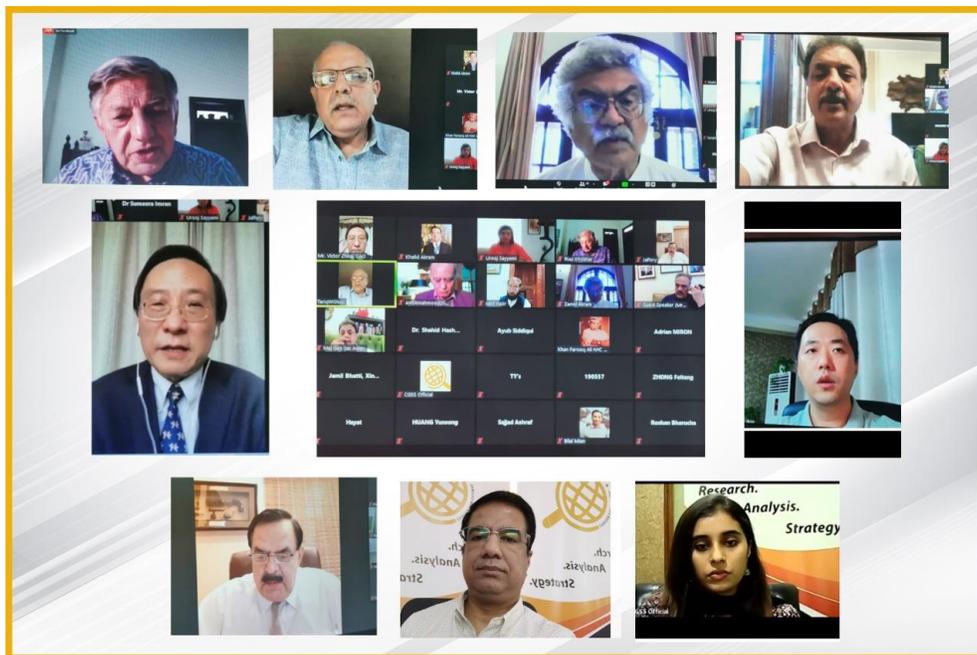




Webinar Report

“China-India Border Standoff & Strategic Implications for Islamabad”



Organized by
Center for Global & Strategic Studies, Islamabad on
8th July 2020

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Brief Overview

On 8th July 2020, Center for Global & Strategic Studies (CGSS), Islamabad organized a Webinar “China-India Border Standoff & Strategic Implications for Islamabad”. The aim of the Webinar was to discuss the recent border tensions between China-India and its impact on regional security and stability. Maj Gen Syed Khalid Amir Jaffery (Retd), President CGSS commenced the webinar. The speakers in the webinar were:

1. Ambassador Riaz Khokhar, Former Foreign Secretary of Pakistan
2. Mr. Victor Zhikai GAO, Chair Professor Soochow University & Vice President, Center for China & Globalization, Beijing, China
3. Lt Gen Tariq Waseem Ghazi, HI (M), (Retd), Former Defence Secretary of Pakistan
4. Ambassador Zamir Akram, Former Permanent Representative to the UN
5. Prof. Huang Yunsong, Associate Dean, School of International Studies, Sichuan University, Chengdu, China
6. Maj Gen Ijaz Awan, HI(M), (Retd), Defence Analyst

Opening Remarks

Maj Gen Syed Khalid Amir Jaffery (Retd), President CGSS



First of all, a very warm welcome to all the participants especially our friends from China, Mr. Victor Zhikai GAO, and Prof. Huang Yunsong, who have joined us on this very important webinar.

The importance of this webinar can be gaged from the remark I just cut from Ambassador Riaz Khokar. He said this is the fifth webinar on this subject that he is attending. So everybody can see how important it is to us. A very warm welcome to Lt Gen Tariq Waseem Ghazi also, who has joined us for the first time in our think tank and Maj Gen Ijaz Awan as well.

The India China conflict has evoked keen interest and it dates back to the pre-partition period when the border between China and British India was not demarcated probably as is usual with the colonial powers. China has always claimed a part of Ladakh, rightly so, offering some very valid reasons. The recent conflict is indeed an essential study especially for us in Pakistan, much ink has been spilled over it and some blood also.

China as we know has never been an expansionist country in its history. This is the policy that they have been following. It has been attacked historically but it has never followed an aggressive policy in general.

When Mr. Modi announced the revoking of article 370 and declared Ladakh as a union territory, China protested. However, India was following its traditional policy of absorbing territory gradually, which they have been following since 1948.

Whether it is Hyderabad, Junagadh, Manavadar, Manipur, Tripura, and so on. In 1984 they did the same with us when they moved into an unoccupied area of Siachin and more recently the Lipulekh area of Nepal.

As usual Modi had miscalculated, in my view, and the Chinese reaction took them by surprise in which they lost 20 soldiers and some say 47 beaten to death by sticks and stones. It is an amazing reversion to the ancient method of warfare.

The details are well known for the humiliation suffered by the Indian army. The Chinese reaction was a surprise to some but should not have been. The Indian attempt to creep forward and create effects on the KKH and the CPEC was bound to evoke a strong reaction from China, who further denied the Indian space to operate in this area and only recently I am told that the Chinese are in the other Y junction which dominates the Daulat Beg Oldi (DBO) road which is in itself very close to the KKH. In doing so, China has given a signal that it will not allow the CEPC to be threatened.

It has also given a signal, in my view that China is no longer reluctant to act militarily if its core interests are threatened in the South China Sea, as we all know where the Americans sent their carriers, etc. I'm sure the message has been well received.

It has also made it clear to the US 'the question mark' on whether India can really act as a bulwark against China. The cord agreement recently joined by Australia, would also have been effective in determining the Chinese resolve.

From Pakistan's point of view, the standoff obviously helps in deterring India in the region to create any sort of mischief or misadventure. However, since India is building up its military capacity very rapidly, with the induction of S400 rafale, etc., in the near future nothing can be ruled out.

India has also shown its capability to create destabilization through attacks like the one on the Stock Exchange in Karachi recently. In the garb of terrorist activity, they are continuously trying to destabilize Pakistan and probably sending a signal that this is what we can do.

At the end of the webinar, we hope to come up with some very important and useful recommendations. Once again I thank all of you for being with us today.

Speaker 1:

Ambassador Riaz Khokhar, Former Foreign Secretary of Pakistan:



AOA, to everybody and good afternoon to my friends from China. It is a great pleasure to participate in this webinar on a very important subject and I'm particularly happy as we have our Chinese friends joining us from Beijing. General Khalid, Thank you very much for the invitation. Very briefly I'd like to touch on two or three introductory points before getting into the topic.

At the moment the international environment is certainly, in my opinion, very perilous. The world order is in a flux and one of the major contributing factors to this confusion in the world order is the policies of the American government.

Particularly at the moment what is relevant is that President Trump who is very unpredictable, very narcissist, has this policy of America first but, it is actually more Trump first.

If you look at the policies they followed, they walked out of many international agreements the climate agreement, the agreement with Iran, the INF, then the Trans Pacific, now he has walked out of WHO, and unfortunately the US has contempt for the UN which is not a very conducive thing for the international environment.

He has spoken in very toxic language about the international leaders, European leaders, allies including Pakistan, and of course, the most toxic language has been reserved for China. That's just for the introduction, I just thought that I'd mention that.

General Khalid, you referred to the history of the India China relationship. It's very interesting that in the early 1950s, the Chinese and Indian relations were very good and they cooperated a lot despite the fact that China had right from the very beginning approached India as well as Pakistan in regard to the boundary and border situation.

At that time of course all the three countries had just become independent so not much focus was given. But, between 1955 and 1959 if you recall there is this great song about India China "Bhai Bhai" and great cooperation and understanding between the two leaders, PM Nehru and Zhou En Lai.

Between 1959 and 1962, there were visits between the leaders. Apart from that the Chinese PM with the instructions of Chairman Mao approached India for a border settlement. They were willing to settle the eastern McMahon line with some kind of very clear compromise on Aksai chin. Aksai Chin was what China was most interested in.

Well, the war started in 1962, it was very brief and the Chinese gave Indians a very straight forward lesson about this. It was Nehru's forward policy that was responsible for this breakdown of relations between China and India.

What you see today is really a small glimpse of what happened in 1962. At that time in 1962, it was Nehru's arrogance, his hubris, and his confidence in India's military ability and is think he was terribly shocked and 62 - 64 men died I think it was one of his greatest failures for the China policy.

Now, in the current situation, why has this happened?

If you recall that PM Modi came in bragging about his 56 inch chest bragging about his military Prowse, his desire for hegemony his desire to dominate, to become a world power and he followed this aggressive policy, in fact, his muscular policy in the region.

So the first victim of this muscular policy was of course Pakistan. Now what really triggered this current situation is that Modi declared Jammu and Kashmir as a union territory and Ladakh also under Delhi's rule.

The more important thing is that Indian home minister Amit Shah made a rather stupid statement in the parliament where he said that India will not only recover Azad Kashmir, will recover GB and Aksai chin. Now, this was really an open threat to China.

After having spoken this, within a few days India came up with new maps showing parts of Aksai chin.

This is a time when the weather conditions in that area were not really conducive to any military action. So China was also deeply concerned about the military buildup and infrastructure development that the Indians had done in the region. The construction of the GBO road that actually overlooks the Siachin area.

So what I'm trying to emphasize is that it's actually India that promoted the whole crisis.

We all know that the LAC, is not demarcated it is open-ended and China's position has been very clear right from the beginning that they will not accept treaties, boundaries or borders, or lines of actual control agreed upon in the past. They will not accept these unequal treaties. This has been China's position right from the beginning.

So whatever military action has taken place I don't want to go into the geography of the area because we have military experts who can tell us that.

But what is it? In 1962 if you recall, India desperately turned to the US in fact on the 18 and 19 of October 1962 Nehru wrote two desperate letters to President John Kennedy asking for US help. In fact, they asked for 9 squadron of American bombers and fighters.

Now that was a desperate situation, this came from a Prime minister who was supposed to be the father of the nonaligned powers. Anyway, what I'm saying now is that India after having been thrashed in this recent situation is desperately calling Washington and other capitals in the West seeking help. The position that the Indians have now taken is that of a victim. They are trying to project themselves as a victim and is pleading for help. Now I don't think that the Chinese want this to be an expanded war. Similarly, if the Indians want to play down for the time being so that they use this time to seek assistance from western countries particularly the US.

Now the initial reaction of the US has been very interesting. Trump offered mediation between India and Pakistan now he has offered meditation between China and India which I'm sure would not be acceptable to either India or China.

I think it was a very foolish proposal from the president of the US. Anyway, the main thing to remember at this point is that in the US there is a buildup of psychosis against China - a strong feeling of anti-China sentiment.

And if you look at all the reports that have been released by the US, the NSS, the nuclear strategy report and all the official documents clearly indicate that China is a revisionist power, China is challenging the US, China is a threat and only today the director of the FBI has said the same thing.

And of course, the US is building up this whole atmosphere of China being the principal threat Russia being the second then of course North Korea and Iran.

So there are two parts to it. The first part of this policy is basically about Trump's election. He is desperate because he has had no foreign policy success and his love affair with North Korea was a disaster. So you cannot rule out that the US can take some desperate actions. There has been a buildup in the South China Sea, two aircraft carriers have been placed there.

Now what they don't understand is that China has certain specific interests, what they call the core interests of China. I mean its Tibet, Aksai Chin very critical for China, Taiwan, Hong Kong, South China Sea all these are vital interests of China.

Now, what is happening that the US is building up pressure in the Pacific against China? And China is feeling the pressure.

And has certainly responded by coming up with its own policies, geo economic and geopolitical which is in the form of BRI connecting countries in Asia and certainly all along the Eurasian continent.

BRI is a brilliant geo economic and geopolitical move and CPEC is part of that. Now the main thing is that what the US is really going to do. Is it going to come out in total support of India or not but there are indications that the United States is encouraging India to take on China and to keep the pot boiling. This is partly the indication that you see and especially if you look at the speeches that were made by the Vice President Pence in the Hudson institute then secretary of state Pompeo, secretary of defense all of them have been emphasizing China as a principal threat to the world order.

Now what China and Russia are doing is they are seeking their places in the Sun I think that is their approach and why not I mean China is a rising power, Russia wants to reclaim its

position as an important global player but they are not wanting to completely throw out the existing world order.

Because the current world order is more or less in the favor of the West it's highly biased and the UN particularly, unfortunately, has been treated in a very disdainful manner by the US. If you look at all the recent actions if it was Afghanistan, Iraq, Libya all these, the United nation has no role. It's not even got a secondary role.

So I would say now what the implications for the region are. India is out of step with all neighbors Pakistan particularly because you know all this extremely complex dangerous situation in Kashmir and particularly its regression, suppression, and conduct of genocide in Kashmir has created a very critical situation for Pakistan. At the same time, the activity on the line of control has been stepped up so India is mounting pressure on Pakistan. Secondly, India wants the US and the West to play an important role in the Indian Ocean. Now India thinks the Indian Ocean is a private lake in India which it is not. India has never been a sea power but now they are of course presenting themselves to the West as a country that can take care of the Indian Ocean.

So there are going to be pressures and build-ups. Indian ocean is becoming an extremely important ocean far more important than any other ocean because the maximum trade and all the oil flow from the gulf countries to China and also to Japan and Korea and all the bulk trade at the moment is in Indian ocean or going on to the Pacific ocean.

Now my point is that the Pacific is a huge ocean, why is it that the US cannot stay on its side of the lake?

The US has a role but it should not be encouraging countries in the region to create problems for China and these countries are willing to discuss the issues with China especially in South China sea there was a sort of some progress on the development of conduct of behavior in South Asia and I think some progress can be made but the United States is deliberately encouraging the Philippines, Malaysia, Vietnam to take on China so that it can mount its pressures on China.

US of course has also talked about its alliances in the region starting with South Korea and Japan, Taiwan, Australia. Australia is again playing a very strange game at the moment. India is the latest recruit in this whole game in the alliance system that the US is trying to build up against China.

There are people in the US who are talking about the containment of China. President Barack Obama thought of engagement and containment, President Trump of course doesn't think very much but it's the US establishment that thinks that containment of China is critical and there are some people who also think that it's important not only to contain China but to roll back China. I don't know how they'll do that but it doesn't stand to reason. So I think President Trump's policies in the region are really complicating things at the moment.

But the important thing to remember now is that there is a certain degree of bipartisanship in this thing at the moment the Democratic candidate Biden is also trying to out hawk Trump. So there is this atmosphere in America which is not very conducive for China and perhaps even not conducive for Pakistan.

Now the implications for Pakistan.

Pakistan remains under threat from India not only the Loc activity but India's activities in Afghanistan and India's activities in subversion and hybrid war that it is been conducting against Pakistan in the last few years so Pakistan has to be very careful.

The point is that if China US relations worsen and that India gets involved in playing a critical role then countries in Asia will come under pressure.

Well, there are people in the US who are saying the US is a very brutal and nasty super power, it will force the countries in the region to take positions.

So I think this is a question that perhaps we can discuss as we go along.

The second point is that how far India will go. I don't think that India wants a war with China but India actually thinks that it is a rival of China and the western world has been building up India as the possible balancer in Asia against China.

They've been coming up with all kinds of stories that India will take over China in the next few years, although China's GNP is five times more than India. Militarily it's in no position to really take on China at the moment. So I think they'll use this time to get a weapon system from the West. This is what they tried even in 1962. So what are the reactions of some of the critical countries?

Russia took sort of a balanced position and tried to persuade China that things shouldn't go too far. They've been trying to persuade the Indians that things should not go far and see if there can be a peaceful settlement of this border issue.

Secondly, the Indians requested the Russians to provide the equipment and so Russia is rushing helicopters, aircraft, and ammunition worth a billion dollars. Similarly, France is rushing aircraft to India, Israel is very actively supplying equipment. And now there is a move in the US to provide F35s to India.

So let's see how this thing evolves. The question is for Pakistan, let me just emphasize this last sentence, for Pakistan the most critical thing is Indo US nexus. US has been pretending with Pakistan about the relationship, it has blamed Pakistan for the situation in Afghanistan, it's given us only minor credit for having got the Taliban to talk to them but essentially they still feel that Pakistan has not played a very fair game in Afghanistan and has hurt US interests. And then of course the US Indian relationship has expanded in all fields particularly in defense. So in my humble opinion, the principal threat for Pakistan is going to be the Indi US nexus.

As far as the Pakistan China relations are concerned it was flawless and we are deeply committed to seeing CPEC which is a flagship project of BRI, we certainly want these things to move very rapidly. It's unfortunate that the present government has made certain mistakes particularly some of the ministers spoke out of turn and that was mainly because I don't think they really understood the Pakistan China relationship.

Speaker 2:

Mr. Victor Zhikai GAO, Chair Professor Soochow University & Vice President, Center for China & Globalization, Beijing, China:



Ladies and Gentlemen, it's a great honor for me to join you in this very important webinar. Before I start, allow me to mention that I had a great honor of visiting Pakistan on two occasions including the final preparation of the signing of the agreement of opening of the border pass between Pakistan and China, and we had the honor of meeting your President Zia Ul Haq in Islamabad and I remember it very clearly. So when I say

that China and Pakistan are all-weather friends I say that from the bottom of my heart and each Pakistani I meet or I have met over the decades, I always treated as my brother or sister and I think this will continue for the rest of my life and it's a great pleasure.

Now what we are talking about today is of great importance to China, to India, too many other countries, and also very important to Pakistan. Let me start with this border clash now. When Indians said they lost about 20 soldiers and officers, remember, they also mentioned that only three were killed on the ground, the others were actually killed by drowning in the river or by freezing to death and therefore while we feel sorry for the loss of life on the Indian side, we need to put it in perspective. There are casualties on the Chinese side also but China does not want to talk about the details of a casualty but it's much smaller than the Indian side and that's in line with the nature of the hand to hand battle which took place normally unless you use arms or you only use your fists or stones to deal with each other. Normally the casualty rate will be one to one rather than for example ten to one etc. So for those Indians who just lost their lives by drowning in the river or by freezing overnight, we feel sorry for them but I hope that the Indian side will also tell the truth to the Indian people.

Secondly, I don't think it is in China's interest or India's interest to have an escalation of tensions along their border which is divided into three segments the west section the middle

section and the eastern section because if war breakouts God forbid it is against China's fundamental interest and also against India's fundamental interest.

The previous speaker spoke about the fact that China's economy is about 5 times larger than Indians. China manufactures almost all its weapons whereas India relies heavily on imported weapons. Therefore, any war will be a lot of drain of resources on both the Chinese side and the Indian side by multiple times. So the war If ever breaks out will be against the fundamental interest of China of maintaining stability and peace and it will really derail India's ambition of industrialization modernization and moving forward as a big country on the world stage.

The India China conflict recently flaring up into a brawl and also right now brewing, which may lead to different directions has very much at two geopolitical assaults on China least from my personal perspective, a United States fingerprint. I think there are probably people who are more interested in instigating a war between China and India but they are not in New Delhi or bacon they are somewhere else we know where this particular place is and I think that they view the potential escalation of tension between India and China as another front in their Road to a geopolitical assault on china.

Allow me to shift to this china-us situation I recently coined a particular term is called I tonia Harding and she was inspiring skater in the United States but she founded her on getting career because she was implicated in a scheme resulted in the whacking of the knee cap of Nancy Kerrigan another very beautiful figure skater from Massachusetts. Toner's husband and his Associates whacked the kneecap of Nancy Kerrigan putting her out of commission but eventually when the dust settled Tonia Hardy was barred from figure skating competition for life. That's a very simple story there was a Bollywood movie called I Tonia if anyone of you have not watched it I strongly urge you to watch it but according to my definition, Tonia hurting syndrome can play plague a person as well as it can plague a country and I think between china and the United States there is an over eagerness in Washington to whack Chinese kneecaps as much as many as possible.

However, as Dr. Henry Kissinger said war is not an option between China and the United States if war breaks out between China and the United States it will be hell it will be possibly

the end of mankind. Both China and the United States are armed to the teeth as nuclear weapon powers and for example, if the United States can destroy China 1000 times and if China can destroy the United States 100 times only, actually there is no material difference. So I strongly urge anyone in Beijing as well as in Washington to refrain from any impulse, to instigate a war between China and the United States. War should not be an option for China and the United States. Short of a war no one in Washington should indulge in any fantasy that the United States can hold China down to the ground and even if they walk 1 million kneecaps of China, China will still stand up and still continue so I don't think anyone in the world can reverse the trend of China's very steady economic development there will be a day when China's size will outgrow that of the United States right now the US is not absolutely ahead in all categories China is already ahead of US in many important categories.

The current situation is very much intertwined. China is ahead of the United States in many categories but the United States will possibly be ahead of China in many other very important categories. China probably will never be able to catch up with the United States in those important categories including, for example, the arable land, including the freshwater, including the geopolitical position of the United States - only having Canada to its north and Mexico to its south whereas China has 14 land neighboring countries including amazingly Afghanistan.

When we talk about the tensions in Xinjiang keep in mind Xinjiang borders with Afghanistan so I think this situation in China and United States in the recent years over the past three years or so you can look like a very complicated China-US relations and think about the Tonia Harding syndrome but China will manage to survive and it will stand up in about 10 to 15 years.

China will be significantly larger than the United States and I think by then the people in Washington need to come to terms with the reality that China is larger and in many cases, more impactful than the United States and how to deal with that status quo will be a challenge for the United States. Keeping in mind of one thing if the United States cannot bring down China in the Korean War with a coalition of about 2000 countries lined up against China today at cannot bring them China and 10 to 15 years later the United States will be a far cry

from any realistic attempt of bringing down China. So China and the United States in my view should talk about how to get along with each other whether today for 10 or 15 years later.

This is the Mega-Trend and I don't think people in Washington want to talk about it. they still pretend they can have The Upper Hand they can whack the Chinese kneecaps, they can instigate a war between China and India, they can stir up storms in the South China Sea, they can use Taiwan or Hong Kong or Xinjian or Tibet as a prom for example in their overall attempt to derail China's rise. But, in my best judgment that will be futile so we can come back to China India relations. I coined a term called super populations. Right now there are in the world only two countries each with a population of about 1 billion people. China has a population of 1.4 India has a population of 1.3 and is growing faster than China's population. So if we give a term to each country with a population of 1 billion and above and call it a super population china and India have this very important common denominator. Both of us are super population.

Population not only talk about the size of their population but also the quality of the labor force for example and they have the extra responsibilities as Global players, therefore, I would urge that only two super populations in the world to use their own wisdom to use their own restraint to care about the fundamental interest of the Chinese people and the Indian people be really living up to super populations and don't become a Pawn or don't be straddled onto the bandwagon of another power or another super power, and turn China or India or both of us into fodder of a war which will fundamentally destroy our fundamental interest. That's my big point for the Chinese people for the Chinese government as well as for the Indian people at the Indian government.

I truly believe a war between the two super populations will be e a calamity for both countries and also for mankind in the world. Let's do anything that we can do to make sure it does not happen. Now, what if a war breaks out however let's assume the unthinkable I don't think it will be limited to The Western section of China Indian border. If a war breaks out first of all china's best friend is not a Chinese weapon or the size of the Chinese economy. If a war breaks out between China and India if you just look at the topography of the region India's real enemy is the towering soaring Himalaya Mountains. The Chinese side is always

on the higher level of altitude at the Indian site tends to be on the lower end of the altitude. Even if you push a mosquito down the hill it will become a giant elephant and if you want to put an elephant uphill to the Himalaya you will bankrupt your own country.

So I urge my Indian friends to see the Folly of a war with China sitting on the heights of the Himalayas and if China really wants to be mobilized with three Prong assaults on India that will be really the striking fear in New Delhi. The Western section of the China Indian disputed border is only about two day distance to New Delhi, and we are talking about ground transportation or the expedition by the foot soldiers. If you are talking about the airplanes, paratroopers etc. it is within one day.

So don't you stoke up a fire that will engulf your own country and will endanger the people both India and China? Don't fight geography and you talk about the Indian Ocean being, for example, the Indian lake that's not the case. Indian Ocean belongs to mankind and everyone has the freedom to exercise there is freedom of navigation in the Indian Ocean. Anyone blocking commercial transportation through the Indian Ocean will be condemned as the enemy of mankind and will be dealt with as such.

I think there is only one option for China and India that is we need to get along we need to figure out a way to be with each other with respect, with calm, with peace and avoid any escalation, and don't fight geography don't fight topography don't fight in a position where the other side will be on the top of a mountain.

I am not talking about a small mountain as what's the Chinese and the American soldiers fought in Korea, I am talking about the Himalaya the highest tallest mightiest mountain in the whole world. You do not know how much force the Chinese side has in terms of gravity and this will make any real military expert a tremble when you want to fight against topography like that. I don't think any American Soldier or general and Navy admiral have any idea of what they are talking about when they see the towering and soaring Himalaya mountains very much to the Chinese advantage at the Indian's disadvantage.

So I would rise on this occasion china India be friends let's hold each other's hands that's a void of folly and silliness. Let's not become a Pawn of the Tonia Harding syndrome plaguing people in Washington. America is really looking for lots of Chinese knee caps to back and I

hope that Indian will not become a fodder in this very gigantic arms wrestle between China and the United States. If the United States cannot wrestle China down to the ground by itself, I personally don't think the United States plus India or plus many other countries ancient just now can wrestle China down.

China has a unique perspective when it surveys the whole world. China always looks at it as if China versus the whole world and therefore when China wants to be very much integrated with the rest of the world it's a good opportunity. If you put China on the one side of the equation and you want to be on the other side of the equation that's not wisdom, that's not smartness of your brain that is just the opposite of what just now quoted.

So let's make for China is always a force for peace.

Now talking about China and Pakistan, as I mentioned Pak-China are all-weather friends, all Pakistanis are my brothers and sister and whenever I see a Pakistani I see my real my relative and I see my real siblings. I think we should be together, whether in good times or in bad times when Pakistan is feeling pressure, China will be with you. When China feels pressure I am very happy to report that Pakistan is always with us. So I hope this kind of kingship, this kind of brotherhood- sisterhood will continue and will prevail even when China feels pressure in the exciting region, in the disputed border region between China and India, in the western section, middle section or the eastern section. I hope that we will continue to be shoulder to shoulder and side by side together in good time or in bad time.

Now, China and Russia – very important. President Xi Jinping and President Putin always call each other as best friends. About what Russia has been doing is a little bit of a concern but China normally will rise above what we call small things, we focus on big things. That is if India buys more and more imported weapons, strategically speaking, it is creating more and more liabilities for India because it will probably bankrupt the Indian economy first, probably become a curse for the Indian people, probably the Indian people will have less bread and butter on their table. Therefore, I think the best strategy for India is really to achieve another decade of peace and stability focusing on development. India really needs for whom I had a great honor of working in the 1980s.

President Modi once said he wanted to be Deng Xiaoping of India. I am glad to hear that and be my guest and I do hope that PM Modi will be that. But PM Modi if you really want to be India's, focus on peace and development, focus on peaceful relations between China and India. Make sure Indian soldiers are not dying in the folly of any escalation – fist to fist or gun to gun God forbid between China and India.

So I think the mega trend for China and India as well as for Pakistan is still peace and development. We should come up with greater wisdom. Now talking about wisdom, before I wrap up, I came up with a proposal it's my personal proposal I haven't gotten any consent or any idea for any government in China or anywhere else. I call it 'one territory two sovereigns". We know ever since the beginning of mankind ever since written history, wars or fights against each other for land, in this particular case it also includes an island, for example, has been a constant Normally two sovereigns, most of the cases will fight each other for the ownership of a particular land. In China and India, it's very fortunate that for thousands of bilateral relations there has been no war between China and India or what's more accurate – Indian subcontinent including the current day Pakistan, Nepal, Bhutan and Miyama, Sri Lanka and also the former for example, and there always existed peaceful neighborly relations.

I think the border issues pop up when the British were ruling India and that was an unjustified, unfair Empire to start with. I don't think the Indian decision makers or the Indian people should take great delight in being the inheritor of the British Indian Empire legacy. Look at the black lives matters movement in the US also engulfing the UK. There are skeletons in the closet which sooner or later will come out and I think the Indian people or the Indian government should realize that the British Empire in India created a lot of problems and the China –Indian border disputes should be more accurately characterized and classified as the follies of the British Indian imperialist rulers because how they carve out China Indian border without the consent and the approval of the Chinese government. The sovereign government in Beijing never agreed to such so called demarcation.

It was never even considered by the Chinese side. So how to use the wisdom that the Chinese people 1.4 billion of them and the Indian people 1.3 billion of them must have to figure out a

way to solve our border disputes, maybe one land two sovereigns should be breakthrough eventually. I will not spend too much time going through that, I am writing an article so once it is out in the print I will send it to this great think-tank for your review, for your criticism as we say in Chinese and for wider dissemination. Hopefully, it will create an opportunity for countries like China and India, for countries like China and Japan for example, which have territorial disputes, to rise up and capture the height of another mountain, to realize that we should not be held hostage by some of these intractable disputes. We can actually figure out a better way to make good use of the disputed nature of one particular piece of land and make sure that both of us are winners rather than one cannot win and the other cannot prevail against me and we are stuck in a seemingly perpetual torture of each other.

I will stop here and I will be very happy to answer any other questions you may have or from the audience. Thank you very much.

Speaker 3:

Lt Gen Tariq Waseem Ghazi, HI (M), (Retd), Former Defence Secretary of Pakistan:



Bismillah-ar-Rahman-ar-Rahim! Good morning and Good afternoon to all the participants of this webinar and those who are in the audience. It's a great pleasure to be with all of you and to be on this forum to share my views on something that is extremely important for the future of the region. It was fascinating to hear the perspectives of Mr. Gao has just given us from China because it really sums up the entire purpose of whatever is being happening.

I almost look at the current crisis as having petered out. It is at its dead end now, almost finished as far as the impact and its purposes are concerned and its now stabilizing to the level at which it is was required to be. Now why I say this why I will explain it in a while, but if we project ourselves into the future maybe many years and many decades down the line we will look at this as having made a mountain of a molehill and sometimes we might try to wonder whether that mouse is still dead or alive. I think it just sort of almost is in a dying condition in the sense that the crisis is over.

Now, how has Pakistan seen this and why is it important for us? It is important because I think we are strategic stakeholders in whatever has happened and we should have been more actively involved in both discussions and also in terms of finalizing or at least clarifying for ourselves what the Chinese intentions and what the Chinese direction and what's the region direction were a result of this.

Why we are the strategic stakeholders? Because Ladakh is a part of the Kashmiri Solution; China is a trusted partner and we have very high stakes together in the success of the CPEC and also in the stability in Gilgit Baltistan. I think there is also very important aspect that we tend to ignore and that is with China in control of Aksai Chin, which is also part of Ladakh. It is already a part of the Kashmir solution. Therefore, in the context of our interest and Chinese interest, China should be a part of the Kashmir solution in my view point.

I would go a step further in suggesting that the Pakistani government must come out very clearly that just as it did the 1962-1963 in ceding certain territories and Shaksgam Valley to China it must also, pending the resolution of Kashmir, decide now on some territories in Ladakh or Ladakh totally to be ceded to China in the regard of solution of Kashmir.

Now if that kind of strategic understanding is achieved between China and Pakistan, I think we will work not only towards the resolution of Kashmir dispute in a bilaterally and in strategically cooperative manner but also I think somehow the clout that is lacking in our ability to resolve Kashmir issue will also be brought in.

Now as we see the situation, we are looking at it in it as two narratives there is the Chinese narrative and Indian narrative and both are 180 degrees opposed. Both are saying we are in our own territory, both are saying we are not provocateur. But there are also true realities between truth and perception. The truth is on the Chinese side and the perception is on the Indian side by whatever kind of obfuscation of facts and deception and lies that the Indian government and Modi is propagating.

I think it is important for us to realize that as far India is concerned and its population, domestically, they seem to have convinced themselves that they are on the winning end. that they have done and achieved whatever they needed to do strategically and therefore, you know all the requirements that were to be met from the national interest point of view, India has able to achieve. They have been touting the fact that they have made in China withdraw and that line is stabilizes and there is no territory in occupation, their own forces are alert, Therefore no likelihood of war taking place because their defensive capability and terror is in place and China therefore have now they given up.

I think there is a requirement for us to look in the historical perspective. I won't go into the details but I just want to see and make you understand that this is an on-going conflict now for many decades and apart from the 1962 war which also let to everybody pulling back peacefully there have being many other disputes, all dispute have been resolved peacefully. Even in this crisis they have not resorted to the kinetic element of the conflict. There is not been a single bullet fired on either sides and this is a very important aspect that we must consider because military is not supposed to be fighting with fixed terms. So there has been

a deliberate attempt by both sides not to escalate and to remain careful and therefore not to let it go out of hands because there are purposes for which they have done. Now why we say militarily what has happened.

The four areas which we are discussing or I am talking about the western sector whether they are hot spring areas, Pangong Lake, Depsang Plains or Galwan Valley. In these specific areas there have been a movement that was to indicate possible control or interdiction of the Indian road to Dolat Beg Oldi. It is just a hint of the fact that blockage can be done and therefore there is need for caution to be exercised by India.

Now why I say this is limited is because if you want to interdict DBO road, which China has ability, it had the troops backing up the two division that are sitting there for the last many months - acclimatized, trained and prepared logistically as well as militarily to undertake large scale offensive.

China has not done those large scale offensives. If China had wanted to do something that needed greater control over DBO road then they would have crossed the Galwan Valley confluence and gone across the Shyok River, it has not done so.

In the Pangong lake area, they would have gone across the Pangong Lake because it is only across the Pangong Lake that you start interdicting that highway effectively.

In Depsang, it would have made an effort to moves towards the encampments of Karakorm pass. It would have made attempt to move towards the DBO encampment as well. China had the means, it had the military power but it decided not to do it because all it was intending to do was in the diplomatic and strategic domain not in the military domain.

Now in my own opinion, what India want to understand is that if you want to defend this areas physically then you will have to invest far more than what you are invested in all northern areas whether it is siachen or other areas blocking Pakistan. They would have to invest far more money in preventing China from crossing over. So China has given them the indication that they are capable of doing it but they are not doing it but are not doing it deliberately because they want India to understand, what is called the strategy of suasion.

They want India to understand you cannot build up, you cannot threaten the lines that links Tibet to Xinjiang and that Aksai chin is very much part of their territory. Aksai Chin cannot be put into question by the statement from people like Amit Shah. It cannot put in contention or in dispute by any move that Modi might make in Kashmir. That all of this is beyond that ambit. So while you are physically capable, we are not doing it merely to tell you that please understand if you do not want to have greater damage and greater conflict erupt in this region.

I think from this point of view, China has been successful despite Indian rhetoric, despite their complete bravado, India has accepted the fact that Let the sleeping Dogs lie. We will not create the kind of third party interest which as Mr. Go is pointing out the Tonya Harding syndrome - the USA is being after India to establish some kind of listening post in DBO for United States to watch over China.

It has been encouraging them to carry out military buildup in that area to be able to hold some kind of a threat to China through Aksai chin and therefore, this kind of a realization on the Indians that they are being used for some purpose may have cautioned them and this is a great purpose that the Chinese activity has achieved at this time.

I think that you know from the point of view of what it is going forward as I said it I think it is already petered out. India has the message, India is not going to build up there, and India is not going to carry out any military activities. China will pull back after a while having made this point and the two countries going to sit down and work out quite peacefully that they will not be or specifically India will have to reassure China that it will not act as a pawn as they are being made to be in this area.

As far as physical activity is taking the decent into a war etc., the hostility that the cord is going to build up or any threat to CPEC, I think it is going to reduce. Therefore for Pakistan it is good sign. It is a sign perhaps the things will ease out and will stabilize. But what the concern to us is India, if it had not been able to satisfy domestic rhetoric or perceptions then there will be a very real possibility of it unleashing military operations against Pakistan selectively to be able to appease its own population.

The fact that it has been able to sell the lie to their own people and their people have got it. I think also means something good that there is less likelihood of an adventure by India against Pakistan. However we must remain aware of this, India will find a way of somehow bracketing Pakistan.

I know that there are a lot of Pakistani who says when I suggest to bring China as third party in Kashmir dispute this would be playing into the Indian hands where they will say that there is a collusion between China and Pakistan against India. Well there has to be collusion between china and Pakistan, why we should be apologetic about it. I think we are only two trusted people who can take on the might of the collusion that Americans are making with Indians, to dismantle us and to also browbeat china. So why can we be you know the tool for a great game that have been played by whether the colonial power or played by America or the West in Afghanistan and elsewhere, why can we not be partner of somebody who is not only a well-wisher who is also neighbor.

Therefore, we must be aware militarily, secondly we have to be aware of the manners in which Pakistan and China should develop not only strategic cooperation or the cooperation for national interest but also cooperation now in term of coordinated military operations by the PLA and Pakistan Army with respect of Ladakh and Kasshmir. We must open this discussion with the Chinese and must try to convince them that it is in our interest and the long-term stability of this region.

As a part of the track to process I have been accused time and again by the Indians that Pakistan is just a surrogate, it is a proxy for China. Well if they believe we are then lets become a proxy because it is in our interest and only way that we can curb the ambitions of Modi and his India against Pakistan and its dismantling is by doing this. They are state that is fascist and is ruled by the intelligence syndrome or intelligence mindset of Dovel and Amit Shah. They are deceptive, they are prone to frequent lies and misperceptions and creating a bogey for us in India and all over the world. So we need to aggressively tackle them, we have been far too much apologetic and I think this incident or entire episode tells us that we need to build greater cohesion, collaboration and partnership with China to be able to take India on and help China in the ways that we can in resolving these issues because as Mr. Gao has

pointed out as China rises there are going to be intensification of these efforts to isolate it. There will be an intensification of efforts to poison Pakistani mindset against china as well. There will be intensification of the efforts to encircle china far beyond India.

We should be aware of that and these discussions we must be taking not only at strategic and national government level and the foreign policy level, we must be carrying out these discussion actively in terms of military cooperation.

Now the way forward, I think we must develop a clarity on what these Chinese actions have meant and to me it's just an exercise for suasion which they have been able to achieve and therefore it is doing no more. Secondly we must develop what our own aims and strategy must be in a situation like this and future scenario that may erupt either on their own or Indian compulsions or because of US instigation.

Now when those scenarios are played out we must then formulate our own actions within each one of those scenarios, diplomatically what we are going to do, politically what we are going to do, militarily, legally and administratively. These are all those areas I think we have to earmark ourselves in terms of where we want to go, not only in the context of Ladakh but also the larger Kashmir issue.

Thank you very much for your attention and May God bless you all.

Speaker 4:

Ambassador Zamir Akram, Former Permanent Representative of UN



Thank you very much, firstly I am thankful to General Jaffery and CGSS for inviting me to this important webinar. The speakers before me have essentially cover all the critical issues and aspects of this India China standoff and its implications but, let me try and touch on some of the areas which have not been covered. If there is any repetition from my side I will apologize for that in advance.

I will present this in three broad segments. The first is from the global situation/perspective, then bringing to the region and then to the bilateral level. What we have seen happen on the Indo-Chinese border in the line of actual control can be traced back to the larger global - strategic competition between the United States and China. The US for several years now, not just the Trump administration but Obama and then before that Bush administration.

Ever since the US reached a point where it had extended its strategic limits and came under threat from its perspective of the Chinese catching up and in some areas passing the US. The US has perused a policy of the “zero sum game” which means they do not want any other country to be their equal and want to continue to be uni superpower in the world, they want to have control a unilateral world which is dominated by the US, and no other country whether it is China or Russia can be equal to them.

This Zero-Sum approach has been manifested in American strategic policy for several past administrations. The most clear example was pivot to Asia of the Obama Administration and since that time the attempt has been to contain and, where necessary, to confront China. In order to implement these policies the US have entered into new alliances such as with countries India or Vietnam and strengthened existing alliances with Japan and Australia and some other countries. An element that is a specific is what has been redefined as the Indo pacific region is the so called quadrilateral alliance between the US, Australia, Japan, and India.

Now in this transition, which is actually in my view, a new cold war that is taking place from the Post-Cold war period which dominated by the US. It is now a multipolar or a tri-polar world which is dominated by three major powers; US, China and Russia. The Americans have also pursued the same kind of containment approach towards Russia and which has brought the Chinese and Russians to closer to each other. This is in my thinking a new cold war and this new cold is being played out in different parts including in our region in south Asia and the principal instigator of this new cold war syndrome that we are facing in South Asia is of course our neighbor India because of its own ambitions not just for regional hegemony but actually ambitions for being great power or global power.

Equal to China, if not greater than China, is their ambitions. The US in order to bring the Indians on board as a part of this alliance that they are building against China have agreed and accepted the Indian ambition of being a great power or hegemonic power in the region. They are actually assisting and promoting Indian role of this nature in our region. So we have had a situation whereby this is a threat. The development of India's conventional and strategic capabilities, we must remember that it's not just development of India's vast conventional forces, it's the third or fourth largest conventional military force in the world. Its acquisition of the latest conventional weaponry from around the world; the US, from Russia, Israel, France. But it is also moving rapidly in developing its strategic capabilities as we know they acquired ballistic missile defense capabilities from Russians, Americans, and Israelis. It has acquired and demonstrated a triad of nuclear delivery capabilities through air, land, and sea-based ballistic missiles.

It also recently tested its anti-satellite weapons and has declared its intentions to dominate the space domain as well. So, these are the development which have brought India to a point where there are now talking about, at least with regard to Pakistan, of being able to launch a pre-emptive nuclear strike. Well they can do it or not is another question but facts is that this is the kind of thinking. The other thinking that we also need to be careful about is I think a boast that has been stated at the highest levels in the Indian military and that has to be for India to fight two and a half front war which basically means to fight with China, Pakistan and Kashmiri people simultaneously or the same time. So, these are the kind of ambitions

which India have and these along with India capability is fueled by the United States and assisted by the US because of its own global strategic ambitions.

Now let me come to the bilateral aspect of this issue or the India - China and the India Pakistan and the China-Pakistan triangle which is relevant in this context. As Ambassador Mr. Khokhar mentioned that this is a dispute that goes back to several decades, so why has this dispute resurfaced. The war in 1962 and I think in 1979 and in last couple of years there have been standoffs between India and China firstly at Doklam, on the border with Bhutan which has nothing to do with Indians actually. But the Indians were interceded and Doklam standoff took place which eventually led to the Wuhan summit and Wuhan Spirit.

In less than a year we are seeing a resurfaced resurgence of this kind of standoff now in the Ladakh area. I think the immediate trigger was the Modi's government decision in August last year to change the status of Jammu and Kashmir and to convert the area into two union territories of Jammu and Kashmir and Ladakh. This led to a Chinese reaction which we noticed very carefully but the world did not give it too much significance and even the Indians did not take it very serious. But it signified two things; one that India had been encouraged by its alliance, with its strategic partnership with the United States to take such step which followed closely on the heels of the limited military exchange with Pakistan in February 2019 as a result of the incident in the occupied Indian Kashmir and the air attack in Balakot.

We must recall at that time before Pakistan responded, the Indians had actually been encouraged by the US that they would understand if the Indians took step in response to the so-called terrorist attack in Pulwama. So, this was already clear, the Indians knew where the US stood in terms of its claims over Kashmir and it went ahead with its change of the status of Kashmir. But as I said it provoked the Chinese reaction and they took necessary steps to convey their message very clearly as Gen. Ghazi said to dissuade the Indians not to provoke any further than what they trying are to do. This standoff may be de-escalating but the positions that have been established by China, as well as by India in this area will not be vacated. And as long as these positions remain, as long as these military installations and infrastructure remains the, danger of standoff or escalating into a wider exchange cannot be

ruled out. especially the Indian government has now given the Indian army an option of using whatever they necessary and they will no longer restricted by the understanding that weapons will not be used, weapons were used then, of course, there would be much higher causalities. So this situation will remain on the ground as far as I can understand though there is some movement towards de-escalation.

For India, it has now become an untenable situation. They have created this problem for themselves and Modi's adventurism and his belligerence has brought his country in this kind of a situation. If you look at the map, you will see India is now at confrontation with Pakistan and China as well as Kashmiri people who have continued with their uprising at the same time and though they think they can fight or have the capability to fight two and a half wars but as these incidents have demonstrated with china and as Balakot incident demonstrated with Pakistan, both Pakistanis and Chinese are determined and capable to respond with force where necessary. The Line of control with Pak extending up to the with Line of Actual control with china is an arc in which the Indians are boxed in and to the rear especially in Kashmir valley, millions of people are opposed to their occupation. So this is an untenable situation for Indians to have placed themselves.

Modi has also raised the expectations through his mass hysteria, the expectations of muscular powerful India that can deal with China and Pakistan and so having had to admit that the Chinese have taken positions and that they cannot be dislodged by lying simply that there is nobody on so called Indian territory. This is a lie that has not really fooled any thinking Indian who knows the situation. But this lie cannot last for long because the situation on the ground cannot be changed and that situation will continue to remain and continue to be an issue as said before.

In this environment as mass hysteria that Mr. Modi has generated, he will feel compelled to do something to restore honor so to speak and that would be to pick on the weaker side that is of course Pakistan. We should be prepared and keep our card up for some kind of Indian adventurism perhaps on the excuse of some kind of false flagship operation along the line of control that can be resorted. This is a concern, we must keep alive. The other concern that I have and it is being played out already is the increasing Indian support along with the United

States for elements within Pakistan that can resort to the use of Terrorism. The objective is of course to undermine the Pakistan China cooperation in the context of CPEC. The CPEC as part of BRI is a strategic option for China and this option negates in the sense the American quadrilateral alliance approach to control the Indo- Pacific sea lanes for China's detriment. So the Chinese option of creating the BRI and CPEC as part of that is opposed by Washington and New Delhi. In this context I think that what we have seen for years now has been concentrated Indian attempt to use terrorism and subversion against Pakistan China cooperation projects especially relating to CPEC. The most related example is the attack on Pakistan Stock Exchange and before that attack on Chinese consulate in Karachi and there was also attack on the hotel in Gawadar where a lot of the Chinese workers are staying. So this is very clear examples of how India is resorting to terrorism to derail the Pakistan China relationship and to delay the CPEC project a whole.

Indians have an approached US, they have approached Russia and as also Ambassador Khokhar expressed these countries have been responded and they have helped but both these powers both Russia and the United States there is a need to prevent an outbreak of war between China and India. Although, Indian Army used as cat's paw against China by the US. The US is not ready to support a war so there is a big difference between how the Americans reacted to help India in the 1962 war against China, and how the Americans have reacted now to respond to the current standoff between India and China.

So, that will also put a definite dampener, definite limit and underscore the need for restraint by India at least towards China as China is much greater power and has been stated by other speakers India's is nowhere near the Chinese in terms of both military and economic strength so the easier option for Indians perhaps is to try and gain some kind of mileage against Pakistan especially for domestic consumption as they did in February 2019 so I will end on that note, repeating my warning that we need to have our guard up to be careful.

Speaker 5:

**Prof. Huang Yunsong, Associate Dean, School of International Studies,
Sichuan University, Chengdu, China:**



I want to thank CGSS for inviting me to join these distinct panelists to share my observations on this topic. I would organize my observations into three parts.

Firstly, I would give a brief review of how this incident/clash happened in Galwan Valley. I think the clash inflicted casualties on both sides and especially heavy to the Indian side. I would argue that this sort of stand-off along the LAC has gradually become a routine since 2008 when India fundamentally changed its policies towards the border infrastructure and road in its northern frontier. First, their decision to beef up its border road and facilities has generally provided the Indian army with easier and faster access to the territory. Secondly, India has maintained a much larger military strength along the LAC which is roughly 8 times that of China and usually dominates terrain of tactical advantage. Third, the nationalistic BJP government has encouraged the military to take a more offensive posture along the LAC since 2014. Therefore, we have seen more frequent incursions by the Indian troops into Chinese territory in recent years. Fourth, by looking at the bloodshed incident at the Galwan Valley I have a very strong sense that India has taken the Doklam standoff in 2017 as a precedent in dealing with border disputes through unilateral actions. On one hand, India greatly overestimated its capability and the external elements in its favor, believing that China could do nothing and succumb to its provocation. On the other hand, India mistakenly underestimated China's resolute and strength to repeal India's military adventurism.

Our message to India is crystal clear we won't allow them to get away this time with any incursion or in future with any incursions that violate China's sovereignty and threatens the safety of our troops.

The second point I'd like to talk about is the implications of this incident to China-India relations. China has been very measured in its response to this time and a threat by the

Indian strategic community to join the US anti-China alliance. It was until last night that China's state TV station publicized the evidences of India's invasion. Disclosing a great deal of details but apparently, India can't afford the truth. But, the Indian public with fabricated stories except for the casualty numbers on its side other than that there were no details in their narrative of the incident. The border clash between China and India in Galwan Valley, on the Chinese side of the LAC, was the most serious setback to the bilateral relations since 1962.

The media war and boycotting China campaign launched by New Delhi afterward has further damaged the conducive atmosphere for the bilateral relations in the short to medium term. Other bilateral relations have been switched to a crisis management mode for almost two months. The telephone conversation at the special representatives level three days ago has just temporarily sealed the wound. It is too early to say that the episode is officially over where the infrastructure race and the increased military build-up is becoming new normal along the border. The risk of such violent standoffs could significantly shot up in the days to come. That's my calculation. It is widely articulated that on the Indian side the govern standoff would be the watershed in the bilateral relations, indicating a shot downturn inside.

There is an evident bifurcation between India's threatening rhetoric and it's even is for a timely solution. We are confident that small clashes do not necessarily escalate into major wars. Sometimes, small clashes are very helpful in avoiding the major wars. As an undeniable fact that New Delhi has to recognize that it can't do without Beijing since it has a long list of over 8000 commodities completely dependent on China. This is a global clout that India could not ignore. I'm not ruling out however, the likely hood of bilateral relations changed to a lower orbit for a certain period of time. And aspects such as the economy and the trade, people to people contact and global governance, etc. Truly speaking, the border issue will be a top agenda until national leaders on both sides meet next time. At the same time, we will keep a very close eye on how India interacts with the US. We are very keen to deal with China India relations but it is for India to prove to us the inappropriateness to take on the same through the prism on India US relations. Then, China will decide how to coup with India accordingly.

The third point I'd like to make is how Galwan Valley incident would impact China Pakistan relations. Some analysts speculate that Galwan Valley standoff is a possible step down for China and Pakistan to boost their strategic cooperation because they amply India as a common adversary to China and Pakistan. And therefore, the intensification of the border disputes between India and China is regarded as an opportunity to strengthen the existing alliance between our two countries. This interpretation is both correct and incorrect. It is correct to the extent that China has realized that Indian's unilateral aggressive posture has posed a great threat not only to other South Asian States in containing and confronting China around the globe. China's security and development interests are both at stake. It is time for China to rethink how to work with South Asia including Pakistan to diffuse a common threat. It is wrong for China to tolerate the unipolar hegemony in the sub-continent. This situation must be seriously re-addressed. It is incorrect to the extent that China India border dispute is in nature a bilateral issue. As a world power China has the confidence and capability to resolve the crisis within the framework of bilateralism. The all-round cooperation and partnership that we have in the field of politics, economy, diplomacy, defence, etc. with Pakistan. Is not oriented to corner India and promotes settlement of China India border issue. Therefore, I don't think that Galwan Valley stand-off has any direct bearing on China Pakistan relations. The more important agenda for Beijing and Islamabad should be how to promote security framework in the sub-continent with Pakistan playing a much greater role. Galwan Valley stand-off as well as India dealing with other neighbors is a harsh reminder to us that how seriously we should conceptualize and materialize this idea.

There is one last thing that I want to emphasize. Since, India is the abolition of Article 370 and bifurcation of J&K into two union territories last year the border tension between India, China and Pakistan are on the rise. The necessity is very obvious for both sides to make extensive exchanges, effective measures to confront and coordinate in certain cases. So in an analysis of our research Centre commissioned last year, we are convinced that in addition to China's territory the GB and AK have also come under serious threat due to India's aggression and unilateralism. As a result, the flagship project of CPEC will also be threatened in a greater sense. Having said that, I deeply appreciate the Pakistani government's commitment to see to CPEC completion at all costs. Also, I would like to allocate for a joint

evaluation of the impact of the change to J&K upon the regional security. China's support for Pakistan is always there but we need to work out more effective countermeasures based on updated observations.

Speaker 6:

Maj Gen Ijaz Awan, HI (M), (Retd), Defence Analyst:



Thank you very much and good morning to all the organizers and all the participants of the webinar. Since everyone has covered almost all the aspects of this latest faceoff for a situation between India and China in Ladakh area, I would just like to highlight only three things that not take much time and to my understanding and I think most of us have agreed that India has a pact at the back and that's why they have suddenly changed after 72 years.

The change of status of the issue of Kashmir disregarding the UN resolution is not a minor development, it is a development by design and it is going to contribute towards containment of China or pinning down of China to stall its economic growth and economic influence outside its borders and particularly towards the belt and road initiative, towards CPEC, Eurasia and Central Asian states other than the one already being handled in the South China Sea and the East China Sea. if this is the situation I think China has very correctly identified and launched a pre-emptive offensive-defensive, though at a tactical scale, but with strategic implications for India and for the countries to send a message across that China has cognizant of the fact and it's going to safeguard its territorial interest and the strategic interests of China at all costs. Now to my mind that this development of 370 and 35 A which was revoked by India unilaterally has had an implication and India is going to revisit it, the present strand of was only testing the waters because this development should India be able to absorb Kashmir and the change of status of the Ladakh territory or the union territories of Ladakh and Kashmir it is going to open new vistas for the Indo Israel Cooperation and Indo U.S Cooperation and I think there is a probability that we may see Indo U.S bases in this area or Indo Israeli bases in this area and as one of the listening post as they already alluded to by Tariq Azim Ghazi. I think these countries are going to put their stakes into this area and go to wash the development and growth of Belt and Road initiative and CPEC and this would also mean a step to compete for the strategic investment, investment in military terms, investment of China because in Southeast is China Sea and Southeast South China Sea there

are already developments and there is some kind of cooperation building against China and now if this develops then it is going to strategically invest China which is going to be a dangerous development though China has got a right to react and it will react to restore its territorial integrity and to safeguard its interests. Another point I wish to make is that yes this development though tactical in nature has brought Pakistan and China closer than ever before and there is a need for the greater strategic cooperation, formal strategic corporation between Pakistan and China to guard their territorial integrity and to guard their strategic interest because I feel both the countries in future are going to sink or sail together with this strategic cooperation and they cannot stand alone and guard their interest. The third thing there is a probability and I would like any one of the students to please highlight it if somebody wishes to there is a probability of some kind of cooperation or alliance coming together or being cobbled together be India being part of it against China in the South China or the Asian region that is aimed at containing China and I see a probability of such alliance coming up which would be very hostile in nature, of course, would threaten the strategic interests of China so these are the three points I wanted to make I don't wish to take much time because my battery is dying out after two and a half years of being online.

Thank you so much.



ANALYSIS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

1. Brief Overview:

- a. China has never been an expansionist country in its history and has never followed an aggressive policy in general.
- b. However, India has continued to follow its traditional policy of absorbing territory gradually since 1948.
- c. In 1984 India did the same with Pakistan when they moved into an unoccupied area of Siachin and most recently the Lipulekh area of Nepal.
- d. But between 1959 and 1962 the Chinese PM, with the instructions of Chairman Mao, approached India for a border settlement. They were willing to settle the eastern McMahon Line. Aksai Chin was what China was most interested in.
- e. The war started in 1962 and the Chinese gave Indians a very straight forward lesson.
- f. It was Nehru's forward policy that was responsible for this breakdown of relations between China and India. It was one of his greatest failures for the China policy.
- g. The nationalistic BJP government has encouraged the military to take a more offensive posture along the LAC since 2014. Therefore, we have seen more frequent incursions by the Indian troops into Chinese territory in recent years.
- h. India has taken the Doklam standoff in 2017 as a precedent in dealing with the border disputes through unilateral actions. On one hand India greatly over estimated its capability and the external elements in its favor, believing that China could do nothing and succumb to its provocation. On other hand India mistakenly underestimated China's resolute and strength to repel India's military adventurism.

2. Current Scenario:

- a. PM Modi with his desire for hegemony and to dominate has followed extremely aggressive foreign policy, in fact his policy in the region and the first victim of this muscular policy is of course Pakistan.
- b. What really triggered this current situation is that Modi declared Jammu and Kashmir as a union territory and Ladakh also under Delhi's rule.
- c. The Indian attempt to creep forward and create effects on the Kurrakuram Highway (KKH) and the CPEC has evoked a strong reaction from China, who further denied the Indian space to operate in this area.
- d. Recently, Chinese have presence in the Y junction which dominates the Daulat Beg Oldi (DBO) road which is in itself very close to the KKH.
- e. China has given a signal that it will not allow the CEPC to be threatened and is no longer reluctant to act military if its core interests are threatened.
- f. Chinese never want this to be an expanded war and hence, it was India that promoted the whole crisis.
- g. It is not in China's or India's interest to have any escalation of tensions along their border because if war breaks out it will be against the fundamental interest of China of maintaining

stability and peace, and it will really the derail India's ambition of industrialization and modernization.

3. Tactical Situation:

- a. India has been vocal about its malignant intentions that India will not only recover Azad Kashmir, but also recover GB and Aksai chin.
- b. This as an open threat to China and China was deeply concerned about the military buildup and infrastructure development that the Indians had done in the region including the construction of GBO road that actually overlooks the Siachin area.
- c. As per one of the Chinese experts, out of the 20 soldiers that India lost, only three were killed on the ground, the others were actually killed by drowning in the river or by freezing to death. The Indian side is propagating misinformation and so they need to tell the truth to the people.
- d. The Western section of the China Indian disputed border is only about two days distance to New Delhi via ground transportation or the expedition by the foot soldiers. It is one day distance via the airplanes, paratroopers etc. Therefore India should not fight geography.
- e. Looking at the topography of the region India's real enemy is the towering soaring Himalaya Mountains. The Chinese side is always on the higher level of altitude and the Indian side tend to be on the lower end of the altitude.
- f. Indians should use their wisdom to see the folly of war with China sitting on the heights of the Himalayas.
- g. The four areas in the western sector, whether they are the hot spring areas, Pangong Lake, Depsang plains or Galwan Valley, in these specific areas there have been a movement that was to indicate possible control or interdiction of the Indian road to Dolat Beg Oldi.
- h. It is just a hint of the fact that blockage can be done and therefore there is need for caution to be exercised by India.
- i. However this is limited because if you want to interdict DBO road, which China has the ability, the troops backing up, the two divisions sitting there for the last many months and acclimatize, trained and prepared logistically as well as militarily to undertake large scale offensive.
- j. China has not done those large scale offensives. If China had wanted to do something that needed greater control over DBO road then they would have crossed the Galwan Valley confluence and gone across the Shyok River, but it has not done so.
- k. In the Pangong lake area, they would have gone across the Pangong Lake because it is only across the Pangong Lake that you start interdicting that highway effectively.
- l. In Depsang, it would have made an effort to moves towards the encampments of Karakorum pass and towards the DBO encampment as well. China had the means, it had

the military power but it decided not to do it because all it was intending to do was in the diplomatic and strategic domain not in the military domain.

- m. The change of status of the Ladakh territory and Kashmir is going to open new vistas for the Indo Israel Cooperation and Indo U.S Cooperation. There is a probability that we may see Indo U.S or Indo Israeli bases in this area.

4. The Implications for Pakistan:

- a. Pakistan remains under threat from India not only on the LOC activity but India's activities in Afghanistan and its activities in subversion and hybrid war that it has been conducting against Pakistan in the last few years.
- b. For Pakistan the most critical aspect is the Indo-US nexus as the US Indian relationship has expanded in all fields, particularly in defense.
- c. Pakistan is a strategic stakeholder in this whole scenario because Ladakh is a part of the Kashmir Solution. We have very high stakes together in the success of the CPEC and also in the stability in Gilgit Baltistan.
- d. Another important aspect is that of the China's control of Aksai Chin which is also part of Ladakh and also part of Kashmir solution. Therefore, in the context of our interest and the Chinese interest, China should be a part of the Kashmir solution.
- e. A major concern for Pakistan is that India, if it is not been able to satisfy domestic rhetoric or perceptions then there will be a very real possibility of it unleashing military operations against Pakistan selectively, to be able to appease its own population. We must remain aware of this, India will find a way of somehow bracketing Pakistan.
- f. India in the garb of terrorist activity, is continuing to trying to destabilize Pakistan through attacks like the one on the Stock Exchange in Karachi recently.
- g. In addition to China's territory, the GB and AK has also come under serious threat due to India's aggression and unilaterism. As a result, the flagship project of CPEC will also be threatened in a greater sense.
- h. Furthermore, this standoff helps Pakistan in deterring India in the region to create any sort of mischief or misadventure.

5. Role of Key International Stakeholders:

- a. At the moment the international environment is certainly very perilous, the world order is in a flux and one of the major contributing factors to this confusion in the world order are the policies of American government.
- b. India actually considers itself a rival of China. The western world has been building up India as the possible balancer in Asia against China. They assume that India will take over

China in the next few years, although China's GNP is five times more than India. Militarily it's in no position to take on China at the moment.

- c. China manufactures almost all its weapons whereas India relies heavily on imported weapons. Therefore any war will be a lot of drain of resources on both the Chinese side and the Indian side by multiple Times. Recalling the year 1962, India desperately turned to the US. Nehru wrote two desperate letters to President John Kennedy asking for US help. In fact they asked for 9 squadron of American bombers and fighters.
- d. Even now, India after having been thrashed in this recent situation is desperately calling Washington and other capitals in the West for help. And the position that the Indians have now taken is that of a victim.

(1) **United States:**

- a. In US there is a buildup of psychosis against China - a strong feeling of anti-China sentiment. This is clearly evident in various reports that have been released by the US, the NSS, the nuclear strategy report and all the official documents that China is a revisionist power, China is challenging the US, and China is a threat and so on.
- b. Especially looking at the speeches that were made by the vice President Pence in the Hudson institute, and secretary of state Pompeo, secretary of defense all of them have been emphasizing China as a principal threat to the world order.
- c. President Trump's policies are not of America first but is actually is more of 'Trump first'. He has an extremely toxic approach toward Pakistan and the most toxic language has been reserved for China.
- d. First part of this policy is basically about Trumps election. He is desperate because he has had no foreign policy success. Moreover, there has been a military buildup in the South China Sea, two aircraft carriers have been placed there.
- e. China has certain core interests including Tibet, Aksai Chin, Taiwan, Hong Kong, South China Sea all these are vital interests of China.
- f. US is building up pressure in the Pacific against China. China has certainly responded by coming up with its own policies, geo economic and geo political which is in the form of BRI connecting countries in Asia and certainly all along the Eurasian continent.
- g. There are clear indications that the United States is encouraging India to take on China and to keep the pot boiling.

(2) **Russia:**

- a. Russia has been trying to persuade the Indians as well as the Chinese that thing's should not go far and opt for a peaceful settlement of this border issue.
- b. Secondly the Indians requested the Russians to provide them equipment and so Russia is rushing helicopters, aircrafts, and ammunition worth a billion dollars.

- c. If India buys more and more imported weapons, strategically speaking, it is actually creating more and more liabilities for India because it will probably bankrupt the Indian economy and become a curse for the Indian people. Therefore the best strategy for India is to achieve peace and stability focusing on development.

(3) **Others:**

- a. Similarly **France** is rushing aircraft to India, **Israel** is very actively supplying equipment, and now there is move in the US to provide F35s to India.

6. The Implications for the Region:

- a. India is pursuing its draconian policies in the region including the complex dangerous situation in Kashmir and particularly its regression, suppression and conduct of genocide in Kashmir has created a very critical situation for Pakistan.
- b. Secondly Indian ocean is becoming very significant because the maximum trade and all the oil flows from the gulf countries to China and also to Japan and Korea, as well as the bulk trade at the moment is in Indian ocean or going on to the Pacific ocean.
- c. India wants the US and the West to play an important role in the Indian Ocean. India thinks Indian Ocean is a private lake of India. India has never been a sea power but now they are presenting themselves to the West as a country that can take care of the Indian Ocean.
- d. Indian Ocean belongs to mankind and everyone has the freedom to exercise their freedom of navigation in the Indian Ocean. Any one blocking commercial transportation through the Indian Ocean will be condemned as the enemy of mankind and will be dealt with as such.
- e. United States is deliberately encouraging the Philippines, Malaysia, and Vietnam to take on China so that it can mount its own pressures on China.
- f. US is trying to build up its alliances in the region against China, starting with South Korea, Japan, Taiwan and Australia. Australia is again playing a very strange game at the moment. India is the latest recruit in this whole game of the alliance system.
- g. US establishment thinks that containment of China is critical in fact it's important not only to contain China but to roll back China.
- h. The atmosphere in America and President Trump's follies are not conducive for China or for Pakistan and is really complicating regional environment.
- i. If China-US relations worsen and India get involved in playing a critical role, then the countries in Asia will come under pressure as the US will force the countries in the region to take positions.
- j. Normally two sovereigns fight each other for the ownership of a particular land. Thus, China and India should go for 'one territory two sovereigns' solution.

7. China-US situation:

- a. There is an over eagerness in Washington to whack Chinese kneecaps as much as possible. This refers to the Tonia Harding syndrome and it can play plague a person as well as it can plague a country. It is a condition in which a person attempts to even a competitive playing field by physically handicapping a rival of equal or greater skill.
- b. America is looking for Chinese knee caps to whack and so India should not become a fodder in this gigantic arms wrestle between China and the United States. If the United States cannot wrestle China down to the ground by itself, it cannot do it along with India or many other countries either.
- c. War is not an option between China and United States. Both China and the United States are armed to the teeth as nuclear weapon powers so both Beijing and Washington must refrain from any impulse, to instigate a war.
- d. US believes that they can whack the Chinese kneecaps, stir up storms in the South China Sea, use Taiwan, Hong Kong, Xinjian or Tibet as a prom in their overall attempt to derail China's rise, but that will be futile.
- e. Washington should not indulge in any fantasy that the United States can hold China down to the ground because no one in the world can reverse the trend of China's very steady economic development and soon China's size will outgrow that of the United States.
- f. Though China probably is unable to catch up with the United States in many important categories including, for example, the arable land, the freshwater, and the geopolitical position of the United States - only having Canada to its north and Mexico to its south whereas China has 14 land neighboring countries including Afghanistan.
- g. Therefore Washington needs to come to terms with the reality that China is larger and in many cases, more impactful than the United States and how to deal with that status quo will be a challenge for the United States.

8. China-India situation:

- a. China has a population of 1.4 India has a population of 1.3 billion and thus both are super populations. Population not only talk about the size of their population but also the quality of the labor force and the extra responsibilities as global players. Thus India should keep in view the interest of Indian people and not become a pawn or straddled onto the bandwagon of another power.
- b. War between the two super populations will be a calamity for all mankind in the world. If war breaks out, it won't be limited to the Western section of Chinese-Indian border.
- c. India therefore needs to understand that they cannot build up and that Aksai chin is very much part of the Chinese territory.
- d. China's message to India is crystal clear that it won't allow India to get away this time with any incursion or in future with any incursions that violates China's sovereignty and threatens the safety of Chinese troops.

- e. As undeniable fact that New Delhi has to recognize that it can't do without Beijing since it has a long list of over 8000 commodities completely dependent on China.
- f. China is ready to deal with China India relations on their own merits but it is for India to prove to China, the inappropriateness to take on the same through the prism on India US relations. Then, China will decide how to cope with India accordingly.
- g. The Galwan Valley standoff will boost strategic cooperation between China and Pakistan because they incline to interpret India as a common adversary. And therefore, the intensification of the border disputes between India and China is regarded as an opportunity to strengthen the existing alliance between our two countries.
- h. China has realized that India's unilateral and aggressive posture assumed by the nationalistic regime has posed a great threat not only to other South Asian States, but also in containing and confronting China around the globe.
- i. China's security and development interests are both at stake. It is time for China to rethink how to work with South Asia including Pakistan to diffuse a common threat.
- j. It is wrong for China to tolerate the uni-polar hegemony in the sub-continent. This situation must be seriously re-addressed.

9. China and Pakistan:

- a. The important agenda for Beijing and Islamabad should be how to promote security framework in the sub-continent with Pakistan playing a much greater role. Galwan Valley stand-off as well as India dealing with other neighbors is a harsh reminder to us that how seriously we should conceptualize and materialize this idea.