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Professor B R Deepak on South China Sea, China's 'technical hold' on JeM terrorist Masood Azhar, and Indian visa to World Uyghur Congress (WUC) leader, Dolkun Isa

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Prof. B.R. Deepak
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April 2016 was an eventful month for India and China, witnessing dramatic twists and turns in their bilateral relations and almost jeopardized the good momentum that was built by President Xi Jinping's India visit in 2014 and Prime Minister Modi's return visit to China last year.

As regards South China Sea, China has been apprehensive of India's position ever since Prime Minister Modi and the US President Barack Obama issued a 'joint vision statement' on the issue in November 2014. In April there were reports on aggressive reconnaissance by the US on the so called militarization of the South China Sea by China in the wake of the Philippines dragging China to the Arbitral Tribunal in Hague. Then there was China's 'technical hold' rather China's 'hidden veto' from Indian perspective on the JeM terrorist Massod Azhar, and India issuing an electronic visa to World Uyghur Congress leader Dolkun Isa. In this context Professor B R Deepak appeared on National Television Channels and wrote op-ed pages in Indian and Chinese media. The following is his take on some of the issues.

World Panorama - Episode 209

This week on World Panorama we discuss the Fresh tensions in South China Sea. Also, a round-up of other significant international news of the week. Guest: B....

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From an Indian perspective, China applies double standards to terrorism emanating from Pakistan. Citing Chinese scholars, Prof. Deepak argued that 'China-Pak relationship is 'mono-dimensional' (*danweixing*) solely focused at military security cooperation with no endogenous (*neishengxing*) aim but around external security concern (*waibu anquan guanqie*) that is to counter India.'

Desh Deshantar - India opposes hidden veto at UN: Update on Masood Azhar issue & response of China

Guests: Surya Gangadharan, Senior Journalist; Rajiv...

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It is for these reasons that China does not view JeM and LeT etc. organizations as terrorist outfits. The Pathankot air base attack has been reported in the leading Chinese newspapers as 'armed elements' from some 'armed organization' across the border carrying out attack. It is for the same reason that how the Chinese press absolved Pakistan from 26.11 Mumbai attacks and blamed it on some 'Hindu fundamentalists' as Kasab and others were supporting the Hindu sacred thread on their wrists, argued Prof. Deepak.

Was the Indian move of 'paying China in the same coin' by issuing visa to Isa wise enough? Professor Deepak posited that it wasn't.

Playing Uyghur or even Tibet card would be extremely dangerous for India, for China may play various cards against India. Imagine China hosting a 'Kashmir government in exile' or a 'Naga government in exile' on its soil on the lines of a 'Tibetan government in exile' which is based in Dharamsala! Secondly, to play cards, it is common knowledge that your hands must be strong, which at this point in time are weak and vulnerable. There are wide asymmetries in terms of our GDP as well as military spending. Imagine if our northern and eastern borders suffer the fate of our western border! China knows its economy is 5 times larger than India's economy; its military spending is manifolds higher than India's. It knows India needs considerably long time to catch up with China's comprehensive national strength. Finally, since China sees India as an investment destination, it would be stupid to turn our backs on Chinese capital and price competitive technology. Rather India should be joining hands with China as far as economic engagement is concerned.

On the issue of South China Sea, Prof. Deepak argued that India's interests in the region are primarily economic and energy security related. Malacca Dilemma in future could very well be an Indian dilemma too, therefore, it will never be in India's interest to contain someone in the region; India needs China as much as India needs the US.

He argued that the bigger trend that is cooperation and engagement with China must not be held hostage to a few issues such as counter terrorism and South China Sea, however, at the same time both India and China need to be sensitive towards each other's sensitivities.

China Perspective Seminars

"The Development and Trend in Teaching Chinese as a Second / Foreign Language in Taiwan: Cases of Teaching Training, Curriculum and Materials"

On the 22nd of March, 2016, CCSEAS hosted Associate Professor Chung, Chen-Cheng (钟镇城), Director of Graduate Institute of Teaching Chinese as a Second / Foreign Language, National Kaohsiung Normal University, Taiwan. Dr. Chung spoke on the development and trends in teaching Chinese as a second/foreign language in Taiwan. The speaker gave a comprehensive briefing on the history of Mandarin teaching to foreigners in Taiwan. Dr. Chung revealed that his institution has a long history of developing Chinese language teaching material, to which the CCSEAS showed great interest. Both sides explored ways to further cooperation in this direction. It was suggested that a workshop between the two may be a good idea to start with in the near future.

Prof. Chung, Chen-Cheng and Dr. Hemant Adlakha, Chairperson CCSEAS

Proceedings of the lecture

"History and Evolution of Chinese Language/Writing System"

Prof. A Nayak, former Prof. Vishvabharati University with Dr. H Adlakha, CCSEAS Chairperson

The CCSEAS invited former Professor of Chinese in Vishvabharati University to CCSEAS on 6 April 2016. Professor A Nayak spoke on the evolution of the Chinese language right from the *Jiaguwen* – Oracle Bone

Inscription to the present form. Various styles such as *qinzhuan* (Qin dynasty seal) script, the *li* style or official script of the Han, the *xing* style or semi cursive script of the Jin, the *Kai* style or regular script of Sui, and the *cao* style, or cursive script again of Sui dynasty vintage along with Xu Shen's classification of the Chinese characters were some of the highlights of the lecture.

Student Focus

CCSEAS students Celebrates Lantern Festival（元宵节）

Owing to unavoidable circumstances, the CCSEAS could not celebrate the traditional Spring Festival this year; however, the students did celebrate the traditional Lantern Festival that falls after 15 days of the Spring Festival.

B.A First year students participating in the activity

Sixteen students also participated in the activities such as writing Spring Festival couplets（春联）and preparing the red bean soup balls（红豆汤圆）. During the activity, the students were also exposed to Spring Festival decorative mascots and Chinese New Year Greeting Words（吉祥话）. The initiative was taken by teacher Wang, native Taiwanese Chinese teacher at the CCSEAS.

Not bad, tangyuan!

Visitors at CCSEAS

On behalf of the CCSEAS Chairperson, Professor B R Deepak in tandem with Prof. Varun Sahni, Advisor International Collaboration received a delegation from Beijing Language and Culture University Beijing.

On April 4, 2016 Wang Wei-Chung, Vice President for Global Affairs, National Tsing Hua University (NTHU), Taiwan exchanged views on collaboration between NTHU and JNU with Prof. Varun Sahni, Advisor International Collaboration, JNU, Dean School of Language, Literature and Culture Studies, Prof. Rekha V. Rajan.

(From right)Prof. B R Deepak, Prof. Varun Sahni. Prof. Rekha V Rajan, and Prof. Wang Wei-chung

Faculty Focus

Articles in Books/Journals/web

Participation in Seminars

Deepak, B R (Book Review) Harold M. Tanner, Where Chiang Kai-shek Lost China: The Liao-Shen Campaign, 1948 (Bloomington, Indiana: Indiana University Press, 2015), pp. 365, US$40, ISBN: 978-0-253-01692-8.
DOI: 10.1177/0009445515627230 in Book Reviews 153 China Report 52, 2 (2016): 151–178

Deepak, B R "Upping the Ante against China and India's Volta-face" SAAG paper 6107, 26 April 2016
http://www.southasiaanalysis.org/node/1981

Deepak, B R "狄伯杰：印度不会做美国制华的副手"环球时报 21 April 2016
http://opinion.huanqiu.com/1152/2016-04/8817322.html

Professor B R Deepak and Dr. Hemant Adlakha participated in the farewell lecture delivered by H.E Le Yucheng, Ambassador of the PRC in India. The event was hosted by the Vivekananda International Foundation Delhi

CCSEAS in Media

狄伯杰：印度不会做美国制华的副手

http://opinion.huanqiu.com/1152/2016-04/8817322.html

美国国防部长卡特本月 10 日至 12 日访问印度时 宣布，美国和印度原则上同意共享军事后勤基地，但协议草案还有待最后商榷。印度防长帕里卡尔表示，印度和美国将在未来几个月内签署《后勤保障协议》。如果 双方最终签署这一协议，那将标志着印度在外交政策方面开始摆脱传统上的模糊和摇摆，转而开启一种基于实用主义的"莫迪化"安全模式。

这种"模式转变"并非一日之功。早在 2004 年国大党领导的团结进步联盟执政时期，美国就 向印度提出签署包括《后勤保障协议》在内的美印关系 3 个"基础性协议"，其他两项分别是《通信互操作性与安全备忘录协议》《地理空间合作基本交流与合作协 议》。只是当时的辛格政府对此多有疑虑，担心那样将使印度丢掉其外交政策层面的"战略自主"和不结盟立场。不过，双方还是在 2005 年签署了《美印防务关 系新框架协议》(2015 年更新后又续期 10 年)，2012 年又签署了《防务技术与贸易倡议》。莫迪自其上台执政之初便开始以更大的热情和意志，推进前任 "团结进步联盟"政府在这些领域已经开启的进程。印度国防部长帕里卡尔 2015 年访美时就曾暗示，印度或将重新考虑与美签署前述那些基础性协议的立场。因 此，这次美印就共享军事后勤基地达成原则上的共识不应被视为出人意料之事。

首先，同美国渐进且愈发深入的战略接触表明印度希望从本国利益出发，增进与美国在联合研发领域的对话，进而加强两国防务合作。印美两国战略利益趋同，或与印度和中国在国家综合实力方面的不对称现状有关，当然也是因为印中两国在双边、地区以及一些全球性事务上存在分歧。莫迪政府意识到，基于与中国在综合国力方面的这种不对称，印度在边界、跨境恐怖主义或中国挺近印度洋区域等问题上，很难获得中国让步。或许正是由于这些因素以及中国与巴基斯坦达成全天候战略合作伙伴关系，莫迪政府才接连宣布在南海航行自由问题上与美国、日本和越南保持一致。这让中国很不高兴，尽管印度并未同意与美国在南海搞"联合巡航"。

其次，在加深与美国合作的过程中，印度的主要着眼点在高新技术方面，希望借助共同开发和生 产提高本土防务技术水平，建设坚实的国防产业根基，减少对进口武器系统的依赖并增加国防出口等等。比如，双方已经开始探讨在航母设计与操作、喷气引擎技术 以及战机等领域开展合作的可能性。美国方面一直坚持，要想实现这种技术合作，双方必须先签署"基础性协议"。不过，两国在这些方面的合作情况如何，还得看 在双方均卷入实际的冲突时，印度如何执行《后勤保障协议》。而在该协议最终签署前，这个问题还只是一个假设。

第三，尽管印度国内一些人士认为这是我们在向邻国释放信息，但同时他们也很快意识 到，这样做并不意味着印度要与美国结盟。尽管印度清楚它与中国的海上安全边界都在从太平洋扩大和延伸至印度洋，但印度并不抗拒在"21 世纪海上丝绸之路" 相关项目上与中国合作，就像之前在"丝绸之路经济带"某些项目上的情况一样。莫迪政府愿在经济合作方面拥抱中国，尤其是想邀请中国到印度投资。2016 年 首届"印度海洋峰会"期间，莫迪对外发布了对他而言分量颇重的"国家远景规划"项目，旨在推动印度港口实现现代化转型，并与相关经济特区、港口智慧城市、 工业园区、仓储区、物流园以及交通走廊等融为一体。笔者认为，印中两国在这一规划的很多

方面都有广阔合作空间。莫迪政府相信，一方面加强与美国和其他亚太 国家的合作，另一方面积极推动与中国的经济联系，这种双线并进的做法最终将帮助印度缓和与中国有关一些双边、地区和全球性事务的分歧。

最后，如果印度表现得像美国的一个"排头兵"，则它同中国的关系必将受损。同样， 如果美国想以拉拢印度对抗中国的方式来削弱中国在地区和全球范围内地缘政治影响的话，那么美国无疑犯了大错。笔者认为，印度实在太大，根本不适合扮演美国 的副手角色。现在，印度已在印度洋—太平洋地区获得宝贵的地缘政治战略空间，并且正在试图对其加以利用。正是基于这一背景，就算印度真想成为中美之间的 "摇摆国家"，这种"摇摆"也须限制在合作与健康竞争领域，而非对抗和冲突方面，因为那样既不符合印度自身利益，也不符合中国和美国的利益。(作者是印度 尼赫鲁大学中国与东南亚研究中心教授)

Upping the Ante against China and India's Volta-face

http://www.southasiaanalysis.org/node/1981

By Prof. B. R. Deepak

Following the 2nd January 2016 attack on the Pathankot air force base in Punjab by the Jaish-e-Mohammed (JeM) terrorists from Pakistan, India requested the 1267 sanctions committee of the UN in February to include in the list Masood Azhar, the leader of the JeM created by Pakistan's Inter-Service Intelligence (ISI) in the wake of 1999 hijack of AI flight 814 to Kandahar by Harkat-ul-Mujahideen (HuM) of which Masood was a member then and confined to imprisonment in India. The hijackers demanded release of Masood and others languishing in the Indian prisons in exchange of civilians in the passenger aircraft. The JeM has been involved in masterminding the 2001 Indian Parliament attack. Had China not exercised its 'hidden veto' on 1 April 2016, the resolution would have required Pakistan and other countries to freeze Masood's assets and ban his movements inside and outside Pakistan. Out of 15 members of the Council, China was the sole member to support Massod's case.

When India's Permanent Representative to the UN, Syed Akbaruddin slammed the use of the 'hidden veto' by China and demanded accountability on 15 April, China further defended its move saying that "China always deals with the listing of 1267 committee based on facts and pursuant to UN Security Council resolutions and relevant rules in a fair manner." India further conveyed it displeasure to China when Indian foreign Minister, Sushma Swaraj and Indian Defence Minister, Manohar Parrikar separately raised the same issue with their counterparts in Moscow and Beijing respectively on 18 April. Later during his Beijing visit for the 19th round of border talks, India's National Security Advisor, Ajit Doval raised the issue again on April 21 with his Chinese counterpart Yang Jiechi. However, China stuck to its guns without any further explanation. It may be remembered that China had exercised similar veto in favour of Zaki-ur-Rehman Lakhvi, the Lashkar-e-Taiba mastermind of the 2008 Mumbai attack in which 166 people were killed.

Why China does it?

JeM and LeT etc. terror outfits have been created by Pakistan with the motive to separate Kashmir from India and flare up insurgency there and elsewhere in India. It has been admitted by the Chinese think tanks and academicians that the "mono-dimensional (*danweixing*) China-Pak relationship is focused at military security cooperation with not an endogenous (*neishengxing*) aim but around external security concern (*waibu anquan guanqie*) that is to counter India." They further posit that "this kind of cooperation, to a greater extent is due to the long rivalry of both Pakistan and China with India, as India for a long time has been number one enemy of Pakistan, and also poses major threat to the security of western China. Therefore, to keep away the common enemy is a decisive factor in this relationship".

No wonder, we have witnessed China arming Pakistan to teeth including building their nuclear and missile arsenal. Even the recent investment of $46 billion towards building a China-Pakistan Economic Corridor has been seen as security corridor rather than an economic corridor, for the investment returns from such a corridor are abysmal according to many Chinese analysts. Moreover, since the present status quo suits China, it is in no mood to relent to the Indian requests even if the stand is indefensible domestically or internationally, for Chinese citizens as well international community would like China to be a responsible stakeholder in the global system. Therefore, it is perhaps owing to these contradictions, India's asymmetrical relationship with China, and China's 'all weather' military cooperation with Pakistan including PLA's projects in the Indian claimed Pakistan Occupied Kashmir (POK) that of late India has issued statements in tandem with the US, Japan and Vietnam on the freedom of navigation in the South China Sea (SCS) much to the displeasure of China even though India has not agreed to the US request for 'joint patrols' in the SCS.

Opportune to up the ante?

In a knee jerk reaction, 'paying China in the same coin' India tried to play the 'Uyghur card' by issuing an electronic visa to Dolkun Isa, a World Uyghur Congress (WUC) leader for a conference to be held in Dharamsala

on 28 April organised by a US based organisation called Citizen Power for China, where people antagonistic to China including Tibetans, Uyghurs, Falungongs, Mongols are expected to congregate. China has declared Isa as a terrorist, and has been on the red corner notice of the Interpol too. Even if China doesn't buy the Indian thesis of cross-border terrorism, irrespective of the fact that stability in western China, according to the Chinese government has been endangered by the forces of terrorism, separatism and extremism, and irrespective of the fact that scores of the East Turkestan separatist organizations in Xinjiang have their links in Pakistan, so much so, Hasan Mahsum the founder of the East Turkistan Islamic Movement was also killed in Pakistan in 2003, China has no hesitation in saying that 'Chinese government will continue to support Pakistan in formulating and implementing anti-terrorist activities *based on its national conditions,'* implying that it will support Pakistan's theory of good and bad terrorists.

We have seen that how the Chinese press absolved Pakistan from 26.11 Mumbai attacks and blamed it on some 'Hindu fundamentalists' as Kasab and others were supporting the Hindu sacred thread on their wrists. If we analyze the Chinese news for domestic consumption, we would see that it has always supported the stand of Pakistan irrespective of its brazen involvement whether it was the reportage of the Kargil, attack on the Indian parliament or the Mumbai attacks in Chinese media.

It is established that Pakistan is a willing pawn in the containment of India, but is it wise for India to play a Xinjiang 'Card'? I believe not. At the outset, even though China has created diplomatic hurdles for India, including the stapled visas, it has never supported the insurgencies in India. Remember in the aftermath of the 1962 war, how China encouraged the Naxal violence, trained the Nagas and Mizos in China and sent them back to India. And, how it issued statements after statements saying that China will not cease supporting the Kashmiri people in their struggle for self-determination. It was only during Vajpayee's China visit as a Foreign Minister in 1979 that China assured India that Chinese support and assistance to some disaffected elements in India's northeast was a matter of the past. Playing Uyghur or even Tibet card would be extremely dangerous for India, for China may play various cards against India including Kashmir, Northeast, Nepal, Maoist, Bangladesh, and Sri Lanka etc. cards.

Secondly, to play cards, it is common knowledge that your hands must be strong, which at this point in time are weak and vulnerable. There are wide asymmetries in terms of our GDP as well as military spending. Imagine if our northern and eastern borders suffers the fate of our western border! China's economic strength is 5 times more than India's; its military spending is manifolds higher than India. Thirdly, India's economy needs to be consolidated and growth rate sustained for 10-15 years, at least halfway the Chinese mark of 30 years. India needs a peaceful neighbourhood for lifting millions from poverty. Finally, since China sees India as an investment destination, it would be stupid to turn our backs on Chinese capital and price competitive technology. Rather India should be joining hands with China as far as economic engagement is concerned.

What could be done?

Since international community has desired China to be a responsible stakeholder in the international system, India must join the chorus, and expose China's double standards in every international forum. In this regard Syed Akbaruddin slamming China's 'hidden veto' at the UN and Indian leadership raising the matter in Moscow and Beijing was an appropriate thing to do. Secondly, India must initiate some websites in Chinese and bringing such indefensible policies of the Chinese government to the notice of its netizens. The websites may be censored, but some information will definitely reach the Chinese people. Finally, as China does, we need to deal with the issue of terrorism and other such issues of national interests on our own terms. There should be no need to invite an investigating team from country A or B to give their certificates to us. Finally, India needs to strengthen its own security apparatus and plug in all the existing loopholes. After all, the success of any policy including the foreign will hinge on India's internal drivers.

(Professor B R Deepak teaches at Centre for Chinese and Southeast Asian Studies, Jawaharlal Nehru University. The views expressed are his own)

India-US Defence Partnership: Why it's not an embrace?

http://www.thedialogue.co/india-us-defence-partnership-not-embrace/

By Prof. B. R. Deepak

Three day visit of the US Defence Secretary, Ashton Carter to India between 10th and 12th April culminated into the signing of the Logistics Exchange Memorandum of Agreement (LEMOA), a variant of the logistics support agreement (LSA) that the US has with its NATO allies. This agreement is 'in principle' sheds the traditional ambivalence of India, unfolding the pragmatic Modi-fied security paradigm in India's foreign policy.

The 'paradigm shift' didn't happen overnight, for the US had proposed the LSA during UPA's time too.

Other two components of the foundational agreements are Communications Interoperability and Security Memorandum of Agreement (CISMOA) and Basic Exchange and Cooperation Agreement (BECA). However, the then Manmohan Singh government remained sceptical of inking it for the fear of losing the element of 'strategic autonomy' in its foreign policy, as well as its 'non-aligned' posture. In 2005, both signed the New Framework for the India-U.S. Defence Relationship (renewed in 2015 for another 10 years), and in 2012 the Defence Technology and Trade Initiative (DTTI). As soon as Modi government came into power, it started to push these initiatives of the UPA regime with more vigour and assertiveness. Indian Defence Minister Manohar Parrikar during his US visit in 2015 hinted that India may reconsider its stand on the foundational agreements. Therefore, the signing of the LEMOA should not be seen as a surprise.

The gradual yet steep strategic engagement with the US shows that India is willing to deepen defence cooperation by elevating dialogue on joint research and development on its own terms keeping in view its national interests. The converging strategic interests between India and the US perhaps take into cognizance the asymmetric comprehensive national strength between India and China, and also the deep rooted contradictions between two on bilateral, regional and global issues. Modi government is aware that given this asymmetry with China, it would be difficult to expect concessions, be it the border, cross-border terrorism or China's forays into the Indian Ocean Region (IOR). It is perhaps owing to these contradictions and China's 'all weather' military cooperation with Pakistan including PLA's projects in the Indian claimed Pakistan Occupied Kashmir (POK), that Modi government has issued statements in tandem with the US, Japan and Vietnam on the freedom of navigation in the South China Sea (SCS) much to the displeasure of China even though India has not agreed to the US request for 'joint patrols' in the SCS.

Secondly, through deepening cooperation with the US, India eyes at high technology, indigenising defence technologies by way of co-development and co-production, building a solid Defence Industrial Base, reducing dependence in foreign weapon systems, and boosting the defence export etc. For example, both sides have been exploring the possibilities of cooperation on aircraft carrier design and operations, jet engine technology, and fighter aircraft etc. For such a technological cooperation to materialise, the US had insisted on for signing the foundational agreements. Nevertheless, it remains to be seen how India will respond to LEMOA's implementation in real time conflicts where both the countries would be involved, of course the question remains a hypothetical one before the actual agreement is concluded.

Thirdly, though some in India believe that it is a message to our 'neighbours' however, they are also quick to assert that by doing so India is not allying with the US. Even if India is increasingly aware that the maritime security boundaries of both India and China have expanded and stretched from the Pacific to the Indian Ocean, however, India will not be averse to cooperate with China on selective Maritime Silk Road (MSR) to invite investments.

On the sidelines of the **Maritime India Summit, 2016, Modi released his pet project, the** National Perspective Plan of the Sagarmala Programme,, which aims to modernize India's ports and integrate them with Special Economic Zones, Port based Smart Cities, Industrial Parks, Warehouses, Logistics Parks and Transport Corridors. I believe there is a tremendous scope for bilateral cooperation between India and China on these projects.

Modi government is of the belief that expanding cooperation with the US and countries in the Asia Pacific on the one hand and aggressive economic engagement with China on the other will ultimately help India to alter some of the contradictions with China on bilateral, regional and global level to India's favour.

Finally, India would jeopardise its relations with China, if it acts like a front state of the US. In the same vein, if the US would like to offset China's geopolitical pull in the region and globe by way of India confronting China, certainly the US is mistaken, for I believe, India is too large to play a second fiddle to the US. Nonetheless, India has seen an invaluable geopolitical strategic space for itself in the Indo-Pacific and is attempting to capitalise on it. It is in this background that if at all India would like to be a 'swing power' between China and the US, we need to be a swing power as far as cooperation and healthy competition is concerned not the confrontation and conflict, which is neither in India's interest nor in the interest of China and the US.

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