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Nuclear and Missile Alliance Between China and Pakistan

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Abstract

Pakistan and China are all weather friends as both the governments have opposite Camps and ideologies which never affect their friendship. Both the countries have their Diplomatic, economic and Geographical interests from each other. Pakistan Nuclear and Missile capability has gone from strength to strength with china's support. This paper gives brief introduction about the Pakistanis nuclear and missile system with the cooperation of china. Nuclear test of India boost the china and they help Pakistan in nuclear and missile technology.

Keywords- Nuclear, Missile collaboration.

Introduction

When we look back, in comparison to India, when they were on the final stage of becoming the nuclear capable nation, we find that Pakistan too was reluctant to launch and formulate their own nuclear plant in the mid fifties. India conducted the first Nuclear bomb test (named Pokhran-I) on May, 18, 1974. The bomb was detonated at the army base, Pokhran Test Range (PTR), at Pokhran, Rajasthan by our army. Pakistan declared the test as a threat to the Asian sub continent and did not view this test as a peaceful nuclear explosion as claimed by the Indian authorities. This lead the escalation of war of words between the two nations, the then Pakistan's Prime Minister, Zulfikar Ali Bhutto addressed the Pakistan National Assembly and vowed that it was a nuclear blackmail on the part of India and that Pakistan would not submit to the nuclear blackmail of India. It was the arena when Pakistan further pushed themselves in the field of nuclear technology.To further strengthening his stand and to denounce India, Pakistan's administration sent their foreign secretary to Peking for consultations over Indian nuclear test and to persuade the Chinese leaders to support them so that they could denounce India [1]. It was Indian nuclear scientist Homi. J. Bhabha who actually broke the news that India could detonate a nuclear test within eighteen months. It was the time when China actually had exploded its first nuclear test. Reacting to this news Z. A. Bhutto beseech his govt to acquire nuclear capability but president Ayub Khan opposed his idea and was not in favour of it [2]. In view of the intensification and expansion in Sino-Pak cooperation in various fields between 1963 and 1965, Bhutto was hopeful of getting Chinese assistance in the nuclear field too. It was Bhutto's enthusiasm for nuclear capability that might have forced him to create a channel for bilateral Sino-Pak cooperation for development of nuclear energy. Pakistan, in February 1973, started negotiations with France for the purchase of nuclear reprocessing plant and a couple of years later it decided to acquire uranium enrichment technology through Dr. A. Q. Khan [3]. While the negotiations between Pakistan, France and China were going on, India conducted out its implosion test in 1974. Islamabad termed it as a "Move to black mail Pakistan", and was expecting that Beijing soon would condemn Indian nuclear test. In fact Pakistan tried their best to persuade Chinese administration to react on that, they did react but only when Pakistan took the matter to UN General Assembly for the creation of a nuclear weapon free zone in South Asia limited to the Indian subcontinent, excluding China [4]. This move motivated China, since under this proposal, it gave them opportunity to extend their nuclear capabilities without any restrictions, hence, they supported Pakistan's proposal.Beijing reassured their continued support to the people of Pakistan both local and diplomatic level at UN forum regarding the nuclear issue and resolute support to Pakistan against any foreign aggression and interference, including nuclear threat and nuclear blackmail. Beijing stands consistent on the position that "Nuclear weapons should be completely prohibited and thoroughly destroyed" and that, the countries possessing them should not use them against the non-nuclear countries and nuclear free zone [5]. China on different UN forums reiterated its stand in favour of Pakistan for the denuclearization of the South Asian region [6].

Pakistan for a couple of years finds it difficult to get support from Washington in favour of their proposal of nuclear weapon free zone in South Asia. Even when US lifted the arms embargo, Pakistan was not given sophisticated weapons and Washington took some strict measures to restrain Pakistan from going ahead with its

nuclear weapon programme, including pressure on France to cancel the nuclear deal. While this was going on Chinese prime minister 'Li Peng' visited Pakistan and declared unconditional support to the people of Pakistan, he had described Sino-Pak friendship higher than the Karakoram and deeper than the oceans. There after China increased collaboration not only in conventional defence production but also agreed to help Pakistan in its nuclear weapons programme. But after assassination of the Bhutto in 1977, China suspended its cooperation with Pakistan. But when the Afghanistan's Govt was toppled through a Soviet assisted coup in April 1978, China strategically changed their stance and became more friendly with the Zia's regime in Pakistan and some new nuclear developments were resumed. Later on in 1981 when Afghanistan was under the Soviet occupation, the United States, suspended the uranium enrichment sanctions that were imposed on Pakistan and provided military and economic support to it. Pakistan accelerated the nuclear mission soon after the general Zia visited Beijing in August 1980. The Chinese nuclear experts were called to Pakistan to "speed up Pakistan's first peaceful nuclear explosion [7]. It is pertinent to mention here that US on one side was showing concerns over the Sino-Pakistani nuclear ties., and on other side, after the Soviet intervention in Afghanistan it felt the need of Pakistan, who actually played a key role in supplying the weapons to the Afghan Mujahedeen's. The consequence of that was, Islamabad obtained a special consideration from both the US and China in building up its nuclear facilities [8]. The Sino-Pak nuclear progress took a new turn and development in 1986, when China concluded a comprehensive nuclear agreement with Pakistan. Under this agreement China reportedly transferred, 'Tritium' gas to Pakistan that could be used to achieve fusion in hydrogen bombs and boost the yield of atomic bombs [9]. In addition to that variety of nuclear products and services, ranging from uranium enrichment technology to research and power reactors were supplied to Pakistan. It is reported that China conducted one of its nuclear test in 1989 at its Lop Nur test site and also involved Pakistani scientists. It's believed that US administration had secretly facilitated Sino-Pakistani collaboration from 1987 to 1990.

In connection with Pakistan's nuclear and missile programmes, China has been accused by India, US and other western countries for not only transferring the nuclear and missile technology but missiles too. However both China and Pakistan have been refuting these allegations. China despite being promoted under non-proliferation, continued to assist Pakistan nuclear weapons programme. There were reports that China has signed a contract to build a Chashma 300 MW nuclear power reactor for Pakistan [10]. On 27 September 2000, China National Nuclear Corporation formally handed over the Chasma nuclear power plant to the Pakistan Energy Commission. A major proliferation controversy regarding Chinese nuclear trade with Pakistan includes the late-1995 export of about 5,000 specially designed ring magnets from the China Nuclear Energy Industry Corporation (CNEIC) to an unsafeguarded Pakistani nuclear laboratory, which was allegedly involved in the nuclear weapons work.

In 1997, director of central intelligence claimed that China was the primary source of nuclear-related equipment and technology to Pakistan. The US immediately urged and warned China to end its nuclear cooperation with Islamabad entirely, and their concern persisted throughout 1998 and into the new millennium. India conducted the nuclear test between (11-13th) May, 1998, soon after the test Pakistani delegation immediately visited China to gain Chinese nuclear guarantees and political-military backing. In response to Indian nuclear tests Pakistan also conducted the nuclear tests in the same month on (28-30th), May 1998. New insights into the level of Chinese assistance to Pakistan came about in early 2004 as a result of on-site investigations into Libya's nuclear weapons program, following Muammar al-Qadhdhafi's dramatic reversal on WMD programs in late 2003. Soon it got disclosed that Pakistan has shared the nuclear details with the Libyan scientists. The transferred documents revealed that China continued to mentor Pakistani Scientists over several years.

Times of India reacting to this shocking news placed it on the front page with title "Pakistan N-bomb has a Chinese tag". The documents transferred to Libya also raise questions about whether; other countries like North Korea, Iran and Iraq too might have received these documents from Pakistanis [11]. Both China and Pakistan have refused to admit any knowledge of the transfer[12]. But Chinese officials does admit that the government is not in a position to control what individual firms sell to other countries like Pakistan and Iran, although it says that these firms are being educated to export the equipments under regulations. Nonetheless, economic sanctions were imposed by

Washington on many Chinese firms accused of having links with Pakistan, Iran and North Korea.[13]

Despite the veil of secrecy, China had long provided Pakistan with major military, technical and economic assistance, including the transfer of sensitive nuclear technology and equipment. Some experts say that China views a credible Pakistani deterrent as the most effective way to guarantee the security of its sole ally in southern Asia against Indian power. China views its relationship with Pakistan as somewhat similar to the U.S. relationship with Israel[14]. India sees such assistances to Pakistani's as a hostile action and major threat to its security.

However, all decisions taken by the Chinese with regard to cooperating with the Pakistanis have always been done pragmatically and with Beijing's long-term strategic interests in mind. The leadership of both countries exchanged a number of high powered visits post 9/11, 2001 attack on Pentagon and White house and a number of important agreements were signed. China joined the NSG as a full member in 2004. This followed a whitepaper on non-proliferation which the Chinese government released, which strengthened its case to an international audience. In the mean time, India and US initiated discussions on nuclear agreement in 2005, in response China took an active interest in the regional implications for its strategic partner, and opposed the agreement on grounds that it is not equitable, and favoured a similar NSG exemption for Pakistan. When the international community expressed their reservations on Pakistan's non-proliferation record (based on inputs that Dr. A. Q. Khan had further proliferated Chinese designs to Libya, North Korea and Iran) [15], China took it upon itself and adopted a posture that nuclear cooperation with Pakistan is legal, since Washington established the same sort of contact with India, when the parties signed so-called "the 123 Agreement", even though India has never been a signatory to the NPT [16] Although China does not clearly stand for providing Pakistan with the same trade preferences from the NSG which India enjoys.

Under military administration many important visits by the then President Musharraf to China took place in 2006. During his visit, many agreements were signed to "build cooperation in the peaceful application of nuclear power" [17]. A general loan agreement pertaining to the use of 'preferential buyers' credit' was also signed [18]. Later on, in 2006, the Chinese President Hu Jintao visited Pakistan. During this visit both countries pledged to strengthen their relations. President of Pakistan, General Pervez Musharraf was quoted as saying that "despite changes at the regional and global levels, the deep-rooted ties between the two countries have been gaining strength with the passage of time." President Hu Jintao stated that the Sino-Pakistani traditional strategic partnership would remain intact under all circumstances. He further said that the changing global scenario with critical challenges or the situation in the region will not affect the evergreen friendship, adding that Sino-Pakistani friendship was vital for prosperity and stability in the region. Hu also declared Pakistan as an "indispensable partner" for cooperation in the international arena. He thanked Pakistan for its continued support on the issues of Taiwan, Tibet and human rights, and for being the first country to support the anti-secession law passed by the Chinese National People's Congress in March 2005.

Pakistan sees a revival of democracy in 2008. Mr. Asif Ali Zardari was nominated as the President of Pakistan. As per the long established tradition, after becoming the president of Pakistan, the first international destination of the President of Pakistan, Mr. Asif Ali Zardari was China. He visited China in October 2008 (October 14-17). During his visit to China, President Asif Ali Zardari discussed the state of the bilateral relationship with his Chinese counterpart, President Hu. It was reported that both presidents agreed on taking steps to further strengthen the relationship in keeping with the changes in the region and the world. But much more controversial in the bilateral relationship—at least as far as the international community is concerned—is the nuclear energy cooperation between the two countries. China has helped Pakistan build a nuclear plant in Chashma named "Chashma Nuclear Power Plant (CHASNUPP-I) or Chashma Nuclear Power Complex, which began operation in 2001[19]. The 325 MW unit 2, (CHASNUPP-II) like CHASNUPP-I, was officially inaugurated on 10 May 2011 by former Prime Minister Yousaf Raza Gilani [20]. This project was implemented by a joint effort of the Chinese National Nuclear Corporation and Pakistani Atomic Energy Commission. Chashma is currently subject to IAEA safeguards [21]. The third of its kind 340 MW Unit 3 (CHASNUPP-3) was officially inaugurated on 28 December 2016 by Prime Minister Nawaz Sharif. CHASHNUPP-4, was Formally inauguration on 08 September, 2017 by Prime Minister of Pakistan, Shahid Khaqan Abbasi [22]. As per

news reports On March 2013, Pakistan and China, in March, 2013 had agreed to build a fifth unit in order to foster resolving of the problem of energy deficit in Pakistan (CHASNUPP-5) [23].

In June 2013, the Federal Government of Pakistan announced that Pakistan and China were going to implement the Karachi Coastal Project, under which a new well-equipped nuclear power plant was about to be constructed in Karachi, and its power capacity would make up to 1.100 MW[24]. According to the Interpreter magazine, on June 19, 2015 the Sindh Environmental Protection Agency approved the construction of new nuclear reactors in the western part of Karachi. The project will see two reactors built alongside the existing Karachi Nuclear Power Plant (KANUPP), which is a 137MW Canadian deuterium uranium design from the 1970s. The new reactors, named K-2 and K-3, are of Chinese origin and are expected to contribute a much-needed 2200 MW of power output [25].

Objective of the Study

Author wants to study why China develops the nuclear and missile capability of Pakistan. How much China helps Pakistan to develop sophisticated weapons. Why China want to develop an opponent against India. Why china is rival of India all of these issues discuss in this paper.

Missile Collaboration

Soon after the withdrawal of Soviet troops from Afghanistan changed the whole South Asian geo-strategic map. But, Pakistani aspirations remained unchanged and Sino-Pakistani military co-operation deepened. The two countries made some important developments in Missile technology. The history of Pakistan missiles development can be traced back to the formation of the Space and Upper Atmosphere Research Commission (SUPARCO) in 1961 [26]. It is widely believed that China's solid-fuelled M-11SRBM and North Korea's liquid-fuelled No Dong missiles have formed the building blocks of Pakistan's missile program. Pakistan has viewed as a critical partner in building its delivery systems for its nuclear weapons, especially its missile inventories which have made an impressive progress since late 1980's. It is also worth to mention here that Pakistan and North Korea began developing a military relationship in 1971, one which matured in the 1990s. Such a relationship would not have been possible without Chinese acquiescence. This trilateral relationship got further cemented when the three countries signed a formal technical assistance agreement in January 1994 that officially dealt with cooperation in missile and guidance systems [27]. As of today from this collaboration, Pakistan has developed a range of solid-fuelled short-range ballistic missiles to target air-fields, headquarters, troop concentrations and ammunition and supply depots. In 1990's Pakistan launched its first Missile "Ghaznavi" having range up to 300 Kms, reports suggested that this missile closely resembled with the China's M-11 [28].

It's further believed that China in late 1980's has helped Pakistan in developing the Hatf-I and Hatf-2 missiles, with 80 kilometres and 300 kilometres ranges, respectively. In, 1989, Pakistan displayed them first time in a national parade, China has been known for having assisted Pakistan with their guidance systems. On February 05, 1989, a few months before the first test firing of India's Agni Missile, Pakistan's Chief of Army Staff, Gen. Aslam Beg [29], announced the testing of two types of missiles, called hatf. Hatf I was a Ballistic Missile with 80 km range, its development was based on French technology. A report in 1992 suggested that the Hatf-IA, with a range of 100 kms, was also being developed. The launch weight of Hatf-I is assumed to be around 1,500 kg. The missile can carry a payload of 500 kg. The Pakistani authorities describe the Hatf-II as a ballistic missile with range of 300 kms.

The weight of the Hatf-II (Abdali) is believed to be 5,500 kg at launch and the payload capacity is estimated at around 500 kg. The Hatf-III is believed to have a range of 600-800 kms. It has a guidance system which is not very sophisticated. In December 1990, when the Pakistan Army chief stated that Pakistan had tested a long-range ballistic missile, it was widely believed that this was the Hatf-III" [30].In 1997, Pakistan claimed that it had tested the Hatf-III [31], but many in the International strategic community voiced doubts that such a test had been successful. Because at that point of time Pakistan had a weak scientific base, it had to rely heavily on outside help. Several studies and reports held that foreign involvement in Pakistan's missile developments started after the formation of space and Upper Atmosphere Research Commission (SUPARCO). It is being held that some of the technologies acquired for the SUPARCO were transferred to the development of the Hatfs. Apparently sensitive and prohibited

material which led to the Pakistani development of missiles at its earliest was flowing from western countries including the U.K., Norway, France and Germany [32].

In, March 2000, Pakistan unveils the road-mobile solid-fuel, two-stage Shaheen-II (Haft-VI) MRBM at the annual Pakistan Day parade. Pakistani authorities claim it has a range of 2500 Kms and carry a 1000Kg payload. Pakistan in 2001, established the National Engineering and Scientific Commission (NESCOM), which overseas Pakistan's missile development efforts. [33]. In the same year U.S President G. Bush lifted the sanctions against India and Pakistan after the 1998 nuclear tests. In May 2002, Pakistan reportedly successfully tests the Ghaznavi (Haft-III) missile for the first time. The short-range, surface-to-surface missile is reportedly capable of carrying a nuclear weapon and has a range of 290km. The Ghaznavi is reportedly based on the Chinese M-11.Later on in 2002 Pakistan successfully test fires the Abdali (Haft-II) missile for first time. It has a range of 180km and can carry a nuclear warhead. Shaheen-II (Haft-VI) missile was first time tested in 2004, Babur (Haft-VII) a ground-launched cruise missile with 500km-range was reported to have been tested in 2005. India's scientific advisor to the Defence Minister states that Pakistan's Badur (Haft-VII) cruise missile is not supersonic or indigenously developed as claimed by Pakistan. New Delhi force and independent Indian magazine, alleges that the Babur resulted from the transfer of technology from China's state-owned China National Precision Machinery Import and Export Corp. (CPMIEC) to Pakistan's state-owned National Development Complex (NDC). Raad (Haft-VIII) air-launched cruise missile (ALCM) with a range of 350km was reportedly launched by Pakistan in 2007. Shaheen-II (Haft-VI) was launched in 2008. In 2009, according to united New York Times, the United States accuses Pakistan of illegally modifying American-made missiles to expand their ability to strike targets on land. An unannounced Pakistani missile test in April, detected by U.S intelligence agencies, has led the United States to suspect Pakistan of modifying Harpoon anti-ship missiles sold to Pakistan in 1980s [34].

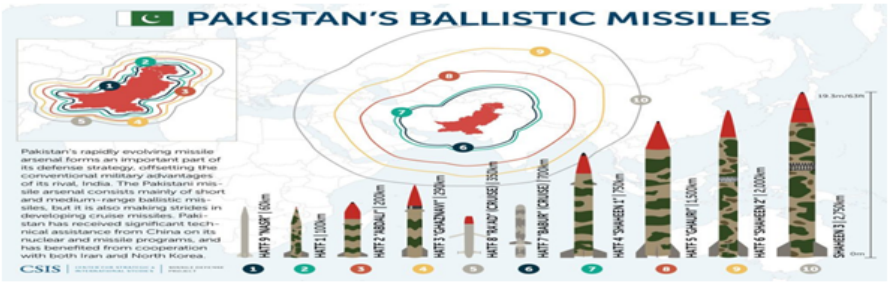
In April, 2011 Pakistan successfully tests the Nasr (Haft-IX) multi-tubed SRBM, a nuclear-capable missile with arrange of 60km. Later on in August 2011, Pakistan in collaboration with SUPARCO and the China Great Wall Industry Corporation (CGWIC) launched first communication satellite, the PakSat-1R, from the Xichang Satellite Launch Canter. In 2013 Pakistan Successfully tests the Ghaznavi (Haft-III) SRBM as part of a field training exercise conducted by the Army Strategic Forces Command. China and other countries have helped Pakistan to develop its missile capability from time to time. With the active participation and collaboration of China, Pakistan has been successful in manufacturing JF-17 Thunder Aircraft, K8-Trainer Aircraft, Al-Khalid Tank, F-22 Naval Frigates, HRF (Heavy Rebuild Factory) in Taxila, PAC (Pakistan Aeronautical Complex at Kamra) KKH (Karakoram Highway) last but not the least Gwadar port.

However China has been Pakistan's most important and predominant source of foreign technological support for its missile development effort. The Table-1 shows that the list of missiles tests conducted by Pakistan till date in collaboration with different countries.

Table-1: List of missiles tests conducted by Pakistan till date in collaboration with different countries.

Aircraft/Missile Status	Range	Source	Status
F-16 A/B	925 Km	US	35 Planes in inventory
Mirage 5	1300 km	France	50 Planes inventory
Hatf-1	80-100 Km	Indigenous/China	In service
Hatf-2 (Abdali)	180 Km	Indigenous/ China	In service
Hatf-3 (Ghaznavi)	300 Km	Indigenous/ China	In service
Hatf-4 (Shaheen-1)	600-800 Km	Indigenous/China	In service
Hatf-5 (Ghauri-1)	1300-1500 Km	Indigenous/ DPRK	In service
Hatf-5 (Ghauri-2)	2000 Km	Indigenous/ DPRK	Under construction
Hatf-6 (Shaheen-2)	2000-2500 Km	Indigenous/China	Under construction
Hatf-7 (Babur)	500-700 Km	Indigenous/ China	In service
Hatf-8 (Ra'ad)	300 Km	----------	Tested in 2007-8
Haft-9	60Km		Tested in 2011

***Source**: International Journal of Scientific Research and Innovative Technology ISSN: 2313-3759 Vol. 3 No. 3; March 2016, Page no.21*



Source: Missile Defense Project, "Missiles of Pakistan," Missile Threat, Center for Strategic and International Studies, published June 14, 2018, last modified June 15, 2018, https://missilethreat.csis.org/country/pakistan/.

Keeping in mind the emergence of South Asian countries, China has deliberately intervened in the affairs of South Asian region by controlling its grip on Pakistan through the supply of nuclear and missile technology. They are in full control to alter the strategic balance in its favour and its long term ally Pakistan to undermine India's natural predominance in the region. John Graver in one of its column writes that China wants to keep Pakistan independent, powerful and confident in order to present India with a standing two front threat. What if India and Pakistan share the same policies and get united, India's position against China would become much stronger, and can reduce China's power in South Asia.

It can be understood that China's conditional or unconditional support for Pakistan's national development efforts and the continuing transfers of technology for conventional Missile/Nuclear Arms building is most likely part of a larger game plan. It is possible that China has been demanding certain strategic concessions from Pakistan in exchange for the transfer of forbidden items. It can't be ruled out that China is actually using Pakistan to act as his base. Nevertheless, Sino-Pakistani cooperation in defence and military, nuclear and missile technology needs to be understood with its strategic impact on India's security.

Conclusion

The most important dimensions of Sino-pak relations are their nuclear and missile cooperation. China always help Pakistan in armament .Pakistan became nuclear power when china help them. Nuclear power provided the Pakistan strong shield from behind which they could unleash a campaign of destabilization against India. Sino-pak relations in the field of missile and nuclear technology develop because both consider India as a common rival against each of them. china help Pakistan only to create another opponent against India which will became security threat to India.

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