

# China's Geopolitical Sphere of Influence in the Near Abroad

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**Abstract:** *This article attempts to reveal China's current geopolitical position in regards to strategic areas of influence outside of its own territory. This text examines China's increasing influence during the last few decades and how that increasing impact is derived from the field of classical geopolitical theories from the 1<sup>st</sup> half of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, such as the theory of Heartland (H. Mackinder), the theory of Heartland-Rimland (N. J. Spykman) and geostrategic thoughts developed by A. T. Mahan. Although these approaches are sometimes criticized for their inapplicability now, the author of this article tries to find some aspects of these theories, which could be applied to the current position of foreign policy of the People's Republic of China. This article raises the question: how deeply is China able to spread its geopolitical influence to the near abroad. Also, is China able to become a naval superpower in years to come, given that it has historically been a continental power. This research examines the case of the Great Mekong subregion, especially Burma and the case of Pakistan.*

**Keywords:** *China, South and Southeast Asia, Geopolitics, Geostrategic, Sphere of influence*

## Introduction

From a geographical point of view China has never been an integral part of the Pivot area of the Heartland<sup>1</sup> theory created by Sir Halford Mackinder or even factored into the more advanced Nicholas J. Spykman's Heartland-Rimland<sup>2</sup> approach. China was rather a segment of the other part of theory — the Inner crescent along with Germany, France and others (Agnew 2002: 8). Mackinder divided the world into three categories, where the most important role represents the region of the Heartland (Pivot area), basically concentrated in the core region of the Euro-Asian territory. It was estimated struggling (rather than cooperating) between Heartland's power and the strongest representative of the Inner crescent, situated in the rest of this continental Euro-Asian island (the United Kingdom and Japan weren't included) for achieving global dominance. The rest of the world has been called the Outer Crescent (Venier 2004: 331). While war era Germany was purely regarded as the most important representative of the Inner crescent, China's geopolitical position did not seem a real threat for the Soviet Union, regardless of their frail alliance that occurred later on. Behavior of the USSR towards China during the second part of 20th century can be characterized as a swaying pendulum. This is evidenced by the USSR's cautious collaboration in the 1950s, to the Sino-Russian split in the late 1960s, and the current still progressive bilateral relations.

As the world's fastest growing economy and maintaining the second largest economy after the United States, China as a strengthening political power is supposed to spread its influence in the "near abroad." The term near abroad is basically used in connection with the Russian influence in its former Soviet republics or the outer regions of Europe (except the current enlargement territory of the European Union). This model could be also applied to China's neighbors. Economic and technical influence is obvious, and due to Chinese diasporas cultural, ideological, and in some cases political connections in selected locations, can be observed. From the Euro-Atlantic perspective China's approach in foreign policy could be in some cases deemed as a controversial, especially in cases of North Korea or Burma. China evolves relations with top representatives of the military regime in Burma. This would seem to be proof of China's geopolitical expansion "at any price." China's increasing interests are perceptible in chaotic Pakistan, Kyrgyzstan, Mongolia, etc. This paper will try to detect the geopolitical position of China in the regions of South and Southeast Asia. This movement of interests into the near abroad can be considered as a (geo) political consolidation of China's own position in the Inner crescent or even Outer crescent, as Mackinder suggested these areas. If the European Union isn't the real geopolitical player now in the Inner crescent region, China will probably escalate its political influence in the near abroad for the purpose of achieving an absolute geopolitical authority in this area. This precondition is a crucial thesis of the article, which will be appraised.

Mackinder didn't deeply mention the potential of Chinese geopolitical clout during the 1<sup>st</sup> half of the 20<sup>th</sup> century. It may be surprising then that it is displaying power, which aside from the country's continental base, also stems from a considerable oceanic scope. China possesses 14,500 square kilometers of coast, which is not too significant. However if we consider current superpowers the current position of China is obvious. The Russian coast is not in principle comparable because most of its north shore is freezing over. The geopolitical position of such countries as Norway, Canada, the Philippines, and Japan are geopolitically insignificant. Hence from this point of view China is almost in the same position as the USA. It would seem that this position doesn't satisfy China's geopolitical ambitions, motivating a further spread of their interests into the near abroad. China extends into the region of Southeast Asia, where the USA has also had their interests in the previous century. Nevertheless, in comparison with the USA, Chinese foreign policy seems much more ambitious. China needs source of secure energy, metals, and strategic minerals for the safeguard of its citizens. In Sitwe, Western Burma, China is trying to build a port to enhance a supply of its natural resources. Pakistan and the South China Sea are other needed geostrategic points for China to fulfil its potential power and control in the region. China's hunger for natural resources is also visible in African countries. It is no wonder therefore that China has lent to developing countries more than the World Bank during last two years. The Chinese Development Bank and China Export-Import Bank have put out 110 billion US dollar, which are approximately 10 billion more than World Bank.<sup>3</sup> In this way China is apparently practicing Realpolitik (Hard power) in soft style, because its political effort follows practical factors and material goals instead of ideology in a region. This essentially means they are increasing geopolitical influence in these areas of the near abroad. China has practiced this form of politics and diplomacy there, and it seems it will continue further. The USA also used this approach in these areas, especially during the Vietnam War, but they are currently utilizing the concept of Soft power, based on co-option. This is essentially what we supposedly can't expect from the Chinese side.

## **Greater Mekong Subregion: Preconditions of China's Influence in Southeast Asia**

From the geopolitical and also geostrategic point of view it is obvious that Southeast Asia is a preeminent sphere of China's influence. In the region of the Mainland Southeast Asia<sup>4</sup> live more than 250 million inhabitants, which represent (barring India) the most populated region outside of China. Furthermore, the Philippines are not included in this continental territory as well as Indonesia, regardless of their population.<sup>5</sup> Some ASEAN countries have, in the past three-plus decades, reached

the status of Asian Tiger of the second/third wave. That's why China attempts to increase its geopolitical clout in that area.

Along with this has come a degree of regional peace and security that is without historical precedent. The last inter-state military conflict came to an end in 1989 with the withdrawal of Vietnamese forces from Cambodia (Ott 2005: 2). Unsurprisingly, if Brzezinski considered escalation between China and a Southeast Asian country, it would be Vietnam. Because of the increasing potential of other states of that region, the political, economical and social interest of China is entirely comprehensible. Finally, it is also a region with a substantial Chinese population, which is still more economically important for homeland China. Chinese diasporas reached more than 20 million people in Southeast Asia.

Conversely, Southeast Asia is an area that is a quite problematic zone with plenty of challenges, at least for two significant reasons. First, during the Cold war China was drawn into the Vietnam War. China also played an important role in The Malayan Emergency in 1950s; Chinese connections in face of Khmer Rouge in Cambodia were apparent. There is also the case of a bloody border war between China and Vietnam in 1979, known as a Sino-Vietnamese War. The consequences of these historical events supposedly remain in their common modern times. Second, Southeast Asia is, in terms of national and ethnic stratification, a very heterogeneous area, and if we even consider the illegible political system in Laos, the isolated military regime in Burma, or even the problem of the Golden Triangle, Southeast Asia has become, from the Euro-Atlantic point of view, an incalculable region with many hazards. This is what is actually meant by the questionable approach of China's foreign policy, in case of the Southeast Asia region, especially Burma.

If we consider that the clashing between China and the USA was entirely visible during the Cold war, with a case such as the position of Taiwan until 1971 as the best example, then those relations (competing/cooperating) had been covered by USA — USSR rivalry. American adherence in countries of Southeast Asia is still appreciable, but its strong position is decreasing. At the end of 2010 the size of American obligations was higher than \$900 billion. The American deficit in common trade was more than \$250 billion during 2010. These numbers and facts exactly express what Ferguson had entitled as a *Chimerica* — the partnership between the big saver and the big spender (Ferguson and Schularick 2007: 215–239). Due to this we are witnesses to quite a new form of meeting between these two superpowers — G 2. Whether this form of relations really exists is debatable, especially after financial crisis, but deep economic cohesion will surely require specific talks between both involved countries.<sup>6</sup> From this point of view it must be pointed out that China's position, at least in this issue, has a better future perspective than the USA, especially in the Southeast Asia. Thus it seems that decreasing of American influence in the long-term period is possible, despite its still strong military domination.

## The Burma Case: Part of China's Grand Strategic Design

Burma (interchangeably known as Myanmar) presents one of the most inhumane military regimes in the world. Burma's military junta has reigned almost 50 years since 1962, and events of the few past years have facilitated the performance of the existing order. Bloody suppression of the Buddhist anti-government insurrection in 2007, known as a Saffron Revolution, supports this thesis. In an effort to avoid further civil unrest and international criticism the Burmese government enacted a series of democratic changes to ease the political pressure inflicted by the European Union and USA. As a result of democratic changes in Burma in 2010 military representatives organized the first election in 20 years. All of those who are interested in human rights were not convinced by the democratic changes established by the Burmese. The recent new Constitution approved by referendum, new laws and a revised electoral system, in a pre-elected period, were predictable and do not act as sufficient proof of a newly integrated democracy in Burma. Immediate release (7 days after the election) from domestic prison of Aung San Suu Kyi, who was a prisoner for almost 20 years with a only few short terms of parole, was evidence that the government was doing the minimum to distract the international push for Burmese reform. From the Euro-Atlantic perspective it's a rather tragic-comical effort by the junta, which is further proof of this unacceptable political regime in Southeast Asia. While the European Union and USA have asserted their stance against the junta, this has not inspired true reform. The USA continues their embargo but both international powers are trying to rework the Burmese government from afar. These attempts are comparatively better than China's, who is reinforcing its relations with Burma.

Sino-Burmese relations are obviously mutually beneficial. Burma is economically important for the Chinese economy, because Burma disposes large amounts of significant natural resources, in exchange for China's political and economic support. From a geopolitical point of view, as Poon Kim Shee has proposed, Burma is part and parcel of China's grand strategic design to achieve its goal of becoming a great power in the 21<sup>st</sup> century. Burma is important for China to achieve its strategic presence in the Indian Ocean and its long-term two-ocean objective (Shee 2011: 33–53). And due to the more extensive growing Chinese influence over Burma, Rangoon could potentially become a strategic satellite base for China. Economical and strategic issues are the most visible in their increasing relations.

As was already discussed above, although Burma is a poor country with a non-effective economy, a high unemployment rate and other undesirable circumstances, their reserve of natural resources is highly significant. Oil, natural gas, teak, gems and copper are the basic commodities of Burmese export. Other precious minerals such as sapphires, diamonds and rubies are much too important for the military regime, and are sold to China. Burma is simply the biggest exporter of rubies as well, and it

is no surprise that China is biggest recipient of those stones. If China needs Burmese natural resources, Burma needs Chinese goods. As a result, growth of Chinese exports to Burma during the last 30 years is more than 300 %. Hereby, Burma evades tough international embargo. By this clever act Burmese elites (at least partially) are able to secure the subsistence for ordinary inhabitants.

Burma's top three exporters are the Myanmar Oil and Gas Enterprise, the Myanmar Timber Enterprise, and the Myanmar Gems Enterprise — all government-owned organizations. Furthermore, the military regime maintains control over most economic activity through a host of monopolistic state-owned enterprises and businesses owned by family members and cronies of the regime's senior generals (Reiffel 2010: 3). A plan for building a Sino-Burmese pipeline on the common ideological base was thus developed. The China National Petroleum Corporation started on the construction of this project in 2010. Through Burma two pipelines will be built for natural gas and oil, starting in a significant Burmese city, Sittwe Port. We are turning now from an economical line of vision to the strategic. China by these means will reach the sea, which basically means consolidation of other coastal areas outside of China's mainland, as was mentioned above by Poon Kim Shee's thesis. This approach de facto confirms their geopolitical effort to take control over Southeast Asia. Although China has an adequately long coast of its own spreading their influence enlarges the thalassocratic<sup>7</sup> perception of their geopolitical aims. As mentioned above the lengths of Chinese and USA coasts are similar. By these means Beijing would reach a more valuable position and become a real thalassocratic super power of this region in coming years.

Strategic (or even strategic-ideological) cooperation has several variables, which are important for spreading Chinese (geo) political influence in Burma. China is often criticized by the international community for infringement of human rights, but the concept of human rights in the case of Burma is similar. Several ethnic groups live in Burma under governmental pressure. Some scholars gave their opinion that in Burma genocide rages (Cusano 2001: 138–171). If it is not genocide e.g. against the Karen ethnic group etc., it should still be considered as a brutal violation of human rights, which is regrettably accepted from China's side. During the last few years more than 3000 villages have been burnt and more than half a million internally displaced persons were pressed down on the margin of society.<sup>8</sup> Why does the International Criminal Court still stand at a neutral distance? The Euro-Atlantic civilization hesitated with organization and backing of the Olympic games in 2008 in Beijing as a protest against the minority policy of China. Burma was a loud supporter of China, regardless of the real posture of human rights there. Unfortunately, EXPO 2010 has presented a similar opinion of Burmese diplomacy. In response China gave back a kind of "solidarity" in the sense of recognition of the Burmese "election-democratic game" last year. Simply said, China and Burma have common

political support because both regimes want to maintain the state's power. Burma's military regime also has assurances of Chinese political assistance for another reason: If the junta collapsed it would mean a preclusion of a Chinese approach towards the Indian Ocean. This could have fatal consequences.

As previously discussed Port Sittwe has become the most important "Chinese" city in Burma. From the geographical and also geopolitical points of view this city plays a pivotal role. It lies so close to the Bangladesh border which means that this port is the nearest "Chinese" point to India. If we consider then, that the biggest Indian port is basically Kolkata, thus these two cocks (China, India) are playing a geopolitical game on one playground. If Shee argues that Burma was historically under pressure of previous "superpowers" such as a Mongolia in the 13<sup>th</sup> century, Great Britain in the 19<sup>th</sup> century and finally Japan in the 20<sup>th</sup> century (Shee 2011: 33–53), would it be possible to expect subjugation from China? If we consider Burma's unfortunate political and economic situation, even social stratification and division (Burma is in accordance to Corruption index of TI the second most corrupt country<sup>9</sup> as well as the 18<sup>th</sup> most failed state in the world, in accordance to Failed States Index 2011<sup>10</sup>), we should anticipate a further increase of China's influence in the sphere of geopolitical power.

## **Sino-Pakistan relations**

Although the Kashmir wars were basically disputes between Pakistan and India, China's deep geopolitical presence brought another dimension to these long-term wars. China, a 60-yearlong ally of Pakistan, was obviously trying to enfeeble India's position and extend its clout closer to the Indian Ocean. This posture was clearly visible especially after the Sino-Indian war in the late 1960s when Chinese troops crossed their common border. This hostility fortunately didn't have any bloody consequences, but has resulted in their future insufficient relations, which have mirrored Chinese promotion of the political system of Pakistan since.

China was supposed to be an important diplomatic partner from those times; cooperation had started basically on an economic base in the 1950s. China assisted on one of the most interesting projects in the transportation field — Karakoram Highway Valley, which connected China and Pakistan during the 1980s. That is why the relations between both partners are called an all-weather friendship. The evolution of common relations that took place seemed to have been a symbolic indication of the current atmosphere, which has in fact come true several years later. More important progress was possible to see in Chinese subvention into the Pakistan nuclear process, which started in 1986 by reaching a comprehensive nuclear Co-operation Agreement. That same year, Chinese scientists assisted Pakistan with the enrichment

of weapons-grade uranium, and China reportedly transferred enough tritium gas to Pakistan for 10 nuclear weapons as well. Since then, China supplied Pakistan with a variety of nuclear products and services, ranging from uranium enrichment technology to research and power reactors. China allegedly involved Pakistani scientists in a nuclear test at its Lop Nur test site in 1989.<sup>11</sup> This endeavor was comprehended as a geopolitical tool to decrease the Indian position in the region, which had already gained a nuclear weapon in 1974. Although China expressed its interest in this process as only if Pakistan is attempting to develop nuclear machinery for peaceful purposes, the nuclear weapon direction with Chinese promotion was fairly clear. The most recent proliferation controversy regarding Chinese nuclear trade with Pakistan concerned 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 nuclear weapons work. China also sold to Pakistan tritium, a special industrial furnace; high-tech diagnostic equipment, supplied heavy water (D2O) or even a nuclear weapon design.<sup>12</sup>

Thus Chinese tendencies to have a sophisticated influence over the Indian Ocean in the second half of the century have even been amended by their effort to gain influence in the Persian Gulf in the new millennium. In the case of the Cold War, there was cooperation primarily on a militarily basis. The current partnership is rather on a militarily-economical base. By the name of the “Go out policy” (Go abroad policy) China is active in Pakistan as well. This current economic strategy is trying to encourage its enterprises abroad. In Pakistan there are 10,000 Chinese workers engaged in 120 projects today. China is also active in signing a bilateral agreement, which should relieve the reciprocal trade, such as taxes, zero-tariff, etc. One example is the Agreement called “early harvest” between the two countries signed in 2005. According to this agreement, 486 categories of Chinese goods exported to Pakistan are going to enjoy the zero-tariff treatment.

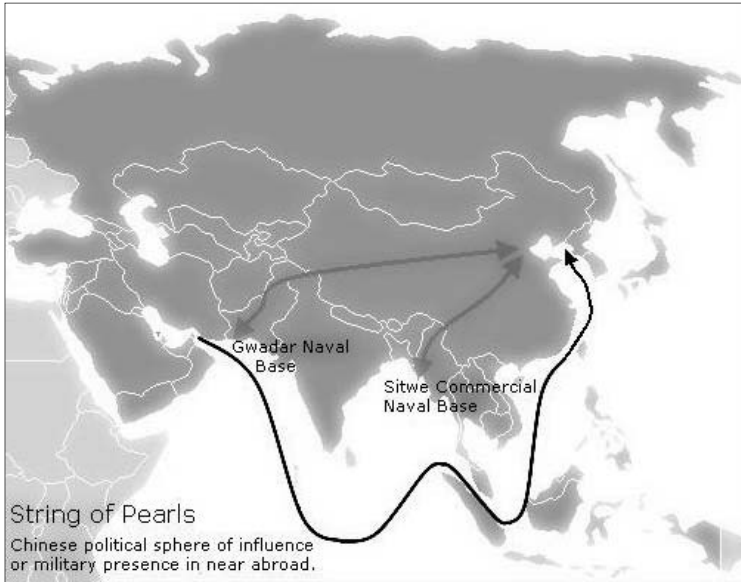
Gwadar Port is from the geostrategic point of view the most important Chinese port outside of the mainland, located just a few hundred kilometers from the Strait of Hormuz. The City of Gwadar is basically the nearest “Chinese port” of the region of the Persian Gulf and Middle East. Construction of the port began in March 2002, during the partly military presidency of Pervez Musharraf, after the Chinese agreed to provide \$198 million of the \$248 million required for Phase I of the project (Aneja 2006: 7). In the second period this port has deeply expanded and became a naval base under Chinese control. The technical and financial aid is more than obvious and it is clearly expected in other phases of creating this port. This project has become one of the most important parts of Chinese geopolitical efforts in South Asia. China realized the significance and strategic value of this city and that is why both countries established cooperation in the field of education, especially in teaching Chinese language to the local students, workers and people of Gwadar and



Baluchistan. This cooperation, as expected, has resulted in the building of one of the biggest oil terminals in South Asia in coming years. This is taking into consideration the construction of a new Sino-Pakistan pipeline from Gwadar directly to China. As mentioned above, this way of spreading Chinese influence is basically the same as in the Burmese case of Sitwe. Drawn on the map below is the distance from the Persian Gulf through the Indian Ocean to Chinese ports, which all Chinese tankers have to pass on their way. First of all China will, by construction of such a ports like in Sitwe or Gwadar (and added pipelines), cut out the long distance from the Persian Gulf for transportation of their oil. Secondly, although the highest amount of piracy attacks in the Strait of Malacca is supposedly over, jeopardy of such attacks is still possible in these waters. China could eliminate shipping hazards there and avoid other disagreeable problems. Third, those Chinese points are just pieces of the whole Chinese geopolitical strategy in South Asia called the “String of Pearls” strategy. By this thoughtful way China is increasing its geopolitical and geostrategic influence around the Indian Ocean. Other places of this strategy: Hainan island, ports on disputed Islands (Spratly and Paracel Islands, which are demanded by several sides), Chittagong (Bangladesh), Hambantota (Sri Lanka) as well as some African locations (Kenya, Sudan, etc.). It also is not a big surprise that China has invested huge financial aid into Thailand for a project, which is contributing to construction of a new channel across the Kra Isthmus, which would be another way to avoid passage through the Strait of Malacca.

In conclusion, if we consider Pakistan’s position towards the USA after September 2001, Islamabad has become the most important non-NATO ally in the fight against terror. After capturing Osama bin Laden it seems this relationship became rather frail in comparison to its previous strengthen. China strongly promotes Pakistan’s full membership in the Shanghai cooperation organization. This fact also benefits China, particularly granting China the opportunity to penetrate into Pakistan permanently and further develop its geopolitical influence in this specific area of the Indian Ocean.

**Table 1: Chinese sphere of influence and examples of reducing of long distance from the Persian Gulf**



Source: author

## Conclusion

The increase of the Chinese geopolitical position is entirely indisputable. Despite plenty of internal issues such as human rights, environmental protection or social stratification,<sup>13</sup> the most populated country is able to improve its economical output, thereby influencing targets of Chinese foreign policy. In the case of South and Southeast Asia this assertion is more than obvious. Although, according to the World Bank, Chinese foreign direct investments have slowed down, thus still stayed on a high level as well as export of Chinese merchandise kept on 10 % grade.<sup>14</sup> China has increased mutual cooperation also with Iran, where it has invested a staggering amount of money to the controversial project in the name of peaceful purposes. This is also a reason why rapid expansion of Chinese (geo) politics is scaring politicians from Sydney to Washington.

If it were at beginning of the text indicated that China could present a new real representative of the Inner Crescent in Mackinder's theory, it would be supposedly truth. China has apparently become the most important player in this, by Mackinder's marked out zone instead of Europe getting weaker. But on the other hand Chinese actions don't compromise visible tendencies, which should lead to rivalry between China and the Heartland's power in examined territories. From this point of

view Mackinder's theory is not admissible, due to the non-existence of their common cooperation/competition in these regions. China rarely makes an effort to reach control of the Indian Ocean and other strategic water areas, which is getting her closer to other regions of the world, geopolitically the most strategic gulf on the world — the Persian Gulf and “untouched” Africa. China's growing interest and influence from the South China Sea through the Indian Ocean and on to the Arabian Gulf has been described as a “String of Pearls” approach (Pehrson 2006: 6).

Strategic points of this concept might be the proof of Chinese increasing sea power. China is evidently becoming a naval superpower in perception of thalassocratic way of geopolitics. This requirement confirms rather the thought of A. T. Mahan, than H. Mackinder's theory, from the point of view of classical geopolitics. Mahan claimed that power of a country over the oceans would bring strategic status. Mahan also defined preconditions, which determines sea power from geopolitical point of view and emphasized that, except of the geographical position and environment, the capacity of ports, capacity of shore, size of inhabitants and nature of the government and its tension are needed to become a sea power.<sup>15</sup> So if Chinese geopolitical strength has raised eyebrows in New Delhi or in Tokyo a few years ago, it will even make wrinkles in all and regions everywhere with a worldwide influence.

## Notes

- <sup>1</sup> Sir Halford J. Mackinder published his theory “The Geographical Pivot of History” in 1904, nevertheless in 1919 and 1943 was this theory advanced and called “Theory of Heartland”.
- <sup>2</sup> Nicholas John Spykman published his thought in *The Geography of the Peace* in 1944.
- <sup>3</sup> Dyer, Geoff et al. (2011) ‘China's lending hits new heights’. *The Financial Times*, 17 January, pp. 1. Available at: <http://www.ft.com/intl/cms/s/0/488c60f4-2281-11e0-b6a2-00144feab49a.html> (Accessed on 24 September 2011).
- <sup>4</sup> Burma, Cambodia, Laos, Malaysia, Singapore, Thailand, Vietnam
- <sup>5</sup> Indonesia is the fourth most populated country in the world with 238 million inhabitants, Philippines figure on the twelfth position with more than 94 million inhabitants.
- <sup>6</sup> In some ways China's economic model in the decade 1998-2007 was similar to the one adopted by West Germany and Japan after World War II. A continuation of Chimerica at a time of dollar devaluation would give rise to new and dangerous distortions in the global economy (Ferguson and Schularick 2009: 1).
- <sup>7</sup> The term thalassocracy relates to activity of country with primarily maritime realms and their disposition to interfere across the sea. This term is sometimes used with connection to the naval power projection from the field of international relations. An example could be considered e.g. USA, United Kingdom etc. Contrary of these terms is in geopolitics used teleocratic perception of distribution of power, which means rather possibility to penetrate across the ground instead of the sea, such as a Germany, Russia and also China in the past times.

- <sup>8</sup> Člověk v tísní (2011) “Barma”, pp. 1–7. Available at: [http://www.clovekvtisni.cz/download/pdf/barma/03\\_Otazky\\_odpovedi.pdf](http://www.clovekvtisni.cz/download/pdf/barma/03_Otazky_odpovedi.pdf) (Accessed on 1 October 2011).
- <sup>9</sup> For more detail see Transparency International (2010) “Corruption Perception Index 2010 Results”. Available at: [http://www.transparency.org/policy\\_research/surveys\\_indices/cpi/2010/results](http://www.transparency.org/policy_research/surveys_indices/cpi/2010/results) (Accessed on 1 October 2011).
- <sup>10</sup> For more detail see Foreign Policy (2011) “The Failed States Index 2011. Rankings”. Available at: [http://www.foreignpolicy.com/articles/2011/06/17/2011\\_failed\\_states\\_index\\_interactive\\_map\\_and\\_rankings](http://www.foreignpolicy.com/articles/2011/06/17/2011_failed_states_index_interactive_map_and_rankings) (Accessed on 1 October 2011).
- <sup>11</sup> For more detail see Center for Nonproliferation Studies (1999) “China’s Nuclear Exports and Assistance to Pakistan”. Available at: [http://cns.miis.edu/archive/country\\_india/china/npakpos.htm](http://cns.miis.edu/archive/country_india/china/npakpos.htm) (Accessed on 7 October 2011).
- <sup>12</sup> Ibid.
- <sup>13</sup> According to the Gini coefficient is this division on the same level as e.g. Uganda or Cameron. Otherwise position of the USA is similar as well.
- <sup>14</sup> For more detail see World Bank Office, Beijing (2010) “Quarterly Update”. Available at: [http://www-wds.worldbank.org/external/default/WDSCContentServer/WDSP/IB/2010/11/03/000333038\\_20101103232757/Rendered/PDF/576320Revised01PUBLIC10cqu1Nov12010.pdf](http://www-wds.worldbank.org/external/default/WDSCContentServer/WDSP/IB/2010/11/03/000333038_20101103232757/Rendered/PDF/576320Revised01PUBLIC10cqu1Nov12010.pdf) (Accessed on 7 October 2011).
- <sup>15</sup> A. T. Mahan is considered as a founder of geostrategy and came with the concept of “Sea power”. See Mahan, A. T., (1890) *The Influence of Sea Power Upon History, 1660–1783*.

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