



Cite Us



Covering China - Pakistan Economic Corridor (CPEC): How ‘The News’ and ‘People’s Daily’ Develop Social Media Discourse Since Its’ Inception

Headings

- [Introduction](#)
- [The Economic Corridor of China and Pakistan](#)
- [Impacts of the CPEC](#)
- [The CPEC and its Stakeholders](#)
- [Methodology](#)
- [Findings and Discussion](#)
- [Conclusion](#)
- [References](#)

Abstract: *The present study explores how ‘CPEC’ is covered and treated by the two eminent English newspapers The News (Pakistani Newspaper) and the People’s daily (Chinese Newspaper) through their Facebook’s official pages through the keyword search “China – Pakistan Economic Corridor” from the year 2015-19. The broader aspects, categories are formed; as development, economy, political, social, strategic and other, examined the treatment on their frequency and semantic network analysis on positive, negative and neutral frames through coding sheet. For this purpose, the quantitative content analysis is conducted to examine that how ‘CPEC’ is covered, framed and treated by the said newspaper at their official Facebook pages. The findings of the study reveal that ‘China – Pakistan Economic Corridor’ is projected significantly more strategic than economic on the posts appeared on the Chinese and Pakistani newspaper. The coverage appeared on The News is varied from positive, neutral and negative.*

Key Words: China- Pakistan Economic Corridor, Framing, Treatment, The News, and People’s Daily

Introduction

Pakistan is among countries getting advantage of China’s dream of economic incorporation at the local stage. That’s why, it’s recommended to Pak to be focused on the progress of itself, instead of killing time on petty matters. It pertinent to highlight the idea of CPEC drawn by China as a branch of its “Go Global 2001” plan. Progressive agenda is to be given priority over the idea of

* Assistant Professor, Department of Communication and Media Studies, University of Sargodha, Punjab, Pakistan. Email: mudassar.hussain@uos.edu.pk

[†]Lecturer, Department of Mass Communication, National University of Modern Languages Islamabad, Pakistan.

[‡]MS, Department of Media and Communication Studies, International Islamic University, Islamabad, Pakistan.

Provincialism. None of the stakeholders, including federal and province's ruling administration ([Chung, 2018](#)).

[Rahman & Shurong \(2017\)](#) expressed that the billion-Dollar project of China Pakistan Economic Corridor will open roads of economic multiplications and political consistency regarding Pakistan and South Asia on a broader aspect. The South Asian region is considered the center of global sight owing to geographical and demographical aspects. The Sino-Pak Eco Corridor is a main plan of "One Belt One Road Initiative" described in 2015. In this geographical position, Pakistan particularly comes in the highlight as it gets initiated the plan of (OBOR). This entire project is famously known "one belt one road". Numerous Western countries and India call CPEC a strategic route, this encompasses Pakistan's trading and developmental requirements. Basic part of the plan and cooperation is yet to be shown. The term "cooperation in shadow" is used for referring relations. President Xi Jinping of China presented fresh foreign policy "Constructive Engagement". To further enhance constructive engagement plan specific target was put on eco-engagement. He is enthusiastically following this plan through the ancient silk and maritime route; comprise of road, rail and maritime network (Andrew, 2015).

The China-Pakistan Economic Corridor (CPEC) is \$46 (U.S.) billion investment. It will not only boast up Pakistan's current economic situation, but also potentials to improve the living standard of about three billion people across the globe as part of the biggest Chinese vision of a grand Silk Road Economic Belt, which expands across Asia through the Middle East and connects to Europe. Pakistan is democratic country while China is a socialist country, the media of both countries represent CPEC positively that plays an important role in the accomplishment of this venture ([Ali, 2020](#)).

As we know that media is an important part of government and manipulate the minds of people while CPEC is a big infrastructure project and a game changer for Pakistan's economics. So, it's too important that to investigate the contents of newspapers, and especially how Pakistan and China newspaper represent CPEC in news contents.

The Economic Corridor of China and Pakistan

From the last twenty years, China's impact on the world globe is increased significantly. China is now on front foats to has strong diplomatic relations with the other countries of the world. Pakistan, being China's one of the very few close ally, can play an important role in this regard, the vital role makes Pakistan more than just a security concern for China ([Shambaugh, 2013](#)).

Billions of dollars are being awarded, and even that is on a wonderfully less rate of interest and the increased period to return will make Pakistan to not to ask any institution for further help for economy. Multi-dimensions of CPEC make it in terms of Gwadar port, road and energy pipeline are making it a difficult project, but once it's functional, it would be in the high interest of people. Ahsan Iqbal, a Pakistani politician and the former planning minister shared that China is going to invest more than \$10 billion is for the development of infrastructure for the CPEC from the total of \$46 billion ([Khan et.,al, 2020](#)).

CPEC is a full fledge program for development and comprises of road, rail, and links posited on optical fiber. The road link, comprises 2700 km will join Gwadar (Pakistan) to China and more extended version will also connect India, Iran and Afghanistan. The CPEC based road link will connect Xinjiang of China to Pakistan's Gilgit-Baltistan and Province Khyber Pukhtunkhwa. Apart from this linkage, the CPEC project is also tying up various projects as well, other than free economic zones, and projects related to the generation of power ([Ahmad et. al., 2020](#)).

CPEC is the project that is one size fits all kind of solution for all the problems of Pakistan. It will not only bolster the economy of the Pakistan, but it will also improve the living standard of people of Pakistan. In the making of this project, various economic zones will be made in Gilgit Baltistan and in the provinces Baluchistan, Khyber Pukhtonkhwa, Punjab and Singh. With the passage of time, many of the international investors will join CPEC, and those potential investors will boost the growth of Pakistan's economy. Many of the countries like KSA, Iran, and Russia expressed their willingness in CPEC. CPEC has the potential to given Pakistan a strong jumping pad to make its' economy strong, it can also reconstruct the nature of the relationship of Pakistan with its adjacent countries. CPEC will also make port of Gwadar an economic crossroad for the entire region. And it will also strengthen the current weak condition of Pakistan's politics and economy (Rehman et., al., 2021).

The less and less operator of foreign policy of China is in its best national interests, and this is what often shifted from its core foreign policy principle about non-intervention. For instance, China is adhering to preserve stability in the politics and it is totally intolerant to regional-centered motives, the problem that is within its own territory. Owing to it, China is supposed to not respond well in manner to the elites at regional level, making shifting claims to the core planning of the CPEC project. That's why, until there is the international or national reaction in response to the impacts of the CPEC project on political and economic system of Pakistan, CPEC is supposed to sustain the existing structures of power of the state of Pakistan ([Wolf, 2020](#)). As per Economic survey of Pakistan 2013-14 Pak-China mutual trade is enhanced (124 %), to \$9.2 billion in the time period 2012-13 and that was around \$ 4.1 billion during 2006-7. Export of Pakistan had been increased by (400 %) from \$ 600 million in the years 2006-7 to \$ 2.6 billion during 2013-14 (Pakistan Economic Survey 2013-2014).

The CPEC has expected to give more hikes to the trade betwixt these two countries. In 2013, while his arrival in Pakistan, Li Keqiang, Prime Minister of China, emphasized on the development of CPEC ([Rizvi, 2014](#)). Government of Pakistan expressed its willingness too. CPEC is joining Gwadar of Pakistan to China's Kashgar. It would make Gwadar fully functional, and moreover, it would turn it into an important port for the entire region. In Feb 2013, the Gwadar port is handed to the Chinese overseas port handling company. Since that time, Gwadar is becoming a full fledge functional in depth seaport ([Hussain and Khan, 2017](#)).

Impacts of the CPEC

The economic corridor is a source that connects China to Africa and Middle East and this connection has the potential of reducing the distance by 12000 km in the smooth supply of oil

resources from the Middle Eastern countries to the port of China. CPEC has the capability of fulfilled the requirements of both countries (Pakistan and China). It would also be beneficial for the entire region in the term of sustainability and integration of economy ([Awais et., al., 2019](#)).

According to Hua Chunying, Spokesperson of the Foreign Ministry of China, the economic corridor will play the role of a driver for connecting South Asia with East Asia. [Ahmad et., al., \(2017\)](#) asserts that Mushahid Hussain who was appointed as the Chairman of the Pakistan-China Institute gave his statement to [China Daily](#) that CPEC would play a vital part in the integration at the regional level for 'Greater South Asia', that includes China, Afghanistan, Iran and stretched to Myanmar.

While visiting Pakistan, Chinese P.M Li Keqiang in 2013, the plan of (CPEC) was perceived. CPEC ties Gwadar (Port of Pakistan) with Xinjiang (The Province in China). This corridor will boost up economic development and will empower generation projects in Pakistan. China Pakistan Economic Corridor is perceived as the mega project in the history of Pakistan and China-Pak ties, it would play a vital factor in it's' prosperity ([Ali, 2018](#)).

[Ahmad \(2018\)](#) says apart from land routes betwixt Gwadar port, Pakistan to Kashgar in the west of China (moreover via China made railway-road ties the Central Asia region and Russia) it also add a basic part of sea-based Silk Route that is expected to be easy and cheap, connecting China via Gwadar port to the Indian Ocean, East Africa and States of the gulf, to the Mediterranean via the Red Sea, and finally, with Northern Africa and Europe.

Pakistani and Chinese governments declared a series of project agreements and MOU's focused on the development of energy and the improvement of infrastructure in Pakistan on 20 April, 2015, the financial worth of the whole project funding of this plan (CPEC) is supposedly to cross 46 billion dollars, and from this amount, at least 35 billion dollar is devoted to the energy sector. It is pertinent to share that if all of the investments turn up, the project would be equal to all the direct investment from foreign inflows into the country, during 1970 to this time ([Miller, 2017](#)). At the completion of 2nd phase, the port will have the potential of handling 4th generation container ships, ranges up to 15 to 20 meters. The Gwadar port is not only significant for local trading and eco-development, but, for the whole region too, the expected trading capacity of this port for its neighboring states is as follow.

The CPEC and its Stakeholders

[Rana \(2020\)](#) assessed that how and in what ways China and the China-Pakistan Economic Corridor (CPEC) is dealing with the eco-political ground realities of Pakistan. First of all, the research sorted out the history of regionalism in Pakistan and explained that with the passage of time, In Pakistan, the central state's mission for development has made deep-seated regionalism.

The research analyzed that CPEC is further opening up new ways of opportunities. The regionalist stakeholders have emerged as the opponent of the CPEC for two basic reasons: they are asking for lion share or otherwise they will keep on opposing the project. Secondly,

study further pointed out the ill side of civil-military ties in Pakistan and summarized that China involving in Pakistan is resulting in tighter control of the military over economic and civilian matters relevant to CPEC.

The CPEC Framing and Language Analysis

[Eriksson \(2017\)](#) studied that how CPEC is framed in Chinese and Indian media to get to know that in what manners geo-political issues work with regard to different languages and moreover, how a language can be used as a tool in untraditional warfare among countries.

This study gave an overview about the reason when an event is to be taken as “issue” owing to the involvement of certain “actors”. Moreover, it also revealed that what role can be played by foreign policy when it comes to a bitter situation between two states. Framing is a planned attempt by involved actors to influence the targeted audience regarding their set agendas by giving their very own definitions about a particular matter.

CPEC is an important project not only for Pakistan and China, but for the entire globe, if not sooner than in the upcoming future. This importance of CPEC and discussed role of media in shaping up public opinion, make it pertinent to study the connection of both. It needs to find out what particular aspects of CPEC are highlighted by the news organizations of Pakistan and China particularly by *The News* (Pakistani newspaper) and *People's Daily* (Chinese Communist Party's flagship newspaper) in their Facebook's official pages. Moreover, it is also crucial to assess whether CPEC is being portrayed positive or negative by these famous news organizations of both the countries.

Methodology

This study is design to assess the Framing of Posts related to CPEC Newspapers' Facebook pages. Keeping in view the nature and requirements of the study, Content Analysis technique is implemented on this study. In this research, content analysis of posts related to CPEC of Chinese and Pakistani Newspapers' Facebook pages is performed. The population of this study consists of all the posts related to CPEC posted on Newspapers' Facebook Pages. For accurate results and more authenticity, it is envisaged that the entire universe is to be taken, and researchers performed analysis on every post appeared related to CPEC on Pakistani (*The News*) and Chinese Newspaper (*The People's Daily*) Facebook's pages. For this purpose, following aspects, categories and sub-categories are formed, on the basis of their frequency, positivity and negativity in the broader classes as; development, economy, political, social, strategic and other. The news appeared with the word “CPEC” on Facebook pages of the *People's Daily* and *The News* are part of this study and arranged and divided as per above mentioned categories through well-structured coding sheet. All the posts are further sub-divided in terms of their “Positive”, “Negative” and “Neutral” inclination. To ensure the reliability, a pilot test is also performed on 28 posts related to CPEC and modified the instrument required framing aspects. Framing theory is the foundation map for this study.

Findings and Discussion

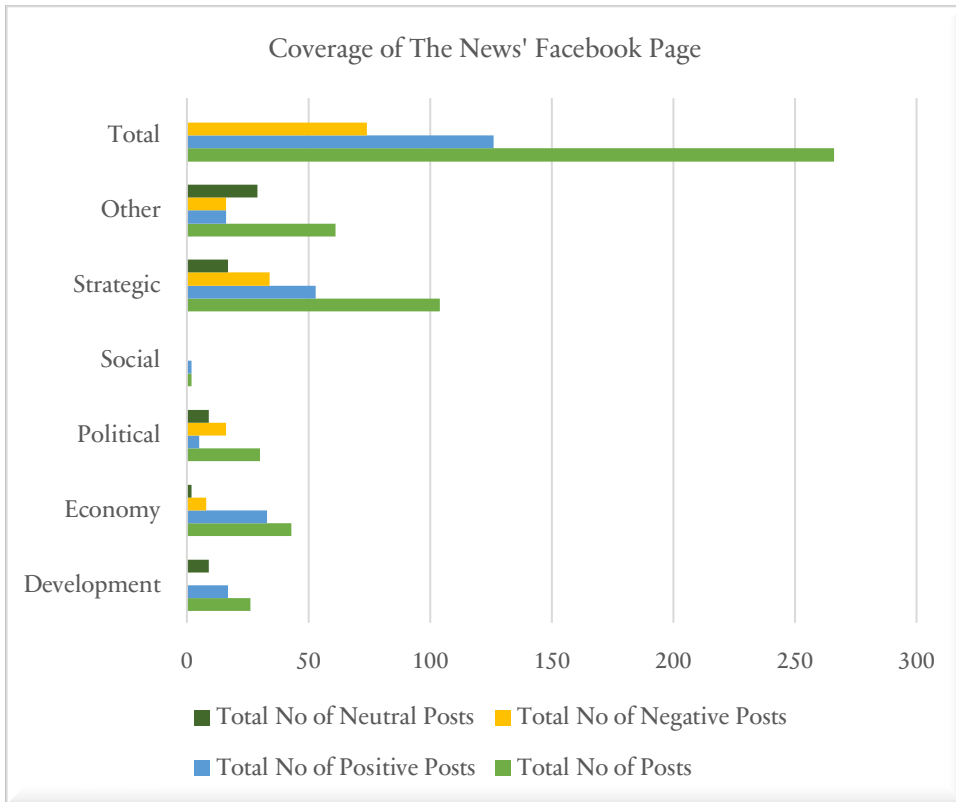


Figure 1: Coverage of The News Facebook coverage on CPEC (Posts)

Figure 1 shows the coverage of CPEC on The News' Facebook page. Table shows that there are total 266 posts among those 126 are positive and 74 are negative and 66 Neutral. Fig. also categories that there are total 26 posts on the aspect of "development". 17 are positive, no negative post and 09 are neutral posts.

Whereas, on "Economy" there are 43 posts,33 positive,08 negative and 02 neutral. On political aspect there are30 posts,05 positive,16 negative and 09 neutral. Social aspect of CPEC got coverage of 02 post, both positive and no negative and neutral posts. On strategic aspect, among 104 posts, 53 are positive, 34 negative and 17 neutral, on "other" category, there are 61 posts, 16 positive, 16 negative and 29 neutral.

Figure 1 shows The News' Facebook page gave significant coverage to the "Strategic" aspects of the CPEC with 104 posts. And least coverage is given to the social aspects of the CPEC with only 02 posts.

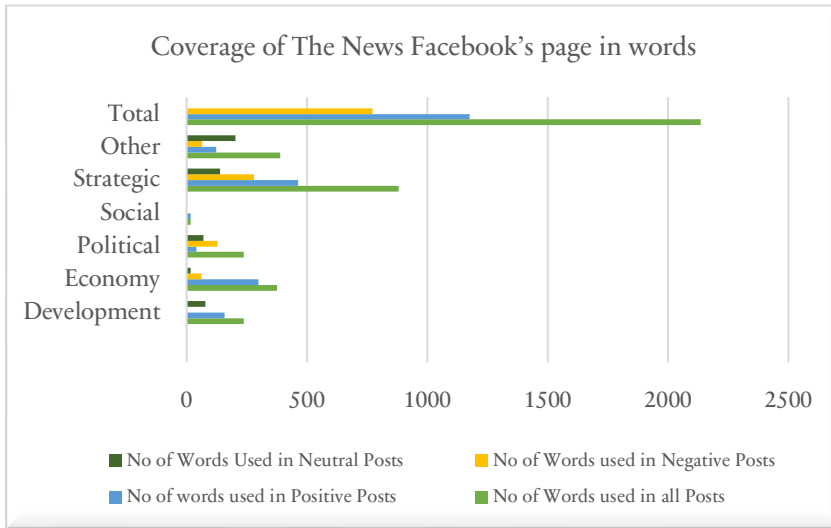


Figure 2: Coverage of The News Facebook's coverage on CPEC (Words)

Figure 2 portrays coverage of CPEC on The News' Facebook pages. Figure reflects that there are total 2136 words used in overall posts of The News on CPEC. Words used in positive posts are 1175, negative 771 and 505 Neutral words. Figure also categories that there are total 236 words on the aspect of "development" and among those 158 were positive, 0 negative and 78 neutral. Whereas, on "Economy" there are 376 words, 299 positive, 61 negative and 16 neutral. On political aspect there are 237 words, 40 positive, 127 negative and 70 neutral. Social aspect of CPEC got coverage of 16 words and all positive. On strategic aspects, among 881 total words, 463 are positive, 280 negative and 138 neutral. On other category, there are 390 words, 122 positive, 65 negative and 203 neutral. Figure shows, The News' Facebook page gave significant coverage (in term of words) to the Strategic aspects of the CPEC with 881 words. And least coverage is given to the "Social" aspects of the CPEC with only 16 words.

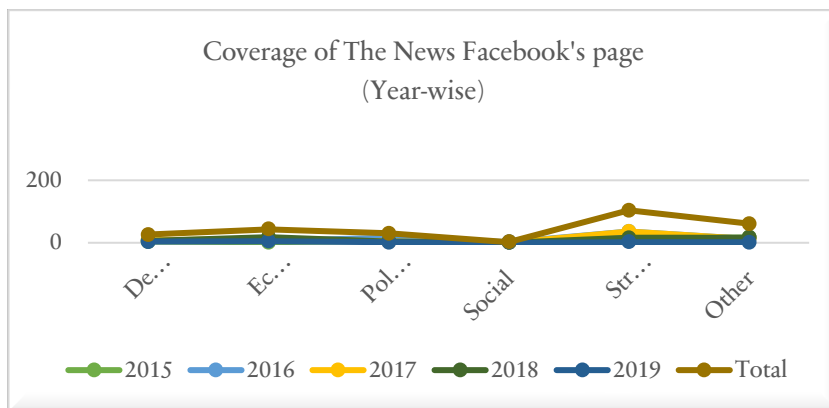


Figure 3: The News Facebook's Coverage on CPEC (Year-wise)

Figure 3 shows year wise coverage of CPEC on The News' Facebook page. The figure depicts highly significant coverage to the CPEC given in 2016 with 79 posts in this year and lowest coverage in year 2019 with only 12 posts. Among all the issues carried out in this research, the strategic and the economy issues are significantly reported since 2015 to year 2019 on the Facebook pages of the *The News*.

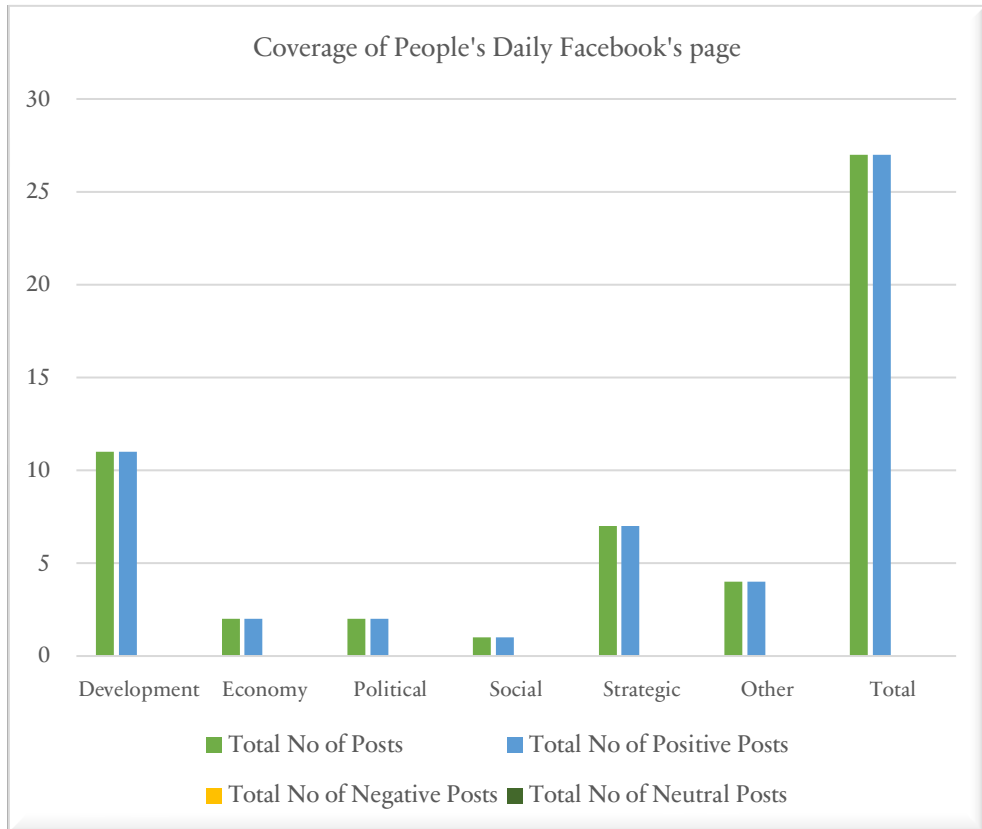


Figure 4: Coverage of People’s Daily Facebook’s posts on CPEC

Figure 4 reflects coverage of CPEC on People’s Daily Facebook’s posts. The figure shows that there are total 27 post and all posts are positive and there is no negative and neutral post. Table also categories that there are total 02 posts on the aspect of "Development" and both are positive. On the “Economy”, there are 02 posts, and these are positive. There are 02 posts on the Political aspect and both are positive and Social aspect got only one post and that is positive too. There are 04 posts falls under the category of “Other” and all are positive on strategic aspect. There are 07 posts, and all are positive. Fig. shows, People’s Daily Facebook page gave significant coverage to the Strategic aspects of the CPEC with 07 posts and meager coverage is given to the Social aspects of the CPEC as there is only one post on the given aspect.

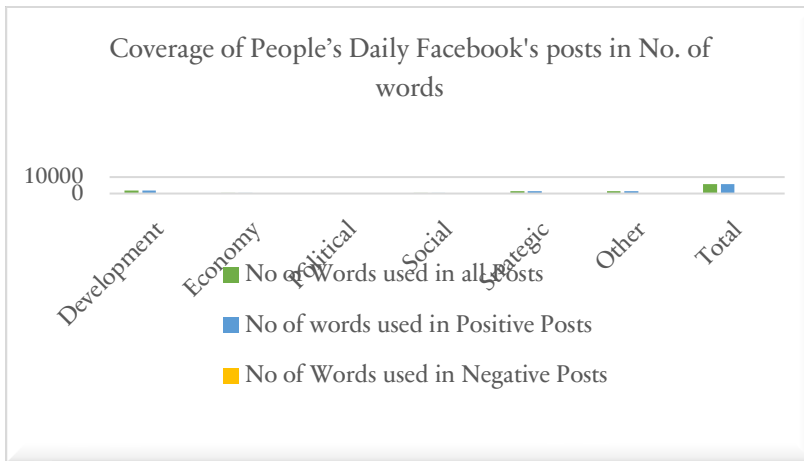


Figure 5: Coverage of The People’s Daily Facebook’s posts in No. of words

Figure 5 reflects CPEC on People’s Daily Facebook page. Figure shows that there are total 5830 words used in overall posts of China Daily on CPEC and all posts are positive, no negative and Neutral words appear in these posts. In the figure, it also categories that there are total 1982 words on "development". Posts on “Economy” aspect are used 372 words, 408 on Political, 337 on Social aspects and 1382 words used in posts fall in “other” category. On strategic aspect, Posts used 1382 words, and all are positive. Fig. 5 shows that the People’s Daily Facebook page has given significant coverage (in term of words) to the “Other” aspects of the CPEC with 1382 words. And least coverage was given to the “Social” aspects of the CPEC with 337 words.

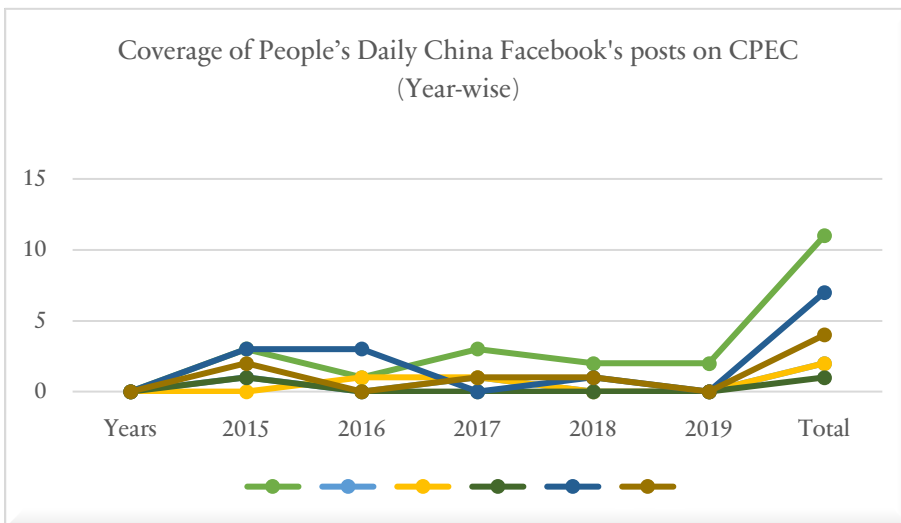


Figure 6: Coverage of People’s Daily Facebook’s posts on CPEC (Year-wise)

Figure 6 shares year wise coverage of CPEC on People's Daily Facebook page. Significant coverage is given to the CPEC in 2015 with 10 posts on CPEC and inadequate coverage is given in year 2019 with just 02 posts in this year. However, the coverage in the year 2016, 2017 and 2018 is varied on various issues.

Table 1. Chi Square Statistics of coverage of various issues on The News and People's Daily

	Development	Economy	Political	Social	Strategic	Row Total
The News	26	43	30	02	104	305
(O-E)	33.27	40.46	28.77	2.70	99.80	
(O-E) ² /E	1.59	0.16	0.05	0.18	0.18	
The People's Daily	11	02	02	01	07	23
(O-E)	3.73	4.54	3.23	0.30	11.20	
(O-E) ² /E	14.15	1.42	0.47	1.61	1.57	
Column Totals	37	45	32	3	111	228

X^2 is 21.37. The p -value is < 0.000267 . The result is significant at $p < .05$.

Table 1 depicts that a chi-square test of independence is performed to examine the relation between newspapers and the categories of coverage given on The News and the People's Daily. The relation between these variables are significant, $X^2 (1, N = 5) = 21.37, p = .000267$. The News is more likely to give significant coverage to CPEC on various aspects than the People's Daily to be able to cover CPEC on their Facebook pages posts.

The present study is designed to have content analysis of the posts related to CPEC. It is a quest to know that how and in what ways CPEC is being portrayed by newspapers' Facebook's pages. What particular aspects of CPEC are being highlighted? It is also an attempt to determine how much coverage is being given to the project CPEC on newspaper Facebook pages. One of the theses of this research "It is more likely that Pakistani Newspapers' Facebook pages are giving more coverage to CPEC than that of Chinese" for this particular reason two newspaper are examine through the posts they upload on their official Facebook's pages. Fig 1 reveals that maximum coverage to the CPEC is given by The News with 266 posts and People's Daily China covered the issue with 27 posts. From the Fig. 1 it is assumed that maximum coverage to CPEC is given by The News with 266 posts. But interestingly, Fig. 2 reveals that significant coverage to CPEC (In term of words) is given by People's Daily with 5830 words and most of words are from the posts on development aspects of the CPEC with word count 1982. The News comparatively has given less coverage in terms of word with 2136 words and lion share given to strategic aspects of the CPEC. Fig. 2 shows that maximum positive posts (126) were posted by The News and most of the positive posts (53) are on Strategic aspects of the CPEC whereas significant coverage is given by People's Daily China with 27 positive posts, most of the posts (11) on development

aspect. Figure also reflects significant Negative posts (74) are posted by The News and most of the positive posts (34) are on Strategic aspects of the CPEC whereas People's Daily do not give any negative post on CPEC. The core reason is People's Daily reflects the Chinese Communist Party (CCP) globally. The News has given (47.36 %) positive coverage. These findings also help in supporting Shen (2013) in a way that Chinese media is propagating party stance as it is shown by the researcher that "effectiveness of party propaganda in China is based on how strong one's connection is with the country and what kind of media content one is having on the day to day basis. The News' percentage of unfavorable posts' coverage is (27.81 %) which is significant among both papers. Above mentioned findings supported one of the hypotheses of this research that CPEC is being portrayed positively on newspapers' Facebook pages. The findings are inconclusive that economical aspect of CPEC is more highlighted than other aspects as compared various aspects of CPEC covered by newspapers' Facebook's pages. It showed that significant coverage appeared on the aspect of "Strategic". The aspect which got the insignificant coverage is "Social".

Feng (2012) as that research also showed the dominant tendency of Chinese media in supporting their government on issues under consideration. Results are same when we see it from another angle "comparison between Pakistani and Chinese newspapers' Facebook's pages, on the number of posts appeared on various issues.

Conclusion

The China - Pakistan economic Corridor is significant project of "Belt and Road Initiative". The literature reveals that this project is associated with the future several billion people across the globe that will ensure the connectivity of across Asia through Middle East and will connect with Europe. This study examines that how the Chinese and Pakistani flagship newspapers' social media pages cover CPEC. *The News* is eminent English language newspaper and leader in the dissemination of multimedia and social media news and associated with the leading Jang group.

However, *The People's Daily* is flagship newspaper of Chinese Communist Party (CCP). The data of this study categorized in semantic frames of development, economy, political, social, strategic and other and accessed the semantic treatment in positive, negative and neutral frames. The results overall exhibits positive attitude toward the CPEC. However, both news papers' social media pages reflect CPEC more strategic than economic that reflects security, stability, peace and geopolitical significance of CPEC route. Pakistani media reflects significant skepticism on various issues, i.e. social, development and others. The results also reveal that during the entire duration of this project since its inception, Pakistani media raises concern and can reflect on the overall attitude and results can also direct the policy makers on public sentiments and issues concern. Our research combines quantitative content analysis which significantly reflect the insight of communication depict about the project and reflect the confidence on both sides, China and Pakistan.

References

- Ahmad, M. S., Asmi, F., Ali, M., Rahman, M. M., & Abbas, S. M. (2017). China-Pakistan Economic Corridor: In the context of 'String of Pearl Strategy'. *International Journal of Business and Social Research*, 7(8), 26-42.
- Ahmad, R., Mi, H., & Fernald, L. W. (2020). Revisiting the potential security threats linked with the China-Pakistan Economic Corridor (CPEC). *Journal of the International Council for Small Business*, 1(1), 64-80.
- Ali, M. (2018). The China-Pakistan Economic Corridor: Tapping Potential to Achieve the 2030 Agenda in Pakistan. *China Quarterly of International Strategic Studies*, 4(02), 301-325.
- Ali, M. (2020). China-Pakistan economic corridor: prospects and challenges. *Contemporary South Asia*, 28(1), 100-112.
- Awais, M., Samin, T., Gulzar, M. A., & Hwang, J. (2019). The sustainable development of the China Pakistan economic corridor: synergy among economic, social, and environmental sustainability. *Sustainability*, 11(24), 7044.
- Chung, C. P. (2018). What are the strategic and economic implications for South Asia of China's Maritime Silk Road initiative? *The Pacific Review*, 31(3), 315-332.
- Eriksson, E. (2017). Framing 'CPEC'-a comparative study of Chinese and Indian perceptions of the 'China-Pakistan Economic Corridor'. Uppsala University, Disciplinary Domain of Humanities and Social Sciences, Faculty of Social Sciences (Unpublished Thesis of Bechlohr).
- Guo, S., & Feng, G. (2012). Understanding support for Internet censorship in China: An elaboration of the theory of reasoned action. *Journal of Chinese Political Science*, 17(1), 33-52.
- Hussain, S., & Khan, M. A. (2017). CPEC; A roadmap of region's development. *FWU Journal of Social Sciences*, 11(2), 51-59.
- Khan, Z., Changgang, G., Afzaal, M., Ahmad, R., & Aron Issack, S. (2020). Debunking Criticism on the China-Pakistan Economic Corridor. *The Chinese Economy*, 53(6), 477-487.
- Miller, D. T. (2017). The China Pakistan Economic Corridor: Indicator of Chinese strategic energy goals and a challenge to the open procurement status quo. *Jackson School of International Studies. University of Washington, Seattle Washington*.
- Pakistan Economic Survey (2013-2014). *Ministry of Finance*. Government of Pakistan.
- Rahman, S. U., & Shurong, Z. (2017). Analysis of Chinese economic and national security interests in China-Pakistan Economic Corridor (CPEC) under the framework of One Belt One Road (OBOR) initiative. *Arts and Social Sciences Journal*, 8(4), 1-7.
- Rahman, Z. U., Khan, A., Lifang, W., & Hussain, I. (2021). The geopolitics of the CPEC and Indian Ocean: security implication for India. *Australian Journal of Maritime & Ocean Affairs*, DOI: [10.1080/18366503.2021.1875807](https://doi.org/10.1080/18366503.2021.1875807)
- Rana, K. S. (2020). Conclusion: An Indian Perspective on the Belt and Road Initiative. In *China-India Relations* (pp. 203-228). Springer.
- Rizvi, H. A. (2014). The China-Pakistan Economic Corridor. *Strategic Studies*, 34 (1), 1-17.

- Shambaugh, D. (2020). China's Long March to Global Power. *China and the World*, Oxford University Press.
- Small, A. (2015). *The China Pakistan axis: Asia's new geopolitics*. Random House India.
- Wolf, S. O. (2020). *The China-Pakistan Economic Corridor of the Belt and Road Initiative*. Springer International Publishing.