

**XINJIANG PROBLEM OF CHINA: IMPLICATIONS FOR
SINO-PAKISTAN RELATIONS**

Accession No. TH16879



by

Aftab Alam

31-FSS/MSIR/F14

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2016



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MS

327-5491

AFX

1- Pakistan - Foreign relations - China

2- Terrorism - China

3- Xinjiang Terrorist groups

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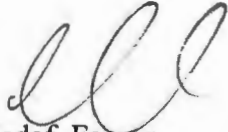
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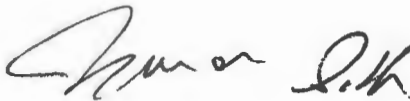
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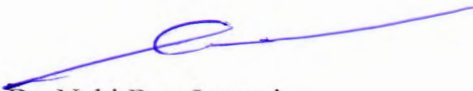


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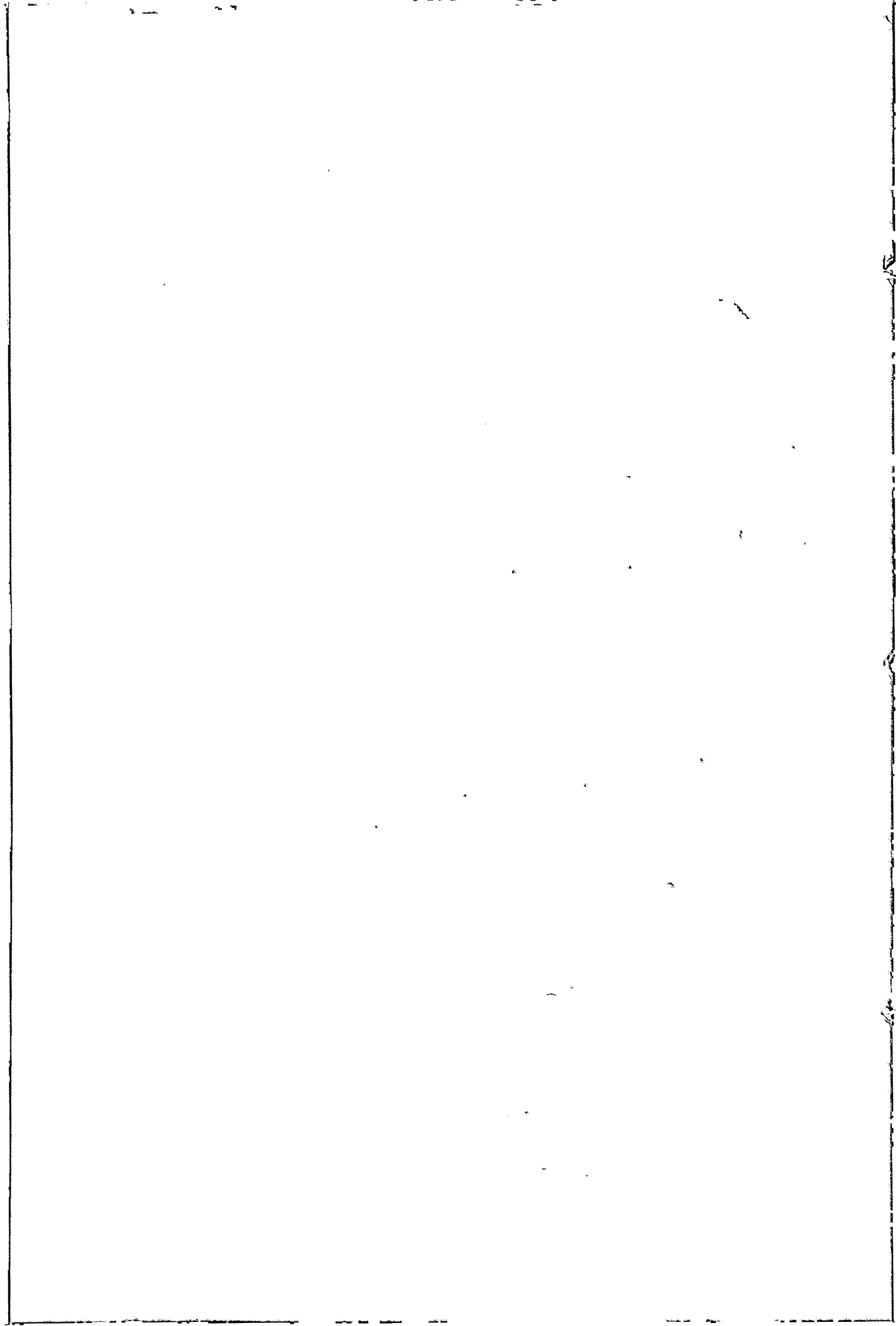
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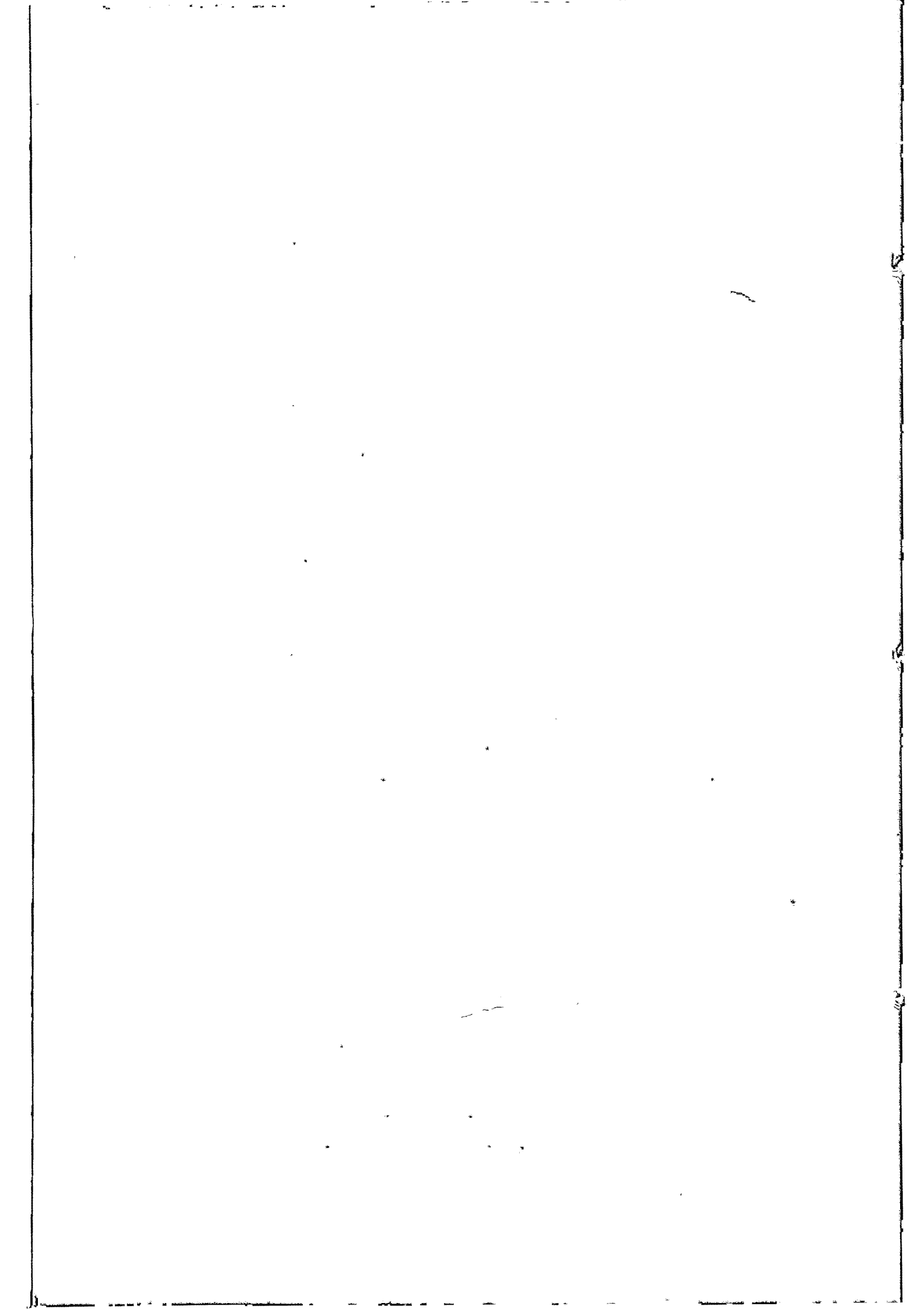
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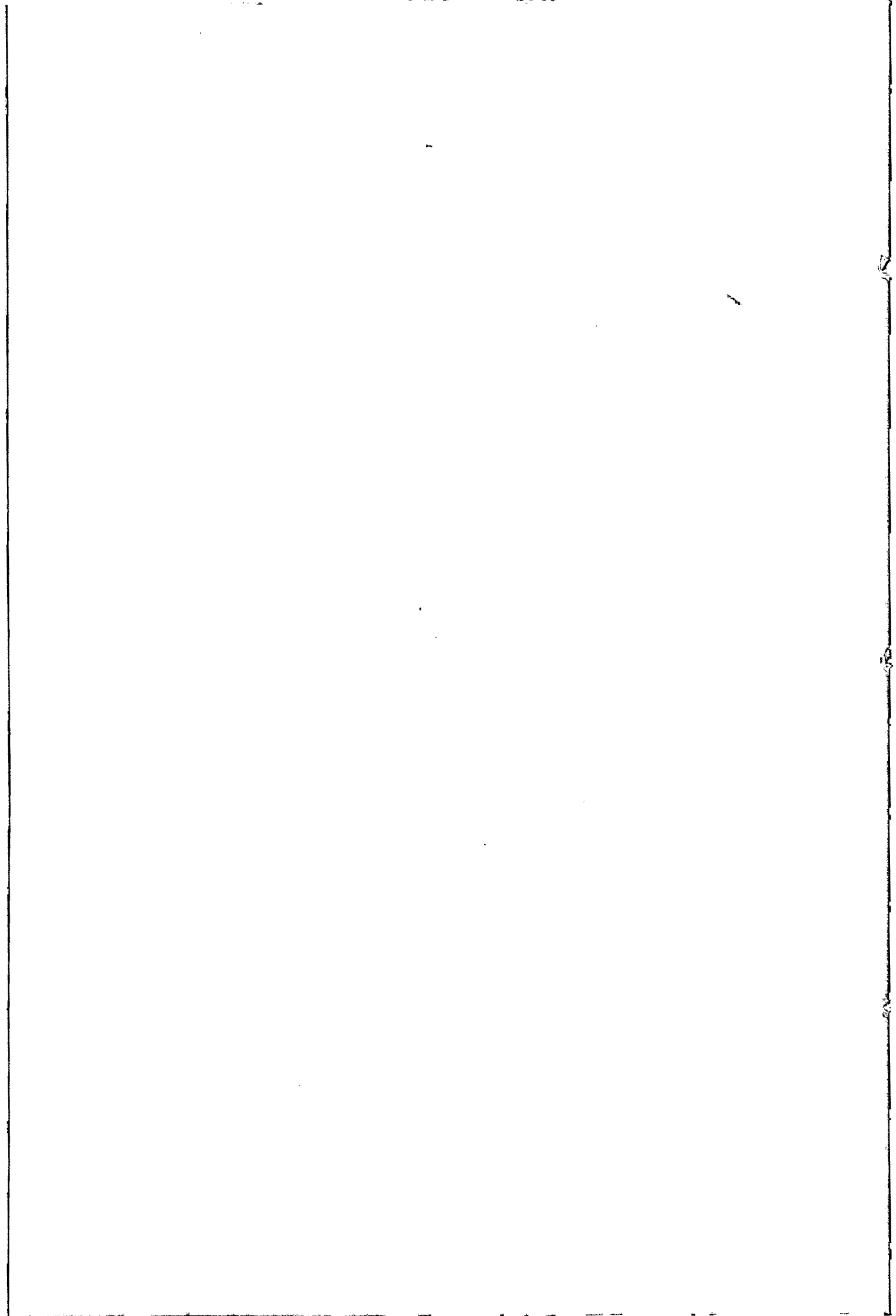


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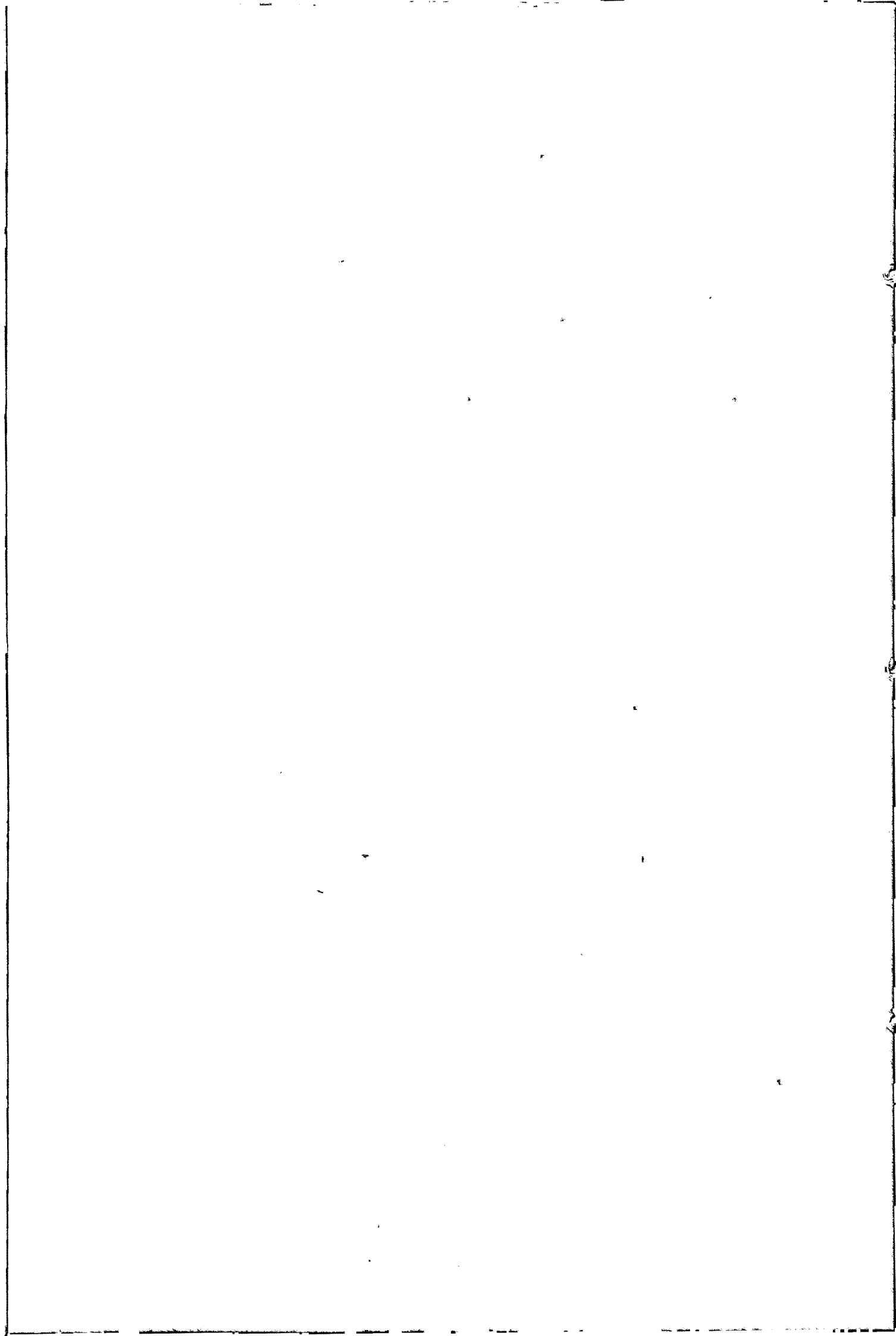
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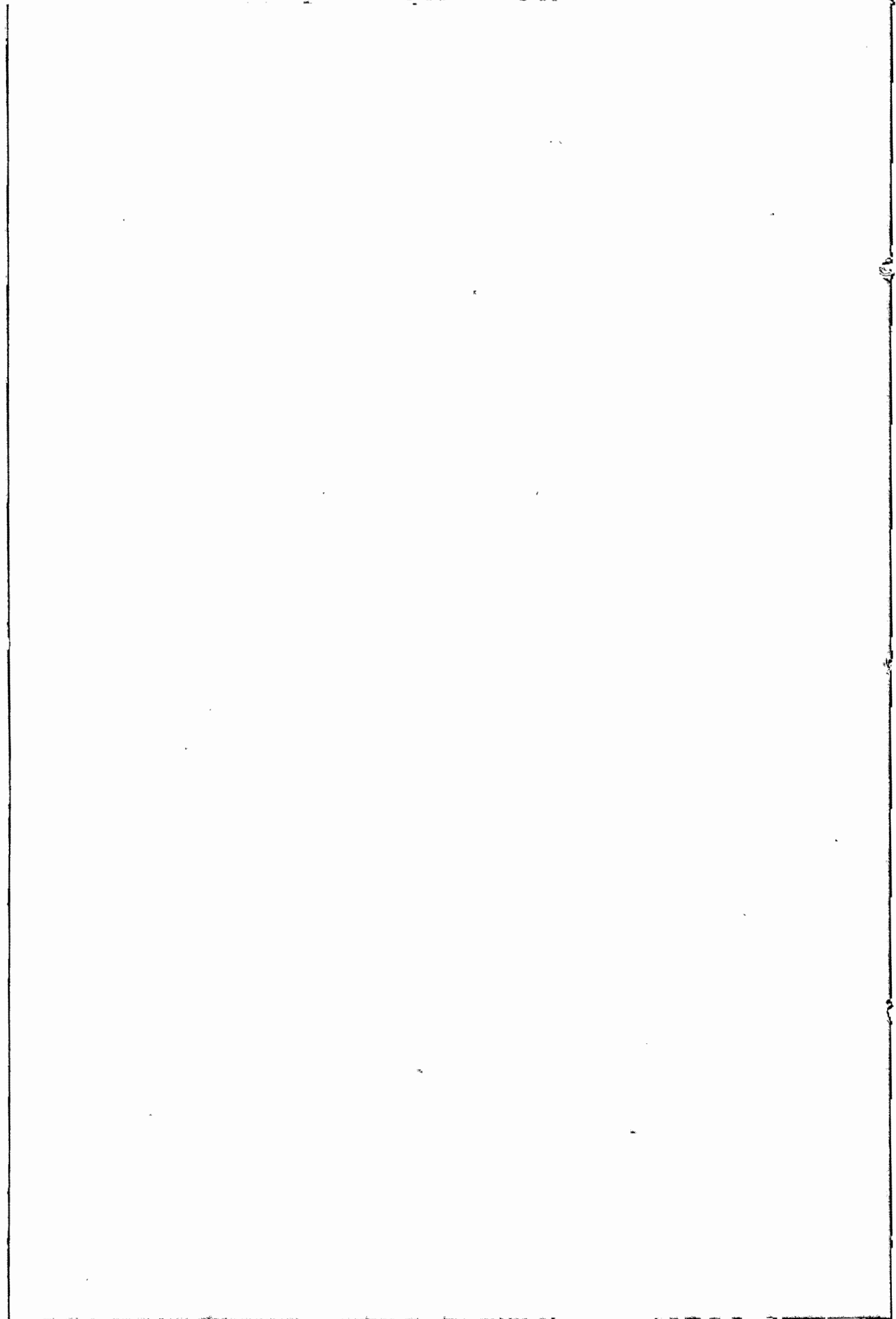


LIST OF ABBREVIATION

CA	Central Asia
CCP	Communist Party of China
CENTO	Central Treaty Organization
CPEC	China Pakistan Economic Corridor
ETIM	East Turkistan Islamic Movement
ETIP	East Turkistan Islamic Party
ETIPA	East Turkistan Islamic Party of Allah
ETOP	East Turkistan Oppositions Party
FATA	Federally Administered Tribal Areas
GWD	the Great Western Development
IHW	Islamic Holy Warrior
IMU	Islamic Movement of Uzbekistan
IRP	Islamic Reformist Party



KP	Khyber Pakhtunkhwa
MSEC	Maritime Silk Economic Corridor
MSR	Maritime Silk Road
NAP	National Action Plan
OBOR	One Belt One Road
OIC	Organization of Islamic Cooperation
PRC	Peoples Republic of China
SA	South Asia
SAARC	South Asian Association for Regional Cooperation
SCO	Shangai Cooperation Organization
SRED	Silk Road Economic Development Corridor
TTP	Tahrek Taliban Pakistan
UAA	Uyghur American association
ULO	Uygur Liberation Organization



UN	United Nations
URFET	United Revolutionary Front of East Turkistan
USSR	Union of Soviet Socialist Republic
WUC	World Uyghur Congress
XUAR	Xinjiang Uyghur Autonomous Region

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AFTAB ALAM
(31-FSS/MSIR/F14)

DEDICATION

I would like to dedicate my work to my parents, who made me to prove myself, a good hard worker to deal any problem easily and who supported me to do my research without any hesitation, to my Aunt, Noreena Bibi, who encouraged me a lot, my friend, Kashif Ahmad, who guided me at the time of research and also to rest of my family members especially my younger brother, Shahbaz khan, for providing every possible help in completing my work whenever needed.

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AFTAB ALAM

ABSTRACT

The events of 9/11 have radically altered the entire discussion of Minorities – especially Muslim ones – and the issue of terrorism. As real as is the threat of al-Qaida and its international connections, many regimes of the world have seized on the US Global War against Terrorism to legitimize their own repression of Muslim and even Non-Muslim minorities. We have witnessed this in China in the case of the Uyghur. The Uyghur's are Turkic ethnically and culturally, and mostly Sunni Muslims live in China's Xinjiang province. It is one of China's five autonomous regions for ethnic minorities. Economically, it is backward than the interior and western provinces of China. The ETIM is leading group in Xinjiang which fight against China's government for the separation and this group is mainly operated from Pakistan tribal area North Waziristan. This sense of ethnic difference has to a large extent formed the basis of longstanding anti-Han sentiment among the Xinjiang Uyghur's. The Chinese leadership has also for decades perceived these sentiments as the presence of a separatist movement in Xinjiang. The Uyghur's' situation is complicated by the fact that Xinjiang – a vast oil- and gas-rich swath of territory in China's northwest occupying one-sixth of the country's area – is of great strategic value. The Chinese government has repeatedly emphasized the importance of interethnic harmony in Xinjiang and rapid integration of the Uyghur's into the Han-dominated Chinese society. Yet, many Uyghur's see policies intended to promote these goals as attempts to suppress their culture and religion. Xinjiang conflict is one of the most serious threats to the relation of both the countries.

CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

1.1. Introduction

Xinjiang is a Muslim populated region in the northwest of China, which consists of different ethnic groups. The groups included Kazak, Kirgiz, Tajik, Uzbek, Uyghur, Han, Mongolian, Manchu, Tatar and Daur. However, among all, Uyghur are in majority and most of them are Sunni Muslims. The area is considered as Xinjiang Uyghur Autonomous Region (XUAR) which share boundaries with Central Asia, Russia, India, Mongolia, Afghanistan and Pakistan. The geo-strategic and geo-economic condition of Xinjiang is playing very important role in social, political, and economic development of China and Pakistan. However, the internal instability in Xinjiang, especially due to Uyghur and Han Chinese, may welcome other powers to involve in proxy wars. Thus the situation might create the possibility to affect the Sino-Pakistan relationship.

In the region, the Uyghur ethnic minorities feel social, political, and economic deprivation from Han Chinese. The cultural, religious, and linguistic differences from the entire China make the Uyghur's to demand for a separate state. But the restrictive policies of China towards Xinjiang had never fulfilled their demand of separatism, which created instability amongst the ethnic groups and also between China and Xinjiang (Shan Wei, Weng Cuifen, 2010). Many scholars discuss ethnicity one of the root causes of the problem. But religion, economic inequality, Chinese policies and migration of Hans to Uyghur majority area in the region is also responsible for instability inside and outside the region. The incident of April 1990s in the Baren Township, Sedum Yusup a member of the East Turkish Islamic Party led 200 Uyghur to protest against the Han migrations but the repressive policies of China treat them severely. As a result, instability increased in Xinjiang day by day (Xiaogang Wu, Xi

Song, 2013). The People Republic of China officially declares Uyghur as a terrorist group which has relations with other terrorist organizations along with borders. Pakistan and China enjoys unique, cooperative friendship. Both the countries connected through Xinjiang, and the stability of the region is very important geo-strategically and geo-economically for both the states. The Xinjiang terrorist group has close connection with Taliban groups which based inside Pakistan (Pillalamarri, 2014). Xinjiang is also a challenge for both Pakistan and China economic corroder. Both the countries cooperate with each other to alienate terrorist groups and separatist movements from the region with the collaboration of United State (THE NEWS, 2015).

1.2. Statement of the Problem

Xinjiang problem is the focal threatening point in Sino-Pakistan relationship. Due to wrong assessment from both sides, Xinjiang problem turned from bad to verse, which can fertilize the soil in near future to bring clash of interest between both states. The growing economic activities in the region are solely challenged by the growing extremism across the borders, especially the economic corridor project of which China and Pakistan are the major players and direct beneficiaries. The need of time is to combat terrorism and extremism on both sides and consolidate the economic ties in the region.

1.3. Literature Review

Marcus E. Ethridge, Howard Handelman explains in their book, *Politics in a Changing World*, about the China economic reforms that since 1980, the economic reforms have increased inequality between rural and urban societies in China. Which widen the gap between urban and rural living standard, As a result rural protests and violence are increased. In Xinjiang most of the Uyghur populations were unhappy because of the state economic policies (Ethridge, Handelman, 2008).

Gardner Bouingdon discusses in his book, *Autonomy Xinjiang Han Nationalist Imperatives and Uyghur Discontent* that several factors are responsible for Xinjiang conflict, but Xinjiang political structure is the root cause of violence which is related to systemic problem in China politics. Extensive Hans immigration and took over top official position in region is also one of the main cause of conflict.

Akram Zaki, has highlighted in his book, *China of today and Tomorrow: Dynamic of Relations with Pakistan*, that the main objective of China foreign policy is peace and safeguard independence inside and outside the country. Sino-Pakistan relationship is cooperative in nature both the countries need one another for the purposes to achieve social, economic and security interest inside and outside the states (Zaki, 2010).

Muhammad Munir, et-al. (2014) describes in his article that since 1962, border agreement between China and Pakistan, both the states have developed cordial relations with each other. Except Xinxiang problems, which Chinese administration sees in a doubtful ways, because many Chinese Spokespersons have expressed their views that terrorism and extremism in Pakistan intensify Xinjiang problem in different ways. The Chinese government is interested in how Pakistan government deals with extremism and terrorism, which affect the geostrategic and geo-economics position of both the countries in the region.

Dru C. Gladney, et-al. (2006) demonstrated in his article that the United Nation and United States have supported the clam of Chinese government, which declares East Turkistan Islamic Movement as an international terrorist organization. The writer says that Chinese administration makes no difference between terrorist, separatist and the rightist. Though, Xinjiang problem is somewhat closer to separatist and rightist movement in nature. The need of time is to see the Chinese and Shanghi-Cooperation Organizations' response to Xinjiang problem and counter terrorism policies in the region.

Sadia Fayaz, et-al. (2012) concludes in her article that soon after the independence of Pakistan in 1947, Pakistan has joined SEATO and SENTO because of security concerns. Despite of the fact that these pacts were US sponsored and anti-communism, Pakistan and China have sustainable relations. Xinjiang problem is the only reason which can affect the durable relations between the two countries. In Pakistan, most of the population is sympathetic with Muslim struggle for separate home-land in Xinjiang, China as a Xinjiang Uighur Autonomous Region.

Akhilesh Pillalamarri, et-al. (2014) elaborates in his article that the recent crisis in Xinjiang has direct relations with Zia's Islamization policies of Pakistan in 1980s. The Uyghur militants had organized and trained themselves on the pattern of Taliban jihadist inside Pakistan. The China has keen interest in the current operation Zarb-e-Azb. If Pakistan could succeed in rooting out all types of militancy in such operations, especially Turkestan Islamic party (sub-group of East Turkestan Islamic movement) then the Sino-Pakistan relations will move on.

Xiaogang Wu and Xi Song, et-al. (2013) discuss in their articles that the root cause of the Xinjiang problem is economic instability which is mainly caused due to the following reasons: Migration of Han's to Xingjian region, their exploitation producing earning gap, ethnic discrimination, and blaming them for religious nationalism.

Shan Wei and Weng Cuifen, et-al. (2010) analyse that Xinjiang problem is still a challenge for China. The China new policies towards the region face different internal and external challenges in shape of economic inequality, religious restrictions, and problem of national integration among different ethnic groups. The two western Uyghur movements, World Uighur Congress (WUC) and Uighur American Association is also a challenge for Xinjiang stability.

Owais Ahmad Ghani, et-al. (2013) discuss in his research paper '*Regional geo-strategic challenges and opportunities for China Pakistan co-operation*' that the foreign funded terrorist organization is a threat to Pak-China economic co-operation. China through their economic developmental projects facilitate Pakistan to develop the under develop areas. Pakistan and China are important for each other. China needs Pakistan's support for peaceful economic policies and also to prevent Uighur's militants groups who are destabilising Xinjiang.

Khalid Rahman, et-al. (2009) describes in his article that so for the Xinjiang problem has been misunderstood by the researchers and writers. This is; firstly, due to lack of people to people contact between Xinjiang and Pakistan, secondly, Chinese governmental policies towards Xinjiang, and thirdly, the combine policies and decisions of both China and Pakistan in the wake of boosting their economic relations and gaining the strategic interest in the region. These factors further aggravate the current turmoil and tumult in the Xinjiang region welcoming the people for separatism. The current humiliation in Xinjiang is not bilateral in nature instead; the issue is regional.

Manu Siddhartha Jha, et-al. (2011) says in his article that the main issue of Xinjiang problem is separatism and terrorism, which is caused due to economic inequality, and marginalization process between the two dominant ethnic groups in the region. The writers also predict that if the Xinjiang problem is not addressed, the disease of such movements may affect the borders of the states.

1.4. Theoretical Framework

The theoretical framework will be based on Structural Realism. Waltz is of the view that explanation rather than prediction is expected of a good social science theory, since social scientist cannot run controlled-experiment that gives the natural science so much predictive

power (Waltz, 1979). According to Waltz, in international system, there is anarchy as there is anarchic structure of different units and the absence of world government. In such an anarchic system, states survival is important which needs demographic, economic, military, and technological capabilities, which promote states national interests. In international system, states feel insecurity, and to strengthen their security state must be in search of more and more capabilities. As, China and Pakistan both are the part of such system and have relationship for the purpose of securing their respective interests, therefore, the current situation in Xinjiang is a potential threat for the deterioration of Sino-Pak relationship. The terrorist groups there have relationship with terrorist groups, which operate inside the tribal areas of Pakistan and these groups are clear threat to China security. The behavior of states to ensure their survival compels them towards cooperation and alliances. Sino-Pakistan friendly relationship, which is said to be higher than Himalayas and deeper than oceans, is primarily based on the security interests of both the neighboring states. They are equally important for each other's strategically. Now due to the rising tensions of Xinjiang crisis, both the states would never put their primary security interests at risk. And that is basic essence of neo-realism and what Waltz and other structural realists try to explain in their work.

1.5. Significance of the Study

Xinjiang problem of China is one of the serious challenges to the peaceful progress of Sino-Pakistan relationship. Since border agreement of 1962 both countries enjoyed the cordial relationship except Xinjiang problem, for which the Chinese government accused Pakistan. But Pakistan's government alone cannot be blamed for such problems in the region. There are certain other actors, which are also interested in the economic opportunities provided by the region. Still Xinjiang problem can manipulate the relationship between Pakistan and China. Many scholars, intellectuals, and researchers discussed the Xinjiang problem of China

from different angles and domains such as politically, economically, and ethno-religiously. However, the researcher has not found enough work on the topic of Xinjiang problem of China: Implications for Sino-Pakistan relations. That's why the researcher will carry out research to study thoroughly all the related areas of the research topic in a new approach and methodology, and would like to discover it further.

The issue of Xinjiang problem of China and its implications for Sino-Pakistan relations has already been discussed by different scholars, political scientist, and researchers as a considerable work is available on the issue in form of books, research articles, and experts' opinions. This study will try to search the realities and bring it to the front by giving answer based on research and factual data. The thesis would be helpful for new researchers and would open further research quests and outlets.

1.6. Objectives

Study aims to assess main causes of Xinjiang Conflict developed from ethnic crises to terrorism and their implications on China- Pakistan relations. Research will also explore the effects of socio-economic policies of China in Xinjiang and will also try to probe out the differences and similarities between Han and Uyghur ethnic groups. This study will also elaborate Xinjiang violence and its implications on China Pakistan Economic Corridor.

1.7. Research questions

- How Xinjiang crisis developed from ethnic issue to terrorism?
- How Chinese socio-economic policies in Xinjiang create inequalities?
- To what extent, Xinjiang instability is a challenge to China Pakistan Economic Corridor (CPEC)?

- How much geo-strategically and economically, Xinjiang violence is responsible for Sino-Pakistan relations?
- What are the implications of Xinjiang Problems for Sino Pak relations?

1.8. Methodology

This research is of qualitative, descriptive and analytical in nature where both primary and secondary sources will be used. The primary sources include videos, experts' opinion, and interviews from researchers/academics and journalists. The secondary sources consist of books, research articles, newspapers, reports and internet sources.

1.9. Organization of the Study

The Thesis would be divided into five Chapters. First chapter will discuss the background. Chapter will provide an over view of the whole study and will also include the theoretical frame work.

Second Chapter would be that of a historical perspective. Chapter will explain the major causes of the Xinjiang problem including ethnicity and terrorism, geography and strategic importance of Xinjiang.

Third Chapter would elaborate China's policies in Xinjiang. Chapter will also discuss Hans's migration to Xinjiang and its impacts on Uyghur demographic position.

Fourth Chapter will be related to the CPEC project and its importance for Xinjiang.

Fifth Chapter will de focus on Xinjiang problems and its implications for Sino-Pak relations and this would be followed by conclusion and recommendations.

CHAPTER TWO

HISTORY OF XINJIANG

2.1. Historical Background

This chapter consists of the geographical description of Xinjiang that marked this part of China as one of the severe securities concerns for the PRC. It also elaborates that how Xinjiang converted from an ethnic problem to the issue of terrorism. This part of the study also deeply investigate the causes and roots of the Eastern Turkistan Movement and how it sparked Xinjiang as one of the most top priority issues of the PRC sovereignty. The last part of this study will critically analyze the geostrategic importance of Xinjiang which gives no option to Beijing but to have good relations with all the regions of South Asia, Central Asia, and Russia.

The region located in the Northwest of China named as Xinjiang had an area of 1,664,900 Setsquare kilometers. It shares its border with Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Mongolia, India, Pakistan, Afghanistan, Russia, and Tajikistan. Before eighteenth century, the area was under the Han and Tang dynasties. But in the mid of seventeenth century, the Qing dynasty appropriated the area and named it Xinjiang, which means in Chine's language, 'a new land' (Toops, 2004).

The land was conquered by Arabs when they defeated the Chinese in eighth century near Samarkand. The area was also in the control of Mongols, Manchu, Turks and other non-Chinese rulers. When the Western Han Dynasty ruled China in (206 Bc-Ad), the area was included in China (Cheng, 1989).

The name (Uyghur) also written like Uygur means harmony. The word Uyghur or Uighur emerged thousand years ago, when the great Uyghur kingdom was the important and

enormous realm belonged to Mu continent. The Uyghur are historical Turkic ethnic group and having a long history in the East Turkistan, now called Xinjiang or Xinjiang Uyghur Autonyms Region. These people are religiously Muslims and have exceptional culture and civilization, which brings into being The Uyghur Empire in 740-840AD. The Karakhoja Empire was one of the important areas also known as Idikut Uyghur state, which covers the cities of Turpan, Qumal, Beshbalik and Kusha. The Karakhoja was religiously Buddhists, which ruled till 1206. But when the Mongols under Changaz khan occupied the territory in 1336, they lost their autonyms rule.

The Karakhans Empire was also the most important, which was basically originated from Uyghur clan and ruled in Turkistan from 942 to 1210. They followed Islam in 936 when Bughra khan ruled over from 921-954 and also form a Federation of Muslim against the Uyghur Buddhist of Karakhoja.

The Karakhan Region of Uighur was famous and important for Turkic civilization and history, their ethnicity, and painting. And it was the time in which they have developed the cities of Bukhara and Samarkand in different pasture, especially in Education, which becomes a famous learning place for the world (Isa, 2013).

The East Turkistan now called Xinjiang was also ruled by Manchurians in 1759, which was a large empire in China. The Uyghur several times upraised against them for the purpose to accomplish their independence. In 1866, they reached their success and made an autonomous realm with the name of Kashgaria, which was recognized by Ottoman Empire and latter by Britten and Russia.

The Great Game between Tsarist Russia and Great Britten was also contributed in Xinjiang uprising history. The 1876 attack on East Turkistan by Munch was supported financially by Britten, because they were worried about the expansionist ideology of Tsarist Russia. At that

time, the name of Eastern Turkistan was changed to Xinjiang which means 'New Province' or 'New Border'. In last the Chinese autonomist conquers the Munch Empire and set up a state.

In last, Xinjiang yielding to the communists in 1949. Rebiya Kadeer is a Uyghur activist and a key player in the game of Uyghur struggle. She fought back for focusing on international attention on this particular issue. But china official could not agree to discuss the issue on international level.

2.2. Geography/ Multi-Ethnicity

Xinjiang is the home of multiple ethnic groups in which Uyghur and Han groups play very important role in socio-economic and political activities of the region. Uyghur and Turks are religiously Sunni Muslim, and have majority in the region. But overall they are in minority in China. On the other hand, Hans are religiously Buddhist and had majority in China through which they influence Xinjiang (Millward, 2004).

Xinjiang is ethnically a heterogeneous province of China. Because it is the land of more than 35 ethnic groups and has different cultures, customs, values, and languages, which make their social structure different from each other and also from the rest of the country. So this becomes a problem for china homogeneity, because the Xinjiang social and political setup is in contradiction with china's socio-political setup. The Uyghur Autonyms Region namely Xinjiang is the one-sixth of China and one of the regions in five autonyms regions, located in the Northwestern side have a 1,626000 square kilometer area. The population of the area consists of different ethnic groups. But the largest groups are the four: Uyghur, Hui, Han, and Kazaks and in these groups majority of people is Sunni Muslim.

The pages of china history tell that Xinjiang was ruled by different rulers having different religions, cultures, and political structures.

The big issue for Beijing is Xinjiang geographic location which contributed on one hand in rising of terrorism. And on the other, it is also important for China connection with the world resources.

2.3. Strategic importance for China

Xinjiang is very important for China due to its natural resources and strategic location with Central Asia and South Asia. Tarim Basin, the area has rich oil resources. And in coming years, it is expected to fulfill the energy needs of China, Lop Nor and Taklamakan desert in Xinjiang is also important for China military as nuclear tests were conducted there. It also makes bases for army, Air force and other forces (Becquelin, (2000)).

Xinjiang also provides an opportunity to China that access shortly to central Asia and Middle East rich resources, which is the main objective for China economic development. The low populated area of Xinjiang is also important for relocation of China overpopulation problem (fayaz, 2013). The Uyghur are religiously Muslims and have good connection with other Muslims due to their spiritual relationship and geographical connection with Muslim majority states, like Pakistan, Afghanistan and central Asian states. However, China feels such connections as threat to the country's security (Haider, 2005).

2.4. Separatism of Uyghur

The ethnic problem and extremist elements in Xinjiang Uyghur Autonyms Region is still considered to be one of the biggest challenges for China internal and external security. Xinjiang remains a source of instability for Beijing. The issue inside Xinjiang is basically ethnic but due to some religious restriction from Chinese government on Uyghur, the ethnic

issue has turned to become violent as bombing and terrorist activities reported. Historically the Uyghur consider their community separate from other Chinese communities.

The Uyghur are different from Chinese in different ways. The linguistic and religious differences amongst the Chinese and Uyghur make both the ethnic groups separate from each other in addition to social, political and cultural differences. The Uyghur are basically central Asians and Turks, and that's why still Uyghur support and adopt their culture, language and way of life. According to Uyghur's Xinjiang was not a part of China, it was an independent state of Uyghur and other Muslim ethnic groups.

The Uyghur are Sunni Muslim and have close connection with other Muslim communities. The unrest in Xinjiang and the terrorist affiliation of these groups with the foreign extremist elements has forced Beijing to take severe action against them in order to avoid the potential threats to the sovereignty of the country. The Xinjiang Muslim wants a separate state in the name of East Turkistan but the Beijing cannot compromise on their territorial disintegration.

In last several years, thousands of people were killed and many Chinese officials were kidnapped. The people of Xinjiang enjoyed two times de facto independence from nineteen thirty three to nineteen forty nine but after 1949, the Chinese authority controlled the region again and brought some restrictive policies in the land, which is against the fundamental religious rights of Uyghur's and very much helpful for the Han Chinese. So such policies have made the Uyghur against the Han Chinese within Xinjiang and also started violence and separatist movements against Beijing authorities.

The Uyghur considered the area Xinjiang Uyghur Autonyms Region (XUAR) for marking the people of this land as having different religion, culture, language, and socio-political structure. These differences make the Uyghur to protest against China for separate state. The Uyghur started different separatist and demonstrative movements against the Chinese

nationalist to form East Turkistan Islamic republic. But the Russian invasion has left them for a very short time due to the Tsarist Russia for the historical assimilations between Uyghur's and Central Asian. So they were anxious about Uyghur independence state. If the Uyghur made Uyghuristan, the Central Asian would start the same uprising against the Soviet Union, which meant to abolish their rule in the Central Asia.

When the cold war ended in 1990s, the Soviet Union was disintegrated and the independence of central Asian state started. The Chinese Government was worried about the Xinjiang ethnic groups and separatist movements to form the province as an independent state in shape of Turkistan or Uyghuristan. The China is culturally and ethnically a heterogeneous state. The country has more than 60 ethnic groups with different identities. When the Central Asian states got independence from Russia and formed states on the bases of Monolithic and ethnic homogeneity, the Uyghur in China also started separatist movements in shape of violence, attacks and strikes (Mackerras, 1994)

In 1990s, about 7.2 million Uyghur, 5.6 million Han, 1.1 million Kazaks and 1.67 million Hui have been living in Xinjiang (Razvan Mamet, 2005).

The Uyghur are ethnically Turkic and also Central Asian inherited and the Hui position is ethnically Chinese but religiously Muslims. The Han are ethnically Chinese but religiously Buddhist, so such a religious and ethnic deference bring clashes between these ethnic groups in Xinjiang. The issue has several times transformed into ethnic violence, terrorism and Islamic fundamentalism. However, the issue in Xinjiang between Uyghur and Han is not only ethnic but also religious one. The Hui are ethnically Chinese and the Han are also Chinese but religiously deferent from each other, so same is the case between Han and Uyghur. The problem does not seem only ethnic but also religious of being Muslim and non Muslim (hoding, 2004).

The Uyghur Muslims want a separate entity in shape of independent state but the China officials are not agree to fulfill this aim, which created instability in Xinjiang. And in near future, the situation can become dangerous for China and the region. The Hui and Uyghur have religious and cultural relationship and both have the same objective in Xinjiang. And their relationship with Han and other Manchu-Buddhist are exploitative in nature.

2.5. Ethnicity and Terrorism

In 1991, when the East Turkistan terrorist organization blast bombs on video theatre in Kuqa County, in which so many innocent people were injured and some people were died. In 1992, in the capital of Xinjiang Urumqi, the terrorist attack on two buses has killed more than 20 people. Thus the issue has changed from ethnicity to terrorism.

The East Turkistan Islamic Movement is a militant organization which work in Xinjiang and also have relationship with other militant groups outside Xinjiang. The world states structure is ethnically divided between minorities and majorities and those state where ethnic majority forms by some groups they can rule in that particular state rather than minorities.

China is also the part of world structure which forms 56 ethnic groups in which Han has the majority and the rest of them are living in minorities. The Han is about 80-90 percent of the total population and mostly live in urban areas of China and the rest of minorities are living mostly in rural areas like in borders areas. The Han are also controlled China politically, socially and economically through Communist Party of China which deprive some ethnic minorities through their policies, because they are historically, culturally and religiously different from each other (Gladney, 1995).

The ethnic differences amongst these groups have very important role in political, social and economic structure of China's societies.

The Uyghur as a minorities in PRC and have no similarities with Han majorities, which is a big issue in China for the last so many decades. The Uyghur historical memories were not part of China. But as a separate nation, their language, culture, and religion, the ethnic Uighur joined hands with outside terrorist organization like Tahreak Taliban Pakistan, Al Qaida, and Islamic movement of Uzbekistan etc, in the promotion of Pan-Islamism.

The questions raise that whether there is ethical correspondence between Xinjiang terrorists groups and Al-Qaeda? What were the causes through which the germs of terrorism in Xinjiang develop from internal ethnic problem to Pan-Turkism and Pan-Islamism and then violence, and extremism?

In probing these questions, we use the US Department of State explanation of terrorism as "Deliberate, politically motivated brutality perpetrate against non-combatant targets by sub nationwide groups or secret agents". We know that Avery happening have a cause and without cause nothing can happen. So the terrorist elements and activities in Xinjiang is also a larger incident of violence inspired by diverse causes, like Ethnic minorities, economic deprivation, under development and links of ethnic groups with terrorist groups.

There are, definitely, only three probable, and limited, answers when assess the quantity of separatism and terrorism in Xinjiang. The first answer might be, that yes we understand the Chinese state's explanation of the scenery of its "Xinjiang problem," both in stipulations of terrorism and its motivation in ethnic separatism. The germs of terrorism are obscure but within the framework of much wider problems of aggression, which disturb thousands of people for the last so many years in Chinese societies.

The second explanation is that in 1990s the Uyghur and Han ethnic conflict were on peak and most of the Uyghur were involved in direct attacks and destruction. So there were cases of terrorism in Xinjiang, which were politicized by the Chinese officials and stated that there

were ethnic relation disturbance rather terrorism, extremism and Islamism because that was the time in which central Asian states were in struggle to form independence and the same was the case of Xinjiang with China.

What has occurred in this standpoint?

The violence in capital of Xinjiang since the late 1990s, the war on Terror, and Central Asian independence make Xinjiang issue internationalized. Uyghur's are mixed up in the Current warfare inside and outside of China, like in Pakistan and Afghanistan. When the Ghulja incident happened in Feb 1997 the China declares it as "terrorist," activities. What is more credible is that these signify sustained and deep-rooted disputation play important role around the future of "China" as a political Community.

The above discussion clear that China issue of Xinjiang have three dimensions: domestic, regional and international. China tries to resolve the issue in all three dimensions with different strategies and policies (Clarke M. , 2010). The 9/11 event globalized the terrorist issue and the United State strategies against militants and terrorist was chiefly helpful for China struggle to counter Uyghur terrorist inside and outside Xinjiang. So at the end of the day, it is important for China to combat terrorism in that area through facilitation and reconciliation process rather than violence and warfare.

2.6. East Turkistan Islamic Movement

The Uyghur militant's organization (ETIM) was founded by a Uyghur Separatist activist name, Hasan Mahsum in 1993 in Xinjiang. The organization works for Uyghur Muslim separatist movements with the help of other militants groups like Uyghur American association, East Turkestan Islamic Party of Allah and Islamic Movement of Uzbekistan.

The East Turkistan Islamic Movement involved in different insurgences in Xinjiang from 1996 to till to date. China blames this as an international terrorist organization (Kaung, 2008). In 1993-94 the ETIM destroyed many markets, hotels, schools and different government departments in Southern Xinjiang; many people were killed and injured in Khotan area.

In April 1998, the same organization attacked on the home of director of public security bureau. China officially blames these terrorist groups, which internationalize the Xinjiang issue.

2.7. Terrorist Destruction inside Xinjiang

The Xinjiang conflict is a reality inside China. The Muslim population is not satisfied with China's religious policies and these policies of China cause destruction and violence inside and outside China.

Table 2. 1

Time and Location	Terrorist Groups	Targeted Areas and Person	Destruction
Feb 1991 in Kuqa	East Turkistan Terrorist Group	Blast in cinema	Death: 02 Effectuated: 16
Feb 1992 in Urumqi	Uighur terrorist	Blast of Buses	Death: 04 Injured: 40
Feb 1997 in Urumqi	ETIM Terrorist	Blast of Three Busses	Death: 08 Offended: 70
April 1998 in Kashgar and hutun	ETTO	Explosion in homes, public places, and departments	Injured: 46
Nov 1999 in Kashi	Uighur terrorist	Attacks on Government Buildings	Death: 08 Injured: 02

The table shows clearly that different terrorist organizations are involved in China destabilization through Xinjiang. If the above events of destructions counted, so more than 200 people are victims of these terrorist attacks inside China.

These terrorist groups like East Turkistan Islamic Party of Allah, East Turkistan Islamic Movement, East Turkistan Islamic Party and Uyghur Liberation Organization and other affiliated groups are also involved in and outside terrorist activities. It is dangerous for peace in China and cooperative relationship with their neighboring countries.

2.8. Xinjiang Terrorist Groups and Al Qaida

In Xinjiang conflict, more than ten deferent terrorist organizations are involved directly and indirectly for the East Turkistan or Uyghur independent State. The China official report clarifies that some terrorist organizations like Islamic Reformist Party, The United Revolutionary Front of East Turkistan, The East Turkistan Oppositions Party, the Islamic holly Warrior and East Turkistan Islamic Party of Allah are involved within countries and have little connection with outside terrorist organizations. But The East Turkistan Islamic Movements have close relations with Islamic Movement of Uzbekistan, Al Qaida and other Central Asian and Pakistan base Jehidasth and Taliban groups (Clarke, 2007).

The People Republic of China clearly knows that ETIM were funded by Osama Bin Laden who was the leader of al Qaida. Since 1990, both the terrorist organizations have close ties and aims to make Islamic state in Xinjiang.

In 1990s when the Chinese Governments took action against the terrorist organization especially ETIM, so most of the terrorists have taken asylum inside Pakistan Tribal Areas, Waziristan and Khyber Agencies and also in areas of Pakistan bordering with Afghanistan under the umbrella of Al Qaida.

The prominent leader of ETIM Hasan Mahsum has personal relationship with the group. He was guided and instructed by Osama Bin Laden and had also given financial support. Abdulla Kariaji, the Vice-Chairman of ETIM joined the group and established training camps in

Afghanistan and Pakistan with the collaboration of Islamic Movement of Uzbekistan and Al Qaida, and these trainees used to fight alongside with Xinjiang terrorist groups against China (Dingding, 2003).

The Uyghur terrorist ties with Pakistan militants were traced back to the Soviet-Afghan war in 1979. As Collye mention in his article that Chinese's authorities supported Uyghur extremist, and facilitated them through different training camps inside Xinjiang to fight alongside with afghan mujahedeen against the Soviet Union in Afghanistan.

The China aims were to increase their relation with the United State and Afghanistan, and also used Karakorum road for providing arm to Uyghur terrorists. And they agreed with the United State to use China air force for providing destructive material to mujahedeen in Afghanistan (Cooley, 2002).

2.9. Incidents Outside China by Xinjiang Terrorist Groups

Table 2. 2

Time and Location	Terrorist Groups	Targeted Areas and People	Destruction
March, 1997	ETIM	China Embassy in turkey	Buren the National Flag of China.
March 2000	East Turkistan Liberation Organization.	President. Kyrgyzstan Uyghur Youth Alliance	Killed near home
May, 2000	Uyghur Liberation Organization	A Bussissman kidnapped from Bishkek market	Death: 01 Injured: 04
July, 2002	Suspected Xinjiang Terrorist.	The Driver of China Diplomat was assassinated.	Commodities in the Market were Fired.
Sep 2002	East Turkistan Liberation Organization	Bombing on public places in Central Asian states	Died: 07 Injured: 12

2.10. Incident inside Xinjiang by ETIM Terrorist

Table 2. 3

Terrorist Groups	Area Targeted	Date and Time	Injuries and Death
ETIM	Explosion of busses in Shangai	2008	Total 40 people
ETIM	Railway Station Targeted	22May, 2014	Injured more than 60 people
ETIM	Attack on Tiananmen Gate	Oct 28, 2013	More than 30 People were injured
ETIM	Market Attack in Urumqi	May 2014	More than 45 civilian were injured

Eastern Turkistan Islamic Movement is an active militant's organization in Xinjiang province. The ETIM main objective before Oct 28, 2013 attacks were to target China officials especially the administrative body, but after the Tiananmen Square incident, a change happened in the ETIM objectives, and started targeting the innocent civilians (Tiezzi, 2014). The ETIM also involved in Beijing Olympic attacks in which so many innocent people were offended, so the Communist Party of China officially declared that ETIM is a terrorist organization and on the behalf of that statement the United Nation included ETIM to the list of International Terrorist Organizations.

The United State of America, Afghanistan and Pakistan also declared it a dangerous terrorist organization. When Abdul Haq died and Abdul Shakur becomes the commander of ETIM in Pakistan who was commander of Al Qaida (Rahman, 2014), so this justification shows that Uyghur terrorist top leader have close ties with the TTP and Al-Qaida because ETIM also involved in terrorist activities in Pakistan which is a threat to China economic and security interest inside Pakistan.

The Uyghur extremist and terrorist applied with Al-Qaida jihadist group by Mufti Abu Zar- al Burmi who belong to Myanmar and was a great leader of Islamic Movement of Uzbekistan (Zenn, 2014). The Pakistan security and United State security forces killed and arrested different ETIM and IMU terrorist inside Afghanistan and Pakistan. Hassan Masoom was killed by Pakistani army in 2013 while his successor Abdul Haq Turkistani was died in Pakistan Tribal Area near Afghanistan by the US drone attacks in 2010 (Mir, 2013). According to the Beijing official reports since 2001 Xinjiang Terrorist Groups and especially East Turkistan Islamic Movement is accountable for more than 240 destructive activities inside China.

As a result, deferent innocent people of different ethnic groups were killed and offended. East Turkistan Islamic Movement is also included in the US agenda against terrorism. The security and defense officials declared that ETIM is a threat to our interest outside America.

2.11. East Turkistan Islamic Party

The ETIP was founded in 1980 but it remained active till 1997 in Xinjiang, Central Asia and Pakistan. Their Headquarter was in North-Waziristan and Hotan areas and led by Abdul- Haq and Abdulla Mansoor in Xinjiang and Abdul Mansoor in Pakistan. The main objective of this organization was to avoid the Chinese authority from Uyghur Autonyms Region. The organization is also active in Syria and other Middle Eastern countries.

2.12. The Eastern Turkistan Grey Wolf Party

The Organization is basically founded in Hoten area of Xinjiang and then expanded to Turfan and Kumul areas. The organization is supported by the lower middle class of the society like teacher, students, youth, former and intellectuals. The main objective of this party was to avoid the Chinese policies related to education and economic in Xinjiang.

2.13. The Home of Best Turkistan Youth

The Organization HBTU also called Xinxiang's Hamas. It was founded in Kashgar Xinjiang. This organization consists of more than three thousand members and affiliated with other foreign radical groups. The party members also involved in terrorist activities in Pakistan and also trained in Afghanistan tribal areas for the purposes to achieve Xinjiang independence.

2.14. Islamic Holy Worriers

The organization also involved in Xinjiang separatist movements for the last twenty five years. The party operated from Hotan area of Xinjiang, which was founded by Ujimamadi Abbas and had also becomes a prominent leader in 2003. The party was declared as a terrorist organization when the riots Yining happened in 1997. According to the Chinese officials, IHW member are behind different terrorist activities inside Xinjiang.

2.15. The United National Revolutionary Front of East Turkistan

The organization was considered as terrorist group by Chinese officials in 1997, when the onslaught started under the slogan of Strike Hard by China's government against Xinjiang uprising. The organization is strictly disparate through people liberation army when they killed Imam of Masjid who was in favor of Chinese views and objectives.

In all over the world, most of the assorted populated states consisted of dissimilar ethnic groups. Each of Ethnic individuality has different voice and weight, for the achievement of which, an incessant struggle is going on, influencing the nationwide politics.

China like other developing states has also in front of distinctiveness catastrophe with different concerns. These concerns are sometimes ethno-nationality, devolution of powers, regional autonomy and economic discrepancy. After the independence of Central Asian state,

the most sensitive and hot issue is the case of Xinjiang ethno-national association which sometimes in different occasion seem to be changed to a militant or an uprising group for accomplishment of their objectives.

CHAPTER THREE

SOCIO-ECONOMIC POLICY OF PRC IN XINJIANG

3.1. Introduction

Xinjiang is basically one of the under developing regions of China in which most of the people are below the poverty line. The issues among the Hans and ethnic Muslim Uyghur have created different problems in the province. There are different factors which could be held responsible for these problems such as social and ethnic relationship between different minorities, economic structure, natural resources and external forces.

In order to address the Xinjiang problems, the Chinese government implements different socio-economic policies. The socio-economic circumstance of Xinjiang has severe impact on ethnic structure of their society. However, different facts show that Xinjiang conflict is mainly caused by poor socio-economic condition.

The socio-economic inequality amongst different ethnic groups has created an environment of violence and terrorism, which is a big problem for China security and economic stability. So for addressing Xinjiang problem, the Chinese central government has approached to the issue through different socio-economic policies.

The economic and social development in Xinjiang can be traced back to the period of Qing Dynasty. When Xinjiang considered as a province of the Chinese kingdom in 1884, the Qing Dynasty boarded an antagonistic plan of economic development. Agriculture commence to be commercialized with an important growth of farming during the reign, and there was also progress in other areas of the economy, such as the rise of handicrafts, coal and oil drawing out with the Russian support and boom foreign trade, which also advantage from the British-Russian royally competition in Central Asia.

The political and social disorder that followed the collapse of the Qing Dynasty in 1911 unenthusiastically prejudiced the economy of Xinjiang. The supremacy of Yang Zengxin was a stage of "well improvement" during which agricultural development was prioritized and Xinjiang sold agricultural goods to other countries and imported industrial goods. But some corrupt leadership of Jin Shuren governance holdback the development position of Xinjiang region. In 1938, the Sheng Shicai once again brought back the economy of Xinjiang throughout liberal reforms and the assistance of the Soviet Union. The civil war in china and the world war has influenced again and declined the socio-economic position of Xinjiang province.

3.2. China's policies in Xinjiang

The explanation about People Republic of China policies in Xinjiang can be divided in different period of time and government setup of Chinese leaders.

3.2.1. Xinjiang under Mao Policies

In October 1949, the communist party of China succeeded to establish People's Republic of China under the leadership of Mao-Zedong. In that time, the Civil War in China was also controlled by the CCP which has disturbed China for the last twenty years. The Xinjiang ethnic heterogeneity and Uyghur separatist activities were a challenge to the new Republic. In 1944, Xinjiang became an independent place of Uyghur and non-ethnic Han because of their revolt and violence against the central government. When in 1949, China became the Republic, Xinjiang occupied through people Liberation Army and Chinese central authority and policy maker took different socio-economic and political initiatives to control over Xinjiang conflict and uprising.

The Xinjiang Uyghur Autonyms region was officially established in October 1955 by CCP. But that autonomic position could not mean that Xinjiang is an independent state. It must be under Beijing authority. China communist Party through the policies of China Islamic Association established close links between Beijing official and Uyghur elites, which hold on socio-economic and religious, position (Dillon, 1997).

The production and construction corps units were also established in Uyghur majority areas like Kashgar, Ahsu and Qumal. These districts were highly populated with separatist and extremist Uyghur's, and the CCP launched that policy for the purposes to avoid these movements and also boarder threats. The rationale behind this policy is to support Han and other non Uyghur ethnic groups. If Uyghur uprising started in future for independence of the state, so all the other minorities would join hands with Han Chinese to oppose Uyghur nationalist movements.

3.2.2. China's policies in Xinjiang after Mao Zedong from 1976-90

The end of culture revolution and the death of Mao Zedong in 1976 have brought dramatic changes in the mind of policy makers and Chinese authorities. The Cultural Revolution and hard policies are stabbing the Xinjiang Uyghur minority socio-economic position and also their culture and identity, and as a result, the Chinese policy makers understand that the maintenance of these hard policies will increase the minorities' problems. So they bring some reforms in their policies in shape of coercive political tightening in Xinjiang. The coercive political and loose economic policies are still today one of the causes of Uyghur and Han conflict inside China.

When in 1978, Deng Xiaoping becomes the leader of the PRC; he brings some important changes in social, political and economic policies, which were more charitable for Xinjiang

socio-economic position, and also for Uyghur freedom of expression and intellectual expulsion. The Uyghur intellectuals were interested to express their views through books paper and articles and also disclose their historical memories. So these writing and historical sharing of memories click the mind of Uyghur minorities that in past Xinjiang was an independent place of Uyghur's. These writing and sharing of history bring homogeneity for a separate state among the Uyghur ethnic minority. Thus they started protests and destructions in different places of Xinjiang. Beijing worried about the Uyghur's terrorist activities, so they imposed ban on different illegal books, pamphlets and their publication which created discrepancy amongst the ethnic groups and also Uyghur independence movements.

The Youhui Zhengce policy of family planning was promoted in Xinjiang to control the Uyghur minorities' population in rural and urban areas. The national family planning program allowed one child per household who live in urban areas and three children per household who live in rural areas. But Uyghur did not accept that policy and considered it as a destruction of non-Han minorities' families. The central government of China also promoted some social developmental policies in Xinjiang majority Uyghur's populated cities in terms of education, infrastructures and employment, most of non-Han were appointed in different governmental institutions. But some ethnic minorities were deprived in governmental positions.

3.3. The Shanghai Five and Xinjiang

In 1990s, the Soviet Union Collapse and the newly Central Asian states got independence. This dramatic incident brings different changes in China's policies towards Xinjiang. At one time it avoided the fear of China about the Soviet influence in Xinjiang. But on the other side, it brings different worries in Beijing that how to deal with new independence state. The new independent states and its people had close social and cultural relationship with Muslim

Uyghur minorities of Xinjiang. The Chinese governments created a policy of building Shanghai Five in 1996, with the member states of Russia, Tajikistan, Kazakhstan and Kyrgyzstan, and later with the amalgamation of Uzbekistan. Its name changed in 2001 to Shanghai Cooperation Organization. The main objective behind this formation was to suppress the Uyghur militancy and religious extremism, with the cooperation of member states.

3.4. China's Social policies inside Xinjiang

The stability of Xinjiang is very important for China economic and peaceful rise. If there is instability in that particular area, it has direct impact on China socio-political and economic environment. In 2009, when Xinjiang terrorist attacks in Urumqi, which is the capital of Xinjiang autonyms region, the communist party of China has planned different policies to counter these separatist and destructive movements in order to stabilize Xinjiang and secure Central China.

The strike hard policy and restriction on religious activities, especially on Uyghur Muslims for the purpose to avoid terrorism. The bilingual education policy was a step to educate the minorities' ethnic groups and their children through Chinese language to achieve the objective of socio-economic unity and homogeneity inside the province. The Han migration policy was also important step of communist party to adjust the Chinese population in Xinjiang and reduce the majority of Uyghur. These policies were criticized by different researchers and organizations on different bases. The problem still exists between different groups. The Uyghur feels deprivation in different aspects of their life from Han dominancy policies of China inside Xinjiang Uyghur Autonyms Region (Jamil, 2011).

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3.4.1. Economic development of Xinjiang

The ethnic majority and under development of Uyghur in Xinjiang is a serious problem for Chinese sovereignty. The Chinese government promotes different policies to address the issue. But most of the policies are contentious which raise the issues day by day. The Uyghur and Han conflict is basically economic discrimination and relative depravation. Most of the Uyghur population is poor than Han population. The first and most important goal for Chinese government is to develop Xinjiang and specially focus on Uyghur's majorities areas in order to eliminate the conflict of economic deprivation among the major ethnic groups and Uyghur uprising.

The 1990s, the unrest by the Uyghur terrorist in Urumqi has left no choice with Beijing but to bring developmental policies in Xinjiang. The policy maker knows that economic development can change the traditional life-style of Uyghur to modern standard, which can shun conflicts and bring stability in the region.

3.4.2. The Great Western Development (GWD)

The central aim behind these policies was to develop Western side of China. The Great Western Development program covers different areas and projects. These policies mainly focused on the socio-economic poor areas and provinces of China, in which Xinjiang Uyghur Autonyms Region is one of the important concerns. The main objective of this policy was to develop the economic position and living standards like development of infrastructure, transport system, roads, rail line, energy sector, communication system, overseas investment, education system and Immigrations of Hans (Widyastuti, 2013).

3.4.3. Education

China has the largest number of schools in all over the world. It is the China policy of education that learning is the fundamental right of Chinese children. But the ethnic heterogeneity generally inside China and particularly in Xinjiang can make difficulties for policy makers.

The Xinjiang ethnic situation between Han and Uyghur is exploitative in nature and affecting the education system and the institutional structure. In Xinjiang, there are three different types of school working, Han school system, where majority of students and teachers are ethnic Han and there way of teaching is also in Mandarin language. The second is combined school system in which mix students are studying and the third one is ethnic school system which is dominated by minorities' students, and it is all due to language differences among the ethnic groups. The Chinese government launched different educational projects inside Uyghur majority areas for the purposes to educate the Uyghur and other minorities groups.

The national education policy of bilingual education, contributed more in educational development of Xinjiang. According to this policy of education, the minorities learned their mother tongue and also the national language, Mandarin at school level. Before 2002, new bilingual education policy of Xinjiang educationists, the mother language used as medium of instruction and national language was a subject in course, which was difficult for minorities, so after new policy of bilingual, Mandarin used as a medium of instruction in classes and mother tongue included in syllabus as a subject.

There is also different international non-governmental organization projects working to improve education in Xinjiang, Save the Children, is one of the key project of INGO working under the China national education policy inside Xinjiang. The objective of Chinese

government behind these policies is to promote high quality education in ethnic minorities and avoid educational inequalities amongst ethnic Uyghur and Han.

3.4.4. Religious Policies

The Chinese population is basically consists of five official recognized religion, Taoism, Islam, Buddhism, Catholics and Protestant, along with these division of religions, the teaching of Confucianism, Buddhism and the native religion Taoism has great importance in moral life of Chinese people. The pre-independence history of PRC shows that only Taoism was the main religion of Chinese. The other religions were entered to Chinese societies through different phases of history. This was an old passion of china that politics and religion are interconnected with each other.

In case of Xinjiang, in conflict among Han and Uyghur, religion has played a vital role. The Uyghur are religiously Sunni Muslims and the Han are religiously Buddhist. So these religious differences have worsened the ethnic problem in Xinjiang. It has also brought difficulties for Beijing policy makers. The Uyghur close ties with the Muslim Ummah and also with some extremist groups have changed the Xinjiang socio-political environment.

In Dengs era, Muslims in China were freely allowed to protect their culture, identity, practices, and religious activities like fasting in the month of Ramadan, Hajj, Namaz, preaching of Islam, and Zakat etc. In that time, the Chinese government has brought different developmental policies to Xinjiang in shape of infrastructure of roads, industries, schools etc. and that was the era in which the Muslim of Xinjiang were closely connected to the Muslim World and especially with Pakistan, Saudi-Arabia and Afghanistan (Jamal, 2011).

The Xinjiang's Muslims connection with the Muslim Ummaha helped more to the Uyghur Muslim position in China. They gained aid from different Muslim states and through that

they built Masjid and Madras's and religious books (Quran) for Schools. These connection and support make the Uyghur strong and politicized Islam in Xinjiang, which latter supported Uyghur separatist movements.

In 1990, unrest inside Xinjiang by Uyghur and other destructive activities of Uyghur Terrorist has obligated Beijing on restrictive religious policies. Many Scholars, researchers and Chinese officials argue that Islamic militants and Xinjiang Muslim activists connection with foreign extremist groups contribute more to Xinjiang uprising.

According to Yitzhak Shichor, the Chinese government has lost its control over religious activities of Uyghur since 1980s (SHICHOR, 2005). Beijing takes different measures in terms of religious restrictive policies to stop Uyghur Muslim from extremism and terrorism inside China. But these policies failed as the province is the home of approximately 60 percent Muslim and Islam is playing an important role in shaping their separated and unique identity from Han Chinese. The religious policies of China towards Muslim of Xinjiang created new challenges for Beijing as it has introduced restriction on Islamic principal and conducts inside Xinjiang.

3.4.5. Restrictions in Month of Ramadan

The sever issue for Xinjiang Muslim was China's restrictive religious policies in holy month of Ramadan. Muslims are not only in China's Xinjiang, but all over the world doesn't want to compromise on Islamic principles. In case of Xinjiang, the Chinese Government imposed ban on Muslim to hold fasting in month of Ramadan, which is very unethical for Chinese Muslim communities. The month of Ramadan and religious activities in that particular month has great importance in Muslims life. The restrictive religious policies and ban on Muslim religious activities, like fasting, seminars, preaching, pilgrimage etc. were put into practice for a number of years (Dani, 2014).

Beijing argues that religious restriction on Muslim Uyghur and other groups inside Xinjiang contribute positively to avoid separatism and terrorism. In reality, such policies cannot achieve the objective of Chinese government because violence increased over the years and the separatist movements were active more than ever before. After the implementation of these policies, in the month of Ramadan, news agencies reported the attacks and uprising from Uyghur Muslim side, in which more than hundred people were killed and injured, even imams of different Masjid were killed because they were supporter of Chinese authority and their policies.

The terrorist and Uyghur separatist are more active after restrictive religious policies, and they also gained kindness of Muslim world especially of Pakistan tribal areas and central Asian, which supported Uyghur Muslim separatist's movements against China. The religious extremists outside China have close ties with religious extremists inside Xinjiang, and that connection is very dangerous for Chinese interest outside China.

The Muslim and Islamic religion was not only the cause of upheaval and unrest. Globalization also contributes more to the rising of Uyghur issue. The sharing of information and technological advancement connected worldwide Uyghur under the same agenda (Madsen, 2010). The inequitable policies of Chinese government favor more Han people than Uyghur Muslims in different aspect of life like jobs, education, health, and other socio-economic activities. They were more considered as second class citizens.

3.4.6. Inter Migration policy and economic Discrimination

Xinjiang is territorially one of the largest autonyms regions of China and has the capacity to resettle the China overpopulation problem. The land acquires different natural resources, oil, gas and mountains of precious stones. The population of this particular land is low and heterogenic, which consist of more than forty six ethnic groups.

The Uyghur and Han are the major ethnic groups and both have long rivalry for the last so many years. The Uyghur are considered the inhabitant, and have majority in Xinjiang since 1990s. But after the terrorist activities and separatist movements by Uyghur's, the majority of Uyghur were decreased through different economic developmental and inter migration policies.

The Chinese government has never compromised on Xinjiang case, which the Uyghur community wants to separate it from China. The Chinese authority promotes different economic policies to develop Xinjiang. These policies have close connection with Uyghur deprivation. In 1940, there were seventy percent Uyghur's and ten percent Han while twenty percent other ethnic minorities live in Xinjiang (Xiaogang Wu, 2013).

After 1940s, the CCP detained and between 1956 -1962, the PRC influence increased in term of military and developmental projects in Uyghur Autonyms Region, which has brought dramatic changes in the Uyghur position. The majority of Han was migrated towards Xinjiang and captured high governmental and business positions in the region, such a migration and hold of high class positions in different private and governmental institutions was a big challenge to Uyghur Objectives of separatism.

The developmental policies of Chinese government inside Xinjiang have also attracted Han Industrialist and business men to install industries and invest in their economy. The situation has forced the Han to settle in Xinjiang. These developmental policies of Chinese authorities increased the Han population up to forty percent by 1979 (Xiaogang Wu, 2013). So the internal Immigration of Han can directly facilitate Xinjiang problem of China. The Uyghur minorities' have been deprived on different fronts including social, political and economical aspects.

Many researchers and thinkers have argued that Xinjiang conflict between Uyghur and Han caused by economic deprivation. The internal un-control migration of Han Chinese towards Uyghur majority areas was also contributed to increase the tension amongst the Chinese authority and minorities. The developmental policies and projects will help Uyghur to improve their standard of life. But on the other hand, these developmental policies motivate high class Han to invest inside Xinjiang, which again becomes a threat to Uyghur objectives inside China. Most of Han migrants are well educated and expert in different technical works so they can easily acquire good jobs and also establish different forums and industries.

The migration of Han Chinese to Xinjiang was including in China Policy of counter Uyghur separatist movements since independence of PRC 1949. According to the prominent Uyghur activist, Rabia Kadeer, Xinjiang problem is caused by Chinese government due to Beijing's support. Han migration to Xinjiang has weakened the Uyghur community politically and has also affected the Uyghur socio-economic position.

The recent survey shows that the total population of Han Chinese inside Xinjiang is forty four percent, while the total population of Uyghur is forty seven percent. The demographic gap between the two ethnic groups were very close for the last several years and it is expected that if such a migration of Han Chinese were continued in future, it will disturb the Uyghur majority and their socio-economic position, which would create a never stop tension amongst the two ethnic groups (Farhad, 2015).

The Socio-economic and political inequalities inside Xinjiang caused by internal Immigration of Han Chinese. The majority of ethnic Han population benefits more from the local recourses than Uyghur ethnic groups. The problem inside Uyghur Autonyms Region of China was not only underdevelopment but Han migrants, which dominate their position socio-economically and politically over other non-Han ethnic minorities groups. Such a hegemonic

position of Han Chinese caused different problems such as unemployment, terrorism, and education for Uyghur Muslim.

The Xinjiang Production and Construction Corps organization was active in 1954 by the Chinese Authority for the purposes to develop infrastructure and agriculture sector in rural areas. The unit is basically created by paramilitary. However, today most of the members are retired army men of People's Liberation Army (Nicolas, 2000). Most of these army men were Han Chinese.

The Han migration to Xinjiang and inequalities amongst minorities were created by different irrational governmental policies. The history of Han Chinese migration to Xinjiang could be traced back to 1949. The CCP plays important role in Han migration to Xinjiang province for the purposes to create Han majority inside non-Han population, and to increase political influence and suppress the Uyghur activist (Debasish, 2005).

The Han Chinese migration to Xinjiang was not only facilitated by Chinese government. But most of Han were migrated to that particular land for their own interest. The migration reform policy and economic development of the West motivated more Han people to reside inside Xinjiang.

In the last several years, on one hand, the flow of Han people towards Xinjiang increased and most of them are labor, which migrated to those areas where governmental projects and industries are functional. The aim of these migrants is to improve their standard of living. On the other hand, the uncontrolled self migration of Han Chinese creates inequalities between the rural and urban areas at one side and amongst Uyghur and Han at other side (Gardner, 2004).

The unbalance migration to Xinjiang increased the overall population of the land. The graph shows that from 1949 to 2009, there was a massive increase of migration resulted in Xinjiang population from 3.5 million to 20.9 million. Comparing this with the overall China population growth, the overall nation population increased 1.4 percent annually and Xinjiang population increased 2.6 percent, which is very high. It affects the natural resources of this particular area (Debasish, 2005).

The recent developmental policies of China inside Xinjiang make exit towards western world. The Chinese authority is establishing different economic zones and industrial sites, and has also made the Capital of Xinjiang as an international Trade center. Such investment of Chinese government created imbalance between Han and Uyghur in two different ways. Firstly, it creates tension of rural-urban migration and secondly, it brings economic inequalities among the minorities, especially between Uyghur and Han ethnic groups (Graham E. Fuller, 2003).

Such developmental projects attract Han Chinese from rest of the China towards Urumqi and other cities of the province. These migrants capture natural resources and utilize it more for their own interest. Such inequalities make the non-Han Chinese against the Han Chinese.

3.5. Han Migration to Xinjiang and its Impacts on Uyghur demographic position 1945-2015

Table 3. 1

Time	Xinjiang overall population	Ethnic Uyghur residents	Migrants Han	Other Migrants
1945	4.28	3.20	0.25	0.83
Percentage	100	74.76	5.84	19.39
1952	4.93	3.61	0.36	0.96
Percentage	100	73.22	7.30	19.47
1965	7.38	4.00	2.39	0.99

Percentage	100	55.22	32.38	13.41
1984	12.42	5.92	4.96	1.54
Percentage	100	47.66	39.93	12.39
1991	14.2	7.00	5.00	2.2
Percentage	100	49.29	35.21	15.49
1998	15.98	7.96	5.62	2.4
Percentage	100	49.81	35.16	15.01
2005	18.28	8.24	7.21	2.8
Percentage	100	45.07	39.44	15.31
2009	20.34	9.60	8.00	2.74
Percentage	100	47.19	39.88	13.47
2015	23	11.14	10.97	2.9
Percentage	100	47	46	16

http://www.qurtuba.edu.pk/thedialogue/The%20Dialogue/7_3/Dialogue_July_September2012_235-254.pdf

The above statistic shows continues migration of Han Chinese to Xinjiang from 1945 to 2015. The absolute majority of Uyghur Muslims has been decreased. The internal migration policy of China from 1950 to 1970 was very flexible. At that time, China has more active role in developing west of China, which created more jobs in different government and private sectors. The Han people are more skillful and more educated than Uyghur and other non-Han. That is why Han people got the opportunity and migrated to Xinjiang and set inside the governmental and private institutions on higher positions than Uyghur and other non-Han Chinese. These people migrated to Xinjiang not for the sake of the government only rather for securing their self interest.

According to the Uyghur's political and social media person, the Beijing is accountable for all harms inside Xinjiang. The government does not want Xinjiang to be an independent state

of Uyghur. That is why they developed Xinjiang without Uyghur. The migration of Han people created competition in labor market. Such a competition was started for last several years not only in labor and market but also in other different aspects and sectors, like in education, agricultural, Army, and social sectors.

The question raises that who wins this competition, Han or Uyghur? The answer is very clear as Han Chinese is well trained, educated and skillful and had close linkage with governmental officials. They are also supported directly and indirectly by the Chinese government. So such a competition and dominance role of Han Chinese inside Xinjiang created inequalities among both the ethnic groups, which has forced the non-Han Chinese especially the Uyghur to protest not only against the Han but also Beijing.

3.6. Ethnic composition in different governmental and private sector in Xinjiang

Table 3. 2

Sectors	Average	Percentage of Ethnic Uyghur	Percentage of Ethnic Han
Edifice and Production	25420	6.89	90
Energy, Oil and Gas	40356	20.33	80.43
Government Institution	33231	29.96	58.44
Finance and Account	55432	12.66	79.22
Edification and Ethnicity	28744	36.12	43.33
Science and Research	34563	92.44	13.98
Agriculture	17833	48.33	28.16
Excavation and Mining	52143	81.42	15.74
Transport Sector	43646	69.84	17.75

Source: <http://www.psc.isr.umich.edu/pubs/pdf/rr13-810.pdf>

The above data in the table justifies the position of two ethnic groups: the Han ethnic plays dominant role over different resources of Xinjiang and the Uyghur on the other hand deprived from such atmosphere and structure. The Han migration to Uyghur majority areas produce inequalities between minorities and these inequalities generate violence and terrorism (Fan, 2009).

The Beijing socio-economic policies for Uyghur Autonyms Region play important role in the rivalry between ethnic Han and ethnic non-Han. According to Chinese policy makers, such policies improve the minorities' socio-economic position and develop their personality in terms of education and health. But in reality, such policies create inequalities among the ethnic minorities. Religion and economics equalities have great importance in twenty first century societies.

Muslims all over the world do not want to compromise on Islamic principles even if they are poor and living in minority position. The Uyghur ethnic minority inside China's Xinjiang is also Muslim and economically poor people and these two aspects of their life differentiate them from Han Chinese people in different social and political activities.

The Uyghur for the last several years are in struggle to achieve a separate independent state. But the Chinese authority does not want to compromise on their goals. Thus through different policies, Beijing was also in struggle to avoid Uyghur pro-independence movements peacefully. But the socio-economic policies which promoted by the Chinese government to avoid minorities separatist movements and violence was failed.

The Uyghur in Xinjiang and also in China cannot accept the Han dominant role over the socio-political and economic institutions. The uncontrolled internal migration of Han to Xinjiang would make ensure their hegemonic position in Uyghur Autonomy's Region.

When internal migration of Uyghur is compared with Han majority areas and the Han migration to the Uyghur or non-Han areas, the ratio of Han migration is more than Uyghur. So according to the Uyghur minorities, the Chinese government does all these to suppress the minorities' movements and stop their influence.

CHAPTER FOUR

XINJIANG PROBLEM AND CPEC

4.1. Introduction

Pak-China relation in friendship and trade begins from its first year of independence in 1949. Pakistan was the first country in the world to accept China at UNO Summit. China respects and supports the stand points of Pakistan. China is the only country in the world, which helps Pakistan time and again, for instance, in trade, commerce, agriculture, and defense etc. Presently China is contributing on large scale in Power and Energy sectors to tackle the shortage of electricity and power problems in Pakistan. Moreover, China is helping Pakistan in defense related activities.

In long-term, the two governments have accorded to continue to play the leading role in providing a strategic framework and institutions of cooperation and guiding and facilitating economic and commercial interaction. China and Pakistan have formalized the setting-up of China-Pakistan Economic Corridor (CPEC). China has a lot to gain from its economic corridor arrangement with Pakistan; its centuries' old vision of reaching the warm waters through the shortest route is coming to completion through peaceful ways. When the corridor is completed, it is expected that it will help expand a number of trade routes between China and the Middle East and Africa. Energy security is a key concern for China, as it is the world's biggest oil importer, and oil pipelines through Pakistan would cut out ocean travel through Southeast Asia. China peaceful rise and struggle to achieve its goals of development face different internal and external challenges in various forms which is the main focus of this chapter.

4.2. The old Silk Route and China-Pakistan connection

The CPEC is basically the re-construction of old Silk Route. The silk route was past connection between China, Europe, Middle Eastern countries, and the Africa. But due to some political and geographical changes in the international system, the old silk route has been made inactive and could not revitalize by the states (Wizarat, 2012).

The history of old silk route can be traced back to two thousand years ago. China was very famous for knowledge and producing silk. The world demands of silk were fulfilled by the traders of different countries through this particular route. The old historical route played an important role in connection of Asian with Europe. The old silk route was first discussed by the German Geographer name Ferinand Von Richthofen thousands years ago, that the east and west connection was possible through the land route.

The twenty first century archeological discoveries in southern side of Siberia around Fazyryk, and the frozen tombs of nomadic time, shows that Chinese traders and their connection of trade, culture exchange, and geographical connection with Central Asia and Eurasia. The Scythian reached through this route to Mongolia and ruled over China for several years. So China was closely connected with Eurasia through old silk route as the archeological sites inside the Europe and China's Xinjiang province clearly shows cultural and economic exchanges between both regions.

The Fazyryk toms were the evidence of China and Southern Siberia. The Chinese Silk and Bronze were used for demise as most of the archeological excavation was seen along the silk route areas inside the Europe and Asia about the Chinese Eurasia connection of historical silk route (Wavgh, 2002).

In prehistoric period, there were two important routes which were used for trade, culture, and knowledge exchange between the East and West of the world. The one route called Spice and the other major route called Silk route. China was geographically very important due to these routes from west end and east side of China. The Spice Route was used just six to seven percent for world product exchange and the major Silk Route was used around sixty percent for world product and culture exchange (Sadik Ridvan Karluk, December 2014).

Historically, the old Silk Route covered more than forty different states which consist of two main branches. One branch covered Indian side and the other passed through now called Turkey and then from Turkey to Europe. The route was not only used for trade but had also important role in religious exchange between various states, especially between Turkey and China's Xinjiang province. In Xinjiang, most of the ethnic groups have Turkic origin; their culture, custom, language, and body language are similar with the people of Turkey (Waugh, 2010).

In pre-modern time, the Silk Road on track from the city of Xi'an to Turkic areas across the mountains and desolate tract and through multiple routes reached to Anatolia. The end point of the route was Europe throughout the gateway of Thrace.

The Silk Road divided into two branches in Iran, one connected to Latakia of Syria and the other leads to Anatolia. The Anatolian bough further divided into three routes. The first road on track in Kars-Ani goes throughout Artvin, Trabzon, Gümüşhane, Erzurum, Sivas, Tokat, Amasya, Kastamonu, Adapazarı, Güzmit, İstanbul, and has come to end in Edirne. The second route started from Eastern Beyazıt and leads through Ağrı, Erzurum, Erzincan, and then to Sivas. In Sivas, the route divided further into two other twigs. One passed through Tokat, Amasya, Gerede, İstanbul, and the other through Kayseri, Ankara, Bilecik, Bursa, Gznik, Gzmit, and İstanbul.

The last three boughs were used maritime roads to reach the capital of Ephesus and Miletus. The Aegean Sea and Trabzon and Sinop of the Black Sea, were also under these routs, and Alanya and Antalya of the Mediterranean Sea, was also used by these routes, before entering into Europe (Sadik Ridvan Karluk, December 2014).

4.3. CPEC

The CPEC is not an incident or sudden arrangement. It has been planned since 1950's. China is a land lock country from three sides. China wanted to extend its borders to the Pakistan's deep sea port on the Arabian Sea. In 2002, China started to construct the Gwadar Port and completed it in 2006.

The stepping stone of China Pakistan was the construction of the Karakorum Highway in 1970s. From Pakistani town of Havalian in Hazara division to Khunjerab Pass, China shares border with Pakistan. China has declared Kashghar as a special Economic Zone (SEZ) and important transit route between China and Pakistan in 2010 (Ahmar).

The recent CPEC project initiative has taken by the Premier of China Li Keqiang and Prime Minister Nawaz Sharif on 22, May, 2013 in Islamabad. In Feb 2014, Pakistani President Mamnoon Hussian visited China to discuss the plan. Pakistan and China has signed an agreement to invest \$46 billion dollars on this huge multidimensional project (Isphani, June 1989).

Moreover, this corridor is not confined only to Pakistan. China has the vision to construct Silk road through Central Asia, South East Asia, and South Asia of One Belt One Road (OBOR). President Xigiping presented this idea in 2013. If we look into the broader aspect of economic belt it does not mean that China will be the only beneficiary. Central Asia, South East Asia and south asia will also gain advantage of its strategic location, potentials and

natural resources. It will open up the ways for political cooperations and will help in the promotion of cultural ties.

China wants to enhance its access to the new markets as China is emerging as a giant economic power and it needs greater demands nationally and internationally. People's Republic of China which is the second largest economy established its diplomatic relations with Pakistan on May 21, 1951. These relations then converted into bilateral trade and economic cooperation which extensively deepened politically and economically.

The economic prosperity of any country is directly or indirectly depending on its geographical structure. The driving forces or tools for the economic growth are roads, infrastructure, education, and borders' location, and their links. But in spite of all the blessings if one lacks good governance or management then the geographical structure is mere a documented feature for any country. Let's have a glance at the strategic locations of both Pakistan and China.

Pakistan is very important country of South Asia and its strategic location is of high significance in the region. Pakistan shares common border with China and India. Both of these countries are the world's largest and populous states. Pakistan is located close to the oil rich Persian Gulf. The country also provides access to the warm waters of Indian Ocean. Pakistan strategic importance is developed since 1979 when the Red Army invaded Afghanistan. But at that time, Pakistan's territory was used for military purposes and borne disadvantages. Now the Pakistani authorities with the collaboration of Chinese authorities realized the importance of their strategic location.

Pakistan, for the first time, would take economic benefits from its strategic location. The country's importance is further strengthened by its nearness to the Strait of Hormuz as a supply route to the largest oil reserves. (Nauman, 26 July, 2015)

China is located in South East Asia along the costal line of Pacific Ocean. The country is third the largest state in the world. China shares its borders with 14 countries: Korea, Vietnam, Laos, Burma, India, Bhutan, Nepal, Pakistan, Afghanistan, Tajikistan, Kyrgystan, Kazakastan, Mongolia, and Russia. Marine-side neighbors include eight countries: North Korea, Korea, Japan, Philippines, Brunei, Indonesia, Malaysia and Vietnam (Lau, 2015).

One Belt One Road (OBOR) is not initiated for export and import only. Actually, China wants to take the full-fledged advantage of its location. Thus it gives opportunities to the bordering countries to think about their economic potentials, which lies in their countries (Lau, 2015).

4.4. Strategic significance of CPEC

Every activity revolves around the economy. The strategic importance gets more enhanced when it gives the surety of cooperation to other countries, develop infrastructure, and contain social and political unrest and connect borders with the economic prosperity.

Similarly, the CPEC is a huge and multidimensional project is considerable from its map. As it is obvious from its vision of One Belt One Road (OBOR) or new Silk Road Economic Development Corridor (SRED), the CPEC is the concept, which is giving a surety of full-fledge cooperation between the China and West, Central Asia and South Asia. It will generate thousands of jobs, employment opportunities, construction and re-construction of infrastructure, industrial zones, wind and thermal power projects. Billions of dollars investment includes construction of roads, railway lines and other modern communications from the Chinese Province of Xinjiang to the Gwadar Port.

This corridor is not only confined to Pakistan. China's strategy to make this corridor a source of shipping millions of tons of goods from China to Middle East, Africa and Europe through

the Gwadar Port. China is rising peacefully because of their industries and non violence policies. The economic position of the country is getting stronger day by day.

The Chinese products captured the domestic markets of different European and non-European states. The world population demands for Chinese products. So China needs energy to run its industries through oil and gas. Through this corridor, the construction of gas and oil pipe lines will be constructed which would help in meeting the energy demands of the country.

Another strategic benefit of this corridor is that it will reduce the distance and time. Through Strait of Malacca, it takes 45 days to reach the Europe. But through Gwadar Port, it will take only ten days. This will save money and time for China. On the other hand, such benefits also increase the demand of Chinese products. The Chinese industries can quickly and cheaply provide their products to international markets.

Backward and deprived regions in China, Pakistan, Middle East and Central Asia would be greatly benefited from this corridor (Ahmar). China needs markets to sell its goods and purchase raw material to run its industries. The CPEC foremost objective is to develop its Western Province, Xinjiang to create more and more opportunities for the people and diminish the resentments of the province.

Similarly, in Pakistan, Baluchistan and Khyber Pakhtunkhwa are the provinces which are deprived and under developed. Sindh is also considered as in the hands of state rivals. Punjab is considered developed, however, most of its parts are underdeveloped.

The Silk Road Economic Belt (SREB) consists of three corridors: The Northern Corridor from Beijing through Moscow and Germany (European cities), the Central Corridor from Chinghai to Europe (and Persian Gulf), through Tashkent, Tehran, and Bandar Imam

Khomeini Port of Iran, the Southern Corridor from Guangzhou through Xinjiang, and then from Khunjab Pass to Gawadar Port, Indian Ocean, Arabian Sea and Persian Gulf.

Another Strategic importance of the CPEC is Maritime Silk Road which is called as 21st Century Maritime Silk Road (CMSR). The Maritime Roads means routes that are based on sea paths through China Sea, South Pacific Ocean and Indian Ocean (conference).

For Pakistan, it is not just a matter of interest. It is a dire need for internal harmony, peace and prosperity. It will connect the cities; maximize the improvement of infrastructure, communication system, and industries which are not working due to the energy crises.

Terrorism is another cause which has made Pakistani atmosphere unsuitable for investments. The youth has turned to become despaired due to lack of facilities and opportunities. Once Pakistan completes the CPEC, skillful youth is expected to come forward.

Thus the corridor is expected to make Pakistan self-sufficient. The country will no more be in need of loans, debts and aids. The economy would be strengthened, which would lead the country to have an independent foreign policy. If Pakistan wants to stop the curse of terrorism then it has to take initiative sincerely to overcome the resentments of the deprived provinces. China needs short and cheaper route and the route through Indian Ocean is quite cheaper and less time taking as compare to Malacca Strait of Hormuz.

Strait of Hormuz is risky rout due the danger of piracy. Another fear for China is that Malacca route is dominated by the United States of American-led Asian alliance. Malacca route can be blocked whenever the tension rises. China's 80 percent energy imports flow is through Strait of Malacca. The Sea routes are very important strategically as it will help China to make its influence greater in South Asia. India is a considerable threat for the stability of both Pakistan and China.

The access to the Indian Ocean would make the China able to keep an eye on the movements of the Indian Navy. China is hoping that if Western Province, Xinjiang gets economic stability, then the whole western part would be stabilized both politically and socially. China is confronting with the same evils, with which Pakistan is suffering (conference).

4.5. Maritime Silk Economic Corridor

The Chinese president Xi Jinping for the first time presented the proposal of energizing the old route connection of East and West. According to his important speech on September 7, 2013 in Kazakhstan, the president declared that it is very important for China and Central Asian states to revitalize the old silk route. Centuries before, Europe, China and Central Asian were connected through this particular route. The China President was very clear about the making of economic zones and reestablishing of the silk route. He invited the regional states, especially the Central Asian countries to play cooperative role in this project.

The central Asian and China have old connection through culture and strategic location of Xinjiang. The central Asian states share borders with China through Xinjiang Uyghur Autonyms Region. However, China faces a lot of problems in the region of Xinjiang in terms of terrorism and extremism. Xi Jinping wants to develop both the regions through economic and developmental policies in terms of reviving of old silk route to the new silk route (Cohen, 2013).

4.6. Three Proposed Routes

Before discussing the eastern and western routes controversy, first let's highlight the three proposed routes of the CPEC project in Pakistan.

4.6.1. Eastern Route

Eastern route will pass through: Gwadar-Turbat-Panjgur-Khuzdar-Ratodero-Kashmore-Rajanpur-DeraGhaziKhan-Multan-Faislabad-PindiBhatian-Rawalpindi-Hasanabdal-and onwards.

4.6.2. Central Route

Central route will pass through: Gwadar-Turbat-Punjugur-Khuzdar-Ratodero-Kashmore-Rajpur-Dera Ghazi Khan-Dera Ismail Khan-Bannu-Kohat-Peshawer-Hasanabdal-and Onwards.

4.6.3. Western Route

Western route will pass through: Gwadar-Turbat-Hoshab-Panjgur-Besmia-Kalat-Quetta-Qila Saifullah-Zhob-Dera Ismail Khan-Mianwali-Attock-Hasanabdal-and onwards

4.7. The Strategic location of Eastern Route

The Eastern route is longer than that of the western and central routes. Eastern route has given the name eastern on the basis of eastern side of Pakistan where Punjab is located. Punjab is considered as developed province from the beginning since independence of the country. But as far as its importance is concerned the main issue is the passage of eastern route from the already developed area of Punjab. The backward areas comes under the eastern route is south and central Baluchistan, northern Sindh and southern Punjab. But mostly the rout will pass through the developed areas of central Punjab. The productivity rate is high as the land acquired by the central Punjab is fertile and green.

For connecting the internal areas of Pakistan, new roads are needed. For this purpose, the roads which already existed (if not in better condition needs to be rebuilt) and where roads are not existed then there is a need for constructing new roads.

Gwadar to Ratodero road is existed. However, most of its parts are needed to be rebuilt. For Pakistan, the foremost concern is to provide security to the workers. According to details, the eastern route is more secure as compare to the western route. The map of eastern route shows that it will also pass though the Khyber Pakhtunkhwa (**sabeen**).

4.8. The Strategic Location of Western Route

The western route is shorter than Eastern and central routes. This route will pass through those areas which are below the poverty line. Most of the people of the areas through which the western route is passing are unemployed and the ratio of education is also very low. The route offers many opportunities, especially to the people of the most backward areas. The areas through which the western route is passing are barren. Thus the population density is low as a result the people displacement would also be low in the area.

The areas along with the western route are arid and hilly. It will pass through the Indus River between Peshawar and Hasanabdal. The area has got wide and good quality of roads. Security issues are relatively higher than the eastern route. This route covers two provinces including Baluchistan and Khyber Pakhtunkhwa in Pakistan and both the provinces are under the view of extremism and terrorism.

4.9. Security Issue

Security is the top priority of both the countries for strengthening the economic developmental projects. The most important goal for China is to reach the rich resources of

Central Asia and Middle East. And for Pakistan, the important interest is to develop its economic position and resolve the energy issues.

Xinjiang is a factor between China and Pakistan One Belt and One Road Project. However, China signs an agreement with his All Weather Friend, Pakistan, to invest forty six billion dollars in different developmental projects. The Chinese President Xi Jinping visited Islamabad and announced the project in a high official meeting. China is interesting to invest in Pakistan and Xinjiang Uyghur Autonyms region in terms of China-Pakistan Economic Corridors (Ritzinger, August, 2015).

The question raises here that why China wants to invest billions of dollars in Pakistan and Xinjiang? There are different reasons and interests of China behind this huge investment inside Pakistan and Xinjiang. An effort is made to touch upon the most important and relevant areas and goals of China. The aim behind this project is to develop western region of China and underdeveloped areas of Pakistan in order to avoid the most threatening problems of terrorism and extremism and ethnic issues in Baluchistan and Xinjiang.

The Corridor route project will be a direct connection between Kashgar of China and Gwadar of Pakistan. Xinjiang and Baluchistan are considered the home of ethnic violence and separatism. Both of these provinces are poor in different perspectives. However, the provinces had great potential of natural resources and geographical location.

The Xinjiang Uyghur Autonyms Region connects Central Asian states with central China and also connects shortly China with Pakistan and Europe. The problems in Xinjiang - terrorism and separatism have been faced by the area, which makes some difficulties for China foreign and internal policies. The relationship between China and Pakistan is unique in the structure of international system. Both the countries are like brothers and had great trust on each other. The countries have same goals and objectives. India is one of the factors in strengthening the

relationship of between both the countries. The issue of Tibet and Kashmir has united China and Pakistan to work on common grounds. The Indian factor of Tibet with China and Kashmir with Pakistan has played a very important role in the connection of China and Pakistan mutual cooperation.

Both China and Pakistan supported each other in revilers with India. China is struggling to strengthen its position particularly in the region and generally at international level. For which China has to contain India at regional level and the United States at international level. The most important indication of China for India and the United State is the CPEC.

The Chinese Authority knows that several times India and the USA have blocked the China trade through Strait of Melaka due to the presence of the US Navy in the Indian Ocean. So China is trying to reduce and diverse its ways of trade from south China Sea and Indian Ocean, and focusing on Central Asian natural resources and the CPEC.

The CPEC is considered to be a landmark for fulfilling the objectives of both the countries. But before that achievement, both the countries faced security problems for the last several years. The Uyghur militants inside Xinjiang are a challenge for China internal and also external security. These groups have linkages with the other terrorist groups operating inside Pakistan.

The East Turkistan Islamic movement is an active terrorist organization inside Xinjiang Uyghur Autonomy's region. It involved in several terrorist attacks inside China western province and Pakistan tribal areas. On the other hand, Pakistan based terrorist group, the TTP and other groups have close ties with ETIM, and with the Islamic movements of Uzbekistan. Such relationship between the terrorist groups is a big challenge to the Chinese and Pakistani workers working on the CPEC. In Xinjiang, the Uyghur separatist movements and terrorist

organizations can challenge the Chinese Economic Zones in the region. China with the collaboration of Pakistan needs to avoid such militants from its region.

Pakistan started operation inside its tribal agencies in the name of Zarb-i-Azab in order to get rid of all terrorist groups, especially ETIM and Uyghur Terrorists. The President of Pakistan Mamnoon Hussain visited Beijing and declared in a public meeting that Pakistan eliminated all China militants who were operating in North Waziristan areas for so many years. So Pakistan with the cooperation of China would root out extremist and terrorist elements for materializing China Pakistan Economic Project.

The security issue in both the countries is a dangerous part of this project. Xinjiang is the starting place of the CPEC route and Baluchistan is the ending point of the route. Both the areas have been facing militants' issues. So the security issue must be resolved before materializing the project. Both the countries need to utilize the recourses to eliminate this issue.

The foreign terrorist groups inside Pakistan and Afghanistan are not against China. The East Turkistan Islamic Movements and the Islamic movement of Uzbekistan are playing an active role to challenge the Chinese interest inside Pakistan. The leaders of these organizations declare several times that their main interest inside Pakistan is to attack on China goals in Pakistan. In past, many Chinese workers and engineers were killed and kidnapped in Pakistan. The Gwadar Port is under China authority and influence as they have invested billion dollars in activation of this port. The ending point of China Pakistan Economic route is Baluchistan, which is famous for its rich natural resources. But the Bloch ethnic issue is a challenge for the interest of both the countries through the Gwadar Port. Xinjiang and Baluchistan both are underdeveloped areas and almost the same problems have been faced by

the two different provinces. The problem is closely related to the economic inequalities and unjust state policies.

In Xinjiang, the Uyghur is unhappy with the Han migration and their dominant role in politics and socio-economic activities. The same is the case with Baluchistan; the local people have been deprived and ignored due to the unjust treatment of the government and migrated people.

Xinjiang natural resources had great importance for China. And after materialization of economic project, these resources can be utilized. But the Uyghur and local residents do not want to compromise with government. The CPEC passed through those areas in Xinjiang and also in Pakistan, which are highly populated by militants. The historical event in Xinjiang and Pakistan clearly shows that if such militants are not abolished, in future, they will challenge the relationship and economic project of both the countries.

The security issue from Xinjiang and also from Pakistan must be resolved on priority bases. Both the countries have recently joined hand with each other to eliminate all the terrorist groups and separatist movements who are challenging the economic project.

4.10. Pak- China Combating Militancy

Ritzinger (2015) in his article *"The China-Pakistan Economic Corridor, Regional Dynamics and China's Geopolitical Ambitions"* mentions that China is going to invest \$46 billion on the CPEC project. However, the project is challenged by the disturb security, and domestic politics.

Changing political decisions over the CPEC routes has produced complexity in political environment, especially in KP and Baluchistan. Security situation is not suitable for Chinese

workers. They need tough security for the workers. In Baluchistan, separatist and extremist targeted the Chinese workers.

The Xinjiang Uyghur Autonyms Region has put an end to the relationship with the Afghan Taliban. Both terrorist organizations support each other in their agendas. The Afghan Taliban groups fight against the US with the collaboration of the ETIM. For the purpose to retain the past Taliban government and the other side the Uyghur terrorist groups, especially the ETIM fight against Chinese in order to achieve independence from Han majority ethnic group.

Pakistan's government needs to take quick action for developing its weak and affected provinces. The country should also resolve the issue of eastern and western routes. The development of each and every province plays an important role in prosperity of the country. Economic corridor link economic agents along a defined geographical entity and provide important connections between economic nodes or hubs that are usually centered in urban landscapes (C.F Brunner, 2013).

Ishido defines economic corridor as "Economic corridor is a specific geographic framework of the center for Economic activities, but Economic Corridor function is to extend these benefits to the rural areas through transport development and linkage of production activities" (C.F.Ishido/Isono. 2012: 11).

The CPEC is actually a framework for Economic stability not only for China or Pakistan, but for the entire region and its economic prosperity. It is more than geographical routes arrangements. It includes intra-state institutional arrangements and their coordination with each other. Moreover, the 'CPEC' will also regulate the flow of goods and technology. It will also help in constructing infrastructure besides generating money. The project is expected to become a turning point in the economic history of Pakistan.

The major advantage of the CPEC is that it connects the whole region and gives Pakistan a focal importance for world trade. It is not just a minor aid but a mega project, which is renounced by the China in Central Asia, South Asia, and Southeast Asia (Hussain, 2015).

Currently, both the countries are working hard to develop their most important economic project of CPEC. The countries have been facing different hurdles in the accomplishment of the project. China needs security for its workers of the CPEC and Pakistan must provide it to secure its interest. The most important issue for materializing the project is not political environment but the security issue.

There are three dimensions of unrest, which is being faced by both the countries. First, the issue of Xinjiang and ETIM presence in Pakistan, second the unrest inside Baluchistan, and the third issue is global terrorism. So such challenges can any time affect CPEC. Pakistani authorities after the army public school incident have become very serious against the terrorist elements. All the civil and military institutions have joined hands for countering terrorism under the formation of National Action Plan (NAP). China is also supporting Pakistan economically and materially, in counter terrorism policy.

CHAPTER FIVE

XINJIANG PROBLEM AND ITS IMPLICATION FOR SINO-PAKISTAN RELATIONS

5.1. Introduction

The Sino-Pakistan relation and friendship is considered unique among the international states structure. China and Pakistan are two different countries in Asia. China belongs to East Asia, while Pakistan belongs to South Asia. There are a lot of differences between the two states as for as socio-political structure is concerned. The Chinese are basically communist while Pakistan is a Muslim majority country. The political structure of both the countries is totally different from each other. China has one political party, the CPC, which holds power at national level. On the other hand, in Pakistan, there is multi political parties system.

The culture, language, and even the social setup and way of life of both the countries are different. So the question raises here that with so many differences, how and why both countries are all weather friends? The answer is that in international system, there are no permanent enemies and friends. But the only permanent thing is the interest of states (Jafar Riaz Kataria, 2014).

The Sino-Pakistan relationship is a struggle between the two countries in order to fulfill interest of each other. Pakistan was the only and first Muslim country on the map, which supported independence of the People Republic of China and recognized the country as independent state. The relationship between the two countries is not new but rather it has a long history. The diplomatic relationship started from May 1951. Even till today, the diplomats of both the countries are playing an important role strengthening the relationship.

The historical pages of Sino-Pakistan relationship make manifestation of the facts that both the countries supported each other in difficulties. One of the important points that had made

China and Pakistan to become friends is the Indian factor. The border issue, war of 1962 between China and India and the 1965 war between Pakistan and India on Kashmir issue declared India as an enemy for both the countries. China supported Pakistan at every forum and Pakistan played its best role in favoring China in its different phases of journey.

There are some mutual issues like security, terrorism and underdevelopment in both the countries, which brings the countries together to avoid the common problems. The ethnic issue and Uyghur terrorist movements in Xinjiang Province and their assimilation with the terrorist elements inside Pakistan is considered as one of the challenging issues for both the countries and their friendly relationship and development.

Pakistan is geographically and strategically becomes very important after the 1965 and 1971 wars between India and Pakistan. The USSR attacks on Afghanistan and the 9/11 attacks of Taliban on World Trade Center of the USA and its response of war against terrorism has given more importance to Pakistan location at international level (Jabeen, 2012).

China is progressing and its industrial products are getting popularity in the entire world. The country needs energy resources for its industries to fulfill the demands of other countries. In order to achieve these goals, China needs Pakistan as a partner as it can provide ground in terms of the CPEC. The core objective of this chapter is to discuss Xinjiang problems and its implications for Sino-Pak relations. In the beginning of this chapter, the Xinjiang issues and security implications are discussed. In the Middle of the chapter, implications for CPEC are focused. And at the end, Pak-China relation under the SCO-OIC and SARRK is discussed.

5.2. Security Implications

China and Pakistan are socio-politically two different countries. But their geographical connection with each other and common interest make the both countries unique in

relationship from rest of the world. The friendship between these countries started from 1951 when both the countries have built Karakorum Highways, which connect Islamabad with Kashgar, the Xinjiang Province of China (Manzoor Khan Afridi, 2014). The road connection materializes the relationship through cultural exchange, trade of different commodities and people-to-people contacts.

Pakistan received several times military aids from China. In addition to that, China has also used the route for its import and export. On one hand, the Karakorum road has played an important role to connect the countries socio-politically and economically. However, on the other hand, it has also played a negative role as the Xinjiang Uyghur and other militants from Pakistan side used route for their purposes to support each others' agendas.

The Uyghur want separation from Chinese Authority and the Beijing does not want to compromise on the division of the country. As a result, the Uyghur community received help from the global terrorist elements operated in Pak-Afghan boundaries to fulfill their demands through violence and destruction.

The Uyghur militant inside Pakistan and Afghanistan created a security issue for China interest in Pakistan. Thus due to the terrorist groups, China's relationship with Pakistan becomes a bigger challenge.

In 1982, both the governments agreed to materialize the Karakorum road. At that time, the Xinjiang ethnic groups were active against Han Chinese to overthrow the Chinese Authority (Sering, 2012). The political environment in Xinjiang was not good as the Uyghur Muslim community did not want to accept the Han's dominance role. As a result, they started different movements in order to achieve Uyghur independence state.

In Pakistan, there is also problem of militancy from Afghanistan side due to the Soviet-Afghan war (Mackerras, 2001). As Ahmad Rashid discussed in his article, that many Uyghur were involved in the jihad against the Russian Army along with Afghan Mujahidin (Rashid, 2001). So on both sides, there are security issues. The Xinjiang Muslim Uyghur has close links with the Afghan and Pakistan Muslims. Moreover, Pan Islamism and the Karakorum road have strengthened their relationship.

The terrorist activities of 1990 inside Xinjiang killed more than two hundred individuals and around hundred others were injured. The China officially declared Uyghur as militants and also cleared that these Uyghur are trained inside Afghanistan and Pakistan tribal areas, which is a serious threat to their relationship (Haider, 2005).

Security is the main objective of every state. According to realist perspective, there is anarchy in international system and every state feels threatened from other state. And there is continues struggle among the countries for securing their sovereignty. And most of the states also cooperate with each other for fulfilling their security interest. One of the good examples is of Sino-Pakistan relations and friendship.

The dramatic changes happened in the world diplomatic relationships after the 9/11 attacks. The emergence of terrorism and militants issue was a big challenge for the entire world, especially to the Asian region. Pakistan and China is also part of this particular region. Thus terrorism has become a direct challenge for the friendship and sovereignty of the states.

China already involved in Xinjiang issue of terrorism and Pakistan was also much closed to Afghanistan boundaries. When the US started war against terrorism with the collaboration of Pakistan, the terrorist spread throughout the region for secure their position in the region. The Xinjiang based terrorist element (ETIM) also got the opportunity to join hand with the Afghan and Pakistan based terrorist organizations to secure their interest of separatism.

Recently, China also joined hand with Pakistan in the war against terrorism. The main objective of China is to abolish the Uyghur militants. India was a security factor for Pakistan. The important objective of Pakistan foreign policy was to secure the country from Indian aggression. Pakistan and India shares a long history of conflicts before and after the independence.

The rise of India was considered by Pakistani authority as a direct threat to Pakistan interest and security. The same is the case with China. The important objective for India is to become regional power and control Pakistan military and economic capabilities. Pakistan has also the same aims and objectives and both are considered internationally very dangerous enemies of each other.

In every field like social, political, economic and defense, both are in struggle to compete with each other. History of the both the countries can be witnessed that when India becomes nuclear power in 1974, Pakistan tests its nuclear capability on May 28, 1998. In the field of economic development, Pakistan and China dealt with each other for facilitating and strengthening the Gwadar port. As result, the India is working on strengthening the Cahabahar port with the support of Iran. It means that both the countries, India and Pakistan feel threats from each other capabilities and powers. China was also having some border issues with India and the war of 1962 between India and China is a founding stone for China and Pakistan mutual objectives and interest (Sharma, 2014).

According to Kenneth Walt, states in international system, deal with each other rationally. They cooperate and make alliance for balancing and countering the same enemies. The Sino-Pakistan relationship in international system against India is an interesting example in the light of Walt's theory. India is a threat to both China and Pakistan security and interest. That

is why both the countries cooperate and become friends with each other in order to avoid the tension of insecurity from Indian side (Dwivedi, 2013).

The current situation of Pakistan and China relationship is very strong. Both the countries are considering themselves forever friends. However, there are some internal and external forces which can challenge the friendly environment of both the countries.

The terrorist elements inside the underdeveloped provinces (KP, Baluchistan and Xinjiang) of both the countries were an internal issue of security. Likewise, India, the USA and Japan were an external issue. The important issue for China is the internal security, which challenge several times by the Uyghur and ETIM militants while Pakistan is facing the Taliban issues. So it is important for both Islamabad and Beijing to counter terrorism and promote peaceful environment for realizing their aims and objectives.

5.3. Implication for CPEC

The new page of Sino-Pakistan economic cooperation opened, when the Chinese President came to Islamabad and announced to invest 46 billion of dollars in Pakistan. Such a huge investment will change the socio-political and economic underdevelopment of Pakistan. The CPEC is not only beneficial for Pakistan and China. It is important for the economic prosperity of the whole region. China wants to develop its backward province, Xinjiang and Pakistan also needs to improve its Baluchistan province.

The CPEC will play an important role to resolve the problems of both the countries. The CPEC Project is a rational decision of both the countries as without economic development there is no option to resolve the Xinjiang, KP and Baluchistan problems. China from very long time needed a short route for reaching the resources of the Middle East.

The CPEC will fulfill this aim of China. The corridor connects Beijing through short routes with Pakistan, Central Asia, Africa, and Middle East (Muhammad Saqib Irshad, 2015). The peaceful completion of CPEC is now the top priority of both the countries. The project is very important for Xinjiang underdevelopment and also for the underdeveloped areas of Pakistan.

If Pakistan authorities fail to resolve the terrorism issues, there might arise some problems which can affect the CPEC. China is doing much for the development of their western region of Xinjiang due to its strategic location and the natural resources. The route can help China to become the world super power.

China considers Pakistan as a good friend. China has almost the same aims and objectives for the regional states. The important issue for CPEC is not only Xinjiang problem of terrorism and separatism but also the Baluchistan insurgency and the terrorist elements in KP province and other parts of Pakistan.

The ETIM presence in tribal areas of Pakistan and their close connection with TTP and AL-Qaida was a serious threat for the last several years to China interest in Pakistan. China helps Pakistan economically and also in defense in order to abolish ETIM and Uyghur militants from its land.

Pakistan also takes serious action against all militants which operated inside Pakistan for last several years. Recently the President of Pakistan visited China and meets with the Chinese President Xi Jinping, and took him in confidence that Pakistani forces are successful in rooting terrorist elements from its soil including ETIM and Uyghur's through operation Zarb-i-Azab (Ali, 2015). Before the materialization of CPEC, it is necessary for both countries to eliminate all the terrorist element or compromise with them to maintain peace and prosperity in the region.

The second most important issue for Pakistan is the Chabahar Port, which is under Indian influence. India is trying its best to improve their influence in Afghanistan, Iran, and central Asia through this particular port. It is very important for Pakistan that it cannot isolate itself from that port. But it needs some changes in its policies toward India for securing interest in Chabahar port.

The territorial security is very important for every state. However, economic development and social welfare of the country cannot be ignored. Pakistan needs economic development and industries to overcome the problem of unemployment, lack of education, and the issue of rising terrorism. The peaceful completion of CPEC will be a good opportunity for both the countries to handle the militants and socio-political and economical issues.

5.4. Impaction for Pak-China Relation under SCO, OIC and SAARC

The Xinjiang problem of separatism and terrorism was a challenge for interest of both the countries and friendship. The 9/11 events and the rise of Taliban issue in Afghanistan has brought different changes in countries relationship and policies. The terrorist elements inside Xinjiang get an opportunity in areas of Pak-Afghan border to safeguard their agendas, and make close relationship with al-Qaida and other Taliban groups. The two countries cooperated with each other for promoting different strategies and policies in order to avoid the challenges of terrorism, separatism and extremism.

When Musharraf was the president of Pakistan, he visited Beijing and met with the president of China Hu Jintao. He clarified that Pakistan can never aloud any Uyghur terrorist who were found involved in terrorist activities in China to use Pakistan's soil. Pakistan will eliminate all the ETIM members and supporters from its land (Fayaz, 2012). They declared that it is the top priority of both the countries to secure their lands from all terrorist elements and groups.

The officials of both the countries have signed agreed and signed a cooperative treaty against terrorism.

Pakistan also joins the Shangai Cooperation Organization as an observer in 2005. This is one of the powerful alliances of six states including China, Kazakhstan, Tajikistan, Kyrgyzstan, Uzbekistan and Russia. In the end of 2015, Pakistan and India have becomes a permanent members. The objective of this organization is to provide security to each other from the terrorist activities. Pakistan fully supported their agendas against terrorism. The most important objective for China through SCO is peace and stability in the region. The SCO was a great achievement of regional states, especially of China to secure their interest in the region.

China also handled the Xinjiang issue through SCO. Most of the terrorist worked in ETIM have close relationship with Central Asian based terrorist groups like IMU and Islamic Jihad Union. The membership of SCO is an opportunity for Pakistan. Pakistan needs to develop its socio-political and economic ties with member states. Pakistan is underdeveloped state and is being faced with different challenges: Ethnic issue, sectarian problems, and terrorism at different levels. It is the time for Pakistan to get rid of these problems through economic and security cooperation's with SCO member states.

Pakistan has also good opportunity to improve the relationship with central Asian states and Russia to secure its border with Afghanistan. The SCO can more strengthen Pak-China alliance against India.

The Xinjiang issue will also be resolved as Pakistan and China recently joined military and economic cooperation under the SCO to root out extremism from Pakistan tribal areas and China's Xinjiang (Khan, 2013). Pakistan has supported China every time almost in every

issue including Tibet issue, Taiwan, and Xinjiang. Pakistan was the first country which supports China policies in case of Xinjiang and Taiwan in the United Nation.

In 2009, the violence started in Xinjiang province in which more than two hundred people and children were killed and injured. The international media raises the issue and blamed China for violation of human rights. At that time, the Muslim world also raises the issue through OIC. But Pakistan supported China and stopped the OIC member from raising the issue and urged them to support China instead of Uyghur separatist movements (Ali G. , 2010).

The important objective of China foreign policy is to promote stability and peaceful environment in the region. The purpose is to bring economic development in the regional underdeveloped structure of SARRC. China plays as observer role in SARRC, and the organization needs China to become permanent member. The structure of SARRC is consisting of poor and underdeveloped states. India plays dominant role in SARRC and had close connection of socio-political and economical with member states except Pakistan.

Pakistan needs China to become part of SARRC structure to counter Indian influence and dominance. It is in the mind of Indian authorities that if China becomes part of this structure, it will be a challenge for Indian interest in the regional activities. China is already investing more than India in the member countries of SARRC and the recent project of CPEC will boom the economic position of South Asian states.

Pakistan needs to resolve Kashmir issue as India does not want to compromise on Kashmir. But it could become possible if China becomes full member of SARRC. Pakistan will support China membership in SARRC as Pakistan needs a balance for India. China and Pakistan supported each other almost each and every time at national and international levels as both the countries had the same objectives and interests.

Pakistan needs economic development and foreign investment to improve its economic position and control socio-political issues. China also needs to control Xinjiang terrorist (ETIM) and shorten the distance for tapping the natural resources of other countries. The security issue is the main objective for both the countries. However, they are cooperating with each other for securing each others' sovereignty and territorial integrity.

CONCLUSION

The peaceful rise of China in the world structure has a great importance for its underdeveloped region, Xinjiang. The rise of China is not a threat to Xinjiang Uyghur Autonyms Region, but Xinjiang is a threat for Chinese interest at national and international level. The Uyghur militants and their relationships with the global terrorist organizations for the last several years is a serious challenging for Chinese foreign policy. Xinjiang is basically a Muslim populated area of China and ethnically these Muslims connected with Turks and central Asians. These Muslims were known as Uyghur and they consider Xinjiang their home land. They had the perception that this particular area was not a part of China rather the Chinese controlled it by force. The Xinjiang problem of separatism was raised after the 2009 attacks as some militants groups gathered in public and official buildings. In response, the People liberation Army attacked which recourse further destructions. In the beginning, the Xinjiang issue was ethnic but when the Chinese authorities imposed ban on some official Muslims from fasting in month of Ramadan, the Uyghur and other ethnic groups who are Muslims started different destructive movements. In response, the Chinese government introduced more restrictive religious policies for region and ethnic minorities. The majority of Han were migrated to Xinjiang to balance their demographic position and control the ethnic issue of separatism. But the attempt of balancing the population could not get success. The Uyghur ethnic community makes East Turkistan Islamic Movement as an organization for supporting their agenda of separatism. Before ETIM, the Xinjiang issue was ethnic, and this ethnic separatist's ideology was injected in the Uyghur mind in 1990, when the USSR was disintegrated and the central Asian states got independence. The Xinjiang Uyghur Autonyms Region has socially, politically, and geographically close connection with some Central Asian states as both the regions have influence over each other. The collapse of the

USSR and the new independent states has a direct security challenge for China western Province as the insecurity inside these states could challenge the security position of China.

The Chinese religious policies in Xinjiang have also created opportunities for foreign terrorist groups to get involved indirectly in anti-state activities in the Uyghur Autonomy's Region. As a result, the issue was raised internationally through media and other communicational technologies. Media is playing an important role in the construction and destruction of societies and states. Beijing imposed ban on some news channels and news agencies in Xinjiang as China did not want to highlight the issue internationally.

Pakistan and China were like brothers. They did not want to turn their backs on each other, especially during hard times. Their friendly relations were tested several times and the history is evident of their brotherhood and friendship. The global terrorism and their impact on South Asian regions was also a challenge for both the countries. The OIC formation and the conformation of Pakistan as a member state is an opportunity for Sino-Pakistan relations. The main objective of this particular organization is to secure the borders from aggression and security threats. Pakistan needs security from terrorist elements as in the last several years, Pakistan has lost thousands of innocent peoples and army personnel in the war against terrorism. The economic position of the country is affected due to war on terror. The foreign investors are worried about terrorism. Many industries are not working due to energy problems. Pakistan spends more budgets on security than other as without security it is difficult to achieve other goals and progress. China was struggling to achieve the goal of world super-power. Beijing needs two important goals: Security for Xinjiang western province and access to the world raw materials. Both the countries are cooperating with each other. Through the agendas of OIC, SCO, and SARRC, both the countries cooperated and struggled with other member states to address the issue of insecurity in the region. The CPEC was another opportunity for strengthening their friendship. For Pakistan, the project will

fulfill the goals of economic developments, and for Beijing, it will provide shortest route to the world raw materials. The technologically advanced states tend to worried more about internal conflicts than external. The internal conflicts invite easily externals forces to get involved in the internal affairs of a particular state. There are several examples of such states as Afghanistan and Iraq. The United State and other world powers were invited due to internal issues in Afghanistan and Iraq. The issues are increasing with each passing day and now it become very difficult for Afghanistan and Iraqi authorities to handle it. The international communities are urged to resolve them peacefully.

The Xinjiang and ETIM or Uyghur separatists' movements are internal problems of China. But if it is not resolved properly and peacefully, it could become a challenge in future for China. It can invite externals forces in future as in past the China has experienced the ETIM and Uyghur relations with TTP and other militants groups. So it is important for China to handle the issue peacefully and politically.

RECOMMENDATIONS

- The economic prosperity of any country is directly or indirectly depending on its geographical structure. The driving forces or tools for the furious economy are roads, infrastructure, education, and boarders' location. But in spite of all these, if a country lacks good governance or management then the geographical structure is mere a documented feature for any country. So this is important for China and Pakistan to govern their provinces, Baluchistan and Xinjiang democratically and according to the wishes of the local people.
- If China want to resolve the ethnic problem in Xinjiang Uyghur Autonomous Region, it is very imperative to control more Han migration to Xinjiang.
- It is also significant for China to give freedom of religion to their citizens, especially to the Muslims of Xinjiang in order to avoid religious extremism
- The regional security and peaceful environment is very essential for both the countries. It is good for both Pakistan and China to resolve their border issues with India on table through dialogue process.
- The CPEC will be an issue resolving project for China and Pakistan. However, both the countries should make efforts to win over extremism and terrorism. It should not be through weapons but through compromise and dialogue with the terrorist groups.
- The central control of Beijing over Xinjiang is very important and if such a control is weakened the issue will be a big challenge in future for China.
- The CPEC project can play a significant role in resolving the ethnic issue in Xinjiang province. The Chinese authorities need to invest for enhancement of the underdeveloped parts of Xinjiang and especially those areas where Uyghur and other separatists are living in majority.

- It is also very important for China to struggle and gain permanent membership in SARRC to balance India and capture the domestic markets of member states.

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