

China Pakistan and Bangladesh

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China
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Preface

China looked with suspicion at the emergence of Pakistan. The idea of a separate homeland had dangerous implications for the 50 million Chinese Muslims, particularly those in the adjoining region of Sinkiang. The Chinese central government had never been able to exercise firm control in that distant province. Its overwhelmingly Muslim population had revolted on many occasions for its emancipation from Han domination. The Mao regime, therefore, was quite apprehensive of Pakistan's ideology and its role as the watch-man, the guardian and the protector of Muslim interests in that remote and strategic part of China. It was precisely for this reason that Peking refused to entertain Pakistan's request about the stationing of its Consul-General in that sensitive area. The letters on the recognition of the Chinese Communist government addressed through the Pakistani Embassy in Moscow, the Chinese response and the delay in the establishment of diplomatic relations between the two countries have been examined in depth on the basis of the material available only in the Chinese language and hitherto unutilized by scholars.

Peking's relations with the most allied ally of the Western Powers proceeded in an uneven fashion. Certain actions of Pakistan were considered positive by China, while others could not be assessed sympathetically. The two countries had different social and political systems, ideological moorings and objectives, but they came to share common hostility towards India and apprehensions about the USSR. Relations between them developed in depth after the Sino-Indian conflict of 1962 when a number of agreements on the boundary, trade, air service, radio-photo etc. were signed, friendly visits became frequent and Peking extended economic and military assistance

to Pakistan. Thus, a special relationship came to be forged between the two countries.

The growth of the Sino-Pakistan axis was watched with concern and anxiety in Moscow. In order to counter the Chinese influence in Pakistan, the USSR exerted itself to bring about reconciliation between India and Pakistan at Tashkent and extended large-scale economic assistance and even some military aid to Pakistan. The rapid growth in the Soviet influence in Pakistan after Tashkent and the propounding of the policy of equi-distance, i.e. normal bilateral relations with all the great Powers, by Ayub Khan was not to the liking of China. Pakistan seemed to be drifting away from China under the "revisionist" influence of the Kremlin.

However, in the wake of the Bangladesh crisis the ties between China and Pakistan again became stronger. In order to preserve its hold in Pakistan, the self-proclaimed champion of the national liberation movements, i.e. China, adopted quite an indifferent attitude towards the freedom struggle of the people of East Bengal against the ruthless and oppressive dictatorial regime of Yahya Khan. Even after the sovereign People's Republic of Bangladesh came into existence, China continued its hostile posture towards it by not recognizing Sheikh Mujib's government and vetoing Dacca's application for membership in the United Nations.

The twists and turns in the Sino-Pakistan relations, the Chinese attitude during the Indo-Pak conflicts of 1965 and 1971 and towards Bangladesh as also the present abnormal state of relations between Pakistan on the one hand and Bangladesh and India on the other and Peking's role therein are critically examined and analysed in depth in the present study.

The author has made extensive use of the material available in the Chinese language. About 150 basic documents on the subject, some of them translations from the Chinese language, have been collected, and these are being published separately as a companion volume of this study.

While I have benefitted from the comments of many friends and colleagues, the views expressed in the study are entirely my personal views. I am greatly indebted to Professor M. S. Venkataramani, Dean, School of International Studies, Jawaharlal Nehru University and Mr. B.K. Basu, Director,

Historical, Division, Ministry of External Affairs, New Delhi, for their encouragement and continuing interest in the publication of the present study. I thank my son Rajendra for his help in editing and reading the proofs and my wife, Sheila Devi Jain, who has rendered assistance of various kinds.

New Delhi

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The present book is an objective and scholarly study of China's relations with Pakistan and Bangladesh and covers a period from 1947 to 1973. China had little in common with Pakistan in social or political system, ideology or perception. Yet the two countries had come to share a common hostility towards India and apprehensions about the Soviet Union. This penetrating study analyzes in depth the motivations behind the changing Chinese attitudes towards Pakistan. The close relationship between China and Pakistan was quite manifest in the role played by China during the Indo-Pak conflicts of 1965 and 1971, the hostile attitude adopted by it towards the liberation struggle of Bangladesh, its nonrecognition of Sheikh Mujib's government and vetoing of Dacca's entry into the United Nations. This thorough and intensive study brings out the political, economic, ideological and strategic interests of China in the Indian sub-continent and the interplay of the Chinese and Soviet policies in the region. In this comprehensive study, the author has made full use of a wide-range of literature on the subject, including source material available only in the Chinese language and hitherto unutilized by scholars.

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India and the UN : Nohru Era

Indian participation in the UN, which could be described as Indian foreign policy in action, is discussed in detail in the present study. It examines the Indian attitude on various issues, such as the veto problem, Charter revision, admission of members, political questions relating to West Asia, East Asia, Europe etc., economic and financial questions, humanitarian issues, decolonization and trusteeship matters budgetary and legal questions. This objective and detailed study by an experienced and highly qualified person fills a lacunae on the subject. *In press*

China and Disarmament : A Documentary Study

China's attitude towards disarmament and arms control issues is of great significance to the world and of particular concern to India. The book presents basic documents from authentic sources and the well-written introduction critically examines Chinese postures on the subject over the years 1949 to 1973. Particular attention is devoted to the exposition of the Chinese stand on such issues as the partial Test Ban Treaty, the Non-Proliferation Treaty, nuclear disarmament, no-first use of nuclear weapons, a World Disarmament Conference, a meeting of five nuclear weapon Powers, nuclear-free zones, the Sea-Bed Treaty, bacteriological and chemical weapons, the Indian Ocean as a peace zone, cut in military budgets etc. *In preparation*

USSR Pakistan and Bangladesh

Soviet interest in Pakistan, the rapid growth of its influence in Pakistan, particularly after Tashkent, the attitude adopted by the USSR during the Indo-Pakistan Wars of 1965 and 1971 and the emergence of Bangladesh, Kremlin's relations with Mujib's government and the inter-play of Soviet and Chinese policies—all these are discussed in detail and analyzed in depth in the study. *In preparation*



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