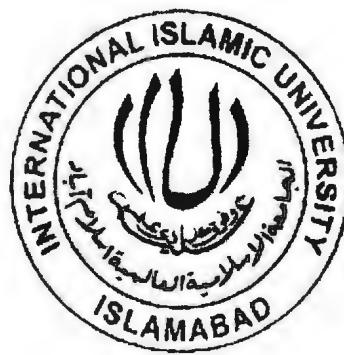


**PAKISTAN-CHINA RELATIONS IN POST COLD WAR ERA:**  
**Analyzing the Challenges of Terrorism, Extremism and Separatism**



Submitted by

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Regd. # 1-FSS/MSPS/S12

**Department of History and Pakistan Studies**  
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**International Islamic University, Islamabad**

2016

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China war

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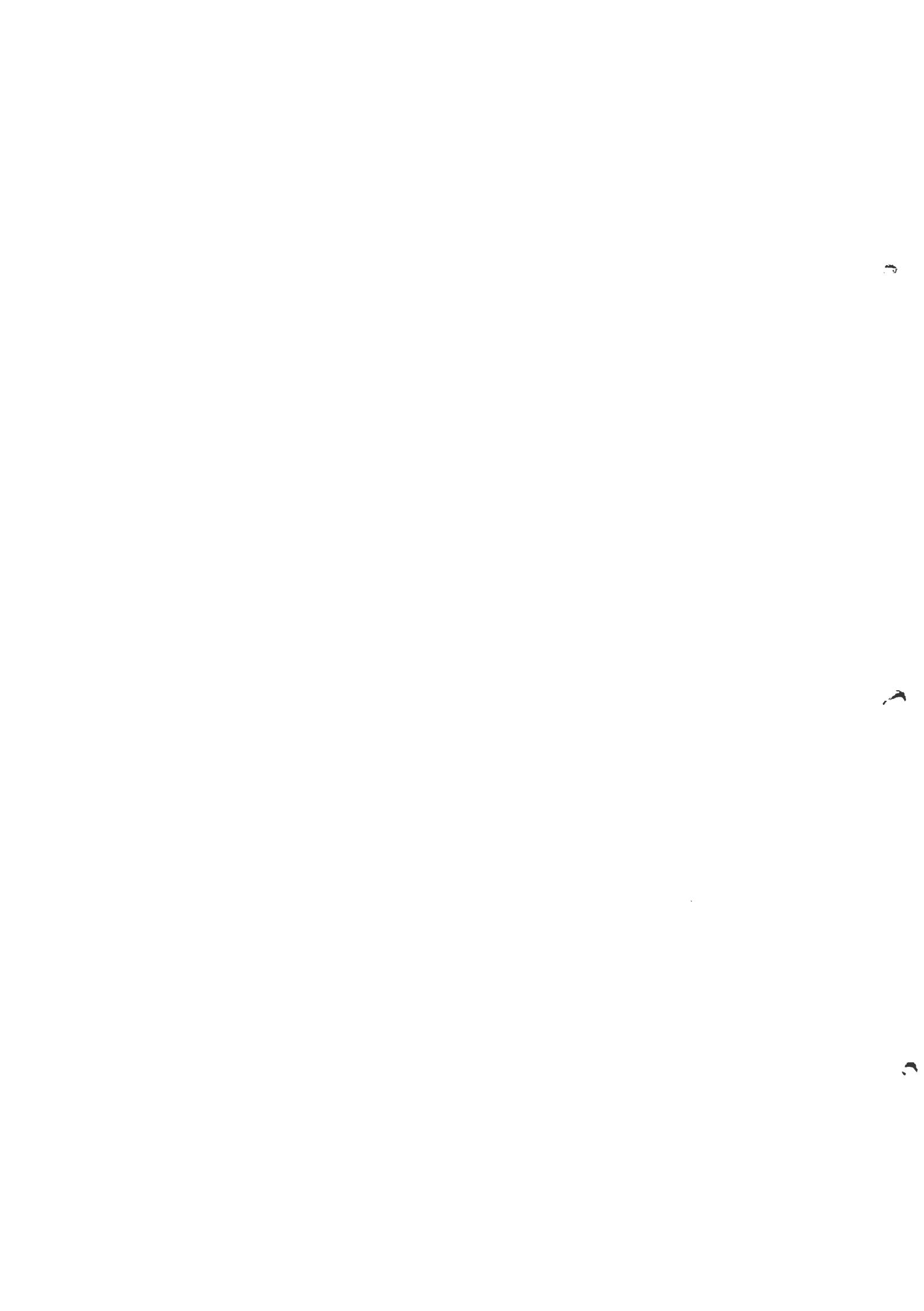
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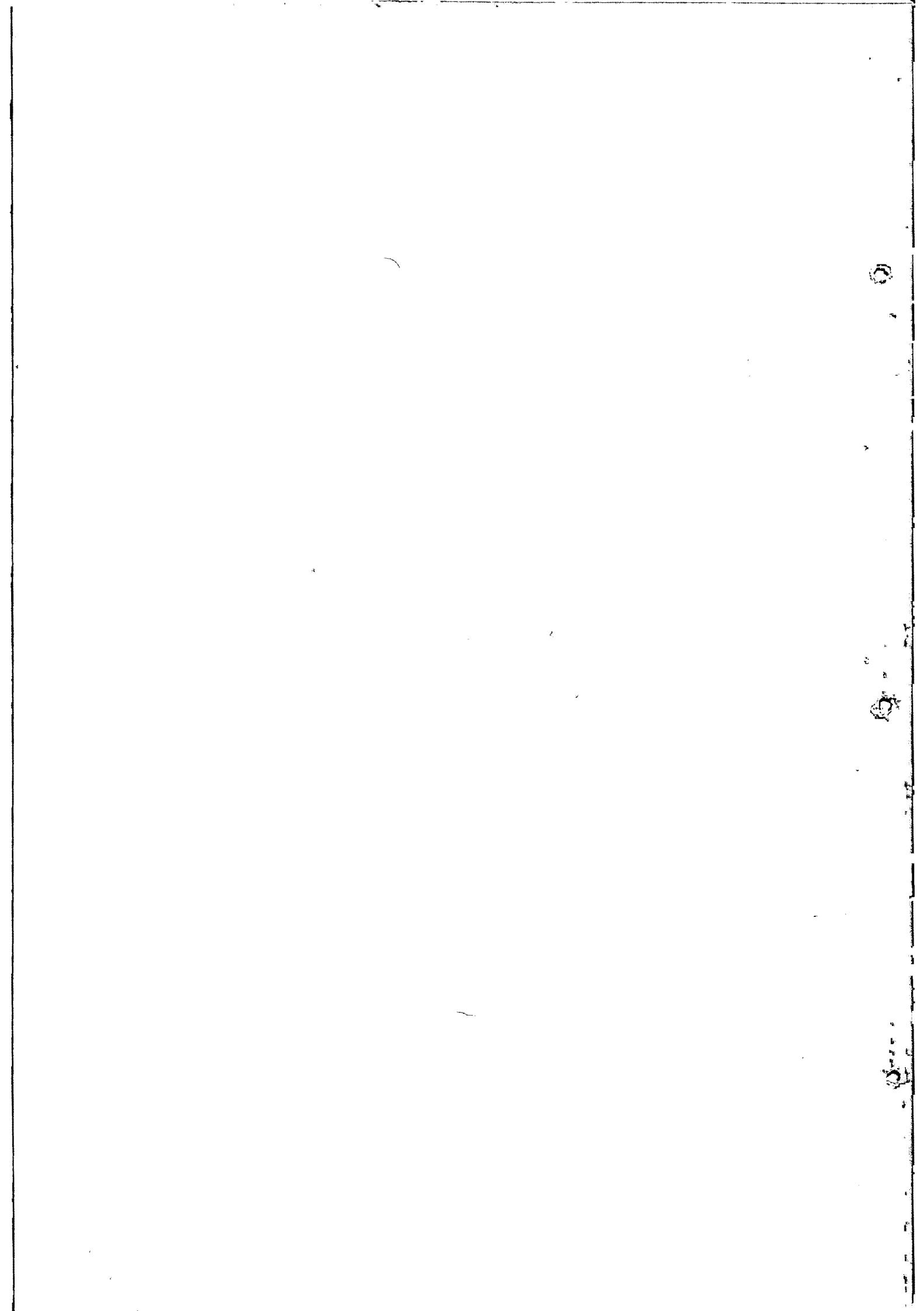
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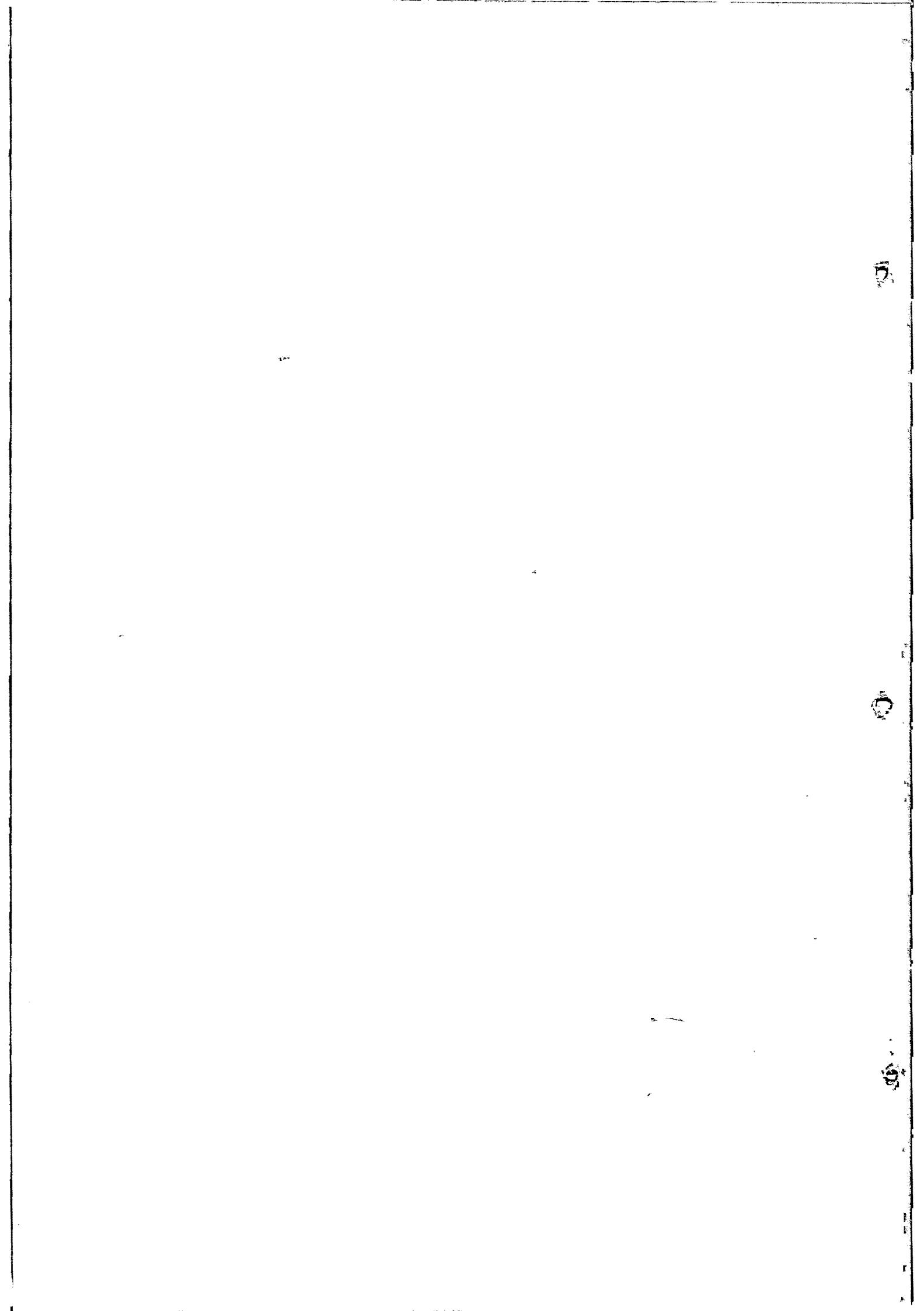




بِسْمِ اللَّهِ الرَّحْمَنِ الرَّحِيمِ



**To my beloved parents**



## APPROVAL SHEET

### PAKISTAN-CHINA RELATIONS IN POST COLD WAR ERA: Analyzing the Challenges of Terrorism, Extremism and Separatism

By

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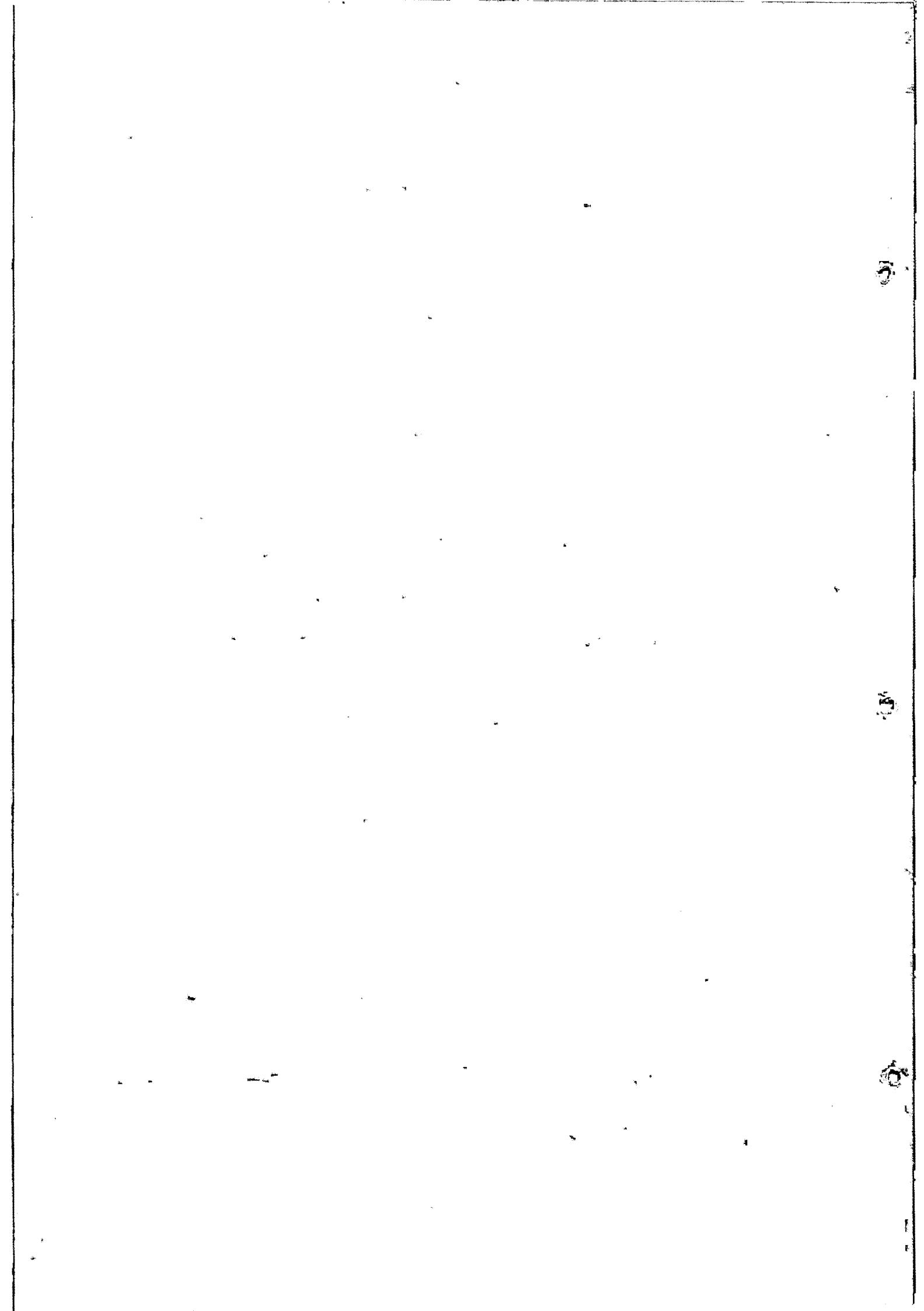
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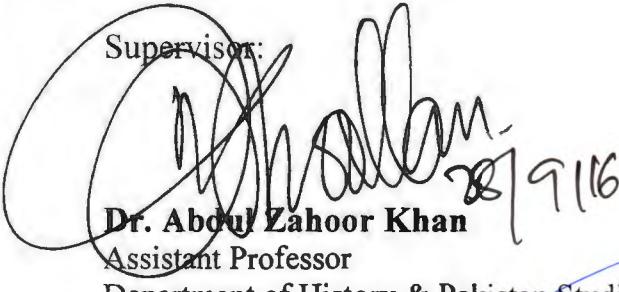
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## CERTIFICATION

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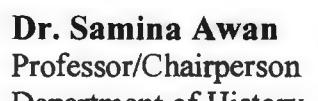
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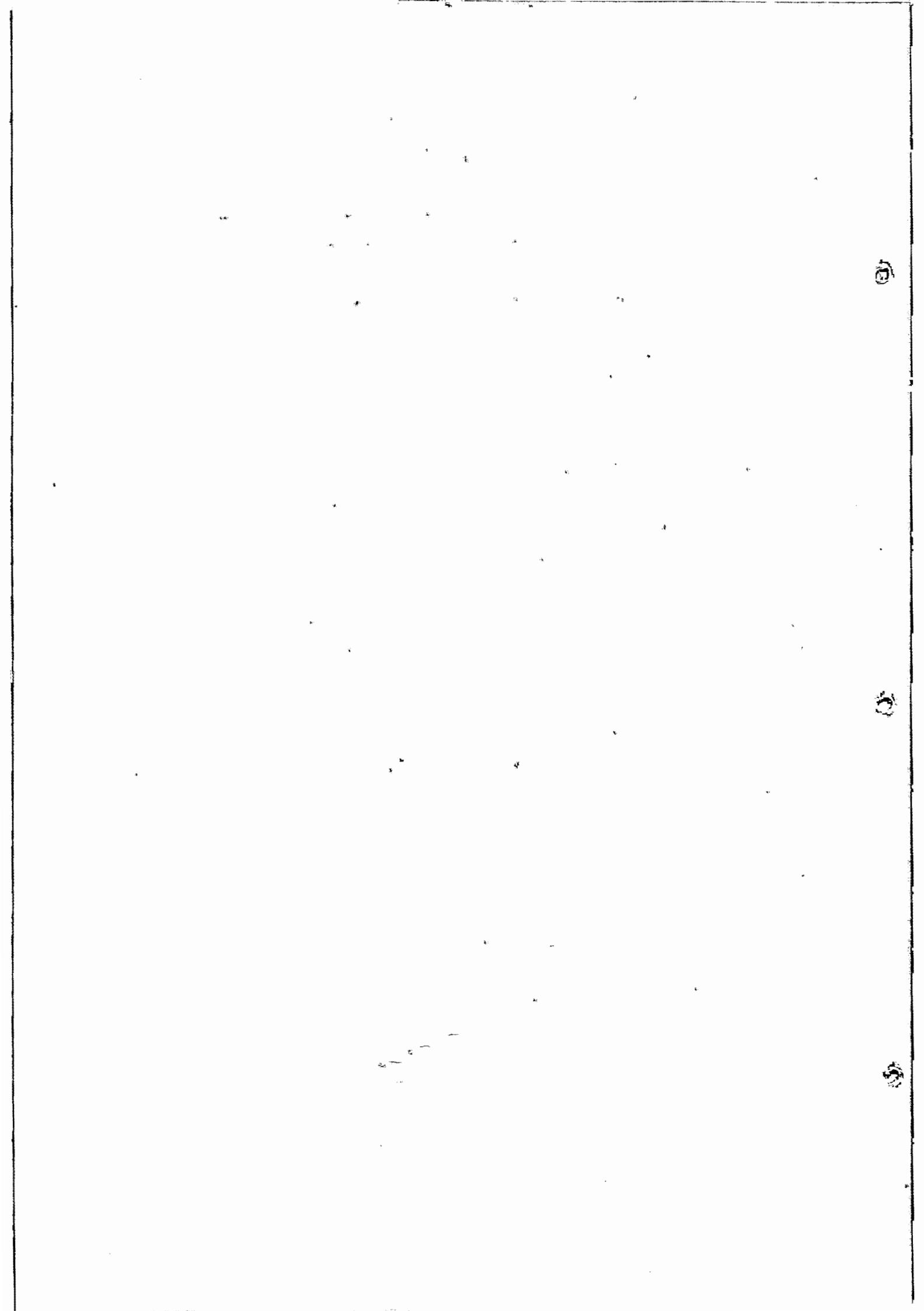
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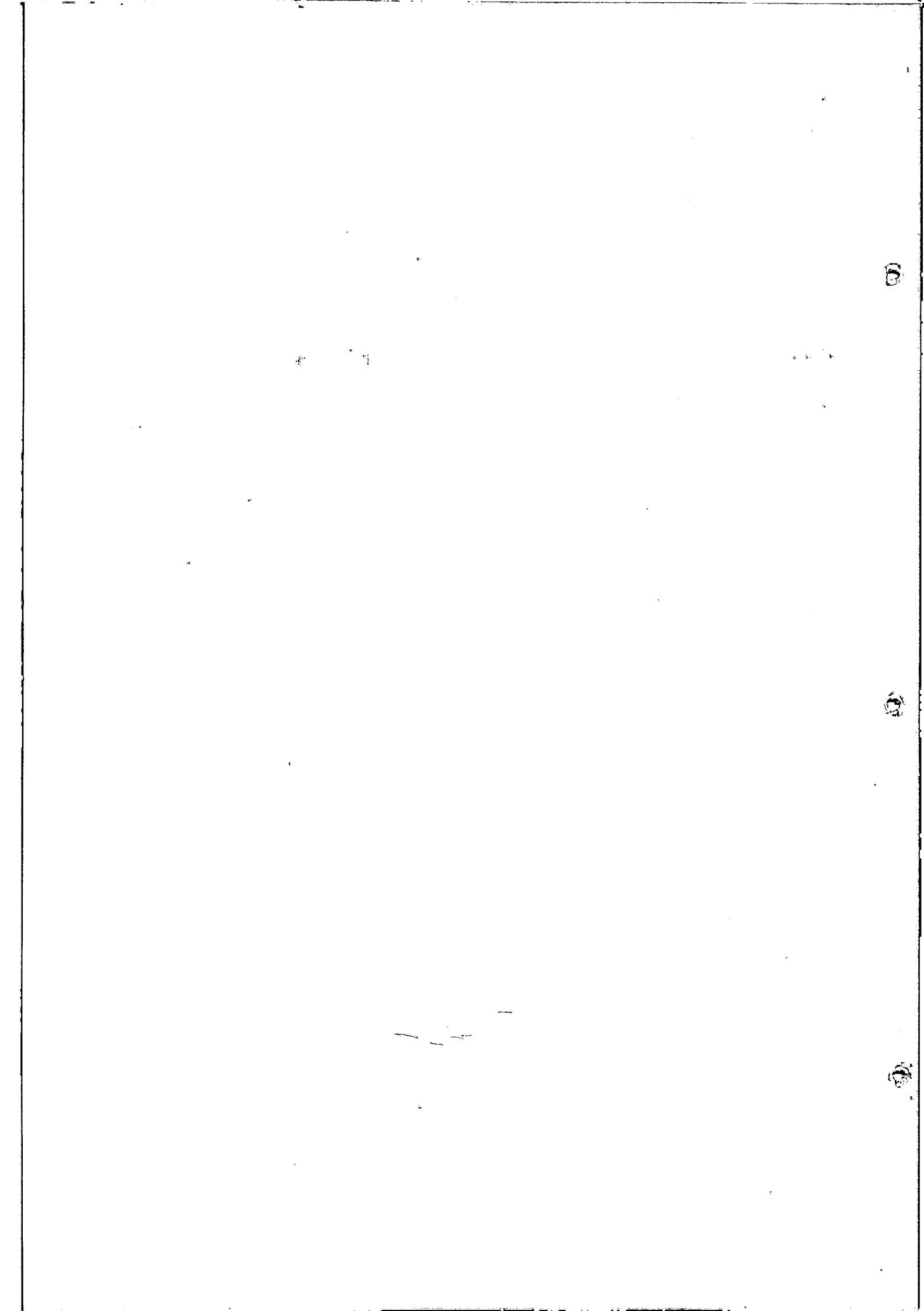
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Abdul Waheed

## **List of Abbreviations**

<b>ATA</b>	Anti-Terrorism Act
<b>BLA</b>	Baluchistan Liberation Army
<b>CARs</b>	Central Asian Republics
<b>CBI</b>	Central Bureau of Investigation
<b>CENTCOM</b>	Central Command
<b>CENTO</b>	Central Treaty Organization
<b>CIA</b>	Central Intelligence Agency
<b>CPC</b>	Communist Party of China
<b>CPEC</b>	China-Pakistan Economic Corridor
<b>ETIM</b>	East Turkestan Islamic Movement
<b>ETIP</b>	East Turkestan Islamic Party
<b>FATA</b>	Federally Administered Tribal Areas
<b>FBI</b>	Federal Bureau of Investigation
<b>FTA</b>	Free Trade Agreement
<b>HIT</b>	Heavy Industries Taxila
<b>IMU</b>	Islamic Movement of Uzbekistan
<b>ISI</b>	Inter-Services Intelligence
<b>ISIS</b>	Islamic State of Iraq and Syria
<b>ISPR</b>	Inter Services Public Relations

JUD	Jamaat-ud-Dawah
KKH	Karakoram Highway
KPK	Khyber Pakhtun Khwa
LeJ	Lashkar-e-Jhangvi
LTTE	Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam
NATO	North Atlantic Treaty Organization
NSG	Nuclear Supplier Group
NWO	New World Order
PLA	People's Liberation Army
PRC	People's Republic of China
RAW	Research and Analysis Wing
PSA	Port of Singapore Authority
RSM	Rajah Sulaiman Movement
SCO	Shanghai Cooperation Organization
SEATO	South East Asian Treaty Organization
SSG	Special Service Group
TIM	Turkistan Islamic Movement
TIP	Turkistan Islamic Party
TTP	Tehrik-i-taliban Pakistan
XUAR	Xinjiang Uighur Autonomous Region

UAE	United Arab Emirates
UK	United Kingdom
UNDP	United Nation Development Fund
USA	United States of America
USSR	Union of Soviet Socialist Republics
WUC	World Uyghur Congress
ZTE	Zhongxing New Telecommunications Equipment Co., Ltd

## Glossary

<b>Alliance</b>	A relationship based on similarity of interests, nature, or qualities, usually between states.
<b>Cold War</b>	A state of political hostility between countries characterized by threats, propaganda, and other measures short of open warfare, in particular
<b>Conflict</b>	A serious disagreement or argument, typically a protracted one.
<b>Foreign Policy</b>	A government's strategy in dealing with other nations.
<b>Proxy War</b>	A war instigated by a major power which does not itself become involved openly.
<b>Region</b>	An area, especially part of a country or the world having definable characteristics but not always fixed boundaries
<b>Strategic</b>	Relating to the gaining of overall or long-term military advantage.

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## ABSTRACT

With the departure of USSR from Afghanistan and later on, her disintegration paved the way for new world order. The cold war ended and new challenges surfaced for the world, our region is no exception. It left deep impact upon bilateral relations of the states. After the incident of 9/11, USA's invasion of Afghanistan paved the way for another phase of violence in the region. It instigated the waves of extremism, separatism and terrorism in the region. In this backdrop, this study is based on finding facts about the reasons of irritation in the relations of Pakistan and China in the post-cold war era. It would also study the impact these irritants for both states and how these two countries found ways to maintain bilateral relations amicably. As in later years after 2001, Pakistan and China have taken many measures which were aiming to keep the best level of relations as these existed before the start of above said issues i.e. terrorism, separatism and extremism. It concludes that both countries were successful in escaping long-term impacts from the activities of the terrorists, extremists and separatists present in the region as well as in both the states. Both, Pakistan and China focused more on economic side of relationship and also developed strategic partnership to cope with the menace of separatism, terrorism and extremism. Future of bilateral relations between China and Pakistan looks even more positive and brighter.

# **INTRODUCTION**

The cold-war lasted for almost half of the twentieth century. It remained a fundamental factor in altering the course of bilateral relations across the world. The world entered in the phase of new world order and USA emerged as the global power. USSR shattered and CARs appeared on world map as independent states. It led to the fading of power structure at global level which created many radical and violent groups with diverse programs and philosophies. These groups even started to challenge the authority of the states. Gradually, they started to threaten the world peace at large. It created many new issues and challenges. These issues most prominently include the terrorism, extremism and separatism. Later on, these issues started to produce very critical and crucial outcomes across the globe. Even states were forced to reorient their long standing polices and frame new agendas.

The end of cold war also left deep impact upon the mutual relations of Pakistan and China. An upsurge of terrorism, extremism and separatism started to appear in the region. Its pinnacle was the occurrence of 9/11 in USA, which shaken the world at large. As a result of this happening, this part of Asia again went through an upsetting phase. It generated the challenges of terrorism, extremism and separatism for Pakistan as well. China was also concerned by the changing situation in the region. It too seriously impacted the bilateral relations of Pakistan and China. So, due to emergence of new elements in regional and international politics, Pakistan's international relations have also gone through transition.

After the cold war, this part of Asia went through a phase of volatility and instability. It left the deep impact upon the bilateral relations of the states. Afterwards, the incident of 9/11 proved a fatal blow for the peace and stability of the world and this region in particular. It was a horrific event in the history of modern world. These events promoted terrorist, extremist and separatist tendencies in the region. The world affairs became complicated afterwards and later when the USA decided to invade Afghanistan, there was no power in the world to oppose the idea. It created a complex and confusing situation for many nations in the region and beyond. Although, China was sympathetic with loss of lives but was also concerned about US military buildup in the region. Even later there surfaced a strategic theory of "encircling China" which put Chinese government in more apprehensions.

Pakistan-China bond is unique in many ways in the modern history of state-to-state relations. The friendly relationship has been pronounced over the years by the leaderships of the two countries as all-weather; time-tested; deep-rooted; trusted; deeper than the oceans and higher than the Himalayas; sweeter than honey; and lately, as comprehensive; strategic and stronger than steel. These expressions are not simple slogans but truly reflect the strength, depth and maturity of the relationship constructed over the years.

Pakistan and China relations start to face trial when a phase of violence started in the region. It also influenced the separatist movement in Xinjiang where Chinese Muslims were struggling for separate homeland under the name of East Turkestan Islamic Movement (ETIM) since decades. The instability and violence increased in the region after USA's attack on Afghanistan. The violent elements found new strategic support in the areas of Afghanistan, Tajikistan, Kyrgyzstan and some parts of Pakistani tribal areas. Presence of ETIM fighters in Pakistan's tribal areas and their continuous deadly attacks within China led to some strains in the good relations of the Pakistan and China. Chinese were already having some concerns over Pakistan's support to the USA's invasion of Afghanistan and her long term presence in the region. An additional element was safety and security of Chinese citizens inside Pakistan which also created strains in the mutual relations.

In this backdrop, predictions started to come that bilateral ties between Pakistan-China are going to worsen. The observers are of the view that the issues of terrorism, religious extremism and China's growing economic equities with India may be affecting its relationship with Pakistan. However, at the same time, Terrorism and India is also a strong wedge in Pakistan-China relations. So, it is very interesting contrast. The forces of terrorism, extremism and separatism represent not only internal threats to peace, security and prosperity of the two countries; they also tend to undermine their long established close friendship and strategic cooperation. Therefore, it is a shared concern of both states to keep these relations intact.

In this context, it would be very interesting and in-depth study to analyze the Pakistan-China relations in the post-cold war era and scenario emerged with the addition of terrorism, extremism and separatism in the region. As a whole, the thesis would be organized in four chapters besides introduction and conclusion. First chapter would review the end of cold war, its implications and changing dynamics of Pakistan-China relations after cold war. Second chapter would highlight

the implications of terrorism, extremism and separatism for Pakistan and China in the post-cold war era. Third chapter will identify irritants emerging in Pakistan-China relations due to terrorism, extremism and separatism after cold war and Fourth chapter would focus on the important policy measures taken by both the governments to counter the menace of terrorism, extremism and separatism. At the end, conclusion is placed which is addressing all the research questions one by one.

## **Chapter One**

# **Dynamics of Pakistan-China Relations in the Changing World**

# 1 Dynamics of Pakistan-China Relations in the Changing World

## 1.1 Background

History is witness that Pakistan became third non-communist, second Commonwealth and first Muslim country to extend official recognition to the under pressure and isolated Communist China in January 1950 after China's liberation. According to Swaran Singh "That was the period when China really needed Pakistan more than the other way round and between 1947-53, Pakistan really warmed up to Chinese diplomacy."(Singh, 2007) In the early days of China, the country formed an alliance with former Soviet Union to fight hostility, isolation and blockade by the United States with a "turning to one side" strategy.(Zaki,2010) However, later on, it proved useless alliance and hostility started between them.

Sino-Indian hostility and Pakistan's disappointment from Western allies created a favourable climate and convergence of interests for China and Pakistan to come together.(Zaki,2010) At present, Pakistan is important trade partner of China. Now, Pakistan is the largest buyer of China's arm industry by making it as high as 34% also is one of the closest partners to China in many fields. (Singh R. S., 2008)<sup>1</sup> A population of 200 million with its strategic location and nuclear status, Pakistan is very important in Chinese foreign relations. Pakistan was one of the countries which accepted China's socialist government in 1949. Later Pakistan and China developed strong working relations as good neighbors. (Jing, 2011)<sup>2</sup> Pakistan looks towards China as trustworthy ally for support in technology and economy, while China takes Pakistan as one of best foreign market and corridor to South waters via Gawader. (Jamal Afridi, 2010)<sup>3</sup> At present, there is much progress and stability in the relationships of Pakistan and China. Now, these relations have got maturity. It was in August 1968 when Mao was presented with mangos by Pakistani delegation. Mao did not eat those mangos but gave these to a group of peasant-workers. This led to massive cultural campaign in China with aspiration and vision that,

<sup>1</sup> Singh, R. S. (2008). The Military Factor in Pakistan. New Delhi: Lancer Publishers, p10-23.

<sup>2</sup> Jing, M. Y. (2011). Forum held to mark 60 years of Sino-Pakistani ties. China.org.cn.

<sup>3</sup> Jamal Afridi, a. J. (2010). China-Pakistan Relations. Washington, DC: Council on Foreign Relations. p88-93

"The inscription reads 'Respect and Wishes to Chairman Mao for a Long Life, Commemorate Great Leader Chairman Mao who gave this cherished gift - Mango - to Capital Workers Peasant Mao Tse-tung Thought Propaganda Team". (Jong, 1994)<sup>4</sup>

Thus Pakistan also left impact on the Chinese Cultural revolution. This friendship between Pakistan and China was further improved when Pakistan supported China's right to permanent Security Council membership and also mediated detente between China and USA by providing corridor when Hennery Kissinger visited China in July 1971. (McMahon, 2013) <sup>5</sup>

## 1.2 The Cold War

At the end of Second World War, world saw start of new proxy war between two great powers of time USSR and USA which is called cold war. It divided most of the world into two blocs i.e. socialist and capitalist. The socialist bloc was led by USSR, while USA was leading the capitalist bloc. The cold war lasted for almost half of the century. Though, as reflected by the term itself, the actual and direct war did not happened between USSR and US. However, a constant tension was prevailing across the continents. During this period, confrontation did occur in the areas of diplomacy, economy and in the war fields outside their lands.

As stated by Plano and Olton (1998)

"The extreme state of tension and hostility that developed between the Western powers and the communist bloc of Eastern Europe after World War two. The Cold War period has been characterized by political maneuvering, diplomatic wrangling, psychological warfare, ideological hostility, economic warfare, a major arms race, peripheral wars and other power contests falling short of an all-out hot war. The Cold War was an inevitable development in the complex postwar period of defeated and divided states, power vacuums, ideological rivalry, massive reconstruction programs, atomic weapons, and the political and power rivalry of two emerging superpowers."

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<sup>4</sup> Mao-mangoes.php. (2014, April 24). Retrieved August 12, 2014, from <http://chinesepposters.net>: <http://chinesepposters.net/themes/mao-mangoes.php>

<sup>5</sup> McMahon, R. J. (2013). The Cold War on the Periphery: The United States, India, and Pakistan. Columbia DC: Columbia University Press, p2-6.

The extreme rivalry between two disagreeing economic and political ideologies — Western Liberalism and Communism — had divided the world precisely into two halves. Both Super Powers at Moscow and Washington saw this conflict as later President George W. Bush stated addressing to world nation at brink of War on Terror after 9/11 while addressing to US parliament this doctrine later was known as Bush doctrine of either you are with us or against us. As mentioned by PBS.com

“Twenty months into his presidency, George W. Bush releases his administration's National Security Strategy (NSS). It is the first time that the various elements of the Bush Doctrine have been formally articulated in one place. The 33-page document presents a bold and comprehensive reformulation of U.S. foreign policy. It outlines a new and muscular American posture in the world -- a posture that will rely on preemption to deal with rogue states and terrorists harboring weapons of mass destruction. It states that America will exploit its military and economic power to encourage "free and open societies." It states for the first time that the U.S. will never allow its military supremacy to be challenged as it was during the Cold War. And the NSS insists that when America's vital interests are at stake, it will act alone, if necessary.”

This was efficient way to distinguish America's friends from its foes after 9/11 tragedy. According to Shahid Javeed Burki in his article, “The same approach was used in the years of the cold war.” (Burki, 2003)

The Cold War made both courtiers to see greater relationship and trust for better security when Soviets and Americans were expanding their influences. USA and USSR inclination towards India helped both nations to develop stronger relationship and trust. Pakistan on one side looked towards USA by joining CENTO and SEATO, without having got its relations with China disturbed. (Jong, 1994)<sup>6</sup> Indian factor played decisive role in Pak-China relations due to Indian involvement in disputes like Kashmir 1948, Tibet 1950 and Jammu 1962 areas. After Soviet Union, Pakistan became second close ally to China and Sino-Soviet Split in 1959 gave more importance to these relations. Further developments come after Sino-Indian War, as USSR supported India in 1962. China also helped Pakistan in most critical times of its existence like 1965 and 1971 Wars with India. In the beginning, China was in favor of more friendly relations

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<sup>6</sup> Jong, A. d. (Summer 1994). The Strange Story of Chairman Mao's Wonderful Gift", Reminiscences and Ruminations - China Information external link Anniversary Supplement. China Information.

with all Asian states on the bases of equality and impartiality in any conflict between two Asian states. Yet the concept of "Panch Sheela" Five Principles of mutual relationship was shattered when India and China started cold war over Tibet issue in which Indian government was supporting Dalai Lama and Tibetans against China after 1959. (Anwar, 2006)<sup>7</sup>

Dispute over McMahon line leading to Sinkiang in 1962 brought more bitterness in these relations between India and China. Even India accused Pakistan for violation of Tashkent declaration under Chinese pressure. (Chitkara, 1996)<sup>8</sup> In 1963, Pakistan let go the Trans-Karakoram Tract to China and ended a border disputes. China remained greater supporter of Pakistan during Afghan invasion by Soviet forces. In 1978, Karakoram Highway which links Northern Pakistan to Western China was officially opened. China also supported Pakistan in its support for Afghan Guerrilla struggle against Soviet Union. In 1986, China and Pakistan made a comprehensive nuclear co-operation agreement which helped Pakistan to advance its nuclear missile system and develop warheads with the help of China. (MacDonald, 2015)<sup>9</sup> This successful relationship has many major milestones in other fields like economy, industry and communication etc.

### **1.3 The End of Cold War**

"Collapse of Communism in Eastern Europe and the disintegration of the Soviet Union happened at a breath-taking pace in the two year period between 1989 and 1991. This process began with the pullout of the Soviet troops from Afghanistan in January 1989 and culminated with the formal break-up of the Soviet empire two years later" (Burki, 2003)

However, after the End of Cold War in 1989 and Soviet withdrawal from Afghanistan led to the new era of relationship between Pakistan and China. This time start of this era was with new military, business and cultural agreements and projects between two nations like China became third largest economic partner of Pakistan along with largest military supplier. (Anwar, 2006)<sup>10</sup> Pakistan also helped China in its growing relations with Muslim world. At the end of the Cold War, Pakistan started to face immense economic pressure as due to Pressler Amendment in 1990

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<sup>7</sup> Anwar, M. (2006). *Friends Near Home: Pakistan's Strategic Security Options*. Bloomington: AuthorHouse, p23-25.

<sup>8</sup> Chitkara, M. G. (1996). *Nuclear Pakistan*. New Delhi: APII Publishing, p14.

<sup>9</sup> Ibid, p 65-72

<sup>10</sup> Ibid, p 23-25

by USA stopped Pakistan's military and economic aid which made her to look more towards China to fill this gap. Chinese helped Pakistan building Chashma Nuclear Power Complex. (Iqbal, 2014)<sup>11</sup> Both countries were looking more at political and economic situations as USA was claiming to be sole super power of world and its interests focused at Middle East and Central Asia which are very close regions to both of the countries. The disintegration of USSR created new situation and a power vacuum in the area. Both the states realized if they would not put sufficient influence in the area or show their visibility in regional politics, any other power especially USA would take the advantage. Still more historical events were supposed to come ahead which changed the political, military and economic dynamics of the region, even it went far beyond to Middle East and North West Africa as a ripple effect. This later wave of events was yet to unfold and decide new twists and turns in both of the countries relationships.

According to Huntington (1997) in his book *The Clash of Civilization and the remaking of World Order*, "The collapse of communism in the Soviet Union, its sever modification in China, and the failure of socialist economies to achieve sustained development have now created an ideological vacuum. The end of the Cold War has not ended conflict but has rather given rise to new identities rooted in culture and to new patterns of conflict among groups from different cultures which at broadest level are civilizations. Simultaneously, common culture also encourages cooperation among states and groups which share that culture, which can be seen in the emerging patterns of regional association among countries, particularly in the economic area."

It can be stated that during this long cold war between the United States and the Soviet Union, there was a good balance of terror, which in other words was clear to both sides that they are at risk of nuclear destruction because both sides had reached efficient capability of nuclear weapons. Both sides knew that, if the other started a war by using nuclear weapon, their side was in a position to respond effectively and that therefore, the principal result would be mutual destruction. (Wallerstein, 2004).

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<sup>11</sup> Ibid, p63

#### **1.4 Post-cold War Era**

These relations on apparent level remained good but Pakistan's support for Taliban government which was providing sanctuary to Uyghur separatist in Western China brought bitterness in relations. China protested on many occasions to Pakistan and even informed Pakistani leadership that northern Pakistan was being used for training facilities by Uyghur separatist of Sinkiang Province in China. This was 2002 when China captured 22 Uyghur crossing Pakistani border areas into China for terrorist activities. (Mishra, 2004)<sup>12</sup> Similarly three Chinese engineers working in Gawader were killed in May 2004. In other incidents, many Chinese workers and engineers were kidnapped or killed by BLA in Baluchistan. Even China blamed that Hasan Mahsum, head of the Turkestan Islamic Party (TIP), was operating from Pakistan in China as the principal anti-China terrorist organization in Xinjiang. In 2004, attack and killing of Chinese engineers from China Harbor Engineering Company happened in Gawader, though that time president of Pakistan Pervez Mushraf condemned it and also other political leaders did the same in Pakistan. China Pakistan signed anti-terror cooperation agreement in 2005 to overcome this new negative development which was creating constraint over good relationships of decades. After the start of War on Terror, both countries entered into new phase of relationship which starts drifting from an old friendship and cooperation.

According to Maleeha Lodhi, "Pakistan's participation in the anti-Soviet Afghan war contributed directly to the rise of religious extremism, sectarianism, violence and terrorism in Pakistan."(Lodhi, 2011)

#### **1.5 End of Cold war and Natural Corollary**

The Post-Cold War era brought new developments in the world, fall of Berlin wall gave United Germany new economic and political dimension, Yugoslavia faced tense period of centuries' old balkanization in this part of East Europe and even had to face war. African countries started emerging from local conflicts, South Africa saw start of new democratic era under Nelson Mandela. South American countries start overcoming internal and regional conflicts. Brazil was ready to take new economic flight; India and China also gain growth in this period. Europe developed more cohesive regional bloc with greater economic sharing and dependence to all

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<sup>12</sup> Mishra, K. (2004). *Rapprochement Across the Himalayas: Emerging India-China Relations Post Cold War Period (1947-2003)*. New Delhi: Gyan Publishing House, p78.

European citizens. USSR was shattered into history and new economically trembling Russia was successor of that USSR along with CARs having been confused and in keeping alive their identity among communism, Islam and democracy. (MacDonald, 2015)<sup>13</sup> World saw internet growth and word "e" caught mushroom effect as e-commerce, e-trade, e-business with amazing use of email phenomenon. It was assumed the new era under leadership of United States will bring end to major conflicts in the world and democracy will flourish. Countries like China and Pakistan were getting ready to accommodate more liberal, modern, western and democratic rules in their societies. Civil liberties were favorite cake from TV talk shows to NEWS, universities, human right organizations, along with development of UNDP as a symbol to spread benefits of democracy and freedom around the globe. Human development index came as new tool to gage the development of the countries in late 1990s. The World started a new move towards democracy, freedom, human rights and development. There was more to come which was going to change world development direction to new and different phase.

Here it is relevant to talk about that the end of the Cold War and more important to talk about post 9/11 situation which has changed the contours of international political system. Under this new development and considering new fast changing international system Dr. Sudhir Singh (2009) said, "Many foes have turned as friends and vice-versa."

## **1.6 After Cold War**

According to Mehrunnisa Ali, (2013)

"During and after the cold war, the basis of Pakistan's foreign policy has been its security concerns. The major focus of Pakistan's interaction with the international community has been security against internal and external challenges to its national identity, territorial integrity and independence."

The relations with China remained cornerstone of Pakistan's foreign policy. Sino-Pak relations have seen new heights in the period from 1988 with restoration of democracy in Pakistan which brought leftists Pakistan People's Party into power. Pakistan People's Party was ideologically more close to China government compare to any other single

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<sup>13</sup> Ibid, p78-80

political party in Pakistan. Under Benazir Bhutto Pakistan tried to keep a balance between her relationship with China and US. (Anwar, 2006)<sup>14</sup>

The frequent and close interaction at various levels reflected the strength and the priority attached by the two governments to their relations. Consequently, the relations gained new vitality and substance. (Pakistan Affairs, 1999) Here are some glimpses of Pakistan-China relations after cold war:-

1996 – Chinese President Jiang Zemin's state visit to Pakistan.

1999 – 300-megawatt nuclear power plant in Chashma was completed.

2001 – China-Pakistan manufactured a new tank, the MBT-2000 Al-Khalid.<sup>15</sup>

2002 – Chinese investors start building of a Southern corridor sea port of Gwadar.

2003 – Plan for Housing project in Lahore signed with China worth \$110 million.

2007 – Sino-Pakistan joint-ventured multirole fighter jet – the JF-17 Thunder (FC-1 Fierce Dragon) formally rolled out.

2008 – China and Pakistan signed a free trade agreement.

2008 – Pakistan and China plan to build a railway road along with Karakoram Highway, to link China with Gwadar Port by rail.

2008 – The F-22P frigate arrived Pakistan to serve in Pakistan Navy. (Dumbaugh, 2010)<sup>16</sup>

2009 – The ISI crackdown on suspected Uyghur terrorists inside Pakistan.

2010 – Joint anti-terrorism exercises between Pakistan and China were conducted.

2010 – Chinese assistance of \$260 million for flood affected areas in Pakistan.

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<sup>14</sup> Ibid, p37-39

<sup>15</sup> Al-khalid is a variant of T-54 series Soviet tanks with qualities of 90-II battle tank; it is hybrid tank produced by Pakistani locally with help of Chinese.

<sup>16</sup> Dumbaugh, K. B. (2010). Exploring the China-Pakistan Relationship. Alexandria: China Security Affairs Group.

2010 – Wen Jiabao, the prime minister of China came to Pakistan and many projects worth around \$30 billion ‘were signed.

2013 - Chinese Overseas Port Holdings took the management control of Gwadar-port from Singapore’s PSA International.

2013 – Chinese Premier’s (Li Keqiang) undertaken state visit to Pakistan. Trade between two countries reached as high as \$12 billion for the first time.

2013 – On 5th July, 2013, Pakistan and China approved the Pak-China Economic corridor linking Gwadar Port to Kashgar in Xinjiang. Project estimated \$18 billion with its length of 200 Km long tunnels.

2013 – On 24th December, 2013, China announced to construct a mega Nuclear Energy project with capacity of 1100 megawatts with amount estimated as \$6.5 billion.

2014: Chinese Premier announced investment total \$31.5 billion in Pakistan for coming years along with construction of motorway from Lahore to Karachi and coal project in Thar.

2014: On 22nd May, 2014 metro train project signed by countries to build city railway system in Lahore.

## **1.7 Three Evils—Terrorism, Extremism and Separatism**

(Definition and Explanation)

### **1.7.1 Terrorism**

World Uyghur Congress (WUC)<sup>17</sup>, which China alleges instigated the riots, is closely associated with the East Turkestan Islamic Movement (ETIM)<sup>18</sup>, a separatist group that has been labeled by the UN Security Council as well as the Chinese and US governments a terrorist organization. It undertook many deadly activities of terrorism inside China. If we look at the definition of

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<sup>17</sup> According to <http://www.uyghurcongress.org> WUC is an international organization that represents the Uyghur people both in East Turkestan and abroad.

<sup>18</sup> Council of foreign Relation US states The East Turkestan Islamic Movement (ETIM) is a Muslim separatist group founded by militant Uighurs, members of the Turkic-speaking ethnic majority in northwest China's Xinjiang province.

terrorism, it matches the features to be labeled as terrorist organization. According, to the definition by [dictioanry.com](http://dictionary.reference.com/browse/terrorism) terrorism is, "the use of violence and threats to intimidate or coerce, especially for political purposes."<sup>19</sup>

While oxford online dictionary defines terrorism as, "The unofficial or unauthorized use of violence and intimidation in the pursuit of political aims: the fight against terrorism" (Oxford University, 2014)<sup>20</sup>

US official popular definition of terrorism is, "act of terrorism" means an activity that:-

- (A) involves in a violent act or an act dangerous to human life that is a violation of the criminal laws of the United States or any State, or that would be a criminal violation if committed within the jurisdiction of the United States or of any State; and
- (B) Appears to be intended (i) to intimidate or coerce a civilian population; (ii) to influence the policy of a government by intimidation or coercion; or (iii) to affect the conduct of a government by assassination or kidnapping." (United States Code Congressional and Administrative, 1984)<sup>21</sup>

As explained by Plano and Olton, (1998)

In modern times term got more popular use after attack on World Trade Centre's twin towers and Pentagon building in Washington DC and many other events which appeared as revenge for War on terror. War on Terror was started by USA and its allies against Al-Qaeda, Taliban, Saddam Government in Iraq and now ISIS<sup>22</sup> in Iraq and Syria by Muslim extreme groups. So far since 2001 Attack on World Trade Centre and Pentagon more than one and half million people killed in many countries around the world mostly in Afghanistan, Iraq and Pakistan. This war as was expected due to many technical and a theoretical flaw is war without an identified enemy and

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<sup>19</sup> Dictionary.com. (2014). terrorism. Retrieved October 23, 2014, from <http://dictionary.reference.com/browse/terrorism>

<sup>20</sup> Oxford University, P. (2014). definition/english/terrorism. Retrieved October 23, 2014, from <http://www.oxforddictionaries.com>: <http://www.oxforddictionaries.com/definition/english/terrorism>

<sup>21</sup> United States Code Congressional and Administrative, n. (1984, October 19). United States Code Congressional and Administrative News, 98th Congress, Second Session, 1984, Oct. 19, volume 2; par. 3077, 98 STAT. 2707 (West Publishing Co., 1984). United States Code Congressional and Administrative News, 98th Congress, Second Session, 1984 . Washington DC, Washington DC, District Columbia: West Publishing Co., 1984.

<sup>22</sup> Islamic State of Syria and Iraq is declared terrorist organization by many countries and it is holding part of Iraq and Syria as its state since 2011.

without time frame. In China and Pakistan many groups linked to Al-Qaeda are fighting with local governments and also using territory of each country as sanctuary for training and other purposes.

There is no one such definition which is agreed upon by all. After going through above discussion, terrorism may be defined as “the intended use of violence or the threat of violence to create fear; anticipated to coerce or to intimidate governments or societies in the pursuit of goals that are generally political, economic, religious, or ideological.”

### 1.7.2 Extremism

Extremism or radicalism is defined by Merriam-Webster dictionary as:-

“Belief in and support for ideas that are very far from, what most people consider correct or reasonable”. (Merriam-Webster, 2014)<sup>23</sup>

WUC and ETIM both are called extremist groups by Chinese media and government. Uyghur also fighting for an independent Turkestan but they have been alleged for their affiliation with Al-Qaeda in Pakistan and Afghanistan. Many times both governments arrested and killed the members of these terrorists groups. These groups neither consider any truce with Pakistani government nor with Chinese government. On the other side, China also announced ban on veil (hijab) and ban on beard which igniting more extremism in China and Pakistan as Pakistani Taliban and Al-Qaeda consider Pakistan very close ally of China. There is one of the world highest mountain ranges on Pak-China border, which make it natural sanctuaries for terrorists and extremists to establish their hideouts in some areas joining to Pakistan-China borders. Pakistan also identifies many groups in its territory as extremists like Jindullah<sup>24</sup>, BLA<sup>25</sup>, LeJ<sup>26</sup> and others which are also linked to groups in China which create trouble over there.

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<sup>23</sup> Merriam-Webster. (2014). extremism. Retrieved October 23, 2014, from <http://www.merriam-webster.com: http://www.merriam-webster.com/dictionary/extremism>

<sup>24</sup> Jindullah is group fighting Iran and Pakistan armies in area bordering Iran and Pakistan for its independent homeland.

<sup>25</sup> Baluchistan Liberation Army is group consisting of many tribes in Baluchistan province of Pakistan which are fighting for independent Baluchistan from Pakistan.

<sup>26</sup> Lashkar-e-Jhangvi is band militant group in Pakistan which is involved in sectarian killing and is also at terrorists list by USA.

### 1.7.3 Separatism

Vocabulary.com defines separatism as:- "A disposition toward schism and secession from a larger group; the principles and practices of separatist." (vocabulary.com, 2014)<sup>27</sup>

This separatism phenomenon can be based on certain ethnic identification in which a separatist group identifies itself separate from rest of main population and demands autonomy or independence from mainland. Pakistan and China are facing such separatist movements. In Pakistan, Baluchistan independence movement is major movement in recent times which is also using insurgency to fulfill its aims. (Butt, 2007)<sup>28</sup> This insurgency and separatist movement is led by Baluchistan Liberation Army or BLA. While in China there are many such movements along with popular Tibetan and East Turkestan Islamic Movement (ETIM). ETIM supporters want to create an independent Muslim area in China's Uyghur majority region. Further in Pakistan, many incidents happened when Separatist in Baluchistan kidnapped or killed Chinese engineers. This puts constraints on relationship between two friendly states.

## 1.8 Summary of Introduction

Above discussion reveals that Pakistan and China enjoyed good relations in the past. Both appeared in their modern form as independent states almost in the similar era of world history. Both have strategic and economic importance as China being the world's largest economy and Pakistan as one of the major Muslim population and its central position in Islamic world. Both countries enjoyed good relationships in most part of their engagements. Pakistan was one of the early countries which recognized socialist Chinese government as legitimate Chinese government. This cooperation is multilevel and developing strong with passage of time. (Anwar, 2006)<sup>29</sup> "The forces of terrorism, extremism and separatism represent not only internal threats to peace, security and prosperity of the two countries; they also tend to undermine their long established close friendship and strategic cooperation." (Khan, 2013)

The only matter of concern appeared in three forms, one is Global phenomenon of Muslim extremist groups like Al-Qaeda or any group that is linked to Al-Qaeda, while other factor is

<sup>27</sup> vocabulary.com. (2014). dictionary/separatism. Retrieved October 23, 2014, from <http://www.vocabulary.com: http://www.vocabulary.com/dictionary/separatism>

<sup>28</sup> Ibid, p67-68

<sup>29</sup> Ibid, p126-129

attacks on Chinese engineers and workers inside Pakistan and third is related to execution of Muslim population in the area of Uyghur by Chinese security forces as they are fighting with Muslim separatists. These issues of terrorism, extremism and separatism are leading towards some strains in relationship between two states. China supports and appreciates Pakistan's efforts to fight terrorism; and has provided assistance to help Pakistan in its war against militancy. This help has been in the form of diplomatic, economic and military support. (Khan, 2013)

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**IMPLICATIONS OF TERRORISM,  
EXTREMISM AND SEPARATISM FOR  
PAK-CHINA RELATIONS**

## **2 Implications of terrorism, extremism and separatism for Pak-China relations**

### **2.1 Pre-9/11 Era and Region**

The important phase of communist fall in Poland and Germany gave more moral and military support to Afghan war in mid-1980s which local freedom fighters or Mujahedeen<sup>30</sup> were fighting with one of world's declining super power of time along with inclusion of many Arab and non-Arab young Muslims who were brought there from around the corners of Africa, Arab countries and rest of world by many world agencies. After 1970 in this region some important conflicts emerged like in Iran, USA embassy's take over by Iranian revolutionaries<sup>31</sup>, Conflict turned into freedom fight in Indian held Kashmir, and while on the near west side of region, Iran-Iraq war broke out which was also having element of proxy between western democracies and Russian led communist world. Similarly, China has Xinjiang, Tibet and Inner Mongolia separation issues while Pakistan is facing same issue in Baluchistan.

On the other hand, India has many liberation and separation movements including Assam, Bodoland, Dravida Nadu, Kashmir, Khalistan, Nagaland and Tripura, While in Nepal is Madhesi movement. Region experienced growing unrest, poverty and West supported trend of Jihad in Afghanistan which mesmerized many Muslim young men who were impressed either from Jihad concept or from action movies and wanted to taste same adventure in real life. A new culture in Muslim world was promoted by local rulers, rich business classes and world agencies in the name of Jihad in Afghanistan. Most important fact is that China was part of this alliance against Soviets in Afghanistan and even two enemies of USA i.e. Iran and China both supported in logistics for Ahmad Shah Masood and other freedom fighter or holy warriors in Afghanistan.

Majority of the governments including China never calculated the fall of Soviets empire and further radicalization of Muslim youth can one day burn their own streets and can bring serious psychological and life situation for their own people which was collective failure of whole civilized world. Thus in 1990s, this Jihadist culture was promoted by many Arab investors who invested their money in promotion of Jihadist groups' and most prominent among them was led by Arab Billionaire and CIA trained Osama Bin Laden. Osama group was called Al-Qaeda and

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<sup>30</sup> This was name given by USA propaganda experts to win sympathy and recruit free fighters for this proxy in Afghanistan when they start writing about Afghan resistance in Washington post and New York Times in 1980es.

<sup>31</sup> This event is one of bitter episode which strained US-Iran relations since 1979.

spread in Africa, Middle East, Pakistan and beyond in many Muslim and non-Muslim countries. Many sleeping cells were later exposed in many Western and Eastern countries. These militant elements also developed their hideouts in some parts of Pakistan.

For one reason or other, Pakistani agencies and other agencies of world totally failed to identify the growth of Al-Qaeda's influence over Muslim youth from USA to Africa including Europe, China and beyond. Later, these groups which were in their infancy find a favorable place in Afghanistan under newly emerged power backed by Pakistan, Saudi Arab, Qatar and partially by USA which later was called Taliban.

Taliban established self-claimed Islamic state under the leadership of Mullah Omer, a war veteran from Soviet invasion times. Pakistani and Chinese governments like other governments in the region failed to reform religious Madrasas which became one of the major recruiting places for Al-Qaeda led Jihad. In Pakistan, military and political governments became so confused with their policy for supporting Kashmiri freedom fighter and other Jihadists that for decades, never realized the link between two groups. Thus, two neighboring states have to face a serious threat and were affected equally. Even Chinese government had to crack down on mosques; they had to ban many Islamic identities to get control over terrorist's activities in Ningxia, Gansu, Xinjiang which are Uygur population areas. But Xinjiang is most affected area bordering Pakistan, Kyrgyzstan and Tajikistan.

## **2.2 Conflicts in the Region in Post-9/11 Era.**

The concepts of freedom and liberty changed quite dramatically after 9/11 World Trade Center and Pentagon attacks in USA. USA blamed Al-Qaeda and its leader Osama Bin Laden which was in Afghanistan. They decided to wage a war on terror against Al-Qaeda hideouts in Afghanistan. A panic was created across the globe. The issues of civil liberties and human rights started to emerge. In this backdrop, USA attacked Afghanistan. At start, there was no organization or country including China and Russia which were able to ask her for bringing credible evidence. Neither these evidence ever came to public or in any court of justice after so many years. This action also brought a new wave of terrorism and counter terrorism activities around the world including this region.

USA's actions without legitimate support from world community did not stop its adventurist stance after fall of Kabul from Taliban but after four years USA suddenly found a new enemy in that war on terror which were Iraq. And thus all energies were diverted by USA towards Iraq. This gave chance to Al-Qaeda and its associated groups to reorganize and start a new guerrilla war which included attacks on civilians. Even more civilians were targeted in this wave of terrorism and insurgency in Afghanistan.

Now, after Soviets, another super power was showing its muscles and military might against Afghanistan. There is no investigation of civilian killings which Americans called collateral damage. This collateral damage proved a real test, not only for Afghan people but for all near and neighbors of Afghanistan. New recruitment factories got roots in Afghanistan, Pakistan, India, Bangladesh, CARs<sup>32</sup> and in China's Muslim majority areas.

Before 9/11, there were many rounds of hidden talks between USA and Taliban government for accepting them as legitimate Afghanistan's representative government. After the incident of 9/11, Saudi Arab, UAE and Pakistan also stopped supporting Taliban government. However, USA's war in Afghanistan never came to an end and it faced same resistance in Afghanistan which Soviets failed to defeat with difference of less foreign support for new age freedom fighter of Afghanistan or Taliban compare to 1980s when whole West and USA were backing Afghan mujahedeen against Soviet invasion.

There can be found justifications from all parties i.e. Soviets, Taliban and USA for their actions but this led whole region into new chaos and volatility. The Phenomenon of suicide bombing wide spread in Afghanistan and Pakistan while many suicidal attacks were made by young men representing Islamic ideology in their own lands. Region saw new anarchy which was not in its full scale but enough to bring panic in streets of these countries. It leads to many uncertainties and confusion among the masses in the region. A war against local regimes was started in CARs, China's Muslim majority areas, Pakistan, Nepal, Bangladesh and India. Though some regional areas like Kashmir and Xinjiang were already experiencing such unrest but the slogans of this wave were different than the slogans of self-determination and liberty.

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<sup>32</sup> Central Asian Republics often termed as CARs, are consisting of five countries which emerge after Soviet fall in 1988.

As mentioned by Mir Amir, (2010) "The extent to which the danger of Islamic militancy has swelled in the country after the 9/11 attacks can be well gauged from its spread from the borders to the urban areas of Pakistan – be it Peshawar, Quetta, Lahore, Karachi, Rawalpindi or Islamabad. After capturing much of the North West Frontier Province and the Federally Administered Tribal Areas, the Taliban and Al-Qaeda – linked jihadist have now clearly brought their war to Pakistani cities."

### 2.3 China and Xinjiang Issue

Muslims came to China in 6th century according to accounts of traditional Chinese Muslim historians and were brought by the Sa'd ibn Abi Waqqas, Wahab ibn Abu Kabcha, and other companions of Prophet Muhammad (PBUH) in 616-618 AD. (Muslims in China, 2004)<sup>33</sup> According to other accounts, there are indications that Wahab Abu Kabcha reached Canton by sea in 629 CE. While other accounts state that this happened in year 650 AD. That time Chinese Emperor ordered the establishment of China's first Mosque in Canton which is known as "Magnificent Canton Mosque" and existing since last fourteen centuries.

From 1401 to 1433, admiral Zheng (Muslims in China, 2004)<sup>34</sup> who was king's best admiral led a journey towards Mecca and he performed his Hajj as Zheng was Muslim. Afterwards, many accounts verify Muslims from China made journey to Mecca and been ambassador of social relationship between Muslims of Middle East and China. After Socialist Revolution, Hajj was banned for Chinese Muslims. The pilgrimages from China were used to perform their Hajj via Pakistan till late 70s. However, later on, China revised its Hajj policy. Afterwards Saudi sources mentioned that ten thousand Muslims performed their Hajj in 2007. At Present, Chinese Muslims are also playing important role in the economic, social and political fields of the country. According to the national census of China, there are 21,667,000 Muslims in China which are 1.6% of total population. (Muslims in China, 2004)<sup>35</sup>

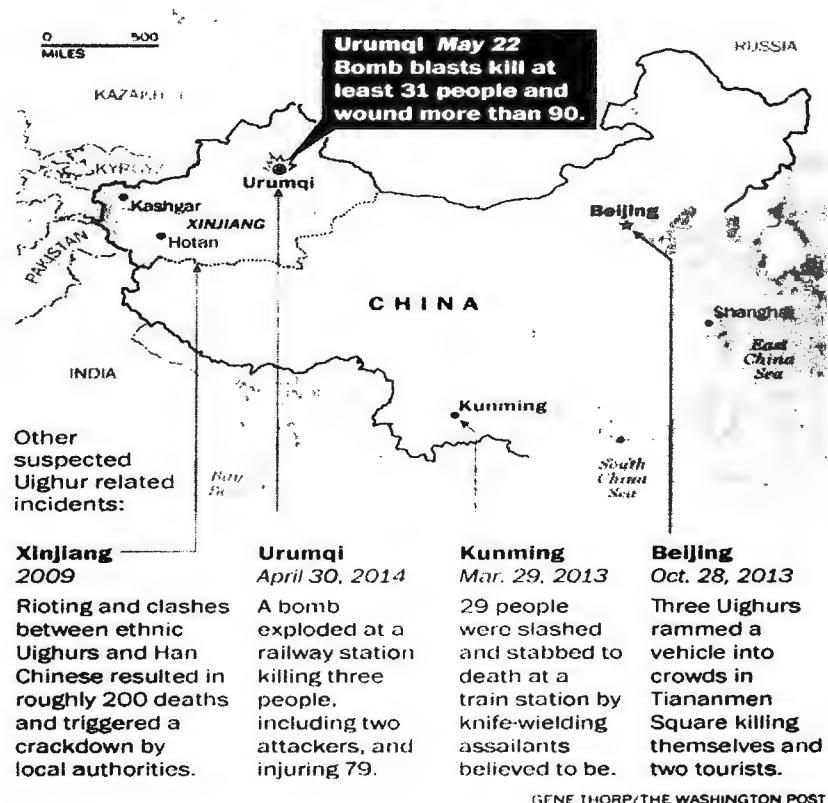
With this brief review of Muslim's plight in China, at the same time, it is also important to have a look on the other side of the picture. It would be an interesting discourse that how fairly

<sup>33</sup> There is historical evidence that Muslims in early phase of Islam also came to China.

<sup>34</sup> Admiral Zheng 1371-1433 was naval chief of Chinese armies under King Hui of Ming dynasty; he was from Kunyang area of Yunnan province. His original name was Ma He also known as Sanbao.

<sup>35</sup> <http://www.muslimpopulation.com/asia/China/Muslim%20in%20China.php>

Chinese's government dealt with its Muslim population and neighboring Muslim states. The Uyghur for short times got separate state during the fall of Qing Dynasty (1644-1911) also from 1931 to 1934 and later from 1944 to 1949. Lastly, the communists took power and consolidated their control over the state. In 1955, Xinjiang was classified as an "autonomous region" by the People's Republic of China though Uyghurs have version that all was based on force and against the will of the people. In 1931-34, Xinjiang area adopted name of East Turkestan for the independent state (a name still used by many in exile). In later years, Chinese government relocated Han population in the area to break the ethnic influence of Muslims and now Han make 40% of total population in Xinjiang. However, this strategy remained futile exercise and did not proved productive. It added new dynamics to the issue and brought more unrest between local and Han settlers.



Source: THE WASHINGTON POST. (Tharoor, 2014)<sup>36</sup>

<sup>36</sup> Tharoor, I. (2014, May 22). *why-chinas-terrorism-problem-is-getting-worse/*. Retrieved 2014 19, December , from <http://www.washingtonpost.com>: <http://www.washingtonpost.com/blogs/worldviews/wp/2014/05/22/why-chinas-terrorism-problem-is-getting-worse/>

Chinese records state that ETIM or (East Turkistan Islamic Movement) also known as Turkistan Islamic Party (TIP), Turkistan Islamic Movement (TIM)<sup>37</sup> was found by Hasan Mahsum, a Uighur who belongs to Xinjiang's Kashgar region. State Department of USA has put ETIM in terrorists list for being terrorist organization. ETIM's main aim is to establish an Islamic state consisting of area as far as Turkey, Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Uzbekistan, Pakistan, Afghanistan and the Xinjiang Uighur Autonomous Region (XUAR)<sup>38</sup>. In 2003, Pakistani forces killed Hasan Mahsum. In 2010, Pakistani forces also killed Abdul Haq another ETIM leader. But as of now, their activities have been decreased remarkably after Pakistan Army did operation in these areas.

Uyghur fighters were captured by USA in 2006 and all 22 of such Al-Qaeda linked combatants were taken to Guantanamo Bay camp delta but after years of investigation and torture, these were released without convictions and were allowed to live inland. It's also significant that this group has ties with Al-Qaeda and TTP (Tehrik Taliban Pakistan). Further, China also blames Russia for supporting East Turkestan Separatist movement.

ETIM has long record of terrorist activities inside as well as outside of China. In 2007, ETIM militants killed Chinese engineers in Baluchistan and videotaped that activity. Later, it was sent to Beijing. In 2008, during summer Olympics, ETIM conducted series of Bus Bombings in Kunming, plan hijacking attempt in Urumqi (Urumqi is also center of many such terrorist attacks by ETIM), attack on paramilitary forces in Kashgar where they killed 17 officers. In 2010, Dubai court convicted two ETIM members for plotting a bomb attack in shopping mall; one of them was trained in Waziristan. In October 2013, a suicide attack was carried out in Tiananmen Square by ETIM which killed 5 and injuring 38. ETIM mainly has its bases in Tajikistan, Afghanistan while some in Pakistan and China. This is very brief account of its terrorist activates which created panic like situation. It surfaced as major terrorist group and tried to increase its penetration for the purpose of other such activates.

According to S.K. Datta and Rajeeve Sharma, (2003),

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<sup>37</sup> According to The Norwegian Peace building Resource Centre, "The East Turkestan Islamic Movement (ETIM) is an Islamist militant group operating in China's Xinjiang administrative region." Also have links inside Pakistan Waziristan Area.

<sup>38</sup> <http://www.chinatoday.com/city/xinjiang.htm>

"The Uighurs' Islamic thrust in Xinjiang has to be fought. Already, China has managed to change the demographic composition of this Muslim province by setting Han Chinese in the volatile region. China looks to Pakistan for containing Islamic upsurge in Xinjiang. It has paid some dividends, but the future scenario is uncertain."

According to Swaran Singh, (2007)

"The short-lived East Turkestan Republic (1944-49) in fact, came about with Soviet assistance. More importantly, Soviet and Chinese nuclear testing sites, as well as, nuclear bases, faced each other across the Xinjiang-Kazakhstan border. Therefore, the security of Xinjiang was uppermost priority in the Chinese calculus of security."

So, this area is strategically very important for China. Besides, historical, social, economic, religious aspects of the conflict, it has international dynamics as well.

#### **2.4 Chronology of major Terrorist events in China**

There is chronology of some major events which were titled as terrorists attack in China in last 15 years. These are conducted by non-state actors within China mostly by Muslim groups allied with Al-Qaeda and other international organizations like ETIM. Most of such incidents occurred in Xinjiang or Tibet areas some were made for quick conclusion that ETIM is behind that while others were owned by ETIM. Most of such information was relied upon Chinese sources only as foreign journalists have no access to the areas. These incidents of terrorism were very much horrible and it made Chinese government to take immediate steps to handle this menace. This phenomenon increased gradually and later it impacted the state's functioning. It was also matter of great concern for other neighboring states.

### Terrorists activities in China since 2001

Location	Date	Incident Popular as	Details
Shijiazhuang, Hebei	16 March 2001	Shijiazhuang bomber	108 civilians were killed by same type of explosive material which was used in 1993 World Trade Centre and 1995 Oklahoma City bombings in four city blocks of Shijiazhang.
Chengdu, Sichuan	03 April 2002	Tianfu Square bombing	Chengdu's Tianfu Square saw this bombing only one injury was reported a separatist movement group did that.
Pamirs Plateau, Xinjiang	05 Jan 2007	Xinjiang raid	Chinese police raided ETIM training camp in Akto County of Pamirs plateau near the Afghanistan and Pakistan border. 18 alleged terrorists were killed, 17 captured.
Urumqi, Xinjiang	09 Mar 2008	The Southern China flight plot	State-run Xinhua News Agency reported that authorities had successfully foiled terrorist attack on a commercial jet of The Southern China flight departed from Urumqi.
Kashgar,	04 Aug	2008 Kashgar attack	Suspected ETIM militants drove a truck into 70 jogging policemen and killed 16

Xinjiang	2008		people.
Kuqa County, Xinjiang	10 Aug 2008	Kuqa Attacks	According to Xinhua news agency that seven men drove taxies full of homemade explosives into government buildings, in Kuqa, Xinjiang. Injured 2 police officers, a security guard and shot dead 5.
Yamanya, Xinjiang	12 Aug 2008	security officers stabbing in Yamanya	Chinese state media reported that three security officers killed in stabbing incident in city of Yamanya, near Kashgar in Xinjiang.
Aksu, Xinjiang	19 Aug 2010	2010 Aksu bombing	Chinese state media reported that six Uyghur men drove a vehicle into the group of security officers near Aksu, Xinjiang. Seven people were killed.
Hotan, Xinjiang	18 Jul 2011	2011 Hotan attack	Chinese reports stated that 18 people were killed by 18 young Uyghur men who attacked at a police station in Hotan. Later, ETIM claimed the responsibility.
Kashgar, Xinjiang	31 July 2011	2011 Kashgar attacks	18 people died in Kashgar in a series of attacks by stabbing and driving truck into crowded. The Turkistan Islamic Party later claimed responsibility and showed these men video of training in Pakistan.

Xinjiang	29 Jun 2012	Tianjin Airlines Flight	Chinese reported that 6 men attempted to hijack Tianjin Airlines flight from Hotan to Urumqi, Xinjiang. 10 people were injured in this failed attempt.
Xinjiang	24-Apr-2013	Xinjiang clashes	It was an incident of ethnic clash that took place between Muslim Uighur and Han Chinese community. 21 people were killed in the incident including 15 police officers.
Lukqun, Xinjiang	26 Jun 2013	Lukqun attacks	35 people reported killed in clashes between Uyghurs and police when terrorists attacked a police station and government building. The World Uyghur Congress was blamed by government.
Tiananmen Square, Beijing	28 Oct 2013	Tiananmen attack	A car blaze at Tiananmen Square and killed five and injured dozens, later five people were arrested in connection with this.
Kunming, Yunnan	01 March 2014	Kunming massacre	This was one of deadliest attack in which a group of knife-wielding men and women attacked people at the Kunming Railway Station killed 33 people. ETIM later was blamed for this killing by state agencies.

**Table 2.2      Terrorists activities in China since 2001<sup>39</sup>**

<sup>39</sup> List of terrorists activities in China, since 2001. Source <http://www.china-un.org/eng/zt/fk/t28937.htm>.

## 2.5 Post 9-11 Era and Regional Situation

In the Post 9/11 era, new trends were introduced on the global level. It created a serious challenge for civil liberties and human rights in world. It provided governments an excuse to curtail civil liberties by passing such laws which allow detention of person on suspicion without fulfilling the needs of The Habeas Corpus Act<sup>40</sup> which all the world adopted after its first adaptation in 1679 by English parliament. This act brought a new revolution in the civil liberty protection concept. China, Pakistan, India, Bangladesh, Afghanistan, Nepal and other countries of the region were quick to pass such laws for the sake of national security. This also created an environment of national security for most of states as the phenomenon of terrorist's new recruitment increased after such acts and actions taken by police and other agencies. Journalists were killed either by terrorists or in police torture, thousands of innocents were detained on false reports and many civil liberties were compromised under the laws to control terrorism.

A new panic situation was created for all countries of region which led into conflict of interests between states, confusion for citizens to demand security assurance and civil liberties. At the same time, it is very critical for security forces to save the citizens from terrorist activity and avoid violation of personal civil liberties which was very difficult task and still full of challenges. Pakistan, India, China, Afghanistan and other states had to see new strains of relations due to cross border movement of these groups and terrorists. India most of the time accused Pakistan for her involvement in many attacks occurred within Indian borders like Parliament attack, Mumbai attacks and many others out of 52 attacks in India since 2000. It rendered more than 1360 people killed. The International Media also projected many false Indian claims like 2006 Malegaon bombings which later proved inside Indian military's conspiracy to defame and involve Pakistan. Even in recent times, CBI officer Satish Verma in his court statement about Mumbai attack, accused RAW's covert cell for its involvement. Even in the absence of any credible evidence, Pakistan is accused for her involvement in terrorism, while neglecting Satish's statement in the court. (Ehsan, 2013)<sup>41</sup>

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<sup>40</sup> The Habeas Corpus Act 1679 is taken as one of milestone regarding human right protection.

<sup>41</sup> Ehsan, M. A. (2013, July 20). *mumbai-attacks-what-is-the-truth/*. Retrieved November 13, 2014, from <http://tribune.com.pk>: <http://tribune.com.pk/story/579244/mumbai-attacks-what-is-the-truth/>

Similarly, China also protested backdoors to Pakistan since 2003 for not controlling its borders which are being used for terrorist's activities in China by ETIM and other groups in Xinjiang area. In many incidents, China and Pakistan's relations saw down point in recent times at killings of Chinese tourists and workers in Pakistan. In May 2004, Chinese engineers were killed in Gawader. In October 2004, two Chinese engineers kidnapped and later one was killed. On 15 February 2006, three Chinese engineers killed and BLA took the responsibility and there are many other such incidents of kidnapping and killing of Chinese engineers. (Davis, 2008)<sup>42</sup>

Many journalists also lost lives in coverage of terrorists' events or government responses on terrorists. Here is glimpse from reported deaths of journalist in region after 2000 in such incidents:-

1. Pakistan:	90
2. India:	21
3. Tajikistan:	14
4. Bangladesh:	14
5. Afghanistan:	12
6. Sri Lanka:	10
7. China:	02

Table 2.3 Terrorists incidents (Source: <https://cpj.org/killed/>)

## 2.6 Impact of Terrorism on Extremism and Separatism

Terrorism led to a situation where governments and people have lost much of their emotional and moral support towards separatist movements in the region. These separatists which claim them to be freedom fighters, it became difficult for them to win international support after 9/11. For example, many organizations struggling for the freedom in Kashmir were put on watch list by USA and other countries. These were declared as terrorist organizations which affected the freedom struggle in Kashmir. Further, after one and other, thousands of terrorist actions which

<sup>42</sup> Davis, E. V. (January, 2008 01). *uyghur-muslim-ethnic-separatism-in-xinjiang-china/*. Retrieved January 16, 2015, from <http://www.apcss.org/>: <http://www.apcss.org/college/publications/uyghur-muslim-ethnic-separatism-in-xinjiang-china/>

mainly killed civilians led to a situation of no tolerance about many other genuine freedom fighters. Their organizations lost public support slowly but surely after 2001.

The activities of terrorists groups also affected economies in a way that it became very tough for underground movements to sustain in the times of stress. It left deep impact on the functioning of these organizations. There was confusion among masses that who is terrorist and who is freedom fighter? However, there was difference of perception about such groups and different people view them differently. In 2005, after massive earthquake in Kashmir, many of Kashmiri freedom fighting organization have to come forward in public. This time, they had to neglect coming security threats for them for being in public. This was just to win back public confidence and demonstrate that their aims are different than terrorist's organizations. Further, it cut the public financial support for those organizations which were violent in nature. The governments also started crack down to stop the supply of funds for them at all levels. Similarly, the supply of oil, food, goods and transportation etc. faced more checks from all sides. Pakistan changed her Kashmir policy and restricted herself to its political and moral support to Kashmiri self-determination struggle. On the other side, attacks on NATO<sup>43</sup> supplies made Pakistan to establish tighter security checks. India also blamed Pakistani intelligence agencies for everything which went wrong with her. As a result, Pakistan also beefed up her security operates with its Eastern borders and it became very difficult for unauthorized border crossing.

Similarly, to stop a reversal impact, India had to withdraw its military support from Tamils in Sri Lanka and also have to start with new confidence building measures with China which put Tamil and Tibet issue on back foot. The World saw surrender of LTTE<sup>44</sup> Tamil Tigers in Sri Lanka on 19th May 2009 which ended their military struggle which was started on 5 May 1976. This is one of the very clear indications that how changing regional and global trends and security situation affected a long serving independence and separation movement. While, many of such insurgencies and conflicts are still moving ahead slowly but their effective functioning has been hampered. The presence of NATO in the area made it quite difficult for these insurgent groups to open in kind of local support and flexibility which they were enjoying pre-9/11, 2001 era. As for LTTE, USA, Canada, Australia and Britain included them in terrorist organization list and

<sup>43</sup> North Atlantic Treaty Organisation is one of major military alliance in West which protects western interests in Europe and beyond.

<sup>44</sup> <http://www.satp.org/satporgtp/countries/shrilanka/terroristoutfits/LTTE.HTM>

curtailed their funding and support. Even India which was not complying with its own such announcement related LTTE since 1992, had to take more strict measures. In a similar case, Iranian forces arrested Jundullah or People's Resistance Movement of Iran (PRMI)<sup>45</sup> leader Abdul Malik Rigi who was claiming independence of all area including Sistan-o-Baluchistan from Iran, Baluchistan in Pakistan, gulf of Oman border areas and Afghanistan's Helmand province. Iran also blamed USA for supporting Rigi and his group which USA denied completely. So, changed security structure in the region made Rigi in panic and he became target of Iranian forces which were looking for his capture since long time.

## 2.7 Situation in China

China has Muslim population consisting 21,667,000 individuals in many areas like Xinxiang, Ningxia, Gansu, Qinghai and in many other areas of as minimal minority. These people ethnically belong to Uygur, Hui, Kazak, Khalkhas and Ozbek communities. On the other side, China have borders with countries in South and West which are either Muslim majority like Pakistan, Afghanistan, and Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan and Tajikistan, or with significant Muslim population areas like India. There is movement of independent Turkistan which succeeded in the past two to three times in establishing its independent government for few years. While on the other hand, it is also having separatist movements like Tibet and Inner Mongolia regions which make 1/3 of country's area and population. China officially is in ongoing process of revolution which aims bringing quality of life among its population but still is considered as developing nation though achieved highest GDP (Gross Domestic Production) growth in the world since decades. She maintained it even during worst global economic crises which started from 2008 and still is in recovery phase for many world developed economies like USA, Germany, UK and others. These separatists and extremist movements are putting extra financial, social, political and administrative burden on country and on its economy. Chinese governments always seek solution for such issues even many areas including Muslim majority areas, Mongolian areas and Tibet were given autonomous statuses from time to time or were granted extra localize liberties. But, the waves of violence make it hard for China to carry such policies in all times and all circumstances which reverse the growth process achieved every time by central governments in China.

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<sup>45</sup> "The Baloch in Post Islamic Revolution Iran: A Political Study" by Ahmad Reza Taheri. P151-152

Operation Tight Noose' which was conducted near Angoor Adda border check post on 2nd of October, 2003. American special task forces attacked and killed Egyptian Al-Khadir known as Cannadi who was traced from his American Passport. Similarly, as mentioned earlier, Uighue leader of East Turkestan Movement Hassan Maksoom was killed in one such operation near Chinese borders by Pakistan Army. It is believed that he had links with Al Qaeda. (Schofield, 2011)

## **2.8 Terrorism, Extremism and Separatism in China**

The definition of terrorism which is adopted by UN Committee on Terrorism states, " An[y] action, in addition to actions already specified by existing conventions on aspects of terrorism, the Geneva Convention and Security Council resolution 1566 (2004), that is intended to cause death or serious bodily harm to civilians and none-combatants, when the purpose of such act, by its nature or context, is to intimidate population, or to compel a Government or an international organization to do or to abstain from doing any act." Thus this definition and others still fail to fulfill the academic purpose of conciseness and clarity. These definitions accommodate justified use of such force and killing by governmental and international organized bodies which claim to implement broader agenda for sack of liberty and freedom, but fail to make a clear difference among freedom struggles and resistance against occupation of powerful countries.

Thus, this definition forces Afghan people and Iraqis to adopt only peaceful means for freedom in their countries from foreign occupation even it goes to decades while on other hand UN in 1945 and later years has confirmed national liberty and freedom for all nations of world and all people on earth. Similarly by very definition it creates confusions weather American resistance under George Washington against legitimate British government and Chinese revolutionary armed struggle was justifiable or not.

It is agreed about terrorism that it will be an act of force or coercion to create fear among its immediate target or effected person. The purpose of such terrorism is imposing person, group or state agenda over target population. In China, there are hundreds of such minor or major events mostly connected to Turkistan movement and Inner Mongolia movement which affected China and created terror among masses. The situation in China though is better compare to many other

parts of the world which are facing such terrorism along with extremist and separatist movements.

Extremism is related behavior of extreme nature or views of such nature which do or can do lead towards violence. In China, there are many extremist groups including separatists' movements. Such extreme groups including ETIM, RSM and many groups like Falun Gong which adopts extreme measures of resistance mainly peaceful for its cause.

On the other hand, separation movements include Turkistan movement which is center of attention while looking at Post-Cold war or further Post 9/11 relationship between Pakistan and China. There is couple of issues like Tibet and Inner Mongolia. Pakistan traditionally supported any genuine freedom movement but also focused on peaceful means for such cause as its own history is based on non-violent political movement which led to creation of Pakistan. This is the reason why Pakistan supports peaceful resolution of Tibet and Inner Mongolia issue from Chinese government by the use of peaceful political means. Tibet holds 4.6 million Buddhist population led by their leader in exile Dalai Lama while Inner Mongolia consisting 12 regions is demanding same for its Han and Mongol population consisting 24,700,000 people. This area also makes 12% of all Chinese area though this is enjoying an autonomous status since 1947. Yet, its movement in exile in USA and Canada is looking forward for independent statehood status. This area includes Suiyuan, Rehc, Chahar, Xing'an and Liaobei provinces of north and North West bordering Mongolia and Russia. China blames Russian and American governments for fueling this movement in its north.

## **2.9 Implication of Terrorism, Extremism and Separatism for Pakistan and China in the Post-9/11 Era**

In the post 9/11 era, global dynamic became very complex. It is important to mention briefly that most of the issues related to the movements of Inner Mongolia and Tibet have no or very minimal impact over third side of these relationships based on movement of Turkistan state and Muslim population in bordering areas of Pakistan and CARs. After US invasion of Afghanistan in 2002-2003, China openly started complaining to Pakistan about her territorial use as training bases by ETIM and other Al-Qaeda affiliate groups which were doing terrorist activities within Chinese borders in Muslim majority areas especially in Xinjiang area.

Later, Pakistani security forces killed or captured many terrorists and their leadership in border areas adjacent to China and also many terrorist training camps inside Pakistani Tribal area of North and South Waziristan witnessed presence of Muslim Chinese fighters. This issue created an early bitterness in relationships of two countries. Further, Pakistan's decision of handing over its airbases to USA and becoming ally in War on Terror was also disliked by Chinese government and leadership. Similarly continuous attack on Chinese workers, working in Pakistan especially in Baluchistan also led to some sourness in relationship. In many cases, terrorists who were arrested in China proved that there are close links between Pakistani Taliban and ETIM fighters and they are getting logistics and training in Pakistan, Afghanistan and Tajikistan.

Pakistan, however, provided China with joint action against such camps. Further, Pakistan made sure to control border areas more effectively. Yet, such constraints in relationships made China to test India for better cooperation after long time since 1962 war and break down of Panch Shela Accord<sup>46</sup>. China conducted joint military exercises with Indian border forces and Navy. Both countries are also looking for broader and better economic relations as both see each other markets as big potential markets. So, China recognized Sikkim as formal part of India in 2004. Sino-India trade is over \$36bn now and growing year by year after 2004. China also agreed to invest in peaceful use of nuclear energy with India. India-China also signed counter terrorism accord and decided to extend their cooperation in this regard. In 2002, direct flights between China and India started which helped to boost further good relationships. In June 2003, Atal Bihari Vajpayee visited China, while in 2005, Wen Jiabao visited India to defuse situation on borders and improve relation over high-tech industry.

In 2006, China and India re-opened Nathu La Pass, a traditional trade route between both countries first time after war in 1962. In 2009, Indian Prime Minister Manmohan Singh visited China and new agreements helped bilateral trade to surpass \$50 billion.<sup>47</sup> President Xi Jinping of China visited India on 18th September, 2014 and both enjoyed trade relationship of \$70bn even some disputes still existing there. This trade was \$1bn in 2000-01. This clearly indicates that Pakistan's involvement with USA and terrorism implications made both China and India more

<sup>46</sup> Accord from 1954, consisting of mutual agreements on five points for development of relationships between China and India is called Panch Shela.

<sup>47</sup> CNN reported such on timeline showing China India relationships

close, while China was always a balancer in Pakistan's relations with India. New relations even led to 2007's first joint anti-terror training in Southwest China's Yunnan Province, Belgaum in Karnataka exercises in 2008 and latest "Hand-in-Hand in 2013" ten days joint military exercises involving both countries. These are unexpectedly developments in both countries relationships after 2001 which may have very bad implications for Pakistan in future.

"The Chinese on the one hand were strengthening their agreements with the Central Asian Republics and Russia as part of the Shanghai Co-operation Organization. At the same time, they had started interacting with the Taliban, possibly to secure their own flank in Xinjiang against the spread of Islamic jihad organization." (Vinod, 2004)

According to both Major Vinod and General Siaghul (2004),

"It had made overtures to the Taliban from the outset, possibly to build bridges with the new order taking shape in Afghanistan and perhaps to limit the help being extended to the Uighur separatist elements in Xinjiang."

The Chinese Government adopted tactical measures and moved forward with the clear framework of securing her from all kind of threats by any mean.

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## **EMERGENCE OF IRRITANTS IN PAKISTAN- CHINA RELATIONS**

### **3 Emergence of irritants in Pakistan-China relations**

#### **3.1 Background**

In the fast changing world, Pakistan still looks hostage to her troubled geopolitical legacy. She is risking her geo-economic growth to very complex situation in the troubled region. In the current world, terrorism has become concern for all countries. China also facing the devastating impact of this terrorism alongwith Pakistan who is also experiencing most troubled time in her history. Some define this situation as cross road of history for Pakistan. (Khan A. U., 2013)

Terrorism is not only concern for lives but has serious consequences for the countries as experience of Pakistan things went very critical. Pakistani economy has suffered lot from such war on terror. US CENTCOM has gauged such economic loss for Pakistan worth \$10 billion, while her support to USA in Afghanistan. She also suffered for her security and faced hundreds of bombings in her cities. Still country faces demands of "do more" from her allies like USA. (Iqbal R. G., 2011)

China and Pakistan started as normal neighbor's relationship soon after socialist revolution in China which leads to Mao Tse-tung government on 1st October 1949 when he established the People's Republic of China officially. Pakistan accepted this government as true representative of the people of the China in 1950. According to PEW research, majority of Pakistanis look China as most favorable nation in the world with 69% think so while only 7% think China is unfavorable nation.<sup>48</sup> On the other hand, 33% Chinese think Pakistan is favorable nation while 42% think it is unfavorable compare to 63% Indian which fear for Chinese growing military might.

Similarly, 53% Chinese take India as unfavorable nation, likewise Pakistanis see China as ally and US as biggest threat while Chinese see Russia as biggest ally and US as biggest Threat<sup>49</sup>, compare to Indians which see US as major ally and Pakistan as major threat. Thus, Chinese and Pakistani public looks USA as threat due to its activities in region. Despite this, after 9/11 Pakistan actively joined hands with USA in its war on terror and government under President General Pervez Musharraf took many unpopular decisions and actions to give USA such support.

<sup>48</sup> A survey conducted by PEW in 2006, about public perception in South Asia about other nations.

<sup>49</sup> Ibid

These included distancing from Taliban government in Afghanistan, Closure of Pak-Afghan Border and deployment of 80,000 troops along Durand Line inside Pakistan. Pakistan also handed over its five airbases of Peshawar, Shamsi, Chaklala, Quetta and Shahbaz/Jacobabad to US till 2011, (Woods, 2011)<sup>50</sup> meanwhile, there was lack of workable strategic policy to counter Al-Qaeda and its affiliate groups which were attacking Chinese government installations and killing people in China.

These policies from Pakistan government made China look towards India for revival of relationships as she was to take precautions against US presence in the region and in wake of popular conspiracy and strategic theory of encircling China by US as was mentioned by many writers in their analyses. China and India start growth of good relations since 2001 but since 2003-04, these relations developed more on economic front and now trade between two states rise from \$1bn in 2001 to \$40bn active and overall of \$70bn per annum after new accords in the year 2014. Thus not only indirect but directly, there came all the time over low gestures in Pakistan-China relationship due to Pakistan's ill planning and strategic mistakes to join US war on terror which distanced it from China than ever before since 1962. These constraints were felt in all departments of working relations between two states..

## 2. Political Relations

As unique Chinese geographical existence makes her occupy important position in Asia, she has borders with 14 countries and holds control of biggest maritime area. It is almost 1/3 population of Asia and very dynamic political power in region. (Misunc, 2010)

China faced sever challenges by global media especially Indian and Western which have been very critical to her for minor issues, these media houses been trying to blow hard through such issues which are related to China. Chinese aid to Pakistan was extra ordinary during historic floods in 2010. Similarly, China helping Pakistan by pouring investment into country and also encourages her business community to invest in Pakistan. (Jing, 2011)

<sup>50</sup> Woods, C. (2011, December 15). *cia-drones-quit-pakistan-site-but-us-keeps-access-to-other-airbases/*. Retrieved December 27, 2014, from <http://www.thebureauinvestigates.com>: <http://www.thebureauinvestigates.com/2011/12/15/cia-drones-quit-pakistan-site-but-us-keeps-access-to-other-airbases/>

On the political terms, Pakistan and China have to face many low points in relationships during this era of hard relations since 2001. China expressed her concerns over activities of ETIM from Pakistani areas into China. Further, Pakistan was under a dictatorship when 9/11 happened and it was hard for Musharraf's military government to response positively towards questions related to the legitimacy of his rule and people representation. As at that time, Chinese foreign office issued this statement saying, "Pakistan is China's friendly neighbor and we are very concerned about changes there and attempting to further comprehend the situation". (CNN, *pakistan.reax/*, 2001)<sup>51</sup>

According to Dr Sudhir Singh. (2009)

"It is vindicated by changing Chinese attitude towards India-Pakistan conflicts. Kargil episode is a watershed for this change. China has invested enormously in Pakistan and has been treated as an all-weather friend of Pakistan. During both 1965 and 1971 wars, China issued stern threats in favor of Pakistan against India but during Kargil crisis (1999) despite the fact that both prime Minister, Nawaz Sharif and COAS Musharraf visited China to garner Chinese support. The Chinese have not only declined to extend support to Pakistan but advised Pakistan to settle all bilateral issues with India in an amicable manner."

In October 2002, Muttahida Majlis-c-Amal, an alliance of six religious political parties in Pakistan won a clear majority in the Province which is next to Chinese border. China had to look new options after this event when Pakistan's North Western border areas went into political and physical control of extremists and religious parties. Some of them were holding extreme views of the religion. This made Chinese think new options to curtail growing pressures from expanding US role in the region, growing trend of Islamization and religious extremism.

Though, Pakistan and China enjoy good friendly ties and these ties have been getting stronger with every passing day due to commonality of economic and geopolitical interests. Yet, there remained some strains due to emergence of ETIM in China, TTA in Afghanistan and TTP in Pakistan. Further, the geopolitical interest of India and America also made China to take very precise and calculated measures while keeping good relationships with Pakistan. China need to

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<sup>51</sup> CNN. (2001, October 13). *pakistan.reax/*. Retrieved December 28, 2014, from [http://edition.cnn.com/ASIANOW/south/9910/13/pakistan.reax/](http://edition.cnn.com: http://edition.cnn.com/ASIANOW/south/9910/13/pakistan.reax/)

avoid any confrontation with USA and India to keep pace of its high economic growth. The regional changes along with internal changes in politics are making all countries of region to retract their relationships in a balanced way by avoiding any confrontations with regional powers and neighbors.

The continuity of Chinese socialists' regime, Indian democracy and Pakistani commitment towards peace in region made a new trend in geopolitical approach of many powers in the region. This is fact that Pakistan and China enjoy top level political harmony in many ways but China also is trying to normalize its relations with India as India holds potential of a great market for Chinese.

China and Pakistan, both are situated in the region where there is focus of many global powers for their long term interests and it has very critical geographical importance due to its neighborhood of Arabian Gulf, Central Asia and East Asia along with its character of world's densely populated region consisting of almost three billion people which create largest consumer market in the world. Stability of region is in greater interests of Pakistan and China's political interests in the region and far beyond to Gulf States, Central Asia and East Asia. Likewise, Russia also has its own geopolitical interests in this region. The political game in the region and within countries individually is between all ideological factions of political culture. For example, in India, Hindu extremists under Bhartiya Janta Party, Secular under Congress, Socialists under Communist Party of India and Nationalists under regional political parties are struggling for power and propagating decisive time has come.

In Afghanistan, Independent Party led by Ashraf Ghani and National Coalition of Afghanistan led by Abdullah, Abdullah have their agenda of modernizing Afghanistan in a mix of Islamization and democracy contrary to Taliban which want to bring traditional Caliphate and Sharia. In Bangladesh, Nepal and Maldives same type of division is visible between right, lefts and center political parties with many voices of traditional rules.

In Pakistan, there is strong power struggle and same type of loud slogans can be heard as in India about decisive win, yet with more confusion and political implications which created due to Afghanistan war and regional terrorism is loss of identity by these political parties. We can see central parties swinging between left and right; leftists are leaning toward center and in some

cases towards right and rightists are agreeing to left political philosophies in some cases. For example in recent times, opposition leader of Pakistan People's Party which was considered as anti-army and pro people party holding leftists colors in its ranks stated that, his heart is bleeding but he is forced to support proposal for military courts in country to punish terrorists. This shows that political parties are confused with new situation and leaders are not able to keep their ideological versions as tight as it was quality of politics in 20th century.

Similarly, we see China trying to develop good relations with India, further more China agreed to work on Gawadar port, coastal highway and parts of highway from Gawadar to Central Asia along with American, British and other companies working on same project in different areas of high way which will join the Central Asian states to warm waters of Indian Ocean. Political scenarios of region are changing in a way that political parties of region have to adopt new adjusted versions of their politics and same is reflecting from the gestures of regional governments including China and Pakistan.

Ongoing war crisis in Afghanistan and conflict situation in Pakistan is one of the major reasons behind many political shifts in political parties of the region and regional governments. Even, the regional countries are pushed to keep good relations with both China and USA, instead of relying on the relations with any of these two big powers. Pakistan herself is adopting same political strategy in its foreign relations with both powers. Both powers have their vested interest in regional stability, counter terrorism, controlling extremism and supporting regional governments based on future prospects. Beijing trying to hold more control of relationship between herself and Pakistan and also waiting to play its strategic role in Afghanistan in the moments ahead which would also affect Pakistan. Expanding role of USA is major concern for China and to counter it, she has to establish good ties with India, for this, both of the countries, USA and China can use bargain for permanent Security Council seat while Russia already is a big supporter of India for the same.

This future change in UN can change geopolitical outlook of the region and Pakistan can go under pressure on many fronts. (Small, 2010)<sup>52</sup> The stability of Afghanistan will also bring positive results for China in stability and security in Xinjiang and this is why China is supportive

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<sup>52</sup> Small, A. (2010). China's Caution on Afghanistan and Pakistan. *The Washington Quarterly*, p80-83.

or at least not opposing USA's policies in Afghanistan with loud voice. Establishment of a new state as East Turkestan in Xinjiang will be a political failure for socialist China. Further, it will also be a permanent threat for Pakistan in which this state along with another same type of state, if any, in Afghanistan will be a disaster for Pakistan. Due to its nuclear sensitivity, there can be attempt on its nuclear installations by any of such groups or states which feel strong enough to achieve such goal for accruing nuclear material or arms.

There was a time when Chinese supported Afghan jihad to curtail Soviet advancement in South wards but after fall of Soviet Union, China cannot afford another superpower in the region having greater control while avoiding any military involvement against USA, they want to make sure that they also play a due role in the region. Pakistan also cannot afford direct relations of China with India and USA, as that would make it vulnerable for any new geostrategic game in absence of backing from China to keep its federation intact. On the other hand, USA-China relationships also grow with new measures of confidence building. For example, USA's FBI<sup>53</sup> opened its strategic cooperation office in China and Obama administration improved its ties with Chinese government especially, based on counter terrorism strategy.

To improve such relations taking Afghanistan and Pakistan as center of strategy, Richard Holbrooke visited China in March 2009 and later Chinese delegate went to attend the U.S. - China Strategic and Economic Dialogue (S&ED) in Washington in July 2009, featuring Security in Afghanistan and Pakistan. China's two major concerns related to Afghanistan is based on USA's "encircling China strategy" and insurgency in its Xinjiang area. China is exerting pressure on Pakistan to take productive and long term actions against training camps and insurgents which are creating problems for Chinese security. China on the other hand, completely supports Pakistani version for dialogue and inclusion of Taliban in Afghanistan's long term and peaceful solution.

As Chinese government is totally adverse to idea of self-determination inside country and takes hard measures to control such movements, it has done same in case of East Turkestan or Xinjiang area. In the same way, she has some fears that more vocal support to Kashmir self-determination struggle can lead to serious impacts and consequences for her in areas like

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<sup>53</sup> Federal Investigation Bureau USA is homeland security Agency in USA.

Xinjiang, Tibet and Taiwan. This is reason that China mostly rejects the idea of third party intervention in issue of Kashmir between India and Pakistan. In recent years, China has increased her economic relations with India. She also increased her investment in India from under one billion dollars in 2002 to 100 billion dollars in 2013. (Mifune, 2010)

### 3.3 Economic Relations

It is criticized by some analysis that Sino-Pakistan relationships never remain smooth and stable but been fundamentally asymmetrical. According to these analysts, Pakistan wants more from its ties with China than it can get response from China. Harsh V Pant is of the view that in time of Pakistan's glitches which are huge and she seek more help from China; and she (China) is involving with Pakistan carefully. There is saying that in international relations, there is no permanent friend and no permanent enemy. In past ten year's trade between China and India has risen from \$1.3bn to \$40bn and will reach to \$70bn in couple of years<sup>54</sup>. This shows that China's changing economic interests and her quest for bigger markets.

As per tradition, Pakistan's current Prime Minister Nawaz Sharif made his maiden visit to Beijing and signed many new economic and trade agreements. Chinese President was to visit Pakistan at the end of 2014 before his visit to India. However, due to security and political situation, it was postponed to any later date. Thus, China trying to show Indians good gesture and trend to satisfy her for good economic gains. Though, Chinese President stated during Pakistani premier's visit that Pakistan is old and trusted friend and China has priority for strengthening strategic cooperation with Pakistan.

Pakistan and China have a long history of economic cooperation and agreements. Pakistan exports Marble, Cotton, fruits and precious stones. Chinese company has recently signed agreement for investing \$50bn in Punjab in coming 10 years. China has signed Free Trade Agreement (FTA) with Pakistan and Pakistan is fourth biggest trade partner of China. Pakistan has advantage in relationship with China as it gains \$6.8bn compared to China's gain of \$5.5bn.<sup>55</sup> (Butt, 2007) Chinese company has taken over Gwadar port, further in many projects; Chinese companies are working even in situation where they are being targeted as in

<sup>54</sup> There is rapid growth of trade between India and China since 2002.

<sup>55</sup> Trade between Pakistan and China after 2002 has comparative low growth compare to trade between India and China, Which increased from 74\$ million in 2002 to 70\$ billion in 2012.

Baluchistan. Further, optic fiber cable link with China is also in pipeline worth of \$40mn which will improve Pakistan's link to world via internet. Pakistani government has a strong lobbying in China but now slowly Indian are taking advantages and successfully attracting Chinese investment and bilateral trade. Since Chinese have established Special Economic Zone in Guangdong and Fujian Provinces to attract foreign technology companies. Indian firms were also keen to start business there and looking for future potential of Chinese market like USA and West.

Pakistan failed to shift its foreign policy based on pure economic gains while China has put economic gains over other major interest of its foreign policy. Chinese have more concerns about growing unrest in Pakistan and in situation where more Chinese companies are being targeted in KPK<sup>56</sup> and Baluchistan. Pakistani government is blamed by experts for its lazy attitude on economic interests as she failed to rearrange its foreign policy over insecurity and stretching its strategic interests to economic interest as prime policy guidelines. China is taking major share of investment burden for Gwadar economic corridor as it will contribute more in \$18bn.<sup>57</sup> This development alone can begin new age of economic gains for Pakistan along with Chinese interest in Gold and other mineral extraction in Baluchistan province, stones in KPK, agriculture in Punjab and coal energy in Sindh province.

\* Among experts in Pakistan, there is continuous fear of future loss of Chinese interest can be mismanaged due to Pakistan's over look for strategic interests than economic like Karakoram Highway, Gwadar Deep Sea Port, Chashma Nuclear Power Plant, Indus Highway, Thar Coal Development, Saindak Metal (Copper/Gold) Project, Pakistan Cycle & Industrial Cooperative, Saigols Qingqi Motors Ltd, Zhongxing Telcom (Pvt) Ltd, Pak Metal Foundry in Noori abad, Sehala Chemical Complex, Pak Glass Ltd. Glass Industry, Saif Nadeem Ltd, Haier Home Appliances and other projects. (Jafar Riaz Kataria, 2014)<sup>58</sup>

Though, Pakistan and China signed a privileged trade agreement in 2003, which later was converted into a Free Trade Agreement (FTA) in 2006 and initially trade between two countries got a rise up to \$15 billion in 2011 and further it increased in coming years but China also has

<sup>56</sup> Khyber Pakhtunkhwa is new name for North Western Frontier Province (NWFP) in Pakistan.

<sup>57</sup> China is taking responsibility for major share of this Economic Corridor construction.

<sup>58</sup> As mentioned by Jafar Riaz Kataria, A. N. (2014, December 20). Pakistan-China Social and Economic Relations . A Research Journal of South Asian Studies , pp. 395-410.

increased her volume of investment in many other countries including India. It was estimated that the bilateral trade was estimated to hit \$15 billion by 2011, the overall trade actually did fall short of the mark at around \$ 12.4 billion as of 2013. (Khan A. U., 2013)

In Energy sector, both countries are increasing relations and China is looking forward for more investment in Pakistan over coming ten years and also have shown her interest in development of all areas on the side of Pakistan-China economic corridor which is being constructed rapidly. (Khan A. U., 2013)

### **3.4 Strategic and Military Relations**

China is world's largest active military force with strength of 2.3 million active troops. Similarly, this military spends a huge budget of US\$129.2 billion. China also helped Pakistan in the development of her military strength. Going into joint ventures like JF-Thunder (F17) and many Tanks both countries have improved military cooperation over the years. (Iqbal M. G., 2014)

Since 2003, instability in Pakistan has put more importance on the military and strategic relation of Pakistan with her neighbors especially with Afghanistan, India and China. The domestic strains on security have pushed Pakistan in situation where she was failing to achieve sufficient support from USA and China to cope terrorism. This was reason that Pakistan took almost years to launch a decisive war against terrorists in their hideouts. China on the other hand, taking the account and its impacts within her own borders is backing this military operation. USA is also other power which is happy with such operation. Pakistan in all past government eras sought good support from China for development of its arms and strategic strength. China had been top supporter of Pakistan's military capacity building.

In 2008, Pakistan and China signed a landmark military cooperation pact. Stephen Cohen once stated this relationship between Pakistan and China is as strong as between USA and Israel. (Curtis, 2009)<sup>59</sup> These relations added valuable support for Pakistan in 1990s when China provided her with small range ballistic missiles M-11. Later, JF-17 Thunder aircraft, JF-17 production facility installations, F-22P frigates and helicopters, T-85 Tanks, K8-Trainer planes,

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<sup>59</sup> Curtis, L. (2009). chinas military and security relationship with pakistan. *The Heritage Foundation*, p34-36.

F7-aircraft and much of small arms were supplied by China to Pakistan. Further, China also supported Pakistan in enhancing its missile technology. (Fazl-e-Haider, 2013)<sup>60</sup>

China also supported Pakistan in establishment of nuclear technology for electricity generation like at Chashma power station. China will get its oil supply from Gulf States through deep port of Gawadar and will also get other supplies through this road which will link China to Gawadar. This will give China a boost in its strategic position called China-Pakistan Economic Corridor (CPEC).

The major strain in relations came when the East Turkestan Islamic Movement showed its active presence in China and created unrest and conflict in China's Xinjiang province. While, the training bases of ETIM were linked to Waziristan area of FATA in Pakistan. This area directly comes under the control of Federal government, thus, the concerns raised by China were more serious. Pakistan banned ETIM in 2013 and declared it terrorist organization. Many successful attacks were launched against training camps of ETIM inside Pakistani borders near China border, in Waziristan areas. Even in the Past, Pakistani forces killed ETIM founder (2003) and China captured his deputy with information shared by Pakistan. Recently, Pakistan army launched more aggressive operation against these terrorists hideouts, operation named as, "Zarb-e-Azb". Though, the primary target of this operation is Tehrik-i-Taliban Pakistan (TTP) but it's also wiping out training camps and support base for ETIM. But, the support which these terrorists are getting within Pakistan is of greater concern for China. (MacDonald, 2015)<sup>61</sup> Chinese see this as a greater threat for their security, if not managed well by Pakistani government.

On the other hand, China also eased its relations with India and was able to take some steps which are of more concern for Pakistan. Like, Chinese and Indian forces conducted couple of joint military exercises to combat terrorism in 2008 and 2013. China refused to veto a resolution against Jammat-e-Dawah when Pakistan requested so. Further, China is also looking forward to

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<sup>60</sup> Fazl-e-Haider, S. (2013, November 25). *pakistan-and-china-prove-powerful-combination-in-aviation*. Retrieved September 28, 2014, from <http://www.thenational.ae>: <http://www.thenational.ae/business/industry-insights/aviation/pakistan-and-china-prove-powerful-combination-in-aviation>

<sup>61</sup> MacDonald, M. (2015, February 3). *nothing-comes-without-conditions-chinas-relationship-with-pakistan/2/*. Retrieved February 07, 2015, from <http://warontherocks.com>: <http://warontherocks.com/2015/02/nothing-comes-without-conditions-chinas-relationship-with-pakistan/2/>

sell nuclear technology to India. During his recent visit to India, US President Barak Obama give positive signals towards India to support her in long standing demand for becoming permanent member of Security Council in United Nations. It can put Kashmir issue dead for future and can bring disaster for Pakistan in its regional position. It will also impact on Baluchistan and auxiliary can create other strategic and security issues for Pakistan.

### **3.5 USA and Regional Powers**

As Pakistan has conflict with India, similarly China has her conflict with India over border demarcation and areas like Sikkim and Tibet. China accepted Indian right over some border area in Sikkim in recent times. Both countries also started trade, though Lhasa route which was closed after 1962 war between two states. (MacDonald, 2015)<sup>62</sup> Now, both countries are trying to set disputed border issues over McMahon Line and other borders on side and looking towards new confidence building measures like Indian Prime Ministers and Chinese high level leadership visited each other countries in recent years. China is proposing India her support in building high speed railway network in India. With these recent developments in last decade, there is existence of strange quadrilateral relationship between India-USA-Pakistan and China.

All four countries are trying to build good relations with each other. At the same time, all states have serious reservations related to strategic policies and international politics of other country. India and Pakistan at center are getting attention of both bigger powers and initially, India remained more successful in attracting a large sum of foreign investment from USA and China. While, Pakistan is still struggling to get the support she required from both big powers who are in a cold proxy with each other. Yet, they are cooperating with each other over war on terrorism. The close relations between India and USA called for China's concern and she adopted a counter policy of easing its relations with India and start new Confidence building measures.

China supports Pakistan over Kashmir issue along with other issues and also supports some of Indian version over terrorism. Similarly, USA supports Pakistan over Kashmir issue but like China is on the Indian side on issue of cross border terrorism and supporting Kashmiri freedom fighters. India herself is preparing for greater role in the world and regional politics to compete with China and USA. At the same time, she wants good economic advantages from her relations

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<sup>62</sup> Ibid, pp78-84

with USA and China as potential markets. Both USA and China also look to Indian military and economic developments as future rivalry, but to counter each other's influence in last decade, have supported India on many fronts.

Though, China looks most of its strategic interest in South Asian linked with Pakistan which is one of the major reasons for her bad relations with India in the Past. On the other hand, USA looks same for India in region, but based on her counter China strategy. USA also investing in Pakistan through her USAID program and is one of major partners in military capacity building of country. USA's presence in South Asia is continuous concern for China, yet China herself provided support to the USA led Afghanistan resistance against Soviets and later, helped USA in war against Taliban. FBI established a center in China to work jointly against terrorist groups in the region.

It is interesting to note that Pakistan's relationship strains with both China and USA are based on one issue of terrorism and terrorist groups. In absence of this issue, Pakistan can gain more from both countries as she did in 1960s and 1980s. This complex quadrilateral relationship in which each state have serious concern with each other and also trying to establish wider relations with every country, except a lower level relationship between China-USA and India-Pakistan. (Merrington L., 2012)<sup>63</sup> But, this low level relationship is also having a second thinking for better relations to seek more economic advantages. One of the major attractions for USA in China and India is their population based market potential for American goods and foreign investments. China also looks both India and USA with same glasses of potential for major economic gains in the future. Pakistan, on the other hand, provides India with same economic advantages of stretched market for its goods but she is good strategic and reliable ally for USA and China in the region.

Thus, for USA, China and India are economically important and Pakistan is strategically important. For China, USA and India are economically important but Pakistan is strategically important with provision of corridors to Indian sea. In case of India, USA is of strategically more important to counter Chinese hegemony in region, while Pakistan and China are of economic importance. On similar bases for Pakistan, USA, China and India all are of economic importance

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<sup>63</sup> Merrington, L. (2012, April 23). Ideas from India. *the East Asia Forum Quarterly* , pp. 67-75.

along with China and USA both is strategically important allies to counter Indian power in the region. (Butt, 2007)<sup>64</sup> This situation is creating a stress for Pakistan due to its struggle against militants and terrorists as she is losing confidence of both major powers. While, India is gaining more advantage from this situation and USA presence in region which along with USA is pushing China to establish new and wider relations with India to stop her becoming a strong strategic ally of USA. This complex situation for all four states is giving a nerve breaking exercise to diplomats of all four countries who always have to be careful in maintaining good relationships with each of state in this oblong relationship.

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<sup>64</sup> Ibid, pp78-82

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## **Chapter Four**

# **COUNTERING STRATEGIES AND POLICIES**

## 4 Countering Strategies and Policies

### 4.1 All Weather Friends

There is some debate about the slogans popular in Pakistan more than in China about “most trusted friend, sweeter than honey, deeper than Indian oceans, high than Himalayas” and even “all weather friends”. When analysts and leaders use such slogans to please people, the question arises among academia that “is this true in the wake of changing global scenarios and changing regional relations among states?” The question comes whether these slogans are really based on solid evidences and reality or are mere political slogans used by leaders for sake of speech.

Pakistan formally recognized People's Republic of China on 04 January 1950 and later formal diplomatic relations were established on 21 May 1951. (Mahmood, 1967)<sup>65</sup> Both countries had normal and neighborhood relations until 1962 when India and China had border conflict which made China to establish more strategic relations with Pakistan due to her strategically important position. After that, both countries enjoyed as ideal relations in world of foreign relations that second close example of such relations is given of US-Israel relations in diplomacy. Only it was after 1999-2000, when both countries find some difficulties in decades as China saw emergence of ETIM which was creating security issues in Xinjiang area, though its terrorist actions and ETIM got roots, training camps and strategic support from Taliban in Afghanistan and Waziristan area more after they got equal support in Kazakhstan and Kyrgyzstan mostly due to exile leadership in the areas. Pakistan is biggest arms buyer from China which is almost 47% of all Chinese arms exports and China is second largest trade partner of Pakistan.

Once Z.A. Bhutto said, "I would like to make it clear beyond all doubt that we have friendly relations with the People's Republic of China and that nothing will be permitted in any way to endanger those relations. Our relations with China are an independent factor in our foreign policy and not contingent on any other. In the best interests of Pakistan, we shall maintain the spirit of goodwill, friendship and cordiality with the great People's Republic of China. I declare that our friendship with China is not tainted by any form of bargain or barter. It is steadfast amity

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<sup>65</sup>Mahmood, D. S. (1967). *International Affairs*. Lahore: Ferozsons. pp 6-12

between two neighboring Asian States".<sup>66</sup> While, President Hu Jintao Stated in his address in 2006 state visit in Islamabad that, "Pakistan was one of the first countries to recognize New China. Ever since our diplomatic relations began in 1951, we have enjoyed mutual understanding, respect, trust and support and our friendship and cooperation have flourished. We are truly good neighbors, close friends, trusted partners and dear brothers". (Bhutto, 2015)<sup>67</sup>

According to Swaran Singh (2007), "Both countries developing mutual relations since decades and the level of their cooperation are increasing with time. Their cooperation covers all departments i.e. energy, economy, trade, military, infrastructure and industry. This also keeps India and USA on toe in the region as both don't want to see increase of such relationship between Pakistan and China to a certain limit where their own interests are on risk."

#### **4.2 Partners for Progress and Development**

The events of terrorism and use of Pakistan's soil for training and strategic purposes by the terrorists to attack China lead to some irritants in the relationships of both friendly states. China had to look to other options in the region to secure its strategic position like conduction of anti-terrorism exercise with Indian Army but both countries are trying their level best to keep the exemplary relationship move ahead beyond this wave of terrorism. China-Pakistan in last decade have developed more trade and business with various activities which are providing more room and scope for strengthening ties between the two states.<sup>68</sup> Both countries signed a Free Trade Agreement (FTA) which marks the improvement of relationships between two states in 2006.

Many Chinese companies have invested in Pakistan in telecommunication, energy, infrastructure and arms. Further, Chinese interest in development of Gawadar port is one of major event in Pakistan's development and for future sustainability. Chinese government also encourages her companies to invest in Pakistan on priority bases. Pakistan government also gives preference to Chinese companies. In the time of global recession, it was Chinese support which saved Pakistan from an economic recession. When major world economies like US and UK were hit by this

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<sup>66</sup> Bhutto, Z. A. *Address to National Assembly on Sino-Indian Conflict*. Retrieved February 02, 2015, from [www.bhutto.org: http://www.bhutto.org/1957-1965\\_speech14.php](http://www.bhutto.org: http://www.bhutto.org/1957-1965_speech14.php)

<sup>67</sup> Ibid, pp168-176

<sup>68</sup> Iqbal, S. (2013, July 21). <http://www.dawn.com/news/1030801>. Retrieved December 23, 2014, from <http://www.dawn.com: http://www.dawn.com/news/1030801>

crises but Pakistan survived with better growth rate in time of recession and war on its borders and terrorism in her streets.

Pakistan got opportunity to increase its exports to China with \$3.05bn in 2013 compared to \$0.43bn in 2000. China is now largest export market for Pakistan with export of Cotton products, Leather and Fish products. While for China, Pakistan is also a growing market with potential that increased Chinese products supply from \$0.62bn in 2000 to \$7.25bn in 2013. Thus, both countries are enjoying growth in trade relations. (Complexity, 2012)<sup>69</sup>

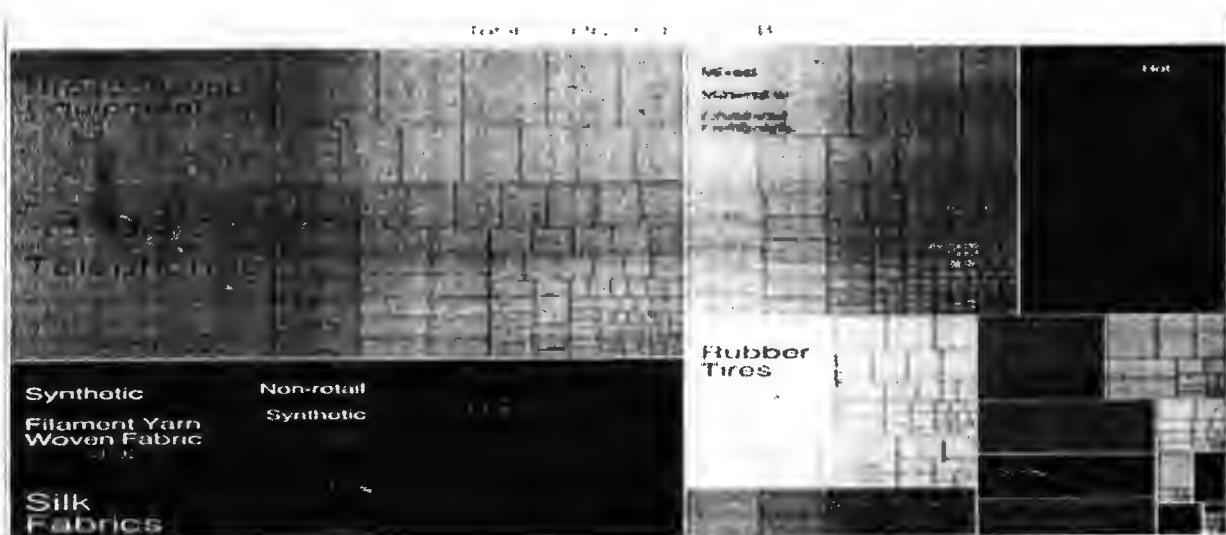
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<sup>69</sup> Complexity, T. O. (2012, March 21). *export/chn/show/all/2012/*. Retrieved December 15, 2014, from <http://atlas.media.mit.edu>: [http://atlas.media.mit.edu/explore/tree\\_map/hs/export/chn/pak/show/2012/](http://atlas.media.mit.edu/explore/tree_map/hs/export/chn/pak/show/2012/)



Graph: 4.1 Pakistan Exports to China 2012

Source: (Complexity, 2012)



Graph 4.2: Chinese Exports to Pakistan 2012

Source: (Complexity, 2012)

These graphs clearly indicate that Pakistan as market and as Exporter in both ways is good partner for China and same is about China due to its potential. Pakistan due to its economic situation and especially due to current crises since 2008-09 is unable to meet the potential needs of Chinese markets. China is investing in the growth of Pakistani economy with in Provincial areas of Pakistan on priority basis for each province needs and capacity; and healthy sign which is good for Pakistan's future economic growth. (Butt, 2007)<sup>70</sup>

Pakistan government has welcomed Chinese businessmen in Pakistan to establish business projects. Further, many Chinese companies are exploring Pakistan potential in infrastructure, education, health, automobile, engineering and telecommunication projects. Pakistan's decision to hand over the management of its deep waters port in Gwadar to a Chinese company is one of good example to light the good relationships between two states as port is strategically very important for both countries. Giving access to Chinese, through this port linking via railway and road will open new opportunities, not only for China and Pakistan but for the countries of Central Asia and Afghanistan also. Both sides have increased economic relation in recent time to the highest level and China increased her investment to US\$15 billion per year and it will gradually increase to US\$20 billion dollars.

#### **4.3 Relationship Milestones since 2001**

As Pakistan and China are strategic and economic partners since 1950s and these relationships get stronger after Sino-India War in 1962. Pakistan was able to develop more close relationships with China with the passage of time. It reached to the new heights when China gave Pakistan strategic and technical support for the development of nuclear and missile program. After the start of America's War on terror and her choice for going into Afghanistan, Pakistan made some decisions which initially made China to become more careful in her dealing with Pakistan. Chinese government did not appreciated Pakistan's decision for joining War on terror. Further, Pakistan also handed over her air bases to US military which created an alarm with in Chinese security circles. This cooperation from Pakistan with US government and military made China to look for other options in the region. After 2002, China started development of normal relations with India and in next ten years both countries not only raised their economic relationship to new levels but also held many joint military exercises. Pakistan's successive governments were also

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<sup>70</sup> Ibid, 28-33

aware with the changing situation and they responded with new efforts to reverse the impact of growing China-India relations. Pakistan was successful in development of new terms with China and both countries reassured commitments. Though later attacks on Chinese Engineers and workers spoiled the relations but both governments were able to handle the situation with greater mutual cooperation.

### **Strategic Cooperation**

China provided strategic and military support to Pakistan since 1965 when Pakistan needed Chinese support in her war against India. Due to war in terror which was being fought in region with the involvement of US and NATO, it became Chinese interest to help Pakistan more in strengthening her army and fire capacity. Both countries developed a good strategic and military relationship and this relationship led to many milestones in advancement of military technology for both nations. Both exchanged military expertise and other scientific developments. When NATO attacked Pakistani base on November 27, 2011, China supported Pakistan on her stance.<sup>71</sup> Similarly, in 2003, Pakistani forces conduct a successful operation to kill Hasan Mahsum who was linked to Al-Qaeda and was head of East Turkestan Islamic Movement. This was a major relief for Chinese in their Xinjiang province. In ongoing operation Zarb-e-Azb, Pakistani forces killed many ETIM terrorists according to ISPR press release. (Tieuzzi, 2014)<sup>72</sup> The major and only big point of strain which failed to shake the long term friendly relationship between China and Pakistan directly is related to the activities of ETIM, but recent developments in 2014 have covered many irritants successfully and things are moving forward to normal situation.

Since 2000, Pakistan and China have developed many joint arms building projects which led to the improvement of Pakistan's military capacity. Some of these projects are Al-khalid Tank, JF 17 thunder which can carry nuclear arms, F-22P frigate for Pakistan Navy, PNS Azmat fast attack vehicle and building of Karachi shipyard and building works. (MacDonald, 2015)<sup>73</sup> Similarly, investments in telecommunication in Pakistan by Chinese companies like Huawei, ZTE and China mobiles with almost \$298mn in 2014 are of strategic importance for Pakistan.

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<sup>71</sup> This event leads to deaths of Pakistani soldiers and ultimately strained Pak-US relations in coming years.

<sup>72</sup> Tieuzzi, S. (2014, December 18). *after-peshawar-school-attack-china-pledges-deeper-anti-terror-co-op-with-pakistan/*. Retrieved January 17, 2015, from <http://thediplomat.com>: <http://thediplomat.com/2014/12/after-peshawar-school-attack-china-pledges-deeper-anti-terror-co-op-with-pakistan/>

<sup>73</sup> Ibid, p234

This strategic partnership is on growth and will not get much affected by China's understanding and development of relations with India. (Curtis, 2009)<sup>74</sup>

Pakistan-China cooperation in countering terrorism can be, from Pakistani perspective, beneficial and more productive in a number of ways. Pakistan-China relations are free from any friction and there is complete trust between the two states. The Chinese involvement in Pakistan's counter-terrorism strategy, therefore, would not invoke the kind of suspicion and resentment that has been in the case of Pakistan-US cooperation against terrorism.

#### **4.4 Infrastructures and Technological Alliance**

Pakistan and China are not only two neighbor states but both are exploring business opportunities and supporting each other to advance beyond 21st century. Pakistan is offering China with strategic location of its territory to be shared for strategic benefits like Chinese were given control over Gawadar sea port and its development which will open a gigantic economic opportunity not only for Pakistan and China but also for CARs, Afghanistan and the whole region. China has invested through China Overseas Port Holding Company (COPHC) in Gawadar port which will be second deep waters port in Pakistan. Its completion consist upon two phases, one already completed in 2006 with the cost of \$248mn and second ongoing phase will cost \$932mn after completion it will give more opportunity for trade in region and beyond the South Asia.<sup>75</sup>

Further, this China-Pakistan project opened new doors for new investments from China which were called "GWADAR-KARAKORAM-KASHGAR Economic Corridor" including construction of a railroad and motorway which will join China with Gawadar and thus will give Chinese companies advantage of thousands kilometers shipping costs over goods supply to Gulf, Africa and Beyond to Europe, US, Canada and Latin America. Chinese companies already invested in Pakistan's energy, infrastructure development like Coal power plants, small hydro power plants in KPK and in northern areas of Pakistan, mineral and precious stones projects in first decade of 21st century.

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<sup>74</sup> Ibid, p236

<sup>75</sup> Ibid, p238

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## **CONCLUSION**

## 5 Conclusion

This study clearly indicates and concludes that there is one major issue which brought irritants in the relationship of the two states. This irritant is terrorism and bases of ETIM inside Pakistan's tribal areas especially in South and North Waziristan. Likewise, Pakistan also failed to take greater advantage of Chinese growth as her close friend as it was seen with India which after 2000 successfully attracted Chinese investors to invest 70 to 100 times more till 2014 than the situation in 2000 for India and China. Pakistan government and military over the time realized the issue and responded well by contributing to eradication of militant training camps in one of world's most difficult terrains and war zones. Furthermore, both countries started new confidence building measures in economic and political sectors which in long term will bring fruits for both countries in form of growth and development. Chinese involvement in building of Gwadar port and Motorway from Gwadar to Kashgar will add more to this relationship and will be beneficial for both the countries in future. It will also lead to Pakistan's important strategic and economic position in Central and South Asia.

Arms developments with help of China have made Pakistan capable to start its early arms exports to many countries.<sup>76</sup> It was for some time when both countries faced a situation in which China wanted more from Pakistan within her borders but on the other hand, both states have same version about solution of Afghanistan issue and both are trying to resolve this issue as soon as possible to bring peace in Afghanistan, adding Taliban to be part of political process in the country to end bloodshed of four decades, which not only affected the region but all the world and even fundamental human values of freedom and liberty. With sustained peace and end of terrorist sanctuaries in Afghanistan, there will be greater possibility for Pakistan and China to resolve these irritants in better ways which are on the way of resolution since start of major military operation in Waziristan by Pakistan Army.

Pakistan's Army Chief General Raheel Sharif visited USA, UK, UAE, Saudi Arab and China to resolve conflict in Afghanistan which is also affecting life inside Pakistani. Resolution of this issue will open new doors of relationship and development for Pakistan and China with many joint ventures. Pakistan can get more benefits from the growth and experience of China and also

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<sup>76</sup> Ibid

can help China to play its role in global politics by bridging gulf between Muslim world and China as Pakistan did in case of US-China relation in early-1970s. Pakistani diplomacy produced positive results and US-China restored their diplomatic relations.

There is very clear evidence for this research that wave of terrorism, extremism and separatism which surfaced in the region after US attack on Afghanistan has brought some irritants in the relations of two friendly states but these irritants were neither deep rooted, nor sustainable. Both countries successfully positioned in a way which defused the situation with many positive developments by carrying focus on economic and other confidence building measures. There was for sure a phase of troublesome relations due to confusion in strategy adopted by both countries as China was afraid of US presence and whispers of “encircling China strategy” of US, while Pakistan was providing its military bases to US. Later on, Pakistan cleared its position by ensuring China that some of these bases were handed over by UAE as per the lease agreements between Pakistan and UAE governments.

Pakistan assured China that she has equal concern about her strategic interests in the region. There was slight decline in strategic relations between two states, but economic terms remained on growth and similar were the political and social terms between China and Pakistan in the first decade of 21st century. (Rehman, 2013)<sup>77</sup> Thus, our investigation confirms the hypothesis raised for this study hence stands correct as it states that, “The phenomena of terrorism, extremism and separatism have put strains on Pakistan-China relationship after the end of Cold War. Terrorism, extremism and separatism surfaced as issues of immediate concern and attention for both states. But due to effective measures undertaken by both the countries, the situation was managed and friendly relations between the two remained intact.”

If we finally conclude the study by looking into the research questions one by one, we can find the answers as following in coming discussion:-

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<sup>77</sup> Rehman, F. U. (2013). *Pak-China Relations: the Shadow of Kargila and 9/11*. (M. L. Shiping Tang, Ed.) Palgrave Macmillan, Vol4, No 22, 2014.

**1. After the end of Cold War, extremism, terrorism and separatism emerged as a major problem for Pakistan.**

The discussion and supported research material based on evidence proved that at the end of the cold war extremism, terrorism and separatism emerged as major problems for Pakistan which not only affected her directly in form of loss of lives, infrastructure and economy but also brought irritants in its relations with all its neighbors especially Afghanistan, India and China. For her relations with China, it was very critical because China also serves her as counter balance against Indian hegemonic designs. Pakistan escaped from becoming epicenter of terrorists but she became victim due to its stretched borders with Afghanistan and presence of Al-Qaeda and other foreign fighter in its Tribal Areas. Later on, she adopted a decisive strategy though with delay to root out this problem and has achieved credible success. This already started recovering the short term irritants which appeared in her relations with China due to terrorists' activities in Xinjiang area under banner of ETIM.

**2. China was especially fearful of spillover effect of Islamic extremism from Pakistan.**

Presence of East Turkistan Islamic Movement fighters in Pakistan's northern and Tribal areas surely created a fear in China about Spillover effect of this extremism for both of the states. But, Pakistan army's actions against ETIM chief and founder Hasan Mahsum in 2003 (Jamal, 2010) and others in later years successfully won Chinese confidence over Pakistan's strategic partnership and removed many ambiguities and irritants. During military operation against Tehreek-e-Taliban Pakistan, Pakistani security forces claimed killing of many ETIM militants which was good news for both friendly states.

**3. The strains caused by the phenomenon of extremism, terrorism and separatism on the relations between Pakistan and China.**

Both, Pakistan and China have to face some strains which were created only by one element of East Turkistan Movement militants. Such irritants though did not stay for long, especially when Pakistan military effectively controlled the intrusion of ETIM fighters to China from Pakistan borders. Furthermore, the successful operations with in Pakistan and China, both confirmed that most of ETIM activities and training camps are Kirghizstan and Tajikistan based. This fact

brought more relief for both friendly states after many successful operations which were conducted in 2003 and later years.<sup>78</sup> Still, terrorist, extremist and separatist activities in Pakistan, are based in KPK and Baluchistan where many times Chinese companies and their employees were targeted by separatists and terrorists are matter of concern for both states and need more attention to overcome these issues with joint planning and support.

#### **4. The measures undertook by Pakistan and China to dilute the strains caused by extremism, terrorism and separatism.**

This study confirms that positive measure on political, strategic, social and economic levels taken by Pakistan and China brought successful dilution in the strains created by irritants of extremism, terrorism and separatism mostly in Xinjiang, Baluchistan and KPK areas of both of the countries. Both, Xinjiang and Baluchistan provinces are facing ongoing weak separatists' movements since decades. Though, these separatist, terrorist and extremist activities failed to make any major blow in the relationships of both countries. Yet, these made both states to look for new friends in the region and seek other measure to balance the strategic weaknesses. Since 2001, China and Pakistan focused more over economic measure to recover from pains of terrorists' activities and both were successful in diluting the situation with many positive measures including military support, economic and political support to each other. There seems growth and bright future based on good relationship between both of the states in the moments ahead and looks that this relation will grow stronger and deeper in the forthcoming times.

In the regional and international context, Pakistan has been able to vigorously assist on anti-terrorism measures along with world and she is sharing all intelligence, supporting militarily on her borders. Pakistan also has signed UN anti-terrorism conventions and also active member of UN Counter-terror committee (CTC). Pakistan also has been active advocate of resolution of such issues which are fueling terrorism like issues of Kashmir and Palestine. Pakistan also plays her vital role in UN peace keeping missions which indicates her efforts in global peace. Pakistan also wants peaceful solution of Afghanistan issues with the inclusion of all stakeholders with in Afghanistan. Pakistan's right strategic policy has brought Afghan Taliban on peace negotiation table and thus after fourteen years of failed policy of USA and Afghanistan government, Taliban

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<sup>78</sup> Ibid, p78-80

have come to the negotiating table and China is also part of these negotiations as observer. (Iqbal R. G., 2011) However, regional and strategic scenario is constantly changing and new developments take place with every passing moment.

Though, in recent years, terrorists tried to subvert Pakistan and China relations which initially got affected and China turned towards India for most of her foreign investment after 2002 but later on operations against ETIM in Pakistan-China bordering areas by Pakistan Army have built confidence between two nations and economic corridor construction will bring a new milestone in the ongoing cooperation. This relationship will also bring new peace and cooperation environment in the region and it can also help Central Asian states to become part of this important economic zone which can change future of the whole region.

According to Chinese President Xi Jinping in his article published in Pakistani Newspaper Daily Times, (Jinping, 2015) "China and Pakistan need to align security concerns more closely to strengthen security cooperation. The security interests of China and Pakistan are closely related. Our cooperation in the security and economic fields reinforce each other, and they must be advanced simultaneously. We need to deepen defense cooperation and enhance coordination and collaboration on regional hotspot issues."

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