinese and every Indian.”⁶³⁶ The problem is that Pakistani officials are making wilful exaggerations and setting extreme expectations of China, which actually demonstrates their fear that any rapprochement between India and China might reduce the significance of the Sino-Pakistan alliance.

⁶³⁴ Abdul Sattar. “Pak Holds China in High Esteem”; Also see Ikram Sehgal, "The China Factor" *The News* 30 May 1998.

⁶³⁵ Shamshad Ahmad Khan, "A Special Friend Calling Home" *The Nation*, 25 November 2006

⁶³⁶ Jim Yardley, "In India, Chinese Leader Pushes Trade" *The New York Times* 16 December 2010

Major power aspirations

A few officials see India and China as rivals in the international system, rather than partners. Advocating a classical balance of power strategy, they argue that India and China will compete which is likely to enhance the importance of the Pakistan-China alliance. Ambassador Mahmood argues that China will need Pakistan as “One mountain cannot accommodate two tigers.” India-China will “differ rather than cooperate because both nations aspire a major power status... the Pakistan-China alliance is deep-rooted and time-tested. Sino-Indian Rapprochement is unlikely to weaken the Pakistan-China vigorous alliance.”⁶³⁷ Equally, ex-envoy Bhatti states “Sino-Indian rapprochement is neither a threat nor a reason to worry as India aspires a hegemonic and leading role in world affairs, it will continue to erode Chinese power either by augmenting her defence and seeking help from west to contain rising China.”⁶³⁸

It implies that India and China are bound to face the problems of rivalry and competition that neighbours of their size usually encounter, and that this will create opportunities for Pakistan-China to cooperate. While a degree of competition between them for power and influence is inevitable and understandable, it is not plausible that China will require Pakistan to contain a rising India, or even that their relations will turn for the worse due to competition for major power status. The deep Sino-Indian economic integration actually suggests the opposite to this notion. Zubeida Mustafa considers that the Indo-China commercial ties have reached such a level that there would be a “solid reason” for any major conflict between the two states.⁶³⁹ It is an unrealistic calculation on the part of

⁶³⁷ Afzaal Mahmood, "Strains in Sino-Indian Ties" *The Dawn* 15 April (2000) ; also Afzaal Mahmood maintains that “the root cause of India-China rivalry is that India wants to be treated as a major power while China considers it a regional power.” Mahmood, "Chill in Sino-Indian Ties".

⁶³⁸ Bhatti, "The China Factor".; Also see Bhatti, "Sino-Pakistan Equation".

⁶³⁹ Zubeida Mustafa, "How Effective is the China Card" *The Dawn* 12 November 2003.

the security elites to view potential confrontation and rivalry in Sino-Indian relations as a benefit of Pakistan. Ambassador Bhatti further suggests;

India considers herself heir to the British Raj in South Asia and the Indian Ocean. This runs counter to China principle stance to hegemony of any kind, whether regional or global. China will not certainly accept any limitation to its power. It will refuse to accept Indian hegemony and continue to cooperate the time-tested and deep rooted friendship with Pakistan.⁶⁴⁰

The Pakistani elite are optimistic and expecting much from the Sino-Indian rivalry. Contrary to Pakistani official's views and wishes, India and China have plenty of reason to cooperate. They conduct joint military exercises to meet the probable threat of terrorism. Their cooperation both at regional and international fora suggests that they want to work together.⁶⁴¹ Apart from bilateral interactions, both are influential members of Brazil, Russia, India and China (BRICS), Group of 77 (G-77), and Non-Aligned Movement (NAM). Pakistan's expectations of China as a friend and ally should take these factors into consideration. India may appear a more viable and better option for international cooperation for China than Pakistan.

Pakistani officials may continue to harbour a feeling of utmost cordiality towards China, but we can see that the feeling might not be reciprocated. Jing-Dong Yuan suggests that Chinese journals discuss Sino-Indian relations, but on very little appears on the Pakistan-China relationship.⁶⁴² While the Pakistani leadership may assume that Islamabad's unique relationship with Beijing will remain constant and unwavering, these expectations are evidence of their failure to recognise the transformation that have taken place in China's foreign policy. Like any major power, China's foreign policy is dictated by its

⁶⁴⁰ Bhatti. "China's Emerging World Role"; Bhatti, "Growing Friendship with China".

⁶⁴¹ Mu Chunshan, "China's Choice: India or Pakistan" *The Diplomat* 2014.

⁶⁴² "Storm Clouds Ahead for the "All-Weather Allies"? Today's Pakistan-China Relationship", Woodrow Wilson Center available at <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=ZgJCWvXpzew> [accessed 19 January 2015].

national interest. If they can change their policy on Kashmir to please India, they may cease military support too.

Today, China is more engaged internationally than at any other time in their history. The age old clichés such as higher than the Himalayas, sweeter than honey or as deep as oceans are beginning to sound ritualistic, relations between two have to be structured around more substantial issues. This is not to suggest that the Chinese have totally abandoned Pakistan, but for ties between two states to be meaningful, the bonds must be stronger.

Indo-US strategic partnership

There has been a remarkable transformation in India-American economic, military and defence relations, or “strategic partnership”, particularly since the 2005 Indo-US nuclear deal. Kevin Knodell notes that it is a slow process but “historic changes” in are happening Indo-US relations.⁶⁴³ Chinese observer Liu Zhun maintains

The transformation of the geopolitical landscape is the major driver drawing the US and India much closer. Washington’s rebalance to the Asia-Pacific makes the US realize India's strategic significance, economic potential and ideological commonality. India hopes that by consolidating its relationship with the US, it could gain leverage in the development and forge an international status that is worthy of its potential.⁶⁴⁴

Pakistan has publicly responded to the growing Indo-American agreement, but Beijing has not, though it may not want an Indo-US alliance to flourish to its detriment. Pakistani security élites envisage an evolving Indo-US partnership, and are watching to see if this

⁶⁴³Kevin Knodell, "China's Worst Nightmare: Is a U.S.- India Military Alliance Brewing?" *The National Interest*, 20 May 2016.

⁶⁴⁴ Liu Zhun, "India’s Vision Cannot Be Realized by Containing China" *Global Times*, 8 June 2016

will affect the Sino-Indian rapprochement and/or the Pakistan-China alliance. They describe it in different ways. Some draw an analogy between past and present development in the Sino-Pakistan alliance, others believe that the strategic alliance presents a common security challenge for both countries, still others recommended expanded and revamped dealings with China.

Analogy is a process in which information such as events or situations are linked or made to appear connected to some other events or situations that are occurring or have occurred in the past.⁶⁴⁵ Rashid Khan and Shamshad Khan draw an analogy between the 1960s, when the India-Russia nexus materialised encouraging Pakistan and China's close links, and now, when the India-US partnership is bringing Pakistan-China closer again.⁶⁴⁶ The 1960s was really challenging for Pakistan's security: the alliance with the US collapsed and Islamabad was in a weaker position than now, so comparing the twenty first century with that era will only enhance the necessity of the alliance in the eyes of the public.

Nevertheless, China has refrained from expressing its concerns publicly. Although it keenly watches the swiftness and scale at which US-India relations are progressing⁶⁴⁷, it has chosen to reduce India's temptation to play the China card by increasing the economic ties with India. This approach is totally different from that of the 1960s when Beijing branded Indian discussions with Russia as offensive and threatening. Traditionally, India has acted pragmatically. During the Cold War, it joined neither the Soviet Union camp nor the American, but effectively obtained economic and military profits from both sides.

⁶⁴⁵ Earnest May, *Lesson of the Past* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1973).; Earnest May and Richard Neustadt, *Thinking in Time* (New York: Free Press, 1986).

⁶⁴⁶ Rashid Khan, "Pak-China Relations" .;Shamshad Khan."A Special Friend Calling Home"

⁶⁴⁷ China Worried over Us-India Military Cooperation, ed. S Rajan, in the Chennai Centre for China Studies, <http://www.rediff.com/news/column/china-worried-over-us-india-military-cooperation/20090924.htm> [accessed 25 May 2015].

China has the option to confront India or normalise relations with it, and it has chosen the latter option, as confrontation may only push India towards the US.

Others figures suggest that an Indo-American strategic alliance will increase Pakistan-China cooperation. Ambassador Bhatti states

A close look on Indo-US and Sino-US relations reveals that China is seen as an adversary...the Indo-US strategic alliance, with containment of China as its major objective, rules out any chance of Sino-Indian relations overtaking the all-weather friendship between China and Pakistan.⁶⁴⁸

While Rashid Malik states that the Indo-US nuclear deal is likely to broaden the parameters of the Pakistan and China friendship.⁶⁴⁹ Brigadier Farooq Khan (retd) considers “In the face of any new Indo-US maneuverings in South Asia, a strong Sino-Pak strategic partnership, however, remains the best bet for peace in the region.”⁶⁵⁰ General Matinuddin represents that “Bush’s agreement to provide India technology for civilian uses of nuclear energy... would need to be studied carefully, both in Islamabad and Beijing.”⁶⁵¹ Others appear confident that the history of Sino-Pakistan collaboration suggests that common security challenges (such as the Indo-US strategic partnership) have been endured by two countries.⁶⁵²

Still others promote constructing closer ties with China stand as a pertinent choice for Pakistan. Retired ambassador Javid Hussain states “India is, and is likely to remain so for

⁶⁴⁸ Bhatti, "No Let-up in the Friendship with China".

⁶⁴⁹ Ahmad Rashid Malik, "Sino-Pak Ties" *The Nation*, 22 October 2008

⁶⁵⁰ Farooq Hameed Khan. "Towards an everlasting partnership"

⁶⁵¹ Matinuddin, "President Musharraf Visit to China".

⁶⁵² Ghayoor Ahmed, "Significance of Hu's Visit" *The Dawn* 23 November 2005

a long time, the centrepiece of the US policy towards South Asia”, therefore, broadening relations with China should be a “linchpin” of Islamabad’s strategy.⁶⁵³ Former Foreign Minister Agha Shahi seeks a similar solution by stating that there is a serious limitation in Pakistan-US relations due to emerging Indo-US relations: “Pakistan’s comprehensive, long term and stable friendly ties with China have been a factor of stability in an otherwise volatile region. Strengthening these historic ties is the need of the hour.”⁶⁵⁴ Tariq Fatemi warns that the US is containing China’s rise with India’s help, and that Pakistan needs to value China’s friendship. Fatemi asserts:

As China rises to a colossus on the world stage, the US would like to see a stronger India that can keep the Chinese off balance... we must refrain from any action that could even remotely hurt our relations with China, time and events have proven the value and worth of our tie to Beijing.⁶⁵⁵

Politically, Indo-US nuclear cooperation should have encouraged China to sign a similar deal with Pakistan. Despite Islamabad having been actively taking up this issue, and its increasing urgency in the wake of the Indo-US deal, no confirmation has been made by the Chinese. Pakistan wanted more, but China remained silent. China took a much more reserved tone, not committing to anything or denying it.

Even if China did sign a nuclear deal with Pakistan, it would have to navigate its Nuclear Supplier Group (NSG) requirements. China is a full member of NSG, and according to its rules if a member signs nuclear agreement with a third country, it will firstly seek permission from it. It remains to be seen how far it will go with Pakistan. But noticing

⁶⁵³ Javid Hussain, "Pakistan after Bush’s Visit," *The Dawn* 11 March 2006 ; Also see Javid Hussain, "State of Relations with the Us" *The Dawn* 6 August 2005

⁶⁵⁴ Agha Shahi, "Indo-Us Strategic Pact," *The Dawn* 28 July 2005

⁶⁵⁵ Tariq Fatemi, "India’s Achievement in 2005," *The Dawn* 29 December 2005

the impact of the Indo-US deal, China may stand up for Pakistan. Pakistan will continue to make demands, it has soaring electricity deficiency to a larger extent, but it has become a political issue too. India has shown objections. In public, China may support Pakistan's needs, and more abstractly condemn the idea of exceptionalism being the principle of nuclear cooperation. The International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA) gave a nuclear deal to India, not Pakistan. Indeed a discussion about nuclear cooperation will legitimise the alliance, as nuclear program in Pakistan is considered to be a sacred weapon to be protected at all cost.⁶⁵⁶

Significant events and public propaganda

This theme examines the dynamics of one of the most frequent occurrences of public propaganda in Pakistan: the visits of Chinese leaders to celebrate diplomatic anniversaries. Three events are vital: in 2001 Chinese Prime Minister Zhu Rongji visited Pakistan to celebrate 50 years of diplomatic relations; in 2006 Chinese president Hu Jintao visited Islamabad to mark the 55th anniversary of political relations, and finally, in 2010, Chinese premier Wen Jiabao undertook a visit to Islamabad to mark 60 years of relations. These visits allowed Pakistani officials to project their wishes, and extol the virtues of the alliance with China openly. Pakistani officials exploit Chinese dignitary visits for alliance agenda setting.

⁶⁵⁶ "Guarding Nuclear Weapons: N-Security a Sacred Job, Says Army Chief " *The Express Tribune* 14 November 2015.

Events during Chinese officials' visits

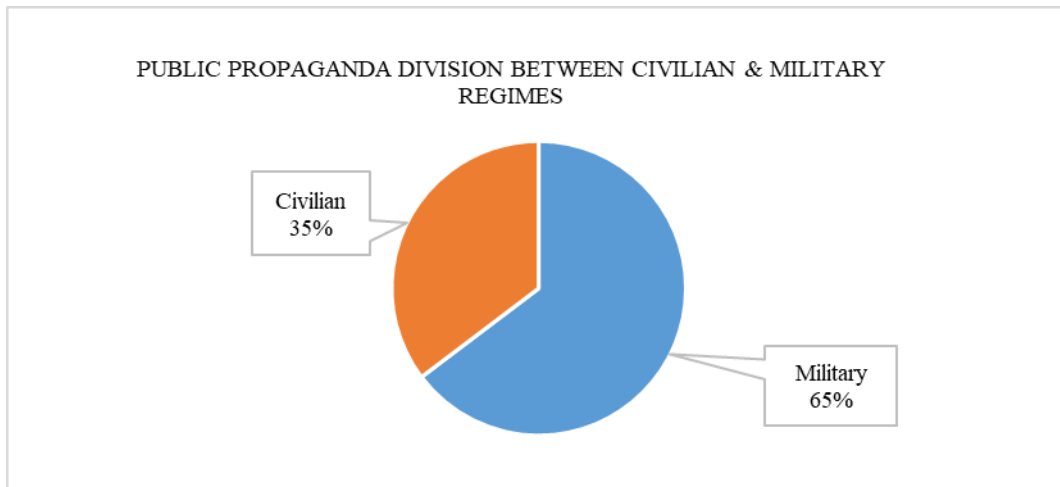


Figure 5.9 Public propaganda theme division between civilian and military regimes

Pakistan's security elites used diplomatic anniversaries for political gains. Travel to Pakistan by a Chinese notable became a focal point of media and public attention. The established pattern suggests that on the day of a Chinese delegates' visit to Islamabad almost the entire leadership (both military and civilian) rushed to the airport to receive them, a unique situation.

It makes a unique situation above all because no such treatment is granted to delegates from other countries such as Turkey, Iran and Afghanistan. For example, in February 2015, the Turkish president visited Pakistan, although the portraits were put on the roads, the reception was much less fanfare than the reception reserved for the Chinese delegates.⁶⁵⁷ Thus, by comparison, the Chinese delegates receive a wider welcome than other friendly states of Pakistan.

⁶⁵⁷ There were no people on the street welcoming the Turkish delegates, there were no huge portraits throughout the city of Islamabad except a few. See Mateen Haider, 'Pakistan and Turkey Share a 'Joint Destiny': PM Nawaz', *The Dawn* 17 February 2015.

Propaganda during these visits became a massive event, with the public engaged with several tactics and events. Huge billboards and posters are displayed on major roads and roundabouts imprinted with catchy slogans such as “Long live Pakistan-China friendship”, “Together we built a community of shared identity”, “Our hearts beat in unison”, and “Pakistan-China friendship is all-weather and time-tested.” While visiting delegates made their way to summits, school children and members of the public are lined up to welcome them chanting slogans and throwing rose petals on the convoy.



Figure 5.10: “Long live Pak-China Friendship” slogan on show in Islamabad.

Source: The Dawn

The government controlled Pakistan Television (PTV) runs a friendship program to “bring people of the two countries closer to each other”, and celebrates the anniversaries by producing “documentaries on latest developments in both the countries” to promote

friendship and to get along the message of the alliance.⁶⁵⁸ In addition, it also runs daily friendship songs with lyrics like “Pak-Cheen dosti wang woye, wang woye, wang woye, wang woye, Pak-Cheen dosti zindabad, zindabad, zindabad” (Pak-China friendship long live).⁶⁵⁹



Figure 5.11: “Together we build a community of shared destiny” displayed Islamabad

Source: The Dawn

The alliance is also cultivated in other unique ways. The (state-run) Post Office issues commemorative stamps to mark the relationship, for instance, to celebrate the 60th anniversary, it issued a commemorative stamp showing both nation flags, public and leaders (Figure 5.12 and Figure 5.13), while the state Bank of Pakistan circulated special coins nationwide.

⁶⁵⁸ "Pakistan, China Enjoy Excellent Brotherly Ties: Pakistani Minister" *XINHUA*, 12 September 2006

⁶⁵⁹ Nadeem F. Paracha, "Pak-China Friendship: A Deep Revie" *The Dawn* 23 June 2011.



Figure 5.12: Postal stamp celebrating Pak-China friendship. Source: Pakistan



Figure 5.13: Commemorative coin marking Pakistan-China friendship Year 2011. Source: State Bank of Pakistan

The visiting dignitaries visit schools, where the children are encouraged to perform tableaux or skits representing the two states' culture and cooperation, with proceedings

conducted in both Urdu and Chinese languages.⁶⁶⁰ The audience, chiefly made up of school children, are encouraged to take part joyfully, waving flags from both countries, even if they do not understand what is going on. This can be termed as a soft approach this is the most far reaching and interactive strategy to cultivate alliance domestically.

These diplomatic events often feature leading Pakistani singers and poets to tell the story of the alliance creatively and emotionally, for example at one event, the Pakistani singer, Jawed Ahmad sang to leaders from the two countries about the alliance, in both Chinese and Urdu:

O my friend, this friendship should last forever, I say under oath, we will never separate from each other. O my companion, you become strong and our friendship should last forever.⁶⁶¹

This is an innovative form of propaganda, as the public is likely to listen to these popular and widely followed musicians and poets.



Figure 5.14: School girls taking part to celebrate China's national day 2011.
Source: Nihao-Salam

⁶⁶⁰ PTV Home, *Pak-China Friendship* (2010).

⁶⁶¹ *ibid.*

Indeed, visits and celebrations are defining moments in conducting propaganda. While the textbooks teach the alliance theoretically, the decision makers attempt to influence student's opinions by establishing China-related events in cultural institutions, as part of their broader propaganda strategies to provide them real exposure to the alliance. Events known as Peace walks are organised by officials to motivate and equip the children with the values and behaviours to effectively participate in the sustenance of the alliance.

Figure 5.14 shows school children walking on Islamabad's streets to take part in "Friends of China Peace and Harmony Walk", which was arranged by the Pakistani Directorate of Education with the aim of paying tribute to the "long lasting Pakistan-China alliance."⁶⁶² The flag-waving children were chanting slogans such as "Long live Pak-China friends", "Our faith, the Loving China", and "We are proud of Pak-China friendship."⁶⁶³ The children may not truly understand the meaning of the slogans, but they are likely to resonate in their entire life. The former ambassador to China, Akram Zaki, leading the walk, told the children: "youth is the hope of our nation", advocating "Pakistani youngsters should be enlightened about the long journey of Pak-China friendship that is spread over six decades."⁶⁶⁴

The government also celebrates "Chinese Youth Day" events to "better understand the Pak-China relationship and promote friendship among the Pak-Chinese youth." A 2008 event was held in National University of Modern languages (NUML) Islamabad, once again attended by students. The federal secretary for youth affairs Ishfaq Mehmood, speaking on the occasion, said: "There is brotherhood in our genes [Pakistan-China] and we cannot be separated...but we have one world and one dream."⁶⁶⁵ Students are given

⁶⁶² Nihao-Salam, 2011 "China's National Day Celebrated in Pakistan" *Public Diplomacy* Pak-China Institute <http://www.nihao-salam.com/news-detail.php?id=NDM4> [accessed on 29 June, 2015]

⁶⁶³ *ibid.*

⁶⁶⁴ *ibid.*

⁶⁶⁵ "Chinese Youth Day Celebrated at NUML with Fervour," (Embassy of PRC in Pakistan 2008).

the opportunity to visit China on summer camp programmes to learn more about Chinese culture.⁶⁶⁶ Richard Lebow suggests that events that involve personal experience can be a powerful determinant of image formation.⁶⁶⁷



Figure 5.15: President Xi Jinping waves to school children upon his arrival in 2015
Source: The Dawn



Figure 5.16: A road named after the Chinese Premier in Islamabad
Source: The Dawn

⁶⁶⁶ Obaid Abbasi, "Pakistan-China Friendship: Summer Camps Aim to Cement Diplomatic Ties" *The Express Tribune* June (2011)

⁶⁶⁷ Richard Lebow, *Between Peace and War* (Baltimore: The John Hopkins University, 1981).pp104-05

Another way of exposing society to the alliance and its importance is the naming of roads and roundabouts after China and Chinese leaders. One of Islamabad's busiest road is named after former Chinese leader Zhou-En-lai. In the major cities of Lahore and Sialkot, roundabouts are named "China Chowk" (China Roundabout). This strategy shows the people of Pakistan that China is close to Islamabad. The euphoria and celebration very clearly shows the efforts to market the alliance but also reveals their fears about society. The socialisation of the society through the use of grand symbols and gestures is a significant way to create positive images of allies; Holsti shows that images, once formed, are hard to change.⁶⁶⁸

As described, the elite attempt to engage the people of Pakistan and market the alliance through some unusual methods of propaganda. The objective now is to cast light on the communication aspects of three visits- the way visits are represented, and their success and achievement presented, even exaggerated.

50th anniversary of diplomatic relations and Zhu Rongji's Visit

Economic and trade relations have been the weaker link in the Sino-Pakistan alliance due to the overemphasis on security ties. Cheema states "While the Sino-Pak relations have often been classified as all-weather and time-tested relationships, one cannot help but noticing the not-so-impressive trading interactions."⁶⁶⁹ When Zhu Rongji visited Islamabad to celebrate the 50th anniversary of diplomatic ties, the two countries signed seven agreements, including Chinese investment to develop the Gwadar deep sea port.⁶⁷⁰ China also agreed to improve the railway system and finance and develop Thar coal

⁶⁶⁸ Ole R. Holsti, "The Belief System and National Images: A Case Study" *Conflict Resolution* 6, No. 3 (September, 1962). pp.246-247

⁶⁶⁹ P.I.Cheema, "Further Strengthening of Ties with China"

⁶⁷⁰ "Six Accords, One Mou Signed with China," *The Dawn*, 11 May 2001

projects. Pakistani officials' writings before and after Zhu Rongji's visit reflected these developments, acknowledged the irregular pattern in economic links but correctly suggested the need to inject economic elements into the relationship.

Khalid Mahmud illustrates how Sino-Pakistan economic relations had been 'lopsided' which needed to be "improved and reinvigorated." Mahmud argued Zhu Rongji's visit was a step in the "right direction" which will "deepen economic ties" between two states.⁶⁷¹ The discussion that economic relations have been a weak link in the relationship, and it is being prioritised implies that the importance of such ties had been recognised, which is likely to create a positive image of the alliance. Not all authors were impressed with the history of economic relations, they stress the importance of fulfilling agreements to increase economic relations. They warned against the over-excitement emerging from visit and suggested that pragmatic content is required in the relationship.⁶⁷²

Maqbool Bhatti maintains that the multiple agreements signed between the two countries indicated that they were moving in the right direction to produce "crucial economic cooperation" to make it "truly a strategic alliance." For Bhatti, Zhu Rongji's visit appeared to be a "new beginning in the right direction" and predicted it will "go long way to transform economic relation" between them.⁶⁷³ Bhatti's choice of words – "crucial", "beginning", "strategic alliances", "transformation of alliances", and "new heights" - are calm but encourage thought about the utility of the alliance.

However, it was the agreement on the construction of Gwadar which made up much of the officials' propaganda. Ambassador Bhatti suggests that the Gwadar port development

⁶⁷¹ Khalid Mahmud, "Sino-Pakistan Relations: An 'All-Weather' Friendship," *The Nation*, 15 May 2001.

⁶⁷² Irfan Husain, "The Winds of Change" *The Dawn* 12 May 2001

⁶⁷³ Maqbool Ahmed Bhatti, "New Phase in Pak-China Relations," *The Dawn* 25 May 2001.

will transform Pakistan's economy, and will usher in a new era of economic prosperity and regional connectivity.⁶⁷⁴ In another article, Ambassador Bhatti maintains that

The celebration of the 50th anniversary of diplomatic relations in 2001 was memorable on account of the fillip received by economic and technical cooperation with China. Premier Zhu Rongji announced credits exceeding \$1 billion for such mega projects as the construction of the Gwadar Port, the installation of coal-fired power stations in Sindh, and the modernization of the railways.⁶⁷⁵

Retired ambassador Sultan Khan also reports that Zhu Rongji's visit will help Pakistan's economy in a big way.⁶⁷⁶ In reality, Gwadar has great potential in terms of strategic and economic benefits to Pakistan. It can potentially transform Pakistan into an economic hub, but its full potential is yet to be realised. These arguments appear modest, but the effort to establish and promote China's image cannot be hidden.

55th anniversary of diplomatic relations and Hu Jintao visit

When Chinese President Hu Jintao visited Pakistan to celebrate 55th anniversary of the diplomatic relationship, Pakistan displayed a lavish welcome. A red carpet received him while "A 21-gun salute boomed as the Chinese president alighted from the special Air China 747-400 plane. President Hu was presented bouquets by two children attired in national dress."⁶⁷⁷ In an unprecedented move, General Musharraf conferred the highest civilian award upon Hu Jintao in recognition of his "outstanding services" to the cause of the Pakistan-China alliance, in a lavish ceremony held at the convention in the centre of

⁶⁷⁴ Ibid.; Ambassador Bhatti repeated his argument in Bhatti, "Stable Ties with China" and yet again repeated in Maqbool Ahmad Bhatti, "A Model Friendship," *The Nation* 6 April 2005 ; Maqbool Ahmad Bhatti, "New Era of Partnership," *The Dawn*, 1 January 2005.

⁶⁷⁵ Bhatti, "Stable Ties with China."; For similar discussion see Bhatti, "A Model Friendship."

⁶⁷⁶ Sultan Ahmed, "Chinese Investment Package" *The Dawn* 3 April 2003

⁶⁷⁷ Editorial Red Carpet Rolled out, *The News*, 24 November 2006

Islamabad. President Hu was also asked to appear on radio and TV to assure Pakistan of China's assistance.



Figure 5.17: Girls Holding Sino-Pak flags while greeting President Hu in 2006.
Source: China Daily.

The enthusiasm to enhance trade relations continued, as during President Hu's visit eighteen agreements, and thirteen memoranda of understanding (MoU), including the FTA, were launched. The FTA looked to be the biggest breakthrough for officials to promote the alliance. They exaggerated its potential and predicted good years for the national economy.

To the reader, the Pakistani officials' writings appear unquestionable: Pakistan-China economic relations will no longer be a low priority and it will achieve new heights. Sultan Ahmad maintains that Hu's visit was 'historic and will open up new avenue of cooperation' between the two nations. He claims that the historic FTA will enlarge Pakistani "exports to China in a big way and may solve some of the export problems of Pakistan" as Pakistan will enable to send "a great many Pakistani goods" in the coming

five years.⁶⁷⁸ The Ambassador Ahmad's argument implies a durable, great and accomplished alliance. Plainly, he believes that the FTA will "open new avenues", to resolve Pakistan's export problems. Nothing else can promote and validate an alliance as well as the argument that Pakistan economy will progress.

Tariq Fatemi emphasises that "Islamabad had high hopes from the Hu visit therefore these hopes have been met to a large extent as many agreements have been signed and understandings have been reached", for Fatemi the FTA appeared to a landmark deal to "boost bilateral trade from \$4.2 billion....to \$15 billion within the next five years."⁶⁷⁹ Fatemi's expressions "high hopes" and "satisfaction" are crucial words. It infers Pakistani expectations have been met, and Pakistan's needs have been fulfilled; essentially, it presents the visit as being perfect.

Former foreign secretary Shamshad Khan's introductory remarks are seeking reader's attention, while the argument about the achievement of the visits present the propaganda message comprehensively:

In our oriental culture, one always feels happy when a friend comes calling but when the visiting guest is a special friend, the feeling of happiness also sets aglow a special sense of pride and buoyance.

Having introduced the visit, secretary Khan explains the visit's outcome to generate a positive response about the alliance:

⁶⁷⁸ Sultan Ahmed, "Economic Cooperation with China" *The Dawn* 30 November 2006

⁶⁷⁹ Tariq Fatemi, "In the Wake of Hu Visit," *The Dawn* 2 December 2006 ; Fatemi also that "our bilateral trade is expected to be tripled in the next five years to the tune of \$15 billion and with the FTA in place", Tariq Fatemi, "Deepening Ties with China" *The Dawn* 25 November 2007

Nearly thirty 30 ground-breaking agreements and MoUs are expected to be signed during this visit. These notably include a free trade agreement, five-year development program on trade and economic cooperation, an agreement on economic and technical cooperation, [and] establishment of a joint investment company.⁶⁸⁰

The language used by the security elites is rigid, noticeable and contented. The officials' propaganda presents facts, albeit with excessive positivity and ignoring challenges which accompanied FTA. For example, the FTA was signed and a target of \$15 billion over the next five years was set, but this was unrealistic. Despite the initial (over-inflated) statement, trade had barely touched \$7 billion by the end of 2010.

Pakistan could not send as many goods as they had promised, and Pakistan's economy could not match China's. In reality, China sent more goods to Pakistan than vice versa. The FTA appeared to be of great benefit to the Chinese economy as Chinese goods – including electrical goods, shoes and toys - flooded the Pakistani market, wiping out small Pakistani industries in the process⁶⁸¹ Even Pakistan's prime textile industry came under stress due to Chinese competition. Deplorably, the trade imbalance remained heavily in Beijing's favour too: in 2010 it had a gigantic \$3.256 billion trade surplus with Islamabad.⁶⁸² In essence, the FTA provided China a new market to send goods without the barrier of tariffs, which seems to be a great deal for China not Pakistan. Trade liberalisation and facilitation are generally good for achieving economic globalisation, and ratification of FTA should have lessened costs to local industries and improved their

⁶⁸⁰ Shamshad Khan. "A Special Friend Calling Home" ; Khan repeated argument in Shamshad Khan, "Let Not Embarrassed a Friend," *The Nation* 18 October 2008

⁶⁸¹ Afshan Subohi, "New Trajectory for Economic Cooperation" *The Dawn*, 13 December 2010.

⁶⁸² Mubarak Zeb Khan, "Trade Disparity to Be Taken up with Wen" *The Dawn*, 17 December 2010.

production and innovation, but the Pakistani economy remained stuck with slow growth rate. In addition, due to the Chinese quarantine policy, Pakistan could not send many goods to China.⁶⁸³

The effect of the FTA agreement was misunderstood or miscalculated. India, whose economy was stronger than that of Pakistan and had a keen desire to increase economic relations with Beijing, significantly had not signed a FTA with China, fearing trade imbalance and free flow of cheap Chinese goods,⁶⁸⁴ but Pakistan had agreed to sign without realising the harmful impact it would have. Moreover, Pakistan has not signed a FTA with India for similar reason, fearing that Indian goods will overwhelm the local economy. When Pakistan and China agreed to enhance bilateral trade, no efforts were made to introduce banking services to support trade operations. The business community has also criticised goods agreed under the FTA.

Wen Jiabao's visit to Islamabad to mark the 60th anniversary

In December 2010, when Chinese Premier Wen Jiabao's aircraft entered Pakistani airspace to kick start the 60th anniversary celebrations, jointly developed JF-17 fighter jets escorted his plane, a very vivid visual example of propaganda in the air.

Premier Yousuf Gillani told Wen Jiabao "We have unprecedented relations with China. The whole nation is proud of the Pakistan-China friendship."⁶⁸⁵ A nineteen-gun salute roared to welcome Wen, and, for the first time, a Chinese premier addressed a joint sitting of parliament.

⁶⁸³ "Pakistan-China FTA" *The News*, 26 November 2006.

⁶⁸⁴ Sushant Sareen, "The Dragon's Balancing Act," *The News*, 3 December 2006.

⁶⁸⁵ "China, Pakistan Sign \$20bn Deals: Minister," *The Dawn*, 17 December (2010)

Officials writing at the time specifically highlighted 35 agreements and 8 MoUs signed during Wen’s visit. Pakistani officials claimed that these agreements would lead to 30-



Figure 5.18: Propaganda in the air: Chinese Premier Plane escorted by JF-17 fighter jets
Source: Pakistan’s embassy in China

36 billion dollars of Chinese investment in Pakistan, while agreeing to increase bilateral trade to \$15 billion in the next five years.

Ambassador Maleeha Lodhi refers to agreements “worth an estimated \$30 billion were signed during the visit...Current bilateral trade remains modest at \$7 billion but is expected to more than double in five years [\$14billion].”⁶⁸⁶ Similarly, Farooq Khan underlines that “PM Jiabao’s visit has opened opportunities worth around \$35 billion in a five-year economic development programme.”⁶⁸⁷ These words aim to instil and build optimism among the public, that these vast investments would solidify Pakistan’s economy. While these figures seemed very welcome, there were discrepancies: some

⁶⁸⁶Maleeha Lodhi, "Cementing a Strategic Partnership" *The News* 28 December 2010 ; Mehmood-Ul-Hassan Khan, "Pak-China Friendship: New Economic and Strategic Dimensions" *The News* 27 December 2010

⁶⁸⁷ Farooq Hameed Khan, “Towards an Everlasting Partnership”

mentioned \$30 billion of Chinese investment, but others believed to be \$35 billion. The gap in their estimates and figure shows an element of confusion among the officials.

Other officials argued that the massive trade assurances demonstrate how much the Chinese cared about Pakistan. Legislator Karamatullah Ghorī epitomises

... That Wen was generous to a fault in promising economic assistance running into billions of dollars, in addition to the private sector men in his entourage sewing up deals running into tens of billions of dollars- is a measure of deep concern our Chinese friends feel in their hearts about Pakistan being in the doldrums and saddled with a moribund economy.⁶⁸⁸

This passionate description is outlining the Chinese contribution in Pakistan, and his choices of phrase are a certain expression that the Chinese have an unrestricted, generous obligation to build Pakistan economic stability. However, in reality, when the Chinese premier's visit took place, Pakistan's economy was stagnant. Islamabad had sought a bailout package from the IMF (International Monetary Fund) as its all-weather friend (China) had rejected a previous request for financial assistance in the economic crisis. If China really was Pakistan's friend and ally, why was Islamabad forced to seek IMF assistance?

The public declaration of these billion dollar agreements was likely to make the population believe that a great success has been achieved. However, half of the \$36 billion deals was to be made up of a doubling of bilateral trade (from the existing \$7 billion to an anticipated \$15 billion). A similar target had been set during President Hu's

⁶⁸⁸ Karamatullah K. Ghorī, "Will We Come up to Chinese Expectations" *The Dawn* 26 December 2010 ; Alauddin Masood, "Sino-Pak Strategic Dialogue to Boost Economic Cooperation" *The News*, 20 December 2010

visit which had not been achieved and was therefore agreed again. This time, the target really was ambitious and far from achievable due to security concerns in Pakistan and power blackouts closing down industries, affecting industrial growth.⁶⁸⁹ Yet again, it was unlikely that Pakistan would be able to increase trade in its favour, the reverse was highly possible.

Another element which Pakistani officials used to promote the alliance was the promise of Chinese financial assistance for the construction of the multipurpose Bhasha-Diamer dam.⁶⁹⁰ However, finances promised in 2010 are yet to be seen. It is not appropriate to suggest that Pakistan should be entirely dependent on Chinese largesse, rather that Pakistan should cultivate domestic capital to undertake such development, however it would have been a very welcome development if China had fulfilled its pledges.

Much of the promised \$36 billion investment was detailed in memoranda of understating (MoUs). The MoUs have a notorious history in Pakistan: hundreds have been agreed with China over the years but very few have been implemented. Famous TV analyst Najam Sethi believes that “Pakistan is a graveyard of MOUs.”⁶⁹¹ Essentially, the MoUs were expectations for the future. They agreed that if the situation remains conducive on the ground, mainly in the security sector, China will invest in Pakistan. Companies or the government do business keeping in mind both the profit and peaceful environment, however Pakistan was fighting a war against terrorism and the Chinese had also come under terrorist attacks. In such a tense environment, it was unrealistic to expect

⁶⁸⁹ Zafar Hilaly, "False Hopes About the Chinese Visit," *The News*, 29 December 2010.; Shahzad Irfan Ahmed, "Dumping Ground," *The News*, 2 January 2011.

⁶⁹⁰ Mehmood-Ul-Hassan Khan, "Pak-China Friendship"; Alauddin Masood, "Sino-Pak Strategic Dialogue"

⁶⁹¹ Najam Sethi, "Truth of Pakistan China Relationship" in Aapis Ki Baat interview by Muneeb Farooq (YouTube, 2010), <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=45stjfBBCyw> [accessed 21 May 2015]

investments worth billions of dollars to be made.⁶⁹² In addition, it was not clear from any evidence or commitments how long any investment to reach Pakistan's economy, and even if it were realised, whether it would be in the form of money or hard investment.

Furthermore, it is to point out that Premier Wen Jiabao had not come directly to Pakistan but firstly he visited India with an entourage of 400 businessmen where the two countries had agreed to increase their bilateral trade from \$60 billion to \$100 billion by the end of 2015. The news of the Sino-Indian trade agreements perplexed Pakistani leadership and they requested that China take all 400 men to Pakistan too, "otherwise the people of Pakistan will not spare us."⁶⁹³ To the dismay of Islamabad officials, Wen came to Pakistan with only half of the group (the other 200 went back to China), but once he was in Islamabad, the security elites started the biggest propaganda campaign with the inflated investment claims.⁶⁹⁴

Critics suggest the businessmen were "rushed to Islamabad" and forced into agreements with China, and that they did not even know what these MoUs were about. At the end of the visit, the Government presented all the agreements together to demonstrate that great things had taken place during Wen Jiabao's trip.⁶⁹⁵ Sethi maintained that to complete these agreements worth \$36 billion, the government called upon those private businessmen, who have already established links with China's private sector, to participate in the ceremony and sign MoUs with Chinese delegates.⁶⁹⁶

So just how much did the Chinese premier promise during the visit? There are two announcements worth mentioning. Firstly, he announced very little actual money: he promised \$10 million for the flood victims, significantly less than \$300 million assistance

⁶⁹² *ibid*

⁶⁹³ *ibid.*

⁶⁹⁴ Zafar Hilaly, "False Hopes"

⁶⁹⁵ *Ibid.*

⁶⁹⁶ Najam Sethi, "Truth of Pakistan China Relationship"

for the flood victims given by “unreliable” America. Secondly, Wen announced a “soft” loan of \$400 million, when in reality this was a regular annual occurrence but given a much grander announcement and the suggestion of new money. Although the offer of assistance cannot be a substitute for nations’ own efforts to bring about economic progress and prosperity, this was much less than Pakistan needs. Even the announced \$400 million was not being used at Pakistan’s own free will, the Chinese have specified the project. The Chinese earmarked this \$400 million for the widening of the KKH linking Pakistan and China through the land.

Though there was no binding agreement that the government would allocate KKH construction to a Chinese company, given its strategic significance, it was almost a given that Chinese companies and labour would work on it.⁶⁹⁷ So in a way the money which China gave to Pakistan as a soft loan was only spent on Chinese labour and companies. Though the KKH would benefit Pakistan in the long run, all the announced investment was taken back by China and Pakistan’s debt increased. It implies that the Chinese made investment only in those areas which benefit them. Superficially, Pakistan felt happy that that the Chinese are supportive friends, the money ultimately went back to China and Pakistan remains indebted to China.

There is a huge Chinese investment in Pakistan. Specifically, the China-Pakistan Economic Corridor (CPEC) worth \$62 billion opens new avenues of cooperation between the two states. China Pakistan Economic Corridor is a huge, long project to revive fragile Pakistan. Beijing is involved in constructing dams, building roads and installing multiple energy projects to boost Islamabad’s energy requirements. The massive Chinese investment is making Pakistan dependent on China. A little fluctuation in Chinese

⁶⁹⁷ Ibid.

finances promised under these schemes will leave a huge impact on Pakistan's economic development.

China's experience in Africa suggests that this possibility is very real. The BBC reports that the Chinese economic slowdown had not only led to a fall of about 40 per cent in Africa-China exports, but also saw Chinese investment in Africa fall by a similar amount, placing African nations' currencies under stress.⁶⁹⁸ Chinese policies have led to joblessness and uncertainty in countries like Zambia. Chinese investment has enhanced the gap between rich and poor. Tanzania, Ghana, Uganda, and Mozambique amongst others have experienced the negative impact of Chinese investment. In Sri Lanka many projects have come to a halt due to change in government.⁶⁹⁹

Pakistan can experience similar troubles. Asad Abbasi of London School of Economics cautions Pakistan can experience similar issue African countries have faced.⁷⁰⁰ Washington based agency symbolises: "a prolonged slowdown in China could diminish financial inflows under the CPEC."⁷⁰¹ Media comments suggest that some projects have been postponed and suspended and even canceled due to disagreements on funding and reimbursement.⁷⁰² The Chinese experience suggests that China is a less reliable ally, but it is not reflected in the propaganda of the security elites.

⁶⁹⁸ *Africa-China Exports Fall by 40% after China Slowdown* (BBC 13 January 2016).

⁶⁹⁹ Irfan Husain, "No Free Chinese Lunch " *The Dawn* 2 May 2015

⁷⁰⁰ Asad Abbasi, in *Lessons from Africa: How can Pakistan make the most of Chinese investment?* (South Asia, London School of Economics 2016).

⁷⁰¹ Shahbaz Rana, " Politicking May Hurt CPEC, Says World Bank " *The Express Tribune* 12 April 2016

⁷⁰² Syed Irfan Raza, 'Three CPEC Projects Hit Snags as China Mulls New Financing Rules', *The Dawn* 5 December 2017

Pakistan and world power China

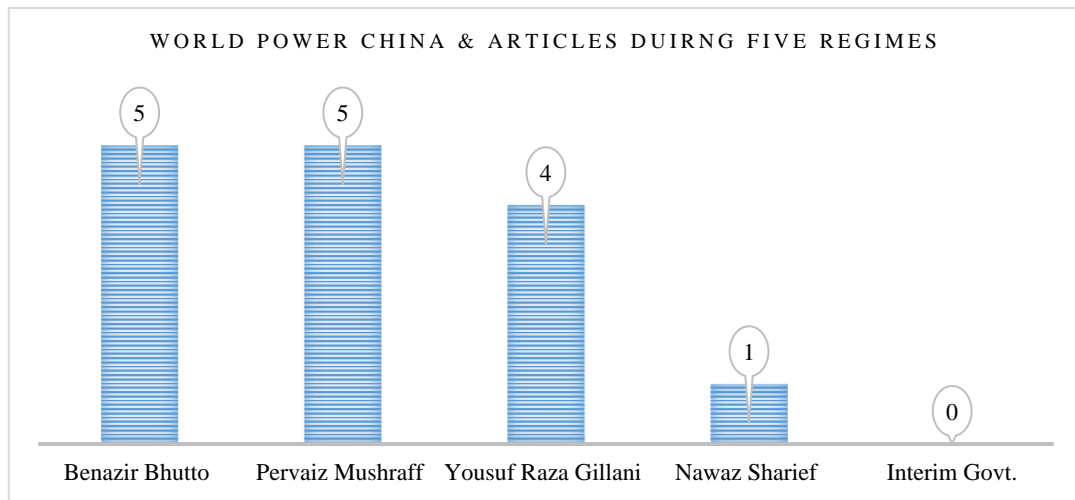


Figure 5.19: World power China articles produced during five Governments

In the Pakistani security elite's propaganda, there is an effort to suggest that an evolving and global China is better for Pakistan, that Pakistan is closely associated with an evolving major power.

China may have been called "sick man of Asia" in 19th and 20th century due to internal divisions and foreign power encroachment on its resources, its emergence is undisputed. Kane classical book on Chinese strategy quotes Napoleon Bonaparte forewarning that "Let China sleep, for when she wakes she will shake the world."⁷⁰³ The sleeping giant's emergence onto the world stage has indeed been a phenomenal development. China receives a great deal of attention globally; some perceive its rise as an opportunity, others consider it a challenge to their own power and hegemony.⁷⁰⁴ The US, truly the supreme

⁷⁰³ Kane, *Chinese Grand Strategy and Maritime Power*, p.1

⁷⁰⁴ G. John Ikenberry, "The Rise of China and the Future of the West, Can the Liberal System Survive?," *Foreign Affairs*, (January/February, 2008).; Fred Engst, "The Rise of China and Its Implications," *Institute for Political Economy*, (August, 2011).; Robert G. Sutter, "China's Rise in Asia-Promises, Prospects and Implications for the United States," *Asia-Pacific Center for Security Studies* (February 2005).

power on earth, has been keenly watching its rise and making efforts to allegedly contain it, but equally with some cooperation.

Since it launched its economic liberalisation plan in 1979, Beijing has experienced an imposing economic growth. China of today is globally orientated, economically booming and intellectually acclaimed, and recently announced \$2 billion dollars to fight global poverty.⁷⁰⁵ It has established financial institutions equivalence to the World Bank and IMF to advance its own national interest.⁷⁰⁶

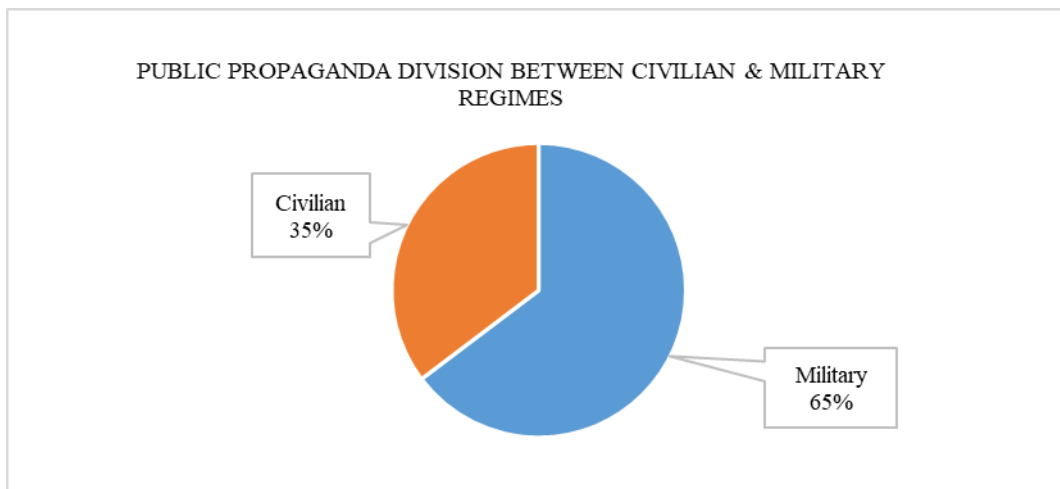


Figure 5.20: Rate and space allocated to Emerging China theme in three papers

To highlight China's journey to greatness, security elites firstly elaborate on the challenges and issues faced by it at the time of its independence in 1949. In their description, they present a bleak picture of a China facing great internal and external

⁷⁰⁵ Jane Perlezsept, "President Xi Jinping of China Pledges \$2 Billion to Fight Poverty," *The New York Times* 26 September (2015)

⁷⁰⁶ S.R, "Why China is Creating a New "World Bank" for Asia," *The Economist* 11 November 2014

challenges. Internally, they believe that China was devastated by civil war, her economy was “shattered and burgeoning population needed to be fed.” Its infrastructure was in shambles and it had a poor “industrial base”, and a “primitive agriculture” and Imperialist powers had “impinged” on its resources.⁷⁰⁷ Externally, China had much more difficult task to fulfil. It fought for her due status in the international system as “for a long time, Beijing lay forgotten and its own province [Taiwan] represented” her in the UN.⁷⁰⁸

Having described the challenges, they argue that China’s competent leadership overpowered these challenges following socialist principles. Muhammad Aslam asserts that “The whole Chinese nation have been reinvigorated and historic changes [modern infrastructure, development in science and technology and developed economy] have been witnessed” and that there is “political stability and unity in China” and more than a billion human’s basic needs are being assured.⁷⁰⁹ They believe, Chinese leadership “takes Marxism as a guide to action, makes practice the only test for truth, emancipates the minds, seeks truth from the facts, values the initiative of the masses and builds socialism with Chinese characteristics”,⁷¹⁰ further believing that “fundamentally, socialism has liberated and developed productive forces, eliminated exploitation and polarisation and ultimately achieved common prosperity.”⁷¹¹

Khawaja Masood sustains “more than a billion people are now enjoying the fruits of an ever increasing flourishing economy, Chinese tried and tested leadership following

⁷⁰⁷ Khawaja Masood, "The Chinese Miracle" *The Dawn* 17 November 1995.

⁷⁰⁸ *ibid.*; Bhatti, "The China Factor".; Altaf Gauhar, "Dealing with New China" *The News* 14 July 1994

⁷⁰⁹ Muhamad Aslam, "The Rise of China" *The Nation*, 18 January 2000.

⁷¹⁰ *ibid.*

⁷¹¹ *ibid.*

socialist principles has made China as one of the major power worldwide.”⁷¹² Ambassador Iqbal Khan (retired) considers that China will “soon surpass Japan, its neighbour and historical adversary” and “if the economy continues to grow... it surges past that of the United States”, while highlighting that the like of China’s economic growth has never been “accomplished in human history...”⁷¹³

Essentially, a fairy tale has been created that there was a China devastated by half a century of civil wars, and colonialism, and that it then developed internally and acquired worldwide status due to the wisdom of its leadership and the communist doctrines. As we noted in chapter three, communism is often believed to be against human freedom, unprogressively denying freedom to the individuals, but the Pakistani officials’ propaganda argues against this view. The propaganda aimed to make the reader understand that China has been rescued from a desolate and gloomy position to that of a new found companionship, common purpose and discipline of mass-organisation, and that there would have been no development had China not followed socialist ideals. The description of Chinese communism and its progress implies an ideal and attractive behaviour: a highest level of success and progress.

Having established China’s progress, there is a strong desire to have a link with it on the basis of its emergence. The argument is established by presenting China as being pursued frequently by world leaders to secure the benefit for their own populations and economy. Tariq Fatemi articulates “delegates after delegates going to China”, besides adding “The entire world has been monitoring developments in China with either excitement or worry, depending on how it views its relations with that country.”⁷¹⁴ While Aslam

⁷¹² Khawaja Masood, "The Chinese Miracle"

⁷¹³ Iqbal Ahmad Khan, "Lessons from China" *The Dawn* 17 November 2009

⁷¹⁴ Fatemi, "Deepening Ties with China".

sustains that “Every country is seeking Beijing’s association for their own benefits. Hundreds of delegations make their way to China to seek benefits from Chinese progress and development.”⁷¹⁵

While highlighting that “the world leaders find economic relations with China a panacea after frequently recurring bouts of illness followed by economic crisis and political upheaval”, and that “China has become most favoured nation around the world. For Pakistan, China is not the last resort but a priority for national progress, military development and economic consolidation.”⁷¹⁶ General Matinuddin states

Now China is a global economic and military power. Countries all over the world are bending backwards to enter into deals with China. Geo-economics today is gaining greater significance than geo-strategy. The nations that offer greater economic opportunities are cultivated these days than those which only have strategic significance and in such a case Pakistan must effort to maintain military and economic relationship with a modern and emerging China.⁷¹⁷

Running through this rhetoric is the logic that China is fashion, every nation is seeking its cooperation and association, including Pakistan. It also implies that if the world is going to have this interaction with China, why should Pakistan be left behind, why do the people of Pakistan continue to differ with China over ideological issues? Moreover, the suggestion that the “world is following China” is very alluring. It creates an urge or desire and makes a strong case for having an alliance with China. The officials’ propaganda positions the alliance as true, factual and well worth having. The elite’s propaganda

⁷¹⁵ Aslam, “The Rise of China”

⁷¹⁶ *ibid.*

⁷¹⁷ Matinuddin, "President Musharraf Visit to China".

makes the alliance more desirable by stressing how much the rest of the world is seeking benefits by having an association with China, and how Pakistan can benefit from this too. The hope is that this will essentially neutralise the negative view of communism held by the public.

The elites also stress that Pakistan can learn and emulate Chinese characteristics of unity, progress, self-reliance and economic policies. Air Marshall Ayaz Khan highlights China's progress and development as a great example of learning "great character, simple living, and unity."⁷¹⁸ Foreign minister Mushtaq Ahmad articulates that "Pakistan can learn self-reliance from China",⁷¹⁹ while former envoy Sirajuddin Aziz enunciates "Pakistan can gain from China's significant success in the launching of special economic zones."⁷²⁰ When they talk about learning, they basically suggest that communism is not bad, it has enabled success in China, and that Pakistan can also have success by associating with China.

In their propaganda attempts, they even link Pakistan's future with that of China. Retired ambassador Sultan Ahmad asserts "China, it appears, is the answer to Pakistan's many problems. Not that the leadership in Pakistan wants to emulate China in the social, cultural or political spheres, but they want to benefit from the free market policies of the Chinese government which is eager to help Pakistan in every possible way to make it a total strategic partnership"⁷²¹ Parliamentarian Marvi Memon expresses "China's progress is fascinating" and it is a proud moment for every patriotic Pakistani.⁷²² This indelible

⁷¹⁸ Ayaz Ahmad Khan, "Sino-Pakistan Ties-a Model of Deep Rooted Friendship" *The Nation* 1 October 1999.

⁷¹⁹ Mushtaq Ahmad, "Wanted-a Broad China Policy" *The Dawn* 11 February 1995.

⁷²⁰ Sirajuddin Aziz, "Strengthening Ties with China" *The Dawn* 5 April 2005

⁷²¹ Sultan Ahmad, "Economic Cooperation with China" *The Dawn* 30 November 2006

⁷²² Marvi Memon, "China at Last!," *The News*, 22 November 2008

linking of the two nations suggests a very long-term relationship. Still others sharing their personal experience of visiting China maintain that “We felt at home in our second home.”⁷²³

Significantly, officials suggest that China is not oblivious to taking Pakistan along in its drive to modernisation. Air Marshall Ayaz Khan elaborates “...China has been at the forefront to help Pakistan politically, economically and militarily. Modern China unreservedly wants to take Pakistan together in its journey to greatness.”⁷²⁴ Ambassador Sultan Ahmad says that Beijing “is eager to help Pakistan in every possible way to make it a total strategic partnership”,⁷²⁵ while former secretary Gauhar Altaf considers “A greater and prosperous China will only be a great and good friend of Pakistan. It will not become indifferent to Pakistan. It will take Pakistan along in its drive to modernisation.”⁷²⁶ Karamatullah Ghouri believes that “China is prepared to help us, if we have the will. It’s ready to walk the extra-mile holding our hand and showing us the path to salvation.”⁷²⁷

An implicit ideology is embedded in security elite’s argument. When they say that Pakistan’s future is linked with China, and China wants to take Pakistan along, it establishes that the people of Pakistan are better off having this alliance with China and that they should be very content. The logic that runs through this is that the alliance with China is good, and any attempt to change is doomed to failure. It also set up to make readers believe what the government wants them to: believe in the greatness of the alliance with China. The theme and orientation in their argument suggest Pakistan has worth having the alliance with Beijing, otherwise there is a danger which Pakistan should avoid. However, the hidden message is that the status quo should be accepted and not

⁷²³ Ibid.

⁷²⁴ Ayaz Khan. "Sino-Pakistan Ties"

⁷²⁵ Sultan Ahmad. "Economic Cooperation with China"

⁷²⁶ Altaf Gauhar, "China an Ally and a Friend Indeed," *The Nation* 20 October 1995

⁷²⁷ Karamatullah Ghori, "Will We Come up to China’s Expectations?" *The Dawn* 26 December 2010

questioned: when they say that Pakistan's future is completely linked with China, it essentially means that the alliance should not be changed, discouraged or altered or it will lead to failure for Pakistan and its people.

Compatibility between Islam and Communism

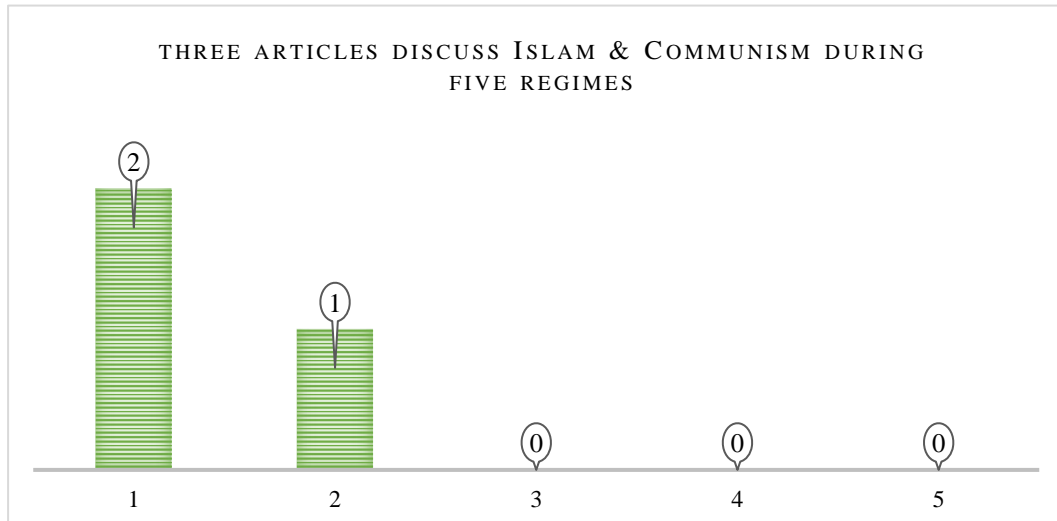


Figure 5.21: The position of articles during various Governments.

Figure 5.21 illustrates that the frequency of the theme of Islam and Communism appears least of all the themes. Only three articles talk about this topic. These three articles were published during the governments of General Musharraf and Nawaz Sharief. However, it is significant as it presents two unnatural partners as the legitimate partners on the basis that Chinese ideology has some common features. This is surely hard thing to sell in a devoutly religious society, however they use the propaganda to counter anti-communistic views in the general population.

For instance, Khalid Mahmud describes

The basic belief of communism and Islam is to create an egalitarian society. Both Islam and communism recommended an equal distribution of wealth and

discourage concentration of wealth and prevent exploitation at the hands of wealthy and powerful

and

both stand for a complete social revolution, and a different kind of civilisation. For both ideologies, human nature is not bad, but it is the society which determines the conduct of man.⁷²⁸

Though different to Samuel Huntington's idea of clash of civilisation, the security officials' comparison has clearly assimilated Confucius and Islamic civilisation. Islam prohibits the concentration of wealth in only a few hands, and there are no privileges to an individual on the basis of wealth or status, rather the person possessing good values and virtues; similarly socialism ultimately aims to create a classless society. These comments are likely to promote the alliance domestically to a society which practices Islam to the letter.

Gilani Kamran maintains that Chinese communism is based on moral values which are seen in China's social values. The Chinese social system is based on simplicity, relinquishing wealth for the good of the society. Kamran continues:

The Chinese idea of leadership is based on the principles of conscious poverty, which has been a major feature of Islamic Faqar (poverty). Faqar mean renouncing of wealth and easy living. The Chinese leadership does not own any property. Islamic principles of *Zakat* and equitable distribution in socialism are analogous.⁷²⁹

⁷²⁸ Khalid Mahmud, "Old Friends Learning New Way" *The News* 21 June 1998.

⁷²⁹ Gillani Kamran, "Pakistan-China Friendship" *The Dawn* 7 December 2000.

In Islam, the collective good, and spirit of serving others' happiness is an important teaching. Moreover, *Zakat* (the obligation of all rich Muslims to pay 2.5% of their wealth annually to be distributed among the poor) is the basic tenet of Islam. This argument is significant when explaining the alliance to Pakistani society. The reader will think that there are so many shared principles between communism and Islam, that Pakistan can seek an alliance with China. It is likely to change people's views who have felt that communism is based on exploitation. Hidden in the semantic structure of the argument theme is the message that communism and Islam share some features.

Finally, Ikram Sehgal uses religion to promote the alliance. To emphasise his argument, Sehgal cites a *hadith* (Words of the Prophet Muhammad), "Go to China even to seek knowledge."⁷³⁰ It would appear because Prophet Muhammad said "go to China" so, it is better to have an association with China. This is a significant way to convince Islamic society to have an alliance with Beijing. Seeking knowledge means there are no differences, it does not mean that China is communist, and one cannot seek any association, so to those who suggest that we cannot believe in Bolshevism, this argument will make them convince that having an alliance with an atheist country is not an issue. Thus the Pakistani security elites' writing legitimises the alliance with China. This attempt to show the two diverse ideologies as having some common characteristics also reveals their fears.

This chapter has examined the security elite's domestic propaganda used to construct an alliance through a variety of promotional strategies. These strategies construct a certain narrative that justifies and promotes the alliance domestically. The propaganda attempts to create an image of a flawless China, which is sincerely helpful and necessary for Pakistan. Officials construct their propaganda around factors which have enhanced their worries: Uighur separatism, terrorist attacks on Chinese and anti-communism. For example, as noted, propaganda is developed around Uighur separatism. Pakistan-China

⁷³⁰ Ikram Sehgal, "China in a Bull Shop" *The Nation* 4 May 1998

security is combined and the public is urged to shun support for Uighur separatists, which is affecting not only Pakistan's security but that of China too. Similarly, the religious parties are urged not to accept the Uighur in their madrassah and not to impose their dogmatic views on them. Propaganda maintains that the Uighur are treated well in China, and therefore there is no case the religious elements to interfere in China.

Similarly, the terrorist attacks on the Chinese - a serious obstruction in the Sino-Pakistan alliance - are being addressed. While a few stipulate conspiracy theories - blaming enemies for the unrest in Xinjiang - several other quotes admonish public to trust that if China-related violence does not end, it will obstruct the nation's development. The chapter also suggested that the anti-communism views (also discussed in chapters three) are being responded to by presenting China as a developing major power on the basis of communist principles. They argue that China is the best example for Pakistan to learn, and even that Pakistan's future is linked with China. Anti-communism views are also addressed by likening Islam and communism.

However, we also noted that there are other attempts to market the alliance. Firstly, there is the representation of India in the propaganda. The impact of a Sino-Indian rapprochement on Sino-Pakistan alliance is gauged. Overall India is represented as power ambition and unwilling to resolve disputes amicably with China, which will have reduced the impact of rapprochement on Pakistan-China relations. But more importantly, its emerging alliance with the US is believed to keep the spirit of the Pakistan-China alliance intact. While a few see the support on Kashmir, others mention Chinese neutrality of it. Finally, noteworthy events are used to make sure that society is familiar with the alliance. Here, we saw how the security elites conduct determined propaganda to exaggerate the outcomes of the visit to generate public enthusiasm about the alliance.

When combined, these promotional strategies actually reveal the fears of the elite towards their public. For instance, the discussion about Uighur separatism, terrorist attacks and anti-communism only appear because the elite are concerned about the attitudes of the public – logically, they would have no place in the propaganda if there were no fears about protecting the alliance. Additional themes like the vast, enthusiastic propaganda on

important events are legitimising the alliance, the intensive coverage and attention to the Chinese leaders serve only to capitalise on visits for maximum gains.

In the next chapter, we conclude this thesis. Before presenting the summary of the thesis, it will restate the aims, the main argument, and the findings of the study. It will detail suggestions for further research and the contribution of this study to the existing body of knowledge.

Chapter 6. Content analysis of the National Assembly and Senate debates

Introduction

The database of this chapter is the Pakistani parliamentary debate, recorded between 1990 and 2010, dedicated to Pakistan-China relations to examine the element of propaganda. The method used to analyse lawmakers' debates is content analysis. For this purpose, paragraphs, sentences, and even smallest unit words have been selected as the unit of analysis in an attempt to achieve greater precision of the data. The central purpose of this chapter is to establish how security elites sustain the notion of the alliance and what their propaganda reveals to us about how they view their own society.

The content analysis of the MPs speeches on the floor of National Assembly and Senate reveals interesting results. It is found that some of the themes, conferred in textbooks and newspaper articles chapters, are repeated in the parliamentary debates. However, a new set of themes emerged from the analysis of the parliamentary debates contents. In the previous two chapters, there is a discussion about the terrorist attacks on the Chinese in Pakistan, Uighur separatism, and China reliable, US unreliable. While these themes are frequently repeated in the MPs discussion, some new categories, namely the Sino-Pakistani alliance necessary for Pakistan's progress, and India intruder, and China peaceful neighbour emerged during content analysis. The repetition of some of the themes gives authenticity to the findings of the research.

Like previous empirical chapters, this chapter demonstrates that the Pakistani lawmakers attach great importance to Sino-Pakistan alliance. MPs are found responding emotionally to their country's alliance with China. The flow of lawmakers' passionate reactions suggests they see alliance incredible, useful for Pakistan and its people. MPs produce flattering and hyperbolic language to describe the relationship.

Despite the Pakistani aspirations of being a leader of Muslims world, lawmakers condone Chinese discrimination against Muslim in Xinjiang. The lawmakers' propaganda cover-

up Chinese atrocities in Xinjiang. They simply highlight the difficulties that could arise for Pakistan if the unrestrained attacks against the Chinese continue to happen.

India is regarded as hegemon while China is believed to be benign and impeccable power. Politicians believe that India represents a major strategic threat to Pakistan. As demonstrated in the textbook chapter, China has been reluctant to give Pakistan direct military aid in its wars with India, sometimes opting for the role of mediator rather than Pakistan's unconditional ally, in parliamentary debates officials exaggerate China's role in the Indo-Pakistan wars. Finally, as in the textbook chapter, peoples' representatives praise Chinese aid while minimizing US aid and support.

This chapter has following main sections:

5. Section one explains briefly about the history of Pakistani parliament, its sessions and data collection process,
6. Section two presents content analysis of legislative debates both qualitatively and quantitatively.

A note on the *Majlis-e-Shoora* [parliament] and its sessions

Pakistan is a parliamentary democracy based on the British model. The 1973 constitution provides a federal-parliamentary system of government headed by the President as head of state and a Prime Minister, elected by *Majlis-e-Shoora*, as head of government. The federal parliament consists of two chambers: the national assembly (NA) and the Senate. While NA represents the population, the Senate represents four federating units. NA members are elected for a period of five years while senators are elected for a period of six years. The previous two constitutions of 1962 and 1956 provided unicameral legislature, but a federal structure of government.

The parliament meets no less than three times in a year. NA website states, "The life of the national assembly is divided into sessions. It must meet for at least 130 days and there

must be at least three sessions in a year.”⁷³¹ Besides, the government can call unique session, i.e. on occasion of foreign dignitaries’ address to the parliament.⁷³² Each parliamentary year begins with a head of the state address to the joint session of the parliament. Overall, between 1990 and 2010, parliament has met 145 times [total sessions] average 8 sessions annually. There has been a periodical breakdown in the parliament session. For example, due to General Musharraf Martial Law, parliament remained suspended between 1999 and 2001. Therefore, parliament has 18 parliamentary years shown in the Figure 6.1. The parliament has not been able to complete its five-year terms, except between 2002 and 2007. Not a single prime minister has been able to complete the five-year term.

In our attempt to examine Hansard, we have reviewed hundreds of documents which appeared both in English and Urdu languages. We targeted to review every single accessible volume of the Hansard between 1990 and 2010. The Hansard reports contain verbatim records, but non-parliamentary words have been omitted from the deliberations. We have excluded sessions on budget. The addresses of delegates from countries like Turkey have also not been included in the analysis.

⁷³¹ National Assembly of Pakistan, 'National Assembly Sessions', Parliament House (Islamabad: National Assembly Secretariat). <http://www.na.gov.pk/en/content.php?id=18> [Accessed 11 March 2017]

⁷³² One of these examples is the Chinese President/Prime Minister's speech in 1996, 2006, and 2010.

Parliamentary Years and Sessions

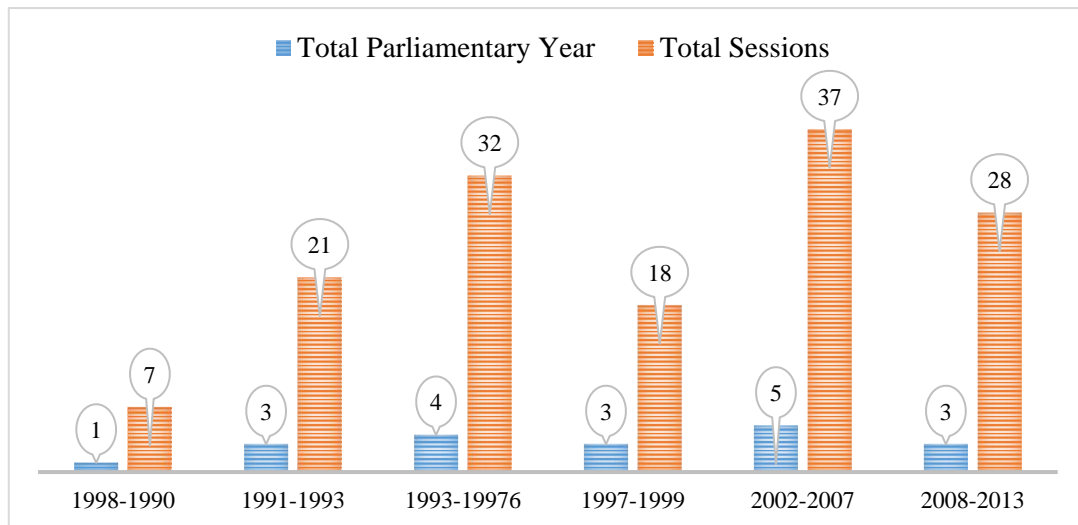


Figure 6.1: Total parliamentary years and sessions between 1990 and 2010

Discussion within the parliament takes place in the form of questions and answers, points of order, and motions. Politicians discuss entire issues of national importance, including foreign affairs, national defence, and internal security. The huge volume of debates suggests lawmakers spend more time debating domestic affairs than the foreign relations.

A final observation needs to be mentioned. Though data collection phase provided us numerous discussions on foreign policy (There is a discussion on India-Pakistan, Pakistan-US, Pakistan-China, and Pakistan-Afghanistan relations) but we found only 32 documents on Sino-Pakistani relations. Given the volume of data we analysed, China is not given huge coverage in the foreign policy debates but enough to analysis contents of propaganda. Much discussion on foreign relations is found in the NA than the Senate.

Content analysis of the parliamentary debates

The aggregate representation of data

Firstly, we begin our analysis with a review of the overall picture of analysed data. We present our quantitative results in the form of a bar chart with its descriptions. As stated

above, in the Senate and the NA discussions, only 32 documents discuss Pakistan-China relations hence for each of the 32 discussions, the total numbers of documents in each of the five main categories are counted. The proportions of each theme are reported in absolute terms instead of percentages as they provide a clearer picture of the results. In the discussion section, we interpret the results of the quantitative analysis. The following diagram shows a total number of documents for each theme.

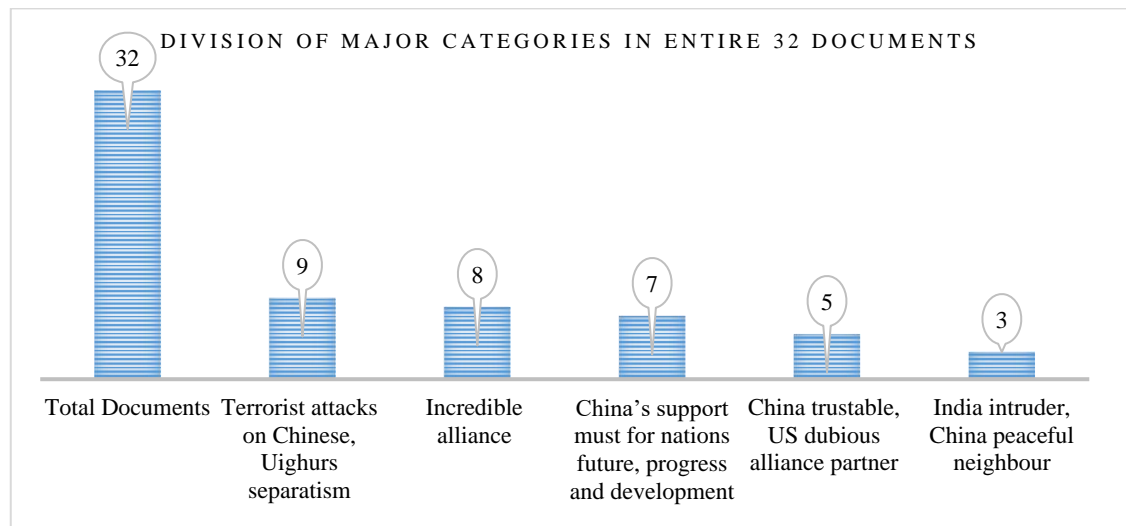


Figure 6.2: Total number of discussion dedicated to five themes in 32 documents

Looking first at the combined picture, we see that security threats to the Chinese and Uighurs separatism are the major emphasis of the MPs deliberations. The diagram 6.2 shows 09 documents (28%) are devoted to this theme. It means over the course of 20 years, threats to the Chinese national and Uighur's militancy has been the major focus of the politicians' discussions. It essentially endorses the thesis argument that the Pakistani officials worry threats to the alliance and make efforts to sell the alliance domestically.

It is followed by 08 documents (25%) devoted to the Incredible alliance category. MPs are found describing and celebrating Sino-Pakistan alliance in extremely flattering terms. Their fervour and excitement for the Sino-Pakistani alliance show no boundaries. When they describe the alliance, they seem to overflow with Chinese praise and Sino-Pakistani alliance. In other three categories, 07 (22%) documents are allocated for China's support

must for Pakistan, 05 (15%) for China reliable-US unreliable and 03 (9%) for India intruder, China peaceful.

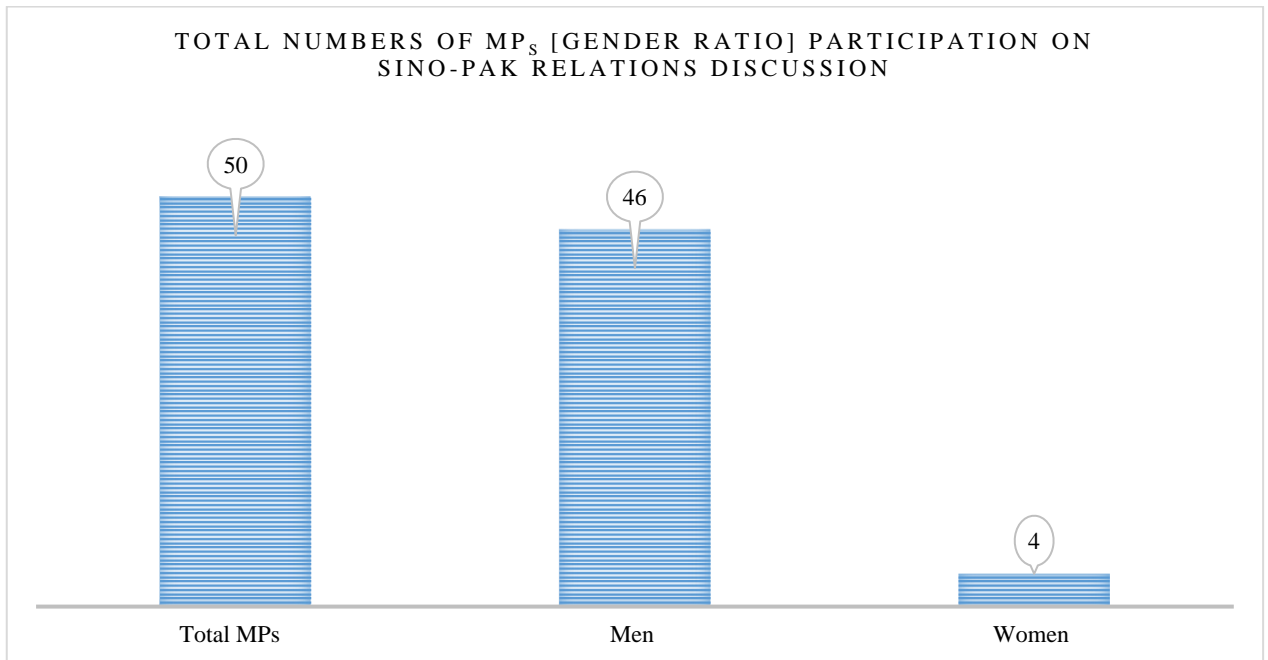


Figure 6.3: Total numbers of MPs taking part in a discussion on Sino-Pakistan Relations

Furthermore, to make statistical analysis more interesting we paid attention to the participation of male and female MPs in the discussion. The graph 6.3 shows a total of 50 MPs spoke on Sino-Pakistani relations including four women (8%). This is an extremely trivial ratio of female politicians' contribution compared to men (92%). The four MPs included the NA speaker Fahmida Mirza and lawmaker Marvi Memon. While Memon spoke twice, speaker Mirza spoke only once in the NA. Overall, we see that males' politicians chiefly led the Pakistan-China alliance's advertising campaign domestically than their female counterparts. In Pakistan, female lawmakers get fewer

chances to speak and often face institution and social barrier to contribute in the national politics.⁷³³

One of the noteworthy results worth mentioning is the insignificant participation of religious parties on the subject. Following figure 6.4 shows during the entire two decades, only three times (6%) a member of religious parties took part in the discussion on the alliance.

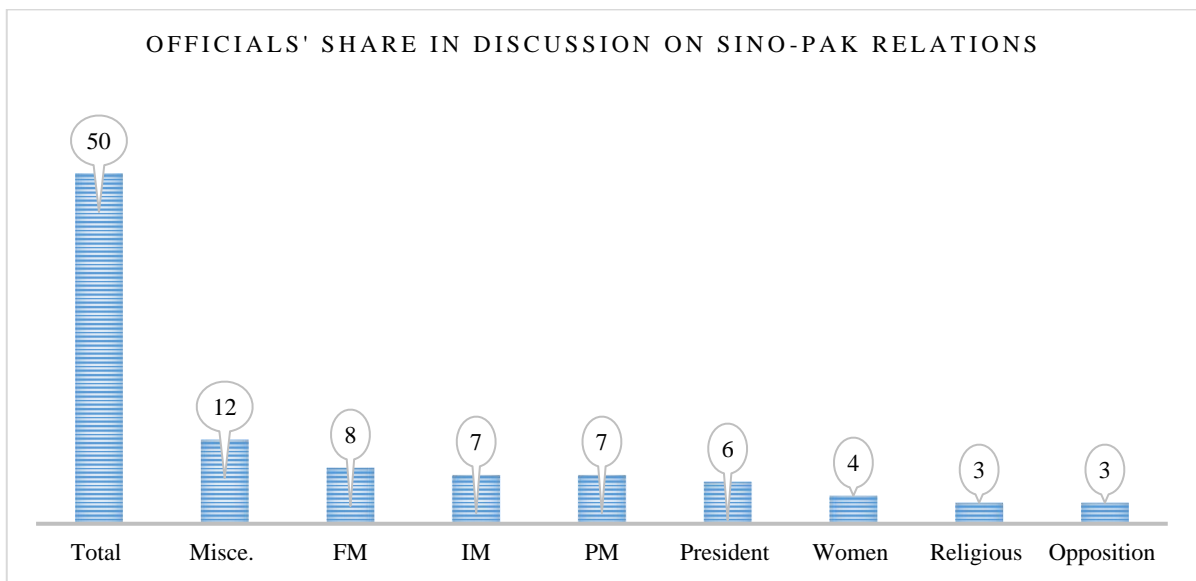


Figure 6.4: Ratio of discussion based on officials' designation

What explains religious parties' antipathy to the Sino-Pakistani alliance, multiple plausible explanations are presented in that regard. Firstly, religious parties do not have

⁷³³ For detail see Tahir Mehdi, 'Women in Politics', *The Dawn* 25 May 2015.; Suzanna Masih, 'Women MPAs Find It Hard to Assert Their Roles in PA', *The News* 28 February 2018.; Sehar Kamran, 'Politics & Pakistani Woman Today', *The Nation* 14 August 2017.

much participation in the parliament.⁷³⁴ Secondly, religious parties may have decided to limit their participation in the internal affairs or equally they might have given priority other issues such as the Islamisation of Pakistani society or implementation of the caliphate. However, perhaps the best explanations are that they disapprove Chinese discriminatory policies' in Xinjiang against the Uighurs Muslims. They have been found criticising China repressive policies.⁷³⁵ Militant group Tehreek-e-Nafaz-e-Shariat-e-Mohammadi (TNSM), founded by Sufi Muhammad in 1992 and affiliated with Jamaat-e-Islami, is accused of supporting Uighur Muslims.⁷³⁶ It is believed that religious parties may have limited their participation in the Sino-Pakistani Alliance otherwise; the NA platform gave them the best opportunity to expose Chinese's atrocities in Xinjiang.

Last observation clarifies the participation of several members in the discussion. The Minister of Foreign Affairs (FM) took the lead in discussing the relationship, followed by the Prime Minister (PM), the Minister of the Interior (IM) and the President. The miscellaneous section includes other MPs mentioned in the discussion accordingly.

Qualitative Content Analysis

After analysing the overall picture, we now focus on the Qualitative Content Analysis (QCA) of the five main categories established by the data analysis. The five main categories are given below.

⁷³⁴ Javaid-ur-Rahman, 'No Religious Party, except JUI-F, JI, Makes Way to Parliament', *The Nation* 15 May 2013.

⁷³⁵ In third chapter we discussed in detail the feeling of religious parties towards China. Moreover, a Pakistani delegation was sent to China to verify Uighurs Muslim conditions. All members of delegation belonged to religious parties' and imams of mosque, which shows the influence they wield in Pakistan. See Abbasi, Obaid. "Pakistan Team to Probe Reported China Fasting Ban" *The Express Tribune* 29 June 2016.; For a discussion about religious parties' agenda see 'Islamic Parties in Pakistan' (Islamabad/Brussels: International Crisis Group 12 December 2011). Report No. 216/ASIA

⁷³⁶ Jayadeva Ranade, 'Pakistan's Relations with China and Implications for Regional Stability', in *Mapping Pakistan's Internal Dynamics*, by Mahin Karim (Washington: The National Bureau of Asian Research, 2016). Report No. 55

1. Terrorist attacks on Chinese, and Uighurs separatism
2. Incredible alliance: all-weather, time-tested, unique and legendary
3. China's support must for Pakistan's future, progress, and development
4. China trustable, US dubious alliance partner
5. India intruder, China peaceful neighbour

Security threats to the Chinese Citizens and Uighurs separatism

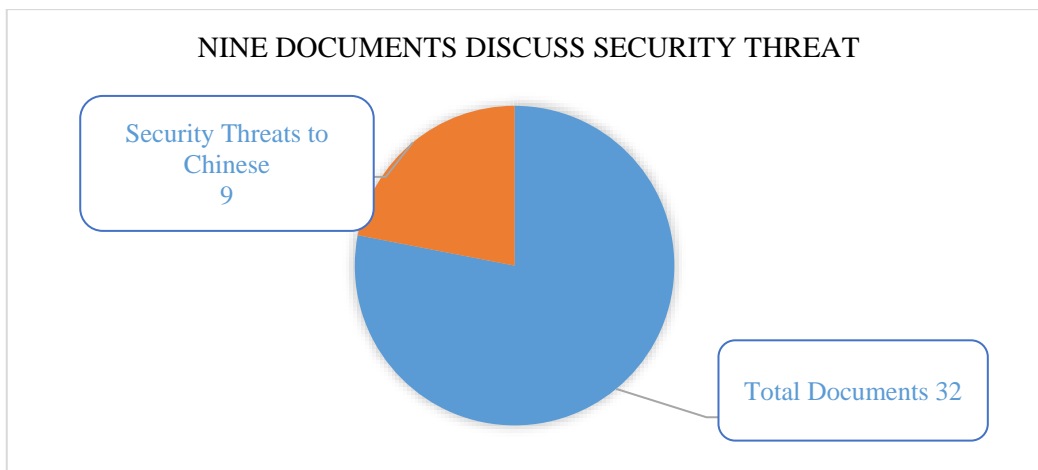


Figure 6.5: Nine documents discusses security threats to the Chinese theme

Security threats to the Chinese and Uighurs separatism have been the dominant topic of discussion in parliament. We find that 09 (28%) out of 32 documents deal this theme. It clearly suggests that politicians worried about this problem.

In chapter three we have discussed the terrorist assaults on Chinese, and fanaticism in Xinjiang territory connected to places of sanctuary in Pakistan, stay touchy issues in Sino-Pakistan relations. It has serious implications for China-Pakistan alliance. Neither China nor Pakistan can overlook its negative effect on the stability and viability of the alliance. Despite a successful military campaign against militants, China is keen to see Pakistan remain stable and intact that do not allow the menace of terrorism to affect Chinese national society.

MPs discuss the challenge of protecting the Chinese citizens. They do this by linking terrorist attacks to the Chinese to Pakistan's national security. They believe that the

Chinese nationals work under duress and are being subjected to serious security threats and that it is a “serious and sensitive matter”, as serious as “the national security of Pakistan”.⁷³⁷ Relating security threats to the Chinese with Pakistani national security increases the importance of the challenge. National security is very dear to every nation. The survival of nations is associated with the security of the state. MPs propaganda suggests that Pakistan's survival is assured by China's national security.

While others lament that, the militants are killing the Chinese discriminatory. It has irritated and shocked China. Prime Minister Zafarullah Khan Jamali claims that because of terrorist attacks, the Chinese are angry and worried. The Chinese have complained to Pakistan, which is unprecedented and extremely serious. China is a great friend and Pakistan has an exceptional relationship with it. The Chinese pressures will influence the alliance on a level that will be difficult to repair.⁷³⁸ Propaganda suggests that something unprecedented is damaged. It shows how strong the alliance was and how it was influenced by terrorist attacks, it means that terrorist attacks must stop to save what they suggest “an exceptional alliance.” The way the discussion is developed is significant, it will surely make people think of saving the alliance.

While some point out the seriousness of the alliance, others aim to teach the benefits of the alliance. MPs emphasize that if the terrorist attacks on the Chinese continue to happen, Sino-Pakistani cooperation will be seriously compromised in the field of trade, defence and, above all, Pakistan may face isolation. Describing China, an important partner, Marvi Memon, warns that the Chinese need to be protected in definite ways, further

⁷³⁷ ‘The National Assembly of Pakistan Debates- Official Report’, 9th Session (22 December 2008) Vol. IX, No. 6 Islamabad: Manager Printing Corporation of Pakistan Press, p.569

⁷³⁸ The National Assembly of Pakistan Debates- Official Report, 32 Session (17 February 2006) Vol. XXXII, No. 9 Islamabad: Manager Printing Corporation of Pakistan Press. pp. 629-630

elaborating, she mentions that since the establishment of diplomatic relations, both nations' have been strong allies. In the Indo-Pakistan wars of 1965 and 1971, China took part in the war in the favour of Pakistan. It helped Pakistan to acquire nuclear weapons. It supports Pakistan regionally and internationally. Pakistan cannot lose such a credible and important partner.⁷³⁹ While Premier Jamali maintains that, it should be the policy of the state to teach the benefits of the alliance. We need to renew Pakistani citizens "this is the only alliance that is a true alliance and makes Pakistan stronger and secure."⁷⁴⁰ Propaganda content promotes China as an important sponsor of Pakistan's security and defence.

The discussion of the teaching of the alliance indicates Pakistani elites' apprehension, similarly considering it only "true alliance" displays their effort to promote the alliance. While emphasizing Chinese contribution clearly shows efforts to encourage the alliance, in the same way, there are apprehensions that such a close country cannot be lost. Essentially, publicizing the benefits of the alliance will likely to appeal to the public.

Considering terrorist attacks on Chinese a matter of national importance, Foreign Minister Khurshid Mahmood Kasuri claims terrorist attacks on Chinese can isolate Pakistan internationally. Kasuri states that China is "calling us to tackle terrorism." Chinese citizens are being "singled out for terrorist acts." This is a globalised world. The Chinese are watching it closely. We must stop attacks otherwise face isolation, which is nobody interest in Pakistan.⁷⁴¹ Kasuri message plays on emotions- a common occurrence in propaganda. The intention is clear: a failure to support the alliance means problems for

⁷³⁹ The National Assembly of Pakistan Debates- Official Report, 10th Session (16 January 2009) Vol. X, No. 5 Islamabad: Manager Printing Corporation of Pakistan Press.p.507

⁷⁴⁰ *ibid* p.629

⁷⁴¹ The National Assembly of Pakistan Debates- Official Report, 42 Session (9 August 2007) Vol. XLII, No. 9 Islamabad: Manager Printing Corporation of Pakistan Press. p.1080

Pakistani nations, i.e. isolation. In the contemporary era of globalization, international isolation is unwelcoming situation. The example of North Korea indicates that international isolation can lead to destruction.⁷⁴² Minister Kasuri affirms that Pakistan has a dangerous neighbourhood full of enemies, but the Chinese are the only true friend. The people of Pakistan must understand this reality. Pakistan has no choice but to secure the alliance with China.⁷⁴³

The propaganda message encourages Pakistani to join government efforts to secure the alliance for their kids and their country. Foreign minister Kasuri maintains that Pakistan will not only lose market for its goods, the kids' future is at stake too. He encourages people of Pakistan to support government efforts to help preserve alliance for the future. Kasuri argues that

It does not matter who is in government, we would not like to be an island of isolation. China demands that we should behave as a responsible state. If we failed to protect Chinese, we will lose trading benefits. We need market access to secure future of our kids. We will have to control this menace of terrorism.⁷⁴⁴

People are urged to act to support the state effort to secure the alliance. The propaganda of the lawmakers reminds people the struggle they and their children will do if the alliance is not protected. The aim of this argument, (like Pakistan can face isolation, future of kids at stake, or Pakistan will miss trade benefits), appears to be to strike people's pride, persuading them that in the future their children would judge them for their decision to support the alliance. This message implies that if the people fail to support the alliance,

⁷⁴² Zack Beauchamp, 'North Korea Isn't Crazy. It's Insecure, Poor, and Extremely Dangerous', *VOX* 5 July 2017

⁷⁴³ The National Assembly of Pakistan Debates- Official Report, 42 Session (9 August 2007) pp.1085-86

⁷⁴⁴ *ibid*

hardships could come to the children. Propaganda is playing with people's mind to accept the alliance. Those who see alliance in a different sense will think that alliance is such an important that it should be protected. While it is not just rhetoric, attacks on the Chinese have affected the presence of Chinese companies in Pakistan. Following the terrorist attacks, many companies have packed up and left Pakistan indefinitely in the past.⁷⁴⁵

Furthermore, the propaganda aims to challenge people's love for nation. Lawmakers believe that those people who do not support alliance are not Pakistani. They argue individuals attacking Chinese are adversaries of Pakistan. MPs suggest that the state must take revenge on the aggressors for their attacks on the Chinese and it was a national duty to oppose these elements within society. Lawmaker Imran-Ullah maintains:

The Chinese are being killed in various cities of Pakistan. Government needs to take serious notice of it. Terrorists do not want a peaceful Sino-Pakistan relation. They do not want Chinese investment in the country. We need to expose them and tell the nation that these are enemies in our midst. In fact, the enemy of China is the enemy of Pakistan.⁷⁴⁶

Another legislator who believes that those involved in the killing of the Chinese are enemies of Pakistan makes a similar point. They perceive China against their fundamentalist ideology; therefore, they are targeting Chinese.⁷⁴⁷ Clearly, lawmakers' propaganda emphasises that the extremists are primarily targeting Chinese because terrorists see China atheist ideology against their dogmatic views. Extremists are being exposed and ostracised from society. In essence, Pakistani legislators are concerned about extremism within the society that opposes their policies of seeking balance of power with

⁷⁴⁵ Lawmakers themselves accept this. 'The National Assembly of Pakistan Debates- Official Report', 10th Session (15 January 2009) Vol. X, No. 4 Islamabad: Manager Printing Corporation of Pakistan Press. p.396

⁷⁴⁶ The National Assembly of Pakistan Debates- Official Report, 32 Session (17 February 2006), p 637

⁷⁴⁷ *ibid.* p.633

an allied atheist China. MPs have been clearly observed to disapprove extremist actions against China.

In their efforts to promote the alliance and make people aware of the importance of protecting the Chinese, legislators find themselves emphasising morality and religion. Using the power of propaganda MPs reach out to the public and hit them in a sensitive spot: the use of religion. They claim that killing an innocent human being is prohibited in Islam and protecting friends like Chinese is a religious duty. Politician Imran-Ullah maintains:

As a Pakistani Muslim, it is our religious duty to make a commitment that we should not allow terrorists to interrupt the Sino-Pakistani relations. Due to their acts, Muslims' feelings have been injured. All Muslims regardless of their party affiliation must accept the Sino-Pakistani alliance with an open heart. They are not Muslims not even Pakistani if they attack the Chinese. This is our country where we will live, and we want the Sino-Pakistani alliance to be eternal.⁷⁴⁸

A similar point is made by Senate chairman Farooq Naek. Senator Naek maintains, "terrorism has nothing to do with the teaching of Islam and those who are perpetrating acts of terror in the name of Islam are in fact doing a disservice to this great religion."⁷⁴⁹ The propaganda of the Pakistani legislators highlights their want their nationals to be behind them to support the alliance. However, the use of religion is significant as propaganda push people to protect the alliance; failure to do so does not make them Pakistani. It may not be wrong to argue that Islam forbade the killing of innocents, but the use of religion in promoting national strategies has a propaganda angle.

Interior Minister Rehman Malik when pointed out by a member that the Chinese are working under difficult condition, whether they are being given any security in Pakistan,

⁷⁴⁸ Ibid.pp.637-638

⁷⁴⁹ 'Pak-China Friendship July 2010', Senate News, 1 (July 2010)

the interior minister replying to question stated that “three paramilitary forces, (frontier core, frontier constabulary, and rangers) are providing security to the Chinese nationals working in Pakistan. We are giving physical security to all the new Chinese coming to Pakistan. Thousands of Chinese are working in Pakistan and we have raised thousands of security forces to protect them. As soon as we receive requests from Chinese we provide them security.”⁷⁵⁰ Although it is a simple explanation to provide security to the Chinese, both the question and the answer show the importance accorded to the security of the Chinese citizen.

With regard to the Xinjiang separatism, Pakistani lawmakers are found using propaganda effectively to mobilise the Pakistani population. In their efforts to promote the alliance, lawmakers aim to remove misperception about Chinese Uighur polices. For example, one of the officials maintains that Islam is prospering in China. Chinese Muslims are enjoying full religious freedom. The Chinese government does not control their religious activities in Xinjiang.⁷⁵¹ The efforts made by the Pakistani legislator to explain that China is not against the Uighur Muslim and are not adopting policies that impede Uighur’s freedom, are self-explanatory. It shows that Uighur is free to practice their religion. Ultimately, the goal is to reduce militants’ animosity towards China.

This narrative largely from the seat of democracy will help to control the antagonism towards China. Likewise, the focus on Uighurs rights reveals that legislators view their own society as a challenge for the maintenance of the alliance. Here is what makes this disturbing for the Pakistani elites: although militant groups are in a weak position

⁷⁵⁰ The National Assembly of Pakistan Debates- Official Report, 9th Session (22 December 2008) Vol. IX, No. 6 Islamabad: Manager Printing Corporation of Pakistan Press pp.568-569

⁷⁵¹ ‘The National Assembly of Pakistan Debates- Official Report’, 2nd Session (21 November 2002) Vol. II, No. I Islamabad: Manager Printing Corporation of Pakistan Press, pp.33-34; Also see ‘The National Assembly of Pakistan Debates- Official Report’, 5th Session (19 March 2003) Vol. V, No. 2 Islamabad: Manager Printing Corporation of Pakistan Press. p.111

compared to Pakistan and China, they are still relatively strong. They have the potential to damage relations between Pakistan and China.⁷⁵² While Pakistan and China can potentially damage militants' strength with use of force, the cost of such a move would be incredibly high. Red Mosque operation (2007) against militants suggests such a trend.⁷⁵³ Propaganda seems to be the best option than just using force.

One of the lawmakers argues that on multiple occasions China has dispelled the notion that Chinese Muslims are not free to profess their religious rituals like fasting, teaching, learning Quran, and celebrating Eid.⁷⁵⁴ MPs argue that not only Chinese state laws protect Muslim festival, but also Chinese government guarantees Muslim pilgrimage to Mecca.⁷⁵⁵ Propaganda suggests the traditions of the Muslims are given full consideration and respect. Fasting is allowed and call to prayer is uninterrupted in China. Once again, talking about the core principles of Islam, lawmakers are trying to create an encouraging

⁷⁵² Between 2010 and 2016, there have been further, sporadic, attacks in Xinjiang by militants finding shelter in Pakistan's tribal regions. Barely weeks after Nawaz Sharif's regime came into power in 2013, militants disguised as army soldiers killed Chinese climbers and tourists in the Himalayas region of Nanga Parbat bringing great humiliation and disgrace to the new government. In March 2015, separatists in Chaghi district launched an attack on tankers supplying fuel to Chinese companies. In April 2015, militants launched an attack on Jiwani airport radar system near Chinese operated Gwadar port. For detail see Zahir Shah Sherazi, "Gunmen Kill Nine Foreign Tourists and Their Guide in Nanga Parbat" *The Dawn* 24 June 2013 ; In 2012 Kashgar attack, Nur Bekri Xinjiang governor said, "We have certainly discovered that East Turkestan activists and terrorists in our neighbouring states have a thousand and one links", "China Official Sees Militant Links in Pakistan" *The Dawn* 7 March 2012 ; In July 2011 terrorist attack killed 20 people which "prompted Chinese criticisms of Pakistan for failing to crack down on the training of Uighur separatists in the tribal areas bordering Afghanistan", Lisa Curtis, "The Limits of Pakistan-China Alliance".; Kiyya Baloch, "Chinese Operations in Balochistan Again Targeted by Militants" *The Diplomat* 27 March 2015 ; Zafar Baloch, "Two Killed as Militants Attack Jiwani Airport in Balochistan" *The Express Tribune* 30 August 2015.

⁷⁵³ In 2007 the militants kidnapped the Chinese massage workers in Islamabad, in retaliation, the Pakistani army launched a military operation to flush out the terrorist. Though the terrorists were defeated, its consequences were detrimental to Pakistan's security. Militants launched serious attacks against Pakistan and China.

⁷⁵⁴ 'The National Assembly of Pakistan Debates- Official Report', 5th Session (19 March 2003) Vol. V, No. 2 Islamabad: Manager Printing Corporation of Pakistan Press. pp.111-13

⁷⁵⁵ *Ibid*, p. 113

image of China. MPs rhetorical strategies suggest that China allows Islam to prevail and Muslims are fulfilling the obligation of offering the payer, going to the Mecca for pilgrimage, and fasting during the holy month of Ramzan.

However, propaganda happens in sharp contrast to the actual situation on the ground. Religious freedom is restricted, and Chinese security forces' exploitive policies have made it hard for the Uighurs Muslims to practice their religion. They cannot observe the holy month of Ramadan, construct new mosques, or raise their children according to their religion. The Han migration into Xinjiang has had a profound impact on the Uighurs' socio-economic and political status.⁷⁵⁶

Security elite's propaganda unscrupulously turns a blind eye on the human rights violations in Xinjiang. The leading experts on Uighur issue have criticised Pakistan's silence on Uighurs issue. Faraz Talat maintains

Ultimately, the Chinese government's greatest feat is to have its President sit beamingly in the same room as the Prime Minister of the Islamic Republic of Pakistan, without 'Uighur' creeping into the conversation. More impressive still, is the capacity of the Pakistani political leaders, touting Islamic unity and decrying the oppression of Muslims wherever they may be, to ignore the Islamophobia raging in its most favoured state. But that's realpolitik... At the end, I suppose I'm just hoping we'd all get to hear our Prime Minister's next passionate speech on

⁷⁵⁶ Faraz Talat, "Islamophobia in China and Pakistan's Vow of Silence" *The Dawn* 31 March 2015 ; "Uighur Man Jailed in China for Six Years," *The Dawn* 30 March 2015; "China Restricts Ramadan Fasting in Xinjiang" *UCA News* 2 July 2014. <http://www.ucanews.com/news/china-restricts-ramadan-fasting-in-xinjiang/71314> [accessed 5 April, 2016]; "China Bans Beards, Veils from Xinjiang City's Buses in Security Bid" *The Express Tribune* 6 August 2014

Sino-Pak friendship over the sound of the invisible elephant blaring in the room.⁷⁵⁷

Human rights activist Rafia Zakaria sustains

As a Muslim country, Pakistan has been eager to stand up to the injustices committed against Muslims anywhere in the world. This issue with China; its outright banning [fasting in Ramadan] of what is a basic tenet of the Muslim faith may prove to be a trickier proposition...Pakistanis ignore the racism and human rights abuses perpetrated by those they consider to be their 'friends'.⁷⁵⁸

To highlight which country resembles more closely with the Pakistani culture and traditions, Murtaza Haider makes a comparison between India and China

One neighbour, [India] where Muslims are a minority, has declared Eid festival a national holiday for all. The other neighbour [China] discourages Muslims from fasting and attending mosques during working hours. One neighbour [India] allows Muslim to practice their faith as they see fit; the other [China] tries to regulate Islamic practices. One neighbour [India] facilitates Muslims' annual pilgrimage to Makkah by building dedicated complexes near airports. The other permits [China] only the elderly, or those who the State finds patriotic, to perform the Hajj (pilgrimage). Pakistanis share culture, cuisine, and history with one neighbour [India]. With the other [China] no extensive cultural bonds exist.⁷⁵⁹

Moreover, one of the core objectives of Pakistan's foreign policy has been the promotion of Islamic ideology. Pakistan claims to be the champion of Kashmiri Muslims and the Palestinians. Pakistan has not recognised the state of Israel for fear of offending its Arab

⁷⁵⁷ Faraz Talat. "Islamophobia in China"

⁷⁵⁸ Rafia Zakaria, "Breaking up with China" *The Dawn* 4 July, 2014

⁷⁵⁹ Murtaza Haider, "Mistaking Handshakes for Friendship" *The Dawn*, 29 August 2012

allies. Therefore, for the protection of Islamic ideology, it has forfeited strategic and economic interests, which may have been accumulated having normal relations with India and diplomatic relations with Israel. However, when it comes to the discrimination of Uighurs, they are eclipsed in the parliamentary debates. The lawmakers use propaganda to cover up atrocities of the Chinese state. Contempt for the Uighurs' concerns suggests that they view their own society as a threat that by teaching about Chinese discrimination they might invite more trouble for the Sino-Pakistani alliance.

Incredible alliance

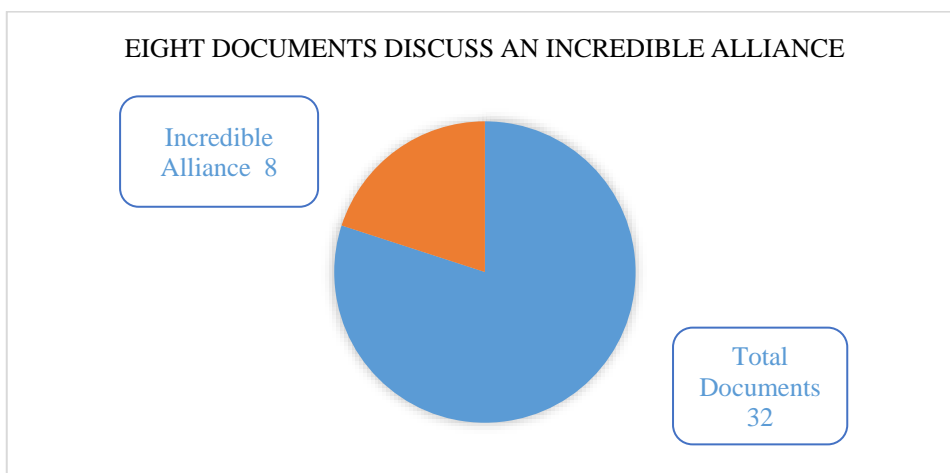


Figure 6.6: Eight Documents discuss An Incredible Alliance theme

A total of 08 (25%) of the 32 documents cover this theme. All the contents used in this theme depict alliance as “incredible”, “perfect”, “time-tested” and “extraordinary”, and “wonderful” etc. MPs employ particularly a new brand of unique language to attract people towards the alliance. In this theme, we find a use of colourful and lavish language, there is also a feeling of obligation and compactness, and, finally, the alliance is believed to be rooted in the hearts and minds of the people of Pakistan.

With regard to the effusive language, MPs use hyperbolic words to describe the Sino-Pakistan relationship. They typically appear poetic in describing the alliance with China. In their efforts to show relationship one of the best, and unique, they describe China only friend with which Pakistan has smooth diplomatic relations. Hansard's records suggest

that top-down leadership uses the flattering cliché: presidents, prime ministers, and high-level cabinet members designate the alliance with a gratifying and optimistic language.

Speaking to a joint session of parliament, President Khan said:

Pakistan relations with China are perfect and special. The relationship has satisfied a wide range of the test. China is an extremely trustworthy companion of Pakistan. Pakistan regards this fellowship with a core of the heart.⁷⁶⁰

Another president is found describing the alliance in similar words. During his meeting with the vice president of China, President Asif Zardari emphasised that Sino-Pakistan relationship is “all-weather and all-encompassing, which is destined to move from generation to generation.”⁷⁶¹ The use of words, i.e. “special”, “perfect”, and “extremely trustworthy” and “all-encompassing” will probably make people feel superior about the alliance. A consistent amount of flattering language will produce much more good results as the language make feel so great that it overshadows the awkwardness in the alliance. The hyperbolic word suggests that the alliance has reached its zenith and does not need

⁷⁶⁰ 'Majlis-E-Shoora (Parliament) of Pakistan: Joint Sitting Debate', 2nd Parliamentary year (2 December 1989) Islamabad: Manager Printing Corporation of Pakistan Press. p.15; On another occasion, President Khan emphatically suggested that the Pakistan-China alliance is an example for others to follow. In Khan words “We will continue to make efforts to make our neighbourhood peaceful and secure. We will endeavour to develop friendly relations with all our neighbours. Our friendship with our great friend and neighbouring China is an example for other nations to follow. We will strive to bring this relationship to a higher level with great enthusiasm and efforts”, see 'The Parliament of Pakistan: Joint Sitting Debates-Official Report', 3rd Session, Vol. III, No. I (19 December 1991) Manager Printing Corporation of Pakistan Press. pp.35-36

⁷⁶¹ 'Chinese Vice Premier Zhang Dejiang Calls on the President', in *Latest Press Releases/Speeches* (Islamabad: Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Government of Pakistan 9 June 2010).; President Zardari speaking to a joint session said, “our relations with China remains the bedrock of our foreign policy”. See 'The Majlis-E-Shoora (Parliament) of Pakistan: Joint Sitting Debate', 6th Session (5 April 2010) Vol.VI, No.1 Islamabad: Manager Printing Corporation of Pakistan Press.p.14

improvements. There is so much emphasis on this rhetoric that it acquires propaganda status.

The use of hyperbolic language appears frequently and zealously in every writing of the Pakistani elites, including the autobiographies, and the Ministry of Foreign Press Releases. The following examples are useful in this context. General Pervaiz Musharraf in his autobiography, *"In the Line of Fire"* has used relatively similar language to those of President Ishaq Khan to describe Sino-Pakistan alliance. Musharraf maintains, "China remains our time-tested and sincere friend, irrespective of its developing economic relations with India."⁷⁶² Likewise, ambassador Sultan Khan mentions in his autobiography, "...Pakistan is a great friend of China..."⁷⁶³ While in a Ministry of Foreign Affairs press release, it has been cited "Pakistan and China enjoy a multifaceted strategic partnership, based on mutual trust and mutuality of interests."⁷⁶⁴ Collectively all these writings give an impression that alliance is unprecedented. These could be imaginary and unreal words, but they carry heavy messages that can easily have a great effect on people's mind. The use of this language will probably change people's behaviour towards the alliance.

Some of other Pakistani leaders resemble Sino-Pak alliance with evergreen trees, mighty mountains, and deeper seas. Addressing to a joint session of parliament Premier Yousuf Raza Gillani considering it "a unique relationship" said, "Pakistan-China friendship is

⁷⁶² Pervez Musharraf, *In the line of Fire* (Simon and Schuster UK, 2006) p.306

⁷⁶³ Sultan Khan, *Memories and Reflection of a Pakistani Diplomat*, (London: The centre for Pakistan Study, London 1997) p.242

⁷⁶⁴ 'Visit of Chinese Vice Premier to Pakistan', in *Latest Press Releases/Speeches* (Islamabad: Ministry of Foreign Affairs 7 June 2010).

higher than the mountains, deeper than the oceans, stronger than steel and sweeter than honey.”⁷⁶⁵ Reiterating his position Gillani mentioned emphatically:

This most precious friendship and partnership have flourished through nurture and care of a successive generation of a leadership. Our people cherish it. It is not wonder that this special friendship has stood at the test of the time and grown from strength to strength.⁷⁶⁶

Prime Minister Gillani speaking on the floor of National assembly continued to add:

China is our oldest and tested friend. Pakistan-China friendship is higher than K-2 and deeper than Indian Ocean. With this great neighbour, we will strengthen our ideal friendship further.⁷⁶⁷

The use of iconic language and the association with things [trees, mountains, and seas] that increase the beauty of the universe suggests that the alliance is as beautiful and natural similar to those things. Furthermore, resembling it with K-2 means that the alliance is high, strong, and indestructible. Indeed, a state can have numerous opportunities at its disposal to create narratives and circulate favourable images to its audience, however one of the powerful propaganda strategy that can remarkably promote the alliance is the use of an effusive and flattering language involving natural objects. This is a great tactic used by legislators to strengthen a particular point on the Sino-Pakistani alliance in order to promote the alliance.

⁷⁶⁵ 'The Majlis-E-Shoora (Parliament) of Pakistan: Joint Sitting Debate', 7th Session (19 December 2010) p.13; President Zardari in his op-ed in Chinese newspaper has stated that “No relationship between two sovereign states is as unique and durable as that between Pakistan and China.” See Asif Ali Zardari, “Sino-Pakistan Relations Higher than Himalayas,” *China Daily*, 23 February 2009, http://www.chinadaily.cn/opinion/2009-02/23/content_7501699.htm [accessed 11 November, 2017]

⁷⁶⁶ 'The Majlis-E-Shoora (Parliament) of Pakistan: Joint Sitting Debate', 7th Session (19 December 2010) Vol. VII, No.1 Islamabad: Manager Printing Corporation of Pakistan Press. p.12

⁷⁶⁷ The National Assembly of Pakistan Debates- Official Report, 3rd Session (29 March 2008) Vol. III, No. 1 Islamabad: Manager Printing Corporation of Pakistan Press.p.19

Speaking to a joint session of parliament on the Chinese Prime Minister Wen Jiabao visit to Pakistan, opposition leader in the NA Nisar Ali Khan specified that “China is not a normal friend of Pakistan” but it is a “selfless friend”, “a time-tested friend” and “a friend in need, a friend who has helped Pakistan in every crisis. China is a friend whom we can depend on and, a friend who stood the test of time.” Emphasising the importance of the relationship, Khan told to visiting guest:

I would like to stand up here before you and before this august House and salute you, salute the leadership of the Chinese Republic, salute the people of China, salute your great country for the great and trusted friend that you have been over the last six decades.⁷⁶⁸

Lawmaker Khan concluded:

Mr. Prime Minister, our friendship with China transcends personalities. It transcends political compulsions and political parties. It transcends the Government or the Opposition. Every word that you have spoken over the last sixty years, Mr. Prime Minister, you and your predecessors, in support of Pakistan, every deed that you have done, every word that you have articulated, is edged in our memories, it is edged in our hearts, it is edged in the future legacy that you and we are going to give to our children, and rest assure that this is a legacy we treasure, the legacy of strong Sino-Pak relations. This is a legacy, which we will give to our future generations and they will give to their future generations.⁷⁶⁹

⁷⁶⁸ 'The Majlis-E-Shoora (Parliament) of Pakistan: Joint Sitting Debate', 7th Session (19 December 2010), p.10

⁷⁶⁹ *ibid* p.11

Nisar Khan has suggested that the Sino-Pakistani alliance exceeds the personalities; it is a heritage, and a treasure that every Pakistani will love in the future. This is one of best ways to make alliance promoted.

Others give a new perspective but are still in line with hyperbolic language. They believe it is a guarantee of peace and stability in South Asia. President Zardari categorically suggested that “Pakistan considers China to be a factor of stability in the region and beyond. The two countries would continue working together for regional peace and prosperity.”⁷⁷⁰ Peoples of Pakistan will tend to believe that Pakistan neighborhood is dangerous except China, especially when such statements emerge from high officials like presidents.

Likewise, President Ishaq Khan has stated:

China is our extraordinary and trusted companion. The changing conditions at the global level can't influence this relationship. It is as incredible alliance as ever rather getting deeper with each passing day. We are pleased with this relationship and we think of it as a balancing factor in the regional and global issues.⁷⁷¹

⁷⁷⁰ 'Chinese Vice Premier Zhang Dejiang Calls on the President', in *Latest Press Releases/Speeches* (Islamabad: Ministry of Foreign Affairs 9 June 2010).; Also see 'Visit of Chinese Vice Premier to Pakistan', in *Latest Press Releases/Speeches* (Islamabad: Ministry of Foreign Affairs 7 June 2010).; The notion of Chinese support on “regional, and international issues”, is a recurring theme which appears in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs (MOFA) presses releases too. See 'Pakistan Is Sending Relief Goods to Earthquake Affected Area in China', in *Latest Press Releases/Speeches* (Islamabad Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Government of Pakistan 10 May 2010).

⁷⁷¹ 'The Parliament of Pakistan: Joint Sitting Debates- Official Report, 5th Session, Vol. V, No.1 (22 December 1992). Islamabad: Manager Printing Corporation of Pakistan Press.p.20

Former Prime Minister Shaukat Aziz in his autobiography gave Sino-Pakistan alliance a historical perspective. Premier Aziz elaborates, “Pakistan considers its relationship with China..., as one of its most important.” Prime Minister Aziz further maintains:

It is an all-weather and time-tested friendship, rooted in history, mutual trust and understanding. Relations between the two nations go back to antiquity when the Silk Road served as a conduit not only for trade but also for ideas and knowledge.⁷⁷²

Similarly, there is a feeling of gratification, fulfillment and satisfaction in the MPs discussions. When one of the MPs stated it is a “complete alliance fulfilling security requirement of Pakistan” and that they are “satisfied with the performance” of the alliance, other members applauded it.⁷⁷³ Given the fact that alliances seldom fulfil commitments, security elites’ speeches occur in disregard to this fact. Pakistan cannot forget this alliance.

Still other describe alliance is embedded in the hearts and minds of the people. NA speaker Fahmida Mirza has said:

The Sino-Pak relations are deeply embedded in the hearts and minds of our two nations as this friendship has withstood many tests over the years. In this regard, we will never forget the manner in which our Chinese brothers and sisters

⁷⁷² Shaukat Aziz, *From Banking to the Thorny World of Politics*, (London: Quartet Books Limited 2016) pp.118-119

⁷⁷³ ‘The National Assembly of Pakistan Debates- Official Report’, 2nd Session (21 November 2002) Vol. II, No. I Islamabad: Manager Printing Corporation of Pakistan Press. p.33

responded to the call for help from the flood-affected people of Pakistan [2009] despite the fact that their own citizens were facing the same natural calamity.⁷⁷⁴

It means that even if the Chinese were suffering from trouble, they did not forget helping Pakistan. It will surely promote the alliance. Foreign Secretary Salman Bashir said, “Pakistan-China friendship is legendary – a fascinating romance between our peoples, deeply rooted in our national ethos, since times immemorial.”⁷⁷⁵ Further adding, “Our peoples will continue to march, hand-in-hand, on the high road to peace and prosperity.” Pakistani officials’ uses powerful rhetoric that connects people to the alliance. Adolf Hitler maintains, “Propaganda tries to force a doctrine on the whole people... Propaganda works on the general public from the standpoint of an idea and makes them ripe for the victory of this idea.”⁷⁷⁶ This rhetorical language has acquired propaganda status as it is enforcing a specific ideology on the people of Pakistan.

⁷⁷⁴ 'The Majlis-E-Shoora (Parliament) of Pakistan: Joint Sitting Debate', 7th Session (19 December 2010) p.2

⁷⁷⁵ 'Message from Foreign Secretary Salman Bashir-Pakistan-China Friendship Year', in *Latest Press Releases/Speeches* (Islamabad Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Government of Pakistan 1 January 2011).

⁷⁷⁶ United States Holocaust Memorial Museum, 'Nazi Propaganda', in *Holocaust Encyclopedia* (Washington: United States Holocaust Memorial Museum).
<https://www.ushmm.org/wlc/en/article.php?ModuleId=10005202> [Accessed 12 June 2017]

Chinese support: A must for Pakistan's unity, progress, and bright future

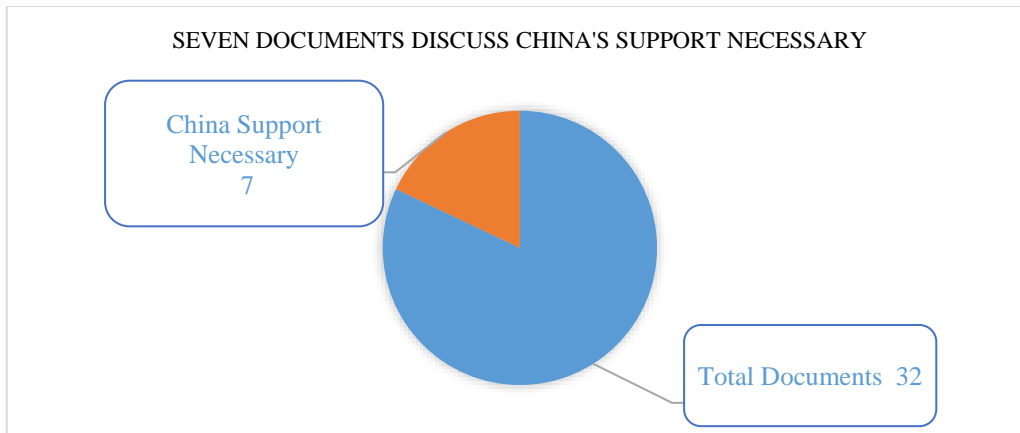


Figure 6.7: China's support necessary for Pakistan's progress and development

In the absence of an agreement with the militants, which seems far away, the only way to reduce the threat to the alliance would be the collapse of the militants. Although this is a possibility, now it seems quite remote. The strength of the militants has been reduced, but much work is needed to vanish them. There are no obvious signs of a rebellion within the militant group; propaganda seems to be a suitable and better option. The Pakistani elites are doing it in many ways, sometimes they consider alliance time-tested, and sometimes they believe it is must for Pakistan progress and development.

Quantitatively 07 (22%) out of 32 documents advance this theme. Qualitatively, MPs argue that China plays a crucial role in Pakistan's defence and security. one of the lawmakers maintains that China provides access to world-class military technologies, and transfers technology to produce weapons locally. China is the largest defence equipment provider of Pakistan. China transferred equipment and technology and provided scientific knowledge to Pakistan's nuclear weapons. We are very honoured, and very grateful to

China. In the coming years, this relationship will be further strengthened.⁷⁷⁷ Moreover, MPs believe that the Sino-Pakistani alliance is essential for growth, job creation, and poverty reduction in Pakistan. It offers new market opportunities for national companies, increased productivity, and innovation through the transfer of Chinese technology.⁷⁷⁸ Essentially, propaganda is explaining the tangible contribution of China, and in a way making everyone understand the necessity of the alliance. Everyone will know the purpose of the alliance and in one way will promote the alliance. Propaganda highlights the centrality of China in the progress and development of Pakistan. Propaganda is creating a perception that with the help of China, Pakistan is better.

Peoples' representative speeches within the parliament show that China is a source of national unity. President Ghulam Ishaq Khan maintains, "Pakistan can differ on anything but not on China. Pakistan united for China alliance. Even China unites Pakistan. The entire Pakistani nation support alliance with China. There has been complete agreement, even among the political parties of Pakistan, all segments of the Pakistani nation regarding supporting alliance with China. Thus, alliance with China unites Pakistan. China is a source of national unity."⁷⁷⁹ Lawmaker Nisar Ali Khan mentions, "... We in Pakistan have a lot of issues, we have a lot of problems, we are mired in a lot of controversies, but there is one issue on which there is no problem, there is no controversy, there is no difference of opinion, and that is our friendship towards China."⁷⁸⁰ Still others believe that it is an everlasting alliance largely. China is a bulwark against regional

⁷⁷⁷ 'Majlis-E-Shoora (Parliament) of Pakistan: Joint Sitting Debate', 2nd Parliamentary year (2 December 1989) Islamabad: Manager Printing Corporation of Pakistan Press p.15

⁷⁷⁸ *ibid.*

⁷⁷⁹ 'The Parliament of Pakistan: Joint Sitting Debates- Official Report', 5th Session, Vol. V, No.1 (22 December 1992). Islamabad: Manager Printing Corporation of Pakistan Press. p.20

⁷⁸⁰ 'The Majlis-E-Shoora (Parliament) of Pakistan: Joint Sitting Debate', 7th Session (19 December 2010) p.10

hegemony.⁷⁸¹ It is clear that Pakistani official's propaganda is doing a better job explaining why China is important. Once the people understand the reasoning behind the alliance, the revolt against the alliance can slowly subside. When people feel there is something tangible in the alliance, they will probably be motivated. It clearly shows the efforts of MPs to encourage the alliance with China.

One of the politicians' associates Pakistan's future with China by stating that the future is bright with this great friend. In addition, emerging China is a source of strength for Pakistan. The future is going to be a China as a superpower, so Pakistan is proud to have an alliance with it.⁷⁸² Still other believe a growth in the relationship and arguing that "Pakistan looks to entering into the 21st century with a strong and vibrant relationship with its closest, China."⁷⁸³ Pakistan and China are entering the 21st century with great pride and happiness. While China is happy to take Pakistan along. It shows how tomorrow could be if Islamabad continues to have an alliance with Beijing. However, the Pakistan-China alliance can be seen to be odd because it is an alliance between two asymmetric powers. From the perspective of a major power, the alliance with a small power is based upon its degree of utility in advancing the former's national interests.⁷⁸⁴ It depends how far China go along with Pakistan. China with a major power responsibility may behave differently with Pakistan.

⁷⁸¹ 'Senate Standing Committee on Foreign Affairs and Kashmir Affairs & Gilgit Baltistan, Visit of Delegations from China and Poland', Senate of Pakistan (Islamabad Pakistan's Global Approach Report-01, 29 October 2012). p.16

⁷⁸² 'Majlis-E-Shoora (Parliament) of Pakistan: Joint Sitting Debate', 3rd Session (8 November 1990) Islamabad: Manager Printing Corporation of Pakistan Press.p.18

⁷⁸³ 'The National Assembly of Pakistan Debates- Official Report', 8th Session (29 October 1997) Vol. VIII, No. I Islamabad: Manager Printing Corporation of Pakistan Press. p.20

⁷⁸⁴ For detail see discussion about Great and Small Powers relations Hassan Askari Rizvi. *Pakistan and the Geostrategic environment* pp.1-8

Propaganda illustrates that a fundamental truth: a situation in which an alliance is constantly threatened by militants, there are many ways to counteract it, propaganda is one of them. In propaganda, elites try to associate positive words with the alliance partner. All this derives from the fundamental insecurity of the Pakistani elite. A lawmaker states Chinese are “benevolent, great and noble in character.”⁷⁸⁵ Due to threats to the alliance, MPs aim to destroy negativity with regard to communism and Chinese nation. Essentially, Propaganda message promotes harmony between Pakistan and China.

Reliable China and the unreliable US

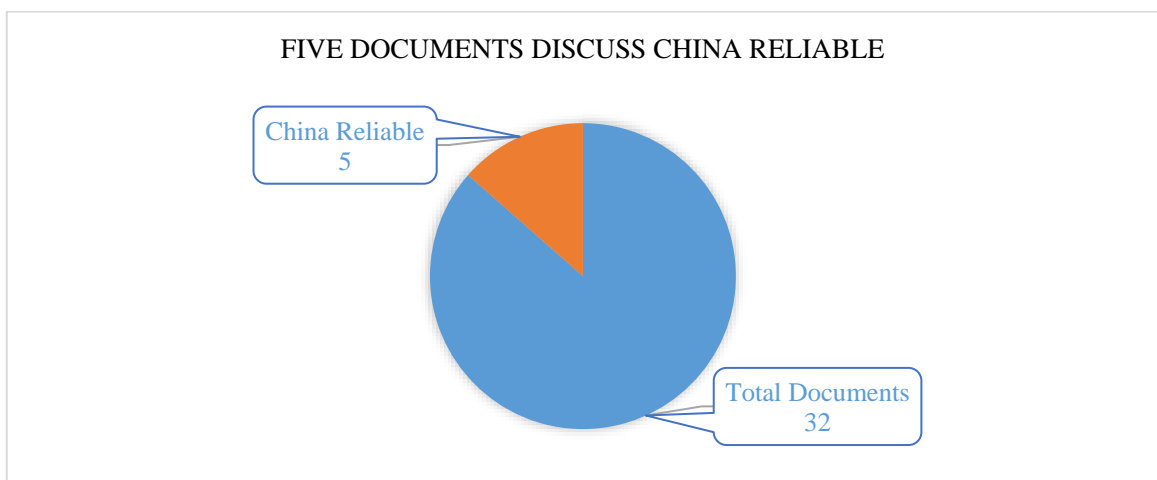


Figure 6.8: China Reliable, US unreliable theme

The Figure 6.8 indicates 05 (14%) out of 32 documents discuss China reliable, US unreliable theme. In those five documents, lawmakers see China as a trusted and strong partner, while the United States is seen with doubt.

⁷⁸⁵ ‘The National Assembly of Pakistan Debates- Official Report’, 2nd Session (21 November 2002) Vol. II, No. I Islamabad: Manager Printing Corporation of Pakistan Press. p.33

Furthermore, one of the MPs believes the relationship between Pakistan and China is based on bilateral trust, while there is a lack of trust between Pakistan and the United States. Without elaborating further, MPs suggest that China never forces Pakistan for self-interest, while the United States forces Pakistan for self-interest.⁷⁸⁶ Another legislator claims that there are many periods of ups and down with the United States, while Pakistan relations with China has been smooth. The United States imposes sanctions, while China provides assistance.⁷⁸⁷ This is the feeling, which has been announced frequently both in and outside of the parliament. Foreign minister Khawaja Asif maintains, “The Americans have been our friends for a long time – since the 60s and the 70s – but their reliability is relative.”⁷⁸⁸

The comparison of things and/or individuals is a good propaganda strategy. The inclusion of the United States as an unreliable partner, which had provided hundreds of thousands of dollars during and after the Cold War, is not accidental. When China is painted better than the United States, people will see China as a sincere friend. Recently US have taken many unilateral actions of self-interest that have increased anti-Americanism in recent years. The raid on the Osama Bin Laden complex in Abbottabad, the killing of 24 Pakistani forces on the Afghan border by the ISAF forces, frequent unilateral drone strikes in the tribal areas, all have been significantly adding to the negative image of the US in Pakistan. In such a background, lawmaker’s propaganda of China as an alternative of US may be justified and accepted within the Pakistanis society.

Comparing nations who tend to give up easily with states that tend to carry on will surely create an element of trust. The notion of persistence, reliability are better words, it creates trust and satisfaction (used for Pak-China relationship). On the other hand, the unreliability tag will leave people in doubt (used for Pak-America relationship). The

⁷⁸⁶ ‘The National Assembly of Pakistan Debates- Official Report’, 6th Session (22 December 1993) Vol. VI, No. 5. Islamabad: Manager Printing Corporation of Pakistan Press. pp.347-48

⁷⁸⁷ *ibid*, p. 348

⁷⁸⁸ Hassan Belal Zaidi, ‘Washington Not a Reliable Friend: Asif’, *The Dawn*, 26 November, 2014.

reliability unreliability debates make people feel something tangible; the alliance will likely be accepted.

Lawmakers argue that China helps us to stand up to the challenges, while America makes us dependent. Politician Haji Pervaiz Khan maintains:

The United States makes Pakistan dependent on her; it does not give us the technology rather than keep it out of Pakistan's reach. Pakistan must distinguish its companions and foes. Contrary to US, China is a friend who makes agreements with us and provides us with technology. It gives us the technology that gives us fighter planes like JF-17 thunder. The United States has never given us technology, however, when it gives us arms, it blackmails us. Therefore, bearing in mind, we must reconsider/re-evaluate our relations with the United States in addition we must distinguish among friends who are interested in the well-being of Pakistan and those who do not want it.⁷⁸⁹

Indeed, China has transferred technology to Pakistan, while the US has been reluctant to do so. Most recently, China has been transferring its high-quality industrial technology to Pakistan as part of the multi-billion-dollar China-Pakistan Economic Corridor (CPEC) project. Pakistani nuclear program is believed to have been based on know-how transferred from China. In 1998, Tim Weiner of the New York Times reported:

China, a staunch ally of Pakistan's, provided blueprints for the bomb, as well as highly enriched uranium, tritium, scientists, and key components for a nuclear weapons production complex, among other crucial tools. Without China's help, Pakistan's bomb would not exist.⁷⁹⁰

⁷⁸⁹ The National Assembly of Pakistan Debates- Official Report, 9th Session (24 December 2008) p.823

⁷⁹⁰ Tim Weiner, 'Nuclear Anxiety: The Know-How; U.S. And China Helped Pakistan Build Its Bomb', *The New York Times* 1 June 1998 <http://www.nytimes.com/1998/06/01/world/nuclear-anxiety-the-know-how-us-and-china-helped-pakistan-build-its-bomb.html> [accessed 22 April, 2017]

While another lawmaker even goes to the extent to give the impression that Pakistan's relationship with the US is Pakistan's physical destruction while with China its Pakistan's progress. The US compelling Pakistan through different means to become its subordinate, while China sees Pakistan as a partner in the region. Legislator Mahmood Achakzai maintains, "alliance with the US is a destruction, we cannot surrender our national interest for the US interests. We cannot become the US lackey. The US uses Pakistan for its own interest. China is our extremely close friend we will not seek an alliance with the US at the cost of China."⁷⁹¹ The obvious differentiation between a "reliable" and an "unreliable" partner explain that MPs objective may not be to project the US badly but to project China better in the eyes. Moreover, it makes an example of good propaganda. Pakistan Ambassador to the US Aizaz Chaudhry has stated that "relations with the US are very important for Pakistan and this realization is prevalent across all segments of Pakistani polity."⁷⁹² Therefore, lawmaker relates it to unreliable just to make China look better in the eyes of the people of Pakistan.

The feeling of China being reliable and American being unreliable so prevalent in the Pakistani discourse that it is often mentioned in various forums. For example, Deputy Chairman, Planning Commission Sartaj Aziz has said "Relations between Pakistan and China have become a model of State to State relations and China has become a reliable partner in our national development efforts."⁷⁹³ While Hussain Nadim explains Pakistan, US relations have been "transactional," but "lacking a strategic partnership between the two countries and their civilian leadership. While Pakistan and the United States

⁷⁹¹ The National Assembly of Pakistan Debates- Official Report, 6th Session (22 December 1993) p.347

⁷⁹² Warda Imran, "Reciprocal' Travel Restrictions to Be Imposed on Pakistan Diplomats: US', *The Express Tribune* 18 April 2018. Available at <https://tribune.com.pk/story/1688629/3-reciprocal-travel-restrictions-imposed-pakistan-diplomats-us/> [accessed on 18 April, 2018]

⁷⁹³ The Frontier Post, 'China a Reliable Partner in Our Development Efforts, Says Sartaj Aziz', *The Frontier Post* 12 December 2017.

developed close ties, at least superficially, as a result of cooperation through two wars in Afghanistan, mutual suspicion continues to run deep in the military and intelligence communities of both countries.” On the other hand, Nadim argues, “China is considered an ‘all-weather friend’ by the Pakistan Army. China has backed Pakistan in turbulent times through major arms sales and the provision of nuclear technology and economic assistance.”⁷⁹⁴ Frontier Post editorial maintains “As History is Our Witness,’ China is a More Reliable Friend than United States”⁷⁹⁵ “With Americans haughtily boxing Pakistan into a corner, and their Western allies subtly working toward the same end, China has again offered a heartening voice to Pakistan, just as it has whenever our country has found itself in a distressful predicament.”⁷⁹⁶

In their discussion, we found that lawmakers believe that the time is shifting to China. The future is better with China, not the US. Legislator Syed Iftikhar Hussain Gillani believes that though we should make efforts to improve relations with the US, but Pakistan needs to be forward-looking, we need to understand the changing world scenario and seek closer cooperation with China.⁷⁹⁷ Equally, Gillani believes world is changing it is moving from a unipolar to multipolar, where China will be one player. MPs maintain that nation needs to take this pressure and make sure that the relations with China remain on course. We need to think a decade ahead plan China is the future.⁷⁹⁸

⁷⁹⁴ Hussain Nadim, 'Neither Friend nor Foe: Pakistan, the United States and the War in Afghanistan', *Lowy Institute* (28 September 2017) <https://www.lowyinstitute.org/publications/neither-friend-nor-foe-pakistan-united-states-and-war-afghanistan> [accessed 22 December 2017]

⁷⁹⁵ Editorial, "As History Is Our Witness', China Is a More Reliable Friend Than America', *The Frontier Post* 20 May 2011.

⁷⁹⁶ *ibid*

⁷⁹⁷ The National Assembly of Pakistan Debates- Official Report, 6th Session (16 December 1993) p. 46

⁷⁹⁸ *ibid*

Lawmakers also suggest that when the United States needs our support, then they show friendly behaviour, and when the need is over, friendship is transformed into open enmity. While China's hand of friendship is everlasting, China does not do this at all; he is just a friend of Pakistan. Awami National Party [ANP] Ajmal Khan Khattak states that Pakistan is no more US preference. During the cold war and especially during the Afghan war, US utilised Pakistan. US want Pakistan to be subservient to India and then keep a hold on Pakistan. Contrary to that, China will never want us to be subservient to India. China will never leave Pakistan alone the way the US does. Once US objectives have been achieved the US leave Pakistan alone, China is a permanent friend.”⁷⁹⁹ There is a complete trust. There is an ideal depiction on every indicator China is up to the mark and the US is faltering or unfulfilling those indicators. China is significantly portrayed as a blameless and faultless friend.

Finally, Pakistani politicians believe that America is against Pakistan-China alliance. The United States oppose the deepening Pakistan and China alliance. The US wants to see China weak. And are totally opposed of Pakistan-China strong relations. Pakistan needs to find this out clearly and figure out the friend and the enemy. Marvi Memon maintains that

The US is against Sino-Pakistan alliance. It does not want to see Pakistan-China coming closer. Nevertheless, Pakistan is better with China, it is much better and in good hands, if it moves closer to the Chinese state than with the US. The best

⁷⁹⁹ The National Assembly of Pakistan Debates- Official Report, 11th Session (19h February 1992). p 1009

advice is we need to move closer to China than the US. The US wants us to be subservient to India. China has no such intentions.⁸⁰⁰

Lawmaker Maulana Atta-Ur-Rehman maintains, “America does not want Pakistan to have a close alliance with China. The enmity between Pakistan-China will benefit US partner India. But we know China is great partner and friend and we trust that partner in a great way. China has been our friend and well-wisher.”⁸⁰¹ Thus, this rhetoric of comparisons shows that the Pakistani state is willing to intensify its propaganda efforts to dissuade any kind of action by militants threatening the alliance, thus discouraging them from making the slightest move to undermine Pakistan and China alliance. The Chinese are depicted reliable and very committed to the cause of Pakistan and its security.

China-Pakistan-India triangle: China peaceful, India intruder

Statistically, 03 (9%) out of 32 documents cover this theme. The Pakistan-China-India triangle is one of the world’s most volatile and dangerous strategic equations. These countries cumulatively are home to half of world’s population. All three nations have one of the largest standing armies in the world and possess deadly nuclear weapons. Pakistan and India have clashed several times over the past six decades; China and India fought briefly in 1962 and, more recently, clashed on the Doklam plateau in the Himalayan region.⁸⁰²

⁸⁰⁰ The National Assembly of Pakistan Debates- Official Report, 9th Session (24 December 2008) Vol. IX. No. 9 Islamabad: Manager Printing Corporation of Pakistan Press p. 828

⁸⁰¹ Ibid. p. 812

⁸⁰² Ankit Panda, 'The Doklam Standoff between India and China Is Far from Over', *The Diplomat* 22 October 2017.

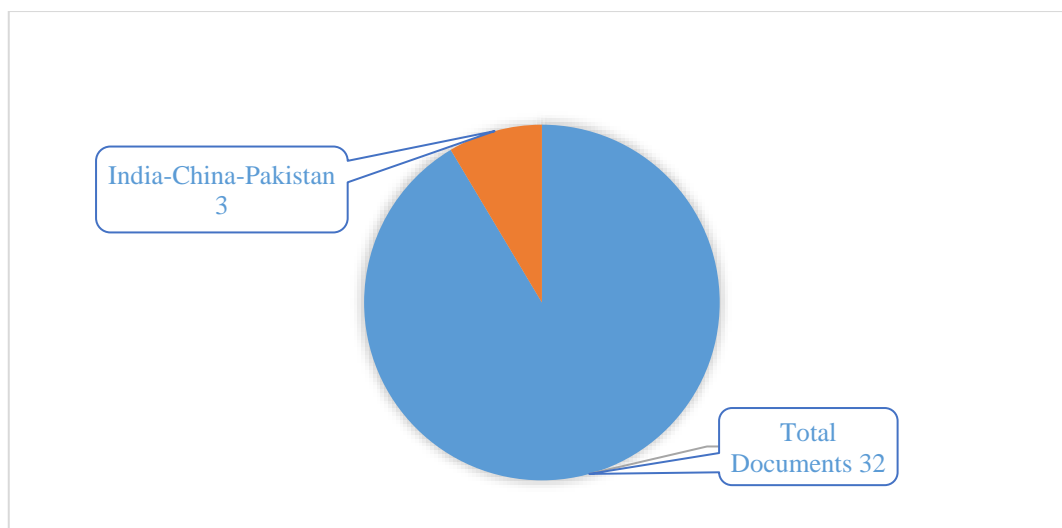


Figure 6.9: China-Pakistan-India triangle

Zulfikar Ali Bhutto's first real accomplishment as Foreign Minister was to negotiate a boundary dispute with China in 1963. It is believed that both nations should resolve boundary demarcation amicably.⁸⁰³ In contrast, Pakistan's experience with India to settle the demarcation line has been less than unpleasant. India occupies a central place in Pakistan's foreign policy. Kashmir is the prime problem between the two nations. Consequently, seeking external alliances has been the central focus of Pakistan foreign policy. This element appears in the MPs discussion, and they explain it comparing Pakistan's experience both with China and with India.

The US is not the only country that is compared with China; lawmakers put India in a similar bracket: China better, India enemy. Reflecting on this line of thinking, one of the politicians claims that India is an enemy, intruder, and hegemonic while China is great

⁸⁰³ Ahmad Rashid Malik, 'Who Ceded the Land?', *Pakistan Today* 26 June 2016

and sincere friend. While India uses power to resolve disputes, China follows the principles of discussion and negotiation.⁸⁰⁴

Even another politician states that New Delhi makes hard for smaller states of South Asia to conduct peacefully in the region. Contrary to that, China is impeccable, peaceful and respects national sovereignty. Pakistan's experience with both India and China explain it amply.⁸⁰⁵ The central goal of the propaganda of Pakistani parliamentarians is to change people's behavior, and the kind of argument they are using will probably change it mainly because they first discuss the darker picture (India is portrayed creating problems for the smaller nation of South Asia), and then give the clearest picture that China is peaceful. It will make China appear good.

Explaining the actual process of boundary demarcation with China, Foreign Minister Gohar Ayub Khan maintains that "boundary demarcation was done in such a friendly manner", explaining it further, Khan elaborates that the Chinese would say to Pakistani engineer "you mark out where the boundary has to be where the pillar has to be put", and they would erect the pillar on the marking suggested by the Pakistani engineer. "It was done in such a friendly atmosphere."⁸⁰⁶ While lawmaker Qaiser Ali Khan explaining experience with India argues that "in sharp contrast to the Chinese experience, Indian have been an intruder in our territory. Chinese experience was extremely good, it was done in great spirit, while the Indian has been a painful experience. They have occupied our lands."⁸⁰⁷ It essentially means that China believes in peaceful coexistence with the neighbours while India believes in supremacy and bullying. It also means that China is a principled superpower, while India is not. Lawmakers propaganda encourage people to think which is better. Undoubtedly, the unambiguous depiction would likely to make

⁸⁰⁴ 'The National Assembly of Pakistan Debates- Official Report', 11th Session (19 February 1992) pp.1009-1010

⁸⁰⁵ Ibid, p.1009

⁸⁰⁶ The National Assembly of Pakistan Debates- Official Report, 20th Session (2 November 1995) p. 357

⁸⁰⁷ The National Assembly of Pakistan Debates- Official Report, 17th Session 3rd Parliamentary Year (20 July 1999), Islamabad: Manager Printing Corporation of Pakistan Press. p.2966

people think that India has a sinister feeling while Chinese are genuine about Pakistan. People may not accept the rhetoric of Pakistani legislators that China is friendly, but when it is compared to India, people will certainly accept it.

Faced with the dual dangers of domestic instability and terrorist attacks on the Chinese, the Pakistani state has devised a strategy for the survival of the alliance that depends on explaining the usefulness of the alliance with China. With regards to the Indo-Pakistan wars, politicians give similar views found in the textbook's chapter. To mention briefly, Foreign minister Gohar Ayub Khan maintains that China was fully involved helping Pakistan in its conflict with India both in 1965 and 1971 wars. China issued an ultimatum to India finish the war otherwise face costs. China provided “blind support to us.”⁸⁰⁸ MPs discussion gives an acceptable impression to the Pakistani public about China. The discussion strikingly depicts two important neighbours: one is the aggressor, the other is a pacifier, one is intruded, and another is peaceful. It makes China more noble, benign than India. The public will surely see China as preferable over India. In a sense, Pakistani MPs recall a more glorious past to explain the future. Explaining people of Pakistan, a painful past and in that painful moment China was there, it will promote the alliance.

It is important to report that not all politicians seek propaganda. Unprecedentedly some vices can be heard in the parliament, which represent different perspective rather depicting ground realities. A handful of MPs believe Pakistan is isolated on Kashmir issue as China no longer support on it. Talking on the floor of the parliament soon after the fiasco of the Kargil crisis, Aftab Shaban Mirani maintains that “we stand totally isolated on Kargil issue. Which country has supported you? ...has China took up the

⁸⁰⁸ The National Assembly of Pakistan Debates- Official Report, 20th Session (2 November 1995) p. 357

issue...no Mr speaker we are totally isolated.”⁸⁰⁹ In the same discussion, Naveed Qamar belonging to Pakistan People’s Party approving Mirani comments maintained that Pakistan must be blamed on the Kargil crisis and whole world including China which has been “a steadfast ally of us” distanced from us gradually.⁸¹⁰

Chinese position on Kashmir is unequivocal. A Chinese Foreign Ministry official issued following statement on Kashmir issue, “The issue of Kashmir is an issue left over from history. Our stance on that is consistent. We hope that the parties concerned will pursue a peaceful settlement through dialogue.”⁸¹¹ Satyabrat Sinha explains Chinese Kashmiri policy appropriately:

The changes ushered in by the end of the cold war have altered Asian geopolitics. While Islamabad continues to perceive Beijing as a reliable strategic partner, China’s foreign policy imperatives have changed considerably and steadily become more global. Beijing’s liberalisation strategy has increased the incentives to cooperate with the US, Russia, and India-to the relative neglect of Pakistan.⁸¹²

Stephen Cohen argues China has moderated stance on Kashmir mainly because of its concern “about the rise of jihadis” in Pakistan. Cohen continues, China suspects “Uighur separatists receive help from abroad”, mainly from Pakistan as the explosive used in Xi

This chapter provided a comprehensive description of the Pakistani officials’ coverage of the Sino-Pakistan alliance. The chapter discussed both the qualitative and quantitative findings generated through the content analysis of the parliamentary debates of the Pakistani politicians. It related the results to the research questions raised at the outset of

⁸⁰⁹ The National Assembly of Pakistan Debates- Official Report, 17 Session, 3rd Parliamentary Year, (24 June 1999) Islamabad: Manager Printing Corporation of Pakistan Press. p.1747

⁸¹⁰ Ibid. pp 1750-1751

⁸¹¹ Shahid M. Amin, 'China’s Stance on Kashmir Pakistan Observer', *Pakistan Observer* 21 March 2017.

⁸¹² Satyabrat Sinha, The Strategic Triangle: India- China -Pakistan, *China Report*, Vol, 40, No.2, 2004, p.224

the thesis with the purpose of indicating how security elites promote alliance with China and what propaganda of the security elites indicate how they view their own society.

We focused on the lawmakers' attitudes and political orientations of the alliance. This is what distinguishes this study from other studies on the subject. Statistical findings of this chapter indicated that there is a correlation between gender and subject matters. The results indicate that the parliamentary discussion on Pakistan's relations with China are dominated by male politicians. Discussion by female MPs account for only 8% of the total discussions, while religious parties have not much contributed within the parliament.

The main findings of this chapter are that the lawmakers are highly concerned with the events of terrorist attacks on Chinese and separatist movement in Xinjinag China. This theme has occupied great space in the parliamentary debates. MPs concerns are indicated in terms of their efforts to explain people of Pakistan about the concerns of the Chinese and their feeling about those attacks, and Pakistani MPs efforts to educate people of Pakistan that these attacks are putting Sino-Pakistan relations in trouble. They trouble they associated are related to the future of Pakistan's trade relations with China and children future, and China may isolate Pakistan. While it was found that the terrorist attacks on Chinese are condemned by all the MPs. MPs were not emotional in their assessment of the attacks and explained people of Pakistan that attacks on Chinese could lead to the challenges in Sino-Pakistan relations.

Furthermore, the statistical findings and interpretations indicate that the officials describe Sino-Pakistan relations with most effusive terms considering it all comprehensive, time-tested, unique and good for the people of Pakistan. They believe that Pakistan must needs this alliance to secure its better future, to sustain unity which come with the alliance with China.

The MPs appear to be adopting the strategy of comparison between Pakistan's alliance partner, i.e. China and USA. In their description, China appear to be better on the basis of its support to Pakistan on various occasion like wars with India.

Finally, India is projected enemy in the eyes of the Pakistan while China is believed to have help against the enemy. The findings of the chapter concur with SEPIA assumptions regarding how Pakistani officials promote alliance and what their propaganda tells us.

In the next chapter, we conclude this thesis. Before presenting the summary of the thesis, it will restate the aims, the main argument, and the findings of the study. Also, it will detail limitations, suggestions for further research and the contribution of this study to the existing body of knowledge.

Conclusion

This thesis has attempted to systematically explore the complex internal dynamics that shape contemporary relations between Pakistan and China. It aims to assess the political problems of being an openly religious state that is attempting to practice the balance of power politics with an atheist ally China. More specifically, the research examines the internal challenges of the Pakistan-China alliance and the strategies of Pakistani security elites to counter these challenges. It essentially means that the study examines the real and potential challenges to the resistance of the Pakistan-China alliance.

After highlighting the domestic challenges to the alliance, the research aims to assess the efforts and strategies of Pakistani security elites to overcome these challenges. It basically means that the study evaluates the propaganda strategies of the security elites to cultivate the Chinese alliance at the national level. While exposing the Pakistani state propaganda, the goal of the research is to highlight the apprehension of the Pakistani elite towards their public.

By offering an analytical model *Security Elite Domestic Propaganda and International Alliance*, this thesis has sought to explain

- What the real and potential challenges to the endurance of the Pakistan - China alliance are?
- How the security elites in Pakistan sustain and promote the alliance with China domestically to counter those threats and challenges? And
- What their propaganda tells us about how they view their own society?

As we discussed in the literature review section of chapter one, the logic of international alliances (Realist, Neoclassical Relist, Constructivist and Liberalist Approaches) fell short of elucidating the Pakistan-China alliance properly. They collectively fail to acknowledge the conduct of state's domestic propaganda to maintain awkward alliances. To bridge the apparent theoretical divides and mainly to address this lacuna, this thesis operationalises the theoretical framework SEPIA to promote a more comprehensive

undertaking of underlying logic behind Pakistan's alliance making with China. SEPIA hypothesis that the states need external alliance(s) to balance external threats but facing the anomaly of internal threats and challenges to the alliance, states launch a systematic campaign of publicity to sell the alliance domestically. The promotional strategies undertaken by the states in their propaganda construction divulge their apprehension about their own public.

Having reiterated the thesis statement, the research questions and the main argument, this chapter endeavours to present a summary of the findings of the research keeping in view the research questions and objectives, followed by the theoretical implication of SEPIA and suggestions for future research on the Pakistan-China alliance. The final section outlines the implications of this study for future IR-related investigations of Sino-Pakistan and, in general, interstate relations that are clouded by nationally conceived problems such as internal threats to the alliance. Perhaps, more intensely, it highlights the development of IR Realism by means of SEPIA in covering its gap of strange alliances, to provide a healthier explanation of state-to-state relations in international politics.

Empirical findings

As the centre of interest in this study is to explore the attitudes of the decision-makers towards those governed, we have made efforts in the previous three chapters to discover who is carrying out the propaganda, what the targets of the propaganda are and what is being said. Essentially, we have tried to examine the mindset of the propagandists rather than the receivers of the propaganda. Whether the propaganda exposed here has promoted the alliance with China or not, we may never know as the influence of this propaganda on domestic society is not easy to measure. Martin Moore highlights, "Propaganda, if it had any impression at all, could only enhance attitudes, not change them."⁸¹³

⁸¹³ Martin Moore, "Moore on Brooks, 'British Propaganda to France, 1940-1944: Machinery, Method and Message'", H-Albion <https://networks.h-net.org/node/16749/reviews/18242/moore-brooks-british-propaganda-france-1940-1944-machinery-method-and> (accessed 29 November 2015).

The empirical evidence presented in the previous three chapters shows that there is much interesting, overdone and exaggerated, and twisted discourse on Pakistan's alliance with China. The Pakistani security elite had concerns about the effectiveness of the alliance with China, and so, demonstrating their faith in a strategy of propaganda, they launched a campaign to establish the reputation of the alliance, which, among other techniques, included the use of posters, slogans, and the naming of roads and roundabout after China. Essentially, this strategy intrinsically demonstrates that the security elites in Pakistan believe propaganda is a suitable approach to overcoming some of the challenges to the alliance.

Still, it is exceptionally hard to conclude that there is a correlation between what the security elite are writing and what surveys are revealing. Did the Pakistani population read what officials were promulgating using textbooks and newspaper articles? Textbooks will have exposed much of the population to favourable views of the alliance as they are compulsory taught subjects in schools, but the same cannot be said with certainty about the newspaper articles and parliamentary debates. Similarly, propaganda cannot create a new alliance, but it can augment its worth publicly. Edward Bernays states "we are governed, our minds are molded, our tastes formed, our ideas suggested, largely by men we have never heard of".⁸¹⁴

To summarise above discussion, it can be emphasised that propaganda impact is hard to calculate, but it has significance. Propaganda has been accepted as a useful technique to market unpopular decisions, i.e. Propaganda has certainly been used in Pakistan to engage people on China alliance, while the major powers have used it for advantages at domestic fronts during the major wars. In the following section we summarise the findings of the thesis.

This research highlights Pakistani officials' efforts to preserve and promote the alliance with China domestically to overcome the undesirable impact of domestic threats to the

⁸¹⁴Quoted in Steve Robertson, "Big Brands Sell Their Souls to the Devil," *Huffington Post* 15 March 2015

viability and efficacy of the alliance. Empirical evidence gathered to answer the research question is mainly presented in chapters three, four, five and six and to a lesser extent in chapter one. In the next section, we will summarise the observations and then explore how they facilitated the evaluation of the research questions and objectives.

In chapter two, Walt's BoT theory was operationalised to scrutinise the main threats to Pakistan's security and the Pakistani state rejoinder. Using the four elements of BoT theory, it was emphasised that India, as a contiguous neighbour exhibiting aggressive intention and a hostile posture towards Pakistan, acts a serious security threat to the sovereignty and territorial integrity of Pakistan. The chapter underscored that Islamabad has given uppermost importance to external security. It is such an important consideration that it dominates all other administration activities. Faced with hostile and powerful India and an unfriendly Afghanistan on her eastern and western borders respectively, the security elites have sought to protect their national borders through a policy of international alliances.

Despite of the fact that the western front with Afghanistan has largely been a war zone, India has always been the immediate concern for Pakistan. Considering this, the need for the alliance has largely been based on forging a credible deterrent to counterbalance India. Therefore, the rationality advocated by Walt's BoT theory would force Pakistan to seek a balancing strategy, mainly against India, and to this end Islamabad pursues an alliance with a major power, in this case China.

Furthermore, we documented the answers to our first research question to explore the real and potential challenges to the durability of Pakistan-China alliance. This inquiry found that three real and potential threats and challenges place the Pakistan-China alliance in a real quandary. Essentially these three challenges are responsible for aggravating Pakistani state elites worries about the alliance with China. Firstly, the Pakistani religious parties' embracing of Uighur Muslims into their madrasah, providing Uighur military training and financial support poses a threat to the efficacy of the Sino-Pakistan alliance. Secondly, jihadi outfits and sub-nationalists subject the Chinese to terrorist acts; for the jihadi militants, it is an opportunity to revenge the attacks on their "brothers" in Xinjiang, and the separatists to vent their anger against Pakistan and its closest friend China.

Finally, a passive, but potentially a dangerous, propensity which survives within the society is the widely held perception that communism is incompatible with Islam.

We discerned that these factors not only pose a threat to the alliance itself, but unequivocally reinforce Pakistani officials' doubts about their own public. Because of threats to the alliance, the security elites make efforts to alleviate these anxieties through promotional strategies using, for example, the syllabuses implemented in cultural institutions, newspaper articles, and parliamentary debates.

We analysed textbooks, newspaper articles and parliamentary debates to find answers to two other research questions: how the Pakistan security elites sustain the alliance in the wake of threats? And what security elites propaganda reveals us about how they view their own society?

From data analysis, it became evidently clear that the security elites' attempt to promote alliance through a strategy of propaganda, and that these strategies revealed a great deal about their fears and concerns about their own community. One of the key findings in the chapter on textbooks suggests that there is a link between militants' strategies of attacking Chinese or supporting Uighur separatists, and Pakistani officials' propaganda patterns. The security elites operate propaganda using analogous tactics like those used by the religious element to encourage cracks in the Sino-Pakistan alliance. For example, as shown in Chapter three, the militants use Islam (a common faith between Uighur and Pakistani society) as a motivation to attack Chinese and to oblige Uighur Muslims in their madrasah to spearhead their independence movements. The security elites use similar tactics to peddle the alliance domestically using the *Glorious Chinese* theme.

The findings emphasis that the Chinese possess similar cultural values and virtues to those found in Islam. The common values and features identified were the avoidance of alcohol and disinclination from a free-sex society. There is also a dislike of extravagance and a love for humility in both nations. The two nations share a simple approach to life. To highlight the similarities between the two nations, the chapter explains how the Chinese rejected consuming modern drinks (Pepsi Cola, Coca Cola), which are also despised by the extremists. It was found that there is a propensity to compare Chinese

famous places with Islamic religious places to enhance the legitimacy of the alliance in the eyes of the public who submit to those Islamic places.

In one example, a famous Pakistani visitor shared the ‘common feelings’ that he developed while visiting Chinese famous places (Great Wall of China) and Islamic places (Saddi shrine, and Abi Waqas tomb). These propaganda strategies are to counter the feeling of antagonism towards communism within the public. Another message used to improve the image of the Chinese in Pakistan was that the Chinese love Pakistan and its people. They are hospitable and caring people and who help Pakistan and its people during a crisis; the elite also tried to embed the idea that Pakistan-China are not disjointed, rather that they belong to the same family.

The Pakistani elite propaganda suggested that the Uighur Muslims were living in better conditions. It means that they do not experience discrimination as the Chinese constitution pledges their political, economic and cultural rights. The Chinese government does not interfere in their affairs, rather it allows them to perform their religious rituals and obligations, and that the Chinese government is acting with urgency to validate that the Uighur Muslims live a life equal to that of fellow Chinese. The Chinese state encouraged Uighur to take part in Xinjiang progress and development and that the Uighur have been living in China peacefully for centuries. They have a separate province to live and they travel to Pakistan without any restrictions. Essentially, the argument is aimed to diffuse animosity towards China about Uighur separatism.

The security narrative of textbooks regarding militant Hindu India and China characterises India as a “Hindu state” and, as such, an enemy of “Islamic Pakistan”: this theme suggests that India has been a source of constant tension and that the nature of the dispute with it affects Islamabad’s survival as a sovereign unit. The historical rivalry (the Hindu-Muslim divide, wars of 1965 and 1971), and Indian attempts to dominate (Indian hegemony, interference in Balochistan other settled and non-settled areas) are used to highlight the security challenges faced by Pakistan. Having established the Indo-Pakistan rivalry, the theme argued that all is not gloomy and unsatisfying as there are some good neighbours and friends, like China, which support and help Pakistan during crisis and wars with India. The logical connection between a threat (traditional enemy) and a

balancer (China) indeed market the alliance appropriately to a society which also sees India as an enemy.

The propaganda strategies in chapter four, examining the school textbooks, also compare Pakistan's two main patrons - the US and China - to exaggerate the importance of China. For example, the textbooks recognise that Pakistan's alliance with the US has fallen short of Pakistani expectations, while the Chinese have remained faithful. The theme *Unreliable US, Reliable China*, highlights that during times of extreme crisis (Indo-Pak wars), the US stepped back and watched Pakistan falling to Indian suzerainty despite its pledged alliance with Pakistan, but China rallied round Pakistan during those crises and turned out to be a passionate partner. The textbooks also show regret at President Kennedy's decision to arm India to the detriment of Pakistan's security.

Finally, the textbooks touched upon the US government's post-Cold War sanctions on Pakistan, barring military and economic assistance to Pakistan, and suggest that China agreed to fulfil the void by supplying weapons and meeting security requirements to balance Indian threat. Yet again, China is portrayed as the saviour of Pakistan at a crucial time. Finally, American unfaithfulness is depicted in the way it fails to appreciate Pakistan's sacrifices in the war against terrorism, while the Chinese are believed to be faithful as they have been appreciative of the human and economic damages to Pakistan. The arguments found in the textbooks are likely to encourage positive feelings about China, with the public being led to believe that it is dedicated to Pakistan's security.

It was also established in the theme a *Historical Relationship*, that Pakistan and China were able to establish diplomatic relations smoothly from the outset. In making this argument, the texts overlooked many factors which suggested that the relationship had a rocky beginning, for example Pakistan formed alliance with the US supposedly against China, Pakistani officials' initial cosiness with India (Ayub Khan shared a defence offer to India in 1959, which irked China), the Korean War fallout (where Pakistan favoured US military action in Korea) and Pakistani disapproval of PRC UN membership, are simply ignored in the texts.

Finally, the hyperbolic terms (all-weather partner, time tested friends, sweeter than honey, a model alliance and so on) are examined under the theme known as *Poetic Terms*, an effort to naturalise the atypical alliance. These poetic terms associate the Pakistan-China alliance with green trees, mighty mountains and rivers to emphasise the alliance as strong and natural. These exaggerated terms are really significant in the Pakistan-China discourse as they bubble up very often to celebrate the alliance, particularly on important occasions.

Some of the arguments discussed in chapter on textbooks are repeated in chapter five which examines the propaganda in newspapers. Essentially, the newspapers tried to assimilate Islam and communism under the *Islam and communism* theme. The security elite highlighting that the Islamic and Chinese societies reject wealth, live simple lives, and work for the collective good of the whole nation, apparently trying to remove any incongruity in the alliance. As with the textbooks, security officials use the newspapers to emphasise that the Uighur Muslims enjoy lives as affluent and unrestricted as those led by the majority Han Chinese.

We found that a sharp variance existed between texts and newspapers, but the method of using propaganda appeared identical. For instance, in textbooks, in an effort to persuade sceptical society, Islamic places are equated with places in China to strengthen the message of a natural alliance, in newspaper chapter, to convince the Islamic elements, under *the Islam and communism* subject, Pakistani officials quote *Hadith*, (the words of Prophet Muhammad) “to go to China in search of knowledge”.

While in textbooks the companions of Prophet Muhammad (Abi Waqas) are used, in newspapers, the Prophet Muhammad’s sayings are used to push the alliance with China. Similarly, it was found that Islamic and communist philosophy is compared by suggesting that purpose of both Islam and communism is to create an egalitarian society which forbids the concentration of wealth in a few hands and allocates wealth uniformly.

A significant aspect of propaganda found related to the Uighur issue, under the theme *Security*, which urges Islamic religious elements that the Chinese should not be subject to terrorist attacks, and that the Uighur should not be accepted and enrolled in (JUI and

JI) Deobandi madrasahs. Pakistani officials believed that if the Uighur continued to acquire ideological indoctrination in madrasahs, the sustainability of Pakistan's alliance with China would be vulnerable.

Another significant aspect found in the *Security* theme was that the officials endeavoured to associate Pakistan's economic growth, opulence and development with the safety and security of the Chinese nationals working in Pakistan. The public is warned that if the Chinese continued to be on the terrorists' radar (mainly in Balochistan), it will distress and upset Pakistan's development, mainly because an unsecure situation will hamper their attentiveness to the completion of projects (Gwadar port, roads and energy projects) critical for Pakistan prosperity. It is argued that Chinese security is not detached from Pakistan's: if Chinese security is endangered (through a support to Uighur), it in fact means Pakistan security is vulnerable. Another empirical idea appearing under the same theme argued that the "foreign funded terrorists" are hatching conspiracies against the Chinese on Pakistani soil, and provoking unrest in Xinjiang.

In the newspapers, India is emphasised as an enemy in Sino-Pakistan alliance but the way it is portrayed is different to what we saw in the textbooks. Findings under the theme, *Sino-Indian differences and Pakistan-China alliance*, described India as China's ultimate rival in the international system, which will enhance the value of the Pakistan-China alliance to balance India. It is argued that India and China both desire a major role in world affairs due to the size of their countries, available resources, and military powers. These regional and international dynamics will not diminish the importance of Pakistan-China alliance: they will continue to enjoy vigorous and healthy alliance as India will be perceived as a common enemy. Interestingly, other findings, elaborated that the Sino-Indian rapprochement has altered the Pakistan-China alliance in some way. The deviation is seen in China's policy of adopting a neutral stance on the lingering Kashmir issues. We found that the security elite publicised defence and military cooperation between Pakistan and China (for example JF-17 fighter jets, Al-Khalid tanks, F-22 naval frigates, and civilian nuclear energy) openly to create a feeling of benevolence towards China.

One of the findings of this present study was the identification of the use of important events, such as Chinese dignitary visits to Pakistan for special occasions like diplomatic

anniversaries, as important events for display of propaganda. During the occasions people are engaged through various public events held both in cultural institutions and in public. We discussed the security officials' actions under the theme, *prominent Events: Diplomatic anniversaries, visits and public propaganda*, and saw excessive claims that huge successes have been achieved from the visits. Security officials believe that agreements like the Gwadar port construction or Free Trade Agreements, will transform the Pakistani economy and that bilateral trade with China will reach new heights. The impression given by the writing suggests that Pakistan will now take great strides in its national development.

Another significant finding in the theme *World Power China* is a belief that a modern, developed China should be pursued not ignored. People are told that Chinese communism has contributed to the transformation of China from a developing to developed country. Having established the notion of an emerging China, officials then linked Pakistan-China future together. Essentially, they described a developing and emerging China that is frequently pursued globally by virtue of her economy and military power.

The findings also revealed that as China has emerged on the world stage with a bang, and therefore delegates from all parts of the world were going to China to benefit from its emerging economy, and in such a situation Pakistan should follow suit. Therefore, they also believe that Pakistan, by staying allied to China, will benefit from China's emergent status and that China is happy to support this. An emerging China is not reluctant taking Pakistan with it. The elites claimed that China wants Pakistan to progress, develop and prosper. Overall, one can conclude that there are significant elites efforts to market the alliance with the attempt to convince and engage the masses by setting out the benefits.

In chapter Six, we presented the content analysis of Pakistani politicians' discussions and debates in parliament. Firstly, most of the themes presented in this chapter have already appeared in the previous two chapters. It essentially suggests consistency, validity and reliability of the findings of the research. In this chapter, we found that the Pakistani legislators insist the importance of the alliances. They consider Pakistan-China alliance "time-tested", "all-weather" and "unique". They believe that the alliance is imbedded in the hearts and minds of the people of Pakistan. They appear to believe that the alliance

with *China is a must for Pakistan's future, progress and prosperity*. Significantly, they believe that China unites the people of Pakistan as the entire Pakistani nation support the alliance. Lawmakers argue that there is no reservation within the society about the alliance. The Pakistani lawmakers envisage Pakistan-China future together. In sum China is a source of national unity.

In their effort to present China favourable to the Pakistani public through the forum of parliament, peoples' representatives believe that *the US is unreliable while China is reliable*. They believe that the US makes Pakistan dependent on it, while China help to make independent. The US opposes Pakistan's alliance making with China. They are of the view that the US is declining, and China is emerging. They argue a new world system is on the horizon where China will be one of the major power, so Pakistan should not worry losing US support in the new system, Pakistan will be better with China. Continuing this factor, they contemplate that the alliance with the US is a source of destruction of Pakistan while with China is a guarantee of prosperity. Thus, it Pakistan's drives to have good friends and allies Pakistan needs to identify friends and foe, China is friend and the US is foe. China is loyal US is not.

Regarding India, lawmakers from both houses of parliament believe that *India has been intruder*, and violators of Pakistani sovereignty. India has occupied Pakistani territory (referring to Kashmir) forcibly, while China does not resort to such tactics. While China resolves bilateral issues amicably, India use force to settle disputes. India adopts intimidating politics to achieve its national objectives, China eschews such politics.

Finally, but significantly, MPs highlight that the Chinese are in duress due to their treatment at the hands of extremist in Pakistan. They argue that it is a sensitive matter and extremely important for nations' national security which should be avoided at all costs. In an attempt to present China as a better partner, lawmakers in their debates repress Uighur Muslims suffering at the hands of the Chinese security forces, rather implausibly suggest that Uighur enjoy greater rights. They also tell people of Pakistan Uighur enjoy freedom to profess religion and the Chinese state protects their economic and social rights.

Officials argue Chinese are in Pakistan to take Pakistan's progress and development, attacks on them is harmful. Hurting Chinese interest can isolate Pakistan internationally. They believe the future of the kids is at stake if Chinese isolated us it will not allow a market for our goods and will not invest in Pakistan. They also try to correct people ethically by invoking religious teachings; they elucidate Islam forbade killings of friends and guests. The Chinese are friends and guests, so they should be protected.

An appraisal

This study has attempted to find answers to its research questions. The discussion of real and potential challenges (Uighur separatism, attacks on Chinese and traditional anti-communistic views in Pakistan) in chapter three responded to the first research question, what are the real and potential challenges within the alliance. The discussion of promotional strategies in chapters four, five and six presented evidence to address how Pakistani officials promote the alliance with China. It was recognised that Pakistani officials encourage the alliance with China domestically using the medium of textbooks, newspaper articles and parliamentary discussions. We have already discussed in detail these strategies to promote the alliance in chapters four, five and six along with the summary in the previous section. However, if we put all the strategies together, it becomes evident that to overcome the challenges and the threat to the alliance, Pakistani officials promote the alliance with China domestically.

The critical analysis of propaganda strategies is self-evident in answering to the supplementary questions of what does their propaganda tell us about how they view their own society? The propaganda strategy contains a discourse which is interrelated to counter threats to the alliance. Essentially, this correlation between threats to the alliance and the propaganda strategy aiming to diffuse those threats revealed that they view their own society sceptically. For instance, to counter the threat of Uighur separatism to the alliance, the security elites produced a counter narrative which suggests that the Uighur are leading good lives shielded and protected by the Chinese laws and constitution, and that there is no threat to the Uighur life or property. The security elites attempt to assimilate Islam and communism through various ways.

Although the promotional strategies are ostensibly validating and endorsing the alliance, they are also simultaneously revealing the concerns of Pakistani officials. The idea of comparing Islam and communism (though far from reality), depicting the Uighur as enjoying outstanding and remarkable lives and the comparison between Islamic and Chinese places are essentially representing their fears. They are mentioning it in their propaganda because they fear it and they want their society to shun violence and antagonism towards China so that they can maintain their alliance with Beijing. As we observed in chapter three, the Deobandi madrasah are important vehicles for disseminating fundamentalist ideology affecting Chinese national security, by using religion and the Uighur protected rights, security officials are trying to convince them that China is not different and is actually rather like them.

Furthermore, they argue that Chinese security is Pakistan's security, and that the Chinese should not be attacked as they are working for the betterment of Pakistan and its people. This strategy also gives an idea that they want their public to behave rationally and shows Pakistani officials' misgivings about the Pakistani public.

In essence, an in-depth analysis of propaganda strategies clearly shows us how the security elites are viewing their society. It can be argued that they consider their society as a threat and a challenge to maintain the alliance. Otherwise, the propaganda strategies may not have been conceived around the factors that are important in the society. For example, the Chinese are portrayed having traits that resemble them with Islam. The Chinese are told to have features of Muslims, such as antipathy to alcohol, free sexual society, and aversion to modern drinks, etc. Similarly, elites efforts to equate *Islam and Communism*, and efforts to promote Uighur rights clearly answers research question, that is, *what propaganda tells us about how security elites' view their own society*. Why they feel the need to explain this to their own society, no doubt to sell the alliance, but to eliminate the suspicion of society vis-à-vis China. They realise that individuals ought to be clarified about Chinese strategies in Xinjiang so individuals' enmity towards China can be diminished.

The propaganda strategy relating to India is another example of this because officials have used Indian rivalry to market the alliance. India is considered an enemy. Comparison

between China and India represent China as a better country. Claiming that a powerful India, determined to destroy Pakistan (through war, hegemonic politics and so on), has been balanced with Chinese friendship, people will likely to be stimulated by rhetoric.

Parliamentarians argue that China is necessary for the progress and development of Pakistan. It means that Pakistan's survival is associated securing an alliance with China. The propaganda tells us that China is an important country, if the Pakistani society continues to launch terrorist attacks, Pakistan will miss support of a massive country. It will get People thinking why to attack a nation that is so important to Pakistan. To the anti-communist positions in society, the Pakistani officials describe China as emerging and progressing on the Communist principle. The security elites try to promote the alliance, as it seems to highlight their concerns about their society.

MPs also compare which is better for Pakistan; the US or China. Clearly, they prefer for China based on the latter support for Pakistan in crisis without any precondition, while the former is believed to have been looking for its own interests. While China is considered as sincere, loyal to Pakistan, the US is believed to have betrayed Pakistan in time of countrywide crisis.

Theoretical Implications of SEPIA

We discussed in the introductory chapter that the approaches in international politics to alliances (Realist, Liberalist, and Social Constructivists) touch upon the topic of alliance formation. While the Realists in their assumptions stipulate that the state will form an external alliance if there is an imbalance globally or a grave threat to the national security, the Liberals, on the other hand, see the common good, benefit and universal cooperation as the logic of alliance formation. Conversely, Constructivist suggests all aspects of international politics, including international alliance are socially constructed.

Having introduced rigidly divided theories, we argued these approaches are handicapped explaining the awkward alliances in international politics. More specifically, these theories have been found wanting to provide complete explanation that accounts for domestic factors like local propaganda role in selling awkward alliances. To

accommodate the awkward alliance, and to sell it domestically with a strategy of propaganda, a theatrical foundation was needed to interpret its dynamics, its formation, and sustenance. SEPIA has helped bridge the gap left by mainstream and alternative theories.

We also argued that the BoP theories of alliance formation are appropriate in findings answers to the questions: why, when, and with whom states form alliances to have an integrated security policy. However, they are not without weaknesses, as they are not applicable to the all cases. For instance, what would the behaviour be of a state facing internal threats to its external alliance? A model solely based on rudimentary calculations of power and threat does not provide a valid theoretical perspective applicable to all states. Both sets of variables, alliance formation based on threat and alliance promotion within society through propaganda, are possible solutions. Propaganda aimed at the home population to promote the alliance should be part of the solution and may be included in an integrated and proper theoretical framework of studying alliances. This empirical research aimed to recognise and demarcate the interconnection between internal threats to the alliance and the acceptance of promotional strategies by the decision makers to promote the alliance.

To overcome this seeming analytical myopia, this research presented SEPIA to operationalise propaganda within its essentially realist-based construct to find answers to the stipulated research questions. The theoretical framework functioned suitably in accomplishing answers to the research questions and achieving research objectives. In fact, unlike the major theories of international alliances which disregard internal threats to the alliance and ignore the role of propaganda, this theoretical approach offered perspective on the propaganda and sufficiently explained the Pakistan-China alliance.

SEPIA helps achieving research questions

The theoretical framework of SEPIA ensued comparatively well in completing study objectives. It helped to identify real and potential threats to the alliance. Similarly, it was very obliging towards the second question - how do the security elites sustain the alliance with China? – We were able to address a significant level. We explained that the Pakistani

security elites sustain alliance with China by conducting propaganda utilising multiple strategies. We systematically evaluated propaganda techniques operationalising content analysis. SEPIA gave adequate emphasis to the propaganda where other theories fail to accommodate. In sum SEPIA hospitality accepting propaganda variables in explaining awkward alliances helped theoretically bridge the evidently incompatible assumptions of Realist, Liberalist, and Constructivists. In a way it facilitated to create relatively fresh, Realist-based supposition about Pakistan's alliance making with China.

SEPIA's unambiguous accepting of leaders' propaganda helped identify worries and concerns of the Pakistani officials which ultimately helped to find answer to the supplementary research questions: what their propaganda discloses us about their own society. In all three-data set majority of the propaganda contents appeared to be sensitive (those relating to Uighur Muslims, terrorist attacks on Chinese, discussion about India, discussion of religion etc.) that exposed underlying security elites concerns about their own society. Overall we are satisfied that the answers to the research questions were adequately dealt with the help of SEPIA theoretical approach.

SEPIA helps achieving research objectives

The thesis satisfactorily achieved its objectives. They were: 1) to assess how a state responds when confronted threats and challenges to the alliance, and 2) to highlight the difficulties of an overtly religious state aiming to exercise balance of power politics in the international system with an ally which have ostensibly a different outlook in ideology. The first objective can be broken down into two sections. Pakistan needs to form an alliance (practicing power politics) with China (which is very different in outlook and ideology) to balance external threats (India, as established in chapter two), but it faces internal threats (jihadi militant and sub-nationalists, as demonstrated in chapter three). Its dogmatic society is a hurdle to achieving that policy of power politics. All these factors suggest a dilemma for the Pakistani decision makers. The Pakistani state responds to overcome these dilemmas by conducting propaganda (discussed in chapter four and five). So this research has clearly demonstrated and modestly achieved the important objectives and presented answers to the research queries.

Theoretical and scholarly significance of the thesis

This thesis has theoretical and scholarly significance. Regarding theoretical contributions, this thesis has demonstrated that the dynamics of international alliance should include the study of awkward alliances. We cannot discount that odd the alliances like Pakistan-China will not occur in the future, but there is a possibility that they will.⁸¹⁵ The applicability of this thesis may increase for the students and researchers of international politics in the future striving to understand unlikely alliances. So with the likelihood of domestic threats to the alliance, the study of problematic alliances is likely to grow and may be part of the mechanism of how to secure an insecure alliance in international politics.

The theoretical framework of the SEPIA offers deep insight into the internal challenges which the Pakistan-China alliance faces and how the Pakistani policy making is working to neutralise these challenges, which mainstream theories and alternative ignore. This approach facilitated the systematic assessment of domestic propaganda as an important casual path for sustaining the awkward alliances through a host of issues and challenges from the domestic public. From a comparative perspective, its flexibility to include propaganda as an important factor in explaining Pakistan-China alliances, compared to other theories of international politics, makes it a dynamic and viable consideration.

Certainly, it has advantages over the rigid constructs of mainstream theories on the one hand and Constructivist on the other hand mainly because SEPIA showed flexibility to incorporate propaganda in explaining Pakistan-China relations. Therefore, it possesses robust explanatory power and better equipped to analysing state behaviours when

⁸¹⁵ For example, there is a possibility that Iran and Saudi Arabia will form an alliance against their common enemy, Iran. see Alwaght, "The Saudi-Israeli Alliance: Saudi Fm Secretly Visits Israel after Israeli Officials Visit Riyadh to Counter Iran," *Global Research* (2016), <http://www.globalresearch.ca/the-saudi-israeli-alliance-saudi-fm-secretly-visits-israel-after-israeli-officials-visit-riyadh-to-counter-iran/5511526> (accessed 1 May 2016) ; Dan Sanchez, "Saudi Arabia and Israel: An Axis of Convenience" <https://medium.com/dan-sanchez/saudi-arabia-and-israel-an-axis-of-convenience-d553f4b1fb46#.3rlksa2rd> (accessed 12 April 2016).; Ragıp Soylu, "Turkey, Saudi Arabia, Israel: A New Alliance in the Region?," *Daily Sabah* 7 January 2016

confronted strategic challenges to its alliance politics. Specifically, SEPIA offers far better insight into Pakistan's alliance making with China than other theories of international politics usually missed out or disregarded due to their obsession on structural-material and norms-values emphasis.

SEPIA appears much better than Neoclassical Realism in explaining Sino-Pakistani relations. Indeed, NCR is useful theoretical consideration as it pays attention to the domestic intervening variables, but it is not the primary driver of Pakistan's alliance preserving with China. Undoubtedly it possesses explanatory power and provides a convincing explanation to study state foreign policy behaviours. NCR incorporates both the systemic and unit level variables which increases its strength. However, in case of Pakistan's alliance making with China, we agree that systemic factors are important, but states internal dynamics like threats to the alliance and domestic propaganda are crucial factors in studying awkward alliances, which NCR fails to acknowledge.

NCR suggests a different explanation than SEPIA. Though from a distance, it appears that NCR better explains Pakistan's alliance making with China. We are not arguing that Pakistan perception about China, or its state power help to determine its external behaviour. If we do so, then it conforms NCR assumptions. In such a scenario we needed to go beyond the NCR model and the mainstream (Realist, Liberalist) and alternative (Constructivist) theories to help find flexible explanations that can explain Pakistan's alliance with China.

This shortcoming and desperate search helped us to construct SEPIA model, which is flexible, acknowledges the earlier studies contribution but disregard them due to their inhospitality to explain Sino-Pakistan alliance. It is, henceforth, reasonable to conclude that the SEPIA theoretical approach has generated robust interpretation and has provided insightful explanations of the Pakistan-China alliance, and the security elites' propaganda efforts to sustain the alliance. It provided a clear, flexible operational theoretical framework through which the interplay between internal threats and power politics became identifiable in Pakistan-China relations. Finally, it has helped to fill a gap which has existed in the alliance approaches. Altogether it has facilitated a fresh international relations-based conclusion to the specified research problems.

Future research

With the help of SEPIA and content analysis of the textbooks, newspaper articles, and lawmaker's debates, this study has tried to bridge the anomalies which exist in the theories of international politics. It establishes the need to integrate the propaganda model into the alliance approaches to better understand the dynamics of unlikely alliances in international politics. This research is a novel effort to study the Pakistan-China alliance based on textbooks, newspaper articles and officials' speeches applying SEPIA. So it has filled a vacuum which existed in studies of the Sino-Pakistan alliance.

There are, however, noticeable limits to this modestly defined research. Hypothetically, critics may possibly underline that though the internal threats to the preservation of alliance have been given adequate attention in this study, some areas of external threats to the alliance have remained ignored. The criticism may spring from findings which were uncovered during the study: Pakistani security elites maintain that 'hostile foreign agencies' are creating cleavages in the Sino-Pakistan alliance by provoking unrest in Xinjiang using militants and carrying terrorist attacks on Chinese in Pakistan. Recently this narrative has emerged more forcefully. India is training Baloch separatists to carry attacks on the Chinese working on CPEC projects.⁸¹⁶ So these are obvious examples of external vulnerabilities to the alliance which are worthy of further investigation. Elite interviews and data available openly could be used for such a study.

Another question related to that raised above emerges during the process of research: new developments have taken place between Pakistan and China, as the Chinese have

⁸¹⁶ See "Raw at Frontline to Sabotage Economic Corridor, China Warns Pakistan," *The Express Tribune* 22 May 2015 <http://tribune.com.pk/story/890650/raw-at-frontline-to-sabotage-economic-corridor-china-warns-pakistan/> [accessed 1 January 2016]; Baqir Sajjad Syed, "'Indian Plots against CPEC Part of Strategy to Contain China'" *The Dawn* 6 November 2015 <http://www.dawn.com/news/1217811> [accessed 1 May 2016]

acquired the control of Gwadar port. Pakistan and China have signed the \$46 billion CPEC project which faces both internal and external challenges. Externally, India is allegedly acting to make it fail.⁸¹⁷ Internally, Baloch separatist are poised to challenge CPEC execution smoothly, purportedly with Indian help.⁸¹⁸ Given the significance of CPEC and its potential to change the future significantly, it is worth studying how Pakistan will react to these internal and external challenges. How would these developments affect the Pakistan-China alliance, and China-India and Pakistan-India relations?

The theoretical framework used in this research can also be operated to explore analogous research problems. We have focused on the incongruity of the Pakistan-China alliance, but other alliances found in different parts of the world with different contexts and cultures could be studied using the SEPIA framework. The new context could be from Middle East, such as the feasible alliance between two antagonists, Israel and Saudi Arabia. Like Pakistan and China, Saudi Arabia and Israel share nothing politically, socially or culturally; the only thing they share is their fear of Iran, a common strategic challenge due to its nuclear weapons. An alliance between the two states is highly possible⁸¹⁹, however, due to the domestic outlook, Saudi Arabia, as a leader of the Muslim world will see the Palestine issue as an impediment to such an alliance. Therefore, before this becomes a reality, Saudi Arabia (and Israel to a lesser extent) would need to carry out an exercise of enhancing Israeli images domestically.

⁸¹⁷ General Raheel Sharif has said, "We all know that hostile intelligence agencies are averse to this grand project [CPEC]. Here, I would like to make a special reference to Indian intelligence agency, RAW, which is blatantly involved in attempts aimed at destabilising Pakistan", quoted in Saleem Shahid, "India out to Sabotage CPEC: Raheel" *The Dawn* 13 April 2016 <http://www.dawn.com/news/1251784> [accessed 21 April 2016]

⁸¹⁸ Ali Ahsan, "Balochistan: An Insurgent's Cul-De-Sac?" *The Nation* 22 August 2015 <http://nation.com.pk/blogs/22-Aug-2015/balochistan-an-insurgent-s-cul-de-sac> [accessed 28 April 2016]

⁸¹⁹ "The Alliance between Israel and Saudi Arabia," *New Eastern Outlook*, September 2015 <http://www.mintpressnews.com/the-alliance-between-israel-and-saudi-arabia/209548/> [accessed 29 April 2016]; Alwaght, "The Saudi-Israeli Alliance: Saudi FM secretly visits israel after israeli officials visit riyadh to counter iran."

A related area for further research could be the use of alternative data. In this research we have used textbooks and newspaper articles to unearth Pakistani elite propaganda. Other significant areas of empirical data, for example billboard posters, music propaganda (Pakistan-China friendship songs, run by Pakistan television), or the naming of roads (like China Road, China Roundabout, Chou en-Li road as already briefly mentioned in this research) could be used to endorse the validity of this research. Content analysis and Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) techniques may be useful research tools to empirically interpret the meaning of the data.

Finally, the trilateral relationship involving Pakistan, Afghanistan and China is an area which needs to be explored further. Though we noted that the instability in Afghanistan affects China's western region, a robust and systematic study is needed to discuss this factor from all angles. We also noted that the Chinese have been in discussions with the Taliban, and we also found that in the past, Pakistan have arranged a meeting between the Taliban and China. What security interests do the Chinese have apart from security in Afghanistan? How can Pakistan fulfil Chinese interest in Afghanistan? These are very important empirical questions which can be examined using Chinese, Pakistani and Afghan sources. Both quantitative and qualitative research methods can be used to study this research, and/or an in-depth case study.

Policy implication

Alliances are the linchpin of Pakistan's foreign policy. Pakistan feels that it can't achieve its national goals relying on its own meagre resources, and cannot fight the larger enemy next door, and therefore it needs to import power to achieve these objectives. Pakistan seeks alliances mainly with the major powers, which can provide a security guarantee during the conflict with India, and offer an uninterrupted supply weapons to strike balance with India, even though Pakistan has nuclear weapons to balance India. Pakistan secures help from major powers, mainly China, to ensure its continuity.

Evidently, alliances are seen as a source of nation building in Pakistan, and are a central part of the national security plan. Given the centrality of external alliances in Pakistan's security mechanism, Pakistan policy makers need to understand alliances properly lest

they land themselves in hot waters again. In 1971, Pakistan expected China to come to its rescue, only to be disappointed.⁸²⁰ Misinterpretations or misunderstandings can lead to the disastrous consequences. In this research, Pakistani security officials are found to make high claims; China is portrayed in a way that the only item on its foreign policy agenda is to look after Pakistan and China appears to be crucial to Pakistan's survival.

As we suggested in the previous chapter, Pakistani security officials need to be careful in their propaganda: China is not a different major power than the US and will not commit major economic and military aid to Pakistan unless its national interests suggest so. They are a major power now, and have interests in other regions of the world too. The Pakistan connection is no more than a peripheral issue to China's own security problems. China has undergone tremendous social, political, and economic transformations -over the last 30 years. Today's China is not the China of Mao: Beijing's attention is now firmly focused on developing itself economically, socially and militarily. Its economic growth is fantastic under the circumstances; it is only natural that China would not like to be distracted by any regional conflict from the reconstruction goals it has set before it. Hence, as suggested in last chapter, Pakistan needs to exercise caution.

Final thoughts

External alliances are central to international politics. However, they are increasingly threatened or challenged from inside national boundaries in the form of organised resistance from certain social elements. It highlights the need to advance an accepted approach to deal with evolving situations. How states will react are issues pertinent to the theories of alliances. This study undertakes to examine a state's reactions in greater depth.

⁸²⁰ This was interpreted on Chinese government assurance on date that they will support Pakistan sovereignty.

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Appendix – A: List of Interviewees

Sr. No	Name	Designation and Tenure	Interview Venue, and Date
1	Abdul Sattar Khan	Foreign Minister (1999-2002) Foreign Secretary (1986 to 1988) Ambassador USSR (1988-1990) India (1978-1982, (1990-1992)	Islamabad, June-August 2011
2	Sartaj Aziz	Finance Secretary (1990-1993) Minister of Foreign Affairs (1998-999) National Security Adviser (2013-2015) Advisor on Foreign Affairs (2013-2017) Deputy Chairman Planning Commission(Current)	Lahore June-August 2011
3	Tanveer Ahmad Khan	Foreign Secretary (1989-1990) Ambassador Russian Federation Iran France Former Director and Chairman Institute of Strategic Studies Islamabad (ISSI)	Islamabad June-August 2011
4	Shamshad Ahmad Khan	Foreign Secretary (1997-2000) Permanent UN Representative (2000-2002) Ambassador South Korea (1987-1990) Iran (1990–1992)	Lahore June-August 2011

5	Tayyub Siddiqui	Foreign Secretary	Islamabad June-August 2011
6	Ashraf Jahangir Qazi	<p>Ambassador China (1994-97) India (1997-2002) USA (2002-2004) Syria (1986-88) East Germany (1990-91) And Russia (1991-94)</p> <p>Special Assignments UN Special Representative in Sudan (2007) UN Special Representative Iraq. (2004-2007)</p>	Islamabad June-August 2011
7	Javid Hussain	<p>Ambassador China (1985-1988) Washington (1974-1978) UN (1982-1985) Paris (1969-1971)</p>	Lahore June-August 2011
8	Khalid Mahmood	<p>Ambassador China (1991-1994)</p>	Islamabad June-August 2011
9	Pervaiz Iqbal Cheema	<p>Chairman Department of International Relations and Strategic Studies, Quaid-i-Azam University Islamabad, Pakistan. President (2000-2009) Islamabad Policy Research Institute (IPRI) Dean Faculty of Contemporary Studies at the National Defense University (NDU), Islamabad.</p>	Islamabad June-August 2011

		Director General Ministry of Education Islamabad, 1995.	
10	Hassan Askari Rizvi	Professor Rizvi is one of the most celebrated Pakistani scholar. He has regularly contributed in main English newspaper, and has written numerous scholarly books on Pakistani politics, army and foreign policy. Former Chairman Department of Political Science, University of Punjab, Lahore.	Lahore June- August 2011
11	Riffat Hussain	Chairman, Department of Defense and Strategic studies Islamabad, Quaid-I- Azam University Islamabad. He is a renowned analyst. He has been visiting professor Stanford University and Foreign Service academy of Pakistan. Currently Professor Hussain holds chair at Department of Government Policy and Public Administration at Pakistan's National University of Sciences and Technology (NUST), Islamabad.	Islamabad June- August 2011
12	Haibin Niu	Shanghai Institute of International Studies (Email)	June-August 2011